

**THE LANGUAGE OF COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY
— SOUTH AFRICAN TERMINOLOGY**

PHD — COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy [Community Psychology] in the De-
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DECLARATION

This whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is the author's own original work.

DEDICATION

To the family language of an invisible bond.

Ukubuya akubalwa
Didiz' ulwandle
Malamb' adl' inkomo
Wohlo' mhlathi
Dubul' ekhephuza
Njengo' mbila

To the three women, Koagile, Sophie and Nokukhanya whom I love dearly, and respect deeply for their knowledge of suffering pain with purity and enduring it with dignity. To my five children, and the community of life – may serene peace and happiness be achievable.

“ In the beginning was the Word,
and the Word was with God,
and the Word was God.”

St. John 1 : 1

ABSTRACT

This study is about language in psychology. As its central theme, it [study] advocates the centrality of language in psychology in general and particularly in community psychology.

The study seeks to demonstrate that language is not only a tool for social construction of reality and social communication, but also a powerful influence on human behaviour in a social context. It is argued that psychology has glibly taken the influence of community psychological language on social behaviour for granted, and as such, there is not enough investigation in this area.

Drawing from a broad base of research data findings, it is proposed that community socio-political dynamics and psycho-social experiences, such as racial segregation / integration, political strife, peace and reconciliation for instance, are appropriated, shaped and expressed, among other, through and in a community psychological language in context. In other words, it is proposed that there is reciprocity of co-construction and co-influence between community psychological language and human social behaviour.

If the theory of community psychological influence of language on human social behaviour is valid, the dialectical tensions of co-influence may therefore be a high leverage potential that could be tapped by community psychologists to unleash desired community change, conciliation and reconstruction, which is desperately needed in the country. This could be a great boon for applied community psychology.

The present study maintains that the psychological and sociological interface process between language and human behaviour in a social context is a research area that has a great potential for the theoretical and practical development of community psychology practice.

It is hoped that this thesis will stimulate further academic debate and research.

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Chapter 1

Motivation of the Study

1. General introduction

Language is central to being – human. It is one of the critically distinguishing features which sets human beings apart from the rest of the animal kingdom. Language predisposes, and potentiates unique relations among human beings, as well as with their diverse environment.

The human mind is predominantly and characteristically a linguistic mind. [Parker 1994, Lacan 1977, Burman 1994]. Cognitive psychology suggests the centrality of language in higher mental process, such as thought, cognition, memory and abstract reasoning [Vygotsky, 1962, Sternberg, 1984, Feuerstein, 1983, Piaget, 1963]. However, psychological studies that directly and exclusively investigate language as a human attribute are scarce. The role of language has been indirectly inferred, and assumed in most studies of higher mental processes.

In psychology, most studies have investigated language from positivistic, quantitative, individualistic and intra-psychic perspectives. For example, language was studied from a developmental perspective, where language acquisition stages were delineated and typical developmental stage appropriate language competencies documented. The direct investigation of language was typically left to the abstract domain of philosophy .

This was not to be the case for all time. Language continued to stare psychology in the eyes daily and could not be entirely swept under the carpet of quantitative research dominated by the structuralism

and positivism of the modernist tradition. Psycho-linguistics in conjunction with pure linguistics took up the challenge. Their approach was indeed quite abstract and philosophical, and in most cases issues were taken up from an epistemological perspective.

Many renowned scholars entered the field and diverse orientations were debated and contested. For instance Noam Chomsky [1957, 1968] advocated a structuralist view which conceived of language as a typical potentiality of the human mind, 'pre-wired' as it were. Thus, language revealed, according to Chomsky, a typical structure of the human mind. Like Chomsky, Bloemfield and de Saussure [Fowler 1991] also conceived language within structuralist and deterministic interpretations. For them language existed as some autonomous and abstract entity, that is arbitrarily related in a determined way to the world.

In opposition to the closed and deterministic approach, Sapir and Whorf [Brown, 1958] adopted a more flexible view which accommodated both linguistic determination and linguistic flexibility. This was the tentative and humble beginnings of the shift towards what was later to be known as relativism, social constructionism and the discursive movement of the post modern era. The thrust of this study is about this shift from modernism and positivism to post modern relativism and discursive methods, with a specific focus on ' language in psychology ' in general, and ' community psychology ' in particular.

Although psycholinguists sustained an interest in the language of psychology, and thus contributed towards the development of the post modern relativism, psycholinguists nonetheless did not take the studies of language far enough. Their language study parameters, like traditional mainstream psychology, remained intra-psychic and individualistic in orientation. These studies also had the weak-

ness of being rather abstract, and too philosophical - and thus did not address themselves to the mundane everyday occurrences that constitute day-to-day behavioural experiences of humans.

Social psychology and psycho-therapy, as branches of psychology, are perhaps unavoidably anchored in such mundane, everyday occurrences that constitute the day-to-day behavioural experiences of humans. It is perhaps for this reason that social psychology and psychotherapy could not dispense with language in their dealings with humans, if as mentioned earlier, language is central to being-human. Social psychology undertook many studies on social behaviour, where variables were in the form of verbal, linguistic and terminological stimuli.

Psychotherapy and counselling, by their very nature, are an upfront submission that their practice is, simply stated, a 'healing talk', conducted in a specialised way by special trained persons. In these applied branches of psychology, the centrality of language in psychology is unavoidably visible. For example, cognitive behaviour therapy clearly demonstrates the dramatic influence of language on behaviour change in therapeutic techniques like 'thought stopping' and 'stress - inoculation'

[Michenbaum, 1977.]

Even though social psychology, psychotherapy and counselling demonstrate a much more 'progressive' embrace of language, relative to mainstream psychology's deliberate avoidance of language on methodological grounds and psycholinguistics' abstract and philosophical treatise of language, there is nonetheless a common problem running through all such areas of psychology as discussed above. That problem is, the general failure to acknowledge the powerful influence of language on human behaviour in a social context. Appropriate recognition of this influence is a central theme of the present thesis.

The abovementioned problem is, however, not specific or exclusive to language in psychology. It has also long been acknowledged as a general problem that modern Western style psychology tended to conveniently restrict itself to the individual and intra-psychic domain. Over time however, a strong communal force prevailed on psychology to explore the possibility of going beyond such an essentially individualistic framework. [Sarason 1974, Iscoe, Bloom, Spellberger, 1977]. The post-Swampscott Conference launch of the community psychology movement confirmed the existence of such problems within traditional mainstream psychology. This study attempts a contribution towards a more socially contextualised psychological practice with special reference to language and psychology.

2. Statement of the problem

Within the broader context of community psychology and focusing specifically on language, this study investigates, among other, the following issues :

- Has language any influence on the development of a sense of community / and community behaviour ?
- If so, what is the nature of such influence ?
- How does it develop ?
- What purpose do such language, linguistic constructs and /or terminology serve ?
- What causes the disuse of such terminology at a later stage?
- Are there any variables within the community which influence respondents responses and perceptions of such linguistic constructs ?

3 Literature review

A review of research methodology literature, shows increasing interest in qualitative research [Silverman, 1997, Kopala and Suzuki, 1999, Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Bamsler, Barman, Parker, Tylor and Tindall 1994]. There is also a noticeable swell in journal articles addressing qualitative research methods in psychology – especially community psychology. The majority of qualitative research publications come from sociologists.

The role of language in research, knowledge-making, and social construction of reality, is typically, implicitly and indirectly acknowledged. It appears as if language is usually taken for granted in major theoretical and research endeavours, that sharpen and hone research techniques, traditions and methods. There is a dearth of research that investigates language specifically and explicitly as a vehicle of these stated techniques, traditions and methods. This study addresses that need. The study investigates language as fundamental to and embedded in research techniques, and traditions of qualitative research. The study seeks to demonstrate that language is not only a tool for social construction of reality and social communication, but it also exerts a powerful influence on human behaviour in a social context. The study is about language in psychology.

4. Aim of the study

The study aims at the following -

- to determine the influence of language on community social behaviour.
- to demonstrate the nature of the South African version of community psychology language.
- to identify benefits or use of such terminology constructs.

- to study the outcome of these terminology constructs.

5. Hypothesis

In accordance with the above aims of the study, relevant hypotheses will be formulated.

For instance, it is hypothesised that specific South Africa language terminology constructs can be linked to specific social contexts and specific social behaviour patterns. In other words, it is maintained that a specific relationship exists between specific language terminology constructs and discernable patterns of social behaviour. These specific language-context-behaviour-connections stand out as empirically distinct and verifiable within the everyday language text version and mundane social activities in communities.

6. Organisation of the study

The study is an integration of the following research sub-categories into a meaningful thesis.

6.1 Literature study

A wide literature review will be done on the international community psychology movement, with a view to determine the existence, or non-existence of any recurrent language trends. It will be investigated whether observed language trends bear any relationship with any social situation and/or social behaviour patterns.

6.2 Sample

Four types of samples will be used in this study. These will be purposive samples of fairly small sample size, in line with the highly elaborate qualitative research techniques of textual analysis, interview and survey questionnaire that will be used.

6.2.1 Word survey evaluation

Research respondents will be asked to evaluate a list of selected words which constituted central terminology constructs in the community psychology language of the time.

6.2.2 Newspaper articles

Editorial, news and opinion articles from the newspapers in KwaZulu-Natal will be selected and analysed to determine presence and type of particular language used in social discourse.

6.2.3 Journal articles

Articles selected from the popular South African psychology journals, will be analysed for presence or absence of any particular scientific discourse.

6.2.4 Interview subjects

A minimum of two subjects will be interviewed, in order to establish the role of community language in influencing community social behaviour.

7 Plan and style of study

The thesis is written in a qualitative and phenomenological unfolding style, where hypotheses amplify themselves in the course of writing. Sampling is brought in during the actual research data discussion and documentation. It is a thesis which honours and privileges an aboriginal research approach that flows as an oral indaba story-telling, where the community psychology reality catches up with the consciousness and psyche of the people through language. A glossary of words encountered in the text is provided in Appendix III to enhance easy reading.

This study will be organised in chapter form as follows :

Chapter 1 Motivation of the study

The aim of the study is described in this chapter, namely that the study seeks to demonstrate the influence of language on social behaviour in context. The study is situated within a community psychology framework and adopts a qualitative research orientation.

Chapter 2 Community psychology – a socio-historical context

A brief history of the development of community psychology is undertaken in this chapter. It is demonstrated that community psychology used a specific 'language of psychology' in order to develop and establish a distinct new identity within traditional psychology.

The dialectics of construction and co-construction between 'language' and the emerging community psychology movement are described. The chapter ends by postulating that, language in general, and specifically 'language of community' has an influence on community social behaviour.

Chapter 3 The context of South Africa community psychology language

The chapter outlines a socio-historical context within which a specific community psychology language developed in South Africa.

It is maintained that the political history of South Africa together with its colonial legacy created a peculiarly racially divided society where different communities shared varied sense of community. The socio-cultural impact of acculturation and enculturation as a result of Christian missionary influences on indigenous people is examined.

The intensification of political resistance in South Africa forms a special era of interest. It is maintained that the essence of resistance within communities was mediated by a special community language of political struggle. The impact of language in context in influencing corresponding social behaviour is explored in this chapter.

Chapter 4 Research design and procedures

An outline of the research design and procedures is undertaken in this chapter. The central postulate of this study which revolves around community psychology language and community social behaviour is discussed in detail with a view to situate it within the research design and procedures of this study

Chapter 5 Presentation and analysis of data

In this chapter, multi-source generated research data is presented and analysed. Research data will be empirically gathered through a word survey questionnaire, analysis of news, editorial and opinion articles from the two newspapers in KwaZulu-Natal, namely The Natal Witness and Ilanga, and interview of co-researchers.

Chapter 6 Discussion of findings

This chapter ties together all the themes of this study, namely the dialectics of language influence relations with community behaviour patterns and sense of community. On the strength of data analysis results, the argument or central postulate of this study is either buttressed, modified, or re-phrased.

Chapter 7 Conclusion, summary and recommendations

This is a concluding chapter in which the synopsis of the whole study is done. The value of the study is advanced indicating its potential in contributing to the general well-being of humanity as well as a possible contribution it has for the advancement of knowledge.

Chapter Two

Community Psychology – A socio-historical context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter traces the socio-historical origins of community psychology together with its correlated constructs, within the context of USA.

The socio-political changes that were fuelled by the civil rights movements in USA together with socio-economic factors formed a favourable social mix from which community psychology emerged. The developmental history of community psychology reveals that for nearly two decades after its inauguration on 4 - 8 May 1965 at the Swampscott Conference, it remained at a highly introspective plane characterised by academic scepticism. Such a phase of self-doubt and ambivalence is reflected in the community psychology language of its earlier developmental stages. There were also periods of internal strife as a result of different academic orientations between black and white pioneer psychologists. However, as community psychology individuated and gained more self-confidence as a specialized field within the broader discipline of psychology, it [community psychology] began to appropriate a specific community psychology language which both mediated and reinforced the newly acquired identity.

2.2 Historical background

Formal and academic community psychology, as it is known and practiced today, has its historical origins in the USA around the sixties. It developed as an offshoot of clinical psychology as a result of challenges of the efficacy of psychotherapy as measured by client recovery rates. Almost two and a

half decades ago, Seymour Sarason, one of the stalwart founders and advocates of community psychology, made the following remark about the historical origins of community psychology:

"Community psychology is a relatively new field within academic psychology.

It is somewhat more than a decade old. Prior to that time... there were psychologists with a community orientation but it was not until the sixties that community psychology began to be viewed as a distinct field requiring new ways of thinking, training and practice" [Sarason, 1974, p16].

Although community psychology has its roots firmly within clinical psychology, it was however more from disillusionment, rather than knowledge development that community psychology emerged and ultimately broke off from its parent clinical psychology.

"Indeed, a case could be made for the argument that the community approach has come to a considerable extent, because of failures, weaknesses and limited scope of traditional clinical efforts with individuals. Without question, large number of clinicians have experienced degrees of disillusionment with rehabilitation results of mental hospitals and success rates achieved by private practitioners".

[Sarason & Gauzer, 1969, p 22].

During the late fifties there was a strong and growing dissatisfaction about the efficacy of psychotherapy. The effectiveness of psychotherapy, as applied clinical psychological intervention, was subjected to intensive scrutiny. There was growing scepticism about patients' recovery as a result of clinical psychotherapy intervention. Many studies and surveys were undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness

of psychotherapy. There was an overwhelming general conclusion that traditional clinical interventions had only enjoyed limited success. There was also a great concern about the accessibility of psychotherapy to the vast majority of ordinary people and communities. Traditional clinical psychotherapy was typically only affordable by the select middle class. It was an individualistic service to a few by a few at the total exclusion of the most afflicted ordinary majority of people in communities.

Historically, community psychology emerged as an outcome of professional discontent, academic soul searching and practice introspection. Community psychology is therefore, by definition, a professional protest for professional relevance and practice alternatives. As a professional protest, community psychology is also anti-elitism where professional help is a reserve knowledge of the expert clinician. On the contrary, community psychology:

“conveys ideas about an academic activist agenda seeking to reform, redirect or revolutionize theory, method, and practice of psychology in the interest of disadvantaged groups” [Seedat, Duncan & Lazarus, 2001 pp 3-4].

2.3 Social change and knowledge-power relations

Rather than upholding the expert clinician's knowledge, community psychology advocated working together with community lay helpers so that there was community participation in social reform planning.

“There was a growing realisation that research and program development must be a joint effort. Those who are objects of interventions must participate in its design and operation. Further, instead of being the overseer, the social scientist

must become a participant-observer" [Iscoe, Bloom & Spielberger, 1977, pp 259].

The emphasis on social change through community participation was based on acknowledgment and acceptance that there is a very thin line between individual pathology and social pathology. When the social environment is supportive, the argument went, there is generally a marked reduction or low incidence of individual pathology. While the contrary was true. There was ample social research evidence pointing at correlation between the incidence of mental illness and poverty in lower socio-economic residential areas. [Foucault 1973, Mann 1978].

This realisation demanded a changed in intervention focus. Changing the focus from individual-directed to social-context-directed intervention implied a radical re-alignment of knowledge-power relations within a helping relationship. Pioneer community psychologists had to be prepared to pay the price. This was not an easy step to take within a profession whose practice, traditions and conventions are so heavily steeped in uneven distribution of knowledge-power relations between the "expert" therapist and "helpless" patient. It was like a conversion where a community psychologist convert had to advance a baptismal font with a firm commitment to let go the cherished knowledge-power relations that characterised the text and talk of individually oriented clinical psychotherapy.

Foucault's discursive theory has illustrated and explicated how uneven knowledge-power relations strongly express themselves even in the silent setting arrangements and configurations of the consulting rooms of clinicians [Lindsay, 1977]. The consulting room space is already structured and configured into hierarchical and unbalanced knowledge-power positions reflective of and apportioned according to the "expert" and "helpless" roles. The lay-out conventions induce differential value judgments attached to utterances by different person-categories. For example, the 'doctors' [clinicians]

utterances are more authentic than the 'patients' utterances – 'doctors' verbalizations are higher and truer than the 'patients' verbalizations. All of this means that, even before anything else is done, reality is already predisposed and potentialed, in particular, by the spatial configurations and psychotherapy text and talk in their own right as presented in particular way in the context of individualized psychotherapy. It is all this privilege, status and knowledge-power which the pioneer community psychologist of the sixties had to genuinely relinquish as he / she took the tentative, but resolved steps to walk out of their offices in order to work in communities.

While the professional-academic transformation towards community psychology was gathering momentum among pioneer academics, other social transformative movements were unfolding simultaneously in distinct but related directions. One was the civil rights movements and mass actions of the sixties, particularly among blacks; the other was federal legislations aimed at bolstering community mental health, as well as legislations to fight poverty.

"The already existing feeling that our society in general and our communities in particular are being increasingly inimical to personal stability and safety... assassinations, race conflicts and riots, the cancer of poverty, wars, drugs, student riots – was it any wonder that there developed a flood of efforts, legislated or otherwise, to repair our community" [Sarason, 1974, p 4].

While it remains quite difficult to establish which of these two social movements exerted greater transformative influence, it is hardly doubted that a combination of all these social dynamics provided a very favourable mix for the emergence of a new, responsive and relevant intervention in communities aimed at enhancing human wellness.

2.4 Early problems within community psychology

Although community psychology emerged after the 1965 Swampscott Conference in Massachusetts as a new and relevant intervention, this was not to be without problems. Firstly, community psychology did not completely shed and escape the vestiges of the very past it fought against. Because federal legislation was, as a rule, bolstered by generous funding voted under community mental health programmes, community psychology often found itself trailing community mental health in practice and orientation.

The delicate tension between intra-individual and individual-in-context could be gradually compromised in a predominantly conventional mental health context. This was always a great concern among pioneer community psychologist who were struggling to appropriate and project a new transformed professional identity.

A second set of problems related to a potential racialised professional split within founder members even at very early inception stages. The source of this potential split was the two oppositional and related social movements of the sixties mentioned earlier, namely, the civil rights movement, and poverty alleviation legislation.

The civil rights movement attracted and enjoyed huge support from the disenfranchised poor black populace. On the other hand, this nonetheless coincided with poverty social reform legislations, although not expressly and exclusively enacted for poor minority blacks. As a result, the definition and intentions of community psychology 'incidentally' became affected and the 'implicit' racial insinuations rubbed off negatively on the new emerging field.

Black psychologists within the fold of pioneer community psychologists began to view the new community psychology as targeting – and meant for “poor blacks”. Reminded of the history of American social research emigration policy as well as recent social reform legislation, black psychologists became very sceptical. They suspected that community psychology could, in fact, affirm the general stereo-typical view that there was ‘something wrong’ with blacks. [Kamin 1974, Jensens 1969]. In this view, community psychology would be a scientific legitimisation of the “negative black stereotype”. Black psychologists objected because they :

“concluded from references made and examples given at the conference that communities were being defined along socio-economic and racial lines, and the focus of community psychologists intervention was on poor black geographic locations. Black community psychologists voiced strong opposition to this position”. [Iscoe, et. al. (eds), 1977, p 257].

The concerns of black community psychologists during the very formative stages of the field, about thirty years ago, signalled and re-echoed deep-rooted and persisting problems of different black and white world views, and particularly the academic perspective on social problems and their possible solutions. The ambivalence and scepticism of blacks about the sincerity and effectiveness of social interventions emanating from and based on Anglo-American or Eurocentric world view persist even to-day [Fanon 1967, Myers 1988, Biko 1987, Gibson 1999]. John Stanfield II [1994], an Afro-American sociologist with extensive qualitative research experience in Afro-American and African institutions and communities also raises this ambivalence and scepticism among black academics:

"People of colour, women and others traditionally outside the domain of research authority have argued that only those researchers emerging from the life worlds of their "subjects" can be adequate interpreters of such experiences". [Denzin & Lincoln (eds), 1994, p 176].

Stanfield II [1994] and More [1977] both decry the one-sided trend of social research where mainly blacks or indigenous peoples are the subjects of social research conducted predominantly by white affluent male researchers. Both are desirous of two-way development in social research – a situation where considerable social research could also be directed at affluent white communities whose citizens are, in most cases, in positions to obstruct or not tolerate the needed social change. This one-sided social research trend together with scepticism and ambivalence about findings and solutions within the researched group is captured by a Biblical quotation which More, T [1977] used as an abstract of his paper read at a training conference at the University of Texas in Austin in 1975. He cautions;

"and why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brothers' eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine eye?" [Mathew. 7 : 3].

Having said all of the above, it must however, be noted that both the black academicians and their white colleagues and counterparts were acutely aware of the fundamental political problematics in any social reform and social justice interventions. It was for this reason and awareness, in the first instance, that all had joined in the community psychology movement. All were agreed on a need for some levelling out of knowledge-power relations in all fronts within the envisaged field – for instance, between the researchers and researched; the Anglo-American and Afro-American life worlds; the

Eurocentric and Afrocentric. One of the solutions was an adoption of a balanced research stance, namely a “participant-observer” and “participant-conceptualiser” posture.

2.5 The beginnings of community psychology language

The participant-observer / conceptualiser research posture marked the beginnings of what this study refers to as community psychology language. This entailed a total turning around of research talk and conduct into a distinctly different research practice and ethic. To construct and produce itself as a distinct social reality, the new field had to appropriate new community psychology language in order to mediate new social research behaviour patterns.

The dialectics of linguistic constructs and social behaviour patterns interacted as a construction and reconstruction process of emergent community psychological social reality. This emergent community psychology social reality, in turn, produced and reproduced itself. In this way, the community psychology terminology of ‘participant-observer / conceptualiser’ has significance beyond the verbal level – it appropriates specific social reality that is concretised by and through a reciprocally appropriate social behaviour pattern within the given social context of community psychology research.

Many other community psychology linguistic constructs were produced in this way through the social reality demand process of an emerging field. Community psychology language constructs include :

“person-setting interactions, social-action, social-living, troubled person, behav-

our setting, historical-constraints, social forces etc."

The above are clearly a significant departure from esoteric psychological jargon like neurosis, repression, unconscious, psychosis, and many other that characterise the idiom of professional clinical psychology. Most of this community psychological terminology typically emerged during the very early stages of community psychology development. As such, the linguistic constructs are reflective of this early developmental stages of community psychology. In most cases, they are hyphenated language constructs that are indicative of relativity, caution and avoidance of sweeping judgmental conception of social phenomena.

Not surprisingly, in some instances, the community psychology language of early developmental stages sometimes bordered on insecurity and ambivalence. However, with time, most community psychology terminology stabilized and mellowed into received social research and social action concepts commensurate with and impelling specific adaptive and supportive social behaviours within communities and researchers. Community psychology terms like "*life-skills, mobilization, networks, empowerment, advocacy*" and many others, are clearly reflective of the growing confidence of the middle stages of the discipline. During this growing confidence stage, community psychology collaborated freely and confidently with other established disciplines and hitch-hiked on pertinent linguistic constructs. Credit goes to founding pioneers like Seymour Sarason, Bernard Bloom, Ira Iscoe, Charles Spielberger, Edson Trickett, Julian Rappaport, Robert Reiff and others for having laid down formal academic community psychology together with its community psychological language. Apart from being an entity in its own right, this formal community psychological language indicates that it was also a language of a specific type of community behaviour within a given socio-political and socio-economic context that pioneers engaged with at that point in time.

The dialectics of community psychology language, and community psychology itself for that matter, is not only restricted to formal academic community psychology. Diverse indigenous community practices existed in various communities around the world well before the Swampscott Conference. In that the origins of humanity are radically communal and social, what Pretorius-Henchert [1999] say about psychology applies with an even greater extent to community psychology, namely that :

"It is often said that psychology has a short history but a long past". [p 21]

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter traced the history of the development of formal academic community psychology with specific reference to community psychology linguistic constructs that acted as catalysts in the dialectics of the emergence of community psychology. It became clear that the socio-political and socio-economical vicissitudes of the sixties in America exerted a specific pressure on the academic community of clinical psychologists. As a result, the community of clinical psychologists embarked on a transformation of their professional practice into a more responsive and relevant community.

The centrality of community psychology language, both as an entity in itself as well as a language of a specific type of community and social behaviour within a specific socio-politico-economic context was accentuated as one of the social instruments that mediated the emergence of community psychology as a new field. It was noted that the founding of community psychology was not without internal strife and problems – for instance, the near rift within founders because of implicit racist tendencies di-

rected at the black populace. Although formal community psychology individuated around the sixties in the United States of America, it was however, acknowledged that indigenous community psychological practices all over the world predate formal academic psychology and community psychology.

Chapter Three

A Context of South African Community Psychology Language

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the socio-historical context within which community psychology with its specific language originated in USA. In this chapter a similar investigation is undertaken within a specific South African context. The idea of specificity and relevance of community psychology language together with corresponding community social behaviour is pursued further. While the focus is on a South African context, comparison and contrast with the USA will be done in order to illuminate specific points and/or issues that are germane to community psychology irrespective of a country.

3.2 Community psychology and the South African social milieu

South African society has been subjected to a protracted period of social, political, economic and class divisions. Since the first European occupation of the country, together with colonial impacts of frontier wars fought predominantly along racial lines of settler and indigenous peoples, the introduction of slave trade labour, acculturative and enculturative social conflicts related to missionaries and Christianity, South Africa continued to grow as a society divided along many human, social dimensions.

There were for instance, slave groupings, colonial master groupings, native Christian convert groupings, uncivilised pagan or savage natives – this last group was often equated to an enemy by the colonialist because of their resistance to social domination, political subjugation through land dispossession and racial oppression. As early as the 17th century, the South African society was already evolving as a divided community with differing “sense of community” that was cemented either by positions of

domination of oppression which typically translated into superior white colonialists, and inferior black aborigines respectively. There were also non-de-script middle-of-the-road positions who were not as brutish as the uncivilised aborigines, and yet not as good as the white colonialists. Under these circumstances, the biologicistic seed of racism germinated and grew into the social plant that bore the fruit of racial prejudice.

The various community divisions with their varying experiences of “sense of community” related to the 17th century South African political, racial and cultural dispensations means that community psychological language together with its corollary, community social behaviour, was already there, pre-existing the vocabulary, theory, method and practice of the formal academic community psychology in its present structured form as a university discipline. The phrase by Pretorius-Heuchert and Ahmed [2001] cited in the foregoing chapter, also holds true here. That is ,

“ Psychology has a short history, and a long past ” [p 21.]

This brings in the notion of the definition of community psychology which, it is argued, is contingent upon the purpose and historico-academic position from which definition is proffered.

“ Although there is no single definition of community psychology it is fair to say that all approaches in community psychology have the common goal of improving the human condition and promoting psychological well-being. This goal is achieved by applying knowledge and methods of study, research, intervention from the broader disciplines of psychology and social sciences in community or organisational context ”[Pretorius-Heuchert and Ahmed 2001, p 19.]

Although Seedat, Duncan and Lazarus [2001] list a number of dimensions that inform and influence definitions of community psychology, like the foregoing example, all their dimensions accrue from a post-Swampscott historical academic position. These influencing dimensions, among other, include extension of mental health services to all, especially those historically unserved and the transformation in the manner problems and interventions are conceptualised. While there is nothing academically and historically wrong with the post-Swampscott position definitions, such definitions, because of their position, tend not to acknowledge the pre-existence of community psychology albeit without the formal current title or name. As a result, an inaccurate impression could be created that community reactions to social injustice, oppression, discrimination or racism as well as community support and intervention for the general well-being of the community members were galvanised only when formal community psychology pointed this out. The point being made here, without subtracting or underestimating the contribution by formal community psychology, is that formal community psychology is enriched and provided with a valuable historical anchor through linking it up with its pre-formalisation stages. It is for this reason that a broader definitions of community psychology is considered as vital ground-base for more formal academic community psychology, such a broader definition may be :

“ Any collaborative actions by members of small, medium or large social groups aimed at achieving community stability and sustainability for all. Such activities cover and express themselves in many areas of living, be it economic, political, religious, educational, cultural or healing systems of a community ”[Ngcobo 2002, personal definition of community psychology]

If such a broader definition is accepted South African community psychology language discussed in this study is also reflective of, and traceable as far back as the history of South Africa. It is a community psychological language that projects and articulates social dynamics in the context of a divided

society. It is a community psychology language whose talk and text is an expression of social tensions, anger and resentment, as well as hope and optimism, in inter-group relations in a divided society. Above all it is a community psychology language that expresses a will to social belonging – that is, sense of community albeit in a divided context. The two National Anthems of the “old” South Africa, namely “Nkosi Sikelela” and “Die Stem” were specific examples of divided community psychological language within a divided society.

Because of the history of South Africa, part of which is mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the South African community psychology language typically vacillated between a highly polarised, adversarial text and a submissive cringing language for the less powerful indigenous groups, whilst for the advantaged white groups, it was typically a text of patronising superiority.

For example, the text of the two national anthems of the “old” South Africa were interpreted differently by the different communities of a divided South African society. While “Nkosi Sikelela” was a call for unity and rallying together despite social adversaries of oppression and discrimination for blacks, for the whites, especially Afrikaans speaking, this was a sign of “swart gevaar” which needed to be crushed down. The same mixed reaction applied to “Die Stem”. For the Afrikaner whites, “Die Stem” was a call by God to his people [herrenvolk] to freedom and independence. For blacks “Die Stem” was a war-cry song of land grabbing foreigners bent on subjugating indigenous people – a concept later known as colonial expansionism. Wilson [2001] describes a divided South African society as :

“A history of dispossession and extreme social inequality, and the violent protection

of a racially divided structure of social and economic privilege ... in the 1920's a nationalist movement among descendants of Dutch settlers, or Afrikaners, became dominant and led to greater encroachments on black land ownership "[p 192]

Clearly therefore, the text of the community psychology language of the national anthems of the "old" South Africa induced different social meaning and social perceptions, that led to different social behaviour patterns for different social communities within a divided South African society.

The theory of the structure and processes of discourse, as propounded by Van Dijk [1997] is useful in understanding divided community psychological linguistic discourse in a divided South African society. The concept of community psychological language with its terminology and linguistic constructs embraces and translates into what Van Dijk [1997] refers to as a discourse, that is, discourse as social action and inter-action in society constituted by speech acts. As a unit of discourse, a speech act has two main properties, namely text and talk that occur in a particular context. The sum total of all this is meaning, which can either be cognitive or social. Cognitive meaning tends to emphasise the individualistic, intra-psychic conceptions of meaning, while social meaning relates to shared meaning, that ensues from social interactions. Both these meaning dimensions, especially the social, are experienced as an accomplishment of a speech act. In discourse analyses therefore, the main focus is on the social dimension of what happens when meaningful utterances or speech acts, to be exact, are made in some context.

In our example, for instance, this would equate to evaluating the social implication of singing "Nkosi Sikelela" at the old South Africa Republic Day celebrations of the Afrikaans speaking people. In this case an accomplished speech act would be singing "Nkosi Sikelela" whose text and talk could either

be interpreted as insurrection against the rightful state authority or justified protest against an oppressive state. The context would be the “old” South Africa as well as the divided society representing the white and black communities and the socio-political significance of the celebrated holiday. The foregoing is an illustration of Van Dijk’s concept of a discourse, with its elements of social meaning following an accomplished speech act in a given context. The main point is that an accomplished speech act invokes some social behavioural actions. In other words, accomplished speech acts are the active power of words / language in any given context. This is the essence of community psychological language. It is argued in this study that the concept of community psychology language with its terminology is both compatible with, and inclusive of discourse analysis. Community psychological language is a theatre in which discourse analysis acts and depicts the various community psychological genre.

3.3 Discourse pragmatics theory

In this study, discourse analysis is used as a research tool to structure and evaluate the content of community psychological terminology empirically. The aim being to demonstrate the intentional and purposeful influence of communicative speech acts of language on community social behaviour.

Blum Kulka [1997] amplifies the influencing connections between communicative speech act and overt social behaviour acts in discourse pragmatics theory. The major thrust and concern of the discourse pragmatics theory are the processes and products of communicative speech acts together with their social and cultural context. Austin [1962] as cited by Blum Kulka [1997] states that :

“ The utterance of certain expressions, such as – I apologise, I warn you, or I hereby christen this child, cannot be verified as either true or false, since their purpose is not to make true or false statement, but rather to do things with language. He termed

such utterances performativesto achieve their performative function as an apology or warning, such utterances need to meet certain contextual conditions, called felicity conditions, also sometimes called appropriateness conditions. [p 42]"

Performative speech act units are closely related to, and extend into illocutionary acts. An illocutionary act is a speech act unit that includes what the speaker does simultaneously with uttering a linguistic expression. The same applies to the hearer who does something as a consequence of conceiving an illocutionary act. An illocutionary act, may be a simple utterance by a teacher, such as, *open your books on p 20*, while she herself does the *same* ; a solidarity salute like *Amandla* uttered by a politician with a raised clenched fist; a *toyi-toyi* chant accompanied by a one-leg-alternating jump dance. Because of the embedded duality, an illocutionary act gains an added communicative power – that is, performative illocutionary force. This means that it becomes a linguistic construct with a high probability of influencing and inducing corollary overt social behaviours.

Taking further Austin's [1962] theory of speech acts with its concepts of performatives, illocutionary acts and illocutionary force, Searle [1979] proposed five types of speech acts that exert influence on social behaviour. These types of speech acts are representatives, directives, commissive, expressives and declarations. For instance, a declarative is that utterance through which it is intended to effect change in a state of affairs in a natural or institutionalised phenomenon.

For example, the case of christening a baby, cited above as a performative illocutionary act may also be described as a declarative speech act. When viewed as a declarative, the natural state of being mortal because of being born in sin is changed by the symbolic washing and purging performed through a baptismal act accompanied by conventional words of baptising within the necessary appro-

priate or felicity contextual conditions of the Judaic-Christian religious ritual. Therefore baptising is a religious act which changes human-beings from an earthly, mortal state to a spiritual and immortal state that is acquired through a community psychological language speech act that can be described as declarative and / or an illocutionary act with a performative illocutionary force.

Similarly during the peak of socio-political tensions and political violence in the mid 80's and 90's in South Africa , special and unique community psychological language declarations such as *ayitheshi*, *ibhemile*, *khimbila* etc. emerged. These community psychological language declarations became a received everyday language parlance of coping and surviving in a highly violent community context wreaked by political battles. Some of these South African community psychological language terminology declarations, like *ayitheshi* and *gqirile* for instance, were supposed to change the ballistic and naturally lethal power of fire-arms, a common weapon used in political battles, into harmless tools through the weakening effect of *ayitheshi*. The *ayitheshi* weakening effect on a gun is acquired through institutionalised and indigenous medicinal fortification of *gqirile*.

Combatants that were declared as *gqirile* induced a psychological fear in their enemies because of the potential to render the enemies' weapons as *ayitheshi* i.e. ineffective. The perceived enemy fear also acted as an affirmation of the efficacy of the *ukugqira* – indigenous medicinal fortification. As a result of the differential positions taken in relation to the *gqirile* concept the parties displayed different behaviour patterns – namely arrogant and intimidating, or cowering and intimidated behaviour. In the behaviourist language it could be said that a cycle of mutual reinforcing social stimulus response contingencies maintained a relationship tension between the opposite behaviour patterns. Theoretically, in discourse pragmatics terms, this social phenomenon could be conceived as the effect of a performa-

tive illocutionary force of the South African community psychological language declarations in effecting either coping or cowering social behaviour in a violence torn community context.

A directive is another category of illocutionary acts in which speech utterances are used to get a hearer to do something through commanding, ordering, begging or request. As a directive category of illocutionary acts, commanding and ordering in particular, are generally used by leaders or people in power. The performative illocutionary force of a directive act is reflective of and resonates the amount of power commanded by the person uttering that command or order. In a highly explosive and violent South African context of the mid 80's and early 90's, many leaders with diverse power bases emerged. The social context being predominantly violent, invariably leadership and power were often conceived of along "militaristic lines."

Community psychological linguistic constructs like "warlords" described not only the power commanded by such persons, but also their powerful speech act directives that induced various community social behaviours, among many individuals, for example, hit-squad activities, torture, kidnapping, necklacing etc. The powerful influences of community psychological language on community social behaviours is aptly captured by Foster [2000] in his study of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and his efforts to understand the perpetrators of political violent activities. Foster [2000] states that ;

"Language does things : it gives orders, it constructs social categories, it persuades, justifies, gives reasons. It moves some people against other people. Spirals of discourse increasingly dehumanise the other [communists, agitators] creating the conditions of violence. Language calls people up, motivates people for action." [SA Journal of Psychology, 2000, 30 [1] pp 2 – 23]

Context is critical in understanding any discursive study. African linguistic constructs and their concomitant social behaviours like political murders, harassment, abduction etc., make sense when understood within an intensely violent context of the 80's and 90's. From a range of theories and explanations that have emerged in an effort to explain reasons for spates of extreme social and racial prejudice and hatred accompanied by callous mass violence like the holocaust, Rwandan genocide and apartheid total onslaught, the situationist theses of Milgram [1974] have been favoured.

The situationist theses are very close to context and emphasises two situational components namely, "binding-in" and "distancing". Binding-in produces and induces social psychological obedience, conformity within informally subtle rules which make non-compliance very difficult. Distancing, on the other-hand is a creation of psychological distance from the victim, so that violence directed at the victim is distant, detached and without guilt – psychological insensitivity to the suffering of the other because of social separation or categorisation into "us" and "them" where it does not matter whatever with "them" dehumanised into lesser beings.

Another similar sociological account for the prevalence of mass violence during the turn of the 20th century propounds the presence of, and direct connection between, two sets of factors, namely the rise in militarism and state bureaucracy. According to Bauman [1989] militarism as well as state bureaucracy are typically characterised by hierarchical cultural forms that promote obedience, rule-following, and careerism. This is very similar to what the situationist theory describes as "binding-in" factors. One only has to remember the erstwhile South African Police force and the Defence force at the borders to get a glimpse of the "siege-mentality" within which members thrived.

The language of in-group discourse, either as legitimate civil forces, or as committed freedom fighters, as well as the referent representation language for out-group enemy played a significant role in acts of violence, or atrocities committed from either sides. It is within this total South African milieu that unique and special community psychology linguistic constructs emerged and mediated everyday social experiences.

There can be little doubt that militarism, as an institution and ideology, escalated considerably in South Africa through the 1970's and 80's spawning a new language of political legitimacy as well as new and clandestine organisations, not least Vlakplaas. Increased militarism, albeit on a different scale and in other forms, e.g. self-defence units, also characterised liberation movements [ib. id.]

3.4 Community psychology language of Black Consciousness – the Biko, Ngungi, and Fanon struggle

Born and reared in different countries that are very far from one another, that is, South Africa, Kenya, and the Caribbean Islands, Biko, Ngungi and Fanon had a lot in common. All three were outstanding scholars, prolific writers as well as highly dedicated community workers and leaders that worked for social transformation, social justice, liberation and empowerment of oppressed communities. For their convictions, they all earned disfavour from the governments of the day, in their different countries. Imprisonment, political harassment and even assassination plots were conspired against them. Sadly, Biko ultimately paid the highest price for his convictions in South Africa.

As contemporaries with not that many years difference between their ages, there are perhaps strong indications that their ideas had a reciprocal influence on one another, and that Fanon, being the eldest,

exerted greater influence on the younger contemporaries. Commenting on the international influence of Fanonian ideas, Gibson, N. [1999] states that :

"Fanon's philosophy came alive again in the revolutionary influence of Black Consciousness in South Africa ... philosophies of liberation 'travel' subterraneously and along non-institutional lines " [p12].

In his own introductory remarks to one of his classical works "Decolonising the mind – the politics of language in African literature," Ngungi [1981] directly admits the influence of Fanon thus :

" The theme of his books is simple. It is taken from a poem by the Guyanese poet Martin Carter in which he sees ordinary men and women hungering, and living in rooms without lights; all those men and women are in South Africa, Namibia, Kenya ... Fanon's 'wretched of the earth' who have declared loud and clear that they do not sleep to dream, but dream to change the world " [p 3].

It is maintained that, as contemporaries, the trio lived through a special historical period in the world, and particularly South Africa. At that time, that is the turn of the 20th Century, there was an awakening of international democracies as well as linking up of political thought and conflict in the so called third world countries in the southern hemisphere. The strong democratic awareness was particularly growing in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Philippines, South Korea among other.

Community psychology emerged in this context as part of linking political thought and existing community conflicts with a view to bringing about well-being for all through justice and fairness, particularly in the interest of disadvantaged groups. Emphasising the particular and peculiar socio-political

context of the under-developed countries of the southern hemisphere, and the linkages with community psychology development, Seedat et.al. [2001] state that ;

“This radical agenda is perhaps pronounced in the southern hemisphere where community psychology tended to emerge and burgeon during periods of profound socio-political conflict and resistance to oppression. Even though in North America community psychology was formalised during periods of civil rights struggle there, the climate was conducive to taking stands on social issues and there was funding for innovative programmes directed at disfranchised groups”[p 4].

In all these social phenomena of awakening political thought, issues of conflict and democratic struggles, it is argued that the impact of language during the times of struggle was both central and critical to the pace, rate and direction of the unfolding history. The language impacted on, and impelled individual people, groups and communities to act in particular ways, adopt certain value systems and assume certain perspectives on social issues.

Because language is a shared community practice and medium that conveys and reflects the psyche of the collective, this study espouses the concept of community psychological language. This concept of community psychological language is related to the earlier proposed broad conception and definition of community psychology as any collaborative actions by community members aimed at achieving social stability and sustainability for all, through social, economic, political, educational, religious and healing systems of a community. All these social actions are facilitated, catalysed and held together by a community psychological language. To this generic concept of community psychology language, more specific dimensions of linguistic constructs and terms added to delineate a specific community discourse.

For instance, Biko's [1978] community psychological linguistic construct of "black consciousness" referred to a specific community political discourse of resistance against dehumanisation and alienation of social identity of indigenous peoples of South Africa. His community psychological language of black consciousness reverberated across all conceivable social institutions, for example, medical, social and religious structures. The impact of black consciousness discourse was felt most in South Africa, the host country where it affected change in social behaviour, attitudes and social issue perspectives of many. A new spirit of social justice, resistance and intolerance to racial discrimination, as well as sensitivity to the plight of the disadvantaged people was generated. A number of community support systems were established in many parts of South Africa. The community psychological language of black consciousness translated into a strong national consciousness-raising experience that spurred citizens to action. For most black peoples and some white peoples of South Africa, the language of black consciousness planted a seed of unity among diverse communities. However, for the apartheid government that advocated divided communities, the black consciousness discourse provoked tightening of racially segregating and discrimination legislation.

The community psychology language of black consciousness illustrates that, apart from being an entity in its own right, the community psychological language of black consciousness was a language of a specific socio-political time and context. Black consciousness, among other, was a social phenomenological evolvement of a language in the dialectical tensions of creation and recreation of social reality. Black consciousness, through collective actions of communities, shaped and re-shaped the socio-political time and context from which it emerged, and to which it related.

The black consciousness community psychological language of Biko, Ngungi and Fanon continues to have poignant relevance, and continues to spur individuals, groups and communities to act in particular ways. For instance the Fanon notion of black skin and white mask continues to address the psychological identity conflict of many black people as a result of cultural dominance brought about by colonialism. To this psychological conflict Ngungi [1981] has suggested a corrective language terminology construct, namely “decolonising the mind”.

These community social activists have not only demonstrated the powerful influence of community psychological language in changing and moulding communities, but have also illustrated that concrete actions, that are compatible with advocated transformative language constructs, taken by a few committed leaders effect change in a wider community. This may be described as the social cybernetics of change where limited but congruent, relevant input by a few authentic leaders / change agents effects visible and wide scale community social change. For instance when Ngungi [1981] introduced the community psychological linguistic construct of decolonising the mind, he also supplemented this with abandoning, as an author, writing in English and resorted to his native tongue, Gikũyũ. In his fight against colonialism and racism, Fanon relinquished his imperial French citizenship and adopted Algerian citizenship and lived there; whilst Biko, after expulsion from the University of Natal Medical School, spent the rest of his life as a community worker.

Whilst this study advocates the powerful role of community psychological language in influencing and effecting change in community social behaviour, it becomes clear that language alone is not a necessary and sufficient factor for community social behaviour change, other social ingredients are needed to complete a recipe for community social change. The social ingredients, as noted from the lives of

the trio, are concrete actions taken by authentic and committed leaders / change agents. Such concrete actions need to be compatible and congruent with the espoused community psychological discourse on prevailing social issues.

3.5 The Language of community psychology – A literary perspective

Apart from the community psychology language of black consciousness in South Africa, there was also another strong advocacy for community consciousness that was encapsulated in literary works and arts. These literary works passionately, and artistically addressed issues of colonialism, Christian missionary religion and their negative consequences on indigenous cultures that resulted in fragmented communities. The presence of acknowledged classical literary works that grapple with the theme of brutalised sense of community consciousness and manner in which communities contend with issues of lost sense of community, are instances of pre-Swampscott struggles of community psychology in South Africa.

For instance within amaXhosa community, the classical work of *A.C. Jordan ; Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* [literary translated, *The Anger of Ancestors*] is the tragedy of cultural conflict between the Mpondomise clan chief, a graduate of Fort Hare University, together with his wife, a qualified lady teacher, and the traditional indigenous cultural, religious and governance systems of his clan. The clan ends up being divided into the traditional and 'educated' camps. The chief is torn between western and traditional systems. His leadership as a chief is affected, and this leads to the tragic death of himself, his wife and their baby boy. All of them drown in a flooded Umzimvubu river.

Noma Nini by W.B. Vilakazi, is also one of IsiZulu literary classics that challenged and exposed the hollow, sham, pretending and ambivalent Christian religion affiliation of “native converts” referred to earlier in this chapter. Vilakazi exposed this doubt and conflict of Christian converted young blacks, Thomas and Nomkhosi, inside the mission at Groutville, where they stayed as Christian mission workers. As they were then Christians, different from and even better than the outside non-Christian [Amaqaba], it followed that they had to marry. The problem is that Nomkhosi did not love Thomas. Thomas resorted to non-Christian ways to gain the love of Nomkhosi – he visited an inyanga to prescribe a love charm. He was still unsuccessful. An unadulterated traditional young man u Nsikana impressed Nomkhosi by his traditional identity, his attire, concertina music and traditional courting. They married in a victory for a sense of community, cultural re-integration and rescue from what Biko [1978] referred to as :

“All too soon people were divided into two camps – the converted [amagqobhoka], and the pagan [amaqaba]. The difference in clothing between these two groups made what otherwise could have been merely religious difference actually become at times internecine warfare” [p 70].

Apart from the language symbolism of cultural conflict, social disintegration and struggle for social reparation in these literary works, there are also Jungian, universal, collective consciousness archetypes and symbolism. For instance flooded rivers are associated with anger or need for cleansing. The snake representing birth, life or healing may also in Judaic-Christian interpretation indicate destruction and deceit, and the concertina like a violin, may relate to sexuality and fertility, both of which are closely related to romance and eroticism of Orpheus and Cupid the goddesses of music and love. All of this is a language of community struggle for social stability and sustainability – a lan-

guage of community psychology that predates, and confirms the formalised community psychology of the post-Swampscott.

While South African black writers were mourning the negative effects of cultural imperialism, from a literary perspective, colonial super-power countries in Europe were, on the other hand, propagating and popularising racially condescending literary works about peoples of colour, particularly African people.

An article by Dixon [1978] critiques a number of children's stories written by European authors like Bertha Upton, Helen Bannerman and Enid Blyton. For example, the one of the golliwog, an ugly black doll that is not liked by most children in the nursery, is a subtle negative stereotyping of African people.

" Essentially a golliwog is a doll with crudely stylised racial characteristics which are African in type. He belongs to the patronising and condescending category of racism which includes coons and nigger minstrels. If we feel affection for him at all it such we might feel for a pet animal " [Dixon; 1978, p.293.].

The naughty golliwog is a direct contrast to Noddy or Barbie, beautiful little white dolls that are loved by all. Other stories like little Black Sambo, with his parents Mumbo [mother] and Jumbo [father] are equally condescending racial stereotypes that project people of colour as inferior.

" I think you are ugly, Sambo, she said. I don't like your black face. I don't mind golly's face being black because golly's always are – but, I don't like your face. Sambo was very sad. He couldn't help being black and all others said the same.

They didn't like him " [Dixon, 1978, p. 302].

Although Sambo had to run away, his story has nonetheless a happy ending. After becoming a servant to the pixie and undergoing the ritual purification by water, his skin became pink thus making him acceptable.

These stories of fictitious doll characters are expressed in symbolic community psychological language and text that demarcate the superior intelligent from the lesser intelligent beings. It could be argued that they also formed a basis for demeaning colonial community psychological language of boy, girls and even kaffir, for that matter, as a language of master-servant relationships. This social categorising language was reciprocated by corresponding behaviour patterns such as patronising, condescending, cowering or cringing, depending on the social category.

It was some of these children who had these stories as their evening bed-side reading, that were to be colonial administrators in overseas colonies, inclusive of South Africa. As Wilson [2001] states :

" Forms of scientific racism were widespread in Europe during the modern republic establishment in 1910, and were internalised by the white elite administering a neo-colonial racial hierarchy "[p. 191].

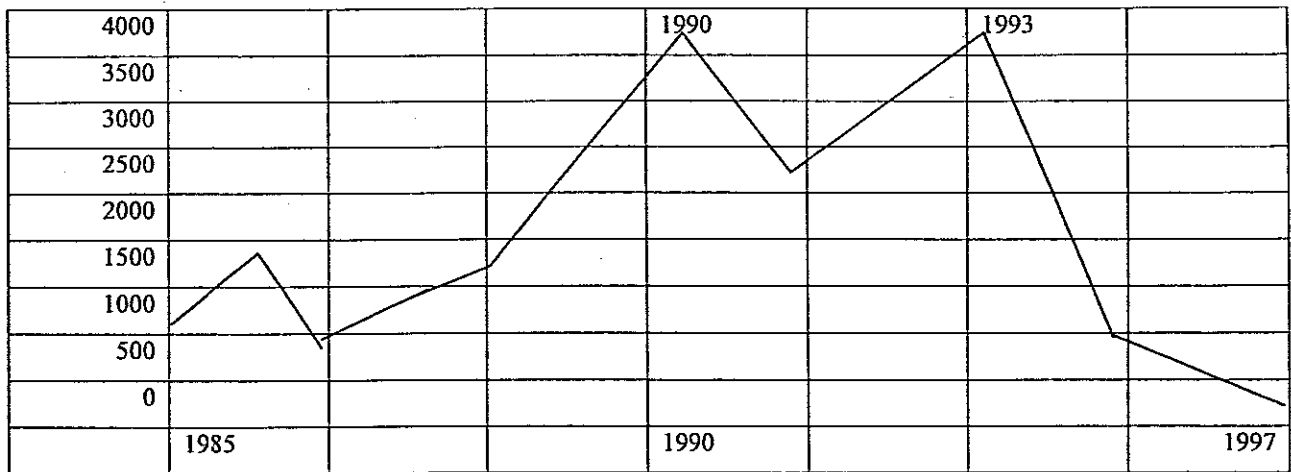
3.6 Community psychology language – pre and current democracy in South Africa

This study revolves around two major assertions, namely that a language, in addition to being an entity in its own right, is a language in social context that is both constituted in and reflective of a specific period in time characterised by given socio-political dynamics. Secondly, that a special reciprocal relationship of co-influencing exists between a language and social behaviour of individuals – that is either language potentiates and predisposes social behaviour or human social behaviour is constructed in, and through language.

The proposed reciprocal co-influencing connection between human language and human social behaviour has led to a concept of the “language of community psychology”, the argument being that language is essentially a human social or community speech behaviour and psychology is a study of human behaviour inclusive of this social totality in context. The combination logically leads to, or forms the proposed concept of a language of community psychology.

In this section, it is argued that the pre-democracy South Africa of the early 1980's to the mid-1990's was a unique historical period with unique community psychological language that potentiated and mediated unique community social behaviours. This was a period of negotiation for transition from a racially segregated and discriminatory political order to a new democratic dispensation. However, this transitional period was accompanied by an intensification of political conflict and violence in the whole country.

“ Evidence that the transition bred violence in South Africa is striking



Levels of violence surged the year talks began and peaked the year talks ended. In 1990 there were 1 000 fatalities on the 'Reef' around Johannesburg, and in 1991 the number doubled to 2 000 ... within a year, conflict became routine and swept whole communities" [Richard Wilson; (2001.) In De Brito, Gonzalés-Enriquez & Aguilar; EDS.; pp190 – 217]

The intensification of violence during this period manifested in diverse forms of [anti] social behaviour patterns such as attacks on commuter trains where victims were either shot point blank or thrown out of running trains, random drive-by shootings and sporadic civilian attacks in public places. Other acts of retribution were set in motion thus establishing a cycle of escalating community violence which situationist theorists describe as :

"Incremental steps, sequences and spirals which serve to promote compliance in violence including situations, a notion of 'ideological acceleration' in which the sequence consists of increasing violent contempt of outsiders" [Foster, D. (2000). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission an Understanding of Perpetrators. SA Journal of Psychology, 30(1) : 2 – 13].

These were unique [anti] social behaviour patterns that had never existed in this magnitude and frequency before and were thus, it is argued, peculiar to this specific period in time in the country. In a similar way, a unique social state of terror prevailed and translated into social trauma and anxiety uniquely peculiar to the pre-democratic period in South Africa.

This period-specific community and social behaviour patterns as well as emotional climate were co-experienced along with and through a unique community psychological language of the time. In the authors opinion, this is understandably so as it is argued that all psychological experiences are authenticated and concretised in language; it is language that acts as a vehicle of attitudes, similarly the reality of feelings is concretised by, in and through language.

The social, phenomenological tensions of grappling with, and making sense, of community / social reality evolved as community psychological language of the mid-1980's and 1990's. In his article, "Justice and legitimacy in South African transition", Wilson [2001] presents his argument eloquently by drawing from some community psychological terminology such as "black-on-black violence" and "Third-force" as apposite social reality language of the time. That this social reality language of the 80's and 90's was aptly communicative of and representative of that reality, is validated in the equally apposite version of IsiZulu namely "*isandla esinoboya*" and "*ophak' impi*".

Many more violence-context-specific community psychological language constructs were coined and gained ascendancy of usage in everyday talk. A survey of community psychological language across KwaZulu-Natal indicated that the following words, among others, had a high rating on a popularity

scale by the majority of respondents . Some of those words are *ayitheshi*, *utheleweni*, *gqirile*, *khimbila*, and *iqabane*.

Although it is not the intention of this study to undertake an exhaustive investigation of the evolution of some words / phrases as community psychological language constructs , a brief exposé of their social construction of reality in context will shed light on their impact in inducing and predisposing social behaviour – as this is the central argument of this study.

Describing the social behaviour patterns connected with the terminology construct of ‘third force’ and ‘black-on-black violence,’ Wilson [2001] maintains that :

“ the strategy of the third force became one of terror; it attacked people not for their political affiliation, but simply to create an atmosphere of fear and instability in the townships... the government accepted no responsibility for the wave of terror. It referred to the up-surge in killings as a result of primordial inter-ethnic black-on-black animosities” [p 196]

The third-force thesis argued that black-on-black community violent behaviour of the 80’s and 90’s was fomented and sponsored by the white state security forces in collusion with non-ANC political parties. The IsiZulu community psychological language version captures the whole complexity of the social intentions, as well as characterisation of the third force in just one phrase, namely “*isandla esi-noboya*” that is “a hairy hand”, literally translated.

The visual image of this idiomatic phrase is a picture of a number of black hands, in which there is one prominent and different hairy hand that appears to manipulate the entangled black hands. The entan-

gled black hands are further described as belonging to community leaders involved in black-on-black violence, that is “*Ophak’ impi*” meaning “those that dish out war.”

It was within this discourse of violence that community psychological language terminology constructs like “*ayitheshi*”, “*gqirile*”. “*ibhemile*” and many others became the daily language of communities. *Ayitheshi* and *gqirile*, for instance were a subtle survival and coping community language that leaned heavily on indigenous community psychological healing systems. These two community psychological language constructs, particularly, became very relevant within what was referred to earlier as an antagonistic trilogy of community social context.

It will be demonstrated that these community psychological language constructs were not just sudden autochthonous concepts that simply emerged sporadically. On the contrary, they were a continuation of the existing community discourse that was being extended, shaped and adapted to reflect the developing configurations of community socio-political dynamics.

“*Ayitheshi*” originated from the English word “*touch*”, meaning to reach out and make contact with something with one’s hands. The secondary, structurally extended “*thsha*” means to work – to do something with one’s hands. In South African black township, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, “*thsha*” has become synonymous with wage labour employment and “*ithesho*” a noun rendition means employment. Anybody that is employed is referred to as “*uyathsha*” and is considered effective, and can be relied upon. Generally therefore, anything that works and is effective for the intended purpose is considered as “*iyathsha*”. On the other hand that which is ineffective and does not

achieve its intended purpose is said to be "*ayitheshi*" – a negative description, or a state of ineffectiveness.

The concepts of "*ayitheshi*" and "*gqirile*" have already been alluded to in the section on discourse pragmatics theory above. Conceived from the angle of discourse pragmatics, the declarative force of language speech acts are said to effect change in state of affairs in natural or institutionalised phenomena. In the case of "*ayitheshi*", for instance, the ballistically lethal nature of a fire-arm is supposed to be rendered ineffective and harmless – hence "*ayitheshi*". The state of "*ayitheshi*" is acquired through "*ukugqira*", an indigenous medicinal fortification practice. Ukugqira originates from isiXhosa – that is "*igqira*" meaning a traditional healer.

The social behaviours invoked by these community language constructs have already been described in the section above. Perhaps the point that needs emphasis is the continuity and the connectedness of the new community psychological language constructs with the existing known community language. What is unique is the extension and re-alignment of the meaning within the new emerging socio-political configurations. Therefore, the reciprocal relationship of influence between community psychological language and community social behaviour becomes a dynamically evolving process-relationship between social meaning and social action.

In concluding this section, a brief review of community psychological language in the new democracy follows. Interestingly, this is the most recent discourse genre within the unfolding democratic landscape of South Africa. The current South African democratic community language is, on the whole, generally and characteristically sensitive and conciliatory in tone with tentative, cautious and hyphen-

ated diction, such as, rainbow nation, reconstruction and development, African renaissance etc. This is reminiscent of the immediate post-Swampscott community psychology of the pioneers referred to earlier on.

One of the first community language speech phrases, "The new South Africa", gained ascendancy as popular vocabulary even before, but quite close to the democratic elections of 1994. The positive discourse phrase of 'new South Africa' played a significant role as preparatory community psychological language of the country. It generated a new social consciousness and new collective mental set undergirded by positive social expectations despite the presence of some cynical and negative communities bent on derailing social transformation.

The social discourse of the new South Africa galvanised the country for something new and positive; it induced a social-psychological readiness for breaking with the negative past – a basis for the subsequent truth and reconciliation commission. A positive, social-psychological readiness and expectation within most communities, relative to a few violently oppositional community concentrates, became a basis for what the world referred to as a South African political miracle.

It is argued that, among other interventions, the preparatory positive new South African community discourse was instrumental for subsequent community re-construction initiatives. This is an argument for a reciprocal influence between positive discourse and positive attitude with ultimate positive community social behaviour.

The new South African discourse was followed by a unifying citizenry discourse of the 'rainbow nation'. The 'rainbow nation' discourse represented a social abrogation of the biologicistic foundations of the racism ideology that hitherto haunted and divided communities. A new social patriotism and sense of community was triggered together with a spirit of celebrating diversity in unity among different communities. At the peak of this social unity and national sense of community, the country made great achievement in the field of international sport, for instance, the country hosted and won the world rugby cup, followed by similar victory in the Africa Football games.

This did not, however, happen as a single uninterrupted positive social tide. There were still audible voices of dissent from minority communities, particularly some Afrikaans speaking communities that still called for the erstwhile divided society arrangements. An open debate of democratic constitutionality of human rights and self-determination of communities developed into a vibrant community psychological advocacy for different social view points. In the process, a post-democratic elections' community psychological language emerged and featured strongly as a medium and means of mediating the new social values and community social behaviour – hence community language constructs like reconstruction and development, truth and reconciliation, community development committees, with the latest being 'African renaissance', while pre-democratic community language like self-defence units, street committees, civic structures etc., were quickly fading out of everyday vocabulary.

While the print and electronic media tried to openly and objectively present the vibrant community psychological dynamics and social discourse of the country, the leadership of the country was also involved in community psychological symbolic advocacy for unity and reconciliation. The then state president, Nelson Mandela, involved himself in many nation-unifying symbolic community psycho-

logical advocacy actions. For instance, he was seen in national electronic media wearing a Number 9 [nine] jersey of the national rugby team – “amabhokobhoko”.

The national sport teams were a strong unifying force across communities, such that teams names emerged as spontaneous inclusive community language epithets of endearment. For instance, the national rugby team was dubbed “amabhokobhoko” – a term that retained traces of the former “Springbok” while simultaneously transforming and extending it into a multi-lingual epithet. In this name, there is a “bok” for the Anglo-Germanic language group; “ubhoko”, [i.e. a long supportive walking stick also used for self-defence] for the nguni languages. This community psychology language, it is asserted, contributed to a deeper sense of community, national identity and belonging across the South African nation.

Alongside, emerged other community psychological language terms like the Madiba jive, and Madiba magic. These terms were particularly related to the symbolically unifying position of the state president who, whenever possible, attended and participated in many community reform initiatives. [The state president was also popular for joining in the community songs which he embellished with his rhythmic dance].

3.7 Summary

The chapter argues that psychology has glibly taken the influence of community language on social behaviour for granted, and as such, there is not enough investigation of this area.

This chapter has discussed the central argument or proposition of this study, that is, the powerful influence of community language on social human behaviour generally, and specifically with reference to the South African pre and post democratic socio-political dispensation. The phenomenon of reciprocity of influence between community psychological language and community social behaviour has been viewed from distinct but related theoretical angles to underscore a common feature of reciprocal linkage between social behaviour and community psychological language.

Discourse analysis and discourse pragmatics theoretical perspective for instance, demonstrated the performative force of language; situationist approaches illustrated the emergence of certain mass social acts of violence under specific socio-cultural contexts of militarism and state bureaucracy. From a literary perspective and community political struggles it was inferred that community psychological concerns about social injustice, oppression are perhaps as old as humanity itself. The Swampscott conference formalised pre-existing community social concerns.

The South African pre and post democratic political dispensations are said to have had specific and different language terminology constructs related to distinct social behaviour patterns. It became clear that community language is a language of the time and context that pre-disposes community social behaviour.

Chapter Four

Research Design and Procedures

4.1 Introduction

Drawing from, among others, Duncan's [1996] research into public violence and the reproduction of racism in South Africa, this chapter compares cross-sections of two socio-historical periods within the wider South African community – with specific focus on KwaZulu-Natal. For the majority of people in South Africa, the years 1993 and 1999 respectively, constituted unique socio-historical community psychological experiences that were mediated by, and eventuated unique community psychological linguistic constructs, and community social behaviour patterns. This terminology was appropriated by, and was reflective of, different community groupings within the dialectical tensions of unfolding socio-political affiliations.

The essence of the interplay of all these variables constitute what this study refers to as a community psychological discourse that, among other, plays out in particular community psychological language that continuously shapes, regulates and mediates peculiar community social behaviour patterns. It is within this social psychological cybernetics that community psychological language, and community behaviour patterns are constructed and re-constructed in a reciprocal fashion.

4.2 Theoretical Research Background

The years 1993, and 1999 respectively are uniquely and favourably positioned to sample out the highly striking community social behaviour patterns with corresponding community psychological linguistic constructs of complex, specialised and expressive connotative and denotative meanings.

Referring to the year 1993 as a very important year, Duncan [1996] advances the following reasons :

Firstly, it was the last year of the Apartheid rule and legislated racism in South Africa. Secondly, it was a year characterised by intolerably high levels of public violence” [South Africa Journal of Psychology, Vol. 1 No.3, 1996 pp 172– 179]

He further refers to intensive public violence and attempts by the right-wing elements bent on subverting the then unfolding socio-political transformation process. In investigating the connection between community language and community social behaviours / patterns, some of the notions and findings by Duncan [1996]; Hartman and Husband [1974]; van Dijk [1990], and others are taken further. Duncan [1996] illustrated how media discourse on public violence in 1993 in South Africa in particular, aided the reproduction of the ideology of racism that favoured the dominating minority and misinterpreted the dominated majority. It is argued that the six identified dominant themes in the corpus of the analysed text, not only contribute to the ideology of racism, but are also instances of particular linguistic constructs that mediate specific community social behaviour patterns, commensurate with differential person positions adopted [pp 172 – 179]. This illustrates the powerful influence of language on human behaviour in a social context. This is the central argument of this study. It is further hypothesised that similar trends emerged again in 1999 as mirror images of 1993, in a different context with nonetheless similar underlying fundamental principles. While the two years share many commonalities, they also represent, on a global level, diametrically opposing mega socio-political community orientations.

On a similarity dimension, for instance, both eras chronologically adumbrate , and precede a known imminent socio-political / economic event of note. As Duncan [1996] states the year 1993, for instance, was the last year of the apartheid political dispensation, and a harbinger of a democratic dispensation. In terms of the overall community psychology orientation, this year was characterised by fear and mistrust, mainly among most white communities, while for black communities it was an era of great expectations. There was also an intensification of public violence, and increased community instability across the range of communities.

Similarly the year 1999 was characterised by a different kind of [un]known expectation of a major event that had the potential of affecting the socio-economic domain of community life. This was the “Millennium Anxiety” that soon became popularly known as “Y2K”. There was intense speculation about the cataclysmic crash of the whole economy; collapse of the computer technology managed economic infra-structure, i.e. electricity and water supply and failure of the banks’ electronic accounting systems.

While diverse communities were highly polarised in 1993, this time the year 1999 saw, at least, diverse communities “unite” in a common anxiety and fear at potential losses that might come with the new millennium . The general overall community psychological orientation was predominantly reconciliatory with a fairly noticeable trend of mutual tolerance that was future focussed. Diverse communities appeared to perceive a common “ Y2K threat ” that could potentially affect everyone in a similar manner, albeit with differential intensity. Common “Y2K threat ” seemed to have raised to social consciousness the “universal vulnerability of humanity”, thus significantly eroding the polarised and antagonistic violence by humanity against humanity.

Some of the anecdotal stories which, on a superficial level, seem trivial and only reflective of typical individual foibles, were actually very telling. From these little anecdotes, narratives of unique community social behaviour patterns that were commensurate with unique socio-political and socio-economic dynamics of the times become audible. It is, for instance, reported that towards the end of 1993, some communities in South Africa stock-piled canned food, non-decaying carbohydrate preparations and medical supplies in preparation for a disaster that would ensue the 1994 democratic elections. The material stock-piling of 1993 played out differently towards the end of 1999; there were stories of people who did lump-sum cash withdrawals from the banks, stored water in every conceivable container and filled up gas-cylinders, just in case of severe break-down because of the Y2K computer crash.

Over and above all these attitudinal and behaviour patterns that were contextually and reciprocally evolved and determined, it is hypothesised that there was an equally clear rise and fall of period specific community language, terminology and constructs that mediated major attitudinal and behaviour patterns. Although no linear cause / effect relationship is suggested, it is however maintained that community psychological language acted as a major mediator of community life experiences. Language became central in capturing and mapping-out community social experiences and community social reality.

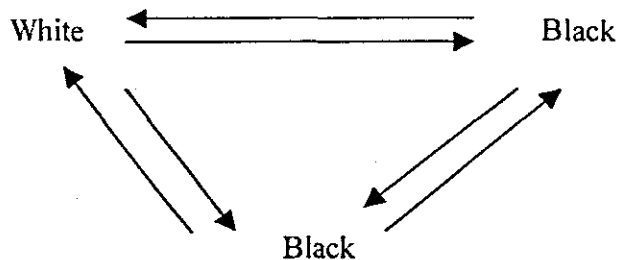
Therefore the rise and fall, decay and disuse of specific community language constructs and terminology was characterised by and reflective of given socio-political dynamics, space, time and posi-

tions. For instance, the 1993 politically volatile and violent era was characterised by correspondingly caustic and antagonistic language terminology constructs. Words and phrases like ;

“ Khimbila; third-force ; esandla esinoboya ; igeja ; war-lord ; toyi-toyi ; iqabane ; theleweni ; wit-wolwe ; ontamolukhuni, ”

were some of the new terminology that gained ascendancy in the day-to-day speech parlance.

These linguistic constructs reflect what this study refers to as an “antagonistic trilogy of community life ” in South Africa at that time. The dimensions of this antagonistic trilogy could be viewed as “White on Black” ; “Black on Black” and “Black on White”.



It is important to be aware that this antagonistic trilogy is not purely and exclusively along racial lines. But, the antagonistic trilogy represents complex and calculated power-struggle cross-alliances along party lines, as well as economic interests. However, media created public discourse often, if not always projected a simplistic and exclusive racial / ethnic polarity with corresponding galvanised party political affiliations [Duncan. 1996; Hartman and Husband 1974]. The complexity of the antagonistic trilogy is further demonstrated by the presence of communities that defy classification in any of the categories.

Linguistic constructs clearly reflected positions within the antagonistic trilogy. For example the terminology constructs of 'iqabane' and / or 'utheleweni' reflect the "Black on Black" dimension of the antagonistic trilogy, while the 'third force' or 'isandla esinoboya' are indicative of clandestine and indirect white on black antagonism that sponsored "Black on Black" polarity. The witwolve and *ontamolukhuni* terminology constructs represented an open white on black antagonism and *toyi-toyi* was a direct black resistance to white antagonism.

Language constructs like ; war-lord, *khimbila* and others, reflected a general state of high public violence and highly polarised community psychology life experiences. Schaffner and Kelly-Holmes [1996] describe how language-use in the context of a particular ideological discourse creates added meaning constructs to words. This socio-linguistic meaning shift within an ideological context of language use, referred to as ideologeme, denotes :

" A complex and hierarchical structured system of lexical units. Words are seen as embedded in ideologeme, resulting in socially and ideologically determined variants of word meanings [p4]"

In the case of the South African community psychological terminology, for instance the terms '*khimbila* and *igeja*' are some of the lexical units that are hierarchically structured within a socially and ideologically antagonistic context. At base level '*khimbila*' is derived from Kimberly – a mining town popularly known as "Big Hole" which was the first diamond mine. The word Kimberly is converted into an action word, *khimbila*, whose second hierarchical structure meaning is to "commit a mysterious political murder" where neither the victim or culprits are found. *Khimbila*, therefore

symbolises, at third hierarchical structure meaning, unresolved mysterious disappearance of a person, as if they fell into the “Big Hole” like in Kimberley.

The same can be said of ‘igeja’ – a hoe – which, at a primary hierarchical structure meaning is an efficient agricultural weeding tool. This tool is made up of a flattened sharp steel blade to which a long wooden handle is fitted, thus enabling the worker easy manipulation of the tool. Within the ideologically antagonistic and violent context of South Africa during the period in question, the AK47 Rifle was dubbed ‘igeja’ at a secondary hierarchical structural meaning. The subtlety of the meaning variants of the known figures of speech, like the simile and metaphor remain very apt, for instance, the wooden handle, the iron barrel and blade, of both the hoe and the AK47 rifle are metaphorically exchanged for the efficient weeding out of the unwanted enemy, the weeds.

‘Igeja’ as a working tool of the ordinary subsistence farming peasantry further symbolizes and identifies the political liberation struggle as the struggle of the ordinary oppressed people. As subsistence farming is a typical struggle for survival by peasantry, so is the political resistance a liberatory struggle for the oppressed. The opponents of the struggle are like weeds that have no place in the crop field of a peasant farmer. Political battles are justified weeding out of the enemy. In this context, community psychological terms like “*alubhadwa*, *khimbila* and *no-go-areas*” mediate meaningful community social behaviour within a created social reality of the time.

“Weeding out” of the enemy further implies, metaphorically, the then existing territorial demarcation of community social groupings and corresponding places of safe abode according to established “*alubhadwa*” or “*no-go-areas*”. As can well be appreciated, community psychological language

constructs such as “*alubhadwa*” or “*no-go-area*” clearly initiated specific and differentially appropriate community social behaviour patterns for various social groupings within a given socio-historical context of the early 90’s in South Africa, and particularly in KwaZulu-Natal.

All of these are instances of specific South African terminology within a community psychological language in South Africa. This chapter, not only investigates such community psychology language constructs, but also seeks to demonstrate that such community psychology constructs mediated, and exerted significant influence on the community social behaviour within a specific social ideological context at a given socio-historical period. Most of the hard terminology constructs gradually, however, fell into disuse and decay around the year 1999, as this period progressively adopted a general rapprochement and conciliatory orientation. The conciliatory language terminology constructs of the 1990’s among other, included terms such as ;

*“Amaqiniso noxolelwano ; Truth and Reconciliation ; Simunye; Transformation ;
Umxhaso ; Rainbow Nation ; Reconstruction ; African Renaissance ”*

There are two particular terms to which the large general community seemed to identify with more intimately, namely, Simunye and Rainbow Nation. Historically these two terms can be linked to Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was the Chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission . Many business ventures, particularly the small, and informal self-help schemes such as township Spaza Shops, Stokvels, and Burial Clubs etc. were dubbed “Simunye”. The established formal sector also exploited and identified with the prevailing language terminology constructs of the reconciliatory community attitude. The 1990’s saw calendars with pictures of a demographic cross-

section of the children of South Africa with a new flag painted on their faces. The re-structuring of the South African Broadcasting Co-operation, launched an integrated television channel known as "Simunye".

Annexure 1 is an example of conciliatory and patriotic sense of community message with entrepreneurial intentions. The colours of the New South Africa flag, and the flag itself suddenly featured strongly as clothing design ingredient. Hats, belts, and other assortments of memorabilia like key-rings for instance, carried a South African flag. However, it remains very difficult to establish whether the entire buying public consciously and deliberately sought after these items because of their community psychological significance and meaning, or whether it was merely the outcome of a strategic entrepreneurial and market impact.

It is nonetheless maintained that quite a fair proportion of the community bought because of social psychological awareness, pride and a growing sense of community. It was a similar consciousness of a new sense of common social identity among communities in the late 90's that provided a market climate and relevance for the social-psychologically meaningful products.

The community psychology semiotics of the new South Africa flag also demonstrate that the concept of community psychological language is not restricted to the verbal medium only, but is also inclusive of non-verbal symbolic language. The social psychological influence of adopted group symbols and costume as instruments of group social behaviour, cohesion and solidarity is well documented in sociology.

An interesting phenomenon was an almost total decay of the antagonistic language terminology constructs, especially terms like “*Theleweni*” and “*iqabane*”. A much more conciliatory term “comrade” seemed to be shared evenly by erstwhile polarised groups. Although “comrade” is etymologically, a direct translation of “*iqabane*”, English, as a language seems to dilute the animosity in the IsiZulu / IsiXhosa version of “*iqabane*”. Similarly, the terms “Rainbow Nation” and “RDP” in their English version sound more potent in fostering unity.

The neutrality, potency and innocence of the English language in the South African context then, is perhaps implied in the following study. An investigation of public violence media discourse by Duncan [1996] revealed differential constitution and representation of blacks and whites in the dominant ideological discourse in the white owned print media. For instance, descriptors from the lexical registers of criminality, anarchy and bestial brutality were often always allocated to blacks while their white counterparts earned descriptors projecting “*white neutrality and innocence*”. Such racial apportioning of social conduct through language descriptors ideologically racialised, stigmatised and stereotyped languages as well. Thus, English was presented as a language of “*white innocence and neutrality*” relative to isiXhosa and specifically isiZulu as typical languages of brutality and criminality. The following excerpts from the Star Newspaper subtly imply most of the above stated language stereotypes:

“The PAC has responded with its usual ambivalence to the wanton murder of innocent white civilians including school children [Editor, 1993, March 2; pp 3]”.

"Terrified whites have retreated to their fortified houses to escape the black violence surrounding them as political moves to end apartheid re-open old tribal conflicts among South Africa's black population [Robinson, 1993, February 23, pp 1]".

[Duncan, N. (1996) Discourse on public violence and reproduction of racism. SA Journal of Psychology. 26 (3) : pp 172-179].

Considering the above argument, perhaps that is why for instance *"Comrade, Rainbow Nation and R.D.P."* as community psychological language constructs became more acceptable because of an ideologically constructed *"neutrality and innocence aura"* of the English language. Even in other discourse social domains like sexuality and reproductive discourse, English, as a language in South Africa among blacks has this special neutrality and innocence which enables black South Africans to publicly engage in social verbal talk behaviour which otherwise is culturally difficult to engage literally – for instance biological reproductive constructs like sexual intercourse, erection, menstruation, sperm and others become easily accessible as a public social verbal behavioural act in the English language – i.e. the neutral language of the English language.

It is these specific meaning shifts, and contextualised connotation that are referred to as "linguistic constructs" in this study. As Ngungi [1986] aptly states ;

"Language is not a mere string of words. It has a suggestion of power well beyond the immediate and lexical meaning ... through images and symbols, [it] gives us a view of the world ... " [p.11]

The idea that language, over and above being an entity in its own right, is also a language of a specific type of community social behaviour within a given socio-political, and socio-economic context at a given point, is tested in this chapter. Through intensive interview of a purposive sample of two persons, it is expected that some of the postulates espoused here, and in the preceding chapters will be confirmed. For example, interviewees will be familiar with most of the vocabulary, idiom, phrases and language genre referred to above. It will be tested whether they can even cite anecdotes in this regard.

News articles, opinion articles, and editorial articles selected from the two dominant newspapers in KwaZulu-Natal will be analysed for presence, or otherwise, of any recurrent community psychological terms. It is hypothesised that the corpus of the texts for the years 1993 and 1999 will be characterised by a contrasting prevalence of a unique terminology [Duncan 1996]. These newspaper articles together with interview protocols should yield distinct community language terminology constructs with their lexical register themes. The two periods will also illustrate the rise and fall of specific linguistic constructs within the social context of changing times.

In this study discourse analysis is used as a major research tool to examine and analyse data. Most recent qualitative researchers not only show a growing interest in discourse analysis, but they also acknowledge its merits, particularly in pertinent social issues related to ideology. [Potter and Wetherell, 1987; van Dijk 1985, Silverman, 1997, Bryman and Burgess 1994, Burman and Parker 1993, Mills 1997, Duncan 1994].

Although this study uses discourse analysis as a research tool of choice because of its acknowledged merits, it should, however, be stated that discourse analysis, like any other research methodology

tool, has its share of weaknesses. But for the purposes of this study, the merits of discourse analysis far out weight its weaknesses. What then is discourse analysis?

4.3 Discourse analysis – a research tool

Pointing out some difficulties and complexities involved in attempts to define discourse analysis, van Dijk [1977] equates discourse analysis to other similar concepts that stand for complex social phenomena, for instance, language, communication, society and culture among other concepts. According to van Dijk [1997], it is, in fact the whole discipline that does justice to the definition of such complex concepts like discourse analysis in this case.

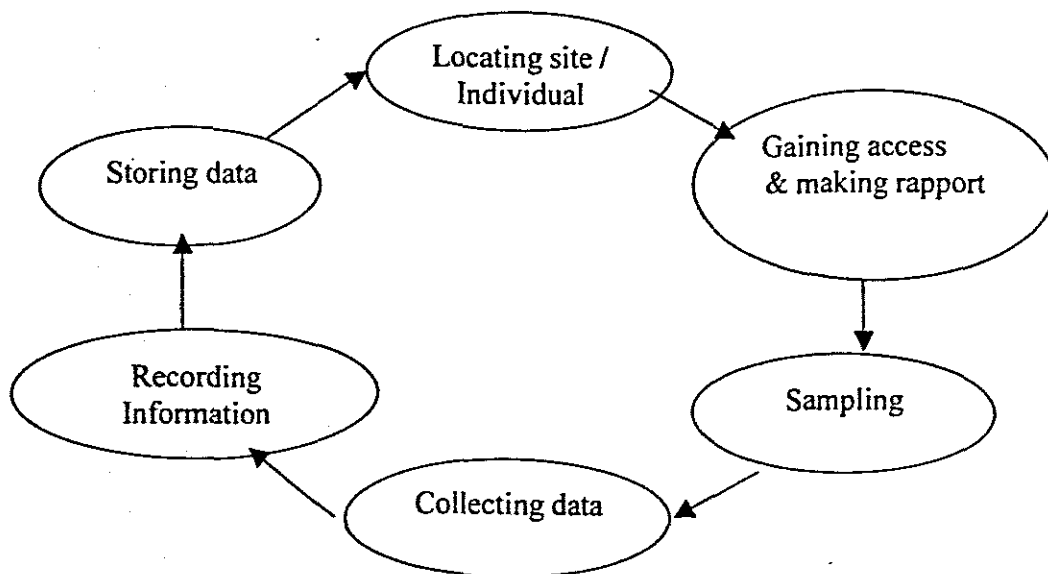
Accepting though that there is a need to begin somewhere with an understanding of discourse analysis as a concept, he initially summarises discourse analysis as involving studies about talk and text in context. This embodies language use as a functional interactive and communicative event.

Responding to a similar question of definition of discourse analysis, Potter [1997] also expresses almost similar impressions about the complexity of discourse analysis as a research tool or an analysis procedure. This complexity around discourse analysis is related to the fact that, by nature, discourse analysis has evolved from many different disciplinary homes, for instance, linguistics, cognitive psychology, socio-linguistics, and post-structuralism, to mention a few. [Potter, 1997 ; Mills, 1997; Burman & Parker 1993].

Despite the many varied disciplinary environments from which discourse analysis evolved, Potter [1997] is in agreement with van Dijk [1997] about the fundamental features of discourse analysis. namely that:

"Discourse analysis has an analytic commitment to studying discourse as text and talk in social practice". [pp 146].

These fundamentals of discourse analysis are shared by many other researchers in the field albeit in varying versions. These fundamentals of discourse analysis namely talk and text in context, van Dijk [1997] or text and talk in social practice, Potter [1997] will be related to the proposed three purposeful samples in this study, namely journal articles, newspaper articles and Interviewees (co-researchers or research participants). According to Creswell [1998], purposeful sampling is one of the stages of an important seven-stage data collection circle. Methodologically, data collection activities proceed according to the following interrelated circular stages, namely:



Purposeful sampling of site, individuals, source documents etc, is not a probability sampling from which statistical inferences can be made. On the contrary, purposeful sampling is sampling that enables a best study of the problem under examination [pp 110 & 111].

As purposeful samples, therefore, the journal articles and newspaper articles will provide a corpus of texts with two different but closely related institutional contexts of an academic and media discourse. Subjects' interview data will provide more spontaneous "*natural talk*" discourse protocols. Methodologically, it is however, important to point out that this research design is not a simple meshing of samples of discourse analysis aspects of either text, talk or context. Rather this is a complex dynamic analytical process that sensitively and holistically spans all investigating aspects including the impact of subjective constructions that the researcher himself brings to bear in the process.

For example, Potter [1997] points out some of the difficulties involved in working with interview talk. In some instances an interview may be too contrived, thus over-subjecting it to highly structured social research expectations. Under such research conditions, there are particular difficulties in extrapolating from such "*interview-talk-context*" to situations in other settings. This poses a problem of distinction between interview as "*natural*" or *artificial*" talk. According to Potter [1997] that is why most:

"Discourse analysts are increasingly turning away from interviews to focus on materials less affected by the formulations and assumptions of the researcher" [pp 150].

The above statement seems to be an attempt at diminishing researcher subjectivity. It is nonetheless important to note that qualitative research is however not so perturbed about researcher subjectivity, but rather acknowledges such researcher subjectivity as part and parcel of construction and reconstruction of research findings [Guba and Lincoln 1989]. The methodological issue is not a question of presence or absence of researcher subjectivity but rather how a methodologically sound balance is maintained between researcher bias / subjectivity and research analysis dependability.

Campbell, [1995], for instance in her research on social identity among township youth around Durban, suggests how an interview talk can be used in such a way that it retains significant "*natural occurring talk*" elements:

"Rather than constraining research findings by the use of pre-structured questionnaires or tasks, information was gathered through open-ended, semi-structured interviews and informants were encouraged to speak freely at length about their life experiences" [SA Journal of Psychology [1995] 25 [3]: pp 150-159].

The length of some of these interviews sometimes took up to two days with breaks for tea, meals or short walks. The significance or effects of time factor in ensuring "*natural*" or "*free*" talk status of an interview interaction has not been adequately documented. It would, however, appear that time duration, in addition to other interview micro-skills, is a significant variable of rapport, trust and therefore reliability / dependability of volunteered interview data. Related non-interview activities such as having tea together, meals, walks etc; further re-enforce trust and give added natural dimension to an interview talk and research relationship. Researcher "*genuine patience*" is another

important quality factor that goes hand in hand with time. It is like an interviewee spending “*quality time*” together with a researcher – in fact, qualitative researchers refer to interviewees as “*co-researchers*” or “*research participants*”.

In this study, discourse analysis as a research tool will be applied against the foregoing backdrop with a particular acknowledgment of the centrality and structuring effect of language. Language-use effect is aptly described by Burman and Parker [1993] as having immense power in shaping the way people behave and experience the world. Language contains and provides basic categories people use in understanding themselves; it enables them to act as persons with a given cultural identity in a given socio-historical context among other things.

The central objective of this research design and procedures is to evaluate the major postulate of this study, namely that language exerts a powerful influence that is both central and integral to community psychology and community social behaviour in a given socio-historical context. In this regard a distinct community psychology terminology is traceable within determinable socio-historical periods.

4.4 Résumé

An outline of the research design and procedures was undertaken in this chapter. The central postulate of this study revolves around community psychology language and community social behaviour. It is asserted that language, over and above being an entity in its own right, is also a language of specific type community social-behaviour within a given socio-political and socio-economic context at a given historical period – hence community psychology language.

Specific research design and procedures to evaluate a claim of distinct socio-historically relevant community psychological linguistic constructs forming a unique South African terminology are discussed.

Discourse analysis is a research tool of choice to evaluate data from three types of purposeful study samples, namely selected journal articles; news, opinion and editorial articles from popular newspapers in KwaZulu-Natal and interview protocols from two interview subjects.

It was hypothesised that specific community psychology language terminology constructs such as "*khimbila, igeja, simunye*" and others will feature in specific time bound discourses; also that such time bound discourses will be reflective of the rise and fall of terminology constructs according to the changing socio-political dynamics and thus community psychology life context in South Africa, and specifically in KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter Five

Presentation and Analysis of Data

5.1 Introduction

The foregoing chapters have discussed substantive content research material based mainly on literature study. As the discussion progressively developed certain hypothesis and assertions were made.

One of the central postulations of this study is an existence of a specific reciprocal influence relationship between a community language and social behaviour in a community. It was also asserted that there were discernable trends of community psychological language traceable to and within certain historical periods in South Africa. It was further claimed that a specific pre-democratic period in South Africa systematically and progressively became characterised by an adversarial and antagonistic language which gradually faded away during the democratic socio-political dispensation.

While the community language shift might be viewed as an obvious logical change corresponding with socio-political changes, this connection is not that simple and mechanical. There are deeper and more subtle processes of community social behaviour and community psychological language that are involved in changing communities. It is these underlying community psychology processes that form the area of investigation in this study.

In this chapter, empirical data is presented to answer the research questions arising from and related to the central postulates of this study. Some of the questions are :

- Has language any influence on the development of sense of community / and community social behaviour ?
- What is the nature of such influence ?
- Can such language influence be of any benefit to community psychology ?
- What causes the disuse of terminology constructs at a later date ?
- Are there any variables within the community which influence respondents responses and perception of the terminology constructs ?

Four data collection tools, namely survey questionnaire, newspaper articles, journal articles and interview data, were used to collect multiple-data-forms that are presented and analysed in this chapter.

5.2 Word survey questionnaire

In this questionnaire, respondents were expected to rate the popularity of 18 words on a 3 point scale of, 1 – most popular, 2 – averagely popular, 3 – ordinary. Respondents also had to answer three ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response questions on the current state of questionnaire words, and add similar words they knew. Tables 1 – 6 show data analysis.

Appendix II is a copy of the Word Survey Questionnaire.

A total number of 40 questionnaires were given out, 31 questionnaires were returned. This was a 78% response. Of the 31 questionnaires returned, 11 were incomplete. Respondents did not complete part 2 which requested additional information on the rated words as well as biographical data on age, gender and educational standard. The incomplete returns were not included in the data analysis. Therefore the data analysis was based on 20 complete responses.

Table 1 shows the breakdown of respondents according to gender where 65% are male respondents, and 35% are female respondents.

Total Respondents	Male respondents	Female respondents	Unspecified
31	13	7	11

Table 1. Response Breakdown

The majority of respondents fall within the 31 – 40 years age range. None of the respondents fell within the 15 – 20 year age range. Only 3 respondents i.e. one female and two males were between 21 – 30 age. No female was above 50 years of age.

Years	15 - 20	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	51 +
Female	0	1	5	0	0
Male	0	2	4	0	6
Total	0	3	9	0	6

Table 2. Age Breakdown of Respondents

All respondents had an education standard higher than primary school education. Three respondents had a secondary education and 8 had an academic matric qualification. The other 8 respondents had tertiary education qualifications that included university degrees, diplomas and senior degrees.

Standard	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	Matric	Tertiary
Female	0	0	1	4	2
Male	0	0	2	4	6
Total	0	0	3	8	8

Table 3. Educational Standard Breakdown

Tables 4 and 5 plot the word-rating on a three-point scale, namely – most popular, averagely popular and always was there. The 7 words we plotted along the Y axis, and in the same order in both Tables. For instance the first word on the Y-axis was *toyi-toyi*, which numerical number is 1, and the last word *uklova*, was the numerical number 7. The X-axis represented the cumulative rating of a word by the respondents. For instance, the total number of male respondents is 13, which meant that no word on Y can have a bar graph extending beyond 13. Therefore a sum of ratings across three points of a scale per word equals the total number of respondents.

Where the total number of ratings did not tally, like in the case of Khimbila in the female data analysis, there should be a reason for a missing response – in this case one female respondent reported that she did not know the meaning of the word '*khimbila*' and did not rate it. A similar statistical inaccuracy was present in Table 2, where age-breakdown statistics did not tally because of a short-fall of 2. In that case, one post-graduate female respondent did not fill in her age. It should, however be mentioned that the questionnaire made the provision of personal biographical data like age, gender and educational standard, to be voluntary. It was quite likely that the particular respondent was exercising the right of non-disclosure. The second case could be considered as a technical error where a male respondent entered his year of birth as 1993.

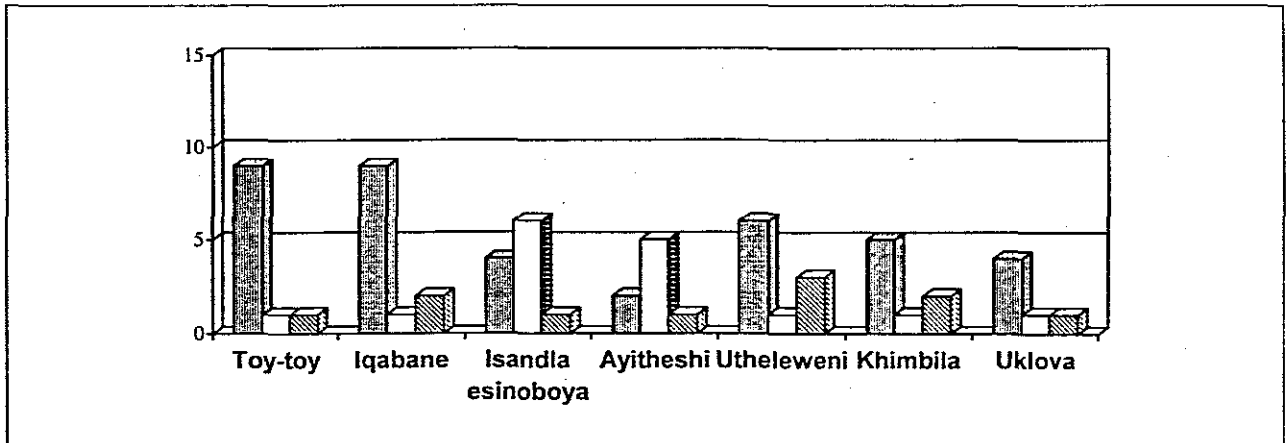


Table 4 : Female Word Rating Data Analysis

Key : Stripes - Most popular

Spots – Averagely popular

Weave – Ordinary

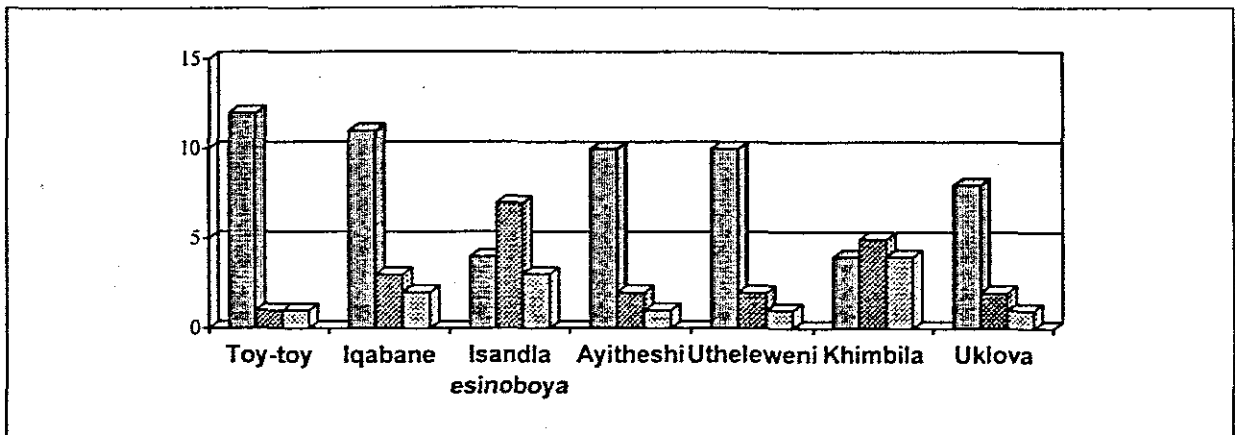


Table 5 : Male Word Rating Data Analysis

Key : Stripes - Most popular

Spots – Averagely popular

Weave – Ordinary

Responding to three, Yes or No, closed questions, nearly all respondents answered in the affirmative confirming that :

- They knew the meaning of all the words in the questionnaire.
- There was a time when these words were popular and formed part of everyday talk.
- Currently these words did not feature strongly in everyday talk.

The list of other time-bound words that were given by respondents as per questionnaire request were classified into five categories, according to the similarity and meaning of word items. The

5 categories were then rank ordered according to the total number of word items within a category, so that a category with the highest number of word items received the first rank order. The outcome was as follows :

Category	Word Items		Rank Order
Derogatory reference to ex-KwaZulu Government	15		1
Racial reference to whites as 'Third Force'	13		2
Technology	6		3
Health related – especially HIV / AIDS	5		4
South African 'struggle – political activity'	5		4

Table 6. Rank order of Word Item Categories *

5.3 Newspaper articles' analysis

The present analysis was based on the articles that appeared in the two major newspapers in Natal, namely, The Natal Witness and Ilanga Lase Natali. The articles selected for analysis were generated from the January 1994 and December 1999 publications.

It was hypothesised that a significant difference in text and tone between the 1994 and 1999 newspaper articles would be discernable – where the former would typically be characterised by antagonistic, divisive and acerbic language which would transform into a more tolerant and conciliatory tone in 1999. The two time-periods, that is, January 1994 and December 1999, were selected as watersheds for distinctly significant socio-political events in South Africa.

* Footnote : Only one female respondent did not know the meaning of 'Khimbila' – see appendix Ai for a full Questionnaire

January 1994 was within a time-frame of tumultuous build-up to the first democratic elections in South Africa with an immanent transformation of a long-standing political order and possible transfer of power. Within diverse communities, social discourse processes phenomenologically evolved community language[s] for constructing the expected new social reality. Such discursive community language not only speculatively constructed the expected new social reality, but also retrospectively re-constructed and re-evaluated the known and accepted current social reality and social positions.

The historical dialectical tensions of current social reality constructions and future social reality re-constructions formed a basis for different community experiences and behaviours among diverse South African communities. It is argued that, among other community communication media, newspapers would reflect community social experiences and behaviours in and as a peculiar social discursive language. It is this particular social discursive language that this study conceptually refers to as a "community psychology language".

The period, December 1999 was arbitrarily accorded significance in this study as a period marking half-a-decade of democratic transformation in South Africa. Politically the period marks the end of the first term of a democratic governance. As such, it is expected there would be a noticeable broad-based community social transformation. Therefore, community social discourse[s] and community psychology language[s] would be distinctly different relative to that of the 1994 period. December 1999 also had a special social significance as a build-up to the new millennium. Earlier, in this study, reference was made to some of the community social responses to the expectation of the new millennium – the Y2K anxiety.

5.3.1 January 1994 : Witness and Ilanga Articles' Analysis

The most dominant and striking discourse themes that emerged from the analysis of the copies of the text of published articles were consistent with the generally tense, fluid and volatile socio-political context of the mid-90's. Extracts from the news articles, editorials and opinion articles of these newspapers generated discernable social discourse themes. Although the generated discourse themes were not necessarily mutual, exclusive or entirely exhaustive, they were nonetheless distinctly substantive and distinguishable.

Theme [i] – Racially polarised communities

The South African political climate of the 90's presented a unique landscape of political strife that was predominantly demarcated along racial lines. It was not a political upheaval directed at an unacceptable hegemony irrespective of race. As such, the language of constructing such political discourse invariably became rigged with racialised text and idiom that often induced racialised reactive behaviours – that is, a community psychology of collective social consciousness of racism.

The following extracts illustrate the theme of racially polarised communities together with a community psychological linguistic collective social consciousness of racism and community social reactive behaviours among different communities.

*"Two Afrikaner Weerstandbeweeging members accused of beating to death
a farm labourer whose kaffir-dog mated their Rhodesian Ridgeback were*

acquitted of culpable homicide in Vereeniging Regional Court ...” [Natal Witness, January, 5, 1994 p 3].

The racial polarisation and concomitant community psychological collective social consciousness of racism was of such intensity that subjects generalised it to the level of animals. Even dogs, depending on ownership, were perceived as different animal reality. Conceptual distortion was used, in this case, to achieve the desired “racialised” construction of different animal reality through a confused comparison of zoological species [Rhodesian Ridgeback] with racial denigration of ownership [kaffir-dog].

The social behaviour of beating one’s own labourer to death for a distant instinctive behaviour of animals, if there was nothing else apart from the reason of animals, is an instance of the powerful influence of a community consciousness of racism with performative force of racial language as in “kaffir-dog”. It was not only the specific family involved in this racial killing that was subject to negative community psychological influence, the rest of the community including the justice system that acquitted the accused were social affiliates to a collective community psychological consciousness of racism.

There was nothing said about the psychological suffering of the family of the victim. On the other hand, the perpetrator was publicly protected by a minimum disclosure of their biographical details. They were only located “safely” within an extremist political movement that propagates racism.

Ilanga lase Natali also featured the same news with a headline focusing on mating dogs and the death of a black man.

"Abelungu ababili okuyendoda nomkayo abangamalungu e Afrikaner Weerstandbeweeging ebekuthuwa bashaya umuntu waze wafa ngoba njeinja yobo iphinge eye "Khafula" bahlawuliswe u R 2 200." [Ilanga lase Natali, 6 – 8 January 1994, p 3].

Over and above the illustration of the theme of racially polarised communities, these extracts also confirmed and amplified the theme of "Blacks as non or sub-human beings [Duncan, 1996]. Taken together, therefore, it meant that within racially polarised communities, blacks form the non or sub-human being end of this racial bi-polar tension. Duncan [1996] demonstrated that newspapers not only reported the news, but also deliberately produced a calculated differential treatment and projection of blacks and whites in order to maintain certain social positions and status quo.

"It cannot be denied that this differential treatment of black and white victims of public violence by journalists has a potential of conveying the message that blacks are less human or at least less important than whites. Indeed, this latent message is accumulated quite significantly by the fact that when whites are victims of public violence, photographs depicting them and/or their families often accompany articles dealing with their misfortune" [Duncan, N. Discourse on Public Violence and the re-production of Racism. South African Journal of Psychology, 26 [3], 1996. pp 172 – 182].

The two excerpts confirm the above description by Duncan [1996]. There were many other articles of racial polarisation that featured in both newspapers during the mid 90's. For example :

"In the December 13 attack on the Randfontein – Ventersburg road, a group of white armed men forced black occupants of two cars out of their vehicles before firing on them. Three people were killed." [Natal Witness, January 8, 1994].

This excerpt can also fit in the following theme of escalating political and public violence.

Theme [ii] Escalating political and public violence

The escalation of political and public violence intensified during the run-up to elections. Although violence was almost a national phenomenon in South Africa, there were, however, areas that experienced a high intensity and high frequency of violence, for instance KwaZulu-Natal, East Rand and West Rand in Johannesburg [Wilson 2001].

Black Townships were the major sites of violence which took the form of black-on-black violence, and state peace-keeping forces versus self-defence units. Individual, families and communities resident in black townships lived their daily lives in a community social environment of violence, and community social anxiety state.

There was a high death-rate as a result of political violence and every night vigil and funeral gathering provided yet another opportunity for revenge attacks. Political and public violence escalated and a community psychology of violence engulfed every member of the community directly or indirectly, either as a perpetrator, victim or passive participant of violence.

It is particularly during this period and social context that special community language found usage as a language of social coping ; language of making sense of the social reality ; and as language of social behaviour. The newspapers, as one of the community mouth-piece instruments, it is maintained, reflected that total community social climate and experiences. These excerpts confirm the escalating violence in “hot-spots”.

“Government may deploy soldiers in the place of controversial police Internal Stability Unit [ISU] in flash point East Rand townships. The decision is thought to be part of a deal struck during a four hour debate” [Natal Witness, 17 January, 1994 p.5].

Although the Internal Stability Unit of the South Africa Police, was intended as a peace keeping unit in the townships, they were notorious for the violent and high-handed manner in which they handled township residents. Their IsiZulu community language reference name is descriptive of their manner and attitude – that is “*ibutho likangitokothe*” or “*ohlomendlini*”, literally, the “dare touch me army” or “weapon brandishers”.

Commenting on the brutality of the state peace-keeping forces, Hayes [2000] states that :

“Often, peaceful protest marches or large-scale political gatherings were broken up by the use of extreme force : tear-gas ; rubber bullets ; live ammunition and truncheons” [The Struggle for Mental Health in South Africa : Psychologists, Apartheid and the story of OASSSA. Journal of Community and Applied Social

Psychology, 10 : 327 – 342 : 2000].

The Internal Stability Unit together with the self defence units added to the escalation of political and public violence in townships :

*“Kubikwa ukuthi i African National Congress [ANC] ivumile ukuthe abemibutho yokuzivikela [self-defence units] sebedlondlobele ngangokuthi abasak-huzeki futhi phakathi kwabo sekukhona nezinswelaboya. U Captain Craig Kotze uthi asedlondlobele ngongokuthi aselwa namphoyisa, alwa namalungu e Inkatha Freedom Party abuye alwe odwa” [Ilanga lase Natali, 6-8 January 1994, p1.] **

The above excerpt from Ilanga lase Natali not only substantiates a theme of escalating political and public violence, but is also a commentary on political intolerance which was the other prominent newspaper articles' discourse theme.

Theme [iii] Political intolerance

From the mid 80's to the mid 90's, South Africa almost plunged into a state of political and civil anarchy. Individual, family and community moral and value systems were dangerously shaken. A community psychological language that romanticised and rationalised what was otherwise the most inhumane behaviours became received as if it was normal language of normal everyday social experiences. For instance, it was not uncommon that individuals perceived as izimpimpi

* ANC admits that self-defence units are now out of control. They have criminal elements within, they fight the police, fight IFP members, and fight among themselves. [Abridged translation]

[traitor informers] were publicly frog-marched naked, a psychological punishment referred to as “modelling” – a painful parody of a pleasurable, and voluntary performance of a professional model – on a deck. The “necklace” was a very insensitive satire for a most inhuman, political intolerance motivated, killing.

While it is fully acknowledged that there was a legitimate liberation struggle to be fought and won, and that political militancy need to be adopted,

“However, it matters how this political militancy was, and still is expressed. It is contended here that it was expressed at the expense of a more humane view of militancy in the struggle” [Hayes, 2000].

The psychological sequelea on affected individuals, families and communities will remain unresolved for many years to come, and this poses a great challenge to community psychologists in South Africa, and particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, where ;

“Almost 2000 people were killed in political violence during 1993, the Human Rights Commission said.” [Natal Witness, 8 January 1994].

In Natal, political intolerance raged between two major political parties mainly, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the African National Congress. In both these parties the majority of followers were black – Africans to be specific. Political intolerance was, in effect, driving a political wedge between communities and families that, otherwise had a lot in common historically, culturally and even generationally [blood relation] for that matter.

It is within this deeper contextual understanding of political intolerance that the significance of the community psychological linguistic terminology like 'black-on-black violence' and 'no-go areas' have a deeper meaning. It was not unusual that blood-related families were alienated from one another by different political affiliation ; a member of a family left the family because of differing political sentiments in order to save both him / herself and the family from the wrath of political intolerance.

The psychological implications, medium and/or long term, on families and family members that were subjected to social fragmentation, and even mutual hatred because of pressures of political intolerance, is unknown. It is however, known that the political intolerance was intense and widely experienced.

*"Uma gifunda imibono yabafundi ngithola ukuthi iningi lobafundi likhala ngokufa kwamalungu e Inkatha Freedom Party. Kodwa abafundi abathanda iqiniso bazongivumula kuloku engizokusho. Mina ngokubona kwami abantu bafa nhlangothizonke" [Ilanga lase Natali, 12 – 15 January, 1994 p 3].**

The psychological and socially unbearable implications of black-on-black violence on families as a result of political violence were often blamed on ethnic differences between AmaXhosa, said to belong to the ANC and AmaZulu, said to belong to the IFP. This ethnic theory of black-on-black violence exploits the social psychological concept of social identity and a sociological concept of in-group and out-group. It overplays social difference as one of the variables theoretically known to be one of the bases of prejudice and irrational resentment.

* "Readers opinion indicated that most readers complain about the death of IFP members. However, honest readers will agree with my observation, namely that people are dying on both sides."

This social psychological variable was exploited by Apartheid supporters as a political ideology and that is, perhaps, the reason why black-on-black violence started and thrived so easily among South African blacks. Theoretically, it can be further claimed that it is because of the residual influence of Apartheid ideology of social and cultural differences that black South African's exhibit fairly high xenophobic attitudes towards African foreigners. This could however, not be the only reason for xenophobic behaviours. The above contention concerning ethnicity and political intolerance is expressed in the following excerpt :

*"Kuthiwa ngama Zulu-mbumbulu abehlasela amaXhosa-mbumbulu – ukuhlaselwa kwabantu abebeya emsebenzini nabebezihambela izindlela zabo ngom-Sombuluko ekuseni, kubikwa ukuthi kwenziwa ngamaZulu-umbumbulu ekwenza kuma Xhosa-mbumbulu" [Ilanga lase Natali, 20 – 22 January, 1994 p.2].**

While the analyses of the two newspapers revealed a preponderance of negative political community social discourse, it is however, important to mention that there were also a few cases of political optimism. For instance :

"Robin Mc Gregor who owns Mc Gregor Online states that he is confident of our economic future because the ANC has now shunned nationalisation. He says you can be assured that their economic policy will be a great deal better" [Witness, 14 January, 1994. p.6].

* "It is reported that the Monday morning attack of people going to work and on personal trips was conducted by "quasi" Zulu's on "quasi" Xhosa's – abridged literal translation."

5.3.2 December 1999, Witness and Ilanga articles

The community social discourse of December 1999 constituted a dramatic shift from the issues and social discourse themes of the past five years. On the whole, an overview of newspaper articles of the period generated the following broad social discourse themes, namely the theme of increasing crime and efforts to curb crime, the theme of HIV / AIDS and moral value issues and the theme of Y2K New Millennium.

Theme[i] Increasing Crime

Increasing crime became a major social problem that threatened to cripple and tarnish the new democracy. A new community psychological language of criminality evolved from within the legitimate community language of democratic transformation as a distorted accommodation of crime and criminal behaviours. Terminology constructs such as affirmative buying and affirmative driving, a distortion of legitimate transformative affirmative action, not only describe criminal acts of shoplifting and car hi-jacking, but also condoned, romanticised and legitimated criminal thought, language and behaviour as if it was part of normal social life. A butchery, for instance, which is a legitimate commercial outlet for meat-portions cut off from carcasses of slaughtered animals, is appropriated as a language of crime to describe a stripping site where stolen cars are dismantled into parts for illegal sale.

As a society that was just emerging from political violence, it was unfortunate that in most incidents of crime, there was a disproportionate use of force – armed robbery often entailed both a loss of property and loss of life. Another disquieting trend of crime was fraud and corruption among people in positions of trust and high responsibility. For instance ;

"A Northern KwaZulu-Natal principal and three of his colleagues were arrested last night for fraud relating to fake qualifications and claiming money for non-existent teachers" [Witness, 1 December, 1999, p 1].

Further analysis indicated that it was predominantly the public service employees that were involved in most cases of fraud, an insidious white collar crime that was getting organised into crime syndicates and networks as in the case where,

"A list of people, including senior policemen allegedly involved in taxi violence in Soshanguve, north of Pretoria, was submitted to Scorpions, the police unit for intensive investigation". [Witness, 13 December 1999, p1].

While it is one of the responsibility of the police to prevent crime, it is intriguing that police were among the leading criminals. For instance ;

*"Emadadeni, amaphoyisa amathathu ophiko lokuphenya ngobulala no-kukhwabanisa agwetshwe iminyaka eyishumini umuntu emunye ngamacala okubamba inkunzi kuhlonyiwe" [Ilanga, 2 – 4 December, 1999, p 2].**

The handing down of stiffer sentences by regional courts together with the establishment of a special intensive investigating police unit were efforts aimed at curbing increasing crime at the turn of the century.

* At Madadeni three policemen were sentenced to 10 years each for armed robbery.

Theme [ii] Threat of HIV / AIDS and social, moral values

During this period, there was deep ambivalence about HIV / AIDS as an incurable killer disease among almost all sectors of the population. Among medical research scientists there was an optimism of finding a cure in the not too distant future, despite very shaky scientific basis for such hope.

“Researchers believe that a different genetic make-up may be protecting 20 women, who ply their trade on the N3 highway in KwaZulu-Natal Midlands, from the virus”. [Witness, 8 December 1999, p 8].

Traditional healers were already claiming a cure for HIV / AIDS – a curative “ibhodlela” prescribed by traditional healers [izinyanga] became part and parcel of any social discourse on HIV / AIDS in nearly all communities.

Ibhodlela simply means a bottle used as a container of prescribed medicine [umuthi]. A 750ml bottle has become a standard volume of medicine dispensing by a traditional healer. On completion of the first ibhodlela, according to the professional standards of traditional healers, a patient should feel a difference in their illness. By the third prescription, there should be almost complete recovery. An added community language meaning of ibhodlela, therefore relates to medicinal efficacy indicator of a traditional healer’s prescription. Ibhodlela is therefore a medicinal talk about being cured and healing illness, that is, HIV / AIDS in this case.

Despite the citing of many healers with an effective HIV / AIDS bottle, the United Traditional Practitioners Organisation was not convinced about the HIV / AIDS cure, hence the following report ;

*"Isikhulu senhlaganano yabelaphi bendabuko, i United Traditional Practitioners Organisation sizigxekile lezinyanga ezizishaya izifuba zithi zelapha isifo sengculaza, sathi abantu kumele bazi ukuthi lesifo aselapheki". Ilanga, 13 -- 14 December 1999, p 3].**

Another controversy related to HIV / AIDS prevention education and the use of condoms which opened up moral and social values issues ; gender issues of power relations and issues of rape. The position of women who featured as a powerless party at the mercy of men who used the social relations of sex as a symbol of power over women became a debated issue among many communities. Community debate pointed out that some men even conceive rape as an expression of power and control over women.

"Viewpoints on rape by black men – We black men have been tarnished and relegated to a status next to that of animals ... driven by sexual lust, truthlessness and power, some of us have eliminated and distorted the basis of humanity" [Witness, 2 December, 1999, p 9].

Theme [iii] New Millennium , Y2K assurances

The turn of the 20th Century marked a world epoch of highest technological advancement. Information technology development reduced long distance and protracted mechanical telecommunications processing time into milliseconds reaction time. The whole world was reduced into

* An official of the United Traditional Practitioners Organisation criticised traditional healers who claim to cure HIV / AIDS . He stated, people must be told that HIV / AIDS is incurable.

one huge global village – with the technological globalisation of nearly all the world trade, industry and business.

Nearly all communities everywhere had some idea of the major events and news thus influencing to greater or smaller degree the thinking, values and aspirations of nearly every world citizen.

About two-and-a-half years before the end of the 20th Century, information technology experts raised concerns about possibilities of technology experiencing serious hic-cups in crossing over to the 21st Century. Among local communities, national and international communities, this sparked off what later became known as the ‘Y2K bug’ anxiety. The implications were that, there would be a crash of information systems technology that would in turn negatively affect and disrupt technology driven essential services.

Later, the year two thousand abbreviation of Y2K gradually gained an extended meaning as a community language of describing any state of being or not being up to date or functional – this was similar discourse to the ‘Ayitheshi’ discourse with the only difference being the situational context where the Y2K was operationalised in a non-physical-violence threatening context.

The fear of the Y2K induced failure of key systems on 31 December 1999 at midnight, was nonetheless there among the communities, families and individuals. The print and electronic media and the radio assured the public about the safety of millennium switch over, lest business could be negatively affected :

"Telecommunications should continue operating without a hitch during and after the century date. South Africans will also be able to get petrol and fly on 1 January 2000. No service interruptions are expected. [Witness 8 December, 1999 p 2].

Further statements of assurance were issued on behalf of local authorities as well ;

"KwaZulu-Natal rates as best prepared for Y2K bug. Local authorities in KwaZulu-Natal have collectively been rated as best prepared for any problems the dreaded Y2K bug may bring" [Witness 29 December, 1999 p 6].

From a community psychology perspective, the Y2K compliance requirements appeared to have received an unprecedented uniform support across nearly all communities, locally, nationally, and internationally. It appeared as if all communities co-operated for the achievement of a common solution for a commonly perceived threat to all. The big question was why the world community was failing to co-operate in finding solutions to other global sustainability threatening phenomena such as global warming, acid-rain, poverty and famine, and many others ? It could well be that any threat that is perceived as directly, immediately and subjectively linked to the lives of most community members elicits appropriate collective adaptive responses. Global warming, acid-rain, and poverty, for instance may be perceived as remote and isolated, thus elicit little co-operative responses. This is, however, a big and complex issue to which the present study only hazards an opinion.

Another interesting observation from Y2K as a social-historical experience, was a social psychological sense-making process through animalisation of the not yet fully known, predictable and understood phenomena by communities.

Among the western communities, a bug for instance, which is an insect with a flattened oval body that gives off a pungent smell and having mouth parts that can pierce, and such is usually made to represent the unwanted, least known and unpredictable phenomena. So that these communities speak of a Y2K bug ; stomach bug ; telephone bug etc.

AmaZulu communities in KwaZulu-Natal also tend to adopt animalisation as a social psychological account for the least known. With specific reference to Y2K the following responses were made :

*"Uvalo olukhulu kvabaningi ngolokuthi izimali zabo zizocwila emabhange ngoba kuthiwa kunesilwane esikhulu esaziwa ngele Y2K" [Ilanga, 13 – 14 December, 1999, p 3].**

The older members of the community also animalised the unknown and least understood time dimension of the new millennium :

*"Izalukazi namakhehla zitshela iLanga ukuthi azikaze zizwe nokuthi kusiwane sini loko okuthiwa yi new millennium" [Ilanga, 13 – 14 December, 1999, p 3].**

* Most people are anxious about their money sinking in the banks because of a huge animal called Y2K.

* Old men and old women state that they have never heard of this animal called new millennium.

5.3.3 Summary of newspaper analysis

An analysis of the newspapers of the two periods, that is January 1994 and December 1999, was summarised into two mega themes ; namely escalating social phenomena and national unity call. Tied together with these mega themes are corollary and underlying community ideological orientations of the time.

Mega theme	1994 Social Phenomena	1994 Ideological Orientation	1999 Social Phenomena	1999 Ideological Orientation
escalating social phenomena	political violence political intolerance community polarisation lawlessness	antagonistic militarism racialism power struggle	crime fraud corruption materialism	entitlement pay-back time now-or-never future scepticism
national unity call			Y2K Threat [short term] HIV / AIDS threat [long term]	non-racial sexist and social tolerance work together or perish together

5.4 Interview data analysis

Two co-researchers, a male and a female were interviewed separately. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes in duration, and were audio recorded. Interviews were semi-structured and a broad framework protocol was followed whilst allowing co-researchers maximum freedom of discussion.

5.4.1 Background of the Co-Researchers

The two co-researchers were purposefully sampled for their background, knowledge and involvement in communities. They were, in advance, briefed about the objective of the study and

requested to participate in a research interview. In compliance with confidentiality undertaking, the two co-researchers are referred to as Mrs May and Mr September respectively.

Mrs May is between 45 – 55 years of age and is a senior official in the Education Department in charge of Adult Basic Education and Early Childhood Development. She has wide experience as an educator and as a school principal. She is actively involved in community projects, especially church programmes.

Mr September is a retired Regional Manager of a big and very well established insurance company. He is between 55 – 65 years of age, and still leads a very active life as a sports person – plays tennis, and goes to the gym regularly. Professionally he works as a part-time consultant and financial advisor to community projects, small and medium entrepreneurs. He is a member of a number of community organisations, including school governing bodies, education council, HIV / AIDS prevention committees, and community development committees.

5.4.2 Interview Data – Mrs May

This co-researcher acknowledged the presence and usage of political language by political organisations. Each political organisation used negative words like *utheleweni*, for example, as a language of political provocation and humiliation. This language of political provocation started during times of conflict ‘as early as the 80’s during the times of the United Democratic Front [UDF] before there were even African National Congress members’.

According to the co-researcher *isandla esinoboya* described ‘a bad element infiltrating a system with a hidden agenda for negative purposes’. These were usually police agents ; the Special Branch [SB] who wanted to sell a different ideology and instigate conflict between organisations.

Because of the political language and violence, community relationships and behaviours changed dramatically. There was no longer a trusting relationship among members of different political organisations – they became enemies to one another. “even within blood relatives, families and even between husband and wife”. The co-researcher contended that there are still traces of this political antagonism though it is no longer openly used, as was the case during the peak of the violence. The co-researcher maintained that it would be very difficult for some people who were hit hard as victims of violence to forgive and forget. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has achieved a minimal healing of communities – “we need to work hard to help people”.

The co-researcher was sceptical of the concept of African Renaissance – referred to it as a language of the ‘affluent society’. She agreed with the existence of a conciliatory and positive language and cited management terms like – stake-holder, team-building and other constitutional-based co-operative management imperatives.

5.4.3 Interview Data – Mr September

Mr September described a community language as a “current colloquial use of language to reflect how a community views certain dynamics through their language structure”. It is a language of expressing how a community views aspects of life.

Toyitoyi, for instance, is the most popular word describing a group of people jumping up and down. It is an action word that calls for participation and involvement. It also causes people to exercise and maintain physical fitness. *Toyitoyi* is always associated with a political organisation that encouraged participation and involvement of its members in any political action through toy-toy exercise.

Toyitoyi is also a physicalisation of a message and strengthening of commitment to a goal or demand. Mr September stated that during times of conflict, a coffin could be carried to a cemetery through a *toyitoyi* march. This is also a symbolic message stating that, "we will fight until we get to the end". Some of these words like toy-toy, are still used, but most of them are now out of context. He accounted for the disuse of these words through 'leadership' that has stopped the politics of confrontation. Leadership acknowledged that "these words are the ones that created problems".

The co-researcher considered the concept of African Renaissance, and according to him, it is an extension and resuscitation of the Black Consciousness Movement that existed about 30 years ago. African Renaissance aims at re-establishing the human dignity and unity of the African people. The only thing that can get Africans to stand together and re-appropriate their power is through an establishment of a common unifying African universal language. Such an African community language would enable a person to communicate in Sudan, Nigeria, Tanzania and anywhere in Africa without resorting to a foreign language. He felt strongly that this was possible. "It can be done, through books, radio and other media. Swahili could be developed as a universal African language".

Mr September was very emphatic about the power of language in the unifying of fragmented communities; in developing or destroying economics. He cited a number of examples illustrating the power of language. For instance, America and Britain collaborate easily on many issues because of a cementing common language. Political tensions, ethnic and tribal wars in Africa are, to a greater extent are a result of absence of common language. He maintained that one of the reason for xenophobia is lack of communication in a common African language. He explained how "Fana ka lo", a mining community language, created the economies of the world.

5.5 Analysis of South Africa Journal of Psychology publications

A limited number of content analysis studies have been undertaken at different times, mainly to evaluate publication trends, research interests, developments and practical application outcomes. Seedat [in print] confirms that :

"Content analyses of psychology journals is not new. It dates back to attempts to clarify and define the scope of the discipline, or trace shifts of professional development"

Various studies have differed in depth of analysis, categorisation of content, and scope and range of contrast. Although South Africa has had a fairly long history of psychology, both as an academic and applied discipline, there has been relatively little introspective evaluation of research and academic relevance of the discipline. A review of articles that appeared in the South Africa Journal of Psychology was undertaken by van Staden and Visser in 1990. This review covered

mainly research themes according to psychology fields, i.e. clinical, counselling, developmental and statistical techniques, etc.

Terre Blanche and Seedat [in print] have also undertaken a comprehensive context analysis of psychological research and publication trends in South Africa . Their findings vividly demonstrate that psychology and psychological research in South Africa always operated within and, in fact, supported the exclusionary and discriminatory ideology of Apartheid.

State funded research institutions like the erstwhile National Institute for Personnel Research [NIPR] and Council for Scientific and Industrial Research [CSIR] not only resonated the Apartheid stereotypical beliefs of white superiority and black inferiority, but also 'scientifically' legitimated these racial stereotypes and prejudices.

One particular instance was a racial discourse of domination which was adopted by the NIPR in their reports and research write-ups involving subjects of African progeny. The racial terminology reference names of indigenous South Africans fluctuated and shifted according to the political and discriminatory legislation of the time – these range from African, native, non-white, Bantu and currently Black. The NIPR re-constructed and legitimated, 'scientifically' all social stereotypes that went with these racial reference names.

This study does not intend a reproduction of content analysis studies that have been successfully and comprehensively undertaken by researchers cited above. The intention is to underscore the silence of psychology on psychologically relevant and challenging issues in South Africa, during the critical socio-political period of the 80's and 90's.

Having exposed the silence of psychology during the time when communities desperately needed the intervention of psychology, this study will qualify this statement and demonstrate that there were exceptions to this general silence of psychology.

5.5.1 Analysis of the 1994 South Africa Journal of Psychology articles

A total of 34 articles were published in the 1994 issue of the South Africa Journal of Psychology [SAJP]. Most of the articles published in the 1994 were actually received and accepted by the editorial in the previous year, that is, 1993.

It is maintained here that of all these articles were conceived, researched and documented during the state of emergency, which was the peak of political and public tension and violence in South Africa. Psychology, as one of the key human sciences, perhaps needs to have registered its reaction to what was clearly a very stressful life context for many families, individuals and communities. At very gross level, the responsiveness of psychology could be inferred, among other things, from the academic debates, publications of the time, and direct or indirect involvement and intervention in communities affected by stressful conditions of living.

In line with the above logic, an analysis of the articles published in the 1994 SAJP was done. Articles were grouped into nine [9] broad research and theoretical fields according to their topics and abstract. Although there were 34 published, a total of 33 is reflected in the analysis table, because two articles in the category "Attitude and Racism" are treated as one – it is the same topic that is being discussed and responded to.

The following table shows the breakdown of the published articles according to broad research field categories.

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-cultural and value system	6	18%
Career Studies	5	15%
Statistical and measurement	7	21%
Medical psychology	6	18%
Personality disorders	1	3%
Hypothetico – empirical	3	9%
Attitude and racism	1	3%
Developmental	3	9%
Sundry	1	3%
	33	99%

Table 7 : Analysis of 1994 South Africa Journal of Psychology articles

A similar procedure was used in the analysis of the 1999 South Africa Journal of Psychology articles, as was followed with the 1994 articles. An additional research field category, namely Psychotherapy, was added as a result of articles generating the field :

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Socio-cultural and value system	2	8 %
Career studies	0	0 %
Statistical and measurement	5	20 %
Medical psychology	2	8 %
Personality disorders	4	16 %
Hypothetico – empirical	3	12 %
Attitude and racism	1	4 %
Developmental	1	4 %
Psychotherapy	2	8 %
Sundry	5	20 %

Table 8 : Analysis of 1999 South Africa Journal of Psychology articles

5.6 Conclusion

Multiple-source generated research data were presented and analysed in this Chapter. Research data were empirically gathered through a word survey questionnaire, analysis of news, editorial and opinion articles from the two newspapers in KwaZulu-Natal , namely The Natal Witness and Ilanga Lase Natali; analyses of the journal articles published in the South Africa Journal of Psychology and interviews with two co-researches.

Chapter Six

Discussion of Findings

6.1 Introduction

In chapter 5, empirical research data from multiple sources – a word survey questionnaire, newspaper and journal articles, and personal interviews were presented, analysed and described. A detailed discussion and interpretation of these research findings is undertaken in this chapter. On the strength of data analysis results, the central postulates of the study are either buttressed, modified or re-phrased.

6.2 Word survey questionnaire

The first lot of survey questionnaires was issued to a cross-section of respondents at Natal Spa, a holiday resort between Vryheid and Paulpietersburg in northern KwaZulu-Natal. Respondents included officials of the Education Department in the KwaZulu-Natal Province who were attending a conference at the Natal Spa, hotel management staff and catering staff.

The questionnaire was in IsiZulu language. The unsealed envelopes containing questionnaires were placed at the reception desk, after explanation and negotiation with the receptionist, questionnaires were issued to the guests, hotel management and catering staff proportionately. Completed questionnaires were to be put back into envelopes, sealed and returned to the reception desk. On the third and last day of the conference, the researcher collected the returned questionnaires.

The second lot of questionnaires was distributed at the Pietermaritzburg Region Education offices. The researcher personally approached the supervisors of different sections, and the questionnaires were issued for completion by willing respondents. The researcher also targeted building construction workers who were renovating the offices. Being known to most of the potential respondents, the researcher's request was quite positively received.

The respondents constituted a purposeful sample in terms of geographical distribution, educational qualification, gender and interest in the research. According to Creswell [1998],

"The purposeful sampling of individuals on site ... is not a probability sampling so that statistical references can be made ; rather, it is sampling so that one can best study the problem under examination [p 110]"

Drafting the questionnaire in IsiZulu language was also a purposeful sampling support decision to ensure inclusivity for a range of potential respondents. The language medium of the questionnaire as well as two sites also ensured what, Miles and Huberman [1994], refer to as a random purposeful sampling, that adds credibility to a sample especially when such sample should potentially be a large one.

6.2.1 Findings

The age range as well as the educational levels were significant factors that enhanced credibility of responses given by respondents. No respondent was younger than 20 years of age, thus ensuring that all were old enough to be aware of the socio-political climates and events during the last decade

or so of their lifetime. It is also assumed that they were capable of recalling and reconstructing their past experiences. The fact that all respondents had a reasonable to high educational standard, i.e. secondary to tertiary education may be considered as sufficient for all respondents to comprehend the meaning and requirements of the research questionnaire.

The graphical profiles of both males and females responses on the seven [7] words selected for statistical analyses were very similar : Responses on the language constructs numbers 1, 2, 6 and 7; that is *toyi-toyi*, *iqabane*, *utheleweni* and *uklova*, revealed a generally high rating. The first language construct, *toyi-toyi*, relates to a general state of socio-political instability characterised by group protest that often end in violent confrontations. By rating this construct as a highly frequent community language terminology and social behaviour pattern, respondents were confirming a prevalence of socio-political tensions with the corresponding *toyi-toyi* activity behaviours that often escalate into violent confrontations.

Toyi-toyi, according to discourse pragmatics, was described as an action word that is declarative and performative in that it induces people to act in particular ways as an accomplishment of the speech act. The connection between and influence of a language of community and community social behaviour was therefore empirically validated by the highly rated linguistic construct of *toyi-toyi*.

Iqabane, *utheleweni* and *uklova*, the second highly rated group of terminology constructs, are words that designate social group identity. They distinguish group affiliation, loyalty and sense of belonging ; they draw clear lines of demarcation between 'us' and 'them', and as such, are a source of in-group attachment, and out-group distantiation. In extreme cases, the in-group and out-group po-

larity degenerates into prejudice, and inter-group resentment that may be accompanied by insensitive actions towards members of the out-group.

Iqabane, for instance, is an ANC political party affiliate reference name, particularly the youth affiliate, while *utheleweni* and *uklova* are synonyms for the IFP affiliates. It must be stated that the political reference names for IFP political membership have been considered derogatory and therefore not acceptable relative to *iqabane* in the case of the ANC.

These two political parties are well known for their past high levels of social and political intolerance for each other. This political intolerance was acted out in sporadic and continuing episodes of violence that resulted in the death of many people and the destruction of property. In the majority of cases, groups that became victims of intolerance related violence would appeal to peace keeping organisations like the police often with no redress, they invariably resorted to *toyi-toyi* action to register their unhappiness about police indifference. Perhaps, it is one of the reasons why police, of the ex-KwaZulu Government, in particular were derogatorily referred to as a '*Zulu-popayi*'.

[*Popayi* is an IsiZulu version of a puppet].

Within a context of clearly demarcated social / political groupings that underscored social difference, out-group mistrust and resentment, community language constructs like "*khimbila*", "third-force" and "black-on-black violence" make sense. Word survey research findings confirm the existence of these community language constructs ; research findings further confirm the existence of desirable social perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and overt behaviour patterns connected to the community language discourse. An example of social behaviour in a context of in-out- group social

relations, was a restriction of free movement imposed along group affiliation lines – the “no-go-areas” [*alubhadwa*] community language construct mentioned earlier in this study.

Results of the word survey also provide an interesting comparison between male and female subject ratings of community language constructs selected for research. Generally female rating across all language items tended to be lower than the male ratings, except for group identity items. The lower female rating and higher male rating could reflect that men are affected more directly by prevailing community language constructs than women. This could perhaps be related to the fact that men were actually the front-line ‘soldiers’ in political battles. Therefore, concepts of “*ay-itheshi*” and “*gqirile*” were more relevant to males in a war context.

Most community psychology language constructs also became a secret code language for the in-group. The secret code language served to strengthen in-group cohesion. It also served as a security measure to keep information within in-group membership. Such community language became rather restricted to a special inner circle group which often excluded females. Perhaps the reason why female ratings of some words tended to be lower than the male ratings of the same words, could be related to the differential significance of words for female and male respondents where word significance is also related to inner circle secret language.

Otherwise, all community psychology language constructs emanate from, and are constituted of the everyday vocabulary and idiom that is imbued with extended esoteric meaning within a special community social context. For example, an everyday concept of ‘*ibhemile*’, a word related to tobacco smoking is imbued with extended esoteric meaning through a comparative focus on smoke

as a product of lighting a cigarette, and smoke after firing a gun, where the latter act is metaphorically disguised and concealed as an everyday 'acceptable' action of smoking. In its new extended meaning, the linguistic construct is used to report or communicate an accomplished shooting act, as a warning of imminent danger and to alert people.

Research has not only confirmed the existence of these community psychology linguistic constructs, but also validated the presence of related community social behaviour patterns.

The five categories generated from period-specific vocabulary volunteered by research respondents reveal an interesting rank order of discursive context themes of concern. The first and second rank order themes, namely ex-KwaZulu government and 'Third Force' constitute a context theme of contempt. The themes emphasised a strong social attitude of distancing the past social injustices, violence and discrimination from the present. This is in line with the positive community psychology language discourse of the 'New South Africa' described above.

The question though, is how were the 1994 provincial elections in Natal won by the Inkatha Freedom Party which, according to research findings, seem to be associated mainly with derogatory community psychology language constructs. This study will attempt no answers to this question, save to pose it as a challenge – not specifically for the KwaZulu-Natal 1994 elections, but generally to a typical community psychology social phenomenon of disjuncture or social in-congruency between what community say or espouse and what they actually do. For instance, until very recently, all communities in South Africa have openly condemned criminal violence and yet did not actively co-operate with police services to flush out criminals in their communities.

The third and fourth theme categories, i.e. technology and health related HIV / AIDS, represent tension free context themes. They are socio-politically 'neutral' themes, predominantly related to community development and sustainability issues. This is an important research confirmation indicating that community psychological language is not restricted to contexts of community social tensions and community disintegration, but also mediates constructive issues. Therefore constructive community social behaviours are also mediated by constructive community psychology language.

The current 'democratic' community psychological language of '*masakhane*' and '*tirisano*' are examples of constructive language that is intended to elicit socially co-operative, constructive and responsible community behaviour. *Masakhane* and *tirisano* are a correction of the pre-democracy community language injunctions of non-co-operation and non-governability through rent, services, and school boycotts together with industrial action and strikes.

It is noteworthy, that the contextual theme 'South African struggle political activity' share the same rank order as 'health related ; HIV / AIDS ' context theme in the research findings of this study. This could be interpreted as meaning that the pre-democratic community language of political tactics is no longer the only major and distinctly engaging community agenda above other social and health issues. Alternatively, such concerted community social activity like erstwhile South African political activity, should be directed at current challenging and threatening issues of health and HIV / AIDS. In fact, government leaders are already appealing to communities that the same resolve and commitment that they once displayed in the fight against social injustice in South Africa

be now directed at the fight against HIV / AIDS. [G.J. Zuma, Deputy State President address, 2001].

6.3 Findings of the newspaper articles' analysis

In order to enhance and appreciate the meaningfulness of the discussion of research findings on the newspaper articles in this study, it will be helpful to firstly situate the findings within the methodological research framework of the entire study. This study is predominantly qualitative in thrust and adopts a discursive phenomenological tradition that is eclectically combined with suitable and relevant data gathering and research techniques.

Analysis of newspapers articles is essentially, text analysis, a research technique applicable to any written information. Basing their discussion on Foucauldian discursive theory, Lindsay and Silverman, D. [1997], project and interpret text not as a neutral 'instrument' of representing reality. They view text as a subject of analysis in its own right. Therefore understanding the origins and textual frames of reference, sheds light on the version of reality such text represents.

Therefore, while acknowledging the substantive nature of research findings based on newspaper text analysis, discussion and interpretations of such findings should be undertaken with necessary caution and awareness of frames of reference and textuality of articles. In case of print media, which constitute some of the data sources of this study, it should be noted that selection, packaging and presentation of social reality may, in some instances, be influenced by commercial and profit motives, shareholder, ownership and editorial configurations, with special political, economic, and

social alliances and inclinations. It is within this theoretical and research methodology backdrop that the newspaper article analysis findings are discussed.

6.3.1 January 1994 findings

There was consensus between the two newspaper articles on the highly explosive political climate in the country, and particularly, in KwaZulu-Natal . Both newspapers reported escalating levels of political and public violence in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and the country as a whole.

There was no direct reference to or usage of the typical South African terminology of the community language of violence in most of the articles selected for research analysis. However, in both newspapers there was one incident of direct usage of a very sensitive racist descriptor, namely *kafir*. The racist language featured in an extreme incident of the murder of a black employee by his white employer.

The incident of racial murder substantiated a theme of racially polarised communities in South Africa. White – Black antipathy was of such intensity that racial killing occurred quite easily, and fairly regularly, during this period. It is however, disquieting to mention that master-servant racial killings still continue. As recently as November, 2001, a case of master-servant violence has been reported where a black-servant was tied to the back of the master's van, and dragged for quite a distance.

Master-servant violence is a culmination of social relations of domination and being-dominated that are mediated by a racially polarised community language of, *baas – kaffir* ; *nkosana* – boy, *mis-sus* – girl, white superior – black inferiority etc. This is what this study refers to as a language of community collective consciousness of racism . This community collective consciousness language is expressed and concretised as peculiar social behaviour which, in this extreme case, is master-servant murder.

It can not be doubted that antagonistic language is part of these [anti]social behaviours. Absence of antagonistic language in newspapers, a fact that could be related to editorial professionalism and ethics, does not necessarily mean absence of such language in communities out there.

The theme of political intolerance is very closely related to racially polarised communities. Although political intolerance did have a racial dimension, it was, however, broader than race – hence black-on-black violence, third-force, *iqabane*, *uklova* and no-go areas are the key vocabulary of political intolerance.

The social dynamics of both political intolerance and racial polarisation are essentially ambivalent social relations of ‘love-hate’. The in-group needs the out-group in order to appropriate in-group identity and establish an object of resentment, i.e. a different out-group. *Amaqabane* needed their counterparts, *oklova*, in order to fully ‘know’ themselves for what they are. In a similar way, the master needed a servant, a servant a boss; no-go areas could not become a reality without perceived outsiders. It becomes clear that the antagonistic community psychology language construct are subsumed in the discursive themes of the 1994 newspaper articles.

As a product of both racial polarisation and intolerance, the master – servant murder represents what the study terms primary violence where the perpetrator knows the victim personally, as in the case of the employer killing his employee and vice-versa. In secondary racial murder, as in Potchefstroom – Ventersdorp road shooting, Hluhluwe and Wild Coast tourist murders, the victims are not personally known to the perpetrator, except that they are racially identifiable.

Apart from primary and secondary racial violence, the 1994 newspaper articles' discursive themes generated what is here referred to as ideology related violence which was mediated by categorisation terminology such as communist terrorists; right-wingers; volksfront; futh' nyongo* etc.

Ideology related violence cut across race – for example, in one article, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu-Natal cautioned the country against communists that could use the New South Africa as a springboard to force their ideology. His concern was the number of South African Communist Party members with the African National Congress executive.

Finally newspaper themes generated another version of categorisation that went hand in glove with militarism. During the peak of political violence, categorisation and militarism established itself into 'private armies' like the self-defence units [SDU]; Internal Stability Unit [ISU]; vigilante groups; KwaZulu 'kits konstabel' police [*oblomu*]. As a reaction to the militarism in the township, youth organised themselves into youth organisations. Every township had a youth organisation.

* Futh' nyongo : literally means inflating a gall bladder – as in isiZulu custom, referring to an IFP member who is umZulu, in a negative sense.

Proliferation of weapons, and informal 'military training camps' generated a special military language and militant social behaviours. This study already referred to 'igeja' as one example of militarism and community psychology language. Another interesting military language was 'igabade' [a small sod] for a hand grenade. The comparison being earth-like colour of the grenade, both are handled and thrown in one hand, as well as their breaking up [exploding] on contact.

Staying on guard the whole night was known as 'camping' by the youth. Later the criminal set in and caused division and infighting among township groups. There was a further sub-categorisation and militarism between genuine 'comrades' and criminal comrades that became known as '*com-tsotsi*'.

In the light of the discussion of such findings, it is concluded that, although there was no direct reference to and usage of the community psychology language of violence in the 1994 newspaper articles, the discursive themes and related categories of violence generated by the corpus of the analysed articles, strongly subsume and imply the community language of adversarial violence, racism and intolerance as validated by the word survey questionnaire findings.

The fact that these words did not appear in print media could well be related to editorial professional and ethical practice, market risk factors and other reasons. These are frame of reference and contextual issues related to text and textuality factors mentioned in the introductory remarks of this chapter.

Finally, the centrality of a community psychological language in potentiating, predisposing and influencing related community social behaviour in a given context is amply validated in this analysis of the 1994 newspaper articles published in the two newspapers, English and isiZulu medium, in Natal.

6.3.2 December 1999 findings

The December 1999 newspaper articles described and reported many incidents of crime, fraud and corruption. Like the 1994 escalation of political and public violence, the levels of crime as reported in 1999 were reaching alarming proportions. While the economy was being threatened by escalating crime, on one hand, HIV / AIDS, on the other hand, was posing another real threat to the country, especially in KwaZulu-Natal where the HIV / AIDS infection rate was the highest.

The December 1999 newspaper reports revolve around discourse on general community feelings of insecurity and doubts about recently acquired democracy because of high crime rate; the fear, hopelessness and helplessness of communities in the face of rampant and ravaging HIV / AIDS, together with the New Millennium uncertainties.

A combination of all these social experiences made the late 90's a period of heightened insecurity, doubt and uncertainty about the future, among most communities in South Africa . South Africa which had just been dubbed a world political miracle, was a country gripped by general social despondency five years down the line.

The context of a general state of doubt and insecurity was accompanied by a corresponding shift in social values within individuals and communities. Materialism became one of the high community values – everybody aspired to material possessions of high value. It appeared as if sense of community equalled material possession.

A community language of crime aimed at advancing material possession, namely affirmative shopping, and affirmative driving concretised materialism and criminality. Even the criminal and justice system extended its legal discourse in order to capture new crime forms like ‘cash-in-transit heist,’ a legal community language evolved in the context of the late 90’s criminality.

While increase in drug-trafficking and related crimes was, in a sense, still related to materialism, it exposed another community value system of the 90’s, namely hedonism – a pleasure pursuit even at the cost of taking drugs. The euphoria of democracy which had opened up many facilities which many communities were debarred from in the past, probably created fertile ground for materialism, hedonism and criminality among communities.

Probably a good number of government employees that had served the previous order, and were now in the new government were still ambivalent and doubtful about security of the new order. As a result, some of the civil servants became involved in fraud – a ‘get rich quick and exit fast.’ Hence, school principals were arrested for fake qualifications and claiming salaries for non-existent educators – a criminal practice known as ‘ghost teachers’ in the civil service community language of crime. Other employees that had just joined the government service from ‘the struggle outside’ adopted a ‘pay-back time’ as justification for defrauding the state.

The two themes of HIV / AIDS threat and Y2K anxiety revealed patterns of community social dynamics under situations of social threat and social anxiety. Communities tended to respond with a language of denial or stigmatisation to socially threatening phenomena. Many newspaper articles reported either denial or stigmatisation of HIV / AIDS sufferers. Controversy around denied threatening reality like HIV / AIDS opened up healthy debate within communities around scientific and moral issues. The controversy around AIDS was of such a nature, that one AIDS sufferer who disclosed her HIV / AIDS status was stoned to death. Now that the reality of AIDS has been acknowledged and accepted, the late AIDS activist has been honoured and declared an HIV / AIDS activist heroine.

The community social dynamics of dealing with threatening, least known, social phenomena seem to move through stages each characterised by a specific and distinct language construct. In the first stage of denial, the language of stigmatisation is predominant. The second stage of confrontation and debating, a wide range of language of options is used and the last acceptance stage uses a more positive and conciliatory language. These stages are almost in line with cultural identity development theory of Ivey and Ivey [1997.]

Where the anxiety provoking phenomenon is not well known and of abstract conceptual nature, like the Y2K or New Millennium, communities tended to concretise that phenomenon and give it some form of face through animalisation. Animalisation appeared to be a language of coping with all unknown, conceptual and anxiety provoking situations.

A number of newspaper reports related to taxi violence. The community value system of materialism seemed to have found its way into the taxi industry where a ruthless dog-eat-dog competition intensified. As a result the South African taxi industry was subjected to tremendous pressure which led to outbreaks of violence and taxi-rank shootings. A number of newspaper articles reported the involvement of a member of South Africa Police Services in the taxi violence.

The taxi violence proved to be a very complex social phenomenon with many dimensions to it. This study has neither the capacity nor space to do justice to taxi violence. However, the taxi community language and taxi social context behaviour dynamics nonetheless remain a special interest of this study.

Taxi-rank shootings and highway shooting were carried out by *izinkabi*. *Izinkabi* simply mean oxen – as drought or work animals that plough mealie fields, pull wagons, in fact do any conceivable work for the benefit of their owner. Taxi owners are said to have employed mercenaries, that is, *izinkabi* to kill their route opponents. In the community language of taxi violence, hiring mercenaries is expressed as '*ukuthenga izinkabi*' – literary meaning 'buying oxen.'

The implication of this taxi language on the behaviour of the hired mercenary [*inkabi*] is quite clear. *Inkabi* is a well trained animal, it does not think, question or oppose, it only does the work allocated by the owner. The *inkabi*, mercenary is 'bought' to behave accordingly once shown the job.

In combating the taxi violence in KwaZulu-Natal , the Minister of Transport and his department embarked on learning and understanding the taxi community psychology language first. One of their strategies to stop taxi overloading, speeding and reckless driving was an adapted version of community language and taxi industry social dynamics. They mounted what they called 'Operation Mpimpa' campaign. Taxi's had 'Operation Mpimpa' posters pasted on, with phone numbers of the traffic department, for the public to report taxi crime.

One of the reasons for the success of Operation Mpimpa was the fact that it was couched in the community psychology language terminology which the public could relate to and find meaning. 'Operation' was reminiscent of the recent language of freedom fighters and the struggle. 'Mpimpa' was a positive and useful conversion of the past notorious traitor informer that was made to 'model naked.' Mpimpa was a de-stigmatisation of the giving of confidential and security information to the state by the public.

In conclusion, it is clear from the discussion of the findings from the December 1999 newspaper articles that community language of crime grew together with and in tandem with the increase in crime during the late 90's. Even the criminal and justice system evolved a legal language that had never been in the every day legal vocabulary, in order to articulate new crime patterns. The central hypothesis of this study, namely reciprocal relations of influence between community psychology language and community social behaviour patterns has been validated in the findings.

Other language-related community social dynamics , which perhaps still require further research validation, namely animalisation of unknown anxiety provoking social events as well as stigmatisa-

tion of unacceptable and threatening phenomenon have been raised by these findings. The animalisation of a sudden freak storm into a huge water snake '*inkanyamba*' for example, is well known among AmaZulu communities. Cardio-vascular related sudden deaths have also been and are still accounted for by an invisible malevolent bird kick, '*impundulu*' among both amaXhosa and AmaZulu communities in the southern parts of KwaZulu-Natal .

The issue of animalisation as a language of coping and how this coping language power can be harnessed for and into community education and development programmes, as in Operation *Mpimpa* needs further investigation.

6.4 Co-researcher interview data findings

The co-researcher interviews provided a very useful opportunity for the researcher to listen first-hand, probe and validate most of the research questions from independent persons. The interviews also opened up other avenues and vistas for the study.

Firstly both co-researchers confirmed the presence of distinct period relevant community language which was used predominantly in a context of political conflict. Co-researchers further emphasised the divisive nature of all community psychology language of the 80's and 90's. "It hyped up communities, it was very humiliating language, it destroyed trusting relationships within families, even between husband and wife."

Toyitoyi, *thelweni* and *isandla esinoboya* were used by co-researchers as examples of most commonly used vocabulary, that had specific implications for community social behaviour. There was a close correlation between the words spontaneously picked as most community used words by co-researchers, and the rating by respondents of the words in a survey questionnaire. The prevalence and impact of these words as a community psychology language of political strife, denigration and violence was therefore confirmed.

The new vistas opened by the interview findings related to issues of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission ; universal language and unity in Africa; language and xenophobia. Mrs May acknowledged the presence of conciliatory language together with the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the late 90's. She, however, felt that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had only partly achieved conciliation. "We are at different levels of conciliations – others lost their entire families, houses and belongings. It is difficult for these families to forget." She felt that there is a need to work very hard in communities in order to reach true conciliation. She saw the African Renaissance as the language of the 'affluent society'. "New initiatives must be down to earth and in the language of the ordinary person in the street."

Mr September considered the African Renaissance as not new – "It is an extension and resuscitation of the Black Consciousness movement." Mr September felt very strongly about the unifying power of language and language as a driving force behind economic development. "The power of the language institute."

He emphasised that lack of communication because of absence of a common language as a source of xenophobia, African ethnic and tribal wars. Africa needed a common continental language for unity and economic development. He proposed Swahili as a possible continental common language. Mr September did not subscribe to purist language thought – he demonstrated how ‘Fana ka lo’, a mining community language, created the economy of the country.

6.5 Findings from the 1994 and 1999 journal articles

Attempts to draw broad empirical conclusions from a limited data base, like a comparison of journal publication titles and their abstracts as is the case here, may be methodologically quite questionable.

While the above statement is acknowledged, it is however, necessary to indicate that a specific and circumscribed research question is being addressed by this data handling approach. That research question is to determine the contextual and situational relevance of research undertaken by psychology as a discipline at a time – that is the mid to late 90’s in South Africa.

It is contended that publication titles and publication abstracts are a fairly dependable indicator of research directions and relevance within a given social context.

Despite acceptance of the methodological soundness of title analysis for evaluating research relevance, conclusions may however, not be generaliseable to all psychologists in South Africa for the following reasons. It is not all psychologists in South Africa that publish in the Journal in question.

Secondly, there could be many unpublished research initiatives whose orientations could be dramatically different from the orientation represented in the mainstream psychology journal in the country.

However, as already implied, it is nonetheless acknowledged by this study, that the South African Journal of Psychology was an official journal for mainstream psychology in South Africa at the time.* To some extent, therefore, publications in the same journal at the time were quite representative of psychological thought in South Africa.

Findings are therefore discussed with the necessary balanced view about mainstream psychology in South Africa. For example, knowledge-making and psychology thought with mainstream psychology in South Africa at the time, was almost completely exclusive of contributions by Black Psychologists.

Analysis of published journal articles show a complete silence on prevailing social issues. It was as if psychologists suffered from social myopia. Research fields, like career studies, statistics and measurement, and medical psychology as representative of the so-called scientific neutrality and objectivity, received greatest research attention from the psychologists.

The socio-cultural and value system research field, which incidentally, provided one of the foundational justifications for the South Africa segregationist and discriminatory Apartheid policy, also received highest research publications in the 1994 issue.

* this Journal continues as one of the Journal of Psychology in South Africa today.

Issues of social living, like attitudes and racism which were more relevant for the time consistently received least research attention from psychologists. Clearly, therefore, psychological research in South Africa in the mid 90's was generally not in touch with social issues within communities. It is therefore understandable why community psychology language and community social behaviour did not feature as research publications of the time. [Incidentally it was for the very same reasons that the Swampscott careerists founded the community psychology movement in 1965.]

A comparison of the 1994 and 1999 research fields shows dramatic shifts. For instance, there was no publication under career studies field in 1999 whereas it was one of the highest affiliated fields in 1994. The reason for this shift are hard to find. As 1999 was one of the years falling within the trend of increasing unemployment in the country, logically more research should have been directed at this socio-economic problem.

There was also a dramatic increase in articles classified as Sundry in the 1999 issue. The Sundry category included publications that research rather unconventional issues in psychology, for instance, issues of well-being and meaning of life. There was also a spurt of publications around issues of relevance and future directions of psychology.

Such self-evaluative questions seem to point at Psychology at cross-roads in South Africa in the late 90's. Unfortunately, even this academic evaluation became a highly introjected introspection that remained exclusive and oblivious to the reality of social environmental issues.

On the whole, findings indicate that psychology of the time was quiet about pressing social issues of the 90's. Their research orientation was that of scientific neutrality and objectivity and was, as such, peripheral to social environmental issues. There was however, a very limited [3% - 4%], but persistent pursuit of issues of race, attitude and racism that were approximate to what was occurring in the real social environment.

The 'lone-voice' of John Duckitt within the mainstream psychology journal could have, perhaps found solace in an alternate journal, 'Psychology in Society' whose founder members, among others, was Graham Hayes. Hayes had a long history of working in communities and was one of the psychologists that courageously and publicly nailed his colours to the mast of alternative psychology in South Africa.

Subsequently, An Organisation of Appropriate Social Services in South Africa [OASSSA] was formed. The Organisation of Appropriate Social Services in South Africa was a national organisation with branches almost all over the country. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, it was therefore not all psychologists in South Africa who were silent on social issues in the 90's. The work of the Durban OASSSA branch in townships within the greater Durban, confirmed most of the community social tensions together with their concomitant community language of resistance.

It took the courage, conviction and commitment of members of AOSSSA to vindicate what was otherwise a "social myopia" and "academic hemi-plegia" within mainstream psychology in South Africa.

6.6 Conclusion

This section discussed findings from research data gathered by means of three research techniques namely word survey questionnaire, text analysis and interview.

Findings from almost all three research techniques confirmed the research / study questions. It became quite clear that community psychological language has a definite influence on the sense of community and community social behaviour. *Amaqabane* for instance perceived themselves as belonging to a wider community of progressive political organisation. And so was the case with other diverse groupings.

It also became clear that community psychological language can either fragment, polarise or unify communities. In other words, the nature of community psychology language influence varies according to situations and social positions taken. For example, while a state of community anxiety, fear and confusion was victory for the third-force, it was unbearable intimidation and social group fragmentation for the train commuter community.

Findings confirmed that most of the community psychology terminology constructs have gone into disuse because of the change in social climate. Some of the terminology constructs had to adjust to the change in community social climate by assuming connotations and significations that are in concert with the prevailing conciliatory climate. For instance, the terminology constructs of *toyi-toyi* and march have acquired new meaning as expressions of community revulsion to unacceptable social behaviour, like child and woman abuse. Research findings did not find any specific vari-

ables in the community that influence respondents responses and perceptions on the terminology constructs.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion : summary and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

In this last chapter, a concluding summary of the study is given. Some of the major findings of the study and their practical implications are tied together. Recommendations from study findings are advanced. Proposals are made about possible benefits derivable from the study, as well as possible contribution to the advancement of knowledge.

7.2 Structure of the study

Structurally the study focuses on three separate decades namely, the sixties, eighties and nineties. These three decades are not treated as chronologically continuous historical time-frames, but are rather sampled as cross-sections of specific socio-political contextual experiences of communities from a community psychological perspective. In other words, each decade is a snapshot of social-psychological community dynamics and experiences.

While the study makes no claim for a wide lens camera, and therefore comprehensive wide view photos, every effort has been made to focus sharply on specific unique scenarios of each decade.

The study postulates the centrality of language as a social catalyst for all socio-psychological community dynamics. It is proposed that community social dynamics and community social experiences, such as racial segregation / integration and political reconciliation for instance, are appropriated, shaped and expressed through, and in a community psychological language. In

other words there is a co-influence of co-construction between community psychological language and community social behaviour.

7.2.1 The mid-sixties and the founding of community psychology

The relationship between the general social-political milieu of the mid-sixties and the founding of community psychology is sketched. As a decade, the mid-sixties were characterised by an awakening of human rights and civil liberty thinking among ordinary people. This was particularly the case in America where human rights protest movements erupted all over the country.

Issues of freedom, equality and equitable distribution of public services were contested. Public discourse revolved around human rights, civil liberties, freedom and justice. Martin Luther King rose to public fame as a community leader and his philosophy of peaceful resistance gained wide acceptance. It was within this socio-political era that concerned clinical psychologists congregated at Swampscott to re-think their professional role and academic identity in light of the then current social reality. That was the birth of community psychology.

This study maintains that social formation, social groupings or community organisations are construed, founded and authenticated through and in community psychological language of the social group in question. It is the psychology, and the language of belonging that is conceptually introjected as a social identity by group members – that is a sense of social belonging with appropriate social behavioural congruence. Therefore, the pioneer community psychologists appropriated and concretised their new academic identity through evolving a community psychological language about their evolving professional role function. Some of the early community linguistic constructs which mediated their new professional conduct are discussed in this study.

The essence of this argument buttresses the central hypothesis of this study, namely the reciprocal relationship of influence between community psychological language and corollary community social behaviour.

7.2.2 Eighties : decade of heightened political consciousness in South Africa

From a context of American civil rights movements, the study turns its search light onto a South Africa context of heightened political consciousness and activism against the social evils of Apartheid in the country. The 1976 Soweto students rebellion and subsequent political struggle between apartheid government and Soweto citizens was a watershed year for political consciousness and activism that rolled out and gathered political momentum throughout the country in the 80's and 90's.

The eighties, in particular, were a decade of increasing civil organisations', non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, and general activity within many communities in the country. A new sense of community, laced with political militancy, emerged as a trend in the country. This was, however, not a united socio-political development and sensitisation – there were also developments of new social and political rivalries. A whole range of diverse social discourses reflective of turbulent community social relations of rivalry and affiliations prevailed in the country.

The diverse social discourse was expressed in varied community psychological idiom in different communities. Community psychology terminology such as people's organisations, the system, people's power and solidarity etc. became the language parlance of the decade. Other

community psychological linguistic constructs reflective of political instability as discussed in this study, confirm the powerful influence of community language on social behaviour.

Research findings from newspaper articles review, survey questionnaires and co-researcher interviews confirmed the social discursive language and social behaviour patterns of the time. It was, however, unexpected that mainstream psychology would not have shown keen academic curiosity and interest in critical social issues in the history of South Africa. There was, however, an active involvement and intervention in community social-psychological issues by alternative psychology organisation like OASSSA [Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa.]

7.2.3 The Nineties : a decade of social conciliation

Following the peaceful transformation of the political order through the historic democratic elections of 1994, it was expected that a positive conciliatory post-conflict social climate would set in. As a new post-conflict political order, South Africa had firstly to work through transitional tensions, conflicts and contradictions of balancing the disadvantages of the legacy of the past with the democratic aspirations of the future.

The country and its diverse communities were experiencing the social psychological dilemmas of transition, transformation and amalgamation. Community social perception of life vacillated between a state of social uncertainty at one time, and a state of social euphoria at another.

Research findings revealed an escalation of crime, fraud and corruption during the late 90's, and specifically in 1999, the focus research year of this study. Again, there was a discernable

community psychological language of criminality that evolved during, and in tandem with the period of social behaviour of criminality. The community psychological terminology of criminal thought and conduct such as 'affirmative shopping', and 'affirmative driving' were cited as examples in this study.

This study suggests an emergence of community psychological language as a cognitive sociolinguistic process of meaning extension and shifting where context plays a regulatory role. For instance, the terminology of 'affirmative shopping and driving' is constructed within a context of democratic ideals of equity through democratic affirmative action. In the extended and shifted meaning of the community psychological language of crime, car-hijacking and shop-lifting are referred to in euphemistic terms mentioned. A similar process of emerging from connectedness with every day language and acquiring new community psychological meaning through extension and shifting in context was effected in constructs like *igeja*, *khimbila* and others.

Apart from transitional uncertainty and crime, the late nineties also experienced a period of social malaise about the new millennium as an unknown and thus anxiety provoking phenomenon. A community psychological language of coping with the unknown developed through, for example, what this study referred to as animalisation. Empirical evidence of animalisation was suggested within the English language and isiZulu and isiXhosa speaking communities with reference to the 'Y2K bug, stomach bug, *inkanyamba* and *impundulu*'. Further empirical evidence supporting the concept of animalisation is, however, still needed.

7.3 Issues raised

Apart from the central hypothesis, this study has also raised other issues that may have theoretical and practical implications for further research and knowledge development.

For instance, while the issue of '*inkanyamba*', a water snake associated with devastating storms and '*impundulu*' a fearful bird associated with sudden death, has been dealt with descriptively in social anthropology, the community social psychological function of coping with the fearful and unpredictable through psychological process of displacement and minimising as expressed in 'animalisation' perhaps needs further theoretical inquiry within a more social context.

Such theoretical inquiry could perhaps lead to a better community psychological understanding and management of community dynamics and reactivity to natural and accidental disasters such as floods, wild fires, airline crashes etc.

If the theory of community psychological influence of language on community social behaviour is valid, the dialectical tensions of co-influence may therefore be a high leverage potential that could be tapped by community psychologists to unleash desired community change, transformation and reconstruction. This could be a great boon for applied community psychology.

Irrespective of whatever socio-political context that may prevail at any given place or time, the study implicitly raised the issue of minimum ethical standards of community psychological accountability for public speech and communication among leaders of the public, political, religious and other social groupings and affiliation. The aim of such community psychological ethical conduct among leaders would be to minimise possibilities for linguistically induced nega-

tive prejudicial behaviours and perceptions between and among communities as a result of the so-called 'hate-talk'. The diversities in South Africa, together with the recent past history, and present highly progressive constitutionality, poses a great challenge in balancing the controversy of freedom of expression and public accountability.

7.4 Recommendations

It is proposed that the reciprocity of co-construction and co-influence between community psychological language and community social behaviour constitute a high leverage entry point for any community intervention or support programmes. Because a community psychological language often assumes an antecedent position in this reciprocity of relationships, knowledge of a community psychology language and idiom provides a steady fulcrum for leveraging community support intervention.

It would therefore serve community psychologists well to be attuned to the community psychological language of the target community with whom they work. Community workers who understand the prevailing community social discourse, stand a greater chance of succeeding in their community programmes.

An example of a community programme that positively exploited this reciprocity as leverage, was a KwaZulu-Natal Road Safety Programme – “Operation *Mpimpa*.” The community psychological language constructs of ‘operation’ and ‘*mpimpa*’ became consciousness raising language to the taxi-driver and paying communities because they could relate to this terminology owing to recent past familiarity with the township ‘language of the struggle.’

The present study maintains that the psychological and sociological interface process between language and behaviour in a social context is a research area that has a great potential benefit for the theoretical and practical development of community psychology practice. It is hoped that this thesis will stimulate further academic debate and research.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Rainbow Nation



Ucwaningo Lwamagamagama siZulu

Isingeniso

Ngingumfundi Weziqu exiphakeme e-Nyunivesithi yakwaZulu – Ongoye. Ngicwaninga amagama athile ake aduma kakhulu kuleminyaka edlule. Sikholwa ukuthi lamagama aba ngundabamlonyeni yawo wonke umuntu ngoleyominyaka.

Sicela ukuthi uwakale ngokuduma. Lawo ayedume kakhulu athole unombolo 1, olandelayo unombolo 2, njalonjalo ngokushiyana kwawo. Njengokuthi – nje igama eladuma kakhulu libe unombolo 1, elilandelayo libe u 2, elalivele livamile nje libe unombolo 3, Ayedume ngokulinganayo athole inombolo efanayo.

Isikali sezinombolo samagama

1. Aduma kakhulu
2. Adume ngokuphakathi nendawo
3. Ayevele nje ejwayelikile

Nanka – ke Lamagama Akalwayo

Igama	Inombolo
1. Toyi – toyi	
2. Iqabane	
3. Ungilokothe	
4. Isandla esinoboya	
5. Umgubane omahedle	
6. Impimpi	
7. Ayitheshi	
8. Ugqirile	
9. Isigwagwagwa	
10. Utheleweni	
11. Impansula	
12. Khimbila	
13. Umsadafu	
14. Isistim	
15. Ishintshisi	
16. Ibhemile	
17. Uklova	
18. Ikhorn	

Imibuzwana :

Lemibuzwana uyiphendula ngokudweba isiphambano ku yebo noma ku qha, ngukubona kwakho.

Iningi lalamagama ngiyawazi

Yebo

Qha

Lamagama aduma kwiminyaka edlule

Yebo

Qha

Iningi lamagama akasasetsheniziswa khakulu manje

Yebo

Qha

Ngabe akhona yini amanye amagama owaziyo aqanjwa futhi aduma kakhulu kuleminyaka edlule ? Ngicela uwabhle lapha ngezansi.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Uma kuvumelana nawe ungasipha lemininingwane :

Iminyaka yokuzalwa [age]

Ubulili [gender]

Izinga lemfundo

Ngiyalubonga kakhulu usizo lwakho.

Nhlanhla Ngcobo

Word Survey Questionnaire

Introduction

I am a post-graduate student from the University of Zululand, and am researching the popularity of certain words during the recent past. I believe that the words were significant to most people during that time.

I request that you weigh the words according to their popularity.

The most popular to be rated 1

The next most popular to be rated 2

Words that were common language to be rated 3

[rate all words according to this scale]

The rating scores should be as follows :

1. Highly popular
2. Partially popular
3. Already known

Rate the following words :

Word	Rating
1. Toyi – toyi	
2. Iqabane	
3. Ungilokotho	
4. Isandla esinoboya	
5. Umgubane omahedle	
6. Impimpi	
7. Ayitheshi	
8. Ugqirile	
9. Isigwagwagwa	
10. Utheleweni	
11. Impansula	
12. Khimbila	
13. Umsadafu	
14. Isistim	
15. Ishintshisi	
16. Ibhemile	
17. Uklova	
18. Ikhom	

Questions :

Make a X in the appropriate box :

I know many of the words

Yes

No

These words became popular over the past 10 years

Yes

No

The majority of the words are not currently used

Yes

No

Do you know of any other words which were produced, and became popular during the last decade ? If so please write them in the space below.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

The following request is not compulsory:

Age :

Gender :

Qualification / standard passed :

Your co-operation is highly appreciated.

Nhlanhla Ngcobo

Glossary

AMABHOKOBHOKO

A currently more acceptable new name for the South African national rugby team. It is an adaptation of 'Springbok', the former team name that became negatively associated with apartheid.

ALUBHADWA

Political 'no-go' areas, that were demarcated according to political party territories, during the peak of political violence in South Africa.

AMAQINISO NOXOLELWANO

Truth and Reconciliation

AYITHESHI

A medicinal effect believed to render a firearm ineffective through ballistic failure.

GQIRILE

An acquired medicinal fortification against gun-shot vulnerability, believed to be obtainable from indigenous medicine persons.

IBHEMILE

A word imbued with special meaning to communicate a danger warning generally, but particularly potential shooting, or reporting a shooting which has already taken place.

IGEJA

A metaphorical name for an AK47 rifle.

IMPIMPI

A traitor, spy, or informer

IMPUNDULU

A fearful bird associated with 'witchcraft', and notorious for its lethal kicking of humans. Cardio-vascular related deaths and strokes are believed to be caused by a malevolent impundulu kick.

INKANYAMBA

A water-snake believed to cause a tornado during its flying trips from one water habitat to another – for contact with a mating partner.

ISANDLA ESINOBOYA

Refers to the involvement of, and fomentation of political violence in South Africa by some white people – like the so-called 'third force'.

IQABANE

IsiXhosa word for comrade, that is generally associated with members of the ANC, political party.

KHIMBILA

Mysterious, and unresolved political assassination of opponents, where the victim simply disappears – as if drowned in the ‘big hole’ in Kimberley.

OHLOMENDLINI

Internal Stability Unit of the South African police

OPHAK’ IMPI

War-lords

SIMUNYE

We are united, a spirit of unity.

TOYI – TOYI

A South African protest dance – chant, that particularly became popular during the pre-democratic political struggle.

THELEWENI

A derogatory name for an IFP member

UKLOVA

A derogatory name for an IFP member

UMXHASO

A generic word for any Reconstruction and Development Programme initiative, particularly sub-economic housing schemes.