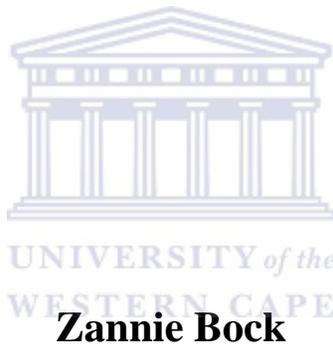


**A Discourse Analysis of Selected
Truth and Reconciliation
Commission Testimonies:
Appraisal and Genre**



**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
Philosophiae in the Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.**

November 2007

Supervisor: Professor Felix Banda

Key Words

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)

Human Rights Violations (HRV)

Discourse Analysis

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

testimony

narrative

genre

appraisal

transitivity

Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW)



Abstract

*A Discourse Analysis of Selected Truth and Reconciliation Commission Testimonies:
Appraisal and Genre*

S. E. (Zannie) Bock

PhD Thesis, Department of Linguistics, University of the Western Cape.

This thesis is a discourse analysis of five testimonies from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The aim of the analysis is to explore the ways in which the testifiers perform their identities, construe their experiences of life under apartheid, and position themselves and their audiences in relation to these experiences. The shaping role of context – both local and historical – is also considered.

The testimonies are drawn from the Human Rights Violation hearings and all are given by testifiers associated with the Bonteheuwel Military Wing: four activists and a family member of one of the activists. The analysis shows that even within a homogeneous group of testimonies there is enormous variability. This variability can be explained by the role of the testifiers (as activist or non-activist) as well as their differing narrative purposes. Each testimony is the product of a number of linguistic choices: from the choice of language as medium of communication to the subtle linguistic choices people make which construe their identities and index their stance.

The thesis is informed by a view of language as social process and draws on theories of Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) for its theoretical framework. From Discourse Analysis, theories which view social reality and identity as constructed are used, while from SFL, a number of theoretical tools for the close readings of texts are selected. In this respect, the SFL theories of genre, appraisal, transitivity and periodicity are used. With regard to the theory of appraisal, this thesis makes an original contribution to the theory by arguing that within multilingual contexts, code-switching functions as an appraisal resource. This thesis also offers a detailed description of the macro-generic structure of the TRC testimony, thereby adding to the pool of spoken data analysed from an SFL genre perspective.

The thesis also explores the social discourses testifiers draw on in their construal of their identities. It argues that while the activists share a collective social identity, they select differently from the discourses available for this construal, and infuse these with their own individual identities to create testimonies which are distinctive and unique even though they refer to common experiences. The testimony of the non-activist (family member) draws on a different set of discourses as might be expected, given the different perspective and narrative purpose of the testifier.

Understanding the subtle and significant ways in which different testifiers construe their experiences is important, this thesis argues, to understanding their “narrative truths”, or the way in which they have remembered and made sense of their experiences. It is part of the establishment of the TRC's mandate to establish “as complete a picture as possible” of suffering under and resistance to apartheid.

Date: November 2007

Declaration

I declare that *A Discourse Analysis of Selected Truth and Reconciliation Commission Testimonies: Appraisal and Genre* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Susanne. E. (Zannie) Bock

Signed: _____ Date: _____



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Secondly, I should like to thank my mother, Mary Bock, for encouraging me to explore this topic in the first place, for her academic help and guidance throughout my project, and for the use of her books, videotapes and her flat in Simonstown to which I retreated at regular intervals to find the peace and quiet I needed to write this thesis.

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Lastly, I am also very grateful for the financial support I received from the Clide Project (Culture, Language and Identity Project, funded by the Flemish Inter-University Council or VLIR) in the Faculty of Arts, University of the Western Cape, which funded a six month sabbatical as well as a research trip to the University of Ghent, Belgium, in 2007.

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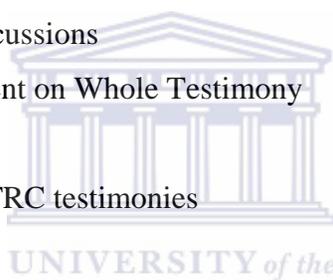
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

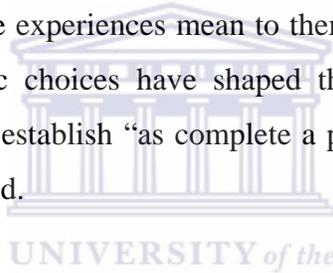
1.1 Introduction and Rationale

This research project arose out of my interest in testimonies given before the Human Rights Violations hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1996 and 1997 and the different ways in which testifiers spoke about their experiences of life under apartheid. What struck me were the multiplicity of voices and the diversity of ways in which different testifiers construed their experiences of human rights abuse, despite the homogenising influence of the TRC's meta-narratives of truth, reconciliation, healing, victimhood and suffering. The TRC took the decision to invite testifiers to testify in the language of their choice and to tell their story "in their own words". Thus, people who gave their testimonies at the public hearings could choose, to a large extent, how to present themselves and their experiences. Public records of these testimonies are themselves the result of a series of linguistic choices, both during the interpretation and the transcription processes. These testimonies, therefore, reflect a range of different and complex realisations of the experiences of the testifiers.

One could argue that language is at the heart of the TRC process. One could also argue that "language has a heart"¹ in that it reflects and encodes the speaker's emotions, attitudes, perspectives and values. Using analytical concepts drawn primarily from the fields of Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics (e.g. Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005), this thesis explores how a selection of testifiers at the TRC construe their experiences and reflect their values, attitudes and ideologies through their testimonies. In other words, it explores how they use language to make sense of their experiences and position themselves and their audience in relation to these events.

I shall argue that these different perspectives reflect what the TRC refers to as the different “narrative truths” of the testifiers. The *TRC Report Volume One* (1998: 112, hereafter, *TRC Report 1*) defines narrative truth as a personal or subjective truth which seeks “to capture the widest possible record of people’s perceptions, stories, myths and experiences” or, in the words of the TRC’s chairperson, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to give everyone “a chance to say his or her truth as he or she sees it” (1998: 112).

Understanding the subtle and significant ways in which different testifiers construe their narrative truths is important, I would argue, to understanding and acknowledging their experiences in the fullest sense. Without a close reading of these testimonies, we would be unable to grasp the complex meanings which the narrators give these events and be unable to appreciate what these experiences mean to them. We would also be failing to recognise how these linguistic choices have shaped the public record and therefore affected the TRC’s mission to establish “as complete a picture as possible” of suffering under and resistance to apartheid.



In the rest of this chapter, the TRC and its broad aims are briefly introduced (Section 1.2). (A fuller discussion of the TRC context and how this shaped the testimonies follows in Chapter Two.) This introduction is followed by a brief review of discourse analytical research on TRC testimonial patterns, as a way of situating this research project (Section 1.3). Then the main research problem, approach and objectives of this project are outlined (Section 1.4). Lastly, an overview of the rest of the thesis is offered (Section 1.5).

1.2 Brief introduction to the TRC and its aims

The TRC emerged from the Kempton Park negotiations between the former apartheid government and the African National Congress, in 1993 and 1994, as part of the negotiated transition to democracy in South Africa. It was conceived of as a means to address South Africa’s violent and repressive past and as a way of promoting national

unity and reconciliation. It was founded on the belief that in order to build national unity and reconciliation, it should establish as truthful a record as possible of the “nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights” committed under apartheid between 1 March 1960 and 10 May 1994, the period covered by the TRC mandate (*Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, 1995*). At the same time, it was hoped that the work of the TRC would enable victims of human rights abuse in South Africa to “become more visible and more valuable citizens through the public recognition and official acknowledgement of their experiences” and that “those responsible for violations of human rights could also be held responsible for their actions” (*TRC Report I 1998: 110*).

In carrying out its mandate, the TRC undertook a range of activities including: the holding of a number of public hearings at which both victims and perpetrators had the chance to tell their stories; the issuing of amnesty to perpetrators of human rights in return for a full disclosure of their actions; and the designing of a reparations package and process for victims of human rights violations. The testimonies for this research project are drawn from the hearings which focussed on victims, namely the Human Rights Violations (HRV) hearings.

As noted in Section 1.1, language is at the “heart” of the TRC process. Testifiers could choose the language of testimony. A simultaneous interpretation service was provided and the testimonies were simultaneously interpreted into two or three languages, including English. The English versions of the testimonies were transcribed and published on the TRC website as an official record. These records are shaped, therefore, by a number of choices made by the testifiers, interpreters and transcribers in turn. Close analysis of these texts enables us to consider some of those linguistic choices and the ways in which they have shaped meanings and constructed realities. In the following chapter (Section 2.5), I review research undertaken by myself in collaboration with colleagues and students at the University of the Western Cape in which we explore some of these choices and processes in more detail.

While testifiers were given considerable freedom with respect to the medium of testimony and self-presentation, the TRC context simultaneously exerted a number of constraints which shaped the testimonies in particular ways. For example, the explicit aim of the TRC was to foster national reconciliation and unity, and this meta-narrative influenced, to an extent, the contributions of testifiers and commissioners (Blommaert *et al.* 2006, Verdoolaege 2002). In addition, testifiers were positioned in terms of the TRC terminology as either “victims” or “perpetrators”, which also influenced the way in which they presented themselves and how audiences received their stories (Fullard and Rousseau 2003). Thirdly, the formal nature of the hearings with a strong media presence had a further impact. These and a number of other aspects of context are considered in more detail in Chapter Two.

1.3 Research on TRC testimonial patterns

In the section which follows, research on TRC testimonial patterns is considered, as a way of situating this research project. The TRC process and the testimonies it produced are the subject of much research in many fields, including psychology (e.g. Gobodo-Madikizela 2001), sociology (e.g. Motsemme 2004), history (e.g. Fullard and Rousseau 2003) and anthropology (e.g. Ross 2003).

Within the field of linguistics, work on testimonies has been conducted from a number of different perspectives. Blommaert (2005: 72), for example, analyses a single testimony using his approach to Discourse Analysis which takes difference and inequality as its starting point. He argues that certain discourses (such as the 1980s discourses of political activism) may lose “value, meaning and function” when they travel across contexts (to, for example, a TRC hearing in the 1990s) thereby causing the speaker to lose “voice” or the capacity to make themselves understood in the way they wish to be understood. I offer a critique of Blommaert’s analysis in Chapter Five.

Work on the genre of the testimonies, the role of gesture and the dialogic and co-constructed nature of the narrative has been undertaken by Mary Bock and Kay

McCormick (see, for example, Bock, M., 2003, 2006; Bock, M. *et al.* 2000; McCormick *et al.* 2006). Bock, M. *et al.* (2000) use Labov's six-part narrative framework to analyse the structure of testimonies and reveal how layers of narration are formed, with smaller narratives embedded within larger ones². They also demonstrate how the final shape of a testimony is framed and shaped by the questions of the commissioners at that hearing (see also Verdoolaege 2005).

One of the ways in which this research project differs from Bock and McCormick's work is that it uses Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as the main analytical framework. Although one of Bock's papers (2003) uses SFL's theory of transitivity as an analytical tool, she and McCormick predominantly draw on, amongst others, Labov's theories of personal narratives, Bakhtin's notion of dialogicality and Schegloff's interactional approach – not SFL – for their theoretical frameworks.

Linguists who have used SFL to analyse TRC texts include well known SFL theorist, Jim Martin, and Nicole Geslin. Martin has co-authored a book (Martin and Rose 2003) which presents an SFL approach to discourse analysis. The illustrative texts in this book are predominantly drawn from TRC sources (although not TRC testimonies) and demonstrate how to adopt an SFL approach to discourse analysis.

Geslin (2001), in an article published in *SALALS*, uses SFL appraisal theory to analyse a number of documents (newspaper reports, extracts from testimonies, amnesty decisions) relating to what became known as the St James Church massacre in Cape Town in July 1993. She traces the threads of interpersonal meanings in the different documents and shows how the pressure of different ideological milieus in 1993, 1997 and 1998 help construct and naturalise certain kinds of meanings. She argues that the early texts on the eve of the first democratic elections in 1994 value a shared commitment to the new order of democracy, but notes that while the later texts are framed by the virtues of the search for truth, forgiveness and reconciliation, they also reflect a deep ambivalence and unease around the granting of amnesty to perpetrators.

Beyond the field of Linguistics, Fiona Ross's (2003) book, *Bearing Witness*, offers an insightful analysis into women's testimonies, both those given to the TRC and those arising out of her fieldwork among women activists in Zwelethemba, Worcester, between 1996 and 1999. Working from an anthropological and ethnographic perspective, she seeks to present the testimonies as complex and multi-layered texts which are embedded within particular social, cultural and historical contexts.

Her research details the kinds of narrative conventions and themes that emerge in women's testimonies. She argues that women's testimonies differed in significant ways from those given by men. For example, she notes that women in general chose not to speak of their own suffering, but rather that of others, in particular, male family members, (2003: 17), and that they were reluctant "to identify themselves as the site of harm" (2003: 6).

Ross also contrasts the testimonies of women who explicitly described themselves as activists with those who didn't, and concludes that generally, women activists testified in ways that differed significantly from women who were not activists (2003: 51). Female activists, she argues, prefer to depict themselves as active agents of resistance to apartheid rather than as victims who had suffered at the hands of the all powerful state (2003: 3). She defines activists as "those people who were members of and actively involved in sustained anti-apartheid protest or clandestine anti-apartheid activities" (2003: 52). However, she cautions that the distinction between "activist" and "non-activist" is not easily made and that in reality, testifiers occupied a range of positions along a cline.

While Ross (2003), Motsemme (2004) and others explore some of the narrative conventions (for example, the themes) which characterise testimonies, they do not include a detailed linguistic analysis of these testimonies. However, there is clearly value in this kind of analysis. Fullard and Rousseau (2003) argue that more close linguistic analysis of individual testimonies should be done as a way of recovering the "multiple

voices” within the TRC, to counteract the monolithising meta-narratives generated by many academic publications on the TRC.

In sum, there is relatively little close linguistic analysis on the TRC and it is this gap which this thesis seeks to address. While Mary Bock and Kay McCormick have analysed a number of testimonies from a discourse analytic perspective, only Bock (2003) and Geslin (2001) have used SFL as an analytical tool, and in both cases, this has been limited to a single academic article. It is, therefore, the choice of SFL as a theoretical framework which makes this project different from the relatively small number of discourse analyses of TRC testimonies that have already been conducted.

In addition, close linguistic analysis enables a researcher to explore some of the generalisations made in other TRC literature. As noted above, Ross (2003) argues that there are differences between the testimonies of men and women, on the one hand, and activists and non-activists, on the other. I would argue that there are more than simply two categories (activist and non-activist) as suggested by Ross, and that one should distinguish between activists and their family members, on the one hand, and non-aligned victims (e.g. the victim of an accidental shooting) and their families on the other. The former group were more politicised than the latter. In this thesis, I am interested in investigating the extent to which these different roles are shaping influences on the testimonies. However, I bear in mind Ross’s cautionary note that in reality the distinctions between activist and non-activist may well be blurred.

1.4 Main research aim, approach and objectives

The main aim of this research project is to explore how a selection of testifiers from the HRV hearings of the TRC use language to perform their identities, to construe their experiences of life under apartheid and to position themselves and their audiences in relation to these experiences. This exploration is framed by an understanding of language as a social phenomenon which views language use as constructing and reflecting social realities. It is informed by the view that the narrative and linguistic choices made by

testifiers are significant in that they signal, often in subtle ways, how speakers have made sense of and remember their experiences. The differing constructions and perspectives of the testifiers reflect, this thesis argues, their different “narrative truths” or subjective speaker perspectives.

Given the focus on linguistic choice, this project has adopted a discourse analytic approach. The value of discourse analysis is that it enables the analyst to explore the relationship between language practice and social realities, or, how any instance of language use simultaneously draws on and feeds into broader social discourses (Blommaert 2005, Cameron 2001, Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006). This approach requires both a close linguistic analysis of the testimonies and an exploration of the social discourses they draw on and simultaneously shape. For these reasons, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) has been used as a linguistic theory as it offers the analyst a systematic and comprehensive approach to the description of language use from a social perspective (Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005). In this project, the SFL theories of genre, periodicity, transitivity and appraisal are used to enable a close analysis of the linguistic choices and narrative patterns within selected testimonies.

Given that the focus of a discourse analytic approach is the detailed analysis of texts, this project explores the testimony of five testifiers from two HRV hearings held in the Western Cape in 1996 and 1997 respectively. Four of these are the testimonies of young activists who were involved in the anti-apartheid struggle during the 1980s. One is the testimony of the mother of one of these activists. In other words, their testimonies represent two of the groups of testifiers identified in Section 1.3 above: activist and family member of activist. The analysis explores how they perform their identities within this context and the ways in which their different roles (as activist or family member) have shaped their testimonies. However, given the small size of this sample, this project cannot make generalisations about the testimonial patterns of activists and family members in other TRC testimonies.

The main research aim, then, is to explore how a selection of testifiers (activists and family members) at the HRV hearings of the TRC construct their identities and represent their experiences in their testimonies. In particular, the following objectives are considered:

- What appears to be the narrative purposes of the different testifiers and how do these shape their testimonies?
- How do the testifiers structure and organise their testimonies, and what effect does this have on their representations of experience?
- How do they perform their identities within the TRC testimonial context?
- What kinds of social discourses do they draw on in their construal of these identities?
- How do they appraise themselves as well as the other participants and events in their testimonies?
- To what extent can these patterns be related to their roles, for example, as activist or family member?

This analysis is premised on the belief that the above discourse patterns reflect testifiers' "narrative truths" – how they remember what has happened to them and how they have woven these events into their life narratives. Understanding this is important, it is argued, to understanding the extent to which the TRC has been able to establish "as complete a picture as possible" of suffering under and resistance to apartheid.

1.5 Overview of chapters

In this section, the remaining chapters are previewed. Chapter Two begins with a theorisation of context, which provides a framework for the discussion of the context within which the TRC testimonies were delivered. It includes a consideration of this context at the situational and institutional levels. It also reflects on the different socio-political contexts which are relevant to this analysis: the mid-1980s, a time of heightened resistance to the repressive apartheid government and the period during which the human rights abuses reported on in these testimonies took place; the mid-1990s, the time of the

TRC hearings; and lastly, the mid-2000s, a period of reflection on the achievements and limitations of the TRC process, as well as the time of the writing of this research project.

Chapter Three presents an overview of the literature which has informed the theoretical framework for this project. Firstly, it reviews developments within the field of Discourse Analysis, particularly the turn within Linguistics towards a social view of language. Secondly, it reviews the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics, and introduces the key theoretical frameworks used in this analysis: genre, appraisal, periodicity and transitivity.

Chapter Four considers Discourse Analysis as a methodology within a social-constructionist paradigm. It also describes the processes of selecting and analysing the testimonies within this project, and reflects on the ethics of working with other people's stories of suffering and pain.

The next four chapters present discourse analyses of five TRC testimonies. The five testimonies include four activists from the Bonteheuwel Military Wing: Colin de Souza, Muhammad Faried Ferhelst, Sandra Adonis and Moegamat Qasim Williams. The testimony of Dorothy de Souza, mother of Colin, is also considered.

Chapter Five offers a detailed analysis of the testimony of Colin de Souza and seeks to explore how he construes himself as an activist – as 'agentive' – despite the high level of police harassment.

Chapter Six gives a detailed analysis of the testimony of Dorothy de Souza. This time the focus of the analysis is on the way in which she appraises herself and the main participants in her testimony. It concludes with a discussion of code-switching within testimonies and argues that in multilingual settings, code-switching functions as an appraisal resource.

Chapters Seven and Eight analyse the testimonies of three more activists. They explore how the linguistic choices made by these testifiers serve their narrative purposes. These chapters also explore the social discourses they draw on in their construal of their activist identities. Chapter Eight concludes with a discussion of the TRC testimony as a macro-genre.

Chapter Nine offers general conclusions and observations about the testimonies in relation to the notion of narrative truth. It reflects on the value of discourse analysis in this process.

Full transcripts of the five testimonies are included as Appendices. These copies have been checked and edited by the author, and presented together with generic stage and phase labels.



ENDNOTES

¹ This is the title of an article by Ochs and Schieffelin, in which they argue that “(a)ffect permeates the entire linguistic system. Almost any aspect of the linguistic system that is variable is a candidate for expressing affect. In other words, language has a heart as well as a mind of its own” (1989: 22).

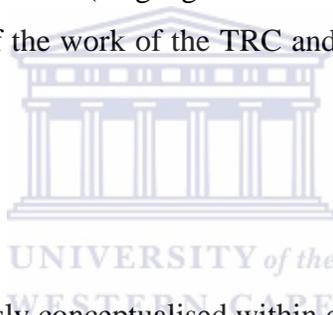
² William Labov (2001) himself has written a fascinating paper on the testimony of an amnesty applicant to the TRC in which he uses a process of ‘forensic linguistics’ to identify linguistic ‘traces’ in the testimony which point to the applicant’s culpability.

CHAPTER 2

Context

This chapter sketches the context for the testimonies analysed in this study. It begins with a review of theories of context and then explores different dimensions of the TRC context which have been part of determining the final shape of the testimonies. These dimensions include the socio-political, institutional and situational contexts, as well as issues related to the choice of mode (language of testimony). The final section in this chapter offers an assessment of the work of the TRC and the extent to which it has been able to achieve its aims.

2.1 Theories of context



The notion of context is variously conceptualised within different research paradigms and it is difficult, therefore, to give it a single, precise definition (Schiffrin 1994: 365, Goodwin and Duranti 1992). Some of the more influential theories of context over the past few decades include those of Halliday (1989), Goodwin and Duranti (1992) and Blommaert (2005). In the section which follows, these theories, as well as the views of scholars of oral narrative and oral history, are reviewed as a means of establishing the different dimensions a researcher could consider in his or her account of context.

The SFL conception of context was developed by Halliday (in Halliday and Hasan 1989), who argues that the terms, “context of situation” and “context of culture”, were first coined by the anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, in 1923. According to Halliday, Malinowski encountered difficulties when translating texts from Kiriwinian, a language of the Trobriand Islanders in the South Pacific, into English. In order to make the text intelligible to a Western audience, he had to include a “running commentary” of what

was happening at the time the text was recorded. In other words, he found that a description of the immediate environment of the text, or the “context of situation”, was necessary to facilitate an understanding of the translated texts (1989: 6). Further, Halliday notes that Malinowski argued that it was also necessary to give additional information about the cultural history of the participants, on the grounds that this played a significant role in shaping their interactions. This Malinowski referred to as the “context of culture” (1989: 7).

Halliday defines context as “the total environment in which a text unfolds” and within which it is to be interpreted (in Halliday and Hasan 1989: 5). After Malinowski, he distinguishes between the “context of situation” and the “context of culture”. He argues that any text is related to its context in systematic ways. His framework for “context of situation” seeks to describe this relationship in terms of three dimensions, referred to as the *field*, *tenor* and *mode* (1989: 12).¹¹ The field of a text refers to “what is happening” and “to the nature of the social action that is taking place” (1989: 12). The tenor refers to the participants – who are they and what kinds of relationships exist between them. In particular, it refers to the role relations of power and solidarity which are expressed through the way participants negotiate intimacy and distance (Martin and White 2005: 27). The mode refers to the role that language plays in this situation, including the way texts are structured and organised, or, to use Halliday’s term, “textured” for this context (1989: 23). According to Halliday, these three dimensions of context have an impact on the way language is used (1989: 55) and any text reflects a particular configuration of these three variables. Although Halliday acknowledges the importance of the “context of culture”, he does not, in 1989, develop a theory of this. Rather, later SFL research, particularly from a genre perspective, takes up this work (see Eggins 1994/2004, Martin and Christie 1997, Martin and Rose 2007).

Goodwin and Duranti (1992) argue that the latter decades of the twentieth century saw a shift towards a “more interactive and dialogically conceived” notion of context as researchers increasingly recognised that context is flexible and dynamic, not fixed and unitary, and that language is a major resource for invoking and constructing context

(1992: 7). They propose a theory of context organised along the following parameters: *setting*, *behavioural environment*, *language* and *extra-situational context* – all of which, they argue, play a significant role in shaping the linguistic interactions that take place. By *setting*, they refer to the social and physical settings within which the interaction occurs. By *behavioural environment*, they refer to the participants' body language and other paralinguistic features: "the way that participants use their bodies and behaviours as a resource for framing and organizing their talk" (1992: 7). Thirdly, they argue that *language* is an essential aspect of context as "talk itself both invokes context and provides context for other talk" (1992: 7). Lastly, by *extra-situational context*, they refer to participants' background knowledge of discourse and culturally appropriate forms of language use. They argue that context is "dynamically and socially constituted by the activities (talk included) of the participants which stand in a reflexive relationship to the context thus contextualised" (1992: 7). In other words, their theory is premised on the view that participants' use of language is part of creating context, and that this context, in turn, shapes the linguistic practices of participants.

Blommaert (2005: 43) defines context as something that "addresses the way in which linguistic forms – text – become part of, get integrated in, or become constitutive of larger activities in the social world". He asserts that context is created through the meanings that different participants bring to the interaction: this, in Bakhtinian terms, is the notion that "contextualisation is dialogical" (2005: 43). However, he argues that this does not imply that contextualisation is necessarily a co-operative process. Contextualisation may be the result of someone more powerful imposing a particular meaning (hence, contextualisation) on someone else's words. Blommaert (2005) also suggests that context can be both local and translocal. In other words, texts have histories which affect their meanings and interpretations in new contexts (Bakhtin's notion of "intertextuality"). From this perspective, texts need to be seen against the backdrop of texts and discourses on which they draw and to which the participants have access.

Blommaert (2005) further refers to three "forgotten contexts". The first is the range of linguistic and communicative resources that are available to different participants (and

these are often unequally distributed); the second is the text's trajectory or history and how it has shifted across contexts, a process which also fundamentally involves questions of power; and the last forgotten context refers to the time, place and occasion on which the text (or data) was gathered and the effect that these have had on its shape.

Scholars of oral narrative and oral history point to particular aspects of context which are significant in shaping these texts. Keller-Cohen and Dyer (1997) point out that any instance of story-telling is influenced, firstly, by the many retellings of which it is a part and, secondly, by the way the speaker reads the context on that day and chooses to present him or herself. They argue that "(p)ersonal narratives ... are repeated, rehearsed, and reshaped for each new telling" (1997: 149) and that speakers make particular narrative choices so as to "display a particular portrait of themselves" on that occasion (1997:150). Lastly, they note that the discourse, or co-text, which immediately precedes the studied text (such as the interview prompt) influences the text which follows and provides a context for the interpretation of that text.

Portelli (1991: 53), a historian, argues that oral histories are not objective, but "artificial", "variable" and "partial". They are *artificial* because they are elicited within the context of an interview and the resultant text is therefore a product of both the narrator and the interviewer: just as the researcher studies his or her informants, the informants are studying the researcher, sizing up his or her reactions and subtly adjusting what they say in response. They are *variable* because they are never the same twice, even if the participants remain the same: as the two subjects come to know each other better, so the informant may adjust the story he or she tells; or perhaps the previous telling will simply have awakened memories which are then included in later retellings. As a consequence, oral histories are always *partial* in the sense that they are inherently incomplete. Hence, narratives are shaped not only by factors in the immediate context, such as the audience's response or the narrator's expectation of that response, but also by the influence of earlier narrations.

From the above review, it is clear that contemporary theories view context as socially constructed. From this perspective, texts are seen as part of their contexts, not separate from them: context is created through the kinds of linguistic interactions that take place and texts draw on and feed into broader social discourses within which they are embedded (Gee 1999, Kress 2001). For example, a formal context is in part created through formal styles of speaking; a priest performs his identity as a priest by drawing on “priestly” ways of speaking. It follows that an analysis of text should include an analysis of context.

The above review also indicates that context operates at many levels, from the immediate linguistic context (or co-text) to the level of culture. Any discussion of context should take into account not only the co-text and context of situation (the physical setting and social relations), but the institutional and socio-cultural milieu within which that text is embedded. Additionally, the way historical forces have shaped these contexts should be explored.

In the sections which follow, a detailed exposition of the context for the testimonies in this study is presented. First, the socio-political context is briefly sketched (Section 2.2); then the institutional context is reviewed (Section 2.3). This includes a discussion of some of the discourses which shaped the work of the TRC, as well as the TRC’s definitions of “victim”, “perpetrator” and “truth”, as these frame the TRC project and significantly influenced how participants were positioned and how the TRC enacted its mandate. The situational context is then considered, including the impact of both the physical setting and the audience on the shape of the testimonies (Section 2.4). This is followed by an extended discussion of the role of the TRC’s interpreting service and of research done by the author on meanings “lost” in the interpreting process (Section 2.5). The final section (Section 2.6) offers an assessment of the work of the TRC and some of the debates and challenges that continue to circulate more than eleven years after it was launched and more than four years since it closed its doors¹.

2.2 Socio-political context

In this section, I consider first the national context during which the TRC was conceptualised, as well as the history of resistance to apartheid, particularly in the 1980s. I then consider the specific socio-political context of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, as this thesis considers testimonies linked to this paramilitary group.

2.2.1 National context

The TRC came into operation in 1996, two years after the first democratic elections in April, 1994, when Nelson Mandela was elected the first black president of South Africa, thereby ending three-and-a-half centuries of white rule. The mood of the day was largely buoyant and optimistic and there was a strong national discourse (particularly carried by President Mandela and Archbishop Tutu) which promoted democracy, reconciliation, unity and nation-building (Geslin 2001). The TRC – agreed to as part of the negotiated settlement which secured the peaceful transition to democracy – was an embodiment of this vision.



The TRC was established by *Act No. 34 of 1995, Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act* (hereafter, *the Act*). The *Act* is clearly framed by a commitment to the establishment of “the truth in relation to past events as well as the motives for and circumstances in which gross violations of human rights have occurred”. This, the *Act* makes clear, is a necessary stage in the process of establishing “national unity” and “reconciliation”. The TRC’s specific mandate was expressed as follows:

To provide for the investigation and the establishment of as complete a picture as possible of the nature, causes and extent of gross violations of human rights committed during the period from 1 March 1960 to the cut-off date contemplated in the Constitution, within or outside the Republic, emanating from the conflicts of the past, and the fate or whereabouts of the victims of such violations... (*The Act*)

To enable it to undertake this mission, the TRC was given the authority to grant amnesty “to persons who make full disclosure of all the relevant facts relating to acts associated

with a political objective committed in the course of the conflicts of the past during the said period” (*The Act*). It also gave the TRC the task of providing a public platform for victims of human rights abuse which would enable their stories to be heard and their suffering acknowledged. People who were deemed victims by the TRC would become eligible for reparations and the *Act* instructed the TRC to undertake measures which were “aimed at the granting of reparation to, and the rehabilitation and the restoration of the human and civil dignity of victims of violations of human rights”. The TRC, then, had the power to grant amnesty to perpetrators, but could only make recommendations with regard to reparations for victims.

Prior to 1994 and South Africa’s first democratic elections, a very different historical context prevailed. Resistance to apartheid has a long history, but peaked first in 1976 with the Soweto Uprisings and then again in 1985 and 1986 (*TRC Report 2 1998*). Resistance included a programme of mass-based opposition and confrontation, from community protest marches to school boycotts to violent attacks on symbols of apartheid power. The resistance inside the country was spear-headed by the youth, who also bore the brunt of police repression. According to Marks and McKenzie (1998), South African society in the 1980s experienced unprecedented levels of militarisation, both in terms of state security strategies and civil resistance to apartheid. The youth in particular were affected as, argue Marks and McKenzie (1998), they perceived themselves as key agents of social and political change, and as defenders of their communities against repressive security forces. At its Kabwe conference in 1985, the African National Congress (ANC) called for a strategy of “rendering the country ungovernable” and the assertion of “people’s power” (*TRC Report 2 1998: 34*).

A state of emergency was declared in 1985, and effectively remained in force until mid-1990 (*TRC Report 2 1998: 39*). This resulted in, amongst other repressive measures, the banning of a number of organisations and the detentions of thousands of South Africans, many of whom suffered interrogation and torture at the hands of the police. During the state of emergency, individuals suspected of anti-apartheid activities could be detained under Section 29 legislation, which allowed for detention without trial for ninety days.

This was later extended to 180 days. While in detention, detainees often suffered extensive abuse, both physical and psychological, at the hands of the police, most notably, the Security Branch, which was the elite unit tasked with quashing resistance to apartheid.

In 1989 there was a further upsurge in political mobilisation and mass action. The release of Mandela from prison in February 1990 signalled the apartheid government's commitment to negotiations, but still the violence continued. High levels of civil conflict, allegedly fuelled by a "third force" determined to derail any peace process, continued up to 1994 and the first democratic elections (*TRC Report 6 2003: 579*). Fullard and Rousseau (2003) point to the underhand role played by the state's contra-mobilisation strategy in fermenting this violence. The contra-mobilisation strategy encouraged and financed sectors of 'the oppressed' (such as the Inkatha Freedom Party) to oppose the liberation movement.

The stories people brought to the TRC were the result of violations they suffered during these conflicts. Some of the testifiers were activists, some non-aligned civilians who were caught in the crossfire, and others family members of either group. The TRC hearing was often the first time that testifiers received public acknowledgement of the violations they had suffered. Only a few years before, the activists would have been criminalised for their activities and labelled "terrorists". Now they were being hailed as "freedom fighters". Their testimonies span this translocation and bear traces of both contexts and the discourses which shaped them.

2.2.2 Bonteheuwel Military Wing

The testimonies in this thesis tell of human rights abuses suffered during the mid-1980s in the Western Cape, a decade before the TRC opened its doors. The testifiers are either members of, or affiliated family members of, the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW). Bonteheuwel is a working class coloured² township on the outskirts of Cape Town (*TRC Report 4 1998: 278*) which became known as a militant area in the 1980s due, in part, to

the activities of the BMW. (See map of greater Cape Town indicating the position of Bonteheuwel in Appendix A.) The BMW was formed in 1984 when a group of school children from Bonteheuwel decided to form a self-defence unit (SDU) to protect themselves and their community from the police. One of the founder members of the organisation was Ashley Kriel, who was killed by security police in 1987, and who became an icon of the anti-apartheid struggle in the Western Cape in the 1980s.

At the height of its activities, the BMW consisted of more than 100 members. It operated in small cells of four people. Members of the BMW established links with the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the armed wing of the ANC, and several members went into exile for training. Others were recruited into various MK cells in the Western Cape, given training and supplied with arms and ammunition (*TRC Report 3 1998: 482*).

Members of BMW were involved in a number of violent attacks on policemen and suspected informers. They themselves were subject to intense police harassment and torture. Ironically, they were both “victims” and “perpetrators”. Colin De Souza, for example, himself a victim of extreme police violence, applied for amnesty for the killing of a suspected police informer, and for a brutal attack on a fellow comrade whom police had ‘fingered’ as an informer (Qasim Williams) (*TRC Report 3 1998: 485*). The spreading of ‘misinformation’ (such as the fingering of people as informers) was one of the strategies used by the police to sow division and confusion in communities. The testimonies of both De Souza and Williams are considered in this thesis.

The state responded to this resistance by intensifying its repression. It managed to infiltrate the BMW in the second half of 1987 and effectively decimated the organisation. A number of arrests followed, resulting in the detention of over forty BMW members at various times. Fourteen statements were made to the Truth Commission by a number of former BMW members, who were, at the time of the violation, mostly between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Many described serious assault and torture at the hands of the police (*TRC Report 3 1998: 484*).

The front page of the *Weekend Argus*, a local newspaper at the time (24 October 1997), records the arrests with the headline: “CAPE YOUTH ARRESTS: Bonteheuwel Military Wing faces 300 serious charges, says Vlok” (see Appendix B for copy). The lead paragraph reflects the police discourse and constructs the youth as criminals and terrorists:

Police have arrested a gang of teenagers in Bonteheuwel who have been linked to the African National Congress. They are allegedly responsible for 300 “serious” crimes and some of them have been trained in the use of weapons used by terrorists, say police.

It is ironic that this story shares the front page with a colour photograph of young white youth frolicking on Cape Town’s premier beach, Clifton. This juxtaposition sums up the contradictions of life in South Africa at the time: while black youth were engaged in a struggle for freedom, white youth enjoyed a life of privilege and pleasure³.

Years later, in 2004, Qasim Williams sketches the background to the formation of the BMW in his speech at the unveiling of the tombstone of Christopher Truter, another Bonteheuwel victim of apartheid repression (see Appendix C for copy). He describes the purpose of the organisation as being a means to protect and defend themselves and their community against “injustice, violation of basic human rights and police brutality”. However, he also points to the long term effects these experiences have had on him and his former comrades and describes their current socio-political marginalisation:

After torture and imprisonment, each of us who survived was completely different. Our lives were profoundly affected that we still find it difficult to integrate ourselves in the new society. For many of us the scars of torture and imprisonment are not only physical. For most of us it is difficult to create and sustain fulfilling and satisfying lives. Minimal support has been offered to us by the current leadership and government, however, the reconstruction of our lives requires more. Many of us are dealing with daily crises ranging from extreme poverty, drug addiction, homelessness, violence, crime, unemployment and other manifestations and shattered lives.

Williams then describes how he and his former comrades have formed the Bonteheuwel Veterans' Association to try and address the problems referred to above. Significantly, he frames this decision with the assertion that they are and have always been "men and women of action". In my analysis, I shall argue that this construal of themselves as "men and women of action", even in 2004, is a significant feature of their constructions of themselves in their testimonies.

2.3 Institutional context

In this section, the TRC as an institution is considered, with a focus on the different public hearings. Then the discourses and ideologies which shaped these hearings are reviewed. Next the TRC concepts of "victim", "perpetrator" and "truth" are explored as these definitions frame and constrain the TRC's mandate and what it was able to achieve.

2.3.1 Public hearings and shaping discourses

As mentioned above, the TRC undertook a range of activities in the execution of its mandate, including a number of public hearings at which both victims and perpetrators had the chance to tell their stories. There were a number of different kinds of public hearings: the Human Rights Violations (HRV) hearings focussed on the victims while the Amnesty Hearings dealt with perpetrators. A number of special or institutional hearings, which focussed on either an event or a particular constituency, such as youth, women or business, were also held under the auspices of the HRV Committee. The function of these was to understand patterns of abuse, motives and perspectives in relation to groups of people or organisations, rather than individuals (*TRC Report 1* 1998: 280). The testimonies for this research project are drawn from the HRV hearings, both the public 'victim' hearings and the 'special' hearings on youth.

In response to a media call, thousands of South Africans brought their stories of human rights violations under apartheid to the HRV Committee. Of the 21 297 testimonies received, a representative number (about 10%) were selected for public hearings (*TRC*

Report 1 1998: 168). In total, seventy-six HRV hearings were held, each one lasting between two and five days, in towns throughout South Africa between April 1996 and June 1997 (Ross 2003: 13). The TRC's first HRV hearing was held in East London from 15-18 April, 1996. It was presided over by Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999: 87) who used these words in his opening address:

We are charged to unearth the truth about our dark past; to lay the ghosts of that past so that they will not return to haunt us. And that we will thereby contribute to the healing of a traumatised and wounded people – for all of us in South Africa are wounded people – and in this manner to promote national unity and reconciliation (*sic*).

The discourses which shaped the TRC hearings drew on a number of domains, including a psychotherapeutic discourse of trauma counselling, a religious discourse of confession, and a legal discourse of human rights and accountability (Bock, M. *et al.* 2000, Verdoolaege 2005). Testimony is a psychotherapeutic technique which is premised on the view that story-telling enables survivors of trauma to verbalise the traumatic experience, thereby 'breaking the silence' and re-establishing a sense of connection with the world, as well as allowing for a reintegration of the experience into the life narrative of the individual (Colvin 2004, Gobodo-Madikizela 2006, Mohamed 2005). According to this approach, trauma fragments the psyche and destroys a person's sense of self, identity and connection to others, thereby rendering the person powerless, whereas testimony enables them to reintegrate 'the pieces' into the narrative of their lives and re-establish a sense of control and connection with the world. The *TRC Report 1* (1988: 112) states that "the Act explicitly recognised the healing potential of telling stories" and the importance of public acknowledgement in the process of healing at both an individual and national level. Evidence of the TRC's discourse of pain and healing can be noted in Tutu's opening address quoted above, namely, that "we" are all wounded and that the relating of pain and the public acknowledgement of those who suffered is part of the process of healing and the promotion of national reconciliation.

The religious discourse was infused into the hearings as a direct result of Tutu's own position as an Archbishop of the Anglican Church in South Africa and as Chairperson of

the TRC. This influence was clearly visible in the physical format of the hearings. For example, Tutu, dressed in his episcopal cassock, opened the East London hearing with the lighting of a candle to commemorate all those who had died in the conflict of the past. This was followed by the reading of a roll of honour commemorating those who had died, the singing of a hymn and finally a prayer, before the formal business of the day began (*SABC TRC East London hearings*). The atmosphere was generally formal and solemn. Although there was heavy media presence, the media was advised to be “stationary and not obtrusive” (Tutu 1999: 84). At the end of each day, the Chairperson summed up the mood of the day and its chief features. In the words of Tutu (1999: 89), “(t)his was also an opportunity to affirm those who had testified as well as the communities from which they came, and to draw lessons for us all in this unusual journey which our nation was undertaking”. In his book, aptly named *No Future Without Forgiveness*, Tutu (1999: 222) clearly anchors his approach within a religious frame:

To work for reconciliation is to want to realise God’s dream for humanity – when we will know that we are indeed members of one family, bound together in a delicate network of interdependence.

The legal discourse was more evident in the Amnesty hearings which were conducted like legal hearings. However, even within the HRV hearings, there were traces. For example, all testifiers began by swearing an oath to tell the truth. Even the layout of the room initially reflected a court room. At the East London hearings, the commissioners, including the Chairperson, were seated behind a long table on the stage. The testifiers sat facing them in the hall, also at a table. Behind them were the public who were instructed not to intrude or disturb the proceedings in any way. At later hearings, the layout was changed and testifiers sat on the same level as the Commission panel during their testimony so as “to avoid any impression that they were in the dock” (1999: 83).

At the hearings, testifiers were referred to as “witnesses”, a term which has judicial and religious connotations. I, however, prefer the more neutral term, “testifier”, as “witness” suggests to me more of a bystander role, and many who testified chose to construe

themselves as agents of their own actions, not simply observers of others' deeds. Similar questions arise with regard to the term, "victim", and it is to this debate that I now turn.

2.3.2 TRC concepts: victims and perpetrators

The concepts of "victim" and "perpetrator" were central to the TRC conception and methodology. Victims were defined as people against whom some gross human rights violation had been committed, and perpetrators referred to the people who had committed those gross violations of human rights (*TRC Report 1* 1998: 59). Gross violations of human rights were in turn defined as "the killing, abduction, torture or severe ill treatment"⁴ or the conspiracy or attempt to commit such acts (*The Act, Section 1(1)*).

The TRC acknowledged problems with its own definitions, including the implied passivity of the term, 'victim', the lack of distinction between different kinds of perpetrators, and the difficulties of defining the different categories of gross violations of human rights. However, it decided to use the term, victim, on the grounds that "the person against whom that violation is committed can only be described as a victim, regardless of whether he or she emerged as a survivor" (*TRC Report 1* 1998: 59). It also chose to use the word, perpetrator, to describe "all persons found by the Commission to have committed gross violations of human rights" regardless of the "kinds of acts committed, the reasons why they were committed, their consequences and their context" (*TRC Report 1* 1998: 59). In other words, people from both the former liberation movement and the apartheid structures were labelled 'perpetrators' for acts they had committed. (See also *TRC Report 7* (2002: 2-3) for acknowledgement of the difficulties of defining these terms.)

The problems with these definitions have been explored by a number of researchers. Ross (2003), for example, in her work on women's testimonies, argues that the TRC definitions of 'victims' and 'human rights violations' constructed a narrow understanding of the apartheid past and the kinds of abuse people suffered. This had the effect, argues Ross, of focusing the work of the TRC, for the most part, on violations of the body and

diminishing more subtle forms of violence and discrimination, to which many women at the TRC testified. Her research indicates that common themes in women's testimonies include the destruction of their homes and forced removals, their inability to protect their families against the violence of the state and the breakdown of community trust and relationships (2003: 11, 48-49).

Ross also argues that a further effect of the TRC's discourse was to elide "political activism" and produce victims. All those who had suffered gross violations of human rights (as defined by the TRC) were positioned as victims, irrespective of how they saw themselves. According to Ross (2003: 158), many of the women activists she worked with were unwilling to make statements to the TRC because they were reluctant to be positioned as victims and were uneasy with the TRC's focus on individual narratives of suffering and pain. They were proud of their past actions and saw themselves as freedom fighters engaged in collective action for the greater good of the country.

As noted above, the TRC positioned testifiers as either perpetrators of human rights violations or victims who suffered their consequences. Fullard and Rousseau (2003) point out that this distinction was sometimes problematic given the complex nature of South African society and the forms of violence it has spawned. By far the greatest number of human rights violations reported to the TRC reflected inter-civilian conflict, particularly that stemming from the conflict between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in the early 1990s (*TRC Report 3* 1998: 4-5).

In addition, Fullard and Rousseau (2003) argue that the way in which victims presented themselves to the TRC was complex. For example, they cite several cases where victims presented themselves as "blameless" and the innocent recipients of human rights abuse, but were later, through the TRC's investigative unit, found to have engaged in brutal attacks on, for example, people they suspected of being informers or collaborators. This was particularly the case with the self-defence units (SDU) which emerged in the 1980s in response to state harassment by the security forces and inadequate policing in the townships. According to Fullard and Rousseau (2003), SDU members formed a

significant proportion of amnesty applicants for attacks on civilians or state officials, yet many of them had themselves suffered interrogation, torture and the loss of family members at the hands of the security police.

2.3.3 TRC's notion of "truth"

Because of the TRC's mandate to establish "as complete a picture as possible" of the injustices of the past, the notion of truth was hotly debated both before and during the life of the Commission. In its final report, the TRC explored four notions of truth: factual or forensic truth, personal or narrative truth, social or dialogic truth, and healing and restorative truth (*TRC Report I* 1998: 110-111). *Factual or forensic truth* refers to the scientific or legal notion of truth as factually corroborated evidence or "what happened to whom, where, when and how, and who was involved?" *Personal and narrative truth*, which was referred in Chapter One, is more about a person's subjective perception of what happened to them and why, rather than an empirically verifiable version of the experience. Michelle Parlevliet (1998: 148), a researcher for the TRC in 1997, defines narrative truth as follows:



(N)arrative truth (also called personal or emotional truth) brings out the personal perceptions, myths, and emotions connected to people's experiences. It may not be 'correct' in the sense of being empirically verifiable, but the authenticity and validity of these experiences is confirmed through the telling and acknowledgement of individual stories.

The *TRC Report I* (1998) defines *social truth* as the promotion of "transparency, democracy and participation in society ... as a basis for affirming human dignity and integrity" through a process of "interaction, discussion and debate" (*TRC Report I* 1998: 113-114). Lastly, it refers to *healing and restorative truth* as "the kind of truth that places facts and what they mean within the context of human relationships" (1998: 114). The TRC methodology was premised on the belief that "acknowledgement", or the placing of information on public record, was essential as a means of bringing about social healing and a restoration of human dignity.

Parlevliet (1998: 145) argues that truth is not an “absolute” concept; rather it is “elusive” and bound up with our subjectivities and perceptions, which are in turn coloured by our own experiences and contexts. She argues that in order to arrive at some understanding of the notion, we need to consider not only what truth *is*, but also which *purposes* it serves (1998: 148). She notes that policies to deal with past violations are generally supposed to meet two overall objectives: “preventing the recurrence of human rights abuse [in the future] and repairing the damage that has been inflicted [in the past]” (1998: 149). The TRC placed great value on the notion of “truth” in the process of healing and the building of unity and reconciliation.

Parlevliet further argues that truth is concerned not only with *facts* but also with *values*, and that dialogue or interaction between people is a crucial means of establishing the truth (1998: 144). As such, it serves not only to establish “who or what was wrong in the past” but also how people should relate to one another in the future. For this reason, she distinguishes between truth at an *individual* level and truth at a *societal* level: “the former is more factual and concrete, the latter more abstract and normative” (1998: 144). She concludes her argument with the statement: “(u)ltimately, truth is more a notion of humanity than of science” (1998: 174) by which she draws attention to its dialogic nature and its role in defining a society’s norms and values.

Bock, M, McCormick and Raffray (2000) make a similar distinction to Parlevliet’s individual and societal levels of truth. They argue that the TRC’s factual and narrative truths can usefully be seen as *products* of truth, whereas the concepts of social and restorative truth can be seen as *processes* linked to the establishment of the first two kinds or “ways of discovering and describing the significance of the violations and their effects” (2000: 5).

2.4 Situational context

While the previous section has reviewed the TRC as an institution, the following section explores the impact of the immediate context of situation on the testimonies. Both the

physical environment and the social relations among the participants are considered. Issues relating to the choice of mode are considered separately (Section 2.5) due to the extended nature of this discussion.

The testimonies were delivered in public venues in front of commissioners, other TRC officials, public audiences and in the full glare of the media spotlight. They were simultaneously interpreted into English and from English to other languages. The telling of each testimony was facilitated by one of the commissioners who met with the testifier before the hearing and helped them prepare. The facilitating commissioner invited the testifier to tell his or her story and prompted or elicited additional information which was of importance to the Commission. At the end of the testimony, other commissioners had the opportunity to ask questions before the facilitator thanked the testifier and made some closing remarks. The testifiers were assisted by a briefer who sat with them, helped them with the headsets and microphone, or simply gave them comfort when the telling of the testimony overwhelmed them (Tutu 1999: 83).

Numerous researchers have pointed to the effect that an audience can have on the narrator (Cameron 2001, Portelli 1991, Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006). Mohamed (2005), who interviewed a number of TRC testifiers (several of whom are part of this study), notes that all his informants were very aware of the audience and media presence, noting and responding to the reactions of the audience.

In this sense, the testimonies told to the TRC were co-constructed by the testifier and the audience. Although the testifiers were usually 'given the floor' and allowed to tell their stories in the way they chose, this was not always the case. The commissioners had the right to ask questions and control the flow of narrative. Sometimes commissioners interrupted a testifier to ask a question or tried to direct the narrative towards some issue of interest to the TRC. McCormick *et al.* (2006) point out that often as much time was spent on questions and the elicitation of additional information as on the initial uninterrupted story and that what was of importance to the commissioners was not always of significance to the testifiers⁵. The audience had no speaking rights, although,

from the audio-visual records, their responses clearly played a role in how a speaker adjusted his or her testimony (see also Mohamed 2005).

The testimonies were themselves the result of a process of reformulations. According to McCormick *et al.* (2006), the public hearing was at least the second telling of the story, as testifiers had already told the story to the TRC's statement taker. In addition, the facilitating commissioner would usually have gone through the statement with the testifier before the hearing. Probably many (although not all) of these stories would already have been told within families and among friends a number of times over the past years. As Ross (2003: 79) comments, TRC testimonies are narratives which, to a certain extent, have "crystallised" in their retelling: "[s]tatements were produced through a lengthy process of decision-making, narration, distillation and crystallisation of experiences"⁶.

The TRC testimonies represent a particular kind of narrative, produced within a very specific historical context. While the testimonies generally followed the same broad format, they varied in style and shape, depending on a multitude of factors, not least the skill of the particular narrator (Bock, M. *et al.* 2000, McCormick *et al.* 2006; Blommaert *et al.* 2006).

McCormick *et al.* (2006) explore how the procedural constraints of the public hearings, including the interaction between the testifiers and the commissioners, shaped the testimonies. Using Labov's framework, they explore the "common shape of the co-constructed testimonies" and identify different broad phases in the testimony genre: an introductory phase, a main narrative phase which consists of two narratives, and a concluding phase (see Chapter Three for a full exposition of Labov's narrative framework). During the **introductory** phase, the HRV Chairperson introduces the testifier (*abstract, orientation*), the commissioner who will facilitate the testimony, and asks the testifier to take the oath. The facilitator then takes up the introduction (*abstract, orientation*), identifies a starting point for the first narrative, and invites the testifier "to tell your story in your own way".

The testifier then commences with the **first main narrative** phase which is usually about the violation and its immediate aftermath (*complicating action, resolution*). The testifier normally indicates when he or she is finished (*coda*). During this phase, the testifier is usually allowed to talk uninterruptedly, although the facilitator may intervene to request clarification or elaboration or to elicit some indication of the testifier's feelings (*evaluation*) if these have not emerged during the narrative. Thereafter, the facilitator or other panellists ask questions to elicit the **second main narrative**, which typically focuses on what has happened or been experienced since the violation, and how the testifier and other affected people are coping at present. This seldom has a single story line; rather, it takes the form of question and answer routines.

In the final **concluding** phase, members of the panel make evaluative comments which acknowledge the individual pain of the testifier and position the story as an exemplar of a pattern or as a contribution to reconciliation and nation-building (*evaluation*). They may enquire and make promises with respect to follow-up action. The testimony ends with the Chairperson thanking the testifier (*coda* for testimony as a whole).

2.5 Interpreting processes

The previous section has pointed to some of the contextual constraints which shaped the TRC testimonies. An additional consideration which is central to the way in which testimonies were presented and received is the language testifiers chose to testify in, as well as the processes for recording these testimonies. This section reviews research conducted by the author on how the processes of simultaneous interpretation (in the case of testimonies given in languages other than English) and transcription have further shaped the final product.

In line with the TRC's mandate to allow people to communicate in the language of their choice, the TRC set up an extensive interpreting service (Du Plessis and Wiegand 1998, Lotriet 1998). Each testimony was simultaneously interpreted into English, Afrikaans (if

requested) and into one or two of the African languages spoken in the region (Du Plessis & Wiegand 1998: 28). The Language Facilitation Programme (LFP) of the University of the Free State was contracted to hire, train and manage the interpreters. The LFP, in conjunction with its Flemish partner, Televic, recruited and trained twenty-one candidates who, together with a number of freelance interpreters, provided the interpreting service.

Du Plessis and Wiegand (1998) and Lotriet (1998) refer to the difficulties of setting up this service. Since this was the first time in South Africa's history that an interpreting service on such a scale and with such a wide range of language combinations was put into operation, the interpreters were mostly unqualified and inexperienced. There was also only time for a ten-day orientation course before the interpreters began providing the interpreting service.

The majority of witnesses testified in their mother tongues⁷. This, coupled with the fact that very few mother-tongue Afrikaans and English speakers could speak any of the other official languages, necessitated that the interpreters interpret into English for the most part, even though English was generally not their mother tongue, a practice not sanctioned by international interpreting convention (Lotriet 1998: 93). There were also sometimes problems with the quality of interpretation into the African languages due to regional differences between different varieties of isiXhosa, seTswana, isiNdebele and so on. Further, because urban varieties frequently employ code-switching, it was sometimes difficult to identify which code was being used in the first place (Du Plessis and Wiegand 1998: 26-27). Furthermore, because commissioners' questions to witnesses were chiefly asked in English and answered by the witness in his or her home language, this made additional demands on the interpreters who had to alternate rapidly between the two languages (1998: 26).

Apart from the lack of experience and language combination problems, interpreters experienced difficulties adjusting to the varying narrative techniques of the testifiers as well as coping with the specific challenges posed by the TRC context with its emotionally laden content. Du Plessis and Wiegand (1998: 26-27) refer to the fact that

the narrative techniques of testifiers varied: some provided too much detail, others were not very coherent, and yet others included explicit references to taboo topics or crude language. The testimonies were frequently “heavily laden emotionally” (1998: 26) and interpreters sometimes had difficulty maintaining a professional detachment. Du Plessis and Wiegand (1998: 28) refer to an instance when an interpreter at a Bloemfontein hearing interpreted “with tears literally streaming down her face”.

Additional pressure was placed on the interpreters by the fact that the hearings were accompanied by intense national and international media interest, including direct radio and television broadcasts by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

The TRC hearings generated a hitherto unrevealed record of life under apartheid. However, despite the fact that most testimonies were given in languages other than English, the official public record, which is published on the TRC website, is based on the simultaneous interpretation into English on the day of the hearing. A concern about the potential loss of meaning this process must have involved, prompted me, between 2004 and the present, to initiate a number of studies in collaboration with colleagues (in particular, Ms Nosisi Mpolweni-Zantsi and Mr Paul Duncan) and students at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)⁸.

The main aim of our research was to evaluate “what has been lost” in the interpretation and transcription processes of selected TRC testimonies. Using audiovisual copies of the testimonies available from the National Archives in Pretoria on which one can hear the original soundtrack, as well as the English voice-over, we transcribed the testimonies in the source language (e.g. Xhosa, Afrikaans). We then translated these into English and compared our translation with the official English versions which are published on the TRC website.

We undertook this research because we were concerned that many researchers only had access to the official TRC record. This record, in our view, is compromised as the process of simultaneous interpretation inevitably led to some loss of meaning.

Interestingly, in the different projects undertaken between 2004 and the present, different findings emerge, which suggest that the picture is quite complex. In the first project of 2004, we analysed the testimonies given in Xhosa by the widows of two of the men, Fort Calata and Sicelo Mhlawuli, who, together with Matthew Goniwe and Sparrow Mkhonto, became known as the Cradock Four⁹. They were murdered by the Security Branch on the 27 June 1985 for their activities in mobilising resistance in Cradock. Their widows testified at the very first HRV hearing held in East London.

Our analysis revealed that a significant number of meanings were lost under the pressures of simultaneous interpretation. These meanings related predominantly to aspects of narrative style expressed, for example, through gesture, intonation, repetition and the use of direct speech, particularly the verbatim quotes of the police in Afrikaans. We also noted that an understanding of the culture of the testifier was essential to understanding the testimony and that researchers who did not have access to the testimony in the source language and the cultural codes of the testifier would be significantly compromised when trying to understand the testimonies (Bock, Z. *et al.* 2006). We argued that these losses and omissions detracted primarily from the narrative truth of the testimonies, and, in some cases, the factual truth¹⁰.

The second project in 2005, on the testimony of Mr Kewute, a civic leader in Khayelitsha in the 1990s, generated somewhat different findings (Jantjies 2005). This research showed that many of the omissions we had found in the testimonies of the Cradock Four widows were not present in that of Mr Kewute's. We hypothesised that this could be due to a number of factors, including the expertise of the interpreter and the narrative style of the witness. Mr Kewute's hearing was held in August 1996, four months after the hearings of the Cradock Four widows, which had been held in April of the same year. The interpreters would thus have had four months to develop their expertise. In addition, Mr Kewute's style was mostly a factual account of how he, a community leader, was targeted by former comrades and the losses he suffered as a result. It differed

significantly in narrative style from the very detailed and emotionally charged accounts given by Mrs Calata and Mrs Mhlawuli.

A third student project (still in progress) by Nathalie Hattingh lends further support to this hypothesis. She transcribed the Afrikaans testimony of Minnie Ferhelst delivered in August 1996. Her findings show that the interpreted version is very accurate. This accuracy can be ascribed to the greater experience of the interpreters by August, as well as to this particular language combination. Under apartheid, English and Afrikaans enjoyed a history of interpreting and translation, and there was and still is greater interpreting capacity for this language combination in this country. Also, the fact that Afrikaans and English share certain linguistic and cultural roots would have made interpretation between these two languages simpler.

It is clear, then, that there are a range of factors which affect the interpreting process, including the *narrative style of the witness*, which may in turn relate to issues such as their age, gender, urban or rural origins, and role – for example, whether activist, civilian or family member. Other factors may include the *language combination*, the *expertise of the interpreter* and the way he or she is positioned in relation to the testimony (Kim Wallmach, 2002, explores this gap in her paper). Additionally, *factors in the interpreting environment*, such as the pressure from the media and the amount of support the interpreters were given in terms of advance documentation¹¹, would have had an impact.

The transcription of the testimonies was outsourced to private organisations. Many of the spelling errors in the names of people (noted, for example, in research by Bock, Z. *et al.* 2006, Geslin 2001) crept in at this point as the testimonies were transcribed by people unfamiliar with the languages of the testifiers (Lotriet, personal communication), or, from another perspective, as a result of the distance between the cultural and linguistic contexts of the transcribers, on the one hand, and the testifiers on the other.

2.6 TRC: A decade later

The successes and failures of the TRC have been the subject of a wealth of research and commentary for the past decade (Posel and Simpson 2002, Villa-Vicencio and Verwoerd 2000). It has been hailed as a model for transitional justice across the globe and former TRC commissioners and researchers have been invited to participate in similar processes all over the world (such as Rwanda and East Timor). However, as might be expected from a process tasked to undo the damage caused by the violence of four and a half decades of apartheid and three and a half centuries of colonialism, the assessment of its achievements is very mixed. This section begins by reviewing some of the macro issues, or what a number of people refer to as the TRC's "unfinished business", which continue to attract debate in the public arena. It then focuses on some of the more micro and individual issues, in particular, the extent to which the act of testifying before the TRC helped heal the individuals who testified.

2.6.1 Public debates relating to the TRC's "unfinished business"

In April 2006, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) held a conference in Cape Town with the title, "*The TRC: Ten Years On*". It hosted a number of panel discussions, including ones on "Prosecutions", "Reparations" and "Memory and Archives". These, together with the ongoing project of nation-building, define, I would suggest, the major challenges or "unfinished business" of the TRC.

The call for prosecutions of apartheid era crimes emerged in the wake of the work by the TRC's Amnesty Committee. According to the *TRC Report I* (1998: 54), the South African TRC is the first truth commission of its kind globally to have the power to administer a public amnesty. The amnesty clause was agreed to by the African National Congress (ANC) and the National Party (then in power) as part of the negotiations which enabled a relatively peaceful transition from apartheid to a non-racial democracy in 1994. However, far from being a blanket amnesty, individuals could apply for amnesty in return for "full disclosure" of the human rights abuses they had committed. In the end, though,

individuals made relatively little use of the amnesty provision, preferring, it seems, to take their chances that their deeds would remain undiscovered or unsubstantiated (Rousseau 2005)¹². It follows, then that there are a large number of individuals who have been named as perpetrators in victims' testimonies who are now eligible for prosecution. But, argues Rousseau (2005: 39), the state appears unwilling to prosecute and very few cases have been successfully concluded. She explores a number of factors which may have contributed to this situation, including the lack of capacity in the National Prosecution Authority, the enormous cost of bringing a single perpetrator to trial, problems relating to the availability and strength of evidence, and in some cases, the partiality (and lack of independence) of the justice system. She points to the impatience and frustration of victims who cannot understand why their cases are not being pursued, and warns that the Chilean and Argentinian cases attest to "the folly of believing that the demand for accountability will fade with time" (2005: 49). (See also Villa-Vicencio and Du Toit, 2006, for further evidence of this expectation from some victims of apartheid.)

While perpetrators of apartheid-era crimes were offered amnesty in exchange for their testimonies, applicants to the HRV Committee were promised reparations if they were found by the TRC to be victims. In return, they gave up the right to prosecute the perpetrators of their abuses through the courts. The form that those reparations should take was debated by the TRC's Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee which published a proposed reparation policy in October 1997. This featured both individual grants and symbolic reparations linked to processes of memorialisation and the improvement of the socio-economic conditions of victims and their communities (Matthew 2005: 18). However, the TRC only had the power to make recommendations to government, not to implement the reparations policy. To the immense frustration of victims, the government once again appeared tardy in taking the process forward (2005: 19). Finally, in 2003, President Mbeki announced that the government would provide a once-off payment of R30 000 to those deemed victims and would commit itself to the processes of memorialisation and socio-economic upliftment. The amount of R30 000 fell far short of what the TRC had recommended¹³ and payment of the individual grants only began in November 2003 (2005: 21). In 2006, members of the Khulumani Support

Group¹⁴ who attended the IJR conference, were vocal in their criticisms of the process. They raised concerns with regard to the poor communication both from the TRC and the government, the frustratingly long wait for reparations and the much reduced package. These and the seeming indifference of the government to their plight has resulted in a high level of hurt and anger among many victims, as represented by the Khulumani Support Group¹⁵. In response to their grievances, Tutu, quoted in *The Cape Times*, 21 April 2006, admitted that the TRC had, in this sense, failed victims:

We probably shouldn't have operated as we did. Amnesty was granted with immediate effect. We should have had a budget (for victims) and estimated what they should get with immediate effect ... Some people waited five years. They humbled us. Many only wanted a tombstone or money for their child to go to school.

The work of remembering and memorialisation in the face of the apartheid government's systematic efforts to silence and forget, is a further area of work which needs attention. Verne Harris who, as state archivist in 1993, alerted the ANC to the fact that the government of the time was engaging in systematic records destruction, argues that the TRC was "an intervention in memory restoration" (Harris 2005: 10). The TRC, he maintains, was "unequivocal about the need for its archive to be open and useful" (2005: 14). However, he notes, the processes of preserving and maintaining the TRC archive and making it available to citizens and scholars remains severely under-resourced and a national challenge.

In addition to the TRC archive, the TRC recommended that memorialisation be taken up in communities through both private and public processes (Gubeni *et al.* 2005). While a number of public sites have been developed as places of memory (e.g. The Slave Lodge and District Six Museum in Cape Town, the Hector Pieterse Museum in Soweto) a lot of work remains, particularly in terms of building consensus and agreement within communities around the form that these processes and symbols should take. Gubeni *et al.* (2005: 27) argue that the TRC has presented citizens with an opportunity to participate in the work of "coming to terms" with the past, what they describe as "an engaged and

often agonising process that placed a great deal of premium on recovery and recognising the memories of individuals and communities”.

In the past decade, a number of writers and researchers have attested to the many achievements of the TRC, ranging from its historic purpose in exposing the state-sanctioned violence of apartheid to the public acknowledgement of individual stories of suffering (see, for example, Krog 1998, Tutu 1999). In this sense, it has fulfilled much of its aim to establish the “truth” about life under apartheid. However, as contributions to the IJR symposium a decade later indicate, there is a lot of “unfinished business”. In particular, the failure to speedily and appropriately provide reparations and forms of redress to victims has caused a lot of hurt. The failure to prosecute and hold perpetrators accountable, particularly those in senior positions such as the former generals and cabinet ministers, has left a lot of anger. In terms of the processes of remembering and memorialisation, it has bequeathed to the nation an immensely rich record of our past, but without the resources to properly archive and organise these resources, they remain inaccessible to the public at large¹⁶. In addition, appropriate public and private processes of remembering are still needed.

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2.6.2 Effects of testifying for individual testifiers

While the previous section reviewed some of the debates circulating in the public arena, this section considers research which investigates the socio-economic conditions of former victims ten years after they made statements to the TRC and the extent to which the act of making statements seems to have been healing.

In terms of the psychotherapeutic approach referred to earlier, the methodology of the TRC was premised on the belief that the telling of trauma and public acknowledgement thereof would be beneficial to victims. A number of authors have referred to the relief that testifiers expressed once they had told their story, and, in a sense, “unburdened themselves”. Tutu (1997: 127), for example, makes the following comment in his book on the Truth Commission:

We found that many who came to the Commission attested afterwards to the fact that they found relief, and experienced healing, just through the process of telling their story. The acceptance, the affirmation, the acknowledgement that they had indeed suffered was cathartic for them.

However, not all writers and commentators echo this sentiment¹⁷. Ross critiques the TRC methodological assumption which equates the assertion of “voice” and the “telling” of past trauma with the establishment of truth and ultimately with healing. She shows through her research that “testimonies and their effects are complex” (2003: 79). Once in the public domain, testimonies became the subject of interpretation, discussion and reinterpretation in different contexts (2003: 80), sometimes in ways which were harmful and hurtful to the testifiers.

Yazir Henry is a former combatant and youth activist from the 1980s who, while being tortured, gave out the hiding place of a fellow activist who was subsequently killed. He recounts how his testimony was “appropriated, interpreted, retold and sold” after he delivered it to the TRC in August 1996 (Henry 2000: 167). He criticises journalists, writers, academics and members of the public who have insensitively, sensationally and judgementally evaluated his testimony. He even attests to having survived one attempt on his life, and of having being accosted and humiliated in public on several occasions, as a direct result of speaking before the TRC. However, he simultaneously applauds the “safe space” the TRC created which enabled him to finally face himself and the nation and tell his story. He writes about the TRC as enabling him to “break the silence” thereby initiating his process of healing and reintegration into society.

Two scholars who have investigated the psychotherapeutic effects of making statements to the TRC are Ashraf Kagee (2004, 2006) and Ahmed-Riaz Mohamed (2005). Kagee (2006) conducted an empirical study comparing various psychological variables among 148 former political detainees, just over one quarter of whom had given statements to the TRC. His results indicate *no* differences in distress and traumatisation scores between the two groups of survivors, although many who had testified *claimed* that they had benefited from testifying. As one explanation for the null result, he argues that

psychological factors (such as distress and intrusive thoughts) have had a *less* significant impact on former detainees' current states of wellbeing than factors relating to their social-political conditions. In other words, their social-economic hardships and political marginalisation, as well as their ongoing health concerns, were a greater cause of distress in their current situations than the psychological distress they still suffered as a result of their detention and torture. It is important to note, however, that his sample consisted of people who only *gave statements* to the TRC, not people who testified in public hearings. He acknowledges, therefore, that research into the extent to which *public testimony before the TRC and the media* was therapeutic is needed.

A small qualitative study by Mohamed (2005) on the effects of testifying in *public hearings* corroborates Kagee's findings. Of the five participants Mohamed interviewed¹⁸, he reports that four describe the experience of testifying as significant and cathartic – they felt they had been heard, understood and acknowledged. One participant, however, reported feelings of panic and anxiety probably caused by the experience of reliving the trauma through narrative. He also notes that all his participants stressed the significance of having contributed towards the creation of a public record which could serve as a lesson to future generations. Thus the significance of testifying for this group lay not so much in the reduction of symptoms of psychological distress, but in terms of the social acknowledgement and recognition made possible by the public hearings.

However, like Kagee (2006), Mohamed (2005) argues that there were a number of post-trauma and post-TRC factors which seem to have reversed the gains experienced from testifying. In the case of the participants he studied, their feelings of having been betrayed by the political leadership and post-liberation ANC-led government has caused a lot of anger, resentment and distress. They feel “forgotten” and “abandoned” despite the fact that they sacrificed their youth and education and endured harassment and torture for the liberation struggle. In addition, at least four of the five continue to live in conditions of poverty and socio-economic hardship which serves to compound their previous experiences of trauma and to continue their past trauma into the present. Mohamed, like Henry (2000) referred to above, attests to the fact that healing is a lengthy

process and the giving of testimony is simply a step on the path towards reintegration and reconciliation.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, it was argued that research from a social perspective views context as constructed and that context works at many levels. Different dimensions of the TRC context were explored, including the historical, institutional and situational contexts. In addition, the social discourses as well as the contextual constraints which shaped the testimonies, were considered. Research on the mode of testifying and how the resultant interpreting processes have shaped the public record were also considered. Lastly, current debates about the legacy and “unfinished business” of the TRC were reviewed.

This chapter provides a contextual framework for the study of the testimonies in Chapters Five to Eight. In the following chapter, a literature review of the theory used in the analysis of the testimonies is presented. In this review, it is argued that approaches to language study, like the conceptions of context outlined in Section 2.1 above, have shifted towards a social view of language. In terms of this paradigm, language is viewed as social practice – it is shaped by social realities and is constitutive of those same realities.

ENDNOTES

¹ The first five volumes of the *TRC's Final Report* were presented to government in October 1998. However, the work of the Amnesty Committee continued until 2002 and the final two volumes of the Report were only submitted to government in early 2003 (Matthew 2005: 19).

² During the apartheid era, South Africans were classified into the following racial categories: African, Indian, Coloured and White. During the 1980s, these labels were rejected by the opposition movement, which chose to refer to all oppressed people in South Africa (African, Indian and Coloured) as Black. Although the term, “coloured”, is now much more acceptable, notions of coloured identity are still contested.

³ See also the article from *South*, another local newspaper from the 1980s, in Appendix B. *South* attempted to provide an alternative voice to the state discourse of the time within a context of strict media censorship. Periodically, it published the names of people from the Cape Town area

who were held in detention. In this article, the names of some of the testifiers considered in this thesis appear, as well as a number of other youth from Bonteheuwel.

⁴ Ross (2003) notes that the TRC's definitions of "severe ill treatment" were unclear and contested, but that the following violations were included in the *TRC Report 1*: "rape and punitive solitary confinement, sexual assault, abuse or harassment; physical beating resulting in serious injuries; injuries incurred as a result of police action during demonstrations; 'burnings'; injury by poisoning, drugs or other chemicals; failure to provide medical attention to someone in custody; destruction of a house through arson or other attacks" (2003: 19).

⁵ Ross (2003: 89) makes the same point. She explores in detail the testimony of Mrs Khutwane, an activist from Zwelethemba, who was one of the few women to talk about their experiences of sexual violation. She analyses the way in which Mrs Khutwane's testimony was shaped by interventions and questions about the sexual violation from the Commissioner assigned to her story. She describes how this aspect of her testimony was foregrounded by both the TRC and the media such that it became or was presumed to be "*the* traumatic event and the *primary* violation". In fact, from the interviews Ross held with Mrs Khutwane, it is clear that her trauma was far greater and more complex than the sexual violation she described in her testimony. Of great importance to her, and a source of enormous pain, was the fact that while she was in detention, rumours circulated that she was an informer and a group of comrades burnt her house. This act, as well as the loss of community trust despite her 25 years of work for the ANC, was overshadowed by the prominence given to the sexual violation by both the TRC and the media.

⁶ Activists Bradley Barrow and Shirley Gunn indicated that they had carefully monitored and edited what they included in their statements to the TRC as they were concerned about the legal implications of what they might say (personal communication).

⁷ Du Plessis and Wiegand (1998: 29) offered the following statistics for April – June 1996 which indicate that the majority of testifiers chose to testify in their first language: Xhosa (37,73%), Zulu (28,48%), English (13,91%), Sotho (8,61%), Afrikaans (5,30%), Tswana (5,30%).

⁸ In all cases, I conceptualised the projects and supervised the students. I am grateful to my students and colleagues for their enormous assistance in transcribing and translating the Xhosa and Afrikaans testimonies.

⁹ The spelling of testifiers' names within the TRC record is unstable. (*TRC Report 2* (1998: 41) acknowledges this problem.) The spelling on the transcript does not always coincide with the spelling in the final *TRC Report*, which records the names of those who were found to be victims. For example, Sicelo Mhlawuli's name is spelt as such on the transcript published on the TRC website, but appears as Mhlauli in *TRC Report 7* (2002).

¹⁰ In our paper, Bock, Z. *et al.* (2006: 24) emphasise "that we did not undertake this research so as to point to the deficiencies of the TRC interpreters, who under very difficult circumstances, performed an extraordinary service of national significance. Rather, we wish to demonstrate that the official record should be read with caution and that researchers working on the TRC testimonies would be advised to consult the original testimonies in the languages in which they were given if they are to do justice to the people who testified at the Truth Commission and to understand their stories in their fullest sense".

¹¹ Du Plessis and Wiegand (1988: 28) comment that although interpreters were meant to receive victims' written statements at least 24 hours in advance, this seldom happened. Statements were "usually handed out at the start of the day, if at all, and background material (was) rarely provided".

¹² Rousseau (2005: 38) indicates that of the 1650 applications for amnesty that the TRC finally considered, 998 of these were from members of the ANC or allied organisations such as the UDF. Only 293 applications were received from the former security forces and 109 from the IFP although the overwhelming majority of human rights abuses were committed by the latter two groupings. In addition, the leadership of these two groupings, with the exception of one cabinet

minister, refused to accept any responsibility or involvement in human rights violations and did not apply for amnesty.

¹³ The TRC recommended individual reparation grants of between R17 029 and R23 023 to be paid annually to victims or dependents of deceased victims for a period of six years (Matthew 2005: 18).

¹⁴ The Khulumani Support Group was established in 1995 by victims of gross human rights violations during the apartheid years. In 2006 it had 48 000 members nationally and defined its purpose as being to support victims in rebuilding their lives, restoring their dignity and enabling them to “speak out” about their experiences and needs, including their demands for reparations (*Khulumani Support Group media flyer*).

¹⁵ See also Colvin (2004) for a discussion of Khulumani’s disillusionment with “traumatic storytelling” as a means to healing, and for its failure to provide an effective basis for “victim-centred politics” which would serve the needs and interests of victims.

¹⁶ The exception to this, of course, is the records published on the TRC website. While a number of resources have been placed with the National Archives, “an unrecorded quantity of TRC records was removed by commissioners and staffers” and “certain records remain in the custody of the Department of Justice and the President’s Fund (Harris 2005: 12).

¹⁷ *The New York Times Online*, July 17, 1997, carries an article by S. Daley in which she claims that victim advocates, psychologists and Truth Commission workers reported that within weeks or months of testifying, many victims complained of sleepless nights and recurring nightmares. She also comments that many victims felt a growing anger at a process that reopened old wounds, but gave them little support afterwards. She supports her claims with quotations from interviews with employees of the TRC and the Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture, and from interviews with former youth activists and political detainees who testified before the TRC.

¹⁸ His participants included Rebecca Truter, Minnie Ferhelst, Moegamat Qasim Willaims, Colin de Souza and Zubeida Jaffer. Note that the testimonies of two of these are considered in this study.

CHAPTER 3

Theoretical Framework

The main aim of this research project is to make a discourse analysis of the narrative patterns within selected testimonies and analyse the ways in which these reflect particular speaker positions or, in the TRC terminology, “narrative truths”. This project is also interested in exploring the extent to which these individual testimonies draw on and reflect broader social discourses. Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics offer suitable theoretical frameworks for this research as they seek to explore and reveal the delicate and complex relationship between texts and the social and cultural contexts in which they are produced and interpreted. This chapter surveys relevant developments in both fields in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 below. However, these should be seen against the broader canvas of Linguistics, the discipline, and the paradigmatic shifts this has undergone over the past century. This chapter therefore begins with a brief overview of these changes in Section 3.1 below.

3.1 Turn towards a social view of language

Kress (2001) traces the “turn towards a social view of language” in the latter half of the twentieth century from the predominantly structural and formal one which had dominated Linguistics for the first half. The structural approach is best epitomised by Saussure and his well known theory of language as a system of arbitrary signs which have meaning only by virtue of the fact that they stand in relationship to other signs in the system. From this perspective, argues Kress, the focus of linguistic study was on the system of language, which speakers could use, but not change (2001: 32).

The turn to the social, argues Kress, can be viewed as a change from a focus on language as a system to one which foregrounds the relationship between language, on the one hand, and the social conditions within which it is used, on the other. He identifies three distinct approaches to this relationship, which he calls *correlation*, *choice* and *critique*.

By *correlation* he refers to the work of sociolinguists such as Labov and Gumperz who, in the 1970s and 1980s, sought to demonstrate how certain forms of linguistic behaviour (e.g. pronunciation, code-switching) correlated with particular social contexts. However, like the structuralists and formalists, argues Kress, the linguistic system was still viewed as autonomous and separate to context, and speakers within this paradigm were still viewed as not having any power to change the system (2001: 34).

The language as *choice* paradigm is best exemplified, suggests Kress, by the work of Halliday and the school of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In this approach, language is viewed as a “socially shaped resource” organised as a system of meaning making choices from which speakers make selections in response to their social contexts (2001: 36). In other words, here the shape of the linguistic system is seen as being the direct result of its social functions.

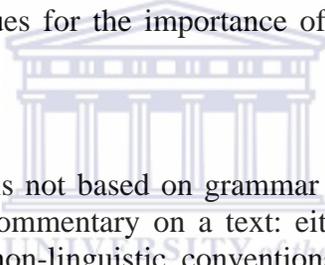
What distinguishes the last paradigm, language as *critique*, from the *choice* paradigm discussed above, argues Kress, is that critique theorists argue that *power* (or difference in power) is the single most important factor in shaping the choices speakers make. From this perspective, all linguistic interactions are shaped by power and texts are outward manifestations of these social actions. Additionally, according to Kress, the question of speaker agency moves “centre stage” in this approach (2001: 35).

Kress does not suggest that this progression should be seen as ranged along a cline of improvements, although he clearly positions himself within the critique paradigm. Rather, the different paradigms focus on different things. In fact, Kress, Fairclough and other critique theorists, all argue that a critique approach to language is best

complemented by *functionalist* approaches to grammar, in particular, SFL (see also Wodak and Meyer 2001).

However, Widdowson (2004) strongly criticises critique theorists, commonly referred to as “critical discourse analysts”, for their lack of linguistic rigour. He accuses them of lacking a principled approach to linguistic description (despite their claims to be using SFL) and of paying selective attention to those linguistic features which serve to substantiate their ideological purposes, or what Widdowson (2004: 106) refers to as their “pretextual purposes”. In other words, he accuses them of imposing a particular interpretation on a text in the interests of some broader ideological agenda, while claiming to be doing a close linguistic analysis.

Halliday (1994: xvii) also argues for the importance of sound grammatical analysis in text analysis. He states:



discourse analysis that is not based on grammar is not an analysis at all, but simply a running commentary on a text: either an appeal has to be made to some set of non-linguistic conventions, or to some linguistic features that are trivial enough to be accessible without a grammar, like the number of words per sentence (and even the objectivity of these is often illusory); or else the exercise remains a private one in which one explanation is as good or as bad as another.

For this reason, this project uses a combination of Discourse Analysis and SFL to ensure that the discourse analyses can be substantiated with reference to linguistic evidence.

3.2 Discourse Analysis

3.2.1 Introduction to the field

Research in the field of Discourse Analysis spans all three paradigms noted by Kress (2001) above and has resulted in a wide array of approaches, ranging from those which focus on “language beyond the sentence” to “language in use” to “language as social

practice” (Jaworski and Coupland 1999, Schiffrin *et al.* 2001). These shifts do not entirely match those suggested by Kress, although they reflect a development from a focus on texts and the structures and organisational features which give them coherence, to ones which increasingly view texts as shaped by, integral to and constitutive of the social contexts in which they are produced and interpreted¹.

Cameron (2001: 7) refers to “Discourse Analysis” as an “umbrella term” which covers a wide range of approaches in a variety of disciplines. In Linguistics, Discourse Analysis involves the analysis of *authentic* forms of communication: spoken, written or visual texts which have real communicative purposes. Secondly, Cameron notes, Discourse Analysis involves the analysis of texts in *context* (as opposed to the analysis of decontextualised sentences associated with the formal approaches), although as has been noted above, the conceptualisation of this relationship varies from one paradigm to another, as does the centrality of power as the defining social factor which shapes linguistic choice. This latter end of the spectrum is generally represented by a particular branch of Discourse Analysis called Critical Discourse Analysis.

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Fairclough’s seminal work, *Language and Power* (2001, first published in 1989) provides the theoretical foundation for much contemporary work in what has become known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA takes as its central concern the role of power and ideology in the construction and interpretation of discourse. In *Language and Power*, Fairclough develops his theory of language as a form of social practice. He argues that any use of language, or text, is both shaped by the context in which it is produced and interpreted, and further shapes that context in some way. That is, discourse constitutes social structures and subject positions both in the sense that it may help to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that it may contribute towards transforming it. The work of the analyst, according to this approach, is to reveal how hidden ideologies position and, often, manipulate the participants.

Fairclough (2001) argues that analysis from this perspective should explore the relationship between *texts*, *interactions* and *context* and should move from *description* to

interpretation to *explanation* (2001: 21-22). At the level of *description*, the formal textual-linguistic features of the text are described; at the level of *interpretation*, the focus is on how the participants make sense of their interactions, both the processes of *production* and *interpretation*; at the level of *explanation*, the researcher is concerned with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation and their effects, so as to reveal the ideological underpinnings which have shaped and are shaped by a particular instance of discourse.

The approach to Discourse Analysis which has informed this thesis draws on the SFL perspective as developed by Martin and Rose (2003) and Martin and White (2005). (See Section 3.3.3 below for a summary of this approach). Although power is not foregrounded in the SFL approach to the extent that it is in CDA, the role of social and cultural contexts in the production and interpretation of texts is centrally motivated. Secondly, SFL theorists do not espouse an overt commitment to social justice and “emancipatory change” as critical discourse analysts do (Fairclough 2003: 209). This is not to say that SFL theorists do not apply their skills to worthy social causes. Indeed, the major impetus for the development of SFL came from research conducted within the context of educational programmes which aimed to improve access to and success in schools for marginalised groups within Australia (Christie and Martin 1997).

While issues of power are clearly important in the context of the TRC testimonies, I should like to focus my analysis not on the underlying power structures that have shaped the testimonies, but on how speakers utilise particular social discourses or ways of representing the world to construct their identities and positions, as well as how the individual style of a testifier gives a testimony its distinctive character. I have found the SFL approach to language and discourse analysis useful for exploring these issues, and use this as my primary analytical lens.

I have also found the concepts of *discourses*, *styles* and *identities* as developed by the discourse analysts, Blommaert (2005), Cameron (2001), Fairclough (2003) and Schiffrin (1996) useful, and so should like first to explore their definitions of these concepts before

moving to a detailed exposition of SFL in Section 3.3. While Fairclough and Blommaert would certainly describe themselves as working within the critique paradigm, I shall be using their ideas in my analyses without taking forward their explicit focus on power and inequality.

3.2.2 Discourses, styles and identities

In a recent text, Fairclough (2003) presents an approach to discourse analysis which takes into account three strata or levels: *social events*, *social practices* and *social structures*. *Social structures* operate at the highest level of generality and define the “potential set of possibilities” (2003: 23). *Language* as a system operates at this level. Social structures are mediated by *social practices*, which “control linguistic variability for particular areas of life” (2003: 24). These social practices, or “orders of discourse”, are manifest linguistically through *discourses*, *genres* and *styles*. They “articulate” discourse (language) with other non-discoursal social elements (2003: 25). Lastly *social events* are concrete manifestations of these practices. *Texts* are the primary linguistic manifestation of these social events and are shaped by the social practices and structures which constrain, at increasing levels of abstraction, the potential set of choices from which a speaker may select. The relationship between these elements is represented by the following table (after Fairclough 2003: 24):

Table 3.1: Fairclough’s three strata

Social structures	Language systems
Social practices	Orders of discourse (discourses, genres, styles)
Social events	Texts

Fairclough (2003: 26) indicates that he is using the term, *discourse*, in two ways: firstly, as an abstract noun, to refer to language and other types of semiosis (the first stratum), and secondly, as a count noun (*discourses*) to refer to particular ways of representing the world (the second stratum)².

Discourses are to be distinguished from *texts*. While discourses refer to broad “ways” or patterns of talking, texts refer to the actual linguistic interaction that takes place. The text draws on or is informed by these discourses, or as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 328) express it:

discourses are broad patterns of talk – systems of statements – that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations, not the speeches or conversations themselves. The latter are most often termed ‘texts’ ... Thus one would say that certain discourses operate in a particular text, or that the text draws on, or is informed by, these discourses.

Discourses, genres and styles are the linguistic elements that make up the social practices stratum in Fairclough’s theory. Fairclough uses the term, *genre*, in the same way that Martin and Rose (2003) do, to refer to conventional ways of structuring discourse in particular contexts. I define this concept extensively in Section 3.4.2 below and shall therefore not deal with it here.

Fairclough uses the term, *style*, to refer to the ways in which speakers constitute their identities through language (2003: 160). He argues that identification is a complex process as it involves two aspects: social identity and individual personality. In line with post-structuralist thinking on identity, Fairclough argues that social identity (e.g. gender, social class) is not fixed and intrinsic to individuals, but constructed through language, through discourse. But, he argues, “identity cannot be reduced to social identity” (2001: 160) because people have “self-consciousness”, a “personality”, which affects the way they engage with the world.

In other words, Fairclough argues that identification draws on both social and personal identities: in the process of performing or enacting our identities, we draw on social discourses and social identities; at the same time, we “infuse” these identities with our individual personalities (2003: 160). This gives rise to our individual discursal “ways of being” or styles.

As an example of style, Fairclough (2003: 161, quoting MacIntyre 1984) suggests many cultures have a distinctive stock of characters, such as managers or therapists, which are generally recognisable to members of that culture. These characters exist at a level of generalisation or abstraction and are relatively stable, pervasive aspects of the culture, although they can and do change over time. On a less abstract level, however, there are various styles of being a manager or a therapist (social identities). And finally, on the concrete level of an actual social event, a particular personality may invest the character of manager or therapist in distinctive ways (personal identities) thus giving a person their distinctive style. Styles, argues Fairclough (2003: 162), are realised through a range of features: through phonology (pronunciation, intonation, stress, rhythm), choice of vocabulary and metaphor, including swearing and body language (facial expressions, gestures, stance, hair style and clothing).

I find Fairclough's concept of style useful for analysing the ways in which testifiers construct particular identities in their testimonies. While the testimonies have a number of things in common (e.g. testifiers draw on shared social discourses), they also reflect the particular personalities of the individuals who testified. In other words, the testimonies (or texts) are shaped by and reflect the discourses, genres and styles which were available to the testifiers on the particular occasion of their hearing, but they also reflect the distinctive narrative styles and personalities of the individual testifiers.

Other discourse analysts (Cameron 2001, Blommaert 2005 and Schiffrin 1996) also argue that identity is not an inalienable characteristic of a person, but rather socially constructed:

a person's identity is not something fixed, stable and unitary that they acquire early in life and possess forever afterwards. Rather, identity is shifting and multiple, something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other and the world (Cameron 2001: 170).

In other words, people appropriate certain behaviours (e.g. behaving like a woman) which construct their identity (or gender). However, these behaviours are not fixed and,

on any one occasion, we may act more or less like a female. At times, we may appropriate male-like behaviours because it suits our purpose. Blommaert (2005: 205) asserts: “people don’t *have* an identity ... (their) identities are constructed in practices that *produce, enact, or perform* identity”. However, these constructions are constrained by the “cultural repertoires” which people have access to (Cameron 2001: 174), and, adds Blommaert (2005: 15), “the distribution of elements of the repertoires in any society is unequal”.

To link this to Fairclough’s theory of style, one could say that different people have access to different styles or social practices (cultural repertoires) which they draw on in the construction of their own distinctive style. However, the range of styles to which any person has access is constrained. For example, the less powerful in society generally only have access to the less powerful repertoires, while for the powerful, the converse applies.

Narratives are well recognised as powerful resources for the construction and display of identities. Keller-Cohen and Dyer (1997) argue that:

(i)n contemporary scholarship it has become commonplace to observe that speakers use the site of narratives to construct particular identities ... the construction of identity being understood not as a single act, but as a process that is constantly active, each telling of a story offering the narrator a fresh opportunity to create a particular representation of herself (1997: 150).

Schiffrin (1996) explores how speakers use narratives (in her case, two stories told by Jewish-American women about troublesome issues in their families) to construct positions and represent themselves against a backdrop of cultural expectations as to what constitutes appropriate behaviour, thereby displaying their social identities (as mothers within a particular Jewish-American context). She argues:

The form of our stories (their textual structure), the content of our stories (what we tell about) and our story-telling behaviour (how we tell our stories) are all sensitive indices not just of our personal selves, but also of our social and cultural identities (Schiffrin 1996: 170).

Schiffrin compares telling a story to painting a self-portrait. Stories, she suggests, provide “a linguistic lens through which we discover people’s own (somewhat idealized) views of themselves as situated in a social structure” (1996: 199). In other words, the way a story is verbalised and structured (like the form and composition of a portrait) combines with its content and local and global contexts of production to present a view of the speaker (or artist) which can either be challenged or accepted by an audience.

Blommaert (2001: 205) further argues that in order for an identity to be established, it has to be recognised or “granted” by others (see also Schiffrin 1996, Gee 1999). In other words, identity is constructed through interactions with others and depends crucially on the audience recognising and accepting this identity, which it does not always do. Cameron (2001: 176) refers to this as the “co-construction” of the self: “our identities emerge not only from what we do ourselves, but also from the way others position us in what they say to and/or about us”.

While speakers may resist these positionings, this may also lead to what Blommaert refers to as a “loss of voice”. By *voice* he refers to Hymes’s notion of “the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. This capacity to make oneself understood ... is a capacity to generate an uptake of one’s words as close as possible to one’s desired contextualisation” (2005: 68). As discourses move across contexts, their “value” or status may change in unpredictable ways: “resources that are functional in one particular place ... become dysfunctional as soon as they are moved into other places” and speakers consequently lose voice (2005: 83). Blommaert (2001: 235) therefore argues for a kind of discourse analysis “that takes difference and inequality as points of departure” as this enables the analyst to question the micro-levels that often invisibly control discourse.

3.2.3 Summary

This section has reviewed key developments in the field of Discourse Analysis and discussed the concepts of *discourse*, *style* and *identity* as espoused by Fairclough, Blommaert, Cameron and Schiffrin. I shall be using these terms in the same way in this thesis. These authors have presented arguments for viewing these concepts as socially constructed and situated.

They have also argued that what we reveal of our identity is dependent on the context. In other words, our identity is constructed and enacted by us according to the time, place, topic and purpose of communication, often through quite minute markers, such as a particular accent or use of pronouns. In this way, the identity we present to the world (our self presentation) changes in different contexts. One of the aims of this research project is to explore the identities performed by testifiers in the TRC testimonial context.

Fairclough (2001) and other social theorists (Kress 2001, Wodak and Meyer 2001) argue that the social approach they advocate is best complemented by *functionalist* approaches to grammar, in particular, the *systemic functional* approach associated with Michael Halliday, rather than the *formalist* approaches associated with Noam Chomsky. In the following section, a thorough review of this approach to language is offered.

3.3. Systemic Functional Linguistics

3.3.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics: an overview³

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a theory about language as a social process. It is a descriptive and interpretive framework which allows for the detailed and systematic study of linguistic patterns in texts and how these relate to context. It is underpinned by the view that the focus of linguistic analysis should be on how people use language to make sense of the world and of each other – in other words, to make *meanings*. It was primarily developed by Halliday in the 1970s and then, together with colleagues such as

Ruqaiya Hasan, Jim Martin, Christian Matthiessen and others, elaborated and refined in the decades up to the present.

It is useful to begin with an overview of the terms, *systemic*, *functional* and *social-semiotic*, as defined by Halliday (1994). Halliday argues that the theory on which SFL is based is known as *systemic* theory, which he defines as: “a theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options” (1994: xiv). In other words, language is understood as consisting of sets of resources or options for making meaning, rather than sets of rules for ordering structures.

He describes his grammar as *functional* in that:

1. it is designed to account for how language is used;
2. the fundamental components of meaning in language are functional components (and here he refers to his three metafunctions, *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*); and
3. each element in a language is explained by reference to its function in the total linguistic system (1994: xiii).

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From this perspective, the description of language begins with the functions language is used to perform, or the meanings which language is used to make. The grammatical choices in language are related to these functions or meanings.

Halliday (in Halliday and Hasan 1989: 3-4) describes SFL as a “social-semiotic perspective” on language: *semiotic* in that language is one of the systems of signs which constitute a culture and *social* in that it focuses on “the social functions that determine what language is like and how it has evolved”. He further argues that the way to understand how language functions in relation to social structures is through the study of texts, but that texts must always be seen in the context in which they unfold and in which they are to be interpreted:

A text, then, is both an object in its own right ... and an instance – an instance of social meaning in a particular context of situation. It is a product of its environment, a product of a continuous process of choices in meaning that we can represent as multiple paths or passes through the networks that constitute the linguistic system. (Halliday and Hasan 1989: 11)

In other words, language is a semiotic system in that it is organised as a set of choices and each choice in the system is influenced by and set against the backdrop of the other choices that a speaker or writer could have made in that context (Eggins 2004: 3). Texts are the results of authentic social interaction – or language used for particular social purposes. Further, texts reflect the contexts in which they unfold, and carry with them features of the context in which they were produced (Eggins 2004: 7). This enables us to deduce details of the context in which a text is produced from the text, as well as to predict the kind of language that might be used in a particular context.

According to Halliday, the grammatical options within language generally cluster around three different kinds of meaning, or metafunctions, of language, which are simultaneously reflected in the structure of every clause, though one or another may be more prominent: the *ideational* (*experiential* and *logical*), the *interpersonal*, and the *textual*.

The *ideational* metafunction includes both the *experiential* and *logical* metafunctions. The *experiential* metafunction refers to the use of language to talk about our experience of the world, to describe events and the participants and circumstances involved in these events (i.e. a focus on the content of the message: who does what to whom, in what circumstances). The *logical* metafunction refers to how different clauses relate to one another through the logical relations of hypotaxis and parataxis. The *interpersonal* metafunction refers to the use of language to interact with people, to establish and maintain social relationships, to give and request information and to express our viewpoints, attitudes and beliefs about the world (i.e. a focus on the clause as an exchange of meanings). Lastly, the *textual* metafunction is concerned with information flow and refers to the use of language to organise our message to fit the context in which we may be interacting (i.e. a focus on the structure of the text) (Halliday 1994, Halliday

and Hasan 1989). Any text, therefore, simultaneously reflects the three different strands of meaning which participants have negotiated in that particular context.

Halliday further argues that each metafunction has its own system of lexicogrammar, or wordings, in the grammar of the English clause: *transitivity*, *mood* and *theme*. Ideational meanings are organised by the system of *transitivity*, which refers to the choice of process (verb), participants (nouns) and circumstances (adverbial elements) within a clause. Interpersonal meanings are organised by *mood*, or whether propositions are structured as declaratives, interrogatives or imperatives, and textual meanings are organised by *theme*, or the way information is organised within clauses and texts (Halliday, 1994)⁴.

Within SFL theory these options are encoded, or *realised*, to use the SFL term, at different levels of abstraction: *phonology* or *graphology*, *lexicogrammar* and *discourse semantics* (Martin and White 2005: 8-9). *Phonology* and *graphology* refer to the organisation of phonemes into syllables or letters into words and sentences, along with rhythm and intonation for spoken language and punctuation and layout for written language (Egins 2004: 19). The *lexicogrammar* refers to words and structures which are realised through phonology or graphology. Research in this area focuses on “meaning within the clause” (Martin and White 2005: 9). The systems of *transitivity*, *mood* and *theme* operate at this level. The final stratum of *discourse semantics* is concerned with how texts are created, organised and linked – in other words, with “meaning beyond the clause” (2005: 9). At this level, *appraisal* operates as a system of interpersonal meaning.

To summarise, SFL is a theory about language which takes as its point of departure the notion that language use is functional and that its function is to make meanings. Further, the process of using language is a semiotic process of making meanings by choosing or selecting options from within systems of meaning – all of which are influenced by the context in which they are exchanged. These meanings are realised at different layers within the semiotic system of language. The way these are structured and organised is of interest to SFL: linguists working within this tradition are interested in exploring “how

people use language with each other in accomplishing everyday social life” (Eggin 2004: 3) and how language users make selections from the complex web of possibilities presented by the language to produce texts which are appropriate (or not) to the context.

3.3.2 SFL conceptions of context

As noted at the beginning of this overview, SFL is a theory about language as a social process. It takes the approach that the focus of linguistic study should be “text in context”. It recognises that we, as users of a language, have the ability to deduce context from the linguistic patterns in a text and, conversely, to predict how language will vary depending on the context.

As already noted in the previous chapter (Section 2.1), SFL has developed a theory of context to explain this relationship at both the level of situation and at the broader level of culture. The level of analysis relating to the *context of situation* is referred to as the *register* of a text and is concerned with the ways in which language patterns predictably across different contexts. This framework recognises three dimensions of context which affect linguistic interactions: the *field*, *tenor* and *mode*. These three dimensions relate systematically to the different kinds of meaning or functions of language outlined above: experiential meanings are expressed through the field, interpersonal meanings are expressed through the tenor, and textual meanings are expressed through the mode.

While the context of situation refers to the immediate environment within which a text is produced, texts must be interpreted against a broader background, namely the *context of culture*. The SFL conception of this has been explored as a model of *genre*. Hasan (in Halliday and Hasan 1989) develops a theory of genre to account for the way in which texts are typically structured and realised within any situation of communication. Eggin (2004: 9) formulates the concept of genre as “the impact of the context of culture on language, by exploring the staged, step-by-step structure cultures institutionalize as ways of achieving goals”. In other words, genres are socially recognised, patterned ways of achieving certain social goals, such as buying a newspaper or chatting to friends. SFL

theorists argue that within each genre, certain predictable configurations of the three register variables, field, tenor and mode, occur as habitual ways of interacting appropriately within that culture (Eggins 2004: 59).

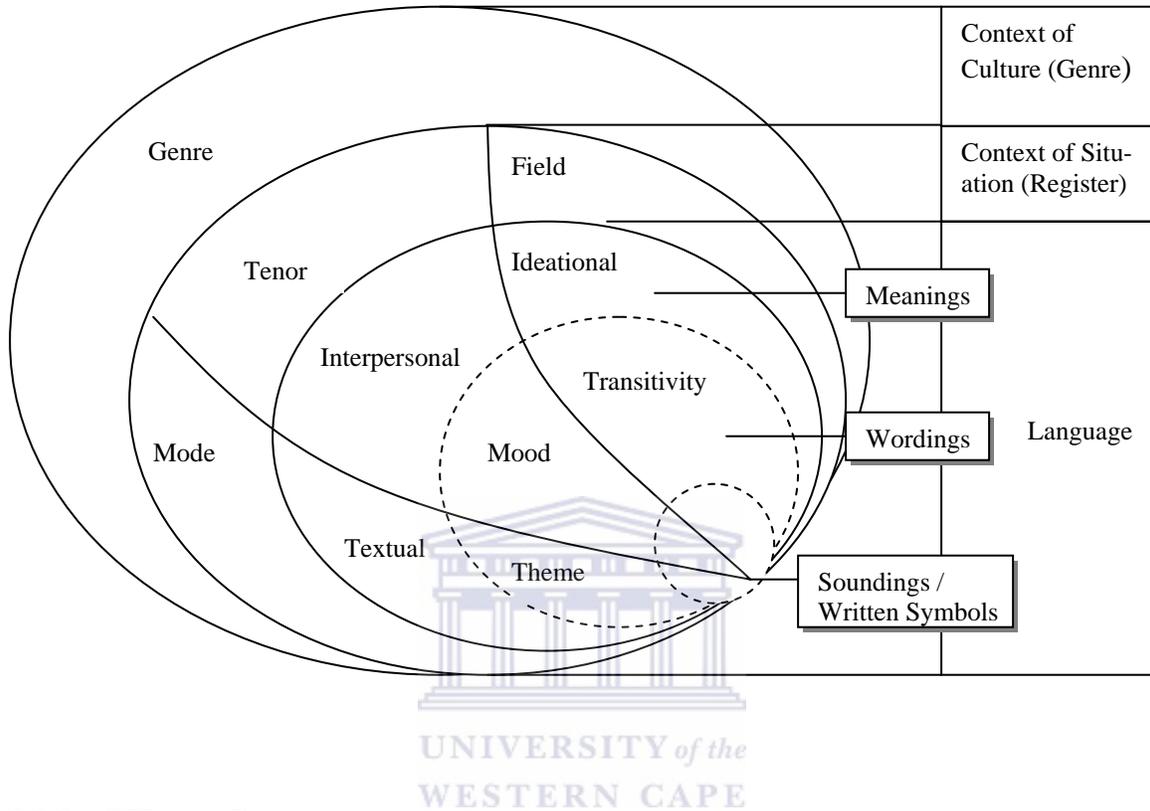
Eggins (2004: 10) further discusses a “a higher level of context” which is increasingly attracting attention within SFL, namely the level of *ideology* (see also Martin 2004, Martin and Rose 2003 and Martin and White 2005). She argues that “(w)hatever genre we are involved in, and whatever the register of the situation, our use of language will also be influenced by our ideological positions: the values we hold (consciously or unconsciously), the perspectives acquired through our particular path through the culture” (Eggins 2004: 10). She maintains, in line with contemporary post-structural approaches, that since all texts encode ideological positions, “to use language at all is to use it to encode particular positions and values” and that language does not just represent but actively constructs our view of the world (Eggins 2004: 11).

To summarise, the SFL approach is one that places the study of texts in their social contexts. The ways in which language use is influenced by the context of situation is referred to as the *register*, whereas the way in which text is structured according to function and social purpose is known as the *genre*. A core aim of SFL is to provide as detailed a model as possible of the various options or system networks that constitute a language and which shape as well as are shaped by the users of that language (Martin *et al.* 1997: 1). SFL recognises that texts are the products of a process of choosing or selecting options from within an intricate system of semiotic resources which encode particular positions and values. Linguistic study conducted from within this approach aims, therefore, to explore the complex and nuanced ways in which texts, as instances of language use, relate to context, and the ways in which texts not only reflect but also construct our view of the world.

The following diagram illustrates the relationship between the different elements of SFL referred to above:

Diagram 3.1: SFL model of language as a semiotic system

(based on Jordens 2002)



3.3.3 SFL and Discourse Analysis

The term, discourse, is used in SFL to refer to the level of meaning above the lexicogrammar (or “wordings” in the above diagram), namely, the level concerned with the relations of meaning across a text. Martin and Rose (2003), in their text, *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the clause*, position discourse analysis as interfacing with the analysis of grammar, on the one hand, and social activity, on the other:

Discourse analysis employs the tools of grammarians to identify the roles of wordings in passages of text, and employs the tools of social theorists to explain why they make the meanings they do... Social contexts are realized as texts which are realized as sequences of clauses (Martin and Rose 2003: 4-5).

Martin and Rose (2003, 2007) propose five systems of meaning which are significant for the analysis of discourse from an *interpersonal*, *ideational* and *textual* point of view. Interpersonal meanings are explored through the system of *appraisal*, or the SFL approach to evaluation, experiential meanings are primarily explored through *ideation*, logical meanings through *conjunction*, and textual meanings through the systems of *identification* and *periodicity*.

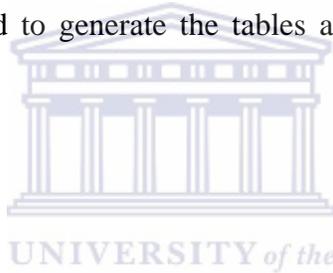
Martin and Rose (2003, 2007) describe these discourse systems as follows: appraisal is concerned with evaluation, or the kinds of attitudes and feelings that a text expresses. The appraisal framework is a recent development in SFL (see Martin and White 2005) and operates at the level of discourse semantics, as opposed to the lexicogrammar. Ideation focuses on the events that are described; in other words, the sequence of activities, as well as the description and classification of people and things. These are typically referred to as experiential meanings and are realised through the system of transitivity. Conjunction explores the inter-connections between activities in terms of temporal, causes and other types of relations. Identification refers to the range of resources for introducing participants into a discourse and for keeping track of them. Periodicity is concerned with the way information in a text is organised and packaged and is based on the SFL theories of theme and rheme. Martin and Rose (2003, 2007) also use SFL theories of genre to describe the overall organisation and architecture of the texts they are analysing.

SFL theory is vast and elaborate and some selection is necessary. For the purposes of this thesis, I have chosen certain aspects of the theory as tools for the analysis of the testimonies. I primarily refer to genre theory and the appraisal framework, as these proved relevant and interesting for the purposes of this analysis. Genre theory enabled me to track the overall text architecture and relate this to the testifiers' narrative purposes. Appraisal theory allowed for an exploration of how testifiers evaluated themselves and their experiences, as well as the ways in which they encoded particular values and ideologies. I have also, at times, made use of other SFL theories, such as periodicity (with a focus on thematisation) as a way of exploring the information flow, and the

system of transitivity, with its focus on the construal of experiential meanings. I have also dipped into the theory of identification and made use of the participant tables developed by Martin and Rose (2003: 163) as a way of tracking participants within a text. I have therefore selected SFL theoretical tools which helped me explore how testimonies reflect particular narrative purposes, identities and perspectives.

The following sections present detailed overviews of these theories as they form the main theoretical framework for the analyses in Chapters Five to Eight. First, genre theory (3.4) and appraisal (3.5) are extensively reviewed, as these form the main analytical frames for this project. Then periodicity (3.6) and transitivity (3.7) are considered more briefly, as these are less central to this project. Due to the fact that I have only used the participant tables from the identification system, I shall not elaborate on this theory here, but simply describe the methodology used to generate the tables at the relevant point in the data analysis chapters.

3.4 Genre



A basic premise of SFL (also shared by many other approaches to language study) is that language takes place in context, both situational and cultural, against which it is evaluated as appropriate or inappropriate. The theoretical concept, genre, relates to the broader cultural context and refers to conventional ways or norms of talking/writing about things in any given society.

SFL genre theorists (e.g. Eggins and Slade 1997, Martin and Plum 1997, Martin and Rose 2003, 2007) acknowledge their debt to Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Ruqaiya Hasan (in Halliday and Hasan 1989) for their pioneering work on ‘narrative genre’ and ‘genre from an SFL perspective’, respectively. This section on genre begins therefore with a summary of Labov and Waletzky’s narrative framework, before surveying work on genre from an SFL perspective.

3.4.1 Labov and Waletzky's narrative framework

Labov and Waletzky (1967) set out to describe not “the more complex products of long-standing literary or oral traditions” but the “simplest and most fundamental” narrative structures which are to be found “in oral versions of personal experience” (1967: 12). In other words, they were interested in the kinds of everyday stories told by “a representative sample of the population” (1967: 12). They based their analysis on data drawn from about 600 interviews covering both black and white speakers in the United States, from both urban and rural contexts, with an age range from ten to seventy-two years of age. The only thing that all the speakers had in common was that none of them had finished high school (1967: 13). The interviewer invited the interviewees to tell a story with the prompt: *were you ever in a situation where you were in serious danger of getting killed?* (1967: 14).

Labov and Waletzky set out to perform both a formal and functional analysis of these narratives, which in itself was an innovative move at a time when a strong formalist (Chomskyan) perspective dominated linguistic research (Schegloff 2003:110). They identified two main functions for narratives: the *referential* function, which refers to the content or construal of experience that is presented, and the *evaluative*, or the “additional function of personal interest, determined by a stimulus in the social context in which the narrative occurs” (1967: 13).

On the basis of their analysis of these oral narratives, they proposed a number of stages for a fully-formed narrative, which Labov (1972) expanded into his well known six-part framework. The framework consists of the following stages, although not all may be present in every narrative. A typical narrative may begin with an *abstract*, which summarises the story or encapsulates the main point of the story. This may be followed by an *orientation*, which serves “to identify in some way the time, place, persons, and their activity or the situation” (Labov 1972: 364). Orientation clauses may be dispersed through the story, often for narrative or evaluative effect. Next are the central and most significant parts of the narrative, namely the *complicating action*, followed by the *result*

or *resolution* of that action and the *evaluation*. The *complicating action* refers to the series of events which comprises the main body of the narrative (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 32). These culminate in a crisis which the *resolution* in some way resolves. The *evaluation*, Labov (1972: 366) argues, is what gives a narrative its significance and makes it worth telling. This may appear in many different forms and at many different points in the narrative, although it typically occurs just after the climax at the end of the complicating action and just before the resolution. It frequently acts to suspend the complicating action (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 37) thereby heightening the narrative tension and enabling the narrator to insert his or her evaluation of the significance of the event. The final section of the narrative framework is the optional *coda*, or an additional element after the resolution which is a “functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment” (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 39) and “may also contain general observations or show the effects of the events on the narrator” (Labov 1972: 365).

Thirty years after the publication of Labov and Waletzky’s seminal paper, Emmanuel Schegloff was asked to prepare a short paper assessing and reflecting on the former in a 1997 Special Issue of the *Journal of Narrative and Life History*. Schegloff’s paper was later reprinted in Paulston and Tucker’s (2003) collection of readings, *Sociolinguistics: the essential readings*. It is to this version that I now refer.

While Schegloff (2003) commends Labov and Waletzky for the ground-breaking nature of their paper and acknowledges that many of the critiques he is going to level against it are made with the benefit of thirty years of hindsight, he argues that their research is weakened by the fact that their focus on the narratives as “products” removes from the analytical frame many important aspects of the environment, in particular, the interactional context, in which the narratives were produced. He argues that “(o)rdinary story-telling, in sum, is (choose your term) a coconstruction, an interactional achievement, a joint production, a collaboration, and so forth” (2003: 103) and that analysts should adopt a research perspective which takes not narrative but “talk-in-interaction” as its starting point:

Taking “talk-in-interaction” as the relevant domain, an analyst is constrained to take into account the different settings of “orality” (henceforth “talking”) – in which different speech-exchange systems with different turn-taking practices differentially shape stories and the practices of storytelling, not to mention the different practical activities in whose course, and on whose behalf, storytelling may be taken. An analyst is so constrained because the participants embody these differences in their conduct (Schegloff 2003: 106).

A second restriction on the Labov and Waletzky framework is that it is limited to a very particular kind of recapitulation – based on a particular kind of data (as they themselves acknowledge (1967: 41)). Thus, it may not be suitable for the study of all forms of narrative. Toolan (1988: 164), for example, draws attention to the cultural specificity of narratives when he states: “the kinds of stories that get told, and are valued, in one cultural milieu may differ quite considerably from those that get told in another” although he also notes that numerous authors have found Labov and Waletzky’s framework useful for the analysis of a range of English narratives.

The cultural specificity of the Labovian framework is explicitly investigated by Janet Holmes (2003) who compares story telling patterns between Maori and Pakeha New Zealanders, “Pakeha” being a Maori term for “those New Zealanders of European (mainly British) origin who colonised New Zealand in the nineteenth century” (2003: 114). For this research, she collected 96 narratives (told in English) which occurred spontaneously in the course of conversations between friends of the same age, gender, social class and ethnicity, and used Labov’s framework to analyse the similarities and differences between Maori and Pakeha narratives. She concludes that many of the stories told by both groups conform to Labov’s structure in broad outline, but that in some Maori stories, there were a number of significant differences. For example, the evaluation was sometimes “much less lexically explicit” and conveyed rather through tone of voice, prosody or paralinguistic strategies, and the resolution and coda were sometimes omitted entirely:

The listener is left to draw their own conclusion, or, perhaps more accurately from the Maori participant's viewpoint, the narrator considers the point of the story requires no elaboration (2003: 121).

The effect of this from her female Pakeha point of view, argues Holmes, is to make the story seem incomplete and the point of the story difficult to identify. She then compares this pattern to a typical Pakeha pattern in which the narrators tended to "spell out" the significance of their stories and signal the evaluation, resolution and coda far more explicitly and lexically.

Cortazzi and Jin (2000) make a similar point in relation to the practice in Chinese narratives of "pointing to" but not explicitly stating the evaluative intention: "(a) Chinese storyteller may thus only have responsibility to tell the story; the hearer has the responsibility to evaluate it" (2000: 112). They point out that this co-construction only works when all participants share the same cultural and discourse values.

Other authors have made similar arguments about the cultural specificity of story telling, one of the best known being Shirley Brice Heath's (1983) ethnographic study of the kind of stories told by the different small-town working class communities in the south east of the United States: one black (Trackton) and the other white (Roadville). Her research showed convincingly that what counts as a story in one community would be considered 'lies' in the other. For example, the best stories in Trackton are those which are 'junk' in the sense that they make fictitious claims and wild exaggerations. In Roadville, on the other hand, stories must be factual and stick to a strict account of the truth (Heath 1983).

3.4.2 SFL approach to genre

Building on the work of Labov and Waletzky, linguists working within the SFL tradition have developed a very detailed and specific understanding of genre and have embarked on the identification of different genres, with particular reference to educational ones. Pioneering work on genre was conducted by Ruqaiya Hasan (in Halliday and Hasan 1989) who argues that any given social activity, such as buying goods from a shop or

attending a university lecture, is shaped by the social conventions which structure the form of that activity. On the basis of her analysis of a number of service encounters (buying and selling transactions), she proposes a number of obligatory, optional and iterative (or recursive) elements which make up the structure of any genre, arguing that the obligatory elements define the genre to which a text belongs. She proposes the term, Generic Structure Potential (or GSP) to refer to the underlying structure which may be given a particular realisation in any given context. She further argues that learning the appropriate genres of any culture, particularly the school-based genres, is a matter of social experience.

Egins (2004/1994) presents a succinct summary of the SFL approach to genre in her book, *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. She acknowledges the work of Martin, Hasan and Ventola for the ideas she presents. She argues that genres are an aspect of contextual coherence and “develop as ways of dealing linguistically with recurrent configurations of register variables” (2004: 58) or when certain ways of behaving linguistically in certain contexts become “habitualised”. She quotes Martin’s definition of genre as a “staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture” (2004: 55). Martin and Rose (2003: 7-8) elaborate this definition as follows:

For us a genre is a staged, goal oriented social process. Social because we participate in genres with other people; goal oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals.

Egins (2004) further argues that genres act as general frameworks for interactions of particular types (Hasan’s GSP). These frameworks are adaptable to the many specific contexts in which they are used and this adaptation or realisation is mediated through the register of a text which “fills in the details” of the general generic framework.

She outlines two concepts for the analysis of genre: the *schematic structure* of a text and its *realisational patterns*. The *schematic structure* refers to the staged, step-by-step organisation of the genre which is established through social convention; the *realisation*

patterns refer to the ways in which meaning gets encoded or the ways in which the lexicogrammatical choices cluster and configure (Eggins 2004: 66). These realisation patterns will differ across schematic stages, as well as across genres.

Eggins (2004) argues that the boundaries between the *stages* should be identified through a combination of functional analysis and analysis of the realisation patterns. In other words, each stage must fulfil a separate function in relation to the overall function of the text, and each stage will be characterised by its own distinctive lexicogrammatical patterns. Because the ordering of the stages is usually constrained in certain ways, it carries a dimension of meaning. In other words, if a speaker deliberately flouts an established genre, it sends a particular message (of non-compliance, resistance, and so on). Within these broad stages, additional shorter *phases* may be identified if the text requires it (Martin and Rose 2003: 9). The stages of the genre are relatively stable and predictable, although the phases may be much more variable or even unique to a particular text.

According to Eggins (2004: 65), the central analytic procedure in genre analysis from an SFL point of view is the relating of the schematic structure to its linguistic realisations. Additionally, argues Eggins (2004: 82), useful genre analysis involves “reflecting critically on what cultural work is being done, whose interests are being served, by texts of particular genres”. In other words, generic analysis should include a consideration of the ideological context within which the text is produced and interpreted.

As mentioned earlier, SFL researchers (in particular, Eggins and Slade 1997, Martin and Plum 1997, Martin and Rose 2003) have done a great deal of work on describing the range of genres in everyday life. Martin and Plum (1997) acknowledge their debt to Labov and Waletzky (1967) but ask critically whether the latter’s narrative framework is suitable for all stories. Based on data collected by Plum, they propose four additional kinds of story telling genres: *Recounts*, *Anecdotes*, *Exemplums* and *Observations*⁵. It should be noted that Martin and Plum (1997), Martin and Rose (2004) and Jordens

(2002) include *Observation* as a story-telling genre, while Eggins and Slade (1997: 267) do not.

While these story-telling genres have the same initial and final stages (*Abstract, Orientation, Coda*), they differ in terms of their distinctive ‘middle’ and ‘end’ stages. For example, *Recounts* include *Record of Events* and *Re-orientation*, *Anecdotes* include *Remarkable Event* and *Reaction*, *Exemplums* include *Incident* and *Interpretation*, and *Observations* include *Event Description* and *Comment*. (See Table 3.2 outlining the generic structure of the storytelling genres as defined by SFL theorists – adapted from Jordens 2002). All agree with Labov and Waletzky that in each of the story-telling genres, it is the evaluation running through the text which sustains the story and establishes its contextual significance (Martin and Plum 1997: 299, Eggins and Slade 1997: 237).

Table 3.2: Generic structure of storytelling genres

	Beginning	Middle	End
Narrative	(Abstract) ^ Orientation	^ Complication ^ Evaluation	^ Resolution ^ (Coda)
Recount	(Abstract) ^ Orientation	^ Record of Events	^ Reorientation ^ (Coda)
Anecdote	(Abstract) ^ Orientation	^ Remarkable Event	^ Reaction ^ (Coda)
Exemplum	(Abstract) ^ Orientation	^ Incident	^ Interpretation ^ (Coda)
Observation	(Abstract) ^ Orientation	^ Event Description	^ Comment ^ (Coda)

Note: Optional stages are bracketed. The ^ symbol indicates that the stage to the left typically precedes the stage to the right.

Eggins and Slade (1997), building on the work of Martin and Plum (1997), use Labov and Waletzky’s stages for what they call the Narrative. Narratives, they argue, are usually intended to entertain. They involve protagonists who face problematic experiences which they must resolve. The narrative moves through a series of Complicating Actions, which culminate in a crisis, and end with some kind of Resolution of that crisis by the protagonist, who may be powerful or powerless and act singly or with others (Eggins and Slade 2003: 236). Plum (1988, quoted in Jordens 2003: 64) describes a narrative as “creating a balanced movement of rising tension, sustained suspense and falling tension”.

If a Narrative can be described as an “adventure”, argue Rothery and Stenglin (1997: 239), a Recount can be described as a “journey”. In Recounts, the focus is on the way events relate to one another (on “telling what happened”), the point being to retell the events and to express the speaker’s appraisal of these events. Martin and Plum (1997) and Rothery and Stenglin (1997) identify the distinctive middle stages as Record of Events and Reorientation. The Record of Events, which may be sequenced in time, is presented as “unfolding unproblematically – irrespective of how unusual, dangerous, tragic and so forth, they might have been” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301). The Reorientation stage may be both coda-like in that it brings the events “full circle”, with some reference to the starting point of the text (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 237), and resolution-like, in that it finishes the story off “with a flourish” thus establishing its significance (Martin and Plum 1997: 301).

Recounts, unlike Narratives, are not about “restoring a disturbed equilibrium” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301). Recounts do not have anything like Labov and Waletzky’s suspension of action through an Evaluation stage – rather, they involve ongoing appraisal by the narrator and the evaluation is realised prosodically. According to Martin (1996, quoted in Jordens 2002: 64), Recounts construe experience as ‘expected’, whereas the other four story types construe experience as ‘out-of-the-ordinary’.

Anecdotes are similar to Narratives in that they consist of an incident (or Remarkable Event) which results in a crisis. However, in the Anecdote, the crisis is not explicitly resolved. The focus of the story is on the Reaction to the crisis, rather than the crisis itself. It is assumed within the cultural context of the Anecdote that normality is restored at the end of the story. The primary function of the Anecdote is for the speakers to get the audiences to share their reactions which may be ones of amazement, frustration, embarrassment, humiliation, and so on (Egins and Slade 1997: 237).

With the Exemplum, there is once again a protagonist who faces some kind of crisis, but unlike the Narrative, the focus of an Exemplum is not the crisis and its resolution.

Rather, the story culminates in a judgement or moral point which relates the incident to a broader cultural context. Martin and Plum (1997: 301) describe the exemplum as follows:

Exemplums share a judgement about a noteworthy incident... The listener is positioned to approve or disapprove of the conduct of a story's protagonists, and in this respect the exemplum is related to other moralizing genres such as the parable, fable, gossip...

The purpose of the Exemplum is to make some explicit and moral statement about “how the world should or should not be” and to align the audience with the speaker in a position of approval or disapproval (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237, 257). In this sense, the tellable events are “downgraded” to a “mere incident whose only function is to serve as the raw material for making a point that lies totally outside the text” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301) The defining stages of an Exemplum include Incident and Interpretation (as opposed to the Complicating Action and Evaluation of the Narrative). In the Incident stage, the story consists of a series of temporally sequenced events where the focus is on the significance of the events, their interpretation and what they illustrate, rather than on their problematic nature. In the Interpretation, evaluative comments which offer a moral interpretation or judgement of the incident are made. These comments often relate the incident to a broader cultural context against which the morality of the Incident can be judged (i.e. what, within that context, is considered appropriate and acceptable). As with the Narrative, there is an obligatory Orientation, and the optional Abstract and Coda may also be present.

The Observation, according to Rothery and Stenglin (1997: 235) is “unique amongst the story genres in that there is no temporal sequence in the middle stage, Event description”. The Observation states what happened “as a single event – collapsing a series of temporally sequenced events into one – and how that event affected the narrator” (Martin and Plum 1997: 304). The Event is given significance through the evaluation in the Comment stage. Observations, argue Rothery and Stenglin (1997: 237), invariably lack a concluding stage – they present “a snapshot of events, frozen in time”, which serves as a platform for an evaluation of the impact of the event on, for example, a person's life.

While the Event depicted may be “out-of-the-ordinary”, it does not foreground disruption or crisis (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 241). According to Jordens (2002: 103-104):

Observations concern the appraisal of “states of affairs” rather than the choices and actions of purposive moral agents. They are also a symbolising genre: the “snapshot frozen in time” gathers up preceding meanings into a symbolic image, and in doing so creates a critical distance that is somehow useful in the process of making one’s experience meaningful to one’s self and to others (*sic*).

Anecdotes, Exemplums and Observations are described by Plum (1988, quoted in Jordens 2002: 63) as “non-resolving” in that each terminates in an evaluative stage and is differentiated according to the “point” of the story: the point of the Anecdote is to share a reaction with the audience, while that of the Exemplum is to share a moral judgement. The point of an Observation is to share a personal response to things or events.

It should also be noted that many texts consist of a number of genres realised simultaneously or embedded one within the other. Martin and Rose (2003: 209) refer to the overarching genre as the *macro-genre*. Jordens (2002) explores the macro-genre of interviews with cancer survivors. He argues that spoken accounts of personal experience often have a “serial structure” in that they “unfold as a series of shorter, more-or-less self contained stories” (2002: 96). His generic analysis distinguishes between different phases in the interview and the story-telling genres which characterise each phase. This enables him to show how the interviewees move from ‘telling what happened’ to reflecting on that experience. He also correlates the generic complexity of his sample of interviews with the degree of life disruption experienced by the interviewees as a result of their illness. He concludes that greater generic complexity reflects higher levels of life disruption. Jordens’s (2002) findings are compared with the TRC testimonies in this thesis at the end of Chapter Eight.

3.4.3 Summary

Genre is thus an effective means of analysing the overall architecture of a testimony and the linguistic patterns which characterise the different stages of a complete testimony.

The theories of genre used in this thesis have a long history dating back to Labov and Waletzky's seminal work in 1967. This thesis draws on the SFL approach, which views genres as general frameworks for the realisation of texts within specific contexts. It recognises that genres are dynamic rhetorical forms which describe appropriate ways of achieving communicative goals within a culture. The choice of genre depends on the communicative function and the context. Each genre consists of certain predictable stages (and perhaps additional unique phases) within which the lexicogrammatical choices pattern in fairly predictable ways. SFL researchers have identified a range of story-telling genres including Narratives, Recounts, Exemplums, Anecdotes and Observations which characterise oral texts.

3.5 Appraisal

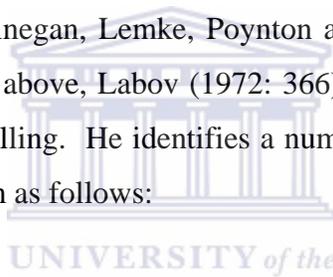
The next SFL system I shall review is the *appraisal* system. In terms of this thesis, appraisal is highly significant given that emotional and attitudinal meanings are an important aspect of what the TRC referred to as the "narrative truth". Originally developed by Jim Martin and others at the University of Sydney during the 1990s, the appraisal framework is a recent development in SFL and forms part of the larger system of discourse semantics. It builds on Halliday's network of interpersonal meanings and is a resource for construing tenor: it is concerned with the way speakers or writers encode their attitudes and feelings and insert their subjectivities into texts. However, it goes beyond simply describing attitudes and feelings, and seeks to explore how texts negotiate relations of solidarity and power with their audiences and position them as either sympathetic to or dismissive of the opinions or experiences described (Martin 2003: 171). In the words of Martin and Rose (2003:22):

Appraisal is concerned with evaluation – the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned.

Appraisal is still in the process of evolving and different authors work with slightly different terms and frameworks. A number of publications between 1997 and the present chart the development of the framework. The main SFL names associated with this

framework are those of Jim Martin and Peter White. Other key names include Coffin (1997), Eggins and Slade (1997) and Rothery and Stenglin (2000). Martin (2000a) acknowledges the work of White and Rothery for the development of the sub-systems of *engagement* and *appreciation* respectively. Other key publications include an appraisal website developed by White (2001, updated 2005), Martin (1997, 2001a, 2004), a special issue of the journal, *Text* (2003), and Martin and Rose (2003). A recent text by Martin and White (2005), *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*, consolidates work in this area and provides a comprehensive exposition of the theory to date. The summary of the appraisal framework presented here is based on Martin and White (2005) but draws on earlier formulations of the framework as set out in the texts referred to above.

Appraisal theorists acknowledge their debt to Labov's seminal work on evaluation in oral narratives, and to Biber and Finegan, Lemke, Poynton and others (Martin 2000a: 145). As mentioned in Section 3.4.1 above, Labov (1972: 366) argues that it is the evaluation that makes a narrative worth telling. He identifies a number of evaluative devices in his oral narratives and defines them as follows:



Evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual – that is, worth reporting. It was not ordinary, plain, humdrum, everyday, or run-of-the-mill (1972: 371).

Labov describes these devices as “waves of evaluation that penetrate the narrative” (1972: 369), while Martin and Rose (2003) argue that appraisal is associated with prosodic structures in a text in that meanings are cumulative and give a text a particular “colouring” or prosody:

Appraisal resources are used to establish the tone or mood of a passage of discourse ... The pattern of choices is thus ‘prosodic’. They form a prosody of attitude running through the text that swells and diminishes ... The prosodic pattern of appraisal choices constructs the ‘stance’ or ‘voice’ of the appraiser, and this stance or voice defines the kind of community that is being set up around shared values (Martin and Rose 2003: 54).

Unlike Labov who uses the wave metaphor to describe how evaluative meanings pattern within texts, Martin and Rose (2003) refer to “surges” of prosodic meaning in their appraisal analyses. They reserve the term, “wave”, for periodic structures: for the analysis of information flow within a periodicity analysis.

Early and recent expositions of the appraisal framework (Eggins and Slade 1997, Martin 1997, Martin 2000a, Martin and White 2005) refer to appraisal as one of the three major systems, alongside *negotiation* and *involvement*, in the model of interpersonal discourse semantics. *Negotiation* is concerned with speech function and exchange structures, and *involvement* deals with non-gradable resources for including and excluding interlocutors, as realised through technical and specialised lexis, taboo lexis and swearing, slang, anti-languages, and naming. Appraisal, negotiation and involvement jointly construe⁶ the register variable, tenor, which is concerned with the ongoing negotiation of relations of power (equal or unequal status) and solidarity (intimacy or distance) among interlocutors (Martin 2000a: 146).

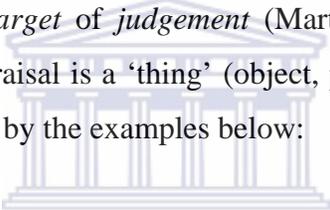
The appraisal framework consists of three major systems, namely *attitude*, *graduation* and *engagement*, which are differentiated on the basis of semantic criteria rather than structural features (Martin and Rose 2003, White 2005, Martin and Rose 2007). In terms of this theory, any instance of appraisal in discourse simultaneously expresses three kinds of meaning: different kinds of attitudes (*attitude*); how intensely these attitudes are felt (*graduation* or *amplification*); and where these attitudes come from (*engagement* or *sources*).

Each of the above categories can be further subdivided into sub-categories, as discussed below. Because this theory is relatively new, I shall, in the sections which follow, present fairly detailed descriptions of each of these systems and indicate how I understand and will be using the categories for analysis in this thesis.

3.5.1 Attitude

Attitude refers to the expression of different kinds of feelings. It consists of three key resources or sub-systems, namely *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*. *Affect* refers to the resources for expressing feelings or emotions whereas *judgement* and *appreciation*, suggest Martin and White (2005: 45), refer to the institutionalisation of feelings as proposals or norms about how people should or should not behave (*judgement*), or about how products and performances are valued (*appreciation*).

A consideration of the *source* and *target* of the attitude is helpful in enabling us to distinguish between the three categories. The *source* of *affect* is “conscious participants, including persons, human collectives and institutions” whereas the behaviour of these conscious participants is the *target* of *judgement* (Martin and White 2005: 59). For *appreciation*, the *target* of appraisal is a ‘thing’ (object, process, state of affairs, but not human behaviour) as illustrated by the examples below:



I feel **happy** about that (affect)
He played **skilfully** (judgement)
It is **beautiful** / I consider it **beautiful** (appreciation)

Appraisal meanings may be realised lexically as single words or phrases, although, according to White (2005), they are better seen as carried by complete propositions. Generally, they express either positive or negative dimensions as illustrated by the following examples (Martin 1997: 20):

positive	negative	
happy	sad	(affect)
normal	peculiar	(judgement)
beautiful	ugly	(appreciation)

They may also be explicitly *inscribed* in the text by means of specific lexical items (e.g. I was very **upset**; He is **stupid**) or implicitly *invoked* by what Martin (1997: 25) calls “ideational tokens” (e.g. I **couldn’t even cry**; He is **a mule**). In this instance, the speaker or writer depends on the listener or reader being able to interpret the metaphorical or

symbolic meanings. This is dependent on audience's knowledge of the context, as well as their own reader positions. Therefore, caution Martin and White (2005: 62), analysts should declare their reading positions as the evaluations one makes are shaped by one's cultural and ideological context.

Appraisal meanings do not act in isolation; rather they “tend to spread out and colour a phase of discourse as speakers and writers take up a stance” in relation to the topic of communication (Martin and White 2005: 43). When identifying different attitudinal items, therefore, it is necessary to look at the item in its textual context, as well as to consider the “prosody” of meanings which have accumulated throughout the text.

As noted above, the system of *attitude* has stabilised around three sub-divisions, or kinds of attitude: *affect*, *judgement* and *appreciation*. Each of these can be further differentiated into finer sub-divisions, as detailed below.

3.5.1.1 Affect

The *affect* sub-system refers to resources for expressing feelings and answers to the probe: “How do/did you feel about it?” (Eggins and Slade 1997: 129). It concentrates on feelings experienced by a human participant, referred to as an “emoter” or an “appraiser” (Martin and White 2005: 72) who appraises some other person or “thing”. These feelings are usually construed within a culture as either “positive” or “negative” and may relate to an ongoing mood or state experienced by the emoter (e.g. I feel sad) or as a reaction to some specific emotional trigger (e.g. She disliked him). The affect sub-system in turn is organised into three major sets, having to do with *un/happiness*, *in/security* and *dis/satisfaction*. Martin and White (2005: 49) differentiate between these as follows:

The un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with ‘affairs of the heart’ – sadness, hate, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence, trust; the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect.

Affect indicates a speaker's attitudinal position towards a person, thing or situation which has triggered the emotion being expressed. In this manner, the author may foreground his or her subjective presence, thereby seeking to establish solidarity with the reader. If this interpersonal rapport is accepted, argues White (2005), it opens up a dialogic space and it is more likely that the listener will be open to and accept the speaker's point of view as legitimate. Thus, a speaker may simultaneously evaluate their target and themselves, by presenting themselves as expressing emotions which are likely to be seen as appropriate or at least sympathy-provoking.

3.5.1.2 Judgement

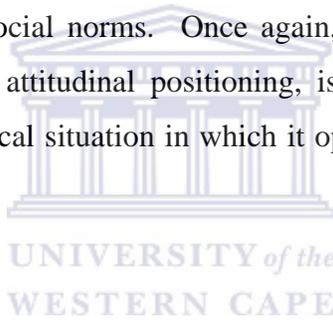
While affect relates to the feelings of the emoter, the sub-system of *judgement* refers to emoter's attitudes to other people and their behaviour. Probes for identifying items of judgement include: "How would you judge that behaviour?" and "What do/did you think of that?" (Eggin and Slade 1997: 130, 126). Judgements may be personal judgements of admiration and criticism, or moral judgements of praise or condemnation. They often express a speaker's evaluation of someone's behaviour as conforming to or transgressing the speaker's social norms. Appraisal theorists distinguish between two main sub-categories of judgement: judgements of *social esteem*, which typically involve evaluations of admiration or criticism without legal implications; and judgements of *social sanction*, which relate to how moral or legal behaviour is (Martin and White 2005: 52). Judgements of *social esteem* refer to personal judgements of *normality* (how unusual, special, lucky, predictable someone is), *capacity* (how capable, clever, productive) and *tenacity* (how resolute, dependable, brave, adaptable), whereas judgements of *social sanction* have to do with moral judgements of *veracity* (how truthful, honest, credible someone is) and *propriety* (how ethical, good, kind, responsible).

According to Martin and White (2005: 54), the judgement categories reflect grammatical distinctions in Halliday's system of modalisation. Thus, judgements of *normality* relate to usuality, *capacity* to ability, and *tenacity* to inclination or willingness; *veracity* relates

to statements of probability and *propriety* to statements of obligation. I have found these correlations helpful in deciding on the judgement sub-categories during the analyses.

As with affect, judgements may be inscribed or invoked. White (2005) indicates that superficially neutral ideational meanings, or what may be viewed as ‘statements of fact’ such as “she gave her child a chocolate”, may have the capacity within a particular culture to invoke judgemental responses, depending upon the reader’s social, cultural, and ideological position. Similarly, statements of affect (particular emotional responses) may have the potential to invoke judgement (e.g. he hates the weak, he adores his children).

To summarise, judgements involve positive or negative assessments of human behaviour by reference to a system of social norms. Once again, White (2005) reminds us that “(j)udgement, as a system of attitudinal positioning, is, by definition, shaped by the particular cultural and ideological situation in which it operates” and analyses should be informed by these contexts.



3.5.1.3 Appreciation

The third and final appraisal sub-system, *appreciation*, shares with judgement the property of being oriented towards the “appraised” rather than the “appraiser”. It relates to evaluations of objects, processes, natural phenomena and states of affairs, including abstract things such as relationships and quality of life. However, unlike judgement, it does not relate to the evaluation of human behaviour. In other words, it is concerned with the aesthetic quality of things. Items can be identified using the probe, “What do/did you think of that?” (Eggins and Slade 1997: 126).

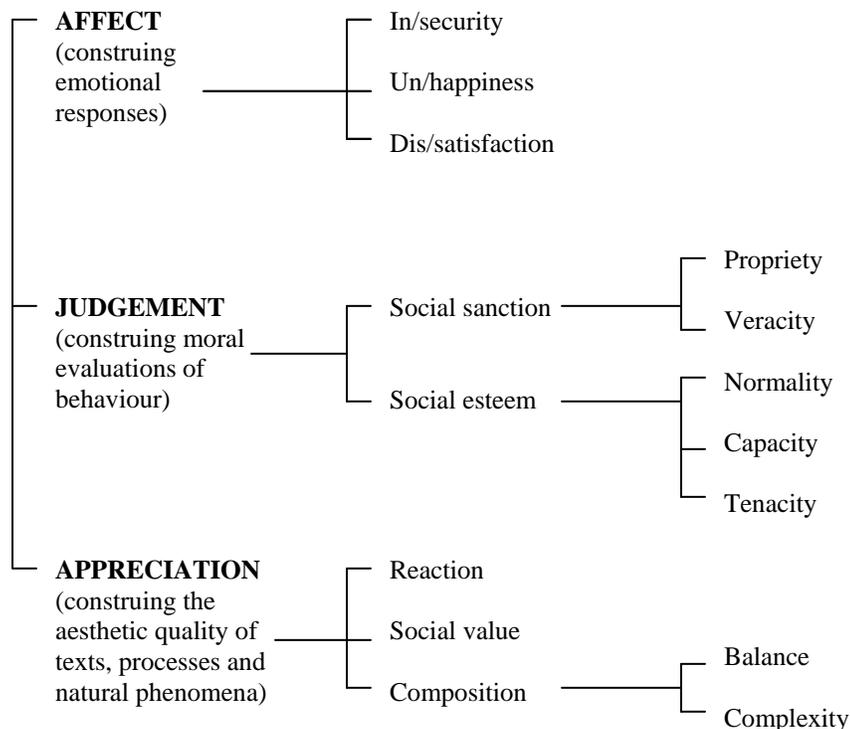
Appreciations can be divided into finer sub-categories to do with “our ‘reactions’ to things (do they catch our attention; do they please us?), their composition (balance and complexity), and their ‘value’ (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)” (Martin and White 2005: 56).

The boundary between affect and appreciation is complicated by the fact that items in this category are derived from or make reference to values of affect. For example, in the phrase, “a beautiful sunset”, the appreciation of the sunset as beautiful is transferred from the emoter to a quality of the sunset itself. This can be compared to “I love sunsets”, in which the subjectivity of the emoter is foregrounded, and the evaluation therefore coded as affect. Thus, when the emotion is disconnected from the emoter and represented as being an intrinsic quality of some ‘thing’ (or even a person, as in “the beautiful woman”), then the appraisal item is categorised as appreciation.

In these borderline cases, argue Martin and Rose (2003: 35) and Martin and White (2005: 67), one can either double-code the item, or one must read the item in context (co-text) and analyse the appraisal in prosodic terms. Analysts should be guided by the prosody of feeling that colours a whole phase of discourse (Martin and Rose 2003: 40).

The system of attitude with the different sub-categories that will be used in these analyses are summarised in the following figure (from Jordens 2002: 70):

Diagram 3.2: Summary of attitude subsystem categories



In summary, the attitudinal system within the appraisal framework attends to the resources for negotiating solidarity by means of three different kinds of evaluative meanings, namely, those which focus on affectual meanings, judgements of behaviour and appreciations of texts, processes and natural phenomena. It forms part of the way in which speakers express interpersonal meanings and position themselves and their audiences in relation to their narratives.

3.5.2 Engagement

The engagement system is concerned with the linguistic resources speakers and writers use to adopt a particular stance towards the propositions or values they advance as well as towards their audience. It is informed by Bakhtin and Voloshinov's notions of dialogism and heteroglossia in terms of which all verbal communication is viewed as dialogic and influenced by prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses (Martin and White 2005: 92). This system is interested in how and to what extent speakers and writers acknowledge these prior voices and engage with them. It is also interested in the ways in which speakers or writers signal how they expect their audiences to respond to the propositions and values they express.

The following summary is based mainly on Martin and White (2005) which draws extensively on White's (2005) website. Martin and Rose (2003) refer to the same linguistic resources in their discussion of engagement, but their discussion is much less detailed and their resources are organised under different categories. For example, they refer to three ways in which different voices can be introduced into the text (*projection*, *modality* and *concession*) and do not attempt the fine distinctions ranged within the major categories of *contraction* and *expansion* as developed by Martin and White (2005). While I sometimes refer to Martin and Rose's (2003) formulations in my analyses, I am working within the framework as presented by Martin and White (2005).

Important concepts for an exploration of engagement include *alignment*, *solidarity* and the *construed reader* (Martin and White 2005: 97). Engagement analysts are interested in the way texts align their readers or listeners in relations of agreement or disagreement. When writers or speakers explicitly state their own viewpoint and attitudes, they simultaneously invite the audience to share these and to align themselves with a community of shared values and beliefs. This negotiation has the effect of construing an imagined or ideal reader (or listener) since it is with this ideal reader that the writer is presented as more or less aligned. In this way, the writer seeks to establish solidarity with his or her audience. Martin and White (2005:96) note that solidarity *may* be established even when the writer and the imagined audience are presented as disagreeing *if* the writer indicates that he or she recognises a diversity of viewpoints and that the position advanced by the text is open for discussion.

Engagement resources can be grouped into two main orientations: those resources which *expand* the dialogic possibilities and those which *contract* them. The *expansive* resources are more heteroglossic in that they allow for competing voices and assume the reader may resist the position advanced by the text. At times the authorial voice may *distance* itself from the propositions presented. *Contractive* resources close down the dialogic space by challenging or restricting the range of viewpoints. They project a compliant reader who is aligned with the authorial voice⁷.

3.5.2.1 Dialogic expansion: entertain, attribute

The *expansive* dialogic resources can further be divided into two types, those which *entertain* a number of viewpoints and those which *attribute* these to external sources. In wordings which *entertain*, the speaker or writer is represented as the *source* of the propositions or values, thereby making space for alternative viewpoints (e.g. *may*, *possibly*, *I think...*, *it seems...*) (Martin and White 2005: 104). Wordings which present propositions and values as arising from some *external source* (e.g. *Many people believe...* *In Halliday's view...*, *X argues that...*) are described as *attributive*. In these cases, the authorial voice may distance itself from these propositions, through the use of

scare quotes, or wordings such as “claims” or “alleges” (Martin and White 2005: 114). Both *entertaining* and *attributive* options are dialogically *expansive* as they ground the propositions in the subjectivity of an individual, thereby opening the space for dialogic alternatives.

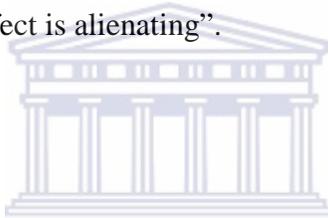
3.5.2.2 Dialogic contraction: disclaim, proclaim

While the above resources *entertain* and *attribute* voices to particular sources, others act to close down or *contract* the dialogic space, namely those which *disclaim* and *proclaim* a particular proposition or value (Martin and White 2005: 117). Although these resources acknowledge other positions and voices, they are directed towards excluding or limiting dialogic alternatives. They may accomplish this through explicitly rejecting or *disclaiming* a particular position (e.g. This is not the case...) or through *proclaiming* some kind of alignment with the ideal reader (e.g. Of course, naturally) or by endorsing the external source (e.g. X pertinently demonstrates that ...). Alternatively, the authorial voice may explicitly intervene to assert a particular position (e.g. The facts of the matter are ... You must agree with... Indeed...). In these cases, the authorial voice proclaims some kind of alignment with the ideal reader or endorses in some way the propositions attributed to some external source. Thus, while acknowledging that heteroglossic diversity exists, the authorial voice sets itself against this diversity, challenging and confronting any opposition, and thereby contracting the dialogic space.

Counter claims, signalled by conjunctions and connectives (e.g. although, however, yet, but) and comment adjuncts or adverbials (e.g. surprisingly, even) are one of the resources Martin and White (2005: 120) identify for contracting (disclaiming) a position. Martin and Rose (2003: 53) refer to this category as *continuatives* which express *counter-expectancy* in that they signal to the reader that they should adjust their expectations. I have found Martin and Rose’s category of continuatives helpful and used it in my analyses of the testimonies in later chapters.

3.5.2.3 Concluding comments on engagement framework

The engagement framework recognises that texts naturalise a particular reading position and that, on the whole, readers may read either compliantly or resistantly. Engagement analysts are interested in exploring the ways in which a text either *expands* or *contracts* the dialogic space, thereby creating possibilities for the reader to comply with or resist the position constructed by the text. As Martin (2000a: 166) argues, “(j)ust as it is impossible to include without also excluding, so it is impossible to appraise without running the gauntlet of empathy and alienation”. In other words, engagement resources play an important role in negotiating solidarity with the reader. The effect of this, argues Martin (2000a: 172), is either to align or “disalign” the reader with the writer’s position: “(w)here interlocutors are prepared to share your feeling, a kind of bonding occurs; where they are not so prepared, the effect is alienating”.

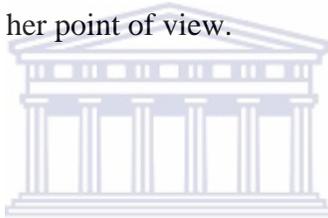


3.5.3 Graduation

The third and final dimension to the appraisal framework is *graduation*. This refers to the extent to which any evaluation is graded along a sliding scale of force or intensity from low to high (e.g. like – love – adore; troubled – afraid – terrified). Grading refers to the resources in the language for, in Martin and Rose’s terms (2003: 38), “turning the volume up or down”. The framework includes two major categories of graduation: *focus* and *force*. *Focus* refers to the grading of meanings as more or less precise or categorical (i.e. how prototypical something is) and *force* refers to the grading of meanings from low to high intensity (Martin and White 2005: 137). Grading may be realised in a number of ways. It may be infused with a lexical item (e.g. this **terrified** me, the water **trickled**) but it is typically realised by an isolated term (e.g. she is **very** scared). Martin and Rose (2003: 38) refer to those adjectives and adverbs which serve to intensify the emotion as “intensifiers” (e.g. slightly, a bit, rather, extremely).

3.5.3.1 Focus

These resources act to grade meanings which are usually not gradable, as in “he is a **real** man” or “it was an apology **of sorts**”. They serve to *sharpen* or *soften* the focus, by intensifying or blurring the extent to which some phenomenon or object matches some exemplary or prototypical instance (Martin and White 2005: 137). Examples which sharpen the focus include “clean break, true friend, complete disaster, exactly two years, own eyes” and those which blur or soften the focus include “sort of, kind of, blu-ish, about three years”. Instances of sharpening the focus usually indicate that the writer is taking a strong position, whether positive or negative, thereby seeking to align the reader with the writer. Instances of softening, however, are often used as a hedging or conciliatory device in an attempt to maintain solidarity with an audience whom the writer anticipates may not share his or her point of view.



3.5.3.2 Force

These resources work to adjust the volume of gradable meanings, by amplifying or toning them down (Martin 2004: 325). They express an assessment of the degree of *intensity* (e.g. **slightly** foolish, **somewhat** abruptly, **greatly** hindered) as well as *quantity* with respect to amount (e.g. **tiny** concern, **large** shark) and *extent* (e.g. **short** while, **nearby** mountains). They may be realised explicitly (e.g. he laughed **uncontrollably**) or implicitly through metaphor (e.g. I was **ice cold with fear**) or through lexical items which have grading added to the core meaning - what Martin and Rose (2003: 39) call “attitudinal lexis” (e.g. like – love – adore).

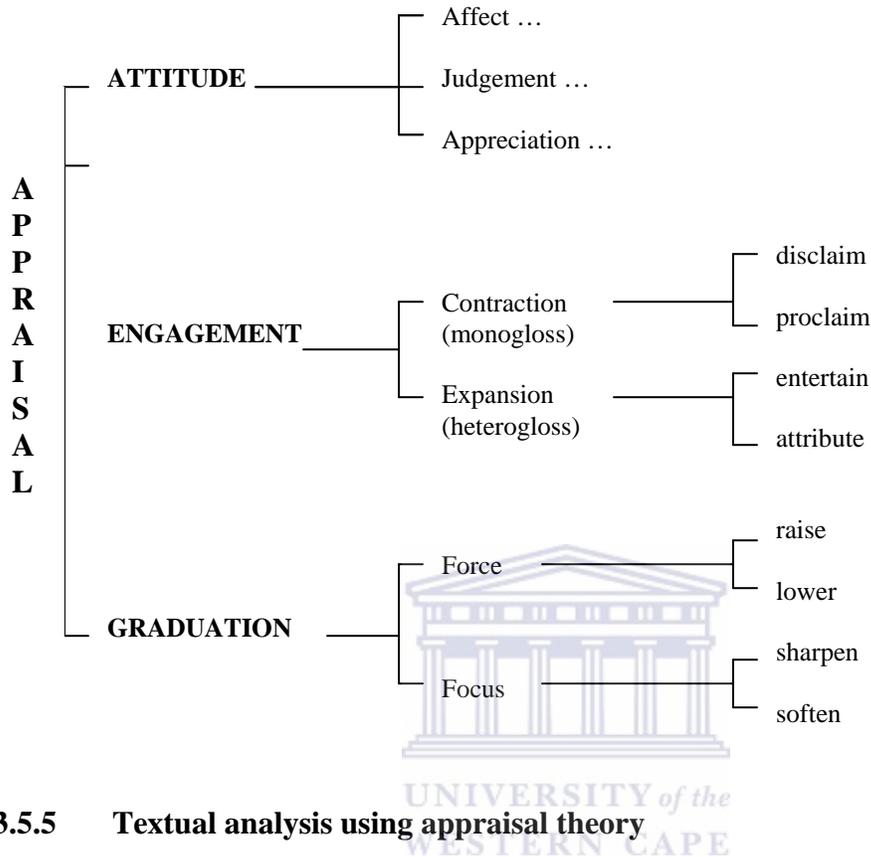
Martin and White (2005: 141) talk about the effects of graduation (force) as ‘up-scaling’ or ‘down-scaling’; Martin and Rose (2003) use the metaphor ‘turning the volume up or down’. When a writer ‘upscales’ the force of the meaning, it usually indicates that the writer is strongly invested in the proposition, whereas when it is ‘downscaled’ or the volume is turned down, it indicates he or she is less invested and distancing him or herself from the proposition.

3.5.4 Summary

In summary, the appraisal framework is a systematic approach to the description of how speakers and writers use language to express their feelings, signal their attitudes and values, and position themselves and their audience in relation to the experiences they describe. An appraisal analysis explores the ways in which a text naturalises a particular reading position for an ideal reader. The framework itself consists of three major systems which are differentiated on the basis of semantic criteria rather than structural features: attitude, graduation and engagement, each of which has finer sub-categories and subdivisions. Any instance of appraisal generally expresses either positive or negative feelings and may be presented with more or less intensity. Appraisal may be inscribed (explicit) or invoked (implied), the latter depending heavily on the inferences made by the audience of the text. For this reason, reader subjectivity is an important issue. Ultimately the value an appraisal item is assigned depends on its co-text, as items form part of a complex web of meanings which colour the text in a particular way, or, to use a metaphor introduced at the beginning of the discussion on appraisal, which give a text its particular prosody.

The complete framework is represented in the accompanying diagram, adapted from Martin and White (2005: 38, 134):

Diagram 3.3: Overview of appraisal resources



3.5.5 Textual analysis using appraisal theory

A number of scholars have used the appraisal framework for the analysis of texts, of which I found the following three particularly useful: Page (2003), Menard-Warwick (2005) and Martin (2004). A brief discussion of each follows.

Ruth Page’s (2003) article effectively uses the system of *attitude* to analyse evaluation in twenty-three oral childbirth narratives. Her analysis reveals that while women use more *affect* and higher levels of *graduation* when talking about their childbirth experiences, men use more *appreciation* and tend to downplay or mitigate their responses. For example, a woman might say, “I was very excited”, whereas a man is more inclined to say, “Well, it was quite exciting”. This has the effect of presenting the woman as directly experiencing the excitement (as *affect*), whereas in the man’s utterance, the quality of excitement is transferred to the experience of childbirth (as *appreciation*), thereby backgrounding their involvement and agency.

She cautions, however, against viewing this finding in simplistic terms as supporting the commonly held position that “women are more emotional than men” and argues that “while the gender of the speakers does have some bearing on the way they narrate their experiences, this is bound up in a complex manner with a network of other potentially influential factors” (Page 2003: 224). She then demonstrates how, through an analysis of *judgement* in the narratives, the men construct roles for themselves that are peripheral to the experience of childbirth in that they tended to negatively evaluate their usefulness or effectiveness in the situation. This pattern, she argues, contrasts sharply with the stereotypical representation of men as heroic, aggressive or competitive, and can perhaps be explained as a reflection of the way in which men are positioned in relation to the experience of childbirth in the discourses on parenthood in both the childbirth advice literature and in society more generally (Page 2003: 232). The gendered choices men and women make when talking about their childbirth experiences should not be seen as biologically determined but must be seen in the context within which they are performed as they reflect the broader social and cultural assumptions and value-systems of that context.



Menard-Warwick (2005) in her article, “Transgression narratives, dialogic voicing and cultural change”, uses the system of *engagement* to analyse a single life history and explore how the narrator, Raquel, employs different voices and discourses to make sense of the cultural changes experienced by her family and community as a result of the Nicaraguan civil war in the 1980s and her subsequent immigration to California. Menard-Warwick refers to Raquel’s story as a typical “transgression narrative” or a text in which a participant is represented as violating or contesting norms held by other family members within a context of social and cultural change. Using a combination of appraisal and thematic (in the sense of ‘topic’) analysis, Menard-Warwick demonstrates how Raquel uses a dialogic weaving of competing discourses and counter-discourses to evaluate the behaviour of members of her family and express her own, at times, ambiguous stance on these, in a time of social and cultural change.

In his article, “Mourning: how we get aligned”, Martin (2004) uses appraisal theory to show how an editorial from a Hong Kong lifestyle magazine published ten days after September 11, 2001, uses evaluation to naturalise a number of reading positions and to negotiate solidarity with its expatriate readership. As with Page and Menark-Warwick referred to above, his analysis demonstrates the close relationship between language use and social discourses: “how language materialises, is activated by, and over time reworks, the social” (Martin 2004: 323).

The system of appraisal and the ways in which researchers have used it to analyse texts has informed the analysis of testimonies in this project. Appraisal is particularly pertinent to this project, as it enables one to explore a speaker’s subjectivity, thereby providing a window onto what, in TRC terminology, is referred to as his or her “narrative truth”. In the last two sections of this chapter, I review the systems of *periodicity* and *transitivity*, as part of the framework I used for the analysis of the testimonies.

3.6 Periodicity

Martin and Rose (2003: 176) refer to the way in which information is “packaged” and “flows” as *periodicity*. They propose it as a system to describe how discourse is packaged into “digestible chunks” (2003: 201), how narratives are framed and how speakers give listeners some idea about what to expect. They argue that it allows the analyst to explore how links and transitions in the flow of discourse are managed and scaffolded, how new phases in the discourse are introduced, and how certain meanings are patterned and foregrounded.

They use a wave metaphor to refer to the “predictable rhythms” of discourse which, on the one hand, they argue, create expectations “by flagging forward” and, on the other hand, “consolidate them by summarizing back” (2003: 176). They acknowledge their debt to Halliday and Pike for this metaphor and refer to the latter’s depiction of meanings “flowing together like ripples on the tide, merging into one another in the form of a

hierarchy of little waves ... on still bigger waves” (Pike 1982: 12-13, quoted in Martin and Rose 2003: 175).

They define a wave as a moment of “textual prominence” and their main analytical tool for the analysis of periodicity is *thematization* complemented by peaks of *new*. According to Martin and Rose (2003: 177), Halliday treats the clause as a wave of information with a crest at the beginning of the clause representing the *theme* or typically, what is *given* information in a clause, and a crest at the end representing the *rheme*, or what is *new*. The patterning of choices for *theme* and *new* (the terms preferred by Martin and Rose) together package discourse as phases of information. Patterns of clause themes establish expectations about how the text will unfold and construct a text’s “method of development”; patterns of new establish its “point” (2003: 184). The *unmarked* themes (i.e. subject as theme) usually serve to create coherence and signal the basic orientation of the text, whereas the *marked* themes (such as the use of circumstantial elements) frequently signal *discontinuity* (2003: 179) or shifts in the staging of the discourse, for example, a new setting in time or a shift in major participants.



These themes are embedded within larger discourse patterns, which may in turn be embedded within even larger textual patterns. So, while the “crest” of a clause is referred to as the *theme*, a textual peak at a higher level is called a *hypertheme*, and at an even higher level, a *macrotheme* (Martin and Rose 2003: 181, 185). Martin and Rose refer to these as “little waves, bigger waves and tidal waves” and through an analysis of periodicity, they attempt to show how discourses are created out of hierarchies of waves and recurring patterns of information flow.

In this way, argue Martin and Rose (2003: 186), texts “unfold” and “grow”. They refer to two ways in which texts can be expanded: via the *hierarchy of periodicity* referred to above or via the *serial expansion of discourse*. In the hierarchy of periodicity, the different phases of the discourse are explicitly scaffolded and marked, whereas in the serial expansion, the method of development is not explicitly signalled: rather, phases are

“chained” together without first being predicted by a higher level theme (2003: 186). Many texts, argue Martin and Rose (2003: 188), involve a combination of the two.

In summary, then, a periodicity analysis seeks to capture the regularity of information flow and illustrate the ways in which a speaker or writer has organised and packaged a text into “digestible chunks”. It is interested in the ways in which texts are expanded and scaffolded and in the flows of continuity and discontinuity within the discourse. The main analytical tool for the analysis of periodicity is the identification of thematic patterns at both the clausal and the textual levels.

I have used periodicity analyses to help track the overall development of the testimonies I analyse, and to identify shifts in the stages and phases of the genre. I have focussed, in particular, on patterns of theme as I found these a useful indicator of the generic stages and shifts within testimonies. The analysis of theme is well established within SFL and has long been part of Halliday’s (1994) conception of the textual metafunction (see Butt *et al.* 2000 and Thompson 1996 for useful overviews).



3.7 Transitivity

The final SFL theory which forms part of the analytical framework employed in this thesis is the system of *transitivity*. Transitivity is the primary system within SFL for expressing the experiential meanings (or who does what to whom and in what circumstances). The main function of the grammatical system of transitivity, argues Halliday (1994: 106), is to construe “the world of experience into a manageable set of process types”. These process types may include the following three elements: *process*, *participant* and *circumstance*. The actual process, which is realised by the verbal group, refers to the event or state that is described and is the central component of the message from an experiential point of view (Thompson 1996: 77). The participants are those people, objects or phenomena that are associated with the process, and are realised by the nominal group. The circumstances provide contextual information for the process and are typically realised by adverbial and prepositional groups. The circumstantial elements are

more peripheral than the process and participant elements in the system of transitivity, and are often optional.

Halliday (1994) identifies the following six different process types for English. He argues that the *material*, *mental* and *relational* processes are the major types, because they are quite distinct and represent the “cornerstones of the grammar in its guise as a theory of experience” (Halliday 1994: 138). They also account for the majority of all clauses in a text. *Behavioural*, *verbal* and *existential* processes, Halliday suggests, are subsidiary types. They are located at the boundaries of the three major ones (1994: 138) and share characteristics with them. Each is associated with its own set of participants. A somewhat simplified description of each process and its associated participants follows.

Material processes, or processes of “doing”, refer to concrete actions in the material world (e.g. run, throw, cook). They enact “doings” and “happenings” and the main participant associated with this process is the Actor (even though the Actor may not be mentioned in the clause, as is the case with passive constructions)⁸. In many cases, the action may be directed at a second participant, referred to as the Goal. Other participants may include Beneficiary or Range.

Mental processes, or processes of “sensing”, refer to processes of affection (e.g. like, fear, hate), cognition (e.g. know, understand) and perception (e.g. see, hear, feel). Mental processes always involve at least one human participant – the person in whose mind the process occurs. This participant is referred to as the Senser and what is sensed is called the Phenomenon.

Relational processes, or processes of “being”, relate a participant either to an identity (e.g. He is my brother) or to an attribute (e.g. He is good-looking). They are of two main types: relational attributive and relational identifying processes. In relational attributive clauses, the main participant is the Carrier and the characteristic assigned to the Carrier is called the Attribute. In relational identifying clauses, the main participant is the

Identified and the identity assigned to it is the Identifier. Typical verbal processes include the verb “to be”, “has”, “means”, “felt” and “seems”.

Halliday describes behavioural processes as sharing characteristics of both material and mental processes and as typically human processes “of physiological and psychological behaviour” (Halliday 1994: 139). The main participant is the Behaver. Behavioural processes are mainly identified on semantic grounds. Thompson (1996: 100) usefully suggests that what distinguishes these processes from material and mental ones is that they allow for the distinction between “purely mental processes and the outward physical signs of those processes”. For example, the process, “see”, would be analysed as a purely mental perception, whereas “look”, “watch” and “stare” express “a conscious physical act involved in perception” (1996: 100) and therefore analysed as behavioural. The same applies to “hear” (mental) and “listen” (behavioural). This category also includes processes referring to actions which reflect mental states, such as “laugh”, “cry”, “gasp” and “protest”.

Verbal processes are processes that enact saying. The main participant is the Sayer, and other participants may include a Recipient and Verbiage. What is said is often realised as a separate clause, called the projected clause.

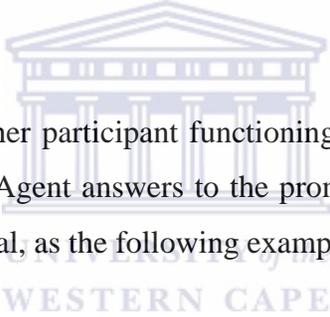
Existential processes merely construe a participant that exists or an event that happens. There is only one participant, called the Existent. They are normally recognisable because they include the subject, “there”, as in “There is a boy outside” and “There was an accident on the highway”. As Thompson (1996: 101) argues, existential processes enable the speaker to avoid representing the participant (the Existent) as involved in any of the “goings-on”.

Transitivity, then, as the above description shows, is concerned with configurations of processes and accompanying participants (and circumstances). Transitivity choices reveal a speaker’s construal of experience: whether speakers choose to construe themselves as Actors or Goals, or the extent to which they associate themselves with

material or mental processes, construct and position them in significant ways. Bock and Duncan (2006) and Duncan *et al.* (2006) use transitivity to explore the different ways in which TRC testifiers construe their experiences in their testimonies. This research is referred to in the analyses in Chapters Five to Eight.

In addition to the transitivity system, Halliday (1994) refers to a complementary, though different, theory for exploring the various process types. This he refers to as the “ergative model of transitivity”. In terms of this theory, every process has associated with it one key participant, referred to as the Medium, which is the entity through which the process is actualised and without which there would be no process at all (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 288). This participant is not the doer or the causer – rather it is “the one that is critically involved, in some way or other according to the particular nature of the process” (2004: 292).

In addition, there may be another participant functioning as an external cause, which is referred to as the Agent. The Agent answers to the prompt, “by whom”? However, the inclusion of the Agent is optional, as the following examples illustrate:

- 
- (1) The captain sailed the ship. [Agent + process + Medium]
 - (2) The ship was sailed by the captain. [Medium + process + Agent]
 - (3) The ship was sailed. [Medium + process – Agent]
 - (4) The ship sailed. [Medium + process]

Sentences (1) and (2) include the process, “sail”, as well as Medium, “the ship”, and Agent, “the captain”. In both cases, the process is represented as having external agency. In sentence (3), although the Medium is named, and the process is represented as having external agency, the Agent is deleted. However, in sentence (4), the Agent is not stated and nor is it recoverable from the context. Thus the process is represented as self-engendering: “(i)n the real world, there may well have been some external agency involved... ; but in the semantics of English it is represented as having been self-caused”

(2004: 290). This has the effect of effacing the external cause of the process and of giving the Medium a will of its own (Simpson 1993: 94).

Tony Trew (1979) offers a method for the analysis of ideology in discourse through an analysis of participants as either Causer or Affected. These concepts are based on those of Halliday's Agent and Medium discussed above. He argues that this enables the analyst to explore representations of agency in a text: when participants are presented as Causers, their capacity for agentive action or controlling others is accentuated. However, when they are presented as affected by the actions of others, the reverse may hold true. I have adapted Trew's table for analysing these relations in my analysis of testimonies and refer to this in more detail at the relevant point in the analyses. I have opted to use Trew's terms (Causer and Affected) as I prefer to reserve the terms, "agent" and "agency", for use in a non-technical sense in my analyses of activist testimonies. Lock (1996) also uses the terms, Causer and Affected, in his presentation of ergativity.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework for the analysis of the testimonies in Chapters Five to Eight. This analysis is located within a social approach which views language use as embedded in social and cultural practices. This approach is premised on the understanding that text and context cannot be separated, and that they alternatively shape and are shaped by one another. In particular, the co-constructed nature of text – as a product of speaker and audience interaction – is recognised. Although this thesis does not foreground the notion of power as the defining social variable in determining linguistic choice, it is informed by critical theory notions of discourse and identity. An analysis of discourse from this perspective differentiates between the text, or actual data to be studied, and the social discourses which are reflected within that text. Similarly, a discourse analysis of this nature recognises that identity is not the inalienable characteristic of each individual speaker; rather it is continuously enacted or performed, depending on the speaker's shifting assessment of the context and communicative purpose.

Detailed linguistic analysis is recognised as necessary to substantiate the analysis of social discourses and identities. For this reason, this thesis has chosen to work with SFL as it takes the idea that language exists primarily to communicate meanings as its basic organising principle. This means that it is organised around the functions of language, as opposed to its structure, and seeks to describe the systems of linguistic choice speakers have access to when communicating through language. A number of different systems exist within SFL for this purpose, and many are still in the process of being developed. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I have selected the SFL theories of genre and appraisal as primary analytical lenses. In this chapter, I reviewed the development of both these theories within SFL and presented a summary of the current account of these systems. I also introduced the key terms and concepts I will be using in my analyses of the testimonies and indicated how they fit within the overall theory of SFL. In addition, I referred to other SFL theories which I have used selectively in my analyses: periodicity (thematisation) and transitivity. My aim, in the data analysis chapters which follow, is to use these SFL theories as a way of exploring how TRC testifiers enact particular identities within the TRC testimonial context and construe their experiences of human rights abuse under apartheid.

In the following chapter, I describe the methodology employed within this research project. Discourse Analysis, as well as being a broad field of research within Linguistics, is also a methodology within the social sciences. Additionally, the following chapter describes the rationale for the selection of testimonies in this thesis and outlines the process I went through in “cleaning the data”, preparing the transcripts for analysis and analysing the data. It ends with a discussion on the ethics of working on testimonies of this nature and the way in which I resolved this issue for myself.

ENDNOTES

¹ Johnstone (2001) discusses different discourse analytic approaches to narrative, which also reflects a shift from more structuralist ones to more interdisciplinary studies of how, for example, ideology affects language choice.

² This definition is in line with Gee's (1990: xix) oft-quoted definition of discourses as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people". In the same vein, Wallace (1992: 14) defines discourses as "ways of talking or writing about persons, places, events or phenomenon which relate to conventional beliefs or ways of doing things which are, in turn, associated with society's key institutions" e.g. racist, sexist discourses, employer vs. worker discourses, parenting discourses, etc. Discourses, she argues, are associated with social institutions or particular roles and identities recognised by society.

³ The following summary is based on Halliday's seminal text, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*, (1994/1985), and Halliday and Hasan's (1989/1985), *Language, context and text: aspects of language in a social semiotic perspective*. It also draws on Eggin's (2004/1994) and Martin, Matthiessen and Painter's (1997) useful introductions to SFL and Functional Grammar. Reference is also made to Martin and Rose (2003) and Martin and White (2005) on discourse analysis and appraisal from an SFL perspective.

⁴ The SFL convention has been to use capital letters for the different systems, for terms which refer to functional (as opposed to word class or formal) categories within the lexicogrammar and for the names of genres and generic stages. However, in line with Martin and White's (2005) recent text, I have not followed this convention for the different systems, although I have used capital letters for generic labels and process roles (as noted later in this thesis).

⁵ I have written the names of the different genres and their typical stages with capital letters (as is the SFL convention), to mark them as technical terms.

⁶ The terms, 'construe', 'construing' and 'construal' are used by SFL theorists to mean expressing and simultaneously 'creating' (Hunston and Thompson 2000:142).

⁷ The engagement framework as presented by Martin and White (2005) includes finer sub-categories than is suggested by the summary which follows, but seeing that these are not necessary for my analyses, I have not included these in this summary.

⁸ In the discussion of transitivity roles, I have maintained the SFL convention of writing them with an initial capital, as this serves to mark them as technical terms.

CHAPTER 4

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this thesis is to explore how a selection of testifiers at the TRC use language to construe and make sense of their experiences and position themselves and their audiences in relation to these events. The principal methodology includes a close linguistic analysis of the narrative patterns within selected testimonies and the ways in which these construe particular speaker perspectives and draw on and constitute particular social discourses.

Theories of discourse analysis from a social perspective which have shaped this project were extensively reviewed in Chapter Three (for example, Blommaert 2003, Cameron 2001, Fairclough 2001, 2003, Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005). From this perspective, texts are viewed as embedded within specific social, cultural and historical contexts and the particular linguistic patterns which characterise a testimony are understood as reflecting not only something of a speaker's individuality, but also broader social discourses on trauma, suffering and resistance. The textual-linguistic level of analysis is recognised as providing the substantiation for these patterns, and for this purpose, a systemic functional approach to language was chosen.

In the section which follows, I situate this approach within a paradigm of qualitative research in the social sciences more generally. For this section, I draw on Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter's (2006) research handbook, *Research in practice: applied methods for the social sciences*. Next I consider issues in the collection and preparation

of the data for analysis. Lastly, I discuss in some detail questions with regard to the ethics of working on testimonies of individuals' experiences of human rights abuse.

4.2 Social constructionist paradigm

The approach adopted in this project can broadly be situated within the social-constructionist paradigm of research methodology. This approach views reality as socially constructed, as opposed to the positivist paradigm which views reality as stable and external (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006: 7). This approach aims to show how individuals' understandings of reality are derived from and feed into broader social discourses. Discourse Analysis, according to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006: 328) is one of the most popular approaches within the social constructionist paradigm as it is not interested in identifying some "truth" behind the text; rather, it is interested in what texts do, what effects they have, and what kinds of realities they construct (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006: 333).

Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006) offer useful advice for discourse analysis, some of which is reviewed in the following paragraphs. They argue that a discourse analyst needs familiarity with the different ways of speaking within that particular culture (2006: 330) as well as a certain "critical distance" from the text or a sceptical reading position (2006: 331). When considering the effects texts have on their readers, they recommend three questions to help analysts explore what the discourses are doing. The first is to consider why particular binary oppositions, terms, phrases and metaphors have been used, and why particular subjects have been mentioned. The second is to ask, what other language(s) could have been used. The third question is to ask how these features of the text work to achieve certain effects (2006: 333).

Binary oppositions (such as love-hate, good-bad, normal-insane) alert us to the kinds of discourses that are present in the text, although often only one side of the opposition is mentioned. Recurrent terms, phrases and metaphors are often typical markers of particular discourses, as is the presence of particular human subjects. Subjects may be

constructed in particular ways, for example, ‘mentally ill’ versus ‘eccentric’, and these constructions are always potentially under contestation (2006: 335). Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 332) also remind analysts of two “shadowy, but omnipresent, subjects”: the positions for author and audience constructed by the text. In other words, the text “imagines” an author and audience, and analysts have to imagine what kinds of people these are.

In addition to reading single texts in detail, they recommend that discourse analysts “read many different texts to show patterns of variation and consistency in discourse” (2006: 336). To do this, analysts need to be sensitised to context and situate a text in its context. They recommend analysing both the *micro* level contexts of interaction and the *macro* level contexts that transcend particular institutional contexts, although these may be inflected for particular institutions in particular ways. At this level, analysts should be asking what discourses are allowed in particular contexts and what ideological purposes they serve. They further point to another context that frames the meaning of a text, namely, “the other discourses with which the text dialogues” and the way these discourses dialogue with each other over a period of time (2006: 338-339). Finally, they remind analysts that they too are part of a text’s context and need to account for their reading position which will influence the kinds of interpretations they are able to make (2006: 340).

Kelly (2006a), in the same volume, differentiates between two kinds of meaning: the “intended” or writer’s meaning, and the “interpretive” or reader’s meaning. He notes that the veracity (truthfulness) of the former can be established by checking with the author whether what is written corresponds with what he or she wanted to say. This, he argues, is descriptive research, using the methodology of empathy (2006a: 378). However, once we move to an interpretive account such as might be established through discourse analysis, it is harder to establish veracity. This account is less concerned with giving voice to the participants, and rather concerned with using a more distanced (theoretical) frame with which to view their utterances.

Kelly (2006a: 373) also reminds us that when analysing a text we should avoid projecting our own beliefs onto the data and then rediscovering them as findings. He also warns against selecting only data which corroborates what we want to find. He exhorts researchers to stay close to the data, to consider exceptions carefully, particularly when no exceptions can be found, and to keep alive several possibilities or rival explanations at all times during the analysis (2006a: 379).

Kelly (2006b: 348) argues that when we read a text, the context of reading brings new meanings to the meanings of the text: “(a)t this point, the meaning of the text and the original intention of the author within the context of writing cease to coincide”. In other words, the text can mean more than the author intended it to mean. He argues that the distancing that is achieved when one looks back on an experience (through interpretation) is not necessarily a limitation, but a useful complement to the understanding developed from being in the context (through empathy) (2006b: 349).

Duranti (1986) reminds us that when we present a text for analysis, we engage in a process of “re-contextualisation”; that is, we remove a text from its original context and set up a new one for a new audience to interpret, judge and appreciate. The ensuing process of interpretation does not simply involve trying to make out what the speaker meant to communicate in the original context; rather, suggests Duranti (1986: 244), “it is a way of making sense of what someone said (or wrote or drew) by linking it to a world or context that the audience can make sense of” (1986: 244). Making sense of a text depends on a partnership which includes both audience and speaker, and as these change, so does the interpretation. Thus interpretation is a form of “re-contextualisation” and as such “we can never fully recover the original content of a given act (although we can get pretty close to it)” (1986: 244). However, asserts Duranti (1986), this does not mean that the act of interpretation is inherently adequate. Rather, as analysts, we use the tools at our disposal “to recreate, at a different level, a complex and diverse picture where the organised diversity of everyday talk is maintained and highlighted rather than translated into monological forms of communication” (1986: 245).

These are important reminders for this research project. The interpretation I offer of the TRC testimonies is simply how I, as a reader, have interpreted and made sense of the texts in my context. Given that the testifiers themselves are not participants in this research project, it is important to remember that when analysing a testimony, I am not analysing who the testifier is and what he or she feels or thinks, but merely how on that occasion, in that context, I *interpret* them as construing themselves and their experiences. I should bear in mind the warning of Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 339) against the dangers of “psychologising” and keep the focus of the analysis on the data. In addition, it is important to acknowledge that I am able, with the benefit of time, to bring new perspectives and meanings to the interpretation which might not have been available in the original context of telling. In other words, the analytical findings in this thesis emerge, in Kelly’s (2006a) terms, from a process of *reader interpretation*. By contrast, the work that I have done with colleagues and students on the accuracy of the interpreted versions of testimonies given in languages other than English (reported on in Chapter Two) relates more to the *writer’s intended meaning* and whether that was faithfully conveyed by the interpreters on the day of the hearings.

4.3 Identifying social discourses

As noted in the previous chapters, this research project is framed by an understanding of language as social practice. A critical or social approach requires that analysts relate the linguistic patterns they identify to the social discourses shaping the texts. The difficulty I have experienced in this regard is knowing how to identify and reference social discourses. If these social discourses are well researched and documented, such as is the case with patriarchal or colonial discourses, the work of others may be cited. Page (2003), for example, is able to refer to van Leeuwen’s research on health discourses for her analysis of childbirth narratives. However, where there is a dearth of published material, the problem becomes how to reference discourses in a way that does not rely entirely on one’s own subjective opinion.

One possibility is indirectly suggested by Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 15) discussion of the value of data bases of lexical items, such as the Bank of English corpus (COBUILD) for providing an alternative to the analyst's reliance on intuition. By calling up multiple instances of a word in naturally occurring discourse, an analyst may explicitly observe the range of contexts in which a word is used and the cumulative meanings it has acquired over time. Schiffrin (2001) uses this technique and the database, Lexis-Nexis, an internet media search system, to track the development of the term, *Holocaust*, in American public discourse during the last half century. The results of these searches enable her to explore how this word has accumulated different meanings in different contexts of use over time. This methodology, then, enables researchers to track the evaluative and semantic meanings of lexical items over time, which would also, presumably, index broader patterns of use in society.

Geslin (2001) appears to advocate an approach similar to that described above. She uses the term "ideological milieu" (which she attributes to Wade 1996) to describe the "supra-ideology, encompassing and providing a degree of coherence and organisation to all the constituent ideologies of the dominant bloc". She quotes the following list of themes as characterising the ideological milieu in South Africa in 1996, the year during which the TRC testimonies were given: *democracy, non-racialism, egalitarianism, reconciliation, nation-building and restitution* (Wade 1996, quoted in Geslin 2001: 198). She then argues that by 1998 the national mood had shifted and the ideological milieu could be described as *anger, disenchantment, fear*. How she reaches these conclusions is not clear and her statements would certainly be contested by different players in the South African scenario. However, presumably these key words could be tracked and their meanings explored through a process similar to that described by Hunston and Thompson and Schiffrin above.

Menard-Warwick (2005: 541-2) offers yet another methodology for the identification of discourses in her transgression narratives. Through a process of coding and sifting, she extracted and grouped utterances with similar thematic, attitudinal and often lexical content, and then assigned them labels such as *Family Unity, Revolutionary Commitment*

and *Educational Advancement*. She demonstrates how her narrator uses these discourses to construct particular positions.

Fairclough (2003: 129-133) also offers the discourse analyst advice on how to identify discourses. He recommends identifying the main themes or parts of the world that are represented in a text, and then identifying the perspective from which they are represented through the analysis of the linguistic features which realise them. For example, he recommends analysts should take note of lexical choices and their semantic relations (e.g. synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy). He also recommends a study of typical collocations, metaphor and grammatical constructions (e.g. passives, nominalisations). Lastly, he recommends exploring the kinds of assumptions the text makes about how the world is organised and classified.

In addition to the identification of social discourses (macro-level analysis), discourse analysts should conduct a close linguistic analysis (micro-level analysis) of the text in order to explicate its effects and provide linguistic substantiation for the analytical arguments they wish to make. Halliday's conception of the text as both a *product* and a *process* of meaning making choices at every possible level of linguistic structure (in Halliday and Hasan 1989: 10) is very useful for the central argument of this thesis, namely, that the testifiers at the TRC make particular linguistic choices which serve to constitute them and their experiences in particular ways. SFL, with its view of language as a social system, the primary function of which is to create ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, has been selected as the most appropriate approach to linguistic description for this project.

4.4 Data selection, preparation and analysis

In the section which follows, I review some of the many decisions I, as researcher, made when selecting testimonies and preparing the data for analysis. I begin with a discussion of the value of close analysis of single texts (as opposed to more quantitative studies of larger corpora). Then I discuss some of the considerations which shaped my selection of

testimonies for this research project and consider issues relating to the transcription and presentation of testimonies for analysis.

4.4.1 Rationale for a close reading of single texts

“Feelings”, according to Martin “are always about something – they are always interpersonal attitudes to ideational experience” (Martin 2004: 337). The interplay between the ideational and the interpersonal metafunction is realised or “textured” through various discourse systems (see Martin and Rose 2003). The challenge for discourse analysts, argues Martin (2004: 341), is to understand ideational meaning in relation to interpersonal meaning in relation to textual meaning. Further, as social linguists, this triangulation needs to be understood in relation to the social system it enacts. In order to achieve an understanding of this kind of complexity, Martin recommends an approach which focuses on close reading of single texts and guards against “studies that submerge unfolding texture in processes of counting and averaging, that look for trends across texts rather than contingencies within them” (Martin 2004: 342). Martin and White (2005: 260) present a slight modification to this position: they acknowledge that quantitative studies which focus on fewer variables across a wider spectrum of texts can provide a useful complement to qualitative studies, but that the technology which would enable us to do computer-assisted discourse analysis is as yet still undeveloped.

Martin (2000b, 2004) and Martin and Rose (2003) attempt to balance close linguistic analysis with the analysis of social discourses through, in the words of Martin (2004: 323), a process of “shunting back and forth between linguistic and social categories, exploring how one realises the other”. They also use a variety of SFL tools (e.g. transitivity, appraisal) to explore the relationship between ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. In the analysis of TRC testimonies, I shall follow their example of working from the “outside in” – or from an analysis of genre and periodicity to an analysis of appraisal and transitivity. I shall also attempt to achieve the balance between the analysis of linguistic items and the social systems they realise.

Martin and Rose (2003: 214) recommend that analysts should focus on what is *foregrounded* and what is *co-articulated* when analysing a text. By *foregrounding*, they refer to those choices which are highlighted against the system as prominent or unusual. By *co-articulation*, they refer to those systems which are working together to produce a particular effect, for example, the way in which statements of negation, concession and continuatives work to introduce and oppose different positions.

Appraisal analyses – as one kind of discourse analysis – use different approaches to the analysis of texts. For example, Eggins and Slade (1997) and Page (2003) follow a process of identifying, coding and tabulating all appraisal items in a number of texts, and then relating these broad patterns to the social discourses they reflect. This approach results in tables of classified appraisal items and quantitative counts and percentages. Others, such as Menard-Warwick (2005), involve a close reading of a single text, with a much greater emphasis on the shaping ideologies and different voices which permeate the text. Here the more detailed attitudinal analysis might be used to highlight or elaborate a point about the social ideology. To a certain extent, the approach depends on which aspect of the framework the analysts have selected as primary: in the case of Page (2003), the system of attitude is the focus, whereas for Menard-Warwick (2005), the system of engagement is primary. While I shall not be presenting tabulated summaries of the testimonies, I have used these techniques as a way of getting to know my data. I will refer to some of these analyses when relevant to the arguments I wish to make in the chapters which follow.

4.4.2 Rationale for the selection of texts

The data for this project was obtained from the TRC's official website (www.doj.gov.za/trc) on which all transcribed testimonies are published, and from the SABC's audiovisual records of the testimonies which are now available at the National Archives in Pretoria. I opted to work only on testimonies given in English, given the

limitations of working on interpreted testimonies referred to in Chapter Two (see Bock, Z. *et al.* 2006).

I chose to work on testimonies drawn from the HRV hearings as in these hearings, testifiers were given the opportunity to speak at length with little or no interruption in a supportive and empathetic environment. Their testimonies are therefore much less constrained than, for example, the testimonies presented in the more adversarial context of the Amnesty hearings. I also chose testimonies from two sets of hearings only, namely, the Helderberg-Tygerberg ones given at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) from 5-7 August, 1996, and the Special Hearings on Youth, held in Athlone from 20-22 May, 1997. Using testimonies from a limited set of hearings has the advantage that the testimonies are from a limited range of temporal and physical settings and were often facilitated by the same set of commissioners. As noted in Chapter Two, a number of researchers have argued that these factors are significant in shaping the final form of the testimonies.

I also chose a relatively homogenous group of testimonies as I felt this would reduce the number of variables which might affect the final shape of a testimony and therefore allow more profitable comparisons across testimonies. All the testimonies considered within this project are by members or family members of a single sub-culture, the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (see Section 2.2.2 for more detail). As a result, the testimonies cover the same or related experiences of human rights abuse.

My selection was further limited by the availability of audio-visual tapes which are currently stored in the National Archives in Pretoria. As noted in Chapter Two, accessing these tapes is not easy, given the poor state of the records. A number of the tapes were incorrectly labelled, and as a result, I was frequently sent copies of tapes which did not include the testimonies I had requested¹. Not all records are audible, some testimonies were not recorded or wiped over by mistake and the quality of the picture or sound in some leaves much to be desired. Ultimately I was limited to testimonies delivered in

English and for which I had audiovisual records or at least audiotapes of reasonable quality.

How exactly one selects testimonies for analysis poses a challenge. It is likely that one is drawn to testimonies which have some narrative appeal, either because they are dramatic and exciting (e.g. Colin de Souza) or very poignant and elicit strong emotional responses from the audience (e.g. Nomonde Calata). Martin and Rose (2003: 57) recommend that analysts should work with texts they like and admire, not only those they dislike or whose ideological underpinnings they seek to expose. I chose these testimonies because I was really interested in them. As I explain in Section 4.5 below, I was drawn to these testimonies because the testifiers and I have a shared history, but as a result of our racial differences, we experienced the 1980s very differently.

In total, I analyse five testimonies. They include the testimonies of four activists (Colin de Souza, Muhammad Faried Ferhelst, Sandra Adonis and Moegamat Qasim Williams) and the mother of one of the activists, Dorothy de Souza. All, except Sandra Adonis, lived in Bonteheuwel, a working class coloured township on the Cape Flats. All were very young (between the ages of 14 and 18 years) in 1987, the year during which most of the violations they report on took place. All testimonies were delivered in English, although most of the testifiers code-switch into Afrikaans at some point in their testimonies. I was able to access audiovisual copies of the UWC hearings, but only audio copies of the Athlone hearings.

The following table summarises some of the characteristics of the testifiers. The approximate length of each of their testimonies, including the time spent answering commissioners' questions, is also noted:

Table 4.1: Characteristics of testifiers considered in this project

Name	Role	Sex	Age in 1987	Hearing: place and date	Length of testimony
De Souza, C	activist	M	15-16	UWC, 5 Aug 1996	49:30 min
De Souza, D	mother	F	-	UWC, 5 Aug 1996	09:00 min
Ferhelst	activist	M	18	UWC, 5 Aug 1996	23:00 min
Adonis	activist	F	18	Athlone, 22 May 1997	27:30 min
Williams	activist	M	13-14	Athlone, 22 Mar 1997	35:15 min

The above selection represents just over half the testimonies relating to the Bonteheuwel Military Wing. Others testimonies associated with this group were given by Yazir Henry (who read his testimony from a prepared statement), and the family members of both Anton Fransch and Ashley Kriel, both of whom died at the hands of the police in the mid-1980s. Muhammad Ferhelst's mother also testified, but her testimony was delivered in Afrikaans (see Duncan, Bock, Z. and Hattingh, 2006, for an analysis of this testimony).

4.4.3 Preparation of texts for analysis

The TRC website contains the official record of all transcribed testimonies. The transcripts of the testimonies selected for this project were downloaded and checked against the audiovisual records for accuracy as well as to observe and note paralinguistic features, such as gesture, expression, voice quality, intonation and so on. Preparing the data for analysis required a number of decisions on my part, some of which related to transcription conventions and others to the identification of clause boundaries. In the sections which follow, I explain my decisions.

4.4.3.1 Transcription conventions

Ochs (1979) and Edwards (2001) offer researchers a number of guidelines for the transcription of data. Ochs (1979: 168) notes that while audiovisual recordings capture a greater amount of information than simply audio recordings, the process of transcribing the data from the audiotape is necessarily a selective one. A transcript, she argues, should not have too much information, but the selection of features for transcription

should reflect the particular interests of the researcher. Ochs (1979: 169) also notes that the way in which the data is spatially organised on the page will further affect the interpretation of that data.

Edwards (2001: 324) notes that transcripts should be easy to read and that notations and conventions drawn from everyday and literary uses of language and orthography are useful as readers are accustomed to reading information presented in this way. Edwards (2001: 322) also notes that transcription is an open-ended process and that a transcript may change as the researcher's insights are progressively sharpened.

As I worked from the transcriptions available on the TRC website, I generally used the sentence boundaries and punctuation inserted by the transcribers, except where I felt these were inaccurate based on my viewing of the audiovisual copies of the testimonies. The transcription conventions I used are based on Eggins and Slade (1997: 2-3) and generally rely on conventional punctuation marks. Commas (,) indicate "breathing time" or the "parcelling of talk" and three dots indicate short hesitations. Pauses longer than three seconds are shown in brackets (e.g. '4.0' for four seconds). Question intonation is indicated by question marks (?) and false starts by hyphens (-). I have not indicated voice quality or tone, except occasionally when it was important for the argument (for example, words spoken emphatically are written in CAPITAL letters). I have included reference to non-verbal behaviour (visible on the audio-visual records) in square brackets [] when I judged such information significant to the argument.

4.4.3.2 Clause boundaries

For the textual-linguistic analysis, I divided the testimonies into clauses. This allowed me to mark up and "manipulate" the text for close analysis. As with transcription, an analyst is compelled to make a number of decisions with respect to these divisions. I shall first offer a discussion of clause boundaries from an SFL perspective, and briefly outline the approach taken by Martin and Rose (2003). Then, I shall indicate the

decisions I made in this thesis with respect to clause boundaries and the layout on the page.

SFL theorists work with a rank scale from clause complex to morpheme to distinguish the different levels at which an analysis may take place. Each grammatical rank is made up of one or more elements from the rank below: one or more morphemes to a word, one or more words to a group or phrase, one or more phrases to a clause, and one or more clauses to a clause complex (Butt *et al.* 2000: 160). Eggins (2004: 255) defines a clause complex as “the grammatical and semantic unit formed when two or more clauses are linked together in certain systematic and meaningful ways”. In written texts, clause complex boundaries are generally indicated by full stops, whereas in spoken texts, they are indicated by a combination of rhythm, intonation and pauses.

SFL theorists present the relationships between clauses in clause complexes in different ways (see, for example, Eggins 2004, Butt *et al.* 2000). The following summary is my outline of the distinctions as I understand them in preparation for my discussion of the way in which I have laid out the testimonies as separate clauses for analysis.

Eggins (2004: 258) makes a distinction between two ways in which clauses may be related to each other within the clause complex: through *paratactic* or *hypotactic relations*. Parataxis is where the clauses are related as equal, independent entities (e.g. I opened the door and let him out), whereas hypotaxis refers to a relationship where one clause is dependent on the other (e.g. I opened the door when he wanted to leave, or, I opened the door enabling him to leave). Hypotactic clauses may be *finite* or *non-finite*, whereas paratactic clauses are always finite.

The clause complex is further related through the *logico-semantic system*, which describes the specific type of meaning relationship between linked clauses, namely *projection* or *expansion* (Eggins 2004: 259). Projection allows a speaker to attribute speech or thought to a source, whereas expansion enables one clause to develop or extend

the meanings of another through, for example, relations of restatement, addition or qualification (by reference to time, space, manner, cause or condition).

Both projection and expansion may be realised either paratactically or hypotactically (Eggins 2004: 272, 280). So, for example, clauses may be linked through relations of paratactic expansion (e.g. I opened the door and he left) or hypotactic expansion (e.g. I opened the door when he wanted to leave). Circumstantial clauses and non-defining relative clauses frequently operate as clauses of hypotactic expansion.

Similarly, quoted or reported speech and ideas may be paratactically (e.g. He said, “I will”) or hypotactically related (e.g. He said that he will). If the projected clause is direct speech, the projected clause is ranked as an independent clause and paratactically related to the projecting clause. However, if it is reported speech or thought, the projected clause is ranked as dependent or hypotactically related (Butt *et al.* 2000: 171).

The system of *taxis* enables a speaker to *expand* the number of clauses within the clause complex at the same rank. However, speakers also have the option of *embedding* clauses at a different rank, which has the effect of compressing information (as opposed to the expanding effect of *taxis*) (Eggins 2004: 269, Butt *et al.* 2000: 168). Embedding enables speakers to pack more information into a clause complex, by reducing a whole clause to a unit at a lower. Embedded clauses are described as *rank-shifted* - they function at the next rank down as part of another clause, such as an adverbial or nominal clause (e.g. The pistol shot that started the first World War). They may also function as the nominal group itself (e.g. What he did is not right. Seeing is believing). They may be finite or non-finite and are conventionally indicated by double square brackets [[]] in transcriptions. (Note that Eggins (2004: 282) analyses *defining relative clauses* as embedded, but *non-defining relative clauses* as hypotactic expansion.)

Butt *et al.* (2000: 170) also identify what they call *interrupting clauses*, which, unlike embedded clauses, function as full clauses. These occur when one full clause is inserted

into another full clause, usually to make some comment on the interrupted clause. These are conventionally marked with double chevrons << >>.

Martin and Rose (2003: 74-75) recommend placing each independent clause, together with all dependent clauses, on a single line for the purposes of, say, a transitivity analysis. In the case of projecting clauses, they recommend placing the first projected clause on the same line as the projecting clause and only analysing the projecting clause for transitivity. My colleague, Paul Duncan and I, whilst working on the transitivity analyses of the De Souza's and the Ferhelst's (see Bock and Duncan 2006, Duncan *et al.* 2006), decided to give each finite clause its own line, unless embedded (relative or nominal clauses), as we felt we would lose too much if we followed Martin and Rose (2003). For example, we felt that the reported dialogue between testifiers and the police, which is so central to the testimonies, would be lost if only the projecting clauses were analysed.

For the analysis of these testimonies, therefore, I have placed *each finite clause on its own line*, unless it is embedded. I have marked *embedded clauses* with double square brackets [[]] and *interrupting clauses* with double chevrons << >>. Interrupting clauses are left on the same line as the clause they interrupt, although sometimes, if very long, the interrupted clause is continued on a new line. *Responses to questions* (e.g. certainly, no) are usually kept on the same line as the utterances which follow them. *False starts* are kept, as far as possible, with the reformulated utterance. However, they are given their own line if the rephrased utterance changes track altogether.

4.4.4 Analysing the data

The process I followed when analysing the data can be described as follows: first I spent some time familiarising myself with the testimonies by listening to or viewing the audio(visual) copies and checking the transcripts against these. I adjusted the wordings and punctuation accordingly. I then divided the text into clauses which enabled me to “get into” the data and prepare it for analysis. As Kelly (2006b) recommends, the

analytical process involves breaking the data into “bits” so that patterns (both within and across texts) can be identified, before re-constructing it through the written interpretation.

I tended to begin my analysis with a thematic analysis as the identification of marked themes (e.g. circumstantial elements) helped me identify provisional boundaries and shifts in the staging of the genre. It also enabled me to notice how individual testifiers had organised and packaged their information (i.e. periodicity analysis).

At this point, I also attempted to break the testimonies into “chunks”. By chunk, I refer to sections of the testimony which seemed to have a single coherent focus or deal with a particular issue or event. Sometimes, shifts between chunks would signal a shift in the choice of genre. As the generic analysis emerged (and “emerge” is the only word I can use to describe this process), I was able to consider the function of each chunk and assign it a label (i.e. Narrative, Recount).

I then attempted to identify the boundaries between the different generic stages and phases within these chunks. By “stage”, I refer to the established generic stages within the literature (e.g. Abstract, Orientation) and by “phase”, I refer to Martin and Rose’s (2003: 9) term for the smaller, more variable, divisions within a stage which may be unique to a particular text. On the basis of this, I was able to make a provisional generic analysis, although later analyses (e.g. participant and transitivity patterns) would often result in further revisions. I found the creation of a participant table which tracks the introduction and presence of participants in the text very helpful as a way of refining these boundaries and of analysing the ways in which different testifiers structured and organised their testimonies.

Jordens (2002) refers to the process of analysing the interview data in his project as akin to approaching an old-fashioned steam train from a distance of several kilometres: from afar, the train appears as a continuous line, but as you approach, you are increasingly able to differentiate between the carriages, then note the different kinds of carriages until, as you arrive at the train, it is possible to “discern how the different parts of each type of

carriage relate to the whole”. In other words, through a lengthy process of immersion and analysis, the constituent structures of a genre come into focus. His analogy aptly describes the lengthy and often unclear nature of the generic analysis process. However, I would argue that even having been through the process I have described above, a different researcher may well come up with a different analysis. In other words, I am not convinced that the boundaries between the carriages are always stable and fixed; nor that everyone sees them in the same way. (See additional discussion of methodological issues in relation to genre analysis in Section 8.6.)

The transitivity analyses were helpful in exploring how participants construed their experiences. As mentioned earlier, transitivity analyses of lengthy extracts from the testimonies of both the De Souzas and the Ferhelsts (mothers and sons) were completed in collaboration with colleagues and students in the Linguistics Department (see Bock, Z. and Duncan 2006; Duncan *et al.* 2006). The processes in each clause were identified and the different processes associated with each of the main participants were calculated. The analyses in Chapters Five to Seven make reference to this research. However, for the purposes of this project, new extracts were selected and an ergative analysis of short extracts was introduced.

The last aspect of the analysis included an appraisal analysis. In line with Martin and White (2005), these analyses explored the ways in which particular appraisal patterns ‘colour’ the different testimonies. Once again, appraisal items were marked up in the transcript and the patterns analysed.

The copies of the testimonies which are included in the Appendices of this report reflect these processes of editing and generic stage analysis. The labels for the different genres, stages and phases are included in the Appendices.

An important decision I had to make was whether I should organise my analysis across testimonies (i.e. look at how different testimonies handle genre in one section, then consider appraisal in a new section, and so on) or whether I should deal with each

testimony separately and make comparisons across analyses where possible. I decided on latter as I wanted to deal with each testimony as an individual story, as much of the analysis depends on building up an understanding of the testimony as a whole. Due to the length of each testimony, I could not deal with all testimonies in the same amount of depth. I have therefore analysed the testimony of Colin de Souza (Chapter Five), Dorothy de Souza (Chapter Six) and Muhammad Ferhelst (Chapter Seven) in detail to demonstrate a more comprehensive application of the theory, but have had to select aspects of the analysis as a focus for the final chapter. I use the analysis in Chapter Eight to reflect on and elaborate some of the arguments raised by the analyses in the previous chapters.

4.5 Ethics statement and researcher position

The data for the research consists of publicly available audiovisual and audio records and the TRC website transcriptions. This, at least technically, exempts the study from the usual ethical considerations for social science research, such as informed consent and confidentiality (Wassenaar 2006: 66). However, because of the nature of the material (people's personal narratives of suffering and human rights abuse) the situation is not that simple and clear-cut².

Anthonissen (2006), in her introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Language and Politics* on the TRC, raises the questions: what gives researchers the right to take up as "objects of academic reflection" other people's recorded stories of pain and repression? What gives us (researchers) the right to think we can interpret these stories? These are very pertinent questions to which Anthonissen offers several answers. She refers to the value of discourse analysis in helping to develop an understanding of discourses of human rights abuse which are applicable not only in South Africa but elsewhere in the world. She also refers to the role of the TRC in making public stories which were formerly silenced and unacknowledged, and the importance of these in shaping the nation's collective memory. Lastly, Anthonissen (2006: 4, 9) quotes exiled Chilean writer and academic, Ariel Dorfman, who comments that stories of gross human rights violations "cry out to be told" and if they are not heard, if they are "submerged", they

will find ways of emerging, “like bodies come out of the river in Widows”. In other words, the stories are there, like the bodies in the river, and they need to be “heard”. Research on individual stories is part of keeping these stories alive, in the public consciousness, and a way of paying tribute to those who testified³.

I have thought deeply about the ethics of working with other people’s stories of pain without their consent and I should like to share an anecdote from a conference I attended which helped to clarify the questions I should be addressing. I presented a paper at a conference on *Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness* held at the University of Cape Town in November 2006, on the use of the historical present tense and code-switching as markers of affect in two testimonies. After my presentation, an elderly woman in the audience asked me to address three questions: What has the research done for you? What has the research done for others? What has it done for the people who testified? I later discovered that the elderly woman was Eva Mozes Kor, a survivor of Auschwitz and Dr Mengele’s notorious experiments on twins. These were clearly questions which she, as a survivor of gross human rights abuse, viewed as significant and in need of attention. I shall attempt to answer each of her questions, as a way of addressing the moral dilemmas posed by this research.

The experience of working on TRC testimonies has been enormously enriching for me. I was a teenager growing up in Cape Town in the mid-1980s; yet, as a white person, a beneficiary of apartheid and very sheltered from the experiences described by the testifiers. Reading these testimonies has enabled me to understand more fully just what so many fellow citizens went through in the struggle to achieve basic human rights and freedom in South Africa, as well as to recognise my own very privileged and protected position. Reading and analysing the testimonies has taught me a great deal, and has enabled me to engage with our recent past in a concentrated and meaningful way.

How others will benefit from my work is less easy to answer. As a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, which serves a large constituency of students drawn from townships on the Cape Flats, I have introduced my students to extracts from

testimonies as texts for analysis. These students, many of whom were babies in the mid-1980s and children during the time of the TRC, have expressed their interest in the testimonies. A number of them have told me that they know so little about the struggle, particularly the involvement of young coloured people from Cape Flats.

I have also tried, where possible, to collaborate with colleagues and students in my research who either come from the communities the testifiers come from, or who have first language speaker knowledge of the varieties used by testifiers, so that I may be sensitised to the ways in which they view the issues. Hopefully, at the end of this doctoral project, my improved research capacity will enable me to be a better lecturer and supervisor and more able to share and pass on my experience and skills.

It is also my hope that the findings of these analyses will be useful in helping us understand more fully the extent to which the TRC was able to achieve its central purpose, namely that of establishing “as complete a picture as possible” about the human rights violations during the apartheid years and their effects on people and their communities. In particular, it is my belief that detailed linguistic analysis can help to keep alive the individual voices of testifiers which might otherwise be subsumed by the more generalised, abstracted accounts of the TRC which much research has generated (see Fullard and Rousseau, 2003, for this critique of TRC scholarship). An appreciation of the subtle and significant ways in which different testifiers construe their experiences, is important, I would argue, to acknowledging their experiences and “narrative truths”.

The most difficult question to answer is “what has my research done for the victims?” Very little, is perhaps the most honest answer. Although living in the same geographical space as so many of the testifiers, the old apartheid divisions remain. I struggled with what would be an appropriate way to reach across this divide. However, while writing this thesis, I had a fortuitous meeting with Bradley Barrow, an ex-combatant and former BMW member, who now runs a metered taxi service in Cape Town⁴. I was therefore able to discuss with him an idea I had been formulating, namely that I should write a letter to each of the people whose testimonies I had studied and thank them for what I had

learnt from their testimonies, indicating how these had touched and humbled me. Mr Barrow thought this would be a very appreciated and appropriate action and offered to deliver the letters for me. He was particularly pleased to hear that I was using the testimonies with students as this, he felt, was a way of acknowledging and remembering the stories of his former comrades and would therefore be meaningful to them. As a consequence of writing these letters, I met with several testifiers. One of them, Qasim Williams, subsequently came and spoke to my students about his experiences of being an activist and testifying before the TRC.

The act of analysing these testimonies remains, therefore, a sensitive one. It is perhaps important to repeat the distinction made in the above paragraphs between the writer's *intended* meaning and the reader's *interpreted* meaning. As Jordens (2002) argues: "(o)ur knowledge of other people's experience is always semiotically mediated". In other words, we have no direct access to the experiences of others; we only have access to the way they construe and evaluate their experience in language.

However, I am also acutely aware that there are real people behind these publicly available testimonies, and in the above ethics statement, I have tried to position myself in relation to them and to indicate how I have wrestled with this issue. It remains for me to affirm that at all times, in my handling of these stories, I shall strive to maintain the dignity of the TRC testifiers, acknowledge their suffering and pay tribute to their resilience.

4.6 Summary

The main research aim of this thesis is to explore how a selection of testifiers at the HRV hearings of the TRC use language to construe and make sense of their experiences and position themselves and their audiences in relation to these events. In particular, this research project is interested in how testimonies reflect the speakers' feelings, attitudes, values and ideologies. The principal methodology includes a close linguistic analysis of

the narrative patterns within selected testimonies and the ways in which these construe particular speaker perspectives and draw on and constitute particular social discourses.

While this research is not specifically located within a CDA, it is located on the social end of the discourse analysis spectrum and explores how social discourses are reflected in particular testimonies. As such, it falls within the social constructionist paradigm of social sciences research. It recognises that the testimonies themselves reflect a particular construction of reality by the testifiers on a particular occasion and are shaped by both the local and historical contexts of the TRC hearings.

I have also drawn attention to the constructed nature of this analysis which is a result of both my own reader position as well as the numerous decisions I have made at every step of the research process, from the selection of a theoretical frame, to the selection of testimonies and to the preparation of the data for analysis (transcription processes, clause boundaries divisions).

I have also noted that while ethical considerations are in a sense obviated by the public nature of the texts, I am very conscious of the presence of real people behind the testimonies. I have expressed my hope that through my research I may enable those with whom I come into contact (such as my students) to learn more about the experiences of those who were part of the struggle against apartheid, thereby keeping alive these stories and (perhaps) becoming part of building an understanding of our past and how this has shaped our present and our future.

The following four chapters present the results of the data analysis. The purpose of these analyses is to explore how testifiers use the public platform of the TRC to achieve their narrative purposes, which range from putting on record their experiences of human rights abuse, to construing themselves as ‘agentive’ and defiant in the face of police repression, to asserting their identities as activists, to reflecting on the costs of being a young activist.

At the end of each chapter, there is a discussion of the social discourses evident in the testimonies as well as a reflection on aspects of the theory used in the analysis, namely, appraisal and genre.

ENDNOTES

¹ I should like to acknowledge the enormous assistance of Zahira Adams at the National Archives who retrieved tapes for me and arranged for them to be copied and couriered to me. The fact that the tapes had been incorrectly labeled was not her doing. I should also like to thank Mary Bock and Kay McCormick who generously lent me copies of their tapes from their private collection.

² See also the essay by Yazir Henry (2000) referred to in Chapter Two for a critique of academics, journalists and others whom he accuses of insensitively ‘appropriating, interpreting, retelling and selling’ his testimony.

³ The TRC was quite explicit about its position that the TRC records should be publicly accessible (Harris 2005). Russell Ally, a speaker at the IJR symposium (April 2006) also argued that research on testimonies is part of the process of remembering and memorialising people’s experiences of gross human rights violation. Mohamad (2005) comments that the testifiers he interviewed valued the opportunity for public acknowledgement that the act of testifying afforded them, as well as the fact that their stories would form part of a record from which future generations of South Africans could learn and benefit.

⁴ I was introduced to him by a colleague who utilises his services as a taxi operator. We met in my office at the University of the Western Cape for about one hour on 7 March 2007. Mr Barrow submitted a statement to the TRC as a victim of human rights abuse, but did not testify publicly. His statement number is recorded in the *TRC Report 3* (1998: 484). He is currently involved with Khulumani and the Bonteheuwel Veterans’ Association (BVA).

CHAPTER 5

Testimony of Colin de Souza

In this chapter, I analyse the testimony of Mr Colin de Souza which was given at the Helderberg-Tygerberg Human Rights Violation hearings held at the University of the Western Cape on 5 August 1996. I explore how De Souza uses different linguistic resources to construe his identity and position himself and his audience in relation to these events. I shall argue that the linguistic choices he makes serve his narrative purpose, namely to construe himself as ‘agentive’, despite the fact that he is positioned within the TRC context as a ‘victim’ of human rights abuse. I also explore the way in which he successfully engages his audience, thereby further serving his narrative purpose. In making this analysis, I use the SFL theories of genre, periodicity, appraisal and transitivity.

De Souza’s testimony is the longest of those analysed in this project. His total speaking time amounts to approximately 49:30 minutes. His main testimony, which includes three requests for additional information from the facilitating commissioner, Dr Wendy Orr, is 38 minutes long. His mother, who testifies after him, tells of the effects of his experiences on the whole family. Her testimony, which is considered in Chapter Six, is nine minutes long. After his mother has testified, De Souza speaks for a further eleven and a half minutes in response to additional questions from the commissioners. Taken together, and including the introductory and concluding remarks, the De Souza (mother and son) testimonies take over an hour. Copies of both De Souza testimonies are included in Appendix D.

Within the scope of one chapter, it is difficult to do justice to the richness and complexity of this testimony. I have therefore selected two extracts from this testimony which I use

to illustrate features characteristic of his testimony as a whole. I chose, as my first extract, the opening chunk to his testimony, as this introduces the main participants and includes a number of features which, I will argue, are distinctive of De Souza's style. As my second extract, I selected an incident from the middle of the testimony where De Souza is caught up in the telling of his story. It is also an incident which is referred to by his mother as well, whose account is considered in Chapter Six. I also briefly refer to a shorter third extract, to substantiate an argument I make in relation to Extract Two. My analysis of De Souza's testimony is further informed by research I conducted with Paul Duncan on the transitivity patterns which characterise a ten minute extract from the second half of his testimony (Bock and Duncan 2006).

The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate how De Souza achieves what I argue is his narrative purpose, namely to construe himself as having 'agency', as an innovative and flexible individual who is capable of outwitting and outmanoeuvring his opponents (the police, and on one occasion, his fellow comrades). Here I am using the term, 'agency' after Fairclough (2003: 145), to refer to De Souza's construal of himself as an "activated social actor", as a participant who does things and makes them happen, rather than as someone who is primarily affected by the actions of others. An "activated" participant, argues Fairclough (2003: 150) is construed as having agency, whereas a "passivated" one is construed as being acted upon¹.

In making this argument, I draw on SFL theories of genre, periodicity, transitivity, appraisal to explore the linguistic choices De Souza makes and the style he adopts. I argue that his distinctive style draws on discourses which foreground his agency and control. Here I am using Fairclough's (2003: 160) discussion of style as referring to the ways in which speakers constitute their individual and social identities through language (see Section 3.2.2 for a fuller exposition). I use this discussion to critique Blommaert's (2005) analysis of De Souza's testimony.

This chapter is therefore organised as follows: first, a brief background on De Souza and a summary of the key events in his testimony is given as a context for the extracts which

follow. Then, the three extracts are analysed in turn. The final section of this chapter includes a discussion of the social discourses De Souza draws on in this construction of his agency and a critique of Blommaert's analysis of De Souza's testimony.

5.1 Background and summary

Colin de Souza became part of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW) at the young age of fourteen. At the age of fifteen, he was recruited by the ANC's military wing, Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK). His testimony describes how he became the target of police repression in response to his activities in the struggle against apartheid during the period 1987 to 1989.

In his testimony, he recounts how he was first arrested in October 1987 and imprisoned, interrogated and severely tortured. He was eventually released into the custody of his parents. On the 16 June 1988, he was arrested for the second time, and once again, interrogated and beaten. When he was finally released a few months later, the police warned him that they were going to kill him. And, indeed, that same night, a group of fellow comrades arrived at his parent's home to kill him as the police had spread rumours in the community that he was an informer. As noted in Chapter Two, this was a strategy used by the police to sow mistrust and confusion in communities and so break their resistance.

As De Souza was now in danger from both the police and members of his community, he went into hiding, and in January 1989, decided to leave the country. His attempts to flee, however, were thwarted by the police who chased him, his father and his girlfriend in their car across the Cape Flats. The chase culminated in a "manhunt" for him, eventually ending in his arrest at his grandmother's house in Bonteheuwel. This time he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, which he served until he was released in 1990 under one of the state indemnities for political prisoners. In response to a question from the facilitating commissioner, he tells of the psychological and physical repercussions of his torture and of how he continues to suffer what he says doctors describe as a "general

body malaise” or “a condition of the body that is over-tired and ... can’t stand the stress any more”. He later adds, also in response to a prompt from a commissioner, that his father was severely assaulted and that his girlfriend was forced to abort their unborn child while in police custody.

5.2 Extract One: The First Arrest

In Extract One below, De Souza is introduced by the facilitating commissioner, Dr Wendy Orr, whose framing statement positions him as a national hero, as someone who has experienced extraordinary things, and whose story will be sympathetically heard by both the commissioners and the audience at the hearing, and by a broader national audience via the different media channels. She asks him to begin his story with his first arrest in October 1987. By positioning him in this way, and indicating to him the point at which he should begin his story, she becomes part of the testimony’s co-construction. (The clauses in De Souza’s contribution have been numbered for ease of reference. The purpose of the highlighting and the underlining will be explained during the analysis).

EXTRACT ONE

DR ORR: Thank you chair, hello Colin, we've been speaking to each other a lot over the last two days. And now you are going to speak to this audience and to the country. Colin you're a young man, but in your life, I think you've gone through experiences which people much-much older than you probably never ever dream of. At the age of 15 you were recruited by MK and became part of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing which Muhammad Ferhelst told us about. You were on the run, in hiding, your life was disrupted and then in 1987 you were arrested. Can you tell us what happened to you that - at that time in October 1987.

COLIN DE SOUZA: (1) **Well I was arrested on the 2nd of October 1987 at 5:00 am in the morning.**

(2) **During my arrest** there were about 30 - 40 Security Branch policemen that took part in the whole arrest (3) and we were took – we were took that morning to Brackenfell police station (4) where we all were lined up, (5) we were about 18 to 20 young comrades of Bonteheuwel. (6) I was part of the comrades that was lined up there (7) and first of all they took our names (8) and I knew (9) I was very wanted by the security police, (10) and I gave the false name Mark Bresick with a false address also.

(11) During that whole day as I was standing in the line you know (12) also waiting to be interrogated by the security police (13) all my comrades went one by one in (14) and I could have heard (15) how they were screaming and shouting (16) how they were being beaten up by security police you know.

(17) And - but four o'clock the afternoon, this one security bloke he called me (18) and he said to - asked (19) okay now what is your name, (20) I said Mark Bresick, (21) your address, (22) I gave the false address again (23) and he called me into a room (24) and he called this one cop in with the name of Todd (25) and this guy was like an artist you know, (26) he drew sketches about people you know and descriptions (27) and he said to me (28) like open your *bek* (29) *maak oop jou bek* [open your mouth] (30) and I had this *byl* [axe] teeth you know (31) and they said (32) now we know (33) you are Porky.

(34) And immediately at that time they phoned Loop Street (35) and they informed all their branches (36) that they got the main - the main guy they - they were looking for.

(37) And during that five minutes that whole police station was swarmed with security personnel that came in you know (38) and it was almost like an interview you know. (39) And these people they were all laughing and making jokes, (40) say (41) how we caught up with you, (42) we thought (43) you were a big guy (44) but now we see (45) you are only a small child or a boy, (46) but you have a lot to tell us (47) and you know a lot.

(48) Then I was being introduced to Captain van Brakel, (49) he told me (50) that for the past two years, he was chasing me (51) and they were part of an investigating unit that was being empowered or gave - that get a mandate by Adriaan Vlok that time to catch us or kill us. (52) **That was what he told me.**

The analysis of this extract is structured as follows: firstly, comments in relation to the generic structure of the entire testimony are given to provide a context for the analysis of the genre of this particular extract. Secondly, a periodicity analysis of this extract is offered to explore how De Souza organises his testimony into “digestible chunks” (Martin and Rose 2003). Thirdly, the analysis explores how De Souza introduces and refers to the main participants in this extract, and fourthly, how he represents the dialogue between himself and the police. Fifthly, it analyses the appraisal resources he uses, and lastly, it considers other distinctive features of his style, such as his use of humour, his recall of detail and his persistent use of the discourse marker, “you know”. These

‘lenses’ are used as a means of exploring how he achieves what I have argued is his primary narrative purpose, namely that of construing himself as agentive.

5.2.1 Genre

As indicated in Section 2.4, McCormick *et al.* (2006) argue that the TRC testimonies represent a unique macro-genre which includes an introductory phase, during which the testifiers and commissioners are introduced, a middle phase which usually consists of two main parts, the testifier’s story (generally delivered as one uninterrupted chunk), followed by a second ‘chunk’ elicited by questions from the commissioners, and a final concluding phase during which commissioners usually evaluate the testimony in some way, make enquiries as to follow-up action the testifier may wish from the Commission and thank the testifier for their participation.

Following on from McCormick *et al.* (2006) and Jordens (2002), this generic structure could be described as follows:

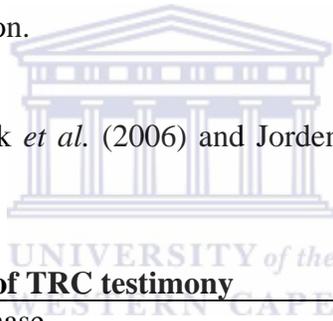


Table 5.1: Generic structure of TRC testimony

Beginning	Introductory Phase
Middle	^ Main Testimony ^ Elicited Testimony
Ending	^ Concluding Phase

Given that De Souza and his mother testified together, this description would need to be adapted for their testimony in the following way. The approximate times taken for each generic phase are indicated in the column on the right:

Table 5.2: Generic structure of entire De Souza testimony:

Generic phases	Time
Beginning	Introductory Phase 01:00 min
Middle	^ Main Testimony (C. de Souza) 38:00 min
	^ Main Testimony (D. de Souza) 09:00 min
	^ Elicited Testimony (C. de Souza) 11:30 min
Ending	^ Concluding Phase 01:40 min
Total time	61:10 min

Within this broad macro-genre, Colin de Souza's testimony presents a complex actualisation of a combination of story-telling genres. While much of his testimony consists of a Recount, as might be expected in an oral testimony of personal experience, this is interspersed with two Narratives which position De Souza as the main protagonist pitted against his adversaries. While the choice of the Recount might be considered the more usual or 'unmarked' choice for personal narratives (Jordens 2002), the choice of the Narrative enables De Souza to construe himself as a hero, which is, I would argue, part of his construal of himself as agentive and in control. The generic form of the Narrative will be explored in relation to Extract Two. Extract One, however, can be analysed as a Recount, so I shall give a brief overview of this genre here.

Like a Narrative, a Recount may begin with an optional Abstract which summarises the main point of the story and ends with an optional Coda, which may return the testimony to the present. The Abstract is typically followed by an Orientation, which introduces the setting, the main participants and their behaviour. Its distinctive middle stages include a Record of Events and an optional Reorientation. The focus of the genre is on the Record of Events: on what happened, and how these events relate to each other. Unlike the Narrative, there is no separate Evaluation stage; rather the Record of Events is evaluated prosodically, as the speaker offers ongoing appraisal of the events. Unlike a Narrative, in which an event is construed as 'remarkable' or 'disruptive', the Recount construes events as 'expected', even when they are horrific or tragic. Within the context of the TRC hearing, the stories of human rights abuse told by the testifiers can be understood as 'expected'.

The generic analysis of Extract One as a Recount is indicated below. The co-construction of the Narrative is evident in that the commissioner offers both the Abstract and the Orientation. I have indicated the stage labels (Abstract, Orientation, Record of Events) in bold. I have not repeated the entire extract, as the remainder (which is omitted) is a continuation of the Record of Events.

EXTRACT ONE: GENERIC ANALYSIS

RECOUNT

ABSTRACT

DR ORR: Thank you chair, hello Colin, we've been speaking to each other a lot over the last two days. And now you are going to speak to this audience and to the country. Colin you're a young man, but in your life, I think you've gone through experiences which people much-much older than you probably never ever dream of.

ORIENTATION

At the age of 15 you were recruited by MK and became part of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing which Muhammad Ferhelst told us about. You were on the run, in hiding, your life was disrupted and then in 1987 you were arrested. Can you tell us what happened to you that - at that time in October 1987.

RECORD OF EVENTS

COLIN DE SOUZA: Well I was arrested on the 2nd of October 1987 at 5:00 am in the morning. During my arrest there were about 30 - 40 Security Branch policemen that took part in the whole arrest and we were took – we were took that morning to Brackenfell police station where we all were lined up, we were about 18 to 20 young comrades of Bonteheuwel. I was part of the comrades that was lined up there and first of all they took our names and I knew I was very wanted by the security police, and I gave the false name Mark Bresick with a false address also... [Record of Events continues to end of extract]

When identifying boundaries between stages, I have considered both the function played by each stage (e.g. Orientation sets the scene) and aspects of the lexicogrammar (e.g. circumstantial elements function as marked themes). I therefore turn now to a periodicity analysis of the same extract as this is one of the tools I used to help establish the boundaries between the stages of the genre.

5.2.2 Periodicity

Martin and Rose (2003: 176) propose a periodicity analysis as a means of tracing the predictable rhythms of discourse which, on the one hand, create expectations “by

flagging forward” and, on the other hand, “consolidate() them by summarizing back”. A periodicity analysis helps track how speakers package their information into “digestible chunks” which help make their stories “consumable”. (See Section 3.6 for a fuller discussion of periodicity.)

A periodicity analysis begins with a thematic analysis at clausal level. Throughout his testimony, De Souza typically uses circumstantial elements as marked themes to signal shifts in the flow of information. These marked themes (marked in bold in the above Extract One) serve to divide the discourse into stages and smaller phases. These marked themes signal shifts in time or changes in participants, thereby serving to “scaffold discontinuity” (Martin and Rose 2003: 179). In Extract One above, each phase, identifiable by its introductory circumstantial theme, has been presented as a separate paragraph. The final paragraph is introduced by the use of a full clause, which also functions as a marked theme (“Then I was being introduced to Captain van Brakel”).

De Souza’s opening statement in response to Dr Orr’s question (clause 1) serves to predict what the rest of the extract will be about, namely the experience of his arrest. Martin and Rose (2003: 185) refer to this as a “macrotheme”, or a theme that predicts the next lower level of theme in the text. Although ‘consolidation’ is not a strong feature of De Souza’s style, the final clause of the last paragraph (“That was what he told me”) serves to summarise the foregoing phase – “that” being an anaphoric reference to the preceding text.

I would argue that the way in which De Souza “packages” his information is part of what makes him a skilful narrator and enables him to successfully engage his audience and ‘carry them along’, thereby building solidarity with them and ensuring that they will be more likely to accept his presentation of himself.

5.2.3 Participant analysis

Extract One introduces the main participants in this testimony: namely, the police, De Souza and his comrades. The police are collectively referred to as “Security Branch policemen”, “security police”, “security personnel” and “these people”; individual policemen are referred to as “this one security bloke, this one guy with the name of Todd”, “this guy” and “Captain van Brakel”. Captain van Brakel, whose name recurs in a number of testimonies from the Bonteheuwel area, is reported as saying he has been chasing De Souza for two years on an order from the then Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, whose reference is not explained by De Souza but presumed known to a South African audience. These references serve to establish the police, both collectively and singly, as the main antagonists, against whom De Souza is pitted.

De Souza initially refers to himself as part of a group of “young comrades of Bonteheuwel” but soon relates the events from his individual perspective. This is reflected in the pronominal shift from “we” (clauses 3-5) referring to him and his comrades, to “I” referring to himself singly in the rest of the extract. This pattern is typical for the three activist testimonies analysed in Chapters Seven and Eight as well. However, the other three activists return to their collective identities at the end of their testimonies, whereas De Souza does not. The focus of his testimony remains on his individual experience. This, I would argue, is part of his presentation of himself as an activated social actor. He locates his agency within a construal of himself as an individual who is flexible and innovative (as argued in the following analysis), not as part of a collective movement.

5.2.4 Appraisal

De Souza’s testimony is characterised by a lack of explicit appraisal of his own feelings. This is a significant ‘silence’ which I shall comment on later in relation to the other testimonies considered in this thesis. In Extract One, for example, he does not say how he felt as he listened to his comrades being interrogated and tortured. Rather he presents

himself as calmly awaiting his fate and planning how to trick the police by giving them a false identity. Unfortunately for him, his distinctive teeth give him away.

Although there is no explicit appraisal of his feelings, De Souza uses an increase in graduation resources to foreground the discovery of himself as “the main guy they were looking for”. As discussed in Section 3.5.3, graduation resources enable one to “turn the volume up or down” (Martin and Rose 2003: 38). In clauses 34-47 (reprinted below) the instances of grading have been marked in bold:

34. And **immediately** at that time they phoned Loop Street
35. and they informed **all** their branches
36. that they got the **main** - the **main** guy they - they were looking for
37. and during that five minutes that **whole** police station was **swarmed** with
security personnel that came in you know
38. and it was **almost like an interview** you know.
39. And these people they were **all** laughing and making jokes,
40. say
41. how we caught up with you,
42. we thought
43. you were a **big** guy
44. but now we see
45. you are only a **small** child or a boy,
46. but you have **a lot** to tell us
47. and you know **a lot**.

The reaction of the police to their discovery is “**immediate**”, they phoned “**all** their branches” and the “**whole** police station was **swarmed** with security personnel”. “Immediately”, “all” and “whole” increase the force of the emotional meanings by ‘turning up the volume’. “Swarmed” is an example of what Martin and Rose (2003: 39) refer to as “attitudinal lexis”, or lexical items with grading added to the core. For example, the metaphoric use of “swarmed” has the meaning of ‘full of + force’. De Souza compares his interrogation to an “**an interview**”, which serves to elevate his status and suggests he is significant, almost respected. However, this is mitigated by the use of the adverb, “**almost**”. The comparison between “**big** guy” and “**small** child” is also evaluative and further elevates his status: it indicates that the police had expected him to be older on account of his high profile as an activist; youngsters like himself are not

meant to ‘know’ things that will be of importance to adults. The repetition of the nominal phrase, “**a lot**”, further acts to emphasise the importance of what he knows to the police.

Thus, through the use of grading resources, such as words which increase the force of the emotional meanings, attitudinal lexis, similes, comparisons and repetition, De Souza signals how we should view him and construes himself as significant, as “the main guy” the police were after.

5.2.5 Dialogue

The representation of speech in this extract also serves an evaluative function. The dialogue between De Souza and the police is represented as direct speech, and includes examples of code-switching. Schiffrin (1981) examines the use of direct quotes (as a form of the historical present) and argues that they act as markers of heightened emotional intensity in that they allow the narrator to “increase the immediacy of an utterance which occurred in the past by allowing the speaker to perform that talk in its original form, as if they were occurring in the present moment” (1981: 58). De Souza’s use of direct speech (e.g. “open your *bek*”) has the effect of shifting the central reference point from the present time context of the narration (i.e. the TRC hearings) to the narrative context (i.e. the afternoon of the interrogation) thereby positioning the audience as witnesses and increasing their involvement in the events described.

Clauses 27-29 include an example of code-switching between English and Afrikaans: “he said to me like / open your *bek* / *maak oop jou bek*”. The tendency to quote the police verbatim is a strategy used by many TRC testifiers to characterise the police who were predominantly Afrikaans-speaking. In addition, it enables him to represent the police as crude and brutal, as reflected in the abusive language they used: “*bek*” is the Afrikaans word for the ‘mouth’ of an animal. In this instance, his use of Afrikaans enables him to represent the dehumanising effects of the apartheid system.

However, not all the code-switching in his testimony is motivated by this intention. His use of “*byl* teeth” (meaning “axe-like” – clause 30) is probably simply because the Afrikaans word came more quickly. (In Extract Three, a further example of this is evident, when he refers first to ‘bullets’ by their Afrikaans word, “*koeëls*”). Code-switching and code-mixing between English and Afrikaans would have been a normal linguistic practice for people from De Souza’s speech community (see McCormick 2002). (For a fuller discussion of the role of direct speech and code-switching as markers of evaluation, see the analysis of Dorothy de Souza’s testimony in Chapter Six).

Both his use of direct speech and the verbatim quotes of the police are strategies which enable De Souza to heighten the emotional intensity, thereby making his presentation of events more vivid and dramatic. The effect of this, I would argue, is to engage the audience and ‘carry them along’, which is part of being a skilful narrator.

5.2.6 Other distinctive features of De Souza’s style

De Souza uses a range of other strategies to engage and build solidarity with his audience. One such strategy includes humour. Eggins and Slade (1997: 158) cite research by Jefferson, Schlegoff and Sacks which demonstrates that laughter can act as an invitation to intimacy on the part of the speaker, and a willingness to affiliate on the part of the audience (1997: 158). On a number of occasions, De Souza inserts humorous anecdotes, such as the one about his “*byl*” teeth, into his testimony, as the following examples demonstrate.

During the car chase episode of his testimony, he recounts how he escaped through a roadblock set up to search for him by disguising himself as a New Apostolic worshipper and holding a psalm book up to his face when the police shone their torches into the car:

I climbed in the back of the car and I grabbed one of these psalm books you know, where the people sing out the New Apostolic people, church people sing out and I was reading through it you know and making like I was bit of a religious. Now what they made is when they saw a suspicious guy the

roadblock they would show with the torches and they stopped that car, now they see no this is church people and because I had this brother's jacket on you know a church jacket on, and I was sitting at the back of the car and the book was in my face and they said okay this car can go past let me stop the bus.

At another point, he tells how he befriended his warder while in captivity and persuaded him to organise that he (De Souza) showered everyday with his fellow comrade, John de Vos, thereby enabling them to communicate with each other. He uses these anecdotes to construe himself as innovative and creative, as able to find ways to outsmart the police, even when trapped or incarcerated. At yet another point, De Souza inserts the following humorous comment into the account of his second arrest:

They beat me up, took me to the scene where they found like tyres and petrol bombs, they handcuffed me to a electric pole - light pole where they beat me unconscious. Then after half an hour they threwed me into this big *ingomo* with all the tyres, I was looking more than a tyre when I was coming at Bishop Lavis police station.

His awareness of audience and his obvious enjoyment of being able to make jokes at his own expense (such as looking like a “tyre” from having been beaten up and thrown into a truck with real tyres) is part of how he builds solidarity with his audience. His audience at the TRC hearing responded positively to his testimony. At times, the SABC cameras showed a smiling audience who laugh as De Souza recalls the more exciting episodes in his narrative. At one point, the camera is trained on a man who is in all likelihood his father, who also smiles appreciatively at his son’s performance.

Humour is one of the strategies De Souza uses to engage his audience and align them with his perspective. It is also, I would argue, another of the strategies he uses to construe himself as agentive and in control.

De Souza is not alone in construing his role in this way. Ross (2003) comments on the tendency among the participants in her research – women activists in Zwelethemba (Worcester, Western Cape) – to use the “trickster motif” to describe their efforts to outwit the security forces. Ross (2003: 156-157) argues:

It may be that using a trickster motif to describe encounters is part of a strategy of symbolically transforming power through ridicule... What is important about the use of the trickster motif by activist women in Zwelethemba is its divergence from the grammar of pain offered by the Commission. In the ways that women activists in Zwelethemba use the trope, the individual is reconfigured as a site of power.

Through these humorous anecdotes, De Souza “reconfigures” himself as “a site of power”.

Other aspects of De Souza’s style which serve, in my opinion, to build interpersonal rapport with his audience include his eye contact, gestures, hand movements and prosody (evident on the audiovisual record). For example, he uses a lot of hand gestures to show the movements of the cars, the shooting, the bullets flying overhead and his actions as he outwitted and outmanoeuvred the police and, on one occasion, his comrades. These, however, are not the focus of this analysis and are therefore not explored here.

He also has extraordinarily detailed powers of recall, remembering precisely names, locations, and exact times, which not only give his story credibility, but make it more vivid and real. Additionally, his persistent use of the discourse marker, “you know”, serves to engage his audience and establish solidarity with them. In Extract One above, all instances of “you know” have been underlined to draw attention to the prevalence of this feature in his discourse. Blommaert (2005) analyses De Souza’s use of “you know” in detail. I shall comment on his analysis in the last section of this chapter.

In the above analysis, I have explored different strategies which De Souza uses to construe himself as agentive and to build interpersonal rapport with his audience. I have argued that part of what makes him a skilful narrator is his ability to organise his information into ‘digestible chunks’ which serve ‘to carry his audience along’. I have also argued that his use of strategies such as direct speech and code-switching make his narrative more dramatic and real, thereby increasing audience involvement. I have also indicated that while there is no explicit evaluation of his feelings, he uses graduation

resources to signal evaluative meanings and foreground his own significance. Lastly, I have considered several other features of his testimony (such as his use of humour and the trickster motif) which, I have argued, construe him as innovative and capable of outwitting his opponents. Further, they serve to build, through shared laughter, solidarity with his audience.

I would also argue that the way De Souza construes himself as agentive draws on a discourse of activism which foregrounds the individual's sense of agency and control. He is, in Fairclough's (2003: 150) terms, "an activated social actor" rather than a "passivated" one who is acted upon. However, as later analyses in Chapters Seven and Eight will show, there are a number of different discourses to which activists have access, and other testifiers do not necessarily select this one in their construal of their identities.

5.3 Extract Two: The Attack by Comrades

Extract Two is taken from the middle section of De Souza's testimony and recounts how, one night, after his second arrest and release in 1988, comrades came to kill him after the police had spread rumours in the community that he was an informer. The analysis offers further evidence for a number of the arguments made in the previous section. In this extract, De Souza continues to construe himself as agentive. Once again, he makes a number of choices which enable him to achieve this purpose. In the analysis which follows, I focus on his choice of genre, how he builds his narrative tension primarily via appraisal resources of graduation, and his choice of transitivity patterns.

5.3.1 Genre

Extract Two can be analysed as a Narrative. The choice of the Narrative genre enables De Souza to construe himself as a hero who faces and overcomes adversity. It follows the Recount which has been the genre of choice up to this point. Before proceeding with the analysis, a brief review of the Narrative genre and how it differs from the Recount will be given.

The description of Narrative genre in SFL follows that of Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972). In a Narrative, the protagonist, who may be powerful or powerless and act alone or with others, faces a series of problematic experiences which culminate in a crisis which is then resolved by the actions of the protagonist (Eggins and Slade 1997: 239-243). Thus the Narrative moves through a series of Complicating Actions towards an end point or Resolution of that crisis. The evaluation of the Narrative gives it its significance and makes it ‘tellable’. In a Narrative, evaluative meanings typically cluster in a discrete stage – the Evaluation – between the Complication and Resolution, although they may also be dispersed throughout the Narrative. Additional stages in a Narrative include an optional Abstract and Coda. The Abstract provides an introductory summary while the Coda follows the Resolution and may function to evaluate the whole event or return the story to the present.

The Narrative differs from the Recount in a number of ways. Narratives involve protagonists who face a crisis which they must resolve – they are about “restoring a disturbed equilibrium” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301). Recounts, on the other hand, construe experience as expected, even when this is horrific or traumatic. In a Narrative, the Evaluation stage typically suspends the action at its crisis as the narrator evaluates its significance. In a Recount, the evaluation is ongoing and realised prosodically (Martin and Plum 1997: 301).

The Recount which precedes this Narrative describes how De Souza was arrested for the second time in 1988, interrogated, beaten up, initially denied bail, and then detained for a further six to eight weeks, before being brought to court for a second bail hearing. This section is presented as a series of events unfolding relatively “unproblematically” (Martin and Plum 1997: 301).

The chunk I have analysed as a Narrative is different from the preceding text in that it presents a crisis, namely an attack by his comrades which is then explicitly resolved by the actions of De Souza and his family members. In the extract which follows, the end of

the preceding Recount has been included to give some context for the Narrative. It is often difficult to establish a boundary between the end of one genre and the beginning of the next: the events of the preceding genre provide part of the Orientation to the next and the genres seem to blend into one another (see Sections 4.4.4 and 8.6 for further discussions of methodological issues relating to genre analysis). The generic labels are inserted into the transcript and the marked themes which signal shifts in the staging are highlighted in bold:

EXTRACT TWO: GENERIC ANALYSIS

RECORD OF EVENTS (end of preceding RECOUNT)

Two weeks after that [namely, a visit from his lawyer to say that his bail application had been unsuccessful] I went to court and this certain day when I came on court, Constable Kahn he came there down to me in the cells, he said to me “*kyk hier* [look here] Porky, we going to give you a bail, but just remember tonight you are a dead man”.

And immediately when my lawyer came she said oh! they very surprised, this is Mrs Burger, that they found that the State is going to give me a bail of R1000. Then immediately I told her, “look here, this security policeman he told me they going to give me a bail, but tonight I am going to be killed”. So that day my bail was R1000. It was being paid. I went out.

NARRATIVE

ORIENTATION

I went with my father to Woodstock where I washed and my brother-in-law Kevin was also with me. And the night here around about six o'clock because I had to be seven o'clock in - in my house, six o'clock we returned to Bonteheuwel where I stayed at 21B Candlewood Street.

COMPLICATING ACTION

At that - at that same time I was still busy eating my food and I heard this familiar knock on the door, and I was standing inside the - inside the - nearby the toilet you know in the - near to the sitting room you know, and I heard the comrades Jacques Adonis he was asking, Mrs de Souza, Mrs de Souza is Porky here? My mother said, no Porky isn't here, he is somewhere else, he is not sleeping at - at home. And they said, then they said okay, we did watch you the whole time, we knew Porky were here, Porky came with you.

And apparently at that time Jacques draw out a gun to force his way into the house like to shoot me and my father grabbed him and there was a whole twist outside and my brother-in-law - he hit Jacques you know and the gun fall - fall over the balcony right down you know and they chased the group, it was a group of youths was about sixteen of them you know, some of them were with me in this - in this trials of the BMW and the chase went right around the street and my father and my brother-in-law they arrived.

At that time I had a firearm but it was for my own purpose. I took out the firearm, I put it underneath my jersey, I went outside because I check, now it's too dangerous to be inside the house and I want to move now, out of the area.

As we were still standing outside to move, this group of comrades - and there was some gangsters also with - they came shooting around the corner. Before even they take the bend the shots was firing and they were shooting and throwing bricks and my mother and my father they ran into this - and with my baby brother - ran into this people downstairs house, that the - the - their surname were Brooks, they ran into this house and these people locked the door, and I and my - my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse was still outside, locked outside. The people inside didn't want to open the door and here these people were preparing to shoot and there was like a big fight you know and one guy he was - he was still trying to - to cock the gun but the gun jammed you know.

RESOLUTION

And at that time as I was shouting, open the door, the people inside opened the door and as my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse and I ran into the house, and the door closed, the shots just went down and the bullets ran through the doors and through the windows and all that.

5.3.2 Periodicity

The thematic analysis of Extract Two reveals that first person references to De Souza (“I”) are the predominant unmarked theme (16.4%, or 11 out of 67 clauses). There are an additional five references to him as “Porky” or “he” (7.5%, 5/67) and four of him together with his brother-in-law (6%, 4/67). In total, then, De Souza (either alone or together with his brother-in-law) is foregrounded as the predominant “point of departure” 30% (20/67) of the time.

References to Jacques Adonis and the comrades constitute the second largest choice of theme, or 19.4% (13/67), indicating that they were the chief antagonists in this extract. References to De Souza (alone or with his family) and the comrades constitute the predominant unmarked themes in the above extract and help to create textual coherence by running threads of identity through the text.

By contrast, the marked themes, such as the circumstantial elements, function to ‘scaffold discontinuity’ and, in this case, frequently indicate shifts in the organisation of the information (i.e. between stages or phases in the genre).

5.3.3 Detailed analysis of Extract Two

I shall now offer a detailed analysis of Extract Two, indicating how this extract is structured as a Narrative and showing how De Souza builds the narrative tension and constructs himself as outmanoeuvring his attackers, in this case, his fellow comrades. I use appraisal theory (graduation) to explain how De Souza builds the emotional tension towards a prosodic climax in his Narrative. Each stage of the genre is analysed separately and reproduced below clause by clause:

ORIENTATION

1. I went with my father to Woodstock
2. where I washed
3. and my brother-in-law Kevin was also with me
4. and the night here around about six o'clock <<because I had to be seven o'clock in my house,>>
5. six o'clock we returned to Bonteheuwel
6. where I stayed at 21B Candlewood Street.

The Orientation introduces the main ‘heroes’ of this Narrative, namely De Souza, his father and his brother-in-law, and indicates the location for the Narrative, namely, his home in Bonteheuwel. The specificity of the address, 21B Candlewood Street points, I would argue, to his awareness that the credibility of a TRC testimony rests in part on the

accurate recall of names, dates and places. His reference to needing to be home by seven o'clock is a reference to his bail conditions.

The Complicating Action can be divided into four 'phases'. 'Phase' is the term used by Martin and Rose (2003: 9) to describe the ordering of information within a stage. These phases may be variable or even quite unique to a text, unlike generic stages which are relatively stable across texts. I analyse each phase separately:

COMPLICATING ACTION

Phase 1: 'the knock'

7. At that - at that same time I was still busy eating my food
8. and I heard this familiar knock on the door
9. and I was standing inside the - inside the - nearby the toilet you know in the - near to the sitting room you know
10. and I heard the comrades
11. Jacques Adonis he was asking
12. Mrs de Souza, Mrs de Souza is Porky here,
13. my mother said
14. no Porky isn't here
15. he is somewhere else
16. he is not sleeping at home.
17. And they said,
18. then they said
19. okay, we did watch you the whole time,
20. we knew
21. Porky were here,
22. Porky came with you

In this first phase, the circumstantial element, "at that same time" (clause 7), marks a shift in the staging and indicates to the audience that a new stage in the Narrative (i.e. Complicating Action) is about to begin. The use of the continuative, "still", in "I was **still** busy eating my food" also signals to the audience that, in this case, a normal daily routine is about to be disrupted. According to Martin and Rose (2003: 53), continuatives are a counter-expectancy resource which serve to acknowledge the audience's expectations in the process of text construction.

Elements of Orientation are infused in clauses 7 and 9 through the use of the past continuous tense (“was eating”, “was standing”) – these describe the behaviour which the first Complicating Action (“I heard this familiar knock on the door”) disrupts. The “knock on the door” in clause 8 is qualified as “familiar”. It is “familiar” because it is the knock of his comrade, Jacques Adonis, but in the context of Constable Kahn’s warning, it is also ominous.

De Souza then recalls how he overhears the conversation between his mother and Adonis. This dialogue forms the focus of this first phase of the Complicating Action and has, predictably, the highest concentration of verbal processes (“was asking”, “said”). However, although De Souza is an eaves-dropper in this scene, he still presents this scene as refracted through his eyes (or ears) with the repetition of the clause, “I heard” in clauses 8 and 10 (“**I heard** this familiar knock on the door / and **I heard** the comrades...”). An alternative formulation might have been: “There was a familiar knock...” and “The comrades asked...”. However, the fact that De Souza thematises himself (as “I”) and positions himself as the Senser of the mental process², “heard”, means that we read what follows from his standpoint, thereby foregrounding him and his perceptions.

This phase includes a number of syntactic and lexical repetitions:

Mrs de Souza, Mrs de Souza
is Porky here / Porky isn’t here / Porky were here
he is somewhere else / he is not sleeping at home.
my mother said / and they said / then they said
we did watch you / we knew
Porky were here / Porky came with you

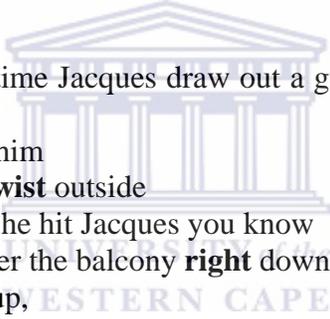
Repetitions are a graduation resource which function to intensify the force and increase the narrative tension. The repetition of Mrs de Souza’s name is part of this pattern, as well as an indication that Mrs de Souza and Jacques Adonis are known to each other. Even though Adonis has come to shoot her son, he still uses the polite and socially

acceptable form of address (“**Mrs** de Souza”), a superficial acknowledgement of a moral order of respect and decency which the events that follow subvert.

The fact that the dialogue between Jacques Adonis and Mrs de Souza is presented in direct speech (as opposed to reported speech), heightens the narrative immediacy of the telling (Schiffrin 1981). The same pattern was noted in Extract One, and is distinctive of De Souza’s entire testimony.

In the second phase, reprinted below, the Complicating Action reaches an initial prosodic climax as De Souza recounts how his father and brother-in-law repelled the comrades. The graduation resources are highlighted in bold:

Phase 2: ‘the fight’

- 
23. and **apparently** at that time Jacques draw out a gun to **force** his way into the house like to shoot me
 24. and my father **grabbed** him
 25. and there was a **whole twist** outside
 26. and my brother-in-law - he hit Jacques you know
 27. and the gun fall - fall over the balcony **right** down you know
 28. and they chased the group,
 29. it was a group of youths
 30. it was about sixteen of them you know.
 31. Some of them were with me in this - in this trials of the BMW
 32. and the chase went **right** around the street
 33. and my father and my brother-in-law they arrived

His use of the evidential, “apparently”, suggests that this description is based on someone else’s account, most probably his father’s or his brother-in-law’s. It is also, perhaps, a way of hedging his statement as he does not wish to accuse his comrade directly of drawing a gun on his father.

The presence of attitudinal lexis also adds evaluative meaning to this phase. For example, the word “force” can be understood as meaning ‘push + force’ and “grabbed” as ‘take hold of + force’.

The heightened prosody is continued by the metaphor, “whole twist”, which graphically depicts what was obviously a scuffle between Adonis and De Souza’s father and brother-in-law. It is probably also an example of interference from Afrikaans, as “twis” is an Afrikaans word for a quarrel or dispute. While “whole” is used as a grading resource to amplify the quarrel with the meaning of +big, “twist” could be seen as a way of minimising the nature of the confrontation, especially as the Afrikaans word suggests a verbal, rather than a physical, dispute.

The Narrative reaches a prosodic climax for the first time at the point where he describes the gun falling over the balcony (clause 27). This high point is signalled by the phrase, “right down”, where “right” serves to intensify the meaning of “down”, and is an example of what Martin and Rose (2003) refer to as “sharpening the focus” through the addition of grading, or intensified meaning, to a phenomenon (like “falling”) which is inherently non-gradable. Note that this pattern continues in clause 32: “and the chase went **right** around the street”.

Although there is no explicit evaluation of the actions of either his father and brother-in-law, or the comrades, his description of how his father and brother-in-law chased away sixteen gun-toting and brick-throwing youths is surely meant to invoke our admiration. I would argue that this is part of his construal of himself as agentive: his focus is on the actions of the main participants, as he construes his family members (and by extension, himself) as people who are able to take action against their opponents.

In the third phase, reproduced below, De Souza is once again the main participant as the Narrative places him centre-stage. The reason why I have analysed this as a separate phase is because it focuses on him alone, as the predominant participant. This is a change from the second phase, in which he did not appear as a participant, and different to the fourth phase, in which he appears together with family members. The third and fourth phases also begin with circumstantial clauses as theme which suggests some kind of boundary at clauses 34 and 42.

Phase 3: ‘strategising’

34. At that time I had a firearm
35. but it was for my own purpose.
36. I took out the firearm,
37. I put it underneath my jersey,
38. I went outside
39. because I check
40. now it's too dangerous to be inside the house.
41. And I want to move now, out of the area.

In this phase, the predominant processes are material³ (“took”, “put”, “went”) and mental (“check”, “want”) as he construes himself as acting and strategising in his own defence. Note how he uses the historical present tense in clauses 39-41 (I **check** / it’s too dangerous / I **want** to move) to mark a resumption of the narrative tension. As mentioned earlier in relation to Extract One, Schifffrin (1981: 58) argues that tense shifts from past to the historical present in oral narratives frequently function as an internal evaluation device by making the past “more vivid by bringing past events into the moment of speaking” thereby increasing the dramatic impact of the story.

The qualification, “but it was for my own purpose” (clause 35), is difficult to interpret. Perhaps he is acknowledging that his admission of gun ownership could position him in a negative light, especially in the post-1994 context of a growing anti-gun, pro-peace public discourse⁴. In this way, he anticipates a possible negative response from his audience and seeks to appease it in advance. Or perhaps he is indicating that the gun is not for attacking others, but for his own protection. Once again, he construes himself as prepared and able to defend himself – further evidence of his agency.

In the next and fourth phase, De Souza describes how the comrades returned, this time with “some gangsters”, to attack his family. Here “comrades” is a positive judgement of social sanction, whereas “gangster” is a negative one. This surprising collocation points to the underhand role played by the state in sowing mistrust and division in communities, where the boundaries between two social groups (comrades and gangsters) could be

blurred as a result of police interference and disinformation⁵. It is also justification for why he carried a gun – for his own protection.

Phase Four brings the Narrative to its second and final climax, and the end of the Complicating Action, as De Souza and his brother-in-law are trapped outside the locked door in the face of the comrades' guns. Once again, the graduation resources (highlighted in bold) signal the prosodic climax.

Phase 4: 'the shooting'

42. As we were still standing outside to move
43. this group of comrades <<and there was some gangsters also with>>
44. they came shooting around the corner.
45. Before **even** they take the bend
46. the shots was firing
47. and they were shooting
48. and throwing bricks
49. and my mother and my father they ran into this -
50. and with my baby brother - ran into this people downstairs house,
51. that the – the - their surname were Brooks,
52. they ran into this house
53. and these people locked the door,
54. and **I** and my - my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse was **still outside**,
55. **locked OUTside**.
56. **The people inside didn't want to open the door**
57. **and here these people were preparing to shoot**
58. and there was like a **BIG** fight you know
59. and one guy he was – he was still trying to cock the gun
60. but the gun jammed you know

The use of “even” in “before **even** they take the bend” is an engagement resource (continuative) which signals to the audience that, contrary to what would normally be expected, the comrades began shooting before rounding the corner. This and the repetition of “shots/shooting” indicate that the tension is again swelling towards a moment of prosodic prominence.

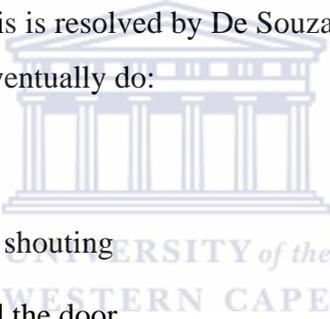
As the action gathers momentum, so the predominant process is again material (e.g. “came shooting”, “take the bend”, “was firing”, “were shooting”, “throwing”, “ran” x 3,

“locked”). The Narrative reaches a prosodic climax in clauses 54 and 55 where De Souza and his brother-in-law are “still outside / locked outside”. The climax is heightened through the tonal emphasis in the spoken version on “I” and “OUTside”, as well as through the repetition of “outside”.

At this point, clauses 56 and 57 (“The people inside didn't want to open the door / and here these people were preparing to shoot”) evaluate and suspend the action. Clause 56 is a token of negative affect which invokes the neighbours’ feelings of fear. This moment of tension is further heightened by the addition of grading force through the raised intonation on “big” in “like a BIG fight” (clause 58). However, fortunately the gun jammed and this gave De Souza and his brother-in-law the break they needed to escape.

In the Resolution stage, the crisis is resolved by De Souza who shouts to the people in the house to open up, which they eventually do:

RESOLUTION

- 
61. and at that time as I was shouting
 62. open the door,
 63. the people inside opened the door
 64. and as my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse and I ran into the house,
 65. and the door closed
 66. the shots just went down
 67. and the bullets ran through the doors and through the windows and all that.

In this way, De Souza casts himself as a hero – able to outmanoeuvre his opponents, even when trapped and in danger of death.

This stage also allows for a diminishing of the tension as the subject of the clauses shifts from social actors (human participants) to inanimate participants, namely, “the door”, “the shots”, and “the bullets”. In terms of Halliday’s ergative analysis, “the door”, “shots” and “the bullets” would be analysed as Medium. The Medium, according to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 292) is not “the doer, nor the causer, but the one that is critically involved, in some way or other according to the particular nature of the

process”. In this sense, the process is “self-engendering”. When a clause is represented as engendered from the outside, there would be another participant acting as Agent.

This transitivity choice has the effect of effacing the external cause of the process as the inanimate objects appear to have a will of their own. Note how “the bullets” are personified as “running” through the doors and windows. In this way, the “door”, “shots” and “bullets” become the ‘doers’ of the clause. This choice enables De Souza to suppress the identity of the ‘real agents’, the comrades, thereby diminishing the latter’s agency.

De Souza uses this strategy of shifting the focus from human to inanimate participants at other crucial moments in his testimony and I should like, at this point, to consider a third extract in order to illustrate this point. During the car chase episode (from the second half of his testimony), De Souza describes how he, his father and girlfriend were chased across the Cape Flats in his father’s car by the security police. Extract Three which follows is taken from this section of his testimony. Note how at critical moments, as the police increasingly gain the upper hand, the first participant⁶ shifts to the car or parts of the car (i.e. clauses 10, 12, 13, 14, 22 and 23 – the first participant is highlighted). Notice also how the “sponge” of the car seat is personified as “grabbing” the bullets (clause 23) and also how the dangerous trajectories of the bullets are described in detail (clauses 19, 22 and 23):

EXTRACT 3: THE CAR CHASE

1. As we took that road into Swartklip
2. we were actually driving very fast you know,
3. they couldn't catch up with their cars.
4. I immediately see at the back of us
5. there was like this maroon - metallic blue Alfa Romeo
6. came right from the back very fast
7. and this guy he was hanging out with a machine gun
8. and he was shooting at - shooting at our wheels.

9. And at that time they shot our wheels flat,
10. **both our back wheels** were flat
11. and they shot through the windows,

12. **the back windows** were in,
13. **the front windows**, all the windows of the car was in,
14. **the car** started to burn,

15. and at that time Van Brakel and his other Security cops had the time to come near us
16. and they were shooting just - you know
17. they were driving next to us you know
18. and shooting with the 16 shooters you know,
19. but **most of the koeëls** [bullets] most of the bullets missed us by seconds.
20. I can remember
21. I was sitting low in my seat
22. and **the head cover of the seat** you know it was full of - full of bullets you know
23. because **the sponge** you know, it grabbed some of the bullets there you know

These shifts to inanimate participants, sometimes accompanied by their personification, is part of the way in which De Souza suspends his Narrative at critical moments of tension and depicts the extreme danger of the situation. It enables him to shift from clauses of action processes to a description of the effects of that action, while simultaneously suppressing the causers or ‘agents’ by leaving the responsibility for the actions unspecified. It could be argued that it is at these moments when the opposing forces are seemingly gaining the upper hand and De Souza is closest to losing his agency (in Fairclough’s sense of “being in control”), that this strategy enables him to diminish the agency of his opponents and correspondingly his position as affected by their actions.

5.3.4 Transitivity Analysis of Extract Two

Transitivity patterns also explain how De Souza construes himself as agentive. In the section which follows, I return to Extract Two and offer an analysis of the transitivity patterns in this extract.

Transitivity patterns represent the encoding of experiential meanings and are determined by the choice of process type, participants and circumstances in any clause (See summary of theory and explanation for the different process types in Section 3.7). In the table that follows, the main experiential meanings in Extract Two have been summarised. The table is constructed after Trew (1979) as a method for analysing participants as either the

Causer or the Affected party in any transaction. I have adapted it for the purposes of my analysis as follows. In the table, the text is presented clause by clause and edited so that only the main experiential meanings are included, namely the process and participant elements. Therefore, the interpersonal elements and circumstantial elements which precede the first participant are excluded.

The participants and processes have been sorted into their respective columns. Where the participant is elided, it is inserted in brackets. When the clause is transitive and involves some causal transaction, the Causer of the process is placed in the first column and the participant which is acted upon is placed in the Affected column (e.g. “I was still busy eating my food”). When the clause is presented as involving just one participant and has no causal transaction (e.g. “I stayed at 21B Candlewood Street”), then the participant is put in first column (Causer) and any attributes and circumstances which follow the process are listed in the final column. However, if the clause represents the action as more or less happening spontaneously as in an ergative analysis (e.g. “the shots was firing”) and the first participant (“the shots”) is represented as affected by or undergoing, rather than causing, the process, then the participant is listed in the Affected column and three stars (***) are inserted into the Causer column. Finally, the process type is listed in the central column (material = mat; mental = men; ver = verbal; relational = rel; behavioural = beh; existential = exi).

Table 5.3: Transitivity patterns in Extract 2

(1) Causer	(2) Process	(3)	(4) Affected	(5) Circumst./Attribute
1. I	went	(mat)		with father to Woodstock
2. I	washed	(mat)		
3. Kevin	was	(rel)		with me
4. I	had to be	(rel)		seven o'clock in my house,
5. we (C+K+father)	returned	(mat)		to Bonteheuvel
6. I	stayed	(mat)		at 21B Candlewood Street.
7. I	was eating	(mat)	my food	
8. I	heard	(ment)	familiar knock	on the door
9. I	was standing	(mat)		near to the sitting room
10. I	heard	(ment)	the comrades	
11. Jacques	was asking	(verb)		
12. Porky	is	(rel)		here
13. mother	said	(verb)		
14. Porky	isn't	(rel)		here
15. he (Porky)	is	(rel)		somewhere else
16. he (Porky)	is not sleeping	(mat)		at home.
17. they (comrades)	said,	(verb)		
18. they (comrades)	said	(verb)		
19. we (comrades)	did watch	(beh)	you (C's family)	the whole time,
20. we (comrades)	knew	(ment)		
21. Porky	were	(rel)		here,
22. Porky	came	(mat)		with you
23. Jacques	draw out	(mat)	a gun	to force his way ...
24. father	grabbed	(mat)	him (Jacques)	
25. there	was	(exist)	a whole twist	outside
26. Kevin	hit	(mat)	Jacques	
27. ***	fall	(mat)	gun	over the balcony
28. they (K & father)	chased	(mat)	the group,	
29. it (group)	was	(rel)		a group of youths
30. it (group)	was	(rel)		about sixteen of them
31. Some of them (group) were		(rel)		with me in the trials...
32. ***	went	(mat)	the chase	around the street
33. K & father	arrived	(mat)		
34. I	had	(rel)		a firearm
35. it (gun)	was	(rel)		for my own purpose.
36. I	took out	(mat)		the firearm,
37. I	put	(mat)	it (gun)	underneath my jersey,
38. I	went	(mat)		outside
39. I	check	(ment)		
40. it (situation)	is	(rel)		too dangerous to be inside.
41. I	want to move	(ment)		out of the area.
42. we (Colin +)	were standing	(mat)		outside to move
43. there	were	(exist)		some gangsters with
44. they (group)	came shooting	(mat)		around the corner,
45. they (group)	take	(mat)	the bend	
46. ***	was firing	(mat)	shots	
47. they (group)	were shooting	(mat)		
48. (group)	throwing	(mat)	bricks	
49. C's parents	ran	(mat)		
50. C's parents + brother	ran	(mat)		into downstairs house,

51. their surname	were	(rel)		Brooks,
52. they (C's family)	ran	(mat)		into this house
53. Brooks	locked	(mat)	the door,	
54. we (C & K)	was	(rel)		outside,
55. (Brooks)	locked	(mat)	(C & K)	outside.
56. Brooks	didn't want to open	(ment)	the door	
57. group	were preparing to shoot	(mat)		
58. there	was	(rel)	a big fight	
59. comrade	was trying to cock	(mat)	the gun	
60. ***	jammed	(mat)	the gun	
61. I	was shouting	(verb)		
62.	open	(mat)	the door	
63. Brooks	opened	(mat)	the door	
64. C & K	ran	(mat)		into the house,
65. ***	closed	(mat)	the door	
66. ***	went down	(mat)	the shots	
67. ***	ran	(mat)	the bullets	through doors windows ...

The results of the above analysis are summarised in Table 5.4 which follows. This table indicates the number of times a particular participant appears in the role of Causer and the main processes associated with each.

Table 5.4: Summary of main transitivity patterns in Extract 2

Causers	No. out of 67 clauses	Types of processes				
		mat	ment	verb	rel	beh
De Souza (1 st first person, singular and plural)	19	11	4	1	3	
“Porky” (3 rd person)	6	2			4	
Family members (excl. De Souza)	9	7		1	1	
Comrades (sg. and pl.)	15	7	1	3	3	1
TOTAL	49	27	5	5	11	1

Table 5.4 gives an indication of who the main participants are and the kinds of processes or activities they are involved in. From the above, it can be seen that the predominant Causers of the processes switch between De Souza and his family members, on the one hand, and the comrades, on the other. This is to be expected in a narrative which is essentially about two adversaries pitched against each other. There is also a high preponderance of material processes, which is also to be expected given the action-orientated nature of the narrative. Mental processes feature as the second most important process associated with De Souza. Research by Bock and Duncan (2006) on the transitivity patterns in a ten minute extract from the car chase episode of De Souza's

testimony demonstrates that these patterns are typical of his testimony as a whole. (This research is referred to in more detail in the analysis of Dorothy de Souza in Chapter Six.)

These transitivity choices, I would argue, are part of the way in which De Souza positions himself as highly 'activated', as opposed to being the target or 'affected' by the actions of others. The shift to non-animate participants in clauses 27, 32, 46, 60 and 65-67, as discussed above, is also evident in the above table.

In the above analysis, I have explored how De Souza successfully construes his agency in a further two extracts from his testimony. It began with an analysis of the generic structure and argued that the choice of Narrative positions De Souza as a hero who, through his mental and physical agility, outsmarts his adversaries. A detailed analysis of the different generic stages explored how the Narrative climaxes in prosodic terms, mostly via graduation resources. The lack of explicit evaluation was noted and it was suggested that the foregrounding of action-oriented processes (and backgrounding of appraisal) was part of the way in which De Souza construes himself as a person of action. This analysis was strengthened by the transitivity analysis, which indicates that De Souza predominantly construes himself as the Causer of material actions, thereby further adding to his presentation of himself as an activated social participant. In addition, the above analysis showed how when De Souza was close to losing his agency, he shifts to clauses which foreground the Affected participant and suppress the Causer. This, it was argued, enables him to diminish the agency of his opponents and correspondingly his position as affected by their actions.

5.4 Summary

In the above sections, I have argued that De Souza, despite being the target of police brutality and an attack by his comrades, chooses to construe himself as agentive. The periodicity analysis shows how circumstantial elements operate as marked themes to indicate shifts in the organisation of information and narrative structure. It also demonstrates how De Souza and his adversaries are the predominant unmarked themes,

thereby establishing them and their ‘duel’ as the predominant ‘point of departure’ in the testimony. The generic analysis indicates that De Souza uses a combination of storytelling genres (Recounts and Narratives) and his choice of Narrative allows him to present himself as a hero pitted against his opponents. The transitivity analysis reveals how he chooses to position himself in the role of Causer rather than Affected, and that through the dominance of material and mental processes, he accentuates his capacity for “agentive action”. Additional distinctive features of his testimony, such as his use of humour, the trickster motif, as well as how he signals moments of heightened emotion through linguistic markers such as direct speech, code-switching or graduation resources, were also analysed to demonstrate how he skilfully engages his audience and builds solidarity with them.

The above analysis has also argued that his testimony is characterised by a lack of explicit appraisal – he avoids describing his feelings – and he only describes the torture he endured when prompted by commissioners. The commissioners, as argued by Blommaert (2005), seem anxious to elicit narratives of suffering; De Souza’s purpose is to construe himself as agentive. He therefore chooses to focus on those incidents which cast him as a hero, and not a victim. In this, I would argue, he draws on the discourses of “activism”, and it is to this aspect of the analysis that the rest of the chapter is devoted.

5.5 Social discourses

Anecdotes from other testimonies and research on the discourses of activists support the argument that activists are generally reluctant to construe themselves as victims. Elizabeth Floyd, a trade union activist in the 1980s, speaks of a “culture of silence” which emerged among activists, in part, she argues, as a form of resistance:

The other thing that happens with a lot of the detainees is they say it's part of the struggle. **Part of the struggle was to destroy you and admitting that the struggle had damaged you was admitting that the security police had got the better of you,** so one tends not to talk about those problems. And part of the struggle really was to survive, and we have a lot of survivors, we also have a lot of casualties and we have a lot of people

who sustained more damage in the survival than they would have otherwise [indistinct]. [Johannesburg hearings, 29 April 1996]

Although it is not entirely clear what Floyd means by “part of the struggle was to destroy you”, from the context of her testimony, which focuses on police methods of torture, it can be inferred that she means: “part of the police response to the struggle was to destroy you, and admitting that you had been damaged in the struggle was to admit that the security police had got the better of you”. In other words, part of resisting the police under interrogation and torture, part of “surviving” the struggle, was to refuse to acknowledge any personal hurt or damage, thereby refusing to allow the state security system to triumph. Part of De Souza’s reluctance to explicitly evaluate his own feelings or refer to the harm he has endured can be understood as part of this “culture of silence”. Similarly, part of his choice to construe himself as agentive can be understood as part of his presentation of himself as a survivor.

In her analysis of TRC narratives, Ross (2003: 6) draws attention to the fact that women activists were generally reluctant to identify themselves as “sites of harm” and chose narrative conventions (such as the trickster motif) which positioned them as powerful in their descriptions of their past political activities. In addition, she comments that many activists were reluctant to be positioned by the TRC as victims and were uneasy with the TRC’s focus on the individual; they were proud of their achievements and saw themselves as freedom fighters engaged in collective action for the greater good (2003: 158).

While De Souza’s construal of himself matches the first half of Ross’s positioning of women activists (viz. their reluctance to be positioned as victims), it does not match the second. De Souza, unlike the three activists whose testimonies form the material for Chapters Seven and Eight, does not frame his testimony in terms of his collective identity as a comrade, nor does he locate his actions within a broader ideological frame of the struggle against apartheid. He only refers once to himself as a member of MK (when identifying himself to the Muslim lady who helped him to escape the police cordon).

Rather he locates his activism within a conception of his individual creativity and capacity for action.

To relate this to Fairclough's (2003) discussion of style, I would argue that De Souza's construal of himself draws in part on his social identity as an activist, and the discourses which constitute this, and in part on his own individual personality. While his construal of himself as agentive is part of an activist discourse of resistance, I would argue that other features of his style, such as the rhythmic way in which he packages his information into chunks, his sense of humour, as well as his use of "you know" discourse markers, appear to be specific to De Souza and reflect aspects of his individual personality. In addition, the way he construes himself as an individual as opposed to part of a collective, is also atypical for activist testimonies. This issue will be discussed in more detail at the end of Chapter Eight, by which point it will be possible to make comparisons between all four of the activist testimonies.

In the remainder of this chapter, I wish to review Blommaert's (2005) analysis of De Souza's testimony and critique the way he has framed it. Blommaert (2005) includes his analysis of this testimony as part of a larger argument he makes that as discourses are transferred from one geographic or historical context to another, speakers may lose their capacity to accomplish their desired functions through language and consequently lose voice (2005: 78). He comments that at first glance, De Souza's testimony may be read or understood as an exciting event narrative devoid of pain and emotion, but that a closer careful study reveals a "hidden narrative of suffering" (2005: 86). He traces the occurrence of what he refers to as "you know" hedges and pitch rises to demonstrate that they occur in non-random ways, typically, although not always, when De Souza narrates extremely disturbing events (2005: 93). He argues that by speaking in this way, De Souza is adhering to the stylistic tradition of his Military Wing subculture: "that of factual event narratives from which explicit emotion or accounts of suffering are all but elided" (2005: 95), but that this discourse is at odds with the new public discourse of the TRC, which legitimates and seeks to acknowledge narratives of suffering. The mismatch between the codes De Souza employs and those of the TRC's public discourse of pain

and victimhood, argues Blommaert, demonstrates how particular resources can fail to perform certain functions when they are transferred across historical contexts. Consequently, he argues, speakers who possess such resources “fail to produce voice across contexts” (2005: 95).

As noted earlier, De Souza’s use of “you know” markers are a distinctive feature of his style and one of the ways in which he engages his audience. While they may well signal an increase in intensity at points in the narration, his discourse should not, in my opinion, be framed as a failure to ‘travel along’ with shifting historical discourses. De Souza’s reluctance to speak of his own suffering is not a failure to respond to the new TRC discourses; rather, I would argue, it should be seen as a choice to assert his agency. Not only was his discourse in the 1980s a form of resistance in the face of the all pervasive power of the state which was intent on denying him and his fellow-activists their agency, it can be seen, in the mid-1990s, as a further resistance to being positioned as a victim in the post-apartheid landscape.

The absence of overt suffering in De Souza’s testimony should not be framed as a discourse which has become dysfunctional in new historical contexts (as Blommaert would have it), but rather as a significant choice by the narrator to present himself as a hero of the struggle against the State in the 1980s and, in the 1990s, as a means of resisting being positioned as a victim by the TRC’s meta-discourse of pain and suffering. The lack of explicit markers of suffering should be understood not so much as an elision of pain, but as an assertion of agency. In the final analysis, De Souza chooses to construe himself as agentive, which is part of the way in which he refuses to be a victim and asserts his resistance to dominant and hegemonic discourses.

In the next chapter, the testimony of Dorothy de Souza, Colin’s mother, will be analysed. Her testimony makes an interesting counterfoil to her son’s. Because she testifies as a family member, not an activist, her narrative purpose and perspective are very different. She speaks of the harm done to her son and her family, which, as noted above, De Souza avoids describing. In this sense, her testimony fills in some of the ‘silences’ in De

Souza's testimony. In my analysis of her testimony, I will argue that she is concerned to present her own world as moral and respectable, against which the actions of the security police are measured as immoral and abnormal. In particular, I explore her use of code-switching as an appraisal resource and argue that code-switching should be included in the theory as an appraisal resource.

ENDNOTES

¹ Note that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 297) use the term 'agency' to distinguish effective from middle clauses. An effective clause has the feature 'agency', even if the participant role, Actor or Agent, is implicit, as in a passive clause with agent deletion (e.g. "the glass was broken"). A middle clause has no discernible Actor or Agent, as in "the glass broke".

² Here I am using the SFL transitivity terms for the different kinds of processes and participants as outlined in Section 3.7. Mental processes refer to processes of "sensing" (affection, cognition, perception) and the participant in whose mind the process occurs is referred to as the *Senser*.

³ Material processes refer to process of "doing" or concrete actions in the material world (see Section 3.7).

⁴ See the Gun Free South Africa campaign in the mid-1990s, which emerged as part of a programme of demilitarising South Africa after 1994.

⁵ Marks and McKenzie (1998) refer to the infiltration of the self-defence units (like the BMW) by criminal elements in the 1980s and the subsequent blurring of boundaries between criminal and political activities.

⁶ By first participant, I mean the participant which precedes the process in the clause e.g. Actor in transitive (active voice) clauses and intransitive clauses, *Medium* in an ergative analysis.

CHAPTER 6

Testimony of Dorothy de Souza

In this chapter, I analyse the testimony of Mrs Dorothy de Souza. She testified on the same occasion as her son, Colin de Souza, at the Tygerberg-Helderberg HRV hearings on 5 August 1996. In this analysis, I explore how she achieves her narrative purpose, which is, I will argue, to position herself and her family within a moral framework of respectable, law-abiding, decent family values against which the actions of the police are appraised as immoral and inhumane. This chapter also explores the effect of code-switching into Afrikaans for the words of the police and makes the argument that code-switching should be included as an appraisal resource within the SFL literature. In this regard, this thesis makes an original contribution to the development of that theory as currently described by Martin and White (2005). In making these arguments, I refer primarily to SFL theories of genre and appraisal, although reference to the transitivity system is also made.

The analysis is organised as follows: first background to the testimony, including a sociolinguistic profile of the testifier, is given. Then the generic structure is explored. Thirdly, the transitivity analysis is presented. Fourthly, the centrality of dialogue to this testimony is considered. Fifthly, a close analysis of six extracts which span her testimony is presented with a focus on the appraisal patterns which 'colour' her testimony. Sixthly, I discuss the social discourses she draws on in her construction of herself and her family, on the one hand, and the police, on the other. Lastly, I explore her use of code-switching as a means of characterising and positioning the police, and extend this discussion by reflecting on the importance of code-switching as an appraisal resource in multilingual contexts.

6.1 Background and summary

Dorothy de Souza and her son sat together on the stage in the Great Hall at the University of the Western Cape on the day of their hearing. She spoke after De Souza had ended the Main Testimony phase of his narrative. Her testimony, which is nine minutes long, was delivered in one long stretch, uninterrupted by questions from commissioners. After her testimony, her son was asked further questions by the commissioners. Like Minnie Ferhelst who testified together with her son, Muhammad Ferhelst (see Chapter Seven), she was not asked any questions herself, thereby reflecting the fact that their testimonies were viewed as being 'in support' of their sons, who were positioned as the victims of gross human rights abuse within the TRC context.

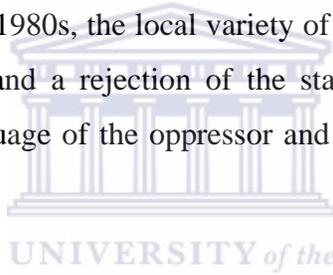
Dorothy de Souza gives her testimony in English, although she code-switches briefly into Afrikaans at one point. Minnie Ferhelst testifies solely in Afrikaans, while her son, Muhammad Ferhelst, switches into Afrikaans at one point when speaking to a commissioner who, like him, is bilingual in English and Afrikaans. Code-switching and mixing between Afrikaans and English, and, in particular, local varieties of these languages, would have been a normal linguistic practice for these testifiers. In the following paragraphs, I digress briefly to give a short sociolinguistic profile of the testifiers, as this background becomes important for the argument I make about code-switching later in this chapter.

6.1.1 Sociolinguistic profile

In the absence of any sociolinguistic study of Bonteheuwel, its profile in the 1980s and 1990s can be understood by referring to McCormick's (2002) study of linguistic choices among residents of District Six in Cape Town during that same period. Bonteheuwel was created as a settlement for coloured people who were removed from Cape Town, including District Six, under the apartheid legislation, the Group Areas Act (*TRC Report 4 1998: 278*) in the 1960s and 1970s. The area in which McCormick's informants lived was the only area of District Six to be left standing after the removals and demolitions. It

can therefore be argued that Bonteheuwel and District Six are demographically similar and have a shared cultural and linguistic history.

According to McCormick (2002), switching and mixing between the local varieties of English and Afrikaans in District Six was considered “the only proper way of speaking to one’s neighbour” (2002: 89) – so much so that this practice could be considered the “unmarked choice” (2002: 123). The local mixed vernacular generally consisted of an Afrikaans grammatical matrix into which a number of English loanwords were inserted (2002: 92). While the local mixed vernacular was valued as “warm” and “intimate” and a marker of solidarity (2002: 98), English was the language of choice for formal public events. Public occasions typically began in English, sometimes standard English, but switched to the local variety of Afrikaans when the discussion became heated or emotional (2002: 167). In the 1980s, the local variety of Afrikaans was viewed by many speakers as in opposition to and a rejection of the standard white Afrikaans variety, which was viewed as the language of the oppressor and a symbol of the apartheid state (2002: 196).



6.1.2 Summary of Dorothy de Souza’s testimony

Dorothy de Souza’s testimony centres on the events immediately preceding and following her son’s second court appearance in 1988, before she makes some general comments about the effect his activism has had on the rest of her family. In the first half of her testimony, she describes how her family was harassed by police on the night before De Souza’s second court appearance, and how the family (parents and two young children) were chased by the police in their car that same night when in fear they left their house to find a safe place to sleep. She also mentions the incident referred to by De Souza when the comrades came to kill him and recollects how the family was ostracized by the community and had no one to turn to. When recalling the night of the attack by the comrades, she refers to an incident where a policeman who arrived on the scene tried to assist them, but was prevented from doing so by his superior, Captain van Brakel. In the second half of her testimony, she speaks of the repercussions on her family: she tells

of the strain the family suffered; of how her husband lost his job because they were always in and out of court; of how sad she felt when her son was sent to prison, to “maximum security with rapists, murderers” for two years; and of how all of this has affected him and his four year old son.

6.2 Genre

As noted in Chapter Five, Mrs de Souza’s testimony forms part of a macro-genre, the whole De Souza testimony. Her testimony consists of a sequence of story-telling genres, which in her case, includes a Narrative, followed by a Recount, followed by an Observation. These choices signal the fact that as she speaks, her narrative purpose shifts from one which foregrounds the telling of events (Narrative, Recount) into a more reflective mode in the second half of her testimony, with the choice of the Observation genre. In this regard, her testimony follows the generic patterning of Jordens’s (2002) *Illness Narratives*, where Narrative and Recount were the genre of choice in the initial stages of the Main Testimony, as testifiers gave an account of what happened, and Observation and Exempla were the preferred choices towards the end, as testifiers shifted into reflecting on how their experiences had affected their lives.

The primary function of the Observation genre is to share a personal response to things or events. Its defining middle stages include an Event Description which does not present a series of temporally sequenced events; rather it states what happened as a “single event” – as a “snapshot frozen in time” (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 237). While the event may be depicted as “out-of-the-ordinary”, it does not foreground disruption or crisis (1997: 241). The event is given significance through the evaluation in the Comment stage.

In the Narrative and Recount chunks of her testimony, she construes herself as a protagonist, defiant in the face of police harassment and quick thinking in her plan to evade the police when they chase her and her husband in their car on the night after the shooting. In both cases, she “triumphs”: in the Narrative, the police leave without her husband; in the Recount, despite police harassment, she and husband make it to court the following day for their son’s hearing. But her sense of agency is gradually eroded as her

testimony unfolds, and this is when she slips into the Observation genre, as she evaluates the actions of the police and the pain this has caused her family both in the past and the present.

Her reflections (in the Observation) initially focus on the night of the shooting, but then broaden to include the events described in her son's testimony as well. She ends her testimony with a comment on the impact of her son's activism on him as well as her entire family, in both the past and the present. She even projects her commentary into an imagined future when she considers how her young grandson, who is "not with his father", will also be negatively affected. This final stage in her testimony acts as a Comment for her entire testimony as well as her son's.

6.3 Transitivity

A transitivity analysis of Mrs de Souza's entire testimony contrasts in interesting ways with that of her son's. For this section, I shall refer to the findings of Bock and Duncan (2006), who present a transitivity analysis of her full testimony. Their approach was to identify the process type for each clause, as well as the 'first participant', by which they mean the participant which precedes the process in each clause. Then, by means of a numerical count, they established the frequency with which a particular participant occurred first, and the dominant processes with which each was associated. They did not distinguish between Causer and Affected in first position. They also used this approach to analyse a ten minute extract from De Souza's testimony, namely the car chase episode. Their findings are presented in the table which follows. Where the first participant is listed as CDS+ and Mrs DS+, it refers to the relevant participant together with family members (e.g. Mrs de Souza and her husband):

Table 6.1: Summary of transitivity patterns in De Souza testimonies

First participant	how often are they first participant?	Material	Mental	Verbal	Relational	Behavioural
Mrs de Souza	18%	3%	37%	17%	23%	20%
Mrs DS +	21%	41%	21%	3%	21%	15%
Police	17%	63%	6%	25%	6%	0%
Colin de Souza	35%	52%	16%	10%	14%	9%
CDS +	11%	83%	0%	0%	16%	0%
Police	22%	76%	11%	3%	11%	0%

As can be seen from the above table, Mrs de Souza as an individual (“I”), Mrs De Souza together with her family (“we”), and the police constitute the main first participants. In clauses in which she is the main participant (“I”), the dominant process is mental (37%), which reflects her role as that of a parent worrying about her son as well as the focus in her testimony on her feelings. She more frequently presents herself as part of the collective family (“we”), further evidence of the prominence she gives to her position as a mother and family member in the construction of her identity. In these instances, the predominant process is material (41%) suggesting that she experienced the material ‘goings-on’ of events primarily as a family member rather than as an individual (Bock, Z. and Duncan 2006).

Similarly, when the police are the first participant, the dominant process is unsurprisingly material, reflecting their role as chief antagonists (63%). The highest number of verbal processes are attributed to her as an individual (17%) and the police (25%), reflecting the centrality of dialogue both in her interactions with the police and as a structuring device for her testimony (see Section 6.4 below).

The transitivity analysis of her testimony contrasts in interesting ways with that of her son’s. In Bock and Duncan’s (2006) analysis, De Souza is the first participant 35% of the time and material processes account for 52% of these clauses. De Souza, together with family members, is the first participant 11% of the time, and material processes account for 83% of these processes. The police, as the predominant opposing force, are the first participant 22% of the time, and of these clauses, 76% of the processes are material.

Because the relationship between De Souza and the police is predominantly construed through material processes, the physical and often violent nature of that relationship is foregrounded. These patterns are similar to the transitivity patterns of the shorter Narrative extract analysed in Chapter Five. Here I argued that the dominant choice of De Souza as first participant together with a preponderance of material processes construes him as agentive and in control, rather than as a target or victim of the actions of others.

6.4 Dialogue

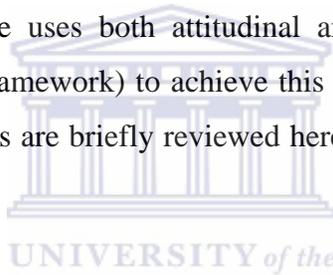
While her son's testimony focussed on actions and events, Mrs de Souza's testimony focuses on feelings and verbal interactions. Dialogues – with the police, with the prison authorities, with her husband, and with Jacques Adonis – form centre-pieces of the different generic chunks in her testimony. A summary of these generic chunks with their associated dialogues follows:

1. Narrative: Visit by the Security Branch on the eve of De Souza's court appearance
 - dialogue with Security Branch: Mrs DS refuses to let police take her husband to the station (direct and indirect speech)
2. Recount: Chase by the Security Branch on the eve of the court appearance
 - dialogue with husband: suggests they sleep at a safe house that night (direct speech)
 - dialogue with husband while being chased: where can they go? Suggests they go to the hospital (direct speech)
3. Observation: The attack by comrades
 - reports on a dialogue between Van Brakel and a policeman who wanted to help her on the night the comrades attacked them (direct speech, in Afrikaans)
 - brief repetition of what Van Brakel said (indirect speech, English)
 - dialogue with Jacques Adonis (direct speech of Adonis, her speech indirectly reported)
4. Comment (on whole testimony): Repercussions
 - dialogue with prison authorities (indirect speech, with one 'slip' into direct speech)
 - projected future dialogue with Colin's son (indirect speech)

It is noticeable in her testimony that the dialogues are in direct speech when she recounts events, but then shift into indirect speech, as her focus shifts towards reflection. While

the use of direct quotes can be seen as a marker of emotional intensity (Schiffrin 1981), it can be argued that the presentation of dialogue as indirect speech allows the narrator to create some distance between themselves and the events, thereby enabling them to reflect on their significance. It is important to note that remembered dialogues are in all probability partially reconstructed (Johnstone 1987, Portelli 1991).

In addition to remembered dialogues, Mrs de Souza uses her own evaluative comments to dialogically weave competing discourses (that of her own and the police) into her narrative. This allows her to contrast the opposing ideologies and to judge the one as normal and acceptable, and the other as abnormal and immoral. The analytical tools offered by the appraisal framework are useful in tracing just how this opposition is created. The following section offers a detailed analysis of six extracts from her testimony to indicate how she uses both attitudinal and engagement resources (two systems within the appraisal framework) to achieve this opposition. For the sake of the reader, the attitudinal categories are briefly reviewed here. (For a fuller overview, please refer to Section 3.5.1.)



The system of attitude refers to the expression of different kinds of feelings. It consists of three sub-systems: affect, judgement and appreciation. Affect refers to the expression of feelings and emotions, whereas judgement refers to assessments about how people should or should not behave. Appreciation refers to the way products or performances (but not human behaviour) are valued.

The affect sub-system is, in turn, organised into three major sets: *un/happiness* (e.g. sadness, hate, happiness, love), *in/security* (e.g. anxiety, fear, confidence, trust) and *dis/satisfaction* (e.g. ennui, displeasure, curiosity, respect).

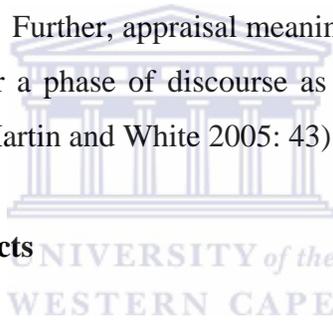
Judgements may be of two main types: personal judgements of social esteem (normality, capacity, tenacity) and moral judgements of social sanction (veracity, propriety). These may be summarised as follows (Martin and White 2005: 52, 54):

- * *normality* (how unusual, special, lucky, predictable someone is),
- * *capacity* (how able, capable, clever, productive)
- * *tenacity* (how willing, resolute, dependable, brave, adaptable)
- * *veracity* (how truthful, honest, credible, probable)
- * *propriety* (how ethical, good, kind, responsible, obliged).

The appreciation sub-system can also be divided into finer sub-categories: *reaction* (how appealing, pleasing), *composition* (how balanced, complex) and *value* (how innovative, authentic, timely, etc.)

Attitudinal meanings generally reflect either positive or negative emotions, and may be either explicitly inscribed in the text by means of specific lexical items, or implicitly invoked by ‘ideational tokens’. Further, appraisal meanings do not act in isolation. They tend to “spread out and colour a phase of discourse as speakers and writers take up a stance” in relation to a topic (Martin and White 2005: 43).

6.5 Close analysis of extracts



In the next section, I give a detailed analysis of six extracts from Mrs de Souza’s testimony. The purpose of this analysis is to explore how appraisal meanings accumulate across her entire testimony thereby establishing a particular ‘mood’ and construing her ‘stance’ on events. The analysis is organised around a series of six extracts which span her testimony. I shall need to quote large sections of her testimony to allow for the close reading which an appraisal analysis requires.

6.5.1 Extract One: Security Branch Visit

The facilitating commissioner, Dr Wendy Orr, introduces Mrs de Souza’s testimony with the following statement:

Mrs de Souza we've listened with horror I think to what Colin has told us. Can you perhaps tell us how - what was happening to him affected you and your family during those years.

In the above extract, Dr Orr aligns herself ideologically with Mrs de Souza by expressing a shared assumption of “horror” at the experiences of her son, thereby positioning herself and by implication, through the use of the plural pronoun (“we” and “us”), the rest of the commissioners and audience, as sympathetic listeners. This opening also positions Mrs de Souza as a family member and concerned parent and invites her to elaborate on the ways in which her son’s experiences have affected her family.

Mrs de Souza responds to this opening with: “Certainly, it has affected our family in many ways”. As the rest of her testimony outlines these “many ways”, this first statement acts as a macrotheme in that it predicts the content of the testimony which follows.

In Extract One (below), the first Narrative of her testimony, Mrs de Souza describes how the Security Branch visited her on the eve of her son’s court appearance. The extract is presented clause by clause and the narrative stages, including the evaluative clauses, are indicated. In addition, the uses of direct and indirect speech are marked as DS and IS respectively. Elements which will be discussed in the analysis are highlighted in bold.

EXTRACT ONE: SECURITY BRANCH VISIT

ORIENTATION

1. For instance I just **recalled** the time
2. when he said
3. he had to go – had to appear in court at Goodwood
4. that was with the second trial.
5. That evening we **were preparing** to go to bed early because of the next morning
6. as we had to be there very early as his parents.
7. And I **remember**
8. while we **were sleeping**

COMPLICATING ACTION

- | | | |
|-----|---|--------------|
| 9. | there was a knock on the door | |
| 10. | and it was two security police | |
| 11. | and they demanded | |
| 12. | that my husband had to go with them | IS |
| 13. | and I refused to let my husband out of the room. | |
| 14. | I said, no, | DS |
| 15. | we should <<you know as well>> that we should be
tomorrow in court very early to be with our son | DS |
| 16. | as he is appearing. | DS |
| 17. | They said, no, | DS |
| 18. | but your husband must go with | DS |
| 19. | because Colin is at Bellville police station | DS |
| 20. | and he wants to see you. | DS |
| 21. | And << as you know >> we had no confidence in the police | EVAL. |
| 22. | because of what we went through as a family - | EVAL. |

RESOLUTION

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------|
| 23. | I refused | |
| 24. | and I asked them to give their names | IS |
| 25. | and they didn't want to identify themselves | IS |
| 26. | and I said | |
| 27. | I had no trust in them | IS / EVAL. |
| 28. | and I'll never allow my husband to come out of the room. | DS / EVAL. |
| 29. | And I was trying to be tough there | EVAL. |
| 30. | and stood up with them | EVAL. |
| 31. | and they left . | |

The first eight clauses provide the Orientation to this narrative as they introduce the setting, some of the participants and their behaviour. Mrs de Souza frames her Narrative with processes of remembering (“recalled”, “remember”) and references to the temporal setting (the evening before his second court appearance). The Complicating Action is triggered by clause 9, “there was a knock on the door”, which signals a disruption to the usual sequence of events and predicts that what follows will be problematic (Eggin and Slade, 1997: 239). The shift in narrative staging is also marked by the change of tense, from the past continuous (“were preparing”, “were sleeping”) to simple past tense (“was”, “demanded”, “refused”). The use of the past continuous tense in the orientation clauses is typical of oral narratives of personal experience, argues Schiffrin (1981: 49), as

orientation clauses often report on extended processes which may have begun before the narrative action itself.

In the extract above, the central Complicating Action consists of a conversation Mrs de Souza had with the security branch, during which she “stood up” to them and refused to allow them access to her home and family. The dialogue shifts between direct and reported speech modes: the first remembered dialogue is presented in reported speech (clauses 12), but then, as her narrative gathers momentum, she slips into direct speech (clauses 14-20) which culminates in an emotional high point when the police insist: “but your husband must go with because Colin is at Bellville police station and he wants to see you” (clauses 18-20). This moment represents what was clearly for her a difficult choice: to believe the police and let her husband go to her son who was asking for him, or to choose to disbelieve their sincerity and deny them her husband, but simultaneously, to risk denying her son the support of his father. The Evaluation in clauses 21 and 22 marks this high point.

Her defiant action in refusing the police access to her husband temporarily resolves the crisis (the Resolution stage), and she again uses indirect speech for the last turns of the dialogue (clauses 24-25, 27), although clause 28: “I’ll never allow my husband to come out of the room”, momentarily shifts back into direct speech and the historical present tense, perhaps signalling a moment of intense emotion in her recollection of the event. Her final evaluative comment, “And I was trying to be tough there and stood up with them”, is marked by a shift back to the past continuous tense (“was trying”) as she evaluates her action (clauses 29-30). The narrative ends with the departure of the police without her husband and the narrative returns to the simple past tense as normality is temporarily restored: “and they left” (clause 31).

In this extract, as in the rest of her testimony, Mrs de Souza constructs herself as a parent trying to protect and support her family against the incursions of the state. For example, she foregrounds her identity as a mother through her identification of herself and her husband “as his parents” (clause 6) who wish “to be with our son” (clause 15). She

mentions the fact that she and her husband went to bed “very early” three times (clauses 5, 6 and 15) so as to ensure that they would be on time at the following day’s court proceedings. Here she emphasises the importance of family unity and her concern with being there to support her son. By contrast, the actions of the police are represented as unnatural and disruptive: they intrude on the sleeping family and threaten to take her husband away (“they demanded / that my husband go with them”).

An appraisal analysis of this extract illustrates how prosodies of evaluation construe her as defiant and the police as intrusive and threatening. The appraising items from Extract One are analysed below. Note that in all the examples which follow, the relevant linguistic feature is highlighted in bold. Where relevant, the type of appraisal is indicated in square brackets: ‘pos’ or ‘neg’ indicates whether the appraisal item is positive or negative; this is followed by the predominant category (affect, judgement or ‘jud’, appreciation or ‘apprec’) and sub-category into which the item falls. If the appraising item is a token (i.e. invoked), this is indicated by a ‘t’ at the beginning of the analysis.

21. And – as you know **we had no confidence in the police** [neg affect: security; jud: neg propriety]
22. because of what we went through as a family

In clause 21, “no confidence” is a statement of insecurity which also serves to invoke a judgement of negative propriety about the police. In other words, the failure of the police to perform their duty to protect the family results in their feeling of insecurity; it simultaneously judges the police as morally corrupt: police are meant to protect, not threaten, the citizens of a country.

26. and I said
27. **I had no trust in them** [neg affect: security; jud: neg propriety]
28. and I’ll never allow my husband to come out of the room
29. And **I was trying to be tough** there [pos jud: tenacity]
30. and **stood up with them** [pos jud: tenacity]

The appraisal in clause 27 is a continuation of that of clause 21 (a statement of insecurity, invoking negative judgement of the police). However, in clauses 29 and 30, she positively judges her own behaviour: “I was trying to be tough there / and stood up with

them”. By “stood up with them”, she means she defied them and did not accede to their demands. I have therefore coded these as positive judgements of tenacity.

Her defiant and protective stance is further reflected in Extract One through her choice of the verbal processes, “demanded”, with its attitudinal colouring (i.e. asked + force), and carried through by her use of absolute modality: “I’ll **never** allow my husband to come out of the room”, which marks the evaluative high point of her Narrative.

Mrs de Souza uses modality at other points to characterise her defiance of the police. The instances of modality are marked in bold:

12. that my husband **had** to go with them
 13. and I refused to let my husband out of the room
 14. I said, no,
 15. we **should** - you know as well - that we **should** be tomorrow in court very early to be with our son
 16. as he is appearing.
 17. They said, no,
 18. but your husband **must** go with
 19. because Colin is at Bellville police station
- and,
26. and I said
 27. I had no trust in them
 28. and I’ll **never** allow my husband to come out of the room.

Her use of modals reflects the polarity that her testimony sets up between herself and her family, on the one hand, and the police, on the other. Strong modals of obligation (“had”, “must”) are attributed to the police and underscore their power. However, her initial cautious use of “should” is substituted by the absolute modal, “never”, indicating her brave and defiant stance in relation to the police:

Martin and Rose (2003: 39) refer to Halliday’s (1994) description of modality as a resource which sets up a semantic space between ‘yes’ and ‘no’. They argue that modality can be seen as a way of introducing and acknowledging other voices. For

example, in the statements which follow, the former allows for an opposing stance which the latter denies: “My husband **must** go with them” vs. “My husband **is** going with them”.

A further pattern which continues throughout her testimony is the way in which she uses interrupting clauses, marked by double chevrons below. These engage her audience and invite them to view her position as reasonable, thereby further characterising the behaviour of the police as disruptive and unacceptable.

15. we should <<**you know as well**>> that we should be tomorrow in court very early to be with our son
21. And <<**as you know**>> we had no confidence in the police
22. because of what we went through as a family

6.5.2 Extract Two: Chase by Security Branch

The second extract for analysis is taken from the Recount which follows the Narrative analysed above. The Recount describes how, on that same night, she and her husband and children were chased by the police when, fearing for their safety, they tried to leave their home in their car to find a safer place to sleep. The central action of this Recount is a car chase (echoing De Souza’s testimony) and the central dialogue in direct speech is one she had with her husband in which she instructs him to drive to the Red Cross Children’s Hospital to escape the police. The extract reprinted below begins at the point where they meet up with the police as they leave their home. The referent of “them” in clause 47 is unclear, but it presumably refers to her family who were with her in the car:

EXTRACT TWO: CHASE BY SECURITY BRANCH

47. And I told them
48. where can we go to
49. because **no one is going to open their doors for us** [t, neg jud: tenacity]
50. because **people were sort of – sort of staying away from us** [t, neg jud: tenacity]
51. **and being very one-sided** [neg jud: propriety]
52. because of **the mess we as the family were in** [neg apprec: composition]
53. And it’s almost **like we were the perpetrators** [t, neg jud: propriety]

54. and as we moved out of the house
 55. they had the **audacity** [neg jud: propriety]
 56. and followed us in the car at the back
 57. and **they actually tried to shoot us off the road, me and my husband and the two kids.** [t, neg jud: propriety]
 58. And **they were chasing us through the roads down the freeway** [t, neg jud: propriety]
 59. and I said to him
 60. we're going to the hospital DS
 61. and he said
 62. what do you mean we're going to the hospital DS
 63. I said
 64. just go to the hospital DS
 65. the child is sick DS
 66. I wanted him to get a grip of the story
 67. **because they were listening in** [t, neg affect: security]
 68. **and we had no privacy** [t, neg affect: security]
 69. And **they had this bugs everywhere** [t, neg affect: security]
 70. and because they were passing next to us in the next car.
 71. And as we drove
 72. they followed us to the hospital **chasing us** [t, neg jud: propriety]
 73. **like they were chasing criminals** [t, neg jud: propriety]
 74. They had no – they – **they didn't even think**
 75. **that we weren't involved,** [t, neg jud: propriety]
 76. we were just the parents of Colin
 77. and I had the **small baby** there in the car and my daughter
 78. and **they chased us through the streets as far as the hospital** [t, neg jud: propriety]

In this extract, Mrs de Souza uses a number of ideational tokens to criticise both the attitudes of her own community as well as the behaviour of the police. When evaluating the neighbours' attitudes, she begins with judgements of negative social esteem (tenacity), which are more muted than judgements of social sanction. In other words, in clauses 49 and 50 she appraises them as being "unwilling" rather than "immoral". In clause 51, however, her condemnation of their attitudes is more explicit (neg propriety) when she accuses them of "being very one-sided" although in clause 52 she goes some way towards acknowledging that the neighbours' attitudes might be justified ("because of the mess we as the family were in").

However, in clause 53, "and it's almost like we were the perpetrators", her indignation is again more apparent (neg propriety). By suggesting that the community's rejection of

them likens the family to “perpetrators”, she echoes and draws on the TRC discourse of “victims” and “perpetrators”. That she and her family, “victims” in the TRC context, could be re-positioned within their own community as “perpetrators” asserts once again her ideological position that the way they were treated was abnormal and immoral.

In her evaluations of the police, however, her stance is unquestionable. She uses strong judgements of social sanction (propriety) to condemn their behaviour as unethical. At one point, she explicitly appraises them as “audacious” (clause 55). References to their actions serve as tokens to invoke negative judgements of social sanction and position them for our moral condemnation. She reflects that the way the police treated them positioned the family as “criminals” (clause 73), yet ironically, within the TRC context, it is the police whose behaviour is now judged as illegal.

Against the backdrop of these intrusive and immoral police actions, she contrasts the vulnerability of her family. This is construed through her reference to the surveillance of the police, which I have analysed above invoking feelings of negative affect (insecurity), and through the references to the young ages of her children and the dangers they faced as a result of the police actions. The latter point is illustrated by the following clauses. The first clause presented here precedes the section reprinted above, but the second two are drawn from Extract Two:

39. And as we <<we had the car that time still>> we moved out of the house with the **smallest** boy was still three years old and the daughter was about ten...
57. and they **actually** tried to shoot us off the road, me and my husband and the two kids...
77. and I had the **small baby** there in the car and my daughter
78. and they chased us through the streets as far as the hospital

Examples of graduation (indicated in bold) in the above clauses emphasise the vulnerability of the children and the unacceptable nature of the police behaviour: the word, “actually”, is a counter-expectancy resource which engages the audience’s expectations and serves to sympathetically align the audience with her expression of

incredulity at the impropriety of the police. The comparative element in “smallest” and “small”, together with the use of the word, “baby”, as opposed to say, “child”, amplifies the emotional meaning by emphasising the defencelessness of the family.

Towards the end of the Recount (from which Extract Two is extracted), she again reiterates her ideological position that she and her husband should be with their son in court the next day (clauses 83 and 94, reprinted below). I have analysed these as judgements of capacity (her anxiety rests on whether or not they will be able to make it to the court), but I would argue that they invoke positive judgements of propriety as well. This is because they express her ideological standpoint, namely the importance and ‘rightness’ of family unity and support for one another in times of crisis:

82. He had to assist us to take us to some people’s houses
83. so we could sleep for the night **in order to get to court the next day**
so that we can be with our son. [pos jud: capacity; t, pos jud: propriety]

and,

90. And it was a **strain** on the family to think [neg affect: security/happy]
91. that they **harassing** us in such as way [neg jud: propriety]
92. they **could of knocked us off the road** [t, neg jud: propriety]
93. or **drastic** accident could have happened [neg apprec: valuation]
94. and **we couldn’t - we should never have been there at Colin’s side**
[neg jud: capacity; t, neg jud: propriety]

In the above extract, she uses an item of negative affect (“strain”), which I have double-coded as negative security and negative happiness, to describe the family’s emotional state, and both inscribed and invoked judgements of social sanction (negative propriety) to evaluate the actions of the police and construe their behaviour as immoral and unacceptable. Judgement is inscribed by the use of the term “harassing” (clause 91) with its negative connotations. Further negative judgement of the police is invoked through the references to the danger they were in as a result of the Security Branch’s behaviour (clauses 92-93).

6.5.3 Extract Three: Attack by comrades

In Extract Three, Mrs de Souza recalls the night that Jacques Adonis and other comrades came to their house to shoot her son. This incident, from the perspective of Colin de Souza, was analysed in Chapter Five. Here, she focuses on the conversation between Captain van Brakel of the Security Branch, and a policeman, a member of the ordinary South African Police Services, who arrived on the scene in response to their neighbour's calls for assistance and who, unlike the Security Branch police, wanted to help her. The De Souzas' neighbours had called the police to assist the family when fellow comrades attacked their home. The comrades were acting on disinformation circulated by the police that De Souza was an informer.

At this point, her testimony shifts from a focus on actions to a focus on interpretation: in this instance, she focuses not on the shooting, but on the failure of the police to protect them from the attack. This is why I have argued that the macro-genre shifts at this point, from a Recount to an Observation.

It is also interesting that when recalling this conversation, she code-switches into Afrikaans. I will argue that this plays an evaluative function here. The code-switching is marked in bold italics and the instances of direct and indirect speech marked as DS and IS respectively. Other instances of appraisal are marked in bold. The analysis which follows first explores the official recording of the interpretation, then traces the appraisal patterns, and then considers the effects of the code-switching as an appraisal resource.

EXTRACT THREE: ATTACK BY COMRADES

95. And as Colin said
96. the same night that he was - these comrades came to shoot him,
97. I know
98. **I don't blame** them today [pos jud: propriety]
99. because I know
100. it was the way the – the police worked **to make us look as if we were informers** [neg jud: propriety]
101. and that night they also treated us **very badly** [neg jud: propriety]

102. because we couldn't turn to the police,
 103. but the neighbours in the street –
 104. because of we knew
 105. it was comrades,
 106. and we didn't want to be drag them to court
 107. as my son and them were involved –
 108. and so other people called the police
 109. and I was **very hurt** [neg affect: happiness]
 110. because of what the Captain said, Captain van Brakel over the phone to this
 policeman,
 111. he said to him
 112. <<I can't remember his name
 113. but I can picture him well>>
 114. He said to him
 115. *Moenie notice neem nie van daai mense nie-* DS
 116. *hulle is mal,* DS
 117. *en, daar was nie geskiety nie* DS
 118. *daar was nie geskiety nie.* DS
 119. *En hy sê*
 120. *Meneer, die bewaarstuk is hierso* DS
 121. *die bewaarstuk is hierso* DS
 122. *en – en – daar was geskiet* DS
 123. *en die bullets is daar* DS
 124. *en die neighbours onderaan...* DS
 125. and it **hurt** me to think [neg affect: happiness]
 126. that this policeman stood there,
 127. **he wanted to help me,** [pos jud tenacity; t, pos propriety]
 128. **but he couldn't** [neg jud: capacity]
 129. because this captain
 130. <<he was of Murder and Robbery, Captain van Brakel,
 131. he was one of the **perpetrators** as well>> [neg jud: propriety]
 132. he said to him,
 133. **he must leave us** IS [t, neg jud: propriety]
 134. and we were **destitute.** [neg affect: happiness]
 135. We had to find our own way out of that **mess.** [neg apprec: composition]

The interpreter on the day interpreted the Afrikaans dialogue as follows. The following extract was obtained from the audio-visual recording of the testimony:

Simultaneous Interpretation:

He said to him, don't pay any notice to them, they're crazy. There wasn't any shooting, there was no shooting incident. And he said but sir, the evidence is here, the exhibits are here and there was a shooting incident and the bullets are there and the neighbours have confirmed it.

Interestingly, parts of the interpretation are omitted in the official transcript (published on the TRC website) which is reproduced below: the first instruction to ignore them because they are “crazy” and the formal address as “sir” have been omitted by the transcriber. (These omissions are underlined in the interpretation above.). The omission of both these details detracts from the interpersonal meanings Mrs de Souza is making, namely that Van Brakel constructs the De Souzas as insane and that the ordinary police officer refers to Van Brakel in a respectful manner, as is appropriate to his rank.

Official transcript:

He said to him, there wasn't any shooting, there was no shooting incident. And he said but the evidence is here, the exhibits are here and there was a shooting incident and the bullets are there and the neighbours have confirmed it.

The appraisal analysis of Extract Three above indicates that Mrs de Souza's stance towards the comrades who attacked them vacillates between acceptance (“I don't blame them today”) and anger (“they also treated us very badly”). Her willingness to suspend her negative judgement of the comrades is based on her understanding of the *modus operandi* of the police, whom she continues to position for our condemnation:

98. I **don't blame** them today [pos jud: propriety]
99. because I know
100. it was the way the – the police worked **to make us look as if we were informers** [neg jud: propriety]
101. and that night they also treated us **very badly** [neg jud: propriety]

The policeman who wanted to help her is positively appraised as ‘willing’ (therefore, tenacity) in clause 127, which, in this context, also acts as a positive judgement of propriety – he was behaving as a policeman should by wanting to protect a country's citizens from attack. However, in clause 128, she appraises him as being ‘unable’ to help her, a judgement of negative capacity (rather than the stronger judgement of ‘unwilling’). Captain van Brakel, the “perpetrator” who ordered the policeman not to help her, is harshly appraised with judgements of negative propriety in clauses 131 and 133.

Mrs de Souza also explicitly describes her own feelings and the quality of her family's life at the time in terms of statements of negative affect and appreciation:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 109. and I was very hurt | [neg affect: happiness] |
| 125. and it hurt me to think | [neg affect: happiness] |
| 134. and we were destitute . | [neg affect: happiness] |
| 135. We had to find our own way out of that mess . | [neg apprec: composition] |

From the foregoing analyses, it can be seen that Mrs de Souza consistently uses negative judgements of social sanction (propriety) to colour her descriptions of the actions of the police, thereby construing them as immoral and positioning them for our moral judgement. The one policeman who wanted to help her is positively appraised with judgements of social esteem (capacity and tenacity) and serves as a contrast to Van Brakel and an example of the kind of behaviour that citizens should expect from the police. She generally appraises her own feelings with statements of negative affect (unhappiness).

It is significant that Mrs de Souza switches into Afrikaans to recall the dialogue between the two policemen. She would almost certainly have used Afrikaans for all her own interactions with the police, yet the dialogue between her and the police in the first Narrative of her testimony (Extract One) was recalled in English. There are, I think, three possible reasons for the switch to Afrikaans. Firstly, she may have been trying to deliver as faithful a rendering of the conversation as possible – given the TRC's focus on truth – and therefore switched to Afrikaans, the language of the original conversation.

Secondly, her switch could be understood in terms of her normal code-switching practices. At the beginning of her testimony, she would have been careful to use English considering the formal public nature of the TRC hearings; but by this point, when she is caught up with the reliving of her experiences, she code-switches into Afrikaans, which would have been a normal linguistic practice for her. Her switch into Afrikaans at an emotional high point in her testimony is typical of speakers with her sociolinguistic profile. McCormick (2002: 167) noted that her informants (who had a similar sociolinguistic profile to Mrs de Souza) frequently used English as the language of choice

for formal public events, but switched into the local variety of Afrikaans when discussions become heated or emotional.

Thirdly, her use of Afrikaans could be seen as evaluative and part of her characterisation of the police, who were predominantly Afrikaans speaking and representatives of the Afrikaans-dominated apartheid state. In terms of appraisal theory, it functions as an engagement resource by inserting into her narrative an authentic voice for the police and their ideology of racial domination. It also positions them as “different” and “other” in relation to her. The use of code-switching by testifiers at the TRC is discussed in more detail in Section 6.7 below.

It is also significant that in this central incident of her testimony, the dialogue is presented in direct speech, which, as indicated earlier, is a marker of evaluative intensity. The combination of tense shifts and code-switching marks this extract as an emotional high point in her testimony. This intensity is also reflected in the shift into the historical present in the verbal processes themselves: namely, from the past tense “said” in clause 114 to the present tense “*sê*” (“says”) in clause 119. When repeating Van Brakel’s statements in clause 133, this time in English, however, she shifts into indirect speech. This, I would argue, enables her to detach from the immediate narration of the events and reflect on their significance, as she does in clauses 125-135.

While one might want to argue that her use of repetition (“*daar was nie geskietery nie*” and “*die bewaarstuk is hierso*”) further serves to amplify the force of what she is saying, from the viewing of the audiovisual tape, it appears she is adjusting to hearing, through her earphones, the interpretation which would have started up when she switched into Afrikaans. It seems unlikely, then, that in this context the repetition functions as a graduation resource.

Notice once again how the interrupting clauses 112 - 113 (“I can’t remember his name but I can picture him well”) acknowledges the presence of her audience and construes her as credible.

6.5.4 Extract Four: Jacques Adonis apologises

In Extract Four, Mrs de Souza remembers how Jacques Adonis, one of the comrades who was responsible for the attack on their home, came to her several months later to ask her forgiveness, which she gave. Once again, the appraisal items have been highlighted in bold:

EXTRACT FOUR: JACQUES ADONIS APOLOGISES

136. and I remember Jacques Adonis very well
137. I met him
138. and I had – **I felt guilty** [neg: jud propriety; neg affect: happiness]
139. even though they were the people that came to my house
140. and he came to me one day
141. and he said
142. Mrs de Souza I've come to apologise DS
143. because it wasn't my intention to hurt your family DS
144. and I did **forgive** him [pos jud: propriety]
145. and **I am very glad** I did [pos affect: happiness]
146. because it weren't long after that
147. I think two months after that
148. he was also killed.

As with the other phases of her testimony, this incident centres around a dialogue, this time with Jacques Adonis, but the focus of the incident is on the significance of this reconciliation, as a few months later, he himself was killed. Note that in her recounting of this dialogue, Jacques Adonis uses direct speech, but her contribution is reported as indirect speech. This shift from direct to indirect speech signals that she is preparing to move into a more reflective mode and that her testimony is drawing to a close. All dialogues hereafter, with the exception of one clause in Extract Five, are presented as reported speech.

6.5.5 Extract Five: Repercussions

This shift to reflection in the present, noted in relation to Extract Four above, is evident in the first two clauses of the following chunk, a signal that a new stage – the final Comment – is beginning, that the time is returning to the present and that the focus of the testimony is shifting towards an overall interpretation of the events and their significance for the family:

149. And thinking about this hearing Colin’s story again, some incidences seems like
it were **funny**, [pos affect: happiness]
150. but to us as a family it really **hurt** us [neg affect: happiness]

The first clause acknowledges that different responses to De Souza’s story are possible. From the audiovisual records, it is evident that the audience enjoyed De Souza’s style of narration and found it entertaining, hence her statement that “some incidences seems like it were funny”. However, the contrasting family response is introduced with the counter-expectancy conjunction, “but”, a signal to the audience that they should adjust their expectations. In contrast to the expectation of positive feelings set up by “funny”, the family’s feelings are negatively appraised as “hurt”.

The rest of this extract tells of the effect that her son’s experiences have had on the family, of how her husband lost his job “because of going to court in and out every day”, and of how sad they felt when De Souza was sent to prison, to “maximum security with rapists, murderers, you name it”. She recalls how she begged the prison authorities to allow him to “go out and work somewhere so that he can just do something with his hands”, but that this was denied. It is at this point that she slips one last time into direct speech, indicating, perhaps, a final moment of intense painful recollection of her son as a prisoner:

163. I even begged them to let him go out and work somewhere IS
164. so that he can just do something with his hands, IS
165. but they said no DS
166. he is a political prisoner DS

She ends this phase of her testimony with the following tragic assessment:

175. and eventually Colin came out
176. but when he came out of prison
177. **he weren't a boy any more** [t, neg jud: propriety?]
178. of course he was with **evil** people inside. [neg jud: propriety]

Once again, the use of the contrastive conjunction, “but”, signals that an opposing voice is to be introduced which will reject and replace the possible ‘happy ending’ the audience might have assumed would follow (e.g. And eventually Colin came out and our ordeal was over).

Although it is not clear what she means by “he weren’t a boy any more”, it implies that he had lost his innocence under the influence of his “evil” fellow prisoners. According to White (2003: 6), negation works to introduce and simultaneously reject an alternative proposition, namely that “Colin **was** still a boy (or morally innocent?) when he came out of prison”, thereby once again closing down or contracting the possibilities for dialogism in the text.

Her description of the “murderers and rapists” with whom De Souza was imprisoned as “evil” serves once again to assert Mrs de Souza’s ideological position as law abiding, decent and respectable. The “of course” with which she opens this clause asserts that the proposition which follows should be viewed as a natural assumption, thereby serving to oppose possible dialogic contestation. It seeks to align her audience sympathetically with her position by asserting an assumed shared understanding of the mitigating circumstances which she offers for the way in which her son has changed. In this way, through the employment of these engagement resources, her perspective is asserted and the possibility for an alternative viewpoint is reduced (for example, one which might judge her son negatively).

6.5.6 Extract Six: Comment on whole testimony

In this last extract, the last phase from the final Comment is presented. In it Mrs de Souza presents her final analysis of how her son and family have been affected:

EXTRACT SIX: COMMENT

179. And today **we still trying to support Colin as a family** [t, pos jud: tenacity]
180. **which is very hard** [neg apprec: reaction]
181. because **we're not medical doctors** [t, neg jud: capacity]
182. **he's not every day the same** [t, neg jud: normality]
183. **Frustration builds up in him,** [t, neg affect: satisfaction]
184. he's got a little boy of four years old,
185. and **I am very sorry** [neg affect: happiness]
186. because **I don't know**
187. **how I am going to tell his child** [t, neg affect: happiness]
188. **why his daddy isn't working** [t, neg jud: capacity]
189. and **why his daddy's got this ways and all that.** [t, neg jud: normality]
190. So **it's really spoil our whole family and another future generation to come,** [neg apprec: valuation]
191. because Colin is also going to grow – his son is going to grow up
192. and **it's going to affect him,** [neg affect: happiness]
193. **because he's not with his dad.** [neg jud: normality]
194. So that's my story.

In this extract, the target of her appraisal shifts to her son. Although she negatively evaluates him and the effect his experiences have had on her family, she avoids doing so explicitly, rather opting to soften her criticism by using tokens which invoke her judgement. For example, she implies that he needs medical help (“he’s not every day the same”). She uses predominantly judgements of social esteem (capacity and normality) as opposed to judgements of social sanction to appraise his shortcomings. For example, she signals as problematic that fact that he is erratic and emotionally unstable (clauses 182, 183 and 189), that he is not working (clause 188) and not living with his son (clause 193). These behaviours are at odds with the ideological world that she has asserted as moral and respectable throughout her testimony. A fuller discussion of the social discourses she draws on in the construction of this position follows in Section 6.6 below.

In her final negative assessment of the damage to the family (“So it’s really spoilt our whole family”), “it” is an anaphoric reference to the entire preceding testimony. She even projects her assessment into the future via an imagined dialogue with her grandson whom she fears will also be affected as he is growing up without a father as a role model. Her final clause and Coda, “So that’s my story”, is a clear signal to the audience that her testimony is finished.

6.6 Social discourses

In this analysis, I have argued that Mrs de Souza is concerned in her testimony to present her own world as moral and normal, against which the actions of the security police are measured as immoral and abnormal. The appraisal analysis has revealed that she predominantly uses negative judgements of social sanction (propriety) to evaluate the actions of the police (with the exception of the policeman who wanted to help her). When evaluating the actions of the comrades and her community, her stance is more mixed. When she appraises her own son, however, her judgements are more muted and tend to be ones of social esteem (normality, capacity) rather than social sanction. When describing her own feelings and emotions, she tends towards statements of affect, particularly those which relate to states of unhappiness and insecurity.

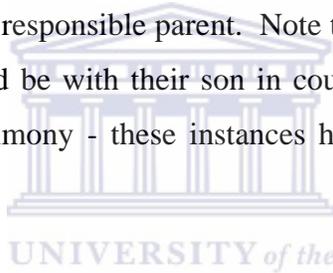
In constructing these positions, she draws on an ideological discourse which reflects her understanding of how a normal, moral world should be. In this world, the police should protect a country’s citizens from harm, neighbours should help each other, adults (men) should work, families should support one another and fathers should be role models to their sons.

As mentioned above, she frames De Souza’s lack of employment as a problem. This ‘theme’ was introduced in earlier extracts when she tells how she begged the prison authorities to let her son “do something with his hands” and of how her husband lost his job due to the frequent court visits. This valuing of employment as an indicator of a

respectable, functional life seems to be part of her ideology of what constitutes normal family expectations.

Another ‘theme’ which constitutes part of this ideology is the importance of family unity. This was indexed in the above Extract Six by statements such as: “we are still trying to support Colin” – a positive judgement of their unity – and “and it’s going to affect him because he’s not with his dad” – a negative judgement of how this unity is threatened. It is part of her identity as a mother and parent and her construal of herself as trying to protect and shelter her family from the violence of the state.

This position was developed throughout her testimony, as reflected in the list of clauses below which is drawn from her full testimony and serves to construct and reinforce her identity as a caring mother and responsible parent. Note that her refrain that “she and her husband, as the parents, should be with their son in court” is repeated in various ways five times within her full testimony - these instances have been starred (*) in the list below:



- we had to be there very early **as his parents...*** E
- we should be in court very early to be **with our son...***
- we moved out of the house **with our kids...**
- and they actually tried to shoot us off the road, **me and my husband and the two kids...**
- we were **just the parents of Colin...**
- so that we can be **with our son...***
- we should never have been there **at Colin’s side...***
- but to us **as a family** it really hurt us...
- that we had to go every day **with our son** to Court...*
- we are still trying to support Colin **as a family...**
- So it’s really spoilt **our whole family...**

Her ideological positioning is consistent with Ross’s (2003) analysis of women’s testimonies at the TRC. She identifies “Family and the domestic” as one of four themes which typically recurred in the testimonies of (non-activist) women:

Women frequently told of the disruption of domestic life at many levels by the state and by the political activities of loved ones and of their attempts to secure and protect families under the harsh conditions imposed by apartheid (Ross 2003: 42).

Women's testimonies, argues Ross, tell of the pain women experienced when they were unable to protect and secure their families. She argues that although they generally did not foreground their own experiences of suffering, references to their personal suffering were there in their accounts of disruption to their everyday lives and "the penetration of violence" into their domestic spheres (2003: 48). It is for this reason that Ross critiques the TRC's definition of "victim" for focussing on violations to the physical body, thereby excluding the experiences and suffering about which so many women testified (2003: 11).

In this analysis, I have argued that Mrs de Souza's narrative purpose is to 'naturalise' her ideological framework of respectable, law-abiding, decent family values against which the behaviour of the police is appraised as abnormal and immoral. In substantiating this claim, I have analysed her choice of genre, which shifts from a Narrative to Recount to Observation as her focus shifts from an account of action to one of interpretation and reflection. I have considered her transitivity choices which indicate that she more frequently presents herself as part of the collective family, further evidence of her positioning of herself as a parent. I have also traced how she draws on discourses of family values to construe herself and her family as responsible, moral and respectable and the police as disrespectful, immoral and threatening. I have argued that her subjectivity is centrally construed through the dialogues she has with the other main participants and that her shifts into direct speech act as a marker of heightened emotion. I have argued that she uses a range of inscribed and invoked appraisal resources to colour her text and position the police for our moral condemnation. In particular, I have looked at her use of code-switching as a strategy for the insertion of an ideologically aligned voice into her narrative. In the last section of this chapter, I consider this aspect in more detail.

6.7 Code-switching in TRC testimonies

The code-switching into Afrikaans for the words of the police is a pattern among many testifiers from a range of language groups at the hearings. In this section, I explore how code-switching functions as an appraisal resource. It should be noted that in this discussion, I am considering code-switching into Afrikaans to recall particularly offensive uses of language by the police; in other words, when code-switching plays an evaluative function. This does not include the kind of code-switching that takes place, for example, in Ferhelst's testimony when he switches into Afrikaans when speaking to a commissioner who, like him, is equally comfortable in English and Afrikaans (see Chapter Seven).

In the analysis of Colin de Souza's testimony, it was argued that the effect of his verbatim quoting of the police ("*maak oop jou bek*") was to construe them as crude and dehumanising. In the analysis of Dorothy de Souza's testimony, it was argued that her switching into Afrikaans for the overheard dialogue between the two policemen could be seen as a distancing mechanism, to construe the police as representatives of the apartheid state for which Afrikaans is a symbol.

Other testimonies exhibit the same pattern. For example, Ferhelst, whose testimony is analysed in the next chapter, recalls the police captain's words to him as follows:

This captain burst into the room where I was laying, I was still in a shorts. He pulled me up, he said – can I use the exact words because like it's hard for me to forget what that man said today and like I tried to forget, but it's always there, this captain his name is Van Brakel. He came into that room, he and about four or five other SB's, he said to me, *jou slym etter gemors, ons het jou, ons gaan jou nou vrek maak*. You piece of trash, we have you now, now we going to kill you.

The interpreter on the day interpreted this as “you piece of trash, we have you now, now we going to kill you” and both the Afrikaans quote and the English interpretation were recorded in the official transcription, as in the extract above). A more literal translation of the Afrikaans, however, would be: “you slimy pus-oozing rubbish, we have you now,

now we are going to kill you”, an altogether more crude and offensive statement than the interpreted one. The use of the word, “*vrek*” [die] further points to the dehumanising effect of these words, as this term is reserved for animals, “*dood*” being the equivalent for humans. This ‘toning down’ of offensive language by the interpreters was, argue Bock *et al.* (2006), one of the ways in which attitudinal meanings were lost in the interpretation processes of the TRC.

Similarly, Nomonde Calata, widow of one of the Cradock Four who were killed by the Security Branch in 1985, gave her testimony in Xhosa at the East London hearings in April 1996. She recalls how she was harassed by security police one night when they came to her home and threatened her, in Afrikaans, about her husband who was away at the time:

uMr Venter wabuza uphi umyeni wakho ndathi eRhawutini. Ubuza in Afrikaans wathi kum, ***jy kan vir jou man sê, hy kan maar wegkruip en jy kan hom maar wegsteek - die dag dat ons hom kry, dan sal hy kak.***

In the official transcript, based on the simultaneous interpretation into English on the day of the hearing, this incident is recorded as follows:

Mr Venter asked me where my husband was. I told them that he was in Gauteng. He asked me this in Afrikaans and he said, *the day we find him he’s going to be in very big trouble.*

A literal translation of this policeman’s words (highlighted in bold italics above) would be: “you can tell your husband, he can hide himself and you can hide him away – the day that we catch him, then he will shit”. The omission by the interpreter of the first part of the quote can be explained by the lapse in time as the Afrikaans/English interpreter took over from the Xhosa/English interpreter. The second major difference, namely the interpretation of “*dan sal hy kak*” (“then he will shit”) as “he’s going to be in very big trouble” is a further example of how the interpreters tended to tone down offensive language. Once again, the verbatim quote is used to construe the police – and by extension, the apartheid system – as evil, violent and inhumane.

In other words, code-switching to represent the words of the police was used by a number of testifiers from a range of language backgrounds as a means to position the police and the apartheid system for moral condemnation. It functions as a distancing mechanism – a way of construing the police as “the other”. In Schiffrin’s terms, this strategy enables the audience to “hear” and “see” the evilness of apartheid, thereby serving to heighten the dramatic tension and intensify the evaluative meanings. It is as though code-switching gives the testifiers a ‘licence’ to use offensive, crude language. The act of code-switching signals clearly that these are not their own words. The evaluative meanings they are trying to make would be lost if they used other strategies (euphemisms or ‘toning down’) such as the interpreters tend to do.

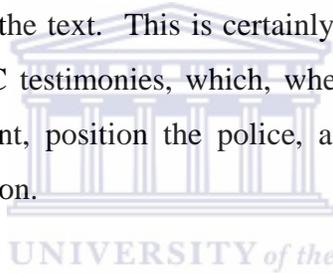
In the current SFL literature on appraisal, code-switching has not been noted as an appraisal resource, probably because work to date has focused on the analysis of monolingual English texts or texts in translation (see, for example, Page 2003, Menard-Warwick 2005, Martin and White 2005). However, I would argue that it should be, given the above examples. It functions, like dialogue, as an engagement resource in that it serves to expand the dialogic nature of the text by grounding the utterance in the subjectivity of an external voice (Martin and White 2005: 98). However, it simultaneously functions as an attitudinal resource in that it communicates an attitude (in this case, disgust for and rejection of the police and the apartheid system).

In terms of the engagement framework, it would be analysed as an *attributive* resource, in that it explicitly attributes an utterance to some external source – the police (Martin and White 2005: 111). Further, because it serves a *distancing* function – it would be further sub-categorised as ‘attribution: distance’ (2005: 113).

But the quotes also function as an attitudinal resource: they have negative attitudinal colouring due to their obscenities, thereby construing the police as morally corrupt and positioning them for strong negative judgement. By inserting these quotes into their testimonies, testifiers are able to index their stance (outrage, rejection) in relation to the

police and build solidarity with their audiences (we align ourselves with the testifier as we too reject these morally corrupt people). Thus testifiers do not need to explicitly evaluate or even condemn the utterances or behaviour of the police. Rather the verbatim quotes serve this function for them – they invoke our judgement.

Martin and White (2005: 103) argue that attributive (distancing) resources generally serve to *expand* the dialogic possibilities in a text – by opening the space for more alternative positions – thereby making the text more heteroglossic. However, they also argue that where a speaker makes categorically clear where they stand in relation to the attributed material (as in the cases referred to above), then the possibilities for heteroglossia introduced by the attributed material are overridden by the monoglossia of the speaker's own assertions (2005: 116). The effect of this is to contract, rather than expand, the dialogic nature of the text. This is certainly the rhetorical effect created by the code-switching in the TRC testimonies, which, when reinforced by the patterns of consistently negative judgement, position the police, and by extension, the apartheid state, for our moral condemnation.



In the light of the above examples, I would argue that in multilingual contexts code-switching serves a complex evaluative function and should therefore be included in the current SFL literature as an appraisal resource. In this regard, this thesis makes an original contribution to the development of the appraisal framework.

In the next chapter, the testimony of a comrade of Colin De Souza, Muhammad Ferhelst, will be analysed. The analysis explores how he achieves his narrative purpose, which is, I will argue, to put on record the human rights abuse he suffered, as well as to use the TRC public platform as an opportunity to speak on behalf of his comrades. His testimony differs in interesting ways from that of De Souza's as the analysis will show.

CHAPTER 7

Testimony of Muhammad Ferhelst

This chapter analyses the testimony of a former comrade of De Souza, Muhammad Faried Ferhelst. This testimony is interesting because of the way it contrasts with De Souza's. While De Souza is more concerned to present himself as an individual able to outmanoeuvre his opponents, Ferhelst's testimony is framed by references to his collective identity as an activist, and in particular, his position as a leader of the BMW. While De Souza does not explicitly refer to any harm that he suffered at the hands of the police, Ferhelst is more explicit about the pain he has endured, both during the torture, but more importantly, as a result of the plight of his former comrades. His narrative purpose, I would argue, is to record his experiences of human rights abuse as well as to draw attention to the socio-political marginalisation of many of his former comrades in the post-apartheid landscape.

7.1 Background and summary

Muhammad Faried Ferhelst was a commander of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing (BMW) in the 1980s. He gave his testimony on the same day as De Souza, namely, 5 August 1996, at the same hearing. Like De Souza, his mother testified at the same time. She testified in Afrikaans and her testimony is not considered as part of this project. (See Duncan *et al.* (2006) for a transitivity analysis of this testimony).

Ferhelst begins his testimony with an account of how he became involved in the struggle when he and other young people became the target of police harassment in the mid-1980s. They formed the BMW as a "defence unit" to protect themselves against the police. The rest of his testimony focuses on a series of actions taken by the police

against him: namely, his first arrest and interrogation in 1997, and his second arrest, interrogation and torture by Van Brakel and the security police a few months later, followed by his detention for an unspecified time. The commissioners then elicit additional information, including how these experiences have affected him (see a full copy of his testimony in Appendix E). The analysis of this testimony begins with a consideration of the generic structure, followed by an analysis of the participant, transitivity and appraisal patterns.

Ferhelst gives his testimony in English. However, during question time, he switches for an extended period into Afrikaans when Denzil Potgieter, one of the commissioners, asks him a question. This change is probably triggered by the change of conversational partner, from Mary Burton, who is English-speaking, to Denzil Potgieter, who, like Ferhelst, is bilingual in English and Afrikaans. Secondly, the switch could be due to the fact that at this point, Ferhelst put on his headphones, perhaps to hear the commissioners' questions better, given the poor acoustics in the hall. He is therefore able to hear the Afrikaans interpretation through the headphones and this may have caused him to switch into Afrikaans. Ferhelst keeps the headphones on for about 30 seconds, then removes them, but continues talking in Afrikaans to Potgieter (who by now has also switched into Afrikaans) until the end when he is addressed in English by the Chairperson of the hearing, Alex Borraine, at which point he switches back into English. When analysing those sections of his testimony which were given in Afrikaans, I have checked and amended the official English interpretation to reflect as closely as possible the original Afrikaans version. A record of the Afrikaans transcription can be found at the end of his testimony in Appendix E.

7.2 Genre

As noted in Chapter 5, and drawing on McCormick *et. al.* (2006) and Jordens (2002), I have argued that the TRC testimonies represent a unique macro-genre. Given that Ferhelst and his mother testified together, the macro-genre of their testimony can be

described as follows. The approximate times taken for each phase are indicated in the column on the right:

Table 7.1: Generic structure of entire Ferhelst testimony

Generic phases		Time
Beginning	Introductory Phase	02:30 min
Middle	^ Main Testimony (Mrs Ferhelst)	12:00 min
Middle	^ Main Testimony (Mr Ferhelst)	11:00 min
	^ Elicited Testimony (Mr Ferhelst)	12:00 min
Ending	^ Concluding Phase	02:00 min
Total time		39:30 min

During the Main Testimony phase, Ferhelst speaks uninterruptedly for eleven minutes with the exception of one short question of clarification from the facilitating commissioner, Mary Burton. I have analysed the Main Testimony phase as consisting of a single Recount because, I would argue, its primary function is to present a record of the human rights abuses that were committed against Ferhelst by the Security Branch in the 1980s. As is typical of Recounts, he presents his experiences as a series of events unfolding relatively unproblematically in the sense that these kinds of experiences might be expected within the testimonial context of the HRV hearings. The testimony is thus a factual account of what happened, with little overt evaluation, certainly without the suspension of action through evaluation typical of a Narrative. It begins with an Orientation, followed by the main stage, the Record of Events, and ends with a Coda. The boundaries between the stages of the Recount are marked by shifts in setting and participants as well by temporal references acting as marked themes. The Record of Events can be divided into shorter phases each representing a separate event. A full analysis of the different stages and phases is offered in Appendix E. The labels for the different generic stages and phases are inserted into the transcript.

During the Elicited Testimony, a number of commissioners asked Ferhelst questions. A list of these follows: each question is preceded by the name of the commissioner who asked it:

- i) Burton: Can you tell us what effect this had on you?
- ii) Orr: During the times that you were detained under Section 29 and being interrogated and tortured almost every day, did you see a doctor?
- iii) Potgieter: Did you have the bag over your head the whole time, whilst you were tortured?
- iv) Potgieter: Were you asked about Ashley Kriel during your interrogation?
- v) Potgieter: Did you lay any complaints against the policemen who assaulted you?
- vi) Potgieter: And at this stage, how do you feel?
- vii) Borraine: What are you doing now? Are you employed? Do you have a job?

Note that two commissioners (Burton (i) and Potgieter (vi)) ask him about the emotional repercussions of his experiences, this being an aspect of his experiences that Ferhelst had not covered in his Main Testimony. The tendency for commissioners to attempt to elicit “narratives of suffering” has been noted a number of times in the literature (see, for example, Blommaert *et al.* 2006, Verdoolaege 2002). In response to both these questions, Ferhelst becomes visibly upset. His response to both is the same, namely that he is concerned about the fate of his comrades whom he recruited and for whom he feels responsible. In the post-apartheid landscape of South Africa, they have been marginalised and forgotten, and some have turned to gangsterism and crime. A fuller discussion of these moments in his testimony is given below.

The generic structure of the Elicited Testimony cannot easily be described in terms of the five different story genres. Ferhelst’s answers are often descriptive and informative in nature, rather than narrative, and shaped by the questions posed by the commissioners. For example, in his answer to Mary Burton’s first question, he produces the following description of his personal state:

(1) MR FERHELST: Basically when I came out of prison I was withdrawn from everything, everybody I know (2.0). Like I had no friends (3.0) I was my own friend (4.0) then you come out (3.0) the other guys who I recruited like they were with me, but when we came out of prison it was a whole different game here outside, like we were thrown away. Nobody like nobody stood up for us. We were called gangsters and that kind of thing [indistinct]. Like we had no support. That's why I can say my life was never the same.

However, in response to Wendy Orr's question as to whether he had been taken to a doctor while in custody, Ferhelst replies with the following story which I have analysed as an Exemplum:

(2) Orientation

MR FERHELST: Ja they took me to a doctor once, I can still remember the doctor was somewhere in Bellville, my whole body was bruised, I had marks on my face.

Incident

When I came to the doctor, the doctor just took out a stethoscope, put it against my heart and he reckons to the SB, *die donner makeer fok all, vat hom hier weg* [there's fuck all wrong with the bastard, take him away]

Interpretation

[silence – see discussion of non-verbal reactions of commissioners below]

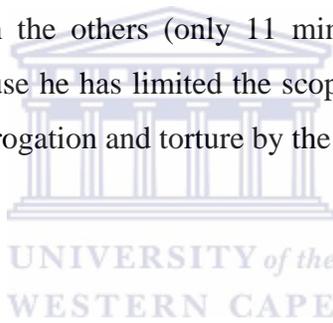
I have analysed the above as an Exemplum on the grounds that its purpose is to position the doctor, and by extension, the apartheid system, for strong negative judgement, thereby serving to build solidarity with the audience and a shared sense of outrage that the immorality of the state extended even to their medical personnel. Although Ferhelst gives no explicit Interpretation of the Incident, his position is evident from the evaluative meanings carried by the obscene language and the code-switching into Afrikaans. Given that this is a strategy he uses to mark the speech of the police, this language serves a distancing function and positions the doctor and the apartheid state for negative judgement (see Section 6.7 for a discussion of code-switching as an appraisal resource). The reaction of the audience is not visible on the audiovisual tape, but the cameras show Orr raising her eyebrows and glancing sideways at Borraine, who follows this Exemplum with a question as to the identity of the doctor. Both clearly share his implicit condemnation of the doctor.

The above extract is a good example of a chunk which seems to display characteristics of more than one genre, making identification of it a matter for debate. Although it serves the function of an Exemplum, it also has features of the Anecdote, particularly in terms of its structure. In an Anecdote, like a Narrative, the focus is on a crisis or an extraordinary

event. However, unlike the Narrative, there is no explicit resolution of that crisis. Rather the crisis is reacted to in some way, with an exclamation, a gasp, a laugh or such like (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237). Anecdotes function to elicit strong reactions from the audience, thereby serving to build solidarity. Certainly the above extract is designed to do that, but in this case, I have analysed it as an Exemplum, because the purpose of the story is to position the doctor for moral condemnation, even though this judgement is not made explicit. As Martin and Plum (1997: 301) argue, the Exemplum is related to parable, fable and gossip, and it functions to relate an incident to a broader cultural context against which it can be judged as acceptable or not.

Ferhelst's testimony has the simplest generic structure of the activist testimonies, with the Main Testimony phase consisting of a single Recount. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that it is shorter than the others (only 11 minutes as compared to Colin de Souza's 38 minutes) and because he has limited the scope of his Main Testimony to his two experiences of arrest, interrogation and torture by the Security Branch.

7.3 Participant analysis



A sense of the overall structure of the testimony can also be gleaned by tracing how the main participants are introduced and kept track of in the testimony. Martin and Rose (2003: 162) recommend the creation of a participant table as a way to “survey the role in the development of the story by different characters, as they are presented and re-presented in each phase in turn”. As the analysis below illustrates, a participant table is a useful tool for tracking how a text unfolds and how participants cluster at different stages and phases within a genre.

The table which follows (after Martin and Rose 2003: 163) summarises the way in which each of the four main participants, namely Ferhelst, his comrades, the police and Captain van Brakel, are introduced and tracked. The fifth column reflects references to “other” less prominent participants. The stages and phases of the testimony are indicated in the vertical left-hand column. I have grouped Potgieter's first three questions to Ferhelst into

one block (Potgieter 1) and kept his question about the emotional effects on Ferhelst separate as Potgieter 2.

Table 7.2: Participant analysis and phases in Ferhelst testimony

	FERHELST	COMRADES	POLICE	VAN BRAKEL	OTHER
<u>MAIN TESTIMONY:</u> RECOUNT Abstract	Mr Ferhelst, you, your years as a student activist, your involvement, your experiences				
Orientation	My involvement I x 5, me, any child , 'you'	we x 15, us x 4, ourselves, other children, a group, BMW, defence unit	the cops x 2, this people x 2, they x 2		
Record of Ever 'first arrest'	I, me, 'you', 'your' senses "jou slym etter gemors" "donner"	we x 2, other children, Christopher Rutledge us x 2	(the) cops x 4, 2 sharpshooters, Casspirs & stuff , this people, these people, 20-30 cops, 4-5 other SBs, they	this captain he that man Van Brakel	Mymoona Begg he
'interrogation'	I, me		two SBs, he, a third one, they	van Brakel, he	
'released on ba	I, me	we x 2, our x 1		this captain he, their minds	
'second arrest'	I, me		a cop, Gary Harris this cop, he they, 2 SBs		
'second interrogation'	I, me			Van Brakel, he	
'torture'	I x 7 me x 6 my neck x 1 my hands x 1 my back x 1 'you' x 6		about 7 SBs x1 they x 13 the people x 1		
'after that'	I me	other fellow comrade	they		
Coda	I				
<u>ELICITED TESTIMONY</u> Questions from Burton	I my own friend my life 'you'	the other guys they, we x 4 us x 1 "gangsters" x 1			
Questions from Orr	I, my whole body, my face, my heart, donner"		they the SB		doctor
Questions from Potgieter (1)	my head, I, me 'you', 'yourself',	comrades Ashley Kriel, him, Ashley's mother, "terrorists", we x 1	one of the policemar he, they, these people, the police	van Brakel, he his voice	nobody
Questions from Potgieter (2)	I Me	people outside, we x 2, a whole group of us, them, themselves,		the Captain him, he	nobody somebody

Discourse Analysis of Selected TRC Testimonies

		gangsters, comrades, they, their lives their behalf			
Questions from Borraine	I, this hatred		this people		
<u>CONCLUDING PHASE</u>	Mrs Ferhelst, your son, he, Mr Ferhelst, you, your voice, your courage	your comrades, them, all of you, people who were trained to defend themselves			we, the Commission those in charge and in authority

[Uses of the impersonal pronoun, ‘you’ are marked with single quotes, whereas the names given to Ferhelst and his comrades by others (e.g. “gangster”, “donner”) are marked with double quotation marks. The number of times a reference is used is generally not noted, unless I considered this detail significant, such as the number of references to “we” and “us”.]

Mary Burton, the facilitating commissioner, opens the Recount and positions Ferhelst as a “student activist” and a member of MK who was “arrested and questioned” by the police a number of times. She invites him to begin his testimony with the prompt, “so please tell us about your experiences”.

In the Orientation to his Recount, Ferhelst construes himself as part of a group of “young children” who were “afraid” that the police were going to kill them. His explicit references to himself as “young” and “like any child” foreground his innocence and vulnerability against which the response of the state appears unprovoked and brutal. In the following extract from the opening minutes of his testimony, the first person pronouns, both singular and plural, are highlighted in bold:

(3) **I** was still young and **I** like any child **I** was afraid what this people was going to do and the information **we** got from other children who were caught is they going to kill **us**. Like **we** didn't know what to do. In 1985 **we** like basically had nowhere to go, nobody to turn to in fact. At night **we** don't - **we** didn't have places to sleep 'cause **we** afraid, sometimes **we** went without food for days, three - four days.

In this first stage of his Recount (the Orientation), Ferhelst predominantly refers to himself as part of a group: he uses the inclusive pronouns, “we” and “us”, fifteen and four times respectively to construe this position. In other words, at this stage, he constructs a collective identity for himself. However, once the Record of Events begins, he predominantly refers to himself in the first person singular (“I” and “me”) as the focus of his story shifts to how he was targeted by the police:

(4) 'Till 1987 the cops caught **me** on a Friday morning. That was ... about ten o'clock **I** was like still sleeping, actually **I** wasn't sleeping but **I** got back into bed. **I** heard cars pull up ...

In the rest of his Recount, he only refers to himself as part of a group on three brief occasions: when referring to the information “**we** got from other children who were caught”, to how the police took them one by one for interrogation (“they started calling **us** out one at a time”) and to the time when he and his comrades got bail (“the day before **we** got bail, **our** Section 29 papers were there”). For the rest, he refers to himself in the singular only.

However, during the Elicited Testimony, in response to questions from Burton and Potgieter about the effect these experiences have had on him, he shifts back to referring to his comrades and the identity he shares with them. His response to Burton’s question is reflected in Extract 1 above. He repeats the same sentiments to Potgieter, in Afrikaans, in Extract 5, but with more elaboration. On this occasion, after having identified himself as part of the group again (“**we** were a military wing, there was a whole group of **us**”), he construes himself as separate from his comrades (“If **I** look at **them**, **I** recruited quite a few of **them**”), not in an attempt to distance himself from them, but rather because he feels, as their leader, responsible for them. This shift from collective identity to responsible leader is reflected in his choice of pronouns in Extract 5 below: the first person singular pronoun (“**I**”) has been marked in bold, the third person references to the comrades have been underlined, and the three instances of the first person plural pronoun referring to Ferhelst and his comrades collectively have been highlighted and underlined.:

(5) **I** was not alone, **we** were a military wing, there was a whole group of **us**. If **I** look at **them**, **I** recruited quite a few of **them**, and **I** taught **them** how to defend **themselves** and now, now that **we** have won the struggle, nobody is looking after **them**. **They**'ve become gangsters, and that is what really hurts **me**, not the fact of the interrogations so much but the fact that nobody is taking care of **those** who were together with **me** outside, nobody is looking after **them**, that is what really hurts **me**. **I** accept that I recruited a lot of **them**, **I** am responsible - for **them** - for the fact that **they** sacrificed **their** lives for the struggle. And now **I** can't do anything for **them**. That is why **I** think if **I** today perhaps can speak on **their** behalf, that somebody will listen and take care of **them**.

From the participant table (7.2) reproduced above it can be seen that Ferhelst construes a shared identity with his comrades primarily in the opening Orientation to his testimony and then again, during the Elicited Testimony in response to specific questions from the commissioners. Similarly, the references to his comrades cluster in the same phases. In other words, he frames his testimony with reference to his identity as an activist and a leader - he positions himself as part of a collective with whom he still strongly identifies.

By contrast, references to the police, and in particular, Captain van Brakel, dominate the central Record of Events. The police are introduced as either “the cops”, (when referring to the regular South African police, or the police in general) or as “SBs”, when referring to the elite Security Branch, the police unit tasked with the job of repressing internal dissent. He also refers to the police as “this people” (five times), “these people” (twice) and “the people” (once), which has the effect, I would argue, of depersonalising this participant group, thereby construing them as “the other”.

Ferhelst’s references to Van Brakel are similarly marked. Van Brakel is initially introduced as “this captain”, “he” and “that man”, after which his identity is only established by name:

(6) There was approximately 20 to 30 cops in the dining room and **this captain** burst into the room where I was laying, I was still in a shorts. **He** pulled me up, **he** said - can I use the exact words because like it's hard for me to forget what **that man** said that day and like I tried to forget, but it's always there - **this captain** his name is **Van Brakel**.

Throughout the rest of his testimony, Ferhelst only refers to Van Brakel as “he”, “Van Brakel”, “this captain” or “the captain” – never “Captain van Brakel”. To have referred to him with the latter address would have been to accord him a token of respect, something Ferhelst noticeably avoids doing.

7.4 Transitivity

A transitivity analysis shows how speakers construe their experience of reality in discourse (Martin and Rose 2003: 66). It requires a close analysis of the sequences of ideational meanings in the testimony, or, in different terms, a consideration of the selection of processes and associated participants which construe the events.

In the transitivity analysis which follows, I shall be referring to both the participant roles associated with each process (e.g. Actor and Goal for material processes) in the system of transitivity, as well as to what Lock (1996) and Trew (1979) refer to as the Causer and Affected roles associated with an ergative analysis (refer to Section 3.7 for a full discussion of this theory). I shall consider how Ferhelst as participant patterns with first material, then verbal and mental processes, in order to explore how he construes himself as being either in control (as agentive) or as acted upon.

At the beginning of his testimony (in the Orientation), Ferhelst, both singly and together with his comrades, construes himself as the Actor of a number of material processes, as illustrated in the following examples. The material processes have been emboldened and are indicated in square brackets next to each clause:

I came home from school one day	[mat]
I joined the SRC's	[mat]
we formed a group	[mat]
a group of us came together	[mat]

At this point in his testimony, he is still able to take action in response to police harassment: he and a group of young people form the Bonteheuwel Military Wing “to protect us against this people”. In terms of an ergative analysis, he (singly and collectively) is the Causer of the actions – he still has agency.

However, as the testimony proceeds, the police increasingly become the dominant Actors and Ferhelst's role is increasingly restricted to that of Sayer of verbal processes and

Senser of mental processes. In other words, his capacity to act is increasingly limited to verbal interactions and mental reflections. The analysis which follows traces this shift.

At the beginning of the Record of Events, he construes himself as Actor when he describes his reactions to hearing the police cars surround the house where he is sleeping:

I got back into bed	[mat]
I stood up	[mat]
I went to the back window	[mat]
I got back into bed and laid	[mat]

However, these are the actions of someone who is trapped and waiting to be arrested, rather than someone who is in control of the situation. Thereafter he increasingly becomes the Goal (or Affected party) of material processes in which the police are the Actors (“He pulled me up”, “they started to hit me”). He only refers to himself as Actor and Causer again in the Main Testimony chunk when he refers to his visits to court:

but as soon as I walk out of court	[mat]
I started running	[mat]
Luckily I got away .	[mat]
at a later date I came to court	[mat]
As soon as I left the court	[mat]

Ferhelst more often construes himself as the Causer of mental and verbal processes, in other words, as Senser or Sayer. For example, in the opening incident in the Record of Events, he construes himself as Senser in a number of clauses which describe the arrival of the police and his feelings at the time:

I heard cars pull up	[men]
I heard the brakes of a car	[men]
I thought , is all this people just coming for me	[men]
I then realise that ... this people are going to kill me	[men]
I heard a knock on the door / like I heard a bang on the door	[men]
it's hard for me to forget	[men]
I tried to forget	[men]

His interactions with Van Brakel are primarily construed as verbal: in the Record of Events, he recalls seven exchanges between himself and Van Brakel (these are underlined in the transcript in Appendix E). In only two of them, is he the initiator of the exchange – otherwise, they are all initiated by Van Brakel, a sign of the latter’s greater power.

These dialogues also generally precede an account of some violent action by the police against him. This pattern is illustrated by the following two exchanges. In the first, Ferhelst attempts to assert himself by making a request to Van Brakel, which is denied; by the second, his resistance is limited to refusing to answer their questions. In the first, the verbal exchange is followed by his arrest, in the second, by his first interrogation and physical assault at the hands of the police. The verbal processes only are underlined:

(7) I asked him if I can put on my clothes, he said, no, you can put it on at the police station. He then put me in a van, took me to the police station and threw me in a cell.

(8) He started asking questions, well I denied everything he asked and I said I don't know what - anything what - how can I tell you these things. They went out of the room, the two SB's tied my hands with a belt behind my back ...

Note that in both the above extracts, in the processes which follow, the police are the Causers of the material processes, and Ferhelst is the Affected participant (“He then put me in a van”, “the two SB’s tied my hands behind my back”). This pattern continues until the end of the description of his second arrest and interrogation. At the point where the torture description begins (see Extract 9 below), Ferhelst is no longer even the Causer of any verbal processes. His agency has been further reduced to mental processes only (with a few exceptions, as discussed below). The police, on the other hand, are the Causers of most of the material processes, reflecting clearly the power imbalance between the participants and the physical nature of the interaction. (The clauses have been numbered and the transitivity patterns are analysed in the table which follows Extract 9):

(9) (1) half past two at night, I think (2) it was about two o'clock half past two, the first night in Brackenfell, (3) I heard all the doors opening. (4) Well I was laying in a shorts, (5) there was about seven SB's. (6) They rushed into the cell, (7) pulled a black bag around my neck, (8) tightened it, (9) cuffed my hands behind my back (10) and took me out, out to the car. (11) In the car they started hitting me. (12) They drove – (13) I don't know (14) where they drove, past Spier, (15) but they drove for about an half an hour or so, (16) when they came to a place, (17) they took me out again, (18) it sounded like (19) it was in a shack. (20) There I was put in a shower, (21) cuffed to a shower. (22) They started hitting me continuously (23) until I were conscious, (24) then I - threw water on me to regain my consciousness (25) and like - they gassed, tear gassed the shower, (26) put me in some bin (27) and they tear gassed this bin (28) and start to wet you all over again. (29) Like the majority of the time when they hit you, (30) you didn't even feel the pain (31) because you passed out or something. (32) It went, as I can say that went on for that period, (33) after that night, it was every night, (34) half past two, three o'clock every night they came to fetch me. (35) I can't remember (36) for how long that went on, (37) but to me it felt like (38) it went on for – (39) it felt like almost a couple of years, just that short period (40) because of what the people - the way they handle you, (41) the way they hit you.

The following table reflects these transitivity patterns. It is constructed in the same way as the transitivity table in De Souza's analysis (see Table 5.3). It is a method for analysing the role of participants as Causers or Affected, which is significant, I have argued, with respect to their representation of agency. When participants are presented as Causers, their capacity for agentive action or controlling others is accentuated. However, when they are presented as affected by the actions of others, the reverse may hold true.

In the following transitivity table, I have summarised the main experiential meanings and sorted the participants and processes into their respective columns. Where the participant is elided, it is inserted in brackets. The Causer of the process is placed in the first column and the participant which is acted upon is placed in the Affected column (e.g. "I heard the doors opening"). When the clause is presented as involving just one participant and no causal transaction (e.g. "it was about two o'clock"), then the participant is put in the first column (Causer) and any attributes and circumstances which follow the process are listed in the final column. Finally, the process type is listed in the central column (material = mat; mental = men; ver = verbal; relational = rel; behavioural = beh; existential = exi).

Table 7.3: Transitivity patterns in Ferhelst torture description

	Causer	Process	type	Affected	Attribute/Circumstance
1	I	think	men		
2	it	was	rel		about two o'clock
3	I	heard	men	the doors	opening
4	I	lay	mat		in a shorts
5	there	was	exi		about seven SB's
6	they	rushed	mat		into the cell
7	(they)	pulled	mat	a black bag	around my neck
8	(they)	tightened	mat	it	
9	(they)	cuffed	mat	my hands	behind my back
10	(they)	took out	mat	me	to the car
11	they	started to hit	mat	me	
12	they	drove	mat		
13	I	don't know	men		
14	they	drove	mat	where	past Spier
15	they	drove	mat		for about half an hour
16	they	came	mat		to a place
17	they	took out	mat	me	again
18	it (I)	sounded	men		like
19	it	was	rel		in a shack
20	(they)	put	mat	I	in a shower
21	(they)	cuffed	mat	I	to a shower
22	they	started hitting	mat	me	continuously
23	I	were	rel		(un)conscious
24	(they)	threw	mat	water	on me
25	they	teargassed	mat	the shower	
26	(they)	put	mat	me	in some bin
27	they	teargassed	mat	this bin	
28	(they)	start to wet	mat	you (me)	all over again
29	they	hit	mat	you (me)	
30	you (I)	didn't feel	men	the pain	
31	you (I)	passed out	beh		or something
32	It	went on	mat		for that period
33	it	was	rel		every night
34	they	came to fetch	mat	me	
35	I	can't remember	men		
36	that	went on	mat		for how long
37	it (I)	felt	men		like
38	it	went on	mat		for
39	it (I)	felt	men		like a couple of years
40	the way the people	handle	mat	you	
41	the way they	hit	mat	you	

[I have placed the (un) of “unconscious” in clause 23 in brackets, as Ferhelst says “conscious”, but he clearly means “unconscious”. I have included “I” in brackets when Ferhelst is the Senser or Behavior of the process.]

The above table illustrates the nature of the relationship between Ferhelst and the police at this point in his testimony. The police are referred to throughout as “they”, and on a number of occasions, elided (clauses 7-10, 20, 21, 24, 26, 28). In all the twenty-three

clauses in which the police are participants, they are the Causers of material processes. This has the effect of construing them as a nameless, faceless group who are in control of the interaction and Ferhelst as the object of their brutality. The pronominal elision in, for example, clauses 7-10 allows the emphasis to fall on the succession of material processes, reflecting, perhaps, the physicality of the way in which Ferhelst was 'acted upon': "They rushed into the cell / pulled a black bag around my neck / tightened it / cuffed my hands behind my back / and took me out, out to the car".

Ferhelst, on the other hand, appears in the role of Causer in only six clauses, plus an additional five if one includes the two uses of the generic "you" (clauses 30, 31) and three instances of "it" where "it" refers to "the situation" as Ferhelst experienced it – in other words, he is the implied Senser of the process (clauses 18, 37, 89). Of these eleven clauses, eight include mental processes, pointing to the limited domain (his own thoughts) in which he had agency. The material process in clause 4 ("I lay in a shorts"), like the material processes attributed to Ferhelst at the beginning of the Record of Events, is hardly a process of purposeful action. The remaining processes in which he appears as the Causer, namely clause 23 ("I were (un)conscious" and "you passed out") are relational and behavioural respectively, descriptive of his state, rather than representative of purposeful action.

Predictably, Ferhelst (or a part of his body) appears in the Affected role eleven times, and in an additional five if the references to the generic "you" and his "pain" are included. An additional two references to parts of his body ("my neck" and "my back" – clauses 7 & 9) occur in the circumstantial phrases. In this sense, the very physical nature of the abuse is reflected in the transitivity choices. A number of psychologists have pointed to the way in which trauma 'fragments' the psyche (Gobodo-Madikizela 2006) rendering the victim powerless and unable to take control of his or her life narrative. It is as though, through his presentation of himself as fragmented body parts, Ferhelst alludes to this trauma.

It could be argued that the effect of the construction in clauses 37 and 39 (i.e. “it felt like ...” as opposed to “I felt like...”) is to transfer the role of the Senser to “the situation”, thereby backgrounding Ferhelst as a Senser and participant. In this way, it acts as a distancing mechanism. It becomes a way in which Ferhelst removes himself from the scene and from being the target of the police actions.

I would argue that his use of the generic “you” functions in the same way. Ferhelst switches to referring to himself as “you” in clauses 28-31, as he begins to reflect on the experience of torture: “and start to wet **you** all over again / like the majority of the time when they hit **you** / **you** didn't even feel the pain / because **you** passed out or something”. The impersonal nature of the pronoun enables Ferhelst to detach himself from the events, reflect on his experiences and frame them in terms of their more general significance – as things that had happened to his comrades as well.

Ferhelst also uses the generic “you” to signal the beginning of a more reflective mode at other points in his testimony. Extract 10 which follows recalls his feelings when he heard the cars surround the house where he was sleeping on the morning of his first arrest, and Extract 11 is from his response to Potgieter’s request for clarification about the manner in which they tortured him:

(10) I heard cars pull up - at that time **your** senses are so developed **you** can hear a car a mile for - when it brakes, like **your** senses - everything becomes - **you** become suspicious of everything and everybody.

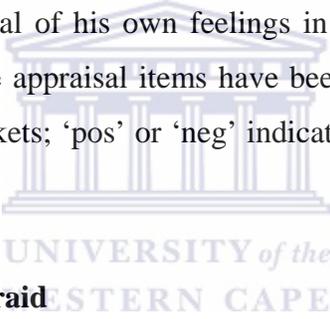
(11) And in the interrogation **you** make sort of peace with **yourself** that - what must be, must be. If I can put it this way, **you** - **you** prepare **yourself** for the worst.

Both these reflections are evaluative in that they are an indication of Ferhelst’s feelings at the time. In fact, the ongoing appraisal in his testimony is largely carried by the reported exchanges with the police and his personal reflections on the significance of the events. In the section which follows, the way in which Ferhelst appraises his experiences is explored in more detail.

7.5 Appraisal

Ferhelst's Main Testimony contains very little inscribed (explicit) appraisal of his own feelings. However, he offers some indication of how he is feeling through his account of his thoughts at the time. He also passes very little overt judgement on the police and Van Brakel. However, he positions them for negative judgement both in terms of the way he describes their behaviour and, significantly, in the way he inserts Van Brakel's crude comments into the text. In the analysis which follows, I explore how he 'colours' his testimony with evaluative meanings, first through the inscribed and invoked appraisal of his own feelings, and then through his inscribed and invoked appraisal of the police. (Refer to Section 3.5 for a review of the appraisal categories and sub-categories.)

His explicit (inscribed) appraisal of his own feelings in his testimony is limited to the following five statements. (The appraisal items have been highlighted and the appraisal categories given in square brackets; 'pos' or 'neg' indicates whether the appraisal item is positive or negative.)

- 
- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| i) I like any child I was afraid | [neg Affect: security] |
| ii) 'cause we afraid | [neg Affect: security] |
| iii) you didn't even feel the pain | [neg Affect: happiness] |
| iv) that is what hurts me ... that is what really hurts | [neg Affect: happiness] |
| v) because it's this hatred I got inside for this people | [neg Affect: happiness] |

The first three come from the Main Testimony, the next two from the Elicited Testimony in response to commissioners' questions about how his experiences have affected him. In appraisal terminology, all could be analysed as statements of inscribed negative affect in that they explicitly express the negative emotions he felt or continues to feel about something. In terms of the appraisal sub-categories, the first two statements refer to feelings of 'insecurity', while the rest relate to feelings of 'unhappiness'.

However, his feelings can also be inferred from a number of other statements, particularly his personal reflections, which act as tokens or invocations for the expression

of affect. See, for example, Extracts 10 and 11 above. Extract 12 (from his first arrest) is a further example. The invocations are marked in bold:

(12) I thought, **is all this people just coming for me, and what did I do wrong, what did I do so badly that this people want me so?** I then realise that well all the threats we got from all the information we got from other children who were caught, **well this people are going to kill me**, that's what they said

The rhetorical questions and the realisation that the threats were real are tokens which invoke his feelings of fear and bewilderment (or, negative affect: security) at the time of his first arrest.

As mentioned earlier, Ferhelst includes almost no negative evaluation of the police, despite their brutal behaviour. The only inscribed negative judgement of Van Brakel is offered in response to a question from Potgieter, when Fehelst says “he was always terribly rude”. However, he positions the police for condemnation through his accounts of their actions. He uses graduation resources (repetition and attitudinal lexis) to indicate the excessive force with which they behaved:

I heard a knock on the door / like I heard a bang on the door	[+ force, repetition]
this captain burst into the room	[+ force]
(he) threw me in a cell	[+ force]
they threw in somebody I knew	[+ force]
he started to pull the belt like choking me, pulling it	
stiffer and stiffer every time	[repetition]
they rushed into the cell	[+ force]
they started hitting me continuously	[+ force]

On two occasions, he directly refers to their brutal methods. Extract 13 is a comment on his torture, and Extract 14 is in response to Potgieter’s questions about how he feels now. Both these statement position the police and Van Brakel for condemnation:

(13) I can't remember for how long that went on, but to me it felt like it went on for - it felt like almost a couple of years, just that short period because of what the people - **the way they handle you, the way they hit you.**

(14) Firstly I would have liked to ask the Captain personally what motivated him **to torture me, to beat me**, he couldn't get information out of me, what - **what really drove him to assault me** and so on

The most salient way in which he positions Van Brakel for negative evaluation is through the inclusion of his obscene quotes in Afrikaans which function as a distancing appraisal resource. Ferhelst uses this strategy on four occasions to recall the way the police (and on one occasion, the state doctor) spoke to him, both at the time of his arrest and while being interrogated in prison:

- (i) *Jou slym etter gemors, ons het jou, ons gaan jou nou vrek maak.* [You slimy pus-oozing rubbish, we have you now, now we are going to kill you.]
- (ii) *Ag, hou jou bek, donner.* [Ag, shut up, bastard.]
- (iii) *Ons maak jou nog vrek, voor jy uit die tronk uit.* [We are going to kill you, before you leave prison.]
- (iv) *Die donner makeer fok all, vat hom hier weg.* [There's fuck all wrong with the bastard, take him away.]

Note that the effect of the words, “bek” and “vrek”, is dehumanising, as these words are reserved for use with animals. These quotations characterise Van Brakel as crude and brutal, thereby positioning him and the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking apartheid system he represents for condemnation.

However, Ferhelst's negative judgements are not only reserved for police of the 1980s; the current (mid-1990s) political leadership who have failed to recognise and acknowledge the contributions and sacrifices of his comrades are also negatively appraised. It is this sentiment which Ferhelst expresses on the two occasions when first Burton and then Potgieter ask him how his experiences have affected him. Extract 1 (Burton) was presented above. However, it is repeated here for the convenience of the reader. Extract 16 (Potgieter), which was delivered in Afrikaans, comes from the end of his testimony:

(1) MR FERHELST: Basically when I came out of prison I was withdrawn from everything, everybody I know (2.0). Like I had no friends (3.0) I was my own friend (4.0) then you come out (3.0) the other guys who I recruited like they were with me, but when we came out of prison it was a whole different game here outside, like we were thrown away. Nobody like nobody stood up for us. We were called gangsters and that kind of thing [indistinct]. Like we had no support. That's why I can say my life was never the same.

(16) And secondly what I would like to say is, there are people outside, I was not alone, we were a military wing, there was a whole group of us. If I look at them, I recruited quite a few of them, and I taught them how to defend themselves and now, now that we have won the struggle, nobody is looking after them [his comrades]. They've become gangsters, and that is what really hurts me, not the fact of the interrogations so much but the fact that nobody is taking care of those who were together with me outside, nobody is looking after them, that is what really hurts me. I accept that I recruited a lot of them, I am responsible - for them - for the fact that they sacrificed their lives for the struggle. And now I can't do anything for them. That is why I think if I today perhaps can speak on their behalf, that somebody will listen and take care for them.

Extract 1 is the first point in Ferhelst's testimony when he seems close to breaking down. The emotional pain is reflected in the number of long pauses, and the way his speech becomes indistinct at one point, as though he is struggling to speak. In this extract, he expresses his pain at the way he and his comrades have been marginalised: when they came out of prison, they were re-positioned by society as "gangsters". In Extract 16, he repeats the same sentiments, but, as argued earlier, focuses on his role as a leader and his frustration and sense of helplessness at being unable to help his former comrades.

The sentences which follow represent tokens of appraisal in the above two extracts. Following the SFL convention, the symbol, "t", at the beginning of each bracket marks the item as a token. The first group of sentences evaluates the way he and his comrades were treated when they came out of prison. As can be noted from the appraisal analysis presented in brackets, the people who have "thrown them away" are negatively appraised with judgements of social sanction (propriety). Although the persons or institutions at whom these judgements are directed is not made explicit – they are simply referred to as "nobody" – it can be inferred that he is referring to the current leadership of the former

liberation movement. In other words, without directly accusing the former leaders of betrayal, the accumulative meanings position this participant for our negative judgement.

we were thrown away.	[t, neg judgement: propriety]
Nobody like nobody stood up for us.	[t, neg judgement: propriety]
We were called gangsters and that kind of thing	[t, neg judgement: propriety]
nobody is looking after them	[t, neg judgement: propriety]
nobody is taking care of those who were together with me outside	[t, neg judgement: propriety]
nobody is looking after them	[t, neg judgement: propriety]

In the next set of statements, Ferhelst also negatively judges his own situation and that of his comrades. He appraises his own situation in affectual terms (negative happiness) and judgements relating to social esteem (negative capacity, tenacity). He also offers a negative appreciation of his quality of life.

I was withdrawn from everything, everybody I know	[t, neg affect: unhappiness]
I had no friends	[t, neg affect: unhappiness]
I was my own friend	[t, neg affect: unhappiness]
Like we had no support.	[t, neg judgement: capacity]
That's why I can say my life was never the same	[t, neg appreciation: reaction]
I accept that I recruited quite a lot of them	[t, pos judgement: tenacity]
I am responsible for them	[t, pos judgement: tenacity]
And now I can't do anything for them.	[t, neg judgement: capacity]

The last statement in the above list points, I would argue, to what is at the heart of Ferhelst's pain, namely, the fact that he can do nothing to help his former comrades who are destitute and marginalised. As their former commander, he feels this responsibility acutely. He therefore also negatively judges his own inability to act, although this is a judgement of lack of capacity (social esteem) rather than impropriety (social sanction).

It is also interesting to note that his statement, "And now I can't do anything for them", was missed by the interpreter on the day and is not included in the official transcript. This, I believe, is a significant omission and one which detracts from the overall evaluative meanings as this statement cuts to the heart of his anguish.

The last lines of his testimony include a final statement of affect, in which he suggests that he “might explode” because of the “hatred” he still carries against “this people”, a reminder to the audience that the effects of his torture are still with him today.

(17) MR FERHELST: I've got a job but as I say, I don't know how I am going - how long I am going to keep the job, because it's this hatred I got inside for this people. If I explode who knows what I am going to do in the factory.

7.6 Summary

In the above sections, I have argued that Ferhelst’s testimony is generically simpler than that of the other activists covered in this thesis, in that his Main Testimony can be analysed as a single Recount. The choice of this genre enables him to present a record of his experiences of human rights abuse before the TRC. In keeping with the characteristics of a Recount, his experiences are presented as a factual account of what happened to him at the hands of the police. However, unlike the other activists, his account more often construes him as ‘acted upon’ than having ‘agency’. Perhaps this is unsurprising given that he chose to limit the scope of his testimony to the accounts of his arrest, interrogation and torture. Perhaps this positioning is also a reflection of the frustration and helplessness he feels as he is unable to help his former comrades in their current situation.

Despite the brutality of the police actions, there is little inscribed evaluation of them in the Main Testimony. At times the narrative seems almost impersonal and detached (see shifts to impersonal “you”). However, as is typical of a Recount, a thread of appraisal runs throughout the testimony and this is often carried by the remembered dialogues and personal reflections. Ferhelst’s use of quotes, in particular, the crude remarks of Van Brakel in Afrikaans, is one of the ways in which he appraises the man and distances himself from the police. In this sense, his testimony is similar to De Souza’s: both construe themselves as survivors. However, he does not draw on the discourses of agency and innovation which De Souza does. He does not present himself as a hero in the face

of adversity. While he construes himself as able to withstand the pressures of torture and interrogation, there is more acknowledgement of suffering in his testimony than in De Souza's.

In the Elicited Testimony, in response to questions which probe the emotional effects of his experiences, he evaluates his experiences more explicitly and indicates that he has been very affected by them and very hurt by the failure of the post-apartheid government to recognise the contributions of his comrades. It seems that it is this aspect which causes him the most pain. Most of the appraisal is carried by tokens which invoke negative judgement of the apartheid police, as well as the current post-1994 political leadership.

He begins and ends his testimony with reference to himself as part of a collective, and at the end, as a leader who feels responsible for the plight of his comrades. He concludes his testimony by referring to his personal sense of failure at not being able to help his former comrades who are destitute. He uses the public platform of the TRC to make an appeal to "somebody" to help his former comrades. In this way, he construes his identity as a leader and as part of a collective group of activists.

In Chapter Eight which follows, the testimonies of two more activists are analysed. The purpose of these analyses is to explore the narrative purposes and narrative choices of both testifiers, as well as to reflect on the ways in which their testimonies are similar and different to each other and to the other testimonies considered in this thesis. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the social discourses that the testifiers draw on in their construal of their identities, as well as a reflection on the TRC testimony as a macro-genre.

CHAPTER 8

Testimonies of Two Activists

This final data analysis chapter analyses the testimonies of two more members of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, Sandra Adonis and Moegamat Qasim Williams. In this chapter, I shall argue that the testifiers have similar narrative purposes, namely to record their experiences of human rights abuse as well as to position themselves as representatives of young activists of that time. In this construal, they draw on similar social discourses which reflect values of commitment to the ideals of liberation, of serving a greater ideological good, of placing the collective before the individual and of allegiance to one's comrades. However, they also use the TRC platform to draw attention to the costs of being a young activist and the current socio-political marginalisation of many of their former comrades. This constitutes a second important narrative purpose for each testimony.

Despite these similarities, their testimonies are also distinctive. In Fairclough's (2003) terms, the testimonies reflect both their social identities (as activists) and aspects of their individual personalities. These differences are reflected in their narrative choices: of genre as well as how they position and evaluate themselves and the other participants. The analyses in this chapter reveal some of these similarities and differences as well as reflect on the testimonies analysed in the preceding chapters.

Each testimony is analysed separately, although comparisons between the two and the other testimonies analysed in this thesis are made as the analysis progresses. Neither of the testimonies is covered in as much detail as those analysed in Chapters Five to Seven. This is because the analyses in this chapter are primarily used to elaborate some of the points raised in the former analyses. The last section of this chapter concludes with a

discussion of the social discourses which have shaped the construal of the testifiers' identities. It also comments on the TRC testimony as a unique macro-genre and relates the generic analyses of these testimonies to other work on spoken genre from an SFL perspective.

8.1 Testimony of Sandra Adonis

Sandra Adonis is the only female activist covered in this sample. Both she and Williams, whose testimony is analysed next, testified at the Special hearing on Youth held in Athlone (Cape Town) on the 22 May 1997, almost a year after Ferhelst and De Souza's hearing. The point of the hearing was to focus attention on the way children were affected by the struggle against apartheid (*TRC Report 4* 1998). These hearings were opened, therefore, with statements on the role of youth and explicitly positioned testifiers as representatives of the youth of that time.

Sandra Adonis speaks of her own experiences as a student activist, and about the experiences of her husband, Jacques Adonis, who was detained and tortured in the 1980s, and is since deceased. Like Ferhelst, her narrative purpose seems two-fold: firstly, to give an account of the human rights abuse suffered by her and her husband. Secondly, she uses the TRC platform to make a more general statement about the costs of being a young activist and to criticise the current government for failing to recognise the contributions of "the youth of that time".

Due to space constraints, my analysis of her testimony will focus on the generic structure and participant patterns only, as her testimony is in both respects complex and interesting. A full generic analysis of her testimony is offered in Appendix F.

8.1.1 Genre

Generically, Adonis's testimony includes only three broad phases: the Introductory phase, the Main Testimony and the Concluding phase. No questions are addressed to her

and there is therefore no Elicited Testimony. Possible reasons for this could be that she spoke extensively about her experiences in the Main Testimony, which is 27 minutes long, or perhaps because she is the last testifier on the last day of the Youth Hearings and people were tired and ready to go home. Her testimony is generically more complex than Ferhelst's and can be described as a Recount, followed by a Narrative, followed by an Exemplum. The structure of her testimony, including the genres which make up the Main Testimony are depicted in the table below:

Table 8.1: Generic structure of Adonis testimony:

Generic phases		Time
Beginning	Introductory Phase	01:15 min
Middle	Main Testimony:	
	^Recount	09:30 min
	^Narrative	06:35 min
	^Exemplum	11:25 min
Ending	^ Concluding Phase	03:15 min
Total		32:00 min

Generically, Sandra Adonis's testimony represents a series of shorter, more or less self-contained genres sequentially arranged. However, the boundaries between these genres are fluid with the end of one genre blending into the first stage of the next.

I have analysed the first chunk of Adonis's testimony as a Recount because the focus is on the temporal succession of events (Egins and Slade 1997: 259). These events recount her introduction to student politics at the young age of 15 and her subsequent involvement as a student leader at school and later, as a member of the BMW. She uses the Recount to establish her identity as a student leader and activist, and to build a context for the events in the rest of her testimony. Throughout the Recount, the evaluation is realised prosodically – there is no discrete evaluation stage which suspends the tension, as with a Narrative.

The next chunk is analysed as a Narrative. It was difficult to decide on the boundary between the Record of Events and the Narrative. In a sense, the boundary is artificial as the genres “blend” into one another. However, I have placed the boundary at the point at

which the security policemen, as the main antagonists of the Narrative, are introduced. This shift is evident on the participant tables 8.2 and 8.3 which follow.

The Narrative focuses on the arrest and interrogation of Adonis herself. I have analysed it as a Narrative because, unlike the Recount which precedes it, it depicts Adonis as a heroine, defiant in the face of police harassment. The events culminate in a crisis (the arrival of the security police to arrest Adonis) which is suspended as she evaluates her situation. This crisis is then temporarily resolved by her defiant action of insisting on taking a bath before she leaves with the police for the police station¹. The Complicating Action then continues with her account of trying, but failing, to outwit the police by claiming she too wished to become a police woman one day. She again suspends the narrative as she evaluates these actions. The situation is finally resolved when she is questioned, asked to write a letter of application to the police and released. The Narrative ends with a Coda in which her story returns to the present time with her wondering whether the police have ever used that letter against her.

The next chunk, which consists of the rest of her testimony, has been analysed as an Exemplum. According to Eggins and Slade (1997: 237, 259), the focus of an Exemplum is on the significance of the events described in the Incident, rather than their problematic nature. The Interpretation evaluates the significance of the Incident, often relating it to a broader cultural context and using it to make some moral judgement about the way the world should or should not be. The Incident provides the “raw material” for the making of a broader moral point (Martin and Plum 1997: 301).

The Incident in this Exemplum focuses on the arrest and torture of her husband, Jacques Adonis. The torture is presented factually and in the third person (it is his account as relayed by her). As with the torture scenes described by other activists, there is very little inscribed appraisal of the police. In her case, she reserves her negative judgements primarily for the lawyers who ignored her husband when he was in prison. The Incident ends with her statement that on the seventh day, he was released without charge. She

then reflects on the fact that she has never heard of Van Brakel since then, but that his torture of her husband has had a profound effect on both of them.

In the final Interpretation stage of her testimony, Sandra Adonis shifts into reflecting on the repercussions of this torture on herself, her husband and her comrades. She uses the disturbed state of her husband, post-torture, to paint a picture of his breakdown and the declining state of their relationship, as well as to make a more general comment about the costs of being an activist. She concludes this Interpretation with an impassioned statement about the sense of betrayal and disillusionment she and her comrades have experienced in the post-apartheid context as a result of the new government's failure to acknowledge their contributions and sacrifices. In this sense, she uses the description of her husband as "raw material" with which to make more general comments about the costs for all of them of having sacrificed their youth and education for the struggle.

8.1.2 Detailed analysis of testimony

The participant analysis will trace how the different participants in Adonis's testimony cluster in different phases. It will also explore how she builds her activist identity and positions herself and her audience in relation to these experiences. Her testimony displays the same complexity in terms of participant analysis as it does in terms of its generic structure, as reflected in the following participant tables. Given the generic complexity of her testimony, as well as the large number of participants, the participant table is presented in generic chunks. On the horizontal axis of the table, the participants are included in sequence as they appear in her testimony. This in itself is revealing, as the order reflects something about her story and its 'widening horizons': from family, to others (e.g. school), to an awareness of a racially polarised state (the government, "our people"), to her encounters with the police, the comrades and finally her husband, Jacques. At the end of her testimony, she addresses the audience at the TRC hearing, and these references are noted in the final column of the table. However, this column is not included in the first table (8.2) due to page constraints. The Introductory phase and the first Recount are covered by the following table:

Table 8.2 Participants in Adonis testimony: Recount

	SANDRA ADONIS	FAMILY	OTHERS	GOVERNMENT	'OUR PEOP	POLICE	COM-RADES	JACQU
INTRO PHASE	our last witness, Sandra Adonis, you							
RECOUNT Abstract	you, your own experience as a young teenager, your own words							your husband
Orientation	I, me	my grandfather, he		Vorster, them, these people, our governme	our people			
Record of Elected to th	I, a rep on SRC, Chairperson, we (S&SRC), Assistant Treas		the school, they, SRCs, all the schools, my class, my principal, Std 9s and matrics, Action Commit Ned Damon Senior Secondar					
'on the run'	I me	home my family	one of the teach the Executive			the police		
'Trojan Hors incident'	I, me only member le on SRC, my duty, like a mother, your mind		Shaun Magmoe one of our teach Jonathan Claase			the shootin		
'exams boyd	I, me we (S&students "you" "instigator"		people, my principal, he			the police		
'out of schoo	I, we (S&BMW), our heads, we together with the nation						people of Bonteheuw BMW	
'back to scho	I, me, 'you' my life, my heart, my activities, my schooling,		the principal				your comrades	
'student poli	I, me, Chairperson, my beliefs		the principal					
Orientation (again) 'family back	my own background, I, me, my fight mine	my father, my mother, a family life, a difficult childhood		white people the governme	my people, theirs			
'student poli	I						BISCO BMW	
'meets husba	I, we (S&Jacques)	home, our family, them						my husb Jacques Adonis, he, him,

Introductory phase

Adonis is introduced by Burton with the prompt: “You are going to tell us about your own experience as a young teenager and about that of your husband. So please go ahead and tell us in your own words”. In this statement, she is positioned as a representative of both the youth of her day and her husband.

Recount

She uses the Recount to establish her identity, as the primary participant, and to explain something about her background and why she became an activist. This is initially achieved through references to herself, her family and her experiences at school. She describes herself as young (“I was about 15 years old”) and ordinary (“I didn’t have any background in politics”) although she remembers her grandfather speaking about “politics and Vorster” – B.J. Vorster was Prime Minister in the 1970s. She repeats her grandfather’s negative appraisal of “them” as “bad” and recalls how, as her own political consciousness developed, she “got to realise why he was going on about these people”:

(1) MRS ADONIS: Well it was in 1985 when I started being involved in politics. I was about 15 years old and, I didn’t have any background of politics. I always heard my grandfather used to say, he used to talk about politics and Vorster and you know all these things he used to make them bad, but when I got to realise why he was going on about these people, seeing how our government was handling our people, it hurt me and I decided to get involved.

The positioning in these opening lines is interesting, because she alternatively distances herself from the government (“these people”) and uses the inclusive pronoun, “our” to refer to it. However, her attitude towards the government is not at all ambiguous: she states clearly that their unjust policies “hurt” her. Rather, her identification is with “our people”, by which she presumably refers to the oppressed people of South Africa. She thus opens her testimony by framing her decision to become politically active in terms of a broader ideological identification with the oppressed.

Later in her Recount she offers additional information about her family background (as additional Orientation) which suggests she had personal reasons for despising a system that placed one race group in a position of power over another. She is the illegitimate child of a “domestic maid” and a white man, perhaps her mother’s employer. In the following extract, it is as though her white father and the repressive white government have become fused in a single image of oppression:

(2) Because of my own background as well, my father is a white and my mother is a black or rather a coloured, as they want to call it, so called. I never had a family life with them. My mother was a domestic maid at the so called whites. So, like, I feel that I had a difficult childhood from the start. So I hated – I hated white people, and I hated the government for doing things to me and to my people and because of that I couldn’t, I mean, I couldn’t deny my people my fight as well. I felt that it was not just theirs, it was mine.

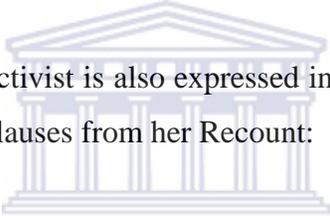
Although she uses the racial terminology of the apartheid state by referring to her mother as a “coloured”, she clearly distances herself from it. She initially uses the term “black” to describe her mother. During the struggle years, a number of coloured people preferred to describe themselves as “black” as a symbol of identification with all oppressed groups in South Africa. She then modifies her use of the term, “coloured”, with the comment, “as they want to call it”, where “they” presumably refers to the apartheid bureaucracy. She further inserts the comment “so called”, which was one of the ways in which people opposed to the apartheid classifications signalled the contested nature of these racial labels when they used them. All these strategies serve to distance herself from these labels. From the audiotape, it is also clear from the way she inflects the phrase, “domestic maid”, that she is also distancing herself from this kind of language, which is typically associated with white privilege and power.

It is also interesting that, in the above Extract 2, she speaks of fighting for “my people”, an even stronger identification with the “the oppressed” than that expressed by her earlier use of “our people”. Later she asserts that she could not withdraw from politics as her “beliefs were too strong”. On a number of occasions in this Recount, then, she clearly positions herself as an activist whose decision to become involved was based on her

ideological rejection of a system which oppressed the majority of South African on the basis of their race.

She also uses the Recount to establish her identity as a student leader in a context of harsh police repression in the mid-1980s. Her leadership ability was recognised by her fellow students, who first voted her Chairperson of the Student Representative Council, and then, when her headmaster complained she was too young, made her Assistant Treasurer and a member of the Action Committee. References to her school principal, teachers, fellow pupils and youth who became symbols as victims of police brutality (Shaun Magmoet, Jonathan Claasen of the Trojan Horse shootings) are the other main participants in this first chunk of her testimony, as is evident from the participant table 8.2 above.

Her construal of herself as an activist is also expressed in her choice of verbal processes, as illustrated by the following clauses from her Recount:



It was in 1985 when I started **being involved** in politics
I **was elected** from my class to be a representative for them on the SRC
I also **served** on the Action Committee
we **took a stand** that we're not going to write exams.
I **was instructed** also like to do things
and in the same time I **got involved** with the people of Bonteheuwel,
Later on I **got involved** again, like, within the SRC
I **got involved** in BISCO ...and also, as I said earlier on, BMW

As can be seen from the above list, the act of becoming politically active is encapsulated in that single process, “getting involved”, and typically associated with processes like “being elected”, “taking a stand”, “being instructed” and “serving”, all which are part of her “duty” as a disciplined member of a broader political movement. Note that Ferhelst also began his testimony with a reference to this process nominalised as: “My involvement started in 1984”.

Besides references to herself, her family, and the many references to her school associates, another category of participant introduced in this Recount is that of the

Bonteheuwel Military Wing, and finally, her husband, Jacques Adonis, a member of the BMW. She recalls how she became involved with the BMW once she was expelled from school for being “an instigator” (her headmaster’s term), and then inserts into her Record of Events the following evaluation:

(3) Although **we**’ve done things that **we**’re not very proud of, but the reasons why **we**’ve done it **we** are proud of them, because today **we** can stand with **our** heads up high and say that **we** together with the nation, **we**’ve done it.

Here she expresses, through the repeated use of the inclusive “we”, her collective identity, as a member of the BMW, on the side of the oppressed majority (“we together with the nation”). It is this identity to which she returns in the closing stage of her testimony.

There are interestingly very few references to the police in this first Recount. They are mentioned only twice: the first time is at the beginning of the Recount when she says “that the police came looking for me” and the second time is when she wonders whether her principal informed the police of her whereabouts during the exams boycotts. In this first Recount, she construes herself as in opposition to the whole system of apartheid (represented by references to “the government”) and the police are simply a part of the coercive machinery which keeps this system in place.

Narrative

In the Narrative, however, this changes as the police, and in particular, Van Brakel, are foregrounded as the main adversaries. From the participant table below, it can be seen that the dominant participants in this chunk of her testimony are Adonis and the police who are pitted against her. There are minimal references to her family – and of the three references there are, two are to her home as a location, rather than a person (“my house”, “my parent’s place”). There are no more references to participants associated with her schooling, and only two references, in the Orientation, to her comrades who at this point, have not become the focus of her testimony.

Table 8.3: Participants in Adonis testimony: Narrative

	SANDRA ADONIS	FAMILY	OTHERS	GOV	'OUR PEOP'	POLICE	COM-RADES	JAC-QUES	AUD
NARRATIVE Orientation	I, me us (S&BMW)	my house, my parent'	another lady's place, her door			they, Mostert, Loop Street Security Police, a certain Cap van Brakel, these Boers, they, van Brake	them, the comrade		
Complication Action 1	me, "terrorist"					he			
Evaluation	me, I 'you' 'yourself'					he their tricks			
Resolution (1)	I myself	my family				them			
Complication Action 2	I, me my hair		the lady who we left behind, this woman		my people	he, their car, a certain Mr Strydom, this Cap van B., policemen, these people, their hands			
Evaluation	I, 'you'					him they			
Resolution	we (S&police) me, I my name					they			
Coda	I					they			

The police are introduced by name as “Mostert from the Loop Street security police” and “a certain Captain van Brakel”, where the phrase “a certain” serves as a distancing function. A few lines on, she refers to the police as “these boers”, thereby once again clearly aligning herself with the oppressed. “Boer” is an Afrikaans word for “farmer” or “Afrikaner”, which, when used by black people during the apartheid years, had pejorative connotations and could refer alternatively to all white people, to Afrikaners in particular, or to white policemen. Like Ferhelst, she either refers to the police by their surname, or, if she uses their titles, she prefaces these with a word which signals her contempt for and rejection of them (e.g. **this** Captain van Brakel).

In the Evaluation stages of her Narrative, she, like Ferhelst, slips into using the generic pronoun, “you”, to refer to herself. This enables her to generalise her experiences as well as to distance herself from them, so as to evaluative their significance. Like Ferhelst, she

speaks of “preparing herself for death” (see Extract 4), an indication of the extreme danger she felt she was in. Then in Extract 5, she generalises her assessment of the police to include not only herself, but presumably the other comrades whom they also interrogated:

(4) You know, it is like **you** prepare yourself for death, because **you** don’t know what is going to happen and even if **you** want to prepare **yourself** how much, **you** will never be able to prepare **yourself** really.

(5) I was, like, trying to hit back at him all the time, but also in a very gentle way not to have him think that this is a stubborn woman, because once **you** show stubbornness, they would show no mercy.

Exemplum

In the final chunk of her testimony, which I have identified as an Exemplum, she focuses on her husband, Jacques Adonis. He has only been mentioned briefly at the end of first Record of Events, where she described them as “on the run” and their relationship as “still okay”. The participant table for this chunk of her testimony indicates how, in the Incident stage, the focus of her testimony is the police and her husband, but how, in the Interpretation stage, this broadens to include both the past and the future: she refers to both her former comrades and the apartheid system, and the current youth and the post-apartheid government, as she uses his story to make a broader comment about the costs of being an activist. In addition, in this chunk, she directly addresses the audience (AUD) at the TRC hearing.

Table 8.4: Participants in Adonis testimony: Exemplum

	SANDRA ADONIS	FAMILY	OTHERS	GOV	‘OUR PEO	POLICE	COMRADE	JACQUES	AUD
EXEMPLUM Orientation	I we (S&Jac)							my husband, Jacques, he	
Incident ‘the arrest’	I our place					van Brakel, Lieutenant Strydom, they		my husband, him, he “jou etter”	
‘the search’	I, me					they, people who are very dangerous, who are capable of killing		him, he ‘somebody’ ‘this person’	any of you people

Discourse Analysis of Selected TRC Testimonies

'tortured'	I, me we (S&Jac)					one of the ordinary policemen, they security branch, they, Captain van B, Strydom Pikker		my husband, he, him	
'kept with criminals'	me us (S&BMW)		the crimina people, one of the lawyers, they, this people, this person					he him 'you'	
'released'	I, me my interrogat					van Brakel he		he my husband	you
Interpretati 'personal repercussio	My life, I, me 'a person' 'you'		other youn people, counsellors other peop people	the state			one of my comrades, my friends, my compadre my comrades those, them	my husband he, him his trolley his anger his frustration 'this kind of person' 'somebody'	
'the cost of an activist'	I we (S&BMW) my life my education my childhood we (S&nation		nobody anybody	our freedom our demo		these very Boer their apologies, them	we, as the comrades, members of BMW, the people that has fought the struggle, the youth of that time		some people
<u>CONCLU</u> <u>PHASE</u>	you, your own history, young people like you	parent famili childr	SRCs leaders	the system	people	the system?	you and other people in BMW		us, we my colleagu

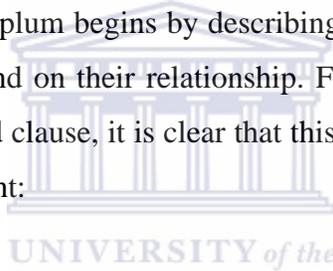
In the Incident stage of this Exemplum, she recalls how her husband was arrested by Van Brakel, who is once again characterised and positioned by his rude language (“*jou etter, jy hardloop al weer weg van ons af*”, meaning, “you bastard, you are running away again from us”). She recounts how she searched for her husband for days, and once again, she evaluates the events by generalising the experience through the use of the impersonal references (“somebody, this person”). This time, however, she addresses the TRC audience (“any of you people”) for the first time:

(6) and then the search started. They told me that I am going to find him at Bishop Lavis Police Station and then I went to Bishop Lavis Police Station and like, he was not there. I went home and I phoned there and they said I

should phone Bellville. I phoned Bellville, nobody there. Phoned Bellville South and I just went on and on and on. I think it was for about five days it went on like that and I don't know if **any of you people** can imagine what it is like looking for **somebody**, and knowing that **this person** is in the hands of people who are very dangerous, who are capable of doing anything even capable of killing.

She then speaks of finding him at Bellville South Police Station and gives his account of how he was tortured, which, like Ferhelst's account, is reported as a list of factual material processes with the police as the dominant Actor (and Causer) and Adonis's agency restricted to Senser. She ends her recount of his experiences with the evaluative comment that, while she has not seen or heard of Van Brakel since then, his torture of her husband has had severe repercussions on their lives.

The Interpretation of the Exemplum begins by describing the repercussions of torture on her husband's mental health and on their relationship. From the audiotape and the long five second pause in the second clause, it is clear that this is the aspect of her story which is most painful for her to recount:



(7) My life started being a mess. My husband was like quite [5.0] he would like sometimes go off his trolley. He would be like a mad person. And because he knows that his anger his frustrations that he felt at that time, were supposed to be directed at the state, but because I was the nearest person to him, he lashed out.

She then generalises this experience and reflects on the cost of being a young activist and the failure of the current leadership to recognise their contributions. It is because of this evaluation, in which she uses her own personal experiences to make a broader moral statement about the society, that I have identified this chunk as an Exemplum:

(8) Just like these very boers who have been interrogating us and torturing us, is trying to say to us today, we are sorry, we didn't mean that. We don't need their apologies. Well, I don't need them, because I think my life is messed up, as it is, directionless I mean, I've lost my education, and I've lost my childhood, although we have, in return received our freedom and our democracy in this country, but, to what extent, did we, as the comrades, members of BMW, gained. I don't think we have gained anything, because

we are still in the same position as we used to be, unemployed, homeless, abandoned, and there is nobody that looks back and say, well, these are the people that has fought the struggle, that has part - that has been part and parcel of the struggle, and has brought us to the point where we are now. Not any recognition, I mean, and I don't want recognition for myself, but I believe and I have never ever heard anybody say anything in recognition to the youth of that time. In fact, this is the first time that I have seen there is some people who are interested in who we were and who we are now. Thank you.

This extract is highly evaluative, and in the section that follows, I offer an analysis of some of the main appraisal patterns and show how these position the participants. The statements below come from Extract 8, and the appraisal analysis follows in brackets for each:

- i) We don't need their apologies. (t, neg affect: happiness)
- ii) Well, I don't need them (t, neg affect: happiness)
- iii) because I think my life is messed up, as it is, directionless I mean, (neg apprec: composition)
- iv) I've lost my education, and I've lost my childhood, (t, neg affect: satisfaction)
- v) although we have, in return received our freedom and our democracy in this country (t, pos affect: satisfaction)
- vi) I don't think we have gained anything, (t, neg affect: satisfaction)
- vii) because we are still in the same position as we used to be, unemployed, homeless, abandoned, (t, neg affect: satisfaction)
- viii) and there is nobody that looks back and say, well, these are the people that has fought the struggle (t, neg jud: propriety)
- ix) I have never ever heard anybody say anything in recognition to the youth of that time (t, neg jud: propriety)
- x) In fact, this is the first time that I have seen there is some people who are interested in who we were and who we are now (t, pos jud: propriety)

I have analysed statements i) and ii) as tokens of negative affect (unhappiness) in that they express her anger at "these boers" who now, in the post-apartheid context, want to offer their apologies and excuses. I have analysed statements iii) as a statement of negative appreciation of the quality of her life, and statements iv), vi) and vii) as tokens of negative affect (dissatisfaction) in that they express her feelings of frustration and disillusionment at the fact that she and her comrades have lost so much and gained so

little. This assessment, however, is offset by the positive evaluation in statement v), that at least political freedom and democracy has been achieved. In the statements viii) and ix), she negatively judges those who have failed to recognise the contribution of the youth to the struggle, and she contrasts this with the behaviour of the current TRC audience in statement x), which she appraises favourably. I have labelled these last statements as judgements of propriety as they function, I would argue, to judge the behaviour in moral or ethical terms. Like Ferhelst, she does not explicitly name the participant whom she accuses of failing to acknowledge their contribution; rather she implies that it is the current leadership.

As can be seen from the above analysis, explicit references to herself as an activist are predominantly found in the opening and closing stages of her testimony: first in the Recount and, and now again in the final Interpretation. Like Ferhelst, she frames her testimony with an explicit construal of herself as an activist who shares a collective identity and whose actions are ideologically motivated. She closes her testimony with a strong statement of anger, frustration and disillusionment at the current marginalisation of her comrades. She positions both the former regime and the current government for negative moral judgement. In comparison, she positions the current TRC audience for positive evaluation and appraises them as sympathetic to her story.

In this way, she uses her testimony to achieve her narrative purposes, which are, I have argued, to place on record the human rights abuse suffered by herself and her husband and construe herself as part of a collective of activists with whom she still identifies. She uses her testimony to make a public statement on their behalf about the need for their contributions to be publicly recognised in the 'new South Africa'.

8.3 Testimony of Moegamat Qasim Williams

The last testimony to be considered in this thesis is that of Moegamat Qasim Williams. I have included his testimony as it compares in interesting ways with the testimonies of the other three activists both generically and in terms of the discourses it draws on. I shall argue that he, like Adonis and Ferhelst, uses the public platform of the TRC hearing to affirm his activist identity and to question what he perceives as the current government's failure to live up to the ideals of the struggle generation. Due to space constraints, I shall not analyse his testimony in any detail. The analysis will focus on the social discourses he draws on in his construal of his identity and the generic structure. (See Appendix G for a generic analysis of his testimony).

Williams was the youngest of the BMW members. According to his testimony, he became involved at the age of eleven and a half, and was arrested and tortured at the age of fourteen. Broadly, his testimony follows the generic structure of the other testimonies and consists of an Introductory phase, a Middle phase including both a Main Testimony and an Elicited Testimony, and a final Concluding phase. In the Main Testimony, he focuses on an incident which clearly caused him enormous pain, namely, when he was branded as an informer by the police and subsequently attacked and set alight by fellow comrades. Fortunately, a priest saved his life. In his evaluation of this event, he expresses his incomprehension that his "own brothers" could doubt his loyalty and attempt to kill him. However, he also contextualises this event by referring to the police strategy of using disinformation to divide their group, and reiterates that contrary to the intention of the police, this event served to strengthen his resolve to "stick like glue" to his comrades and prove his allegiance to them. I have analysed this section of the Main Testimony as a Recount.

Once he has finished his Recount, he makes a more general comment about the importance of the Freedom Charter and how the current political leadership seem to have forgotten about its ideals. He then reflects on the current marginalisation of his comrades, which I have analysed as an Observation. I have analysed it as an Observation

because its primary function, I would argue, is to appraise a “state of affairs” (Jordens 2002: 103). The Event Description does not present a series of temporally sequenced events – rather it states what happened as a “single event” – namely, the desperate state of comrades who have become “vagrants, walking around the streets of town”. This description is then given significance through the evaluation in the Comment stage. This genre does not foreground disruption or crisis, but presents “a snapshot of events, frozen in time” (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 237). In this sense, he uses the current state of his “brothers” as a platform from which to make more general comments about the costs of being a young activist and their current marginalisation. However, unlike the chunk at the end of Adonis’s testimony in which she frames her evaluation in terms of strong moral condemnation, Williams does not use the state of his comrades to make moral judgements about the failures of the current political leadership (although he criticises the “current leadership” for forgetting about the ideals of the Freedom Charter). It is for this reason that I have analysed this final chunk in his Main Testimony as Observation, and the final chunk in Adonis’s testimony as Exemplum.

In the Elicited Testimony, he is asked a number of questions which focus on the way in which he was tortured. In this sense, his testimony is similar to the testimonies of De Souza and Ferhelst, where commissioners also elicited details of torture. I have analysed this chunk as a Recount. The facilitating commissioner then tries to elicit some indication of his feelings, but Williams avoids responding to this; rather he exhorts the children in the audience to “grab with both hands” the chances they are getting in life, because even though democracy has been achieved in South Africa, “there is still a struggle” going on – meaning that there is still a lot of work to be done before the ideals for which he and his comrades fought, are realised. In response to a question from a second commissioner about the effects his activism has had on him in his adulthood, he responds by thanking his commander, Faried Ferhelst, for enrolling him on trauma counselling courses, and speaks more generally about the difficulties of being unemployed.

The overall generic structure of Williams's testimony, together with an indication of the duration of each phase, is indicated in the table below:

Table 8.5: Generic structure of Williams testimony:

Generic phases		Time
Beginning	Introductory Phase	01:50 min
Middle	^ Main Testimony	26:40 min
Middle	^ Elicited Testimony	08:35 min
Ending	^ Concluding Phase	01:15 min
Total time		38:20 min

What is unusual about Williams's testimony is that neither the Main Testimony nor the Elicited Testimony phases can be analysed simply in terms of the story-telling genres. They do not consist of more or less self-contained chunks, as in Adonis's testimony. His testimony is more fragmented, more of a hybrid. Although he opens with a Recount in which he describes how he was attacked by his fellow comrades, he interrupts this at points to address the audience directly, on either the ideological reasons for his and his comrades' political stance, or their current political and social marginalisation. At these points, he draws on 1980s struggle discourses, in particular those which probably characterised political rallies. He is also the only testifier at the TRC, as far as I am aware, to open his testimony by singing a freedom song in Xhosa, by means of which he indexes his activist identity. These deviations from the expected generic structure are illustrated in the following extract from the beginning of his testimony:

(9) MS WILDSCHUT: Moegamat, you have given us a written statement. I know that you will talk to your statement. You have had a very difficult, interesting, disturbing, all kinds of descriptions, youth, but it is not for me to talk about that, it is for you to tell us about your own story. I believe you want to do something before you tell your story.

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, the thing **I** would like to do is, okay, **I** would first like to introduce myself like to the crowd over there. **I** use to be Craig Williams running on the name Craig Botha. **I** later joined up with an organisation the BMW. It's BMW stands for Bonteheuwel Military Wing, and then at a later stage, in life **we** joined up with the arms struggle MK, like, **I** don't think you will ever be able to understand **our** experiences that **we** had in life. There was good times, there was bad times but one thing in particular, it was very difficult times for **us**. There're still a lot of people out there who doesn't

understand what **we** went through. There's still a lot of people, **I** mean grown-ups and what **I** wanted to do is like **I** wanted to give some kind of demonstration of, why **we** really went to prison, and **I** wanted to sing a freedom song to you. **I** will interpret it myself into English after **I** am finished with the Xhosa version. (Sings freedom song – It is for freedom we went to prison - first in Xhosa, then in English). Thanks.

In the above extract, Williams introduces himself with both his birth name and his activist name, and states his affiliations, first to the BMW, and then to Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK). In this way, he clearly positions himself as a political activist and as part of a collective movement against apartheid right at the beginning of his testimony. This identification is also reflected in the shift in pronouns from “I” to “we” when he speaks about his time as an activist.

After these initial introductions, he addresses the audience directly, with a special mention to the children in the audience (“and especially to those children out, there I just want to tell them”). His awareness of audience and his attempts to directly engage with them is part of the way in which he draws on the discourses of mass rallies and political speeches. His use of repetitions, parallelisms and contrasts, as illustrated by the following examples, are additional features of political rhetoric (Mesthrie *et al.* 2000: 331):

- (i) **There was good times**
there was bad times
but one thing in particular, **it was very difficult times** for us.
- (ii) **There're still a lot of people** out there who doesn't understand ...
There's still a lot of people

In the extract which follows, further examples of political rally discourse are evident. Extract 10 which follows the singing of the freedom song as Williams picks up the Orientation to his first Recount:

(10) MR WILLIAMS: Ja. I started to get involved in politics at the age of 11 and a half. I was still then in standard four at Bergsig Primary School which is just opposite the high school that I attended as well. And I haven't even

reached 12 yet, I wasn't even in standard five yet, and that's when I became wanted by these people who called themselves the justice system, but we all know that they were the injustice system. And I have sworn to myself that I will do it to the best of my capability to make the NP government ungovernable. I swore that to myself, and I swore as well, irrespective I must lose my life in the struggle, I'll do it, because I want my children, and their children's children, to live in a better society. I mean, today we are in school, we fought against gutter education, but there is still gutter education in school. I mean I would like to send my children to school one day knowing that they are going to learn the people's history and not the history that they are learning us in school at the moment. At the age of 12, I had to leave my mother's nest, I had to leave the house, I had to fight to survive, because I was always on the run....

Once again, in this extract, he clearly positions himself as an activist engaged in a collective struggle with an ideological purpose. The reference to the police, whom he describes as “these people who called themselves the justice system”, seems to trigger a shift into a political speech mode which is characterised, once again, by repetitions, parallelisms and contrasts as illustrated in the examples which follow. In terms of appraisal theory, these features act as graduation resources which result in an increase in intensity, and which, in the context of a political speech, function to whip up the emotions of the audience and unite them behind the speaker and his or her position.

- (i) these people who called themselves **the justice system**
but we all know that they were **the injustice system**
- (ii) And **I have sworn to myself**
I swore that to myself
- (iii) because I want **my children** and **my children's children** to live...
- (iv) we fought against **gutter education**,
but there is still **gutter education** in school.
- (v) I would like to send my children to **school** one day
knowing that they are going to learn **the people's history**
and not **the history** that they are learning us in **school** at the moment.

Once again, he directly addresses the audience and uses the inclusive “we” (“but we all know that they were the injustice system”) to build solidarity with his audience and

construct a difference between himself and his audience, on the one hand, and the apartheid system on the other.

Williams also draws on slogans and stock phrases from the 1980s struggle discourse, of which the following phrases and expressions are easily recognisable examples:

- i) to make the NP government ungovernable (In the mid-1980s the ANC sent out a call for the youth to make the country “ungovernable” in a final push to overthrow the National Party (NP) government)
- ii) irrespective I must lose my life in the struggle (Part of being an activist was affirming your readiness to die in the struggle for liberation)
- iii) I want my children ...to live in a better society (The ideals of the struggle were framed in terms of achieving basic human rights and making South Africa a “better society” for all).
- iv) gutter education (a perjorative term in the 1980s to refer to apartheid education for black people)
- v) the people’s history (a term used by activists and educationalists in the 1980s to refer to a history syllabus that would reflect the struggles of black people in South Africa)

At the end of this address to the audience, he picks up his Recount by returning to the issue of his very young age and of how from the age of twelve, he was on the run: “At the age of twelve, I had to leave my mother's nest, I had to leave the house, I had to fight to survive, because I was always on the run...” His use of a metaphor, “his mother’s nest”, to refer to his home, is also evaluative because it carries connotations of warmth and security and underlines the sacrifices he made as a very young person for the struggle. According to Mesthrie *et al.* (2000), emotive language is also typical of the rhetoric of political speeches.

On a number of further occasions during his testimony, he interrupts one genre to insert a fragment from another. For example, at one point, he signals that his Main Testimony is complete with the Coda, “Ja, I think that is about it” after which he pauses for six seconds before taking back the floor with a Comment on the Freedom Charter:

(11) If there is one thing that always gave me, the strength and the courage to fight in the struggle, it was the points of the Freedom Charter, and I would like to know, what I would like to know today is, can any one of the commissioners explain to me what has happened to the Freedom Charter? I believe in the document, and I still believe in it. The ANC has taken over, they have got power (3 sec) but what I can say, I have never once heard any one of the ministers nor the President mention the Freedom Charter or any particular points of the Freedom Charter.

He then uses his own state and that of his comrades to make a comment about their current socio-political marginalisation:

(12) and then I would also like to say, today as I am sitting here, I am a little bit cracked. It might not look that way, but I am. I have brothers, who was – who was with me together in the BMW who operated me for so many years with me. I am still seeing them today, I am still seeing them today. Now the only point is the places where I see them, it hurts me most. There are a few of my brothers, their expectations was so high with the new government take over. Obviously, they were so overlooked, forgotten, they decided to become vagrants, walking around the streets of town. I found them in the Docks, Waterfront and Woodstock.

Then, in the middle of the Comment stage, he suddenly interrupts this genre to request a meeting with the Security Branch people who labelled them terrorists:

(13) And my biggest pledge to you is I would like, I would like whether now or at a later stage, but somewhere in the near future, I would like to meet up with these Security Branch people. I want them to personally apologise for the statements that they have laid against us in the newspapers.

It is likely that he, being familiar with the genre of the TRC testimony, is anticipating a question a number of testifiers were asked, namely, what the Commission could do for them. Here he inserts it unasked, and then returns to reflecting on what he and his comrades were fighting for in a continuation of the Comment stage of his Observation.

His testimony is therefore not easy to describe in generic terms as it reflects a mix of genre and discourses. He frequently deviates from the predictable generic structure to make an evaluative comment or political statement. At these moments, he draws on

discourses and styles which characterised the struggle discourses and political rallies of the 1980s. In addition, on several occasions, he addresses the audience directly and exhorts the children present to appreciate and make use of the chances they have in life. This awareness of audience, and the didactic possibilities of speaking on a public platform, are further echoes of a political speech discourse with which he, as an activist, would have been familiar. These choices, I would argue, enable him to achieve his narrative purpose, which is to use the TRC public platform to make a statement about the lost ideals of the struggle generation.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have analysed the testimonies of two more BMW activists. I have argued that they use their testimonies to achieve particular narrative purposes, namely to present their stories as part of a record of human rights abuse under apartheid, to affirm their activist identities and the ideals for which they fought, and to highlight the plight of their comrades who are marginalised and forgotten. In achieving these purposes, they draw on social discourses of activism. Yet each testimony reflects the individual personality and concerns of the testifiers: Adonis organises her story into three serial relatively self-contained story-telling genres; the generic structure of Williams's testimony is more fragmented and hybrid. Adonis speaks about her husband and the costs of being a young activist; Williams draws on struggle discourse of the 1980s and exhorts the children in the audience to make the most of their opportunities. Like Ferhelst, both speak about their comrades, foregrounding the fact they are speaking at the TRC as representatives for a collective with whom they still strongly identify.

In the rest of this chapter, I explore how Ferhelst, Adonis and Williams draw on social discourses of activism in their construal of their identities and I compare this with De Souza's construal of his activist identity in his testimony. I also briefly reflect on the extent to which all five testifiers appear to draw on gendered speaking styles in their testimonies. Lastly, I discuss in more depth the generic structure of the TRC testimonies.

8.5 Social Discourses

In the analyses in Chapters Seven and Eight, I have commented on how the testifiers position themselves as activists who share a collective identity with their comrades. In the case of Ferhelst and Adonis, this identification is achieved mostly in the opening and closing stages of their testimonies as they refer to how they became involved with student politics and then later, comment on the failure of the current leadership to recognise their contributions. Williams also refers to the collective identity he shared with other members of the BMW at different points in his testimony, and uses the TRC platform to make a statement on their behalf. In this construal, they draw on struggle discourses of the mid-1980s; Williams, in particular, draws very explicitly on the discourses and styles of the political rally.

Adonis and Williams both express pride in what they fought for. Ferhelst's testimony is coloured more by his feelings of frustration and inadequacy at being unable, as a former commander, to assist his comrades. All three show an intense concern with the plight of their comrades who are struggling to integrate themselves into a post-apartheid society. This is reflected in the appraisal patterns: they evaluate their own and their comrades' situations with statements of affect which refer to 'unhappiness' or 'dissatisfaction'. Most of these are tokens, although there are a few inscriptions. They evaluate the actions of the former government and the inaction of the current government with tokens of negative judgement of social sanction (propriety), thereby positioning them for condemnation for having abused their power and failed morally to meet their responsibilities.

In all three testimonies, the points at which the activists seem most emotional and closest to breaking down is when they recount, not their experiences of torture, but the times when their personal relationships with their comrades were most under threat or compromised. For Ferhelst, this is the moment when he speaks about how he and his comrades were called "gangsters" and "thrown away" when they were released from prison; for Adonis, it is when she recounts how her husband, post-torture, would "go off

his trolley ... like a mad person” and “lash” out at her; for Williams it is the point at which he recalls how his “own brothers” could believe he was an informer and try to kill him. In other words, the aspects of their stories which seem to cause them the most pain are those which rupture their closest relationships.

The generic complexity of their testimonies varies considerably. The choices each makes enables them to construe their experiences in particular ways. For example, Adonis’s choice of Narrative for the story of her arrest enables her to position herself as defiant and heroic in the face of adversity – in the role of a protagonist seeking to restore a disturbed equilibrium. However, her subsequent choice of Exemplum to describe the state of her husband post-torture enables her to use his experience to make broader moral statements about their current situation. Ferhelst’s choice of Recount downplays his role as protagonist and enables the focus of the testimony to fall on the record of human rights abuse he endured at the hands of the police. Williams’s testimony is difficult to describe in terms of the five story telling genres, as he intermittently interrupts the flow of his story to offer some evaluation or make some political statement.

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The testifiers draw on a number of discourses in their construal of themselves. There is a discourse of collective action and ideological commitment (e.g. “today we can stand with our heads up high and say that we together with the nation, we’ve done it”); a discourse of brotherhood and allegiance to one’s comrades (“I was not alone, we were a military wing, there was a whole group of us”); and a discourse of sacrifice (e.g. “I swore as well, irrespective I must lose my life in the struggle, I’ll do it”). There is a discourse which distances the speaker from the apartheid ideology (e.g. “boer”, “so-called”); and one which denigrates the apartheid state offering in its place an alternative ideal of a just post-apartheid society (e.g. “gutter education” vs. “people’s education”). Alongside these more recognisable activist discourses, there is also a discourse of betrayal stemming from their current socio-political marginalisation (e.g. “there is nobody that looks back and say, well, these are the people that has fought the struggle”, “they were so overlooked, forgotten, they decided to become vagrants”).

These are, perhaps, the more obvious discursive constructions of activism in their testimonies. However, it is interesting to note that De Souza does not explicitly construe his activist identity in these terms. Rather, as argued in Chapter Five, his construal draws on discourses of agency and innovation. Strategies he adopts in this construal include the foregrounding of himself as the main protagonist, the high preponderance of clauses in which he is the Actor of material processes, his lack of explicit evaluation, his use of humour and the trickster motif. These strategies construe him as able to resist the apartheid state and survive in the face of insurmountable obstacles.

Thus, these testifiers draw, to differing degrees, on a number of social discourses of activism in their construal of themselves as, in the words of Qasim Williams, “men and women of action” (see Speech in Appendix C). Some of these are more overt – codified in words and phrases. Others are more a matter of style – of how experiences are represented – as argued in the De Souza analysis. Each testifier draws to differing degrees on the discourses available to them. These, when infused with their individual personalities and particular concerns, result in the creation of testimonies which are as distinctive and unique as they are similar and reflective of a common experience (Fairclough 2003).

Although gender and gendered styles of speaking are not a particular focus of this thesis, it is interesting to reflect on the testimonies from this perspective. According to Kendall and Tannen (2001), a constructivist approach recognises that gendered speaking styles exist independently of the speaker: they provide resources for the presentation of self. Individuals choose strategies from a range of discourses and habitually use these in the construal of their identities. At times, men and women may choose to use language in ways which is not typical for their gender group. At other times, access to gendered styles may be constrained as some strategies may be more or less available to either group. Further, argue Kendall and Tannen (2001), there is variation within as well as between sexes, and gender interacts with other categories such as race and social class. So, individuals may and do create multiple and sometimes contradictory identities for

themselves and they may transgress, subvert and challenge as well as reproduce societal norms through the ways in which they use language (see also Cameron 2001).

Eggin and Slade (1997) report on the differences between the kinds of stories that men and women in their sample tell, albeit in casual conversation and in very different contexts to those of the TRC testimonies:

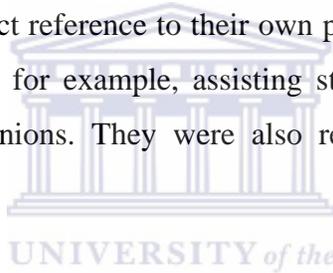
The men told more stories where there was an explicit Resolution, of the kind of a hero overcoming adversity. The woman told more anecdotes which involved embarrassing, humiliating or worrying situations, where the story culminated in a reaction, such as an outburst of laughter (1997: 266).

The testimonies analysed in this thesis do not follow the pattern identified by Eggin and Slade (1997) above. Adonis opts to construe herself as a heroine overcoming adversity when she selects the Narrative genre to recall her arrest by Van Brakel. In this regard, she is like De Souza, who also depicts himself as a hero able to outwit and outmanoeuvre his opponents. Dorothy de Souza also begins her testimony with a Narrative which depicts her as defiant in the face of the police. To an extent, they all, at some point in their testimonies, draw on what Eggin and Slade might refer to as a discourse of maleness. Ferhelst, however, does not draw on this discourse in his construal of himself.

It is noticeable that the two women in this sample both used their testimonies to speak about a male family member. In the case of Dorothy de Souza, this was to be expected, seeing that she was testifying in support of her son. However, in the case of Adonis, she was an activist in her own right. Although her testimony does not include reference to physical assault, she is recorded as a victim in the final *TRC Report 7* (2002: 11) and this entry makes reference to the fact that she was tortured². Yet she uses her public platform to speak about the torture suffered by her husband. In this sense, the women testifiers in this sample are typical of other female testifiers who came before the TRC. Ross (2003: 17) notes that women in general chose to speak not of their own suffering, but rather that of others, in particular, male family members³.

Ross (2003) contrasts the testimonies of women who explicitly described themselves as activists and those who did not. She notes that women who were *not* activists frequently told of their attempts to protect their families against the state, the penetration of violence into their domestic lives and the way the harm done to their families had changed their lifestyles and expectations (2003: 42-43).

Patterns in the testimonies of women activists, on the other hand, included an intimate understanding of the state and its apparatus of power, descriptions of their experiences of detention and torture, and their commitment to a political ideology of opposition to apartheid (2003: 58-59). They frequently identified the state as the locus of blame and opposition to apartheid as a moral good, often naming the perpetrators and demanding accountability and particular action from the Commission. Strikingly absent from their testimonies, notes Ross, is direct reference to their own political activities, which remain implied through references to, for example, assisting students to cross South Africa's borders or organising trade unions. They were also reluctant, she notes, to identify themselves as 'sites of harm'.



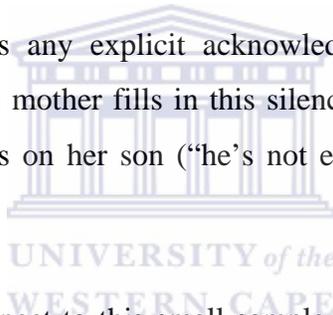
In this regard, both the men and women testifiers in this sample were typical of the patterns identified by Ross (2003). Dorothy de Souza spoke of her attempts to protect her family from the police and her pain when she was unable to do so. Her purpose when telling her testimony was to assert her family values of decency, respectability and family unity against which the actions of the state were judged as immoral.

The testimonies of the activists analysed in this thesis, both male and female, make reference to the *modus operandi* of the police and frame their resistance to apartheid as ideologically motivated; they position themselves as freedom fighters for a greater good. As noted by Ross, there is little or no reference to their activities as activists. Adonis mentions her role as a student activist in monitoring schools boycotts and speaks of "receiving instructions", but there is no mention of, for example, the post offices they allegedly bombed. This 'silence' reflects, perhaps, a lack of trust in the current situation.

Lastly, as noted in the analyses, there is a general reluctance to admit to the harm that they personally suffered, and when this is given, they prefer to generalise it and frame it within a context of collective suffering:

- Ferhelst: Nobody like nobody stood up for us ... That's why I can say my life was never the same ...
Nobody is looking after them, that is what really hurts me ...
- Adonis: My life started being a mess. My husband was like quite [5.0] he would like sometimes go off his trolley ...
I don't think we have gained anything, because we are still in the same position as we used to be, unemployed, homeless, abandoned...
- Williams: I am a little bit cracked. It might not look that way, but I am. I have brothers, who was – who was with me together in the BMW... I am still seeing them today. Now the only point is the places where I see them, it hurts me most ...

By contrast, De Souza avoids any explicit acknowledgement of his own suffering, although, as argued earlier, his mother fills in this silence with her testimony when she speaks of the long term effects on her son (“he’s not every day the same / frustration builds up in him”).



It seems then, at least with respect to this small sample, that the role of the testifier, as either activist or non-activist, is a more significant influence on the shaping of the testimony than that of gender. Both male and female activists draw on related discourses in their construal of their activist identities and these differ significantly from those drawn on by the non-activist testifier. In this respect, Adonis’s testimony is more similar to her male comrades’ testimonies than to that of the other female testifier, Dorothy de Souza.

8.6 Testimony as a macro-genre

In the rest of this chapter, I should like to explore in more depth the generic structure of these testimonies by relating them to research by Jordens (2002) on the analysis of interviews he conducted with cancer survivors. (A summary of Jordens’s research was presented in Section 3.4.2.)

Jordens (2002) describes the generic structure of the interviews he conducted with cancer survivors as a macro-genre in that they include a number of shorter story genres told in sequence. He further argues that what characterises the most generically complex narratives in his sample is “the impossibility of characterising the whole in terms of any one or other of the particular story genres” (2002: 97).

He distinguishes between different phases in his interviews: the beginning section (Test Recording and Preliminaries), followed by middle phases (Story phase and Weakly-Structured Interview). The final phase of the interview included a Negotiated Closure, followed by a Signing Off. He argues that the Story phase is more conducive to methods of narrative analysis than the Weakly-structured Interview, as the latter is characterised by different kinds of elicitations and responses which are only sometimes codeable as stories.

Jordens further divides the Story phase into two phases: an “Event-sequencing” phase, which was produced in response to the interviewer’s request to “tell what happened”, and a phase of “Reflection” which enabled the informant to reflect on the significance of their stories and how these have impacted on their lives. He notes that Narrative and Recount were the genres of choice during the initial stages of the Event-sequencing phase, whereas Exempla and Observations were the genres of choice during the Reflection phase. He further argues that the latter constitute the culmination or *telos* of the Illness Narrative, as the latter tend to “unfold” towards these kinds of evaluative meanings (2002: 95).

Besides the five story genres, Jordens’s interviews include examples of other spoken (non-story) genres (such as Explanation and Exposition), especially during the phase of Weakly-structured Interview, but they account for a relatively small proportion of talk and are not explored in any detail.

Jordens's analysis of the genre of these Illness Narratives (as he refers to them) indicates that interviews varied in terms of their generic complexity (or the number of different story-telling genres that occurred within the macro-genre of the interview) and that this complexity was strongly and significantly associated with life disruption. He investigated this by asking two independent reviewers to assess the degree of life disruption expressed by the cancer survivor in their interviews, and then correlated this with a measure of their generic complexity. He argues that his findings demonstrate a significant correlation between the two (2002: 111).

There are many interesting parallels between Jordens's research and this thesis. Certainly, the macro-generic shape of his interviews mirrors that of the TRC testimonies in interesting ways. Both have an Introductory or Preliminary phase and a Concluding phase. The middle section of both consists of a story phase (or what I have referred to as the Main Testimony) plus an interview type phase (or what I have referred to as the Elicited Testimony). However, in Jordens's sample, the latter phase was more interactive with the interviewee sometimes taking over the role of asking the questions. This kind of role reversal is hardly likely in the TRC context, given the formal nature of the public hearings. These similarities and differences are summarised in the following table:

Table 8.6: Comparison of generic structures

	Jordens's Interviews	TRC testimonies
Beginning	Test Recording ^ Preliminaries	Introductory Phase
Middle	^Story (Event Sequencing^Reflection)	^ Main Testimony
Middle	^ Weakly-structured Interview ^Role Reversal	^ Elicited Testimony
Ending	^Negotiate Closure ^ Sign-off	^ Concluding Phase

Like the Story phase in Jordens's interviews, the Main Testimony phase of the TRC testimonies consists of both an account of what happened (the Event-Sequencing phase) and an evaluation of its significance (the Reflection phase), although I have not created two labels to reflect this division. Like Jordens's data, Narrative and Recount were the genre of choice in the initial stages of the Main Testimony as testifiers gave an account of what happened, whereas Exempla and Observation were the preferred choice towards the end of the Story phase as testifiers evaluated the impact of these events.

However, unlike Jordens's study, the generic complexity of the TRC narratives does not seem to correlate with the degree of life disruption. Although I am unable to replicate the methods of correlation Jordens used, from an experiential point of view, De Souza, Ferhelst and Williams had very comparable experiences. All three were harassed, interrogated and tortured by the Security Branch. Both De Souza and Williams were branded as informers and set upon by their own comrades. Both De Souza and Ferhelst went to prison for extended periods of time. However, Ferhelst's testimony displays much less generic complexity than either that of De Souza or Williams. Further, it could be argued that all three display more life disruption than Adonis, who (at least in her testimony) did not refer to physical assault or imprisonment, yet her testimony is certainly more generically complex than Ferhelst's.

It seems, then, that in this respect, the Illness Narratives in Jordens's sample and the TRC testimonies in mine are different kinds of texts. In this regard, this thesis has made a contribution to the current state of SFL genre theory: it has analysed in detail a new form of macro-genre – the telling of personal narratives on a public platform – thereby adding to the pool of spoken data analysed from an SFL perspective.

The last comment in this chapter is a methodological one. Generic analysis is a lengthy process. I arrived at my decisions after looking at the testimonies through a number of different analytical frames, including a periodic/thematic analysis which helped to highlight how marked temporal elements frequently signalled boundaries between stages and phases. Secondly, I used participant tables to track how and when different participants were introduced, as this, once again, frequently pointed to shifts in the stages or phases. Lastly, I considered the function of each chunk and stage when identifying the kinds of story-telling genre that were being enacted. For this process, I referred to the semantic criteria in the published literature. I also read lots of analyses of story telling texts and compared their examples with my own analyses.

Even so, I sometimes felt as though a chunk of text shared features of more than one genre and could be analysed as either one or the other (e.g. the Anecdote or Exemplum example in the Ferhelst testimony). Ultimately I made my choice by considering what I perceived to be the chunk's main function, and hence its generic purpose, weighing up the prevalence of the semantic criteria mentioned in the literature which related to that genre, and making my decision on the basis of all this information.

Secondly, I also sometimes found it difficult to decide on the boundaries between the different genres and stages, as, on some occasions, these seemed to blend into one another. But this, I suspect, is part of the fluidity of naturally occurring spoken data.

Lastly, as there is not a great deal of published literature on the SFL approach to spoken genres, I sometimes felt that the theory I had access to was insufficient to explain what was going on in the testimonies. This was particularly the case where genre hybridity occurred or when a testifier seemed to be drawing on non-story telling genres, such as political speeches, or simply description or evaluation, as in the Williams testimony. It is for these reasons that I have tried to be as clear as possible about the criteria I have used when identifying the different story telling genres in the testimonies.

In the next and final chapter, I reflect on some of the findings of the analyses in Chapters Five to Eight. In particular, I revisit the notion of "narrative truth" and the value of oral narratives of personal experience in giving us insight into the way people have remembered things and the significance they have given events. I conclude with a statement about what, hopefully, a discourse analysis of TRC testimonies can contribute towards a better understanding of the multilayered story of this country.

ENDNOTES

¹ Rothery and Stenglin (1997: 247) use the term, “temporary resolution”, for a resolution stage which temporarily averts disaster, but does not resolve the problem. They argue that it is a device “for highlighting that the problem still has to be resolved, thus heightening both suspense and awareness of the need for a permanent resolution” (1997: 253).

² It is possible that Adonis mentioned her torture in her written statement, but not in her testimony. It could also be that there is an error in the *TRC Report 7*.

³ In the twelve public HRV hearings Ross (2003: 17) attended, she noted that “women accounted for fifty-four percent of testifiers, but made scant mention of their own experiences of human rights violations. Seventy-nine per cent of women testified about violations committed against men. By comparison, only eight percent of men’s testimonies concerned violations committed against women ... Men’s reporting of their own experiences of brutal treatment was almost four times that made by women.



CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

When we are confronted with unimaginable and unbelievable human brutality the effect is to rupture our senses. When the rupture of one's senses is a daily occurrence – as was the case in South Africa's violent political past – old memories fuse with new ones and the accounts given by victims and survivors are not simply about facts. They are primarily about the *impact* of facts on their lives and the continuing trauma in their lives created by past violence (Gobodo-Madikizela 2001: 26).

Thus, argues Gobodo-Madikizela (2001), people's stories tell us more about how people have survived and lived with those memories than about facts or what actually happened. Portelli (1991) makes the same point. He argues that oral sources tell us *less* about the events and *more* about the meaning or significance of these events to the narrators: they “tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did” (1991: 50). In other words, memory is “not a passive depository of facts”, but “an active process of creation of meanings” (1991: 52).

The TRC recognised the effect of memory, particularly memory of traumatic events, on facts when it proposed the notion of “narrative truth” as one of the four kinds of truth sought by the Commission. The TRC recognised that “the validation of the individual subjective experiences of people who had previously been silenced or voiceless” was an essential part of creating a national memory and building national reconciliation and unity (*TRC Report I* 1998: 112).

In this thesis, I have argued that the way in which testifiers at the TRC spoke was shaped by their narrative purpose as well as their reading of context on that day. The role of

context, particularly the commissioners' role in the co-construction, was highlighted. I have argued that the testimonies were also shaped by how the testifiers remembered what had happened and how they positioned themselves in relation to these memories. All these considerations affected the linguistic choices they made and this thesis has explored a number of these choices in relation to five testimonies.

In analysing these linguistic choices, I have drawn on SFL theories of genre, periodicity, transitivity and appraisal and combined this with a discourse analysis of the social discourses testifiers drew on in their construal of their identities and positions. This choice of theoretical framework has been productive in enabling me to explore the main research aim for this thesis, namely how a selection of testifiers at the TRC construe their identities and represent their experiences of human rights abuse under apartheid.

Genre theory from an SFL perspective has enabled me to explore how the particular narrative purpose of the different testifiers influenced their choice of genre. For example, when the focus was on the record of events, particularly the human rights abuse, then the Recount was often selected as the most appropriate genre. This, according to the literature (e.g. Jordan 2002), is to be expected in personal experience narratives. However, in order to construe themselves as agentive and defiant in the face of police harassment, the testifiers, on occasions, chose the Narrative genre with its focus on a hero or heroine who faces and overcomes adversity. When assessing the impact of these experiences on their lives, they frequently shifted to the Observation or Exemplum genres, which enabled this kind of reflection.

This thesis has thus explored a new kind of macro-genre, the TRC testimony, thereby adding to the pool of spoken data which SFL has been used to analyse. The TRC testimony is a very specific kind of text: it involves the public presentation of deeply personal and emotionally-laden content. While this macro-genre seems to share some characteristics with the macro-genre of the Illness Narratives (e.g. macro-generic structure), it also differs in certain ways (e.g. the lack of correlation between life disruption and generic complexity). Rather, this thesis has argued that the generic

complexity of the testimonies reflects more about the individual testifier's narrative purpose and personal style than it does about the degree of life disruption caused by the human rights abuse.

I have also explored a number of issues with respect to generic analysis, for example, the difficulties I experienced on occasions with the identification of genre and boundaries. It appears that generic analysis, like any act of interpretation, is inherently subjective and thus open to different readings.

Appraisal theory has enabled me to explore the subtle ways in which testifiers encoded their attitudes and values and construed their stance. For example, I have argued that while Dorothy de Souza used a number of explicit appraisal inscriptions to evaluate her story and position the police for moral condemnation, the activists rarely explicitly judged the actions of the police. Rather, they characterised the actions of the police as brutal and inhumane through tokens and in particular, the use of verbatim quotes.

I explored the use of code-switching in the testimonies and argued that within multilingual contexts, code-switching functions as an evaluative resource. I have suggested they can be seen as both an attributive distancing resource as well as an attitudinal resource of negative propriety. I have argued that the effect of this code-switching is to contract the dialogic possibilities and position the police for strong moral judgment. In this regard, I have argued, this thesis makes an original contribution to the development of the appraisal theory as currently described in Martin and White (2005).

This thesis has also explored the social discourses drawn on by the testifiers in their construal of their identities. In presenting themselves as survivors rather than victims, the activists draw on a repertoire of activist discourses, some carried by the lexis (e.g. "becoming involved", "the struggle", and the use of the collective pronoun, "we") and others by a particular style of talking that foregrounds action and agency and backgrounds feeling. It was noted that while the latter style characterised De Souza's testimony, the activist identities of the other three activists relied more on lexical items

which recalled struggle discourses of the 1980s. Thus it was argued that while the activists shared a collective social identity, they selected differently from the discourses available for this construal, and infused these with their own individual identities to create testimonies which were distinctive and unique in as much as they expressed common experiences.

The four activist testimonies stand in contrast to that of Dorothy de Souza, the only family member considered. In this regard, the social role of the testifier, as activist or family member, was found to be significant in shaping the testimony, more so, it was argued, than the variable of gender. In her testimony, Mrs de Souza draws on discourses which express a moral ideology of respectable and decent family values against which the actions of the police are judged as immoral.

At the beginning of this thesis, I argued that my interest in this topic was originally sparked by my awareness of the multitude of voices that came before the TRC and that make up the national memory of this country. The above analysis has shown that even within a homogenous group of testifiers, there is enormous variability. Each testimony is the product of a number of linguistic choices: from choice of language to choice of genre, transitivity, appraisal and other discourse features. Testifiers could select whether to present themselves as ‘actors’ or as ‘acted upon’, as people who acted as individuals or as part of a collective. They could choose the extent to which they explicitly expressed their feelings and judgements or simply let the events speak for themselves, and the degree to which they engaged their audience through humour, rhetorical questions or direct addresses. There were also, presumably, so many aspects of their experiences that they could have spoken about, but chose not to. The omissions – the silences – are also significant.

This, I would argue, is the value of discourse analysis. It provides a way of engaging with and understanding the individual stories which make up our national memory. It is one way of keeping the individual testifiers’ voices alive and in the public domain. It is a way of giving meaning to what the TRC refers to as “the multilayered experiences of the

Discourse Analysis of Selected TRC Testimonies

South African story” (*TRC Report I* 1998: 112). It is part of the establishment of “as complete a picture as possible” of suffering under and resistance to apartheid. It is also, hopefully, one way in which we can pay tribute to the courageous men and women whose testimonies are analysed in this thesis.



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APPENDIX A

**MAP OF GREATER
CAPE TOWN**



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

APPENDIX B

[Copy of article from *Weekend Argus, Late News*, 24 October 1987 – see next page for original]

CAPE YOUTH ARRESTS:

Bonteheuwel Military Wing faces 300 serious charges, says Vlok

by Irving Steyn, Weekend Argus News Editor

Police have arrested a gang of teenagers in Bonteheuwel who have been linked to the African National Congress. They are allegedly responsible for 300 “serious” crimes and some of them have been trained in the use of weapons used by terrorists, say police.

The unspecified number of teenagers arrested are facing charges including arson, sabotage, public violence and attacking the homes of members of the South African Police.

The arrests early this month were announced today by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, during a speech in Boksburg.

He said the gang had been responsible for a reign of terror and violence in Bonteheuwel and although police investigations were still under way he could say that they were being held in connection with about 300 “serious crimes”, including:

- * Burning down a post office;
- * Several attempts at sabotage and arson which caused “countless thousands” of rands’ worth in damage;
- * Attacks on the homes of members of South African Police;
- * Public violence, and
- * A “multitude” of other crimes.

“At this stage information indicates that the youths, who are known as the Bonteheuwel Military Wing, acted under the influence of the African National Congress.

“Their arrest followed soon after a terrorist network was exposed in the Western Cape by the police. Their ages range from 14 to 18 and some of them are very well trained in the handling of terrorist weapons.

“We hope to get them to court as quickly as possible”, Vlok said.

He said that in the tradition of Russia’s Lenin and China’s Mao Tse-tung, the ANC and the South African Communist Party had destroyed the lives of thousands of youngsters in their “senseless struggle”.

He said, however, that he felt sorry for the young people. “To be trained at such a young age to be murderers, plunderers and oppressors is satanic”.

It was announced about two weeks ago that a group of alleged terrorists were arrested in the Peninsula. They are being held in connection with a series of bomb blasts during the past year.

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WEEKEND Argue

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LATE NEWS

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What a week it was for President Reagan
— Page 16

MAMMA MIA! — How Golden Boy Naas captivates Italians
— Page 14

Yuppies — the whiz-kid stock market wreckers . . .
— Page 19

Weekender
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Bonteheuwel Military Wing faces 300 serious charges, says Vlok

CAPE YOUTH ARRESTS

Body at bottom of Cable station

Weekend Argus Reporter
The body of a 25-year-old woman was found on Table Mountain about 200 metres below the upper cable station. Police said early this morning that hikers had reported seeing the body of a woman lying on a ledge directly below the station. She was wearing a pink top. Police said the woman yesterday visited a domestic wiring at the upper cable station restaurant. They believe the woman jumped from the edge of the mountain some time yesterday morning. The Peninsula metro rescue was called in to hoist the body from the mountain and bring it down via the cable car. The identity of the woman is being withheld until her family has been informed.



by IRVING STEYN
Weekend Argus News Editor

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Fury in Britain over 'vicious' Piggott verdict

from ALAN ROBINSON
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The powerful British horseracing world is furious over what it describes as the "vicious" three-year jail sentence handed down to legendary jockey Lester Piggott.

But it is fearful, too, of what may yet happen to scores more jockeys, trainers, owners and hangers-on who are said to be as guilty as Piggott.

No-one believes that 51-year-old Piggott, probably the greatest jockey the world has ever seen, was alone in cheating the tasmán.

"Biggest fish"
As one leading turf man put it, "Lester was the biggest fish. So they caught him and gutted him and put him away for three years. A lot of racing people will not be sleeping easily from now on."

Among them are many high-and-mighty members of the Jockey Club, the sport's governing body which draws up the rules and is supposed to implement them.

But evidence in the Piggott case in Norwich yesterday showed that leading members of the club must have been aware of Piggott's illegal activities. Yet they did nothing to stop him — and were guilty at least of complicity.

It had been made clear in a secret letter to all owners that over and above the regulation fee, Piggott demanded cash, a share in stud fees and other rake-offs for riding their horses. They paid up — and they shut up.

Piggott, who is said to have swindled the Inland Revenue authorities out of about £10-million, did not hide his guilt. But he was bitter at being singled out.

Piggott, who is said to have swindled the Inland Revenue authorities out of about £10-million, did not hide his guilt. But he was bitter at being singled out.

Former Grand National winner Bob Champion exploded anger: "That judge (Mr. Justice Fargham) should be fringed to walk down the street. People who rape little girls get less."



Shots as neighbours fight

Weekend Argus Reporter
SHOTS were fired in a neighbourhood row after a woman allegedly had her arm broken by a dog.

Police said that Mr. Anthony Rowland of Farow was at home when the incident about 2am. His wife was visiting neighbours at a nearby house.

She came home with a broken arm after allegedly being bitten by a dog.

The spokesman said that Mr. Rowland and his wife went to the neighbour and that the dog was fired at them.

They ran home but a man chased them. He kicked down their door and fired another shot.

The man overpowered the woman and called the police.

A man aged about 50 was arrested and will appear in court.

Tanker hit in renewed gulf attack

DUBAI. An Iranian gunboat hit a Panamanian tanker with rocket-grenade fire off Dubai today in a renewal of Iran's attacks on vessels in the Gulf, shipping sources in the region said.

They said the attack on the 38,900-tonne Panamanian tanker Prosperventure L, punched three holes in her starboard side and started a small fire in the engine room.

There were no reports of casualties.

It was Iran's first shipping attack since a Chinese-designed Silkworm missile, said by Kuwaiti and US officials to have been fired by Iranian forces, blasted the US-flagged tanker Sea Isle City in Kuwait's main oil port eight days ago.

That provoked a retaliatory strike by the US Navy against Iranian oil platforms last Monday and then a counter-strike, again blamed on Iran, in which another Silkworm damaged Kuwait's Sea Island oil terminal on Thursday.

Today's attack occurred about 200 miles off Dubai, the sources said. The Prosperventure L was spotted by reporters anchored off Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates this morning.

The ship-to-ship strike marks a return to Iran's familiar pattern of hit-and-run raids on vessels serving Arab ports after a series of missile strikes on two ships and the oil terminal off Kuwait's coast.

The last known ship-to-ship strike was Iran's attack on the tanker Sea Isle City in Dubai.

Fisherman was home

Weekend Argus Reporter
A fisherman who was left adrift and clinging to an overturned boat was later found safe at home.

Police said Mr. Christoffel van As, 58, his son Christoffel, 25, and a friend, Mr. Stephen Johnson, 36, all of Somerset West, were fishing from a skiboat off the Strand last night.

They were on their way back about 9.30pm when the boat capsized about 500m from shore.

Mr. van As and Christoffel swam ashore, leaving Mr. Johnson clinging to the overturned boat.

They alerted the National Sea Rescue Institute and a land and sea search was initiated.

The boat was later found washed ashore near the estuary of the Lourens River. A set of footprints leading from the boat towards the river mouth was spotted.

Mr. Johnson was later found at home.

Siamese twins' mother may have contracted chicken pox

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DARMSTADT, Germany — Mrs. Sothea Mphah, mother of Siamese twins Mphah and Mphah, may have contracted chicken pox and had been in isolation, a spokesman for Saragwanath Hospital said today.

100 percent certain.

"She is not able to visit her children because, although they have already had chicken pox, they are in intensive care in sterile conditions."

She said doctors had tightened the clamp on the shared vein which drains the blood

11 000 letters for Jessica

from CHEETAH HAYSON
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — Since the dramatic life-or-death rescue of Jessica McClure from a well last week, the tiny tot has received almost 11 000 letters and parcels.

The eighteen-month-old Texas toddler whose plight was watched by the world had her mail delivered on Wednesday by

Her granny's small house in Midland, Texas, where Jessica's teenage parents live, cannot hold all the mail so the postmaster is delivering it to a local warehouse.

Some letters are addressed simply to "Jessica, Texas" or "The girl in the well in Texas."

Meanwhile, Jessica is making progress as doctors do further tests before deciding



[copy of South article]



APPENDIX C

Extract on background to BVA below from the speech by Qasim Willaims at the unveiling of Christopher Truter's tombstone, Human Rights Day, 2004.

BACKGROUND ON BONTEHEUWEL VETERANS ASSOCIATION

In 1985, a group of scholars and youths, ages between 14 and 18, decided to form an organisation called BMW (Bonteheuwel Military Wing). The purpose of the organisation was to protect ourselves and our community from the apartheid police system. We had been on the run for speaking out at meetings and being active in the SRC (Student Representative Council). The government instructed the police to use any means necessary to silence us, including shoot to kill order, which were actively obeyed. In response, we met in the Bonteheuwel Senior Secondary School, to decide what course of action would best ensure our survival. It was then that we made a decision to form a self-defence unit. Self-defence against injustice, violation of basic human rights and police brutality. From that initial meeting, we defended ourselves, our families, our communities and our nation.

Our resistance took many forms, including organisation and politicising of other students, stone throwing, and eventually lead to arming ourselves with weapons. The ground was fertile for our numbers to swell because each and every person had many tragic experiences under the apartheid regime. In the years that followed, some of our leaders went on to join with the MK. Needless to say, in the MK and on the streets of our community, many people were murdered. Ninety Percent (90%) of BMW activists were detained and imprisoned. Many of them were severely tortured. Many were charged with more than 300 political charges. After torture and imprisonment, each of us who survived was completely different. Our lives were profoundly affected that we still find it difficult to integrate ourselves in the new society. For many of us the scars of torture and imprisonment are not only physical. For most of us it is difficult to create and sustain fulfilling and satisfying lives. Minimal support has been offered to us by the current leadership and government, however, the reconstruction of our lives requires more. Many of us are dealing with daily crises ranging from extreme poverty, drug addiction, homelessness, violence, crime, unemployment and other manifestations and shattered lives.

Having always been men and women of action, we have now formed a veterans committee whose purpose is to empower and rebuild the members of the BMW, our families and the community. Our aims are real and tangible:

- heal the traumatic experiences of torture and imprisonment.
- Education / skill training and development.
- Housing
- Create employment and promote self-sufficiency
- Ongoing support and development

South Africa is and has been at a critical stage of development. As a nation, we have overcome what many would consider insurmountable odds. The men and women of BMW have fought and died for the opportunity of this new democracy. For those that survived the struggle, their personal and collective struggle still remains. We as people, as a nation and as human being, need to look within ourselves and pledge our resources to promote and enhance their quality of life. It would, indeed be a continued injustice and crime against humanity, for these courageous persons to be neglected and overlooked given the committed lives they have lead. We welcome your concern, support and contributions to the healing and promise of our lives.

APPENDIX D

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

UWC HEARINGS - DAY 1

DATE: MONDAY 5 AUGUST 1996

VICTIM: COLIN DE SOUZA

NATURE OF VIOLENCE: DETENTION AND ASSAULT

CASE NO: CT/00519

TESTIFIERS: COLIN DE SOUZA (SON), DOROTHY DE SOUZA (MOTHER)

INTRODUCTORY PHASE [0:00]¹

CHAIRPERSON: ... We are very glad when we see families standing together as you are today. You have a painful story of detention of torture of harassment of imprisonment and we want to hear your story today and I want to ask you first Mrs de Souza are you going to give evidence as well, you are, thank you.

MS DE SOUZA: Yes.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, will you start ...

MS DE SOUZA: It was said that Colin should start first.

CHAIRPERSON: Fine, that's great, thank you very much but both of you then will have to take the oath, so if you'll both please stand for the taking of the oath.

COLIN DE SOUZA Duly sworn states

DOROTHY DE SOUZA Duly sworn states

CHAIRPERSON: Without any further delay then Mr de Souza I am going to ask Dr Wendy Orr if she will take over from me and assist in the hearing of this evidence, thank you.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Okay.

MAIN TESTIMONY [02:00]

RECOUNT

ABSTRACT

DR ORR: Thank you chair, hello Colin, we've been speaking to each other a lot over the last two days. And now you are going to speak to this audience and to the country. Colin

¹ I have used the following generic labelling conventions: the macro-generic phases are indicated in uppercase, 14pt (e.g. **INTRODUCTORY PHASE**). The genre type labels are written in uppercase, 12pt, and underlined (e.g. **RECOUNT**). The generic stages are written in uppercase, 12pt. (e.g. **ORIENTATION**) and the phases which make up these stages are indicated by single quotes and lower case letters (e.g. **'first arrest'**). The punctuation is as it was in the official transcript, except where I feel it is misleading, given my viewing of the audiovisual records.

you're a young man, but in your life, I think you've gone through experiences which people much-much older than you probably never ever dream of.

ORIENTATION

At the age of 15 you were recruited by MK and became part of the Bonteheuwel Military Wing which Muhammad Ferhelst told us about. You were on the run, in hiding, your life was disrupted and then in 1987 you were arrested. Can you tell us what happened to you that - at that time in October 1987.

RECORD OF EVENTS

'first arrest'

COLIN DE SOUZA: Well I was arrested on the 2nd of October 1987 at 5:00 am in the morning. During my arrest there were about 30 - 40 Security Branch policemen that took part in the whole arrest and we were taken – we were taken that morning to Brackenfell police station where we all were lined up, we were about 18 to 20 young comrades of Bonteheuwel. I was part of the comrades that was lined up there and first of all they took our names and I knew I was very wanted by the security police, and I gave the false name Mark Bresick with a false address also.

During that whole day as I was standing in the line you know also waiting to be interrogated by the security police all my comrades went one by one in and I could have heard how they were screaming and shouting, how they were being beaten up by security police you know.

And - but four o'clock the afternoon, this one security bloke he called me and he said to - asked okay now what is your name? I said Mark Bresick, your address? I gave the false address again and he called me into a room and he called this one cop in with the name of Todd and this guy was like an artist you know, he drew sketches about people you know and descriptions and he said to me like open your *bek*, *maak oop jou bek* [open your mouth] and I had this *byl* [axe] teeth you know and they said now we know you are Porky.

And immediately at that time they phoned Loop Street and they informed all their branches that they got the main - the main guy they - they were looking for. And during that five minutes that whole police station was swarmed with security personnel that came in you know and it was almost like an interview you know. And these people they were all laughing and making jokes, say how we caught up with you, we thought you were a big guy but now we see you are only a small child or a boy, but you have a lot to tell us and you know a lot.

Then I was being introduced to Captain van Brakel, he told me that for the past two years, he was chasing me and they were part of an investigating unit that was being empowered or gave - that get a mandate by Adriaan Vlok that time to catch us or kill us. That was what he told me.

‘interrogations and threats’

From there I was being taken to Elsie's River police station where I was being kept that weekend there. And the Monday morning of the next - following weekend Sergeant Pikker, Captain Van Brakel, Attie Strydom, and another *boer* with the name also Attie, they came there and they brought a tea table, you know this tea trolley tables they brought one of that tables in with stacks of files on it, there was about 300 files and during that next two weeks, they would interrogate me about - over all that 300 files. They said some of the files was named Colin de Souza, some was named Porky, some was just named Bonteheuvel Military Wing. They would question me about attacks that happens on policeman's houses, bombs that went off, about comrades, Ashley Kriel, Anton Fransch, Andrew November.

After they were finished with that two weeks with me, that interrogation at Elsie's River police station, they took me this one morning to a field in Bonteheuvel where I had to show out where this arms cache were as they would call it a DLB that time, dead letter box, we went at five o'clock at that morning on the 15th of October 1987 we went to this field opposite the Machete (masiet?). The Security Police they were digging up that whole field, apparently they found nothing and there was this one boer all that I know about him, he said he was the *wit wolf* of the Eastern Cape. He said to me yes Porky, I will necklace you - I will necklace you just the way I necklaced all the other comrades in - mainly in the Eastern Cape. And you mustn't play jokes with us, this were the - this is the spade that I hit Ashley with and then they took me away you know, took me to a Magistrate where they like forcibly made me to gave a false statement, a statement that I didn't even read, that I didn't even see.

After that they took me to Victor Verster, when I came at Victor Verster I made a complaint against one of the officers Constable Kahn, I told this ordinance there this hospital ordinance that this officer Khan he assaulted me on the morning of the arrest and they formally lodged a complaint against him. From - I was just about two weeks there at Victor Verster, I would say more like a holiday or a rest, then I was being fetched by Kahn and Strydom or other *boers* also and they took me back to Kuilsrivier police station. The day when I came at Kuils River police station, there were like Military Intelligence people, State Security Branch, people of the Secret Service, all wanted to question me in connection with bombing attacks and pipeline structures, they want names, they want instruct - instruct - instructions how the underground operated to where this underground were linked you know how deep I were in. They questioned me about Joburg and all these etcetera things you know.

‘tortured’

DR ORR: Colin I am sorry to interrupt, did they assault you or torture you while they were questioning you?

COLIN DE SOUZA: Yes - they were beating me at that stage. And at one incident they were throwing that was during the afternoon they throw in some teargas canisters in - inside the cell you know a wet cell you know this wet with water and they closed the doors and all the windows were closed but at that time I was still clever of knowing the

tricks and the tactics you know of laying down on the ground and that the tear gas won't get me, so when they came in they saw that I was still conscious, they were expecting somebody after a half an hour to be unconscious, so what they did is, they undress me and they chained me up, you know my feet my hands to my feet and they had a special chain you know that were used with the prisoners that is on awaiting trial you know, that chains you know and they would chain me up by my feet and my hand and put me up against this metal gate you know, this metal and chained me up to that gate, then start beating me with the batons over my head, Van Brakel would pull my hair and you know and they was beating me till I was out. I don't know if it was the next day or if it was that night, but I regained consciousness while I was laying hanging on that door metal door and when I was regaining conscious I thought to myself why - why am I seeing this people you know not the right side up, but you know the other way around you know I was - I don't know how to explain it now. But I was actually half way upside down you know and they came, Van Brakel came in and he grabbed me by my hair, because I had very long hair that time you know and he grabbed me and he say, hey Porky you must now - you must now stop with your lying, for the past three weeks now you being lying, you were being lying to us the whole time in Elsie's River when we were questioning you and the interrogation, now your time is over. They start - they didn't want any questions, they just beat me for that whole night down they left me there without food, water for say about two days, two and a half days. Then maybe after the second day, I know it was the Wednesday around there, they untied me, they put me in the shower just let the water run over me and they themselves put the clothes on me. And they brought the normal SAP police in, to give me food, but at that time I wasn't hungry because I was beaten up, then they told me look here we going to put - took you on a holiday to Joburg, there is still some unsolved mysteries in Joburg that we have to find out about you mainly a military head quarters that was being blown up, a hand grenade attack at Wilgerspruit that you probably would know of.

'taken to Joburg'

The Thursday morning around about two o'clock the morning they come and fetch me out of the cell - out of the cell, that was Captain Van Brakel and *Adjutant* Strydom. They took me by car up to Joburg. When I - the next day at - the Friday afternoon around about six o'clock I arrived at John Vorster Square together with Captain Van Brakel and *Adjutant* Strydom. They took me up to the third floor on John Vorster Square, I came into a security room that were full of TV's you know and actually they - and every cell there was a TV camera and they could have monitor you - monitored you from that TV room you know and just for a brief moment I saw on one of these TV cameras that there were my co-accused John de Vos he was laying there in one of these cells and they put me in the last cell on the third floor.

And as the night passed one of these policeman, SAP policeman that had to check on us during the night, he came in there and he said oh! I see you from Cape Town, and he told me he is also from Cape Town and where his parents staying and he said, I see here is two people, it's you and John de Vos. And I said to him look here, during - are you going to be on the staff that is in the morning, he said yes, I asked him is it possible for you to

take me out, when you take me out for shower to take John de Vos also out, he said no he would do it as a favour.

'John de Vos'

The very next morning he took me and John de Vos out, the time when I get in contact with John de Vos in the shower, I saw that John de Vos's whole - one of - I think it was his right or left side, of his body was limp, you know and he was like shivering and his one side, almost like a person who had a stroke. And I asked him what were wrong, he told me no before they brought him to Cape Town, they also electric - electric shocked him you know and he had severe body pains you know and then he complained to see to doctor, and then they took him down to the doctor and the afternoon when they took me again out for showering, we - apparently we went for three or - three times a day for showering me and John de Vos he told me that the doctor only gave him Panado pills. He said nothing stronger than Panados. So they were keeping us a week for their investigation in Joburg, mainly investigating about Khotso House activities, how the World Council of Churches, the South African Council of Churches were assisting us with money during the time when we were in Joburg in 1987 also.

After that week they took me and John de Vos, like - they actually took us back to Cape Town and then Van Brakel he came this Thursday and he said ja Porky I have a surprise for you, and I asked what surprise and he told me no, John de Vos is here also. It was like this, they didn't want me of knowing that John de Vos was also that time there for their investigation, so I was laughing them out, so I told them - I told them that me and John de Vos was for the past week showering together so there was no secret in that, so they were very angry. So they took us down to Cape Town to Kuilsrivier police station.

'house arrest'

Two days after that they take us to a court in Goodwood, where I was released in my parents consent. I was released under house restrictions, I had to be like seven o'clock till seven - the night till seven, the next morning I had to be in my house, you know you mustn't be more than five people - persons in that house, otherwise I can be detained. I had to go and sign at the police stations at night also because they were afraid that I would leave the country.

[16:10]

'second arrest'

DR ORR: Can - you were then under house arrest for a fairly long time and were then arrested for possession of explosives in June 1988.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

DR ORR: Can you tell us what happened around that incident?

COLIN DE SOUZA: I was arrested the night round about ten - ten o'clock - June 16 1988. Apparently the police were chasing a group of - of - of comrades that wanted to set up a barricade and then I was arrested and I was arrested at Mrs Barnes house in Bonteheuwel. And during the time of arrest I didn't want to be arrested so there were like a fight for more than a half an hour between me and the constable that wanted to arrest me in that house. Apparently he did get some assistance of other policemen that did

come assist him. They beat me up, took me to the scene where they found like tires and petrol bombs, they handcuffed me to a electric pole - light pole where they beat me unconscious. Then after half an hour they throwed me into this big *ingomo* with all the tires, I was looking more than a tire when I was coming at Bishop Lavis police station.

‘interrogation’

The night when I came there the first people to arrive at Bishop Lavis police station of the Security Police were Sergeant Pikker and Captain Du Plessis. Pikker would like question me, hey Porky were you involved when was it, I didn't answer him nothing I just kept quiet because I knew him you know, he was like this very passive guy like asking passive speaking very passively and sincerely to me and he said no man Porky give your - *gee* like your *samewerking* like they were speaking in Afrikaans. And then Du Plessis would just every time hit me with his fist and say *jong* go to hell with that, still giving you time to think over and plan, and he would hit me so badly you know I would just lay on the ground and then they put a chair against the door you know, open the door and they put a chair in the door and they said to me look here we want you stand on top of this chair because we want to take your height and without I knowing that Captain du Plessis was standing on top of a table or a chair at the back side of this open door and then he grabbed me around me neck and choked me with his arm you know, choked me all - till I was like out you know and after that - ten - twenty minutes of beating up there, they left me, you know took me to a cell and throw me - threw me in the cell there. After a few days Strydom would come here and he would question me about shooting incidents that happened on the highways and they allege it was the Bonteheuwel Military Wing that did it. And I said no I don't know nothing about that I am more in my house than I were before I was on the run.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

‘denied bail’

And so I was sent to Goodwood Court, when I came in the court there was still some other co-accused that were also arrested after I was arrested, they all did get R100-00 of bail, R200-00 of bail but the court denied - denied me any bail. Then I was remanded back to Durbanville police station. I was kept there for two weeks without - nothing, without any questions that they would come and ask me nothing I was just kept there.

‘avocado green raincoat’

I still remember on the end of the this two weeks Constable Kahn he would come and he would come and fetch this new raincoat my mother just bought me from Cape Union Mart avocado green one, and he would fetch it and I would ask him why would you want this coat. He told me no apparently the policeman saw you were running with this coat, so I told him that policeman who was there the night when they arrested me, why didn't he gave that that time in the evidence why you come now, he said no don't worry.

‘detained’

From there I was straight back to Goodwood Court where I was remanded back to Pollsmoor prison. The time when I was remanded to Pollsmoor I wasn't being thrown amongst political prisoners or in a separate cell, I was being thrown amongst criminals and I was kept there for six weeks in detention in Pollsmoor. And I can still remember

my lawyer was Christine Burger, and she did come and visit me just two weeks before my court case had to come up and she said to me Porky, Mr Moosa them all they did try to get a bail, they tried at the Appeal Court also, the Appeal Court denied any bail, the Supreme Court denied any bail, there is no bail for you you - we just want you to accept if you come on the Court that there is no - not going to be a bail.

‘released on bail’

Two weeks after that I went to Court and this certain day when I came on Court, Constable Kahn he came there down to me in the cells, he said to me *kyk hier Porky* we going to give you a bail, but just remember tonight you are a dead man. And immediately when my lawyer came she said oh! they very surprised, this is Mrs Burger that they found that the state is going to give me a bail of R1,000-00. Then immediately I told her look her this security policeman he told me they going to give me a bail but tonight I am going to be killed. So that day my bail was a R1,000-00 it was being paid. I went out.

NARRATIVE

ORIENTATION

I went with my father to Woodstock where I washed and my brother-in-law Kevin was also with me. And the night here around about six o'clock because I had to be seven o'clock in - in my house, six o'clock we returned to Bonteheuwel where I stayed at 21B Candlewood Street.

COMPLICATING ACTION

‘the knock’

At that - at that same time I was still busy eating my food and I heard this familiar knock on the door, and I was standing inside the - inside the - nearby the toilet you know in the - near to the sitting room you know, and I heard the comrades Jacques Adonis he was asking, Mrs De Souza, Mrs De Souza is Porky here? My mother said, no Porky isn't here, he is somewhere else, he is not sleeping at - at home. And they said, then they said okay, we did watch you the whole time, we knew Porky were here, Porky came with you.

‘the fight & the chase’

And apparently at that time Jacques draw out a gun to force his way into the house like to shoot me and my father grabbed him and there was a whole twist outside and my brother-in-law - he hit Jacques you know and the gun fall - fall over the balcony right down you know and they chased the group, it was a group of youths was about sixteen of them you know, some of them were with me in this - in this trials of the BMW and the chase went right around the street and my father and my brother-in-law they arrived.

‘strategising’

At that time I had a firearm but it was for my own purpose. I took out the firearm, I put it underneath my jersey, I went outside because I check, now it's too dangerous to be inside the house and I want to move now, out of the area.

‘the shooting’

As we were still standing outside to move, this group of comrades - and there was some gangsters also with - they came shooting around the corner. Before even they take the bend the shots was firing and they were shooting and throwing bricks and my mother and my father they ran into this - and with my baby brother - ran into this people downstairs house, that the - the - their surname were Brooks, they ran into this house and these people locked the door, and I and my - my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse was still outside, locked outside. The people inside didn't want to open the door and here these people were preparing to shoot and there was like a big fight you know and one guy he was - he was still trying to - to cock the gun but the gun jammed you know.

RESOLUTION

And at that time as I was shouting, open the door, the people inside opened the door and as my brother-in-law Kevin Arendse and I ran into the house, and the door closed, the shots just went down and the bullets ran through the doors and through the windows and all that. [25:00]

DR ORR: Colin you said in your statement that you found out later that the police had actually deliberately misinformed the community so that they would come out to get you the way they did that night.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes - yes.

DR ORR: So it was a campaign by the police to stir the community up against you.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct because during my first arrest, police people like Sergeant Pikker who was in the Military Intelligence, he said to me that I don't have to worry if I don't want to give my collaboration with them. They have - their ears and eyes are like in Bonteheuwel day and night and they got top informers with inside the pipelines of - of the ANC of Umkhonto we Sizwe. And I am already being branded as a informer, so I don't have to worry, so I expected that things to come.

DR ORR: Colin you then went into hiding again because obviously you were at risk both from the community and from the police.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct.

NARRATIVE

ORIENTATION

DR ORR: Until in January 1989 you decided to leave the country.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

DR ORR: Can you tell us what happened on that day. [26:08]

COLIN DE SOUZA: My father was - he was suppose to drive us from Cape - out of Cape Town as far as Joburg because he was quite familiar with the routes you know. And I was in the car and my girlfriend, later to be my wife, she was also in the back seat in the car and I was sitting in the front seat in the passenger side, my father was driving the car. As we approached the airport, I saw this Hi Ace van full of Security cops and I eventually knew that same time that the cops were on our trail.

COMPLICATING ACTION 1

We went into the airport and we organised we - we get this car of Avis Car Hire Hiring service, a new City Golf and there were some security guys with video cameras that rolled their video cameras on us you know and as we came out of the airport, this one commuter Hi Ace, they tried to - to you know to pull us down, to - like to put up a barricade in front of the road. But we drove past them, knowing that my father was a very good driver and he had a number of awards when he was working at Total of being a very good driver you know. And we drove past them.

And at that time Strydom and Attie and some other Security cops, they drove past us, next to us with a maroon Toyota Corolla and they were like waving with their guns to us, like pull down, pull down and I was just waving my hand to them like saying goodbye. And the shooting didn't start there and they were chasing us, right through Old Crossroads, and they chased us through Old Crossroads, there were a whole convoy of Security cops, cars and vehicles, 4 x 4 vehicles and apparently that time there was MK people inside KTC that opened fire on them. And they lost us for a few moments.

We drive through Mandalay and then they catch up against us, Constable Kahn drove right in front of us and as we passed through them into Mitchell's Plain, without knowing that they were having a helicopter monitoring us from the air you know. Then they were chasing us right down Baden Powell Drive as you take the turn into Swartklip, as we took that road into Swartklip we were actually driving very fast you know, they couldn't catch up with their cars.

I immediately see at the back of us there was like this maroon - metallic blue Alfa Romeo came right from the back very fast and this guy he was hanging out with a machine gun and he was shotting at - shooting at our wheels.

And at that time they shot our wheels flat, both our back wheels were flat and they shot through the windows, the back windows were in, the front windows, all the windows of the car was in, the car started to burn...

and at that time Van Brakel and his other Security cops had the time to - to come near us and they were shooting just - you know they were driving next to us you know and shooting with the 16 shooters you know, but most of the *koëls* most of the bullets missed us by seconds.

EVALUATION

I can remember I was sitting low in my seat and the head cover of the seat you know it was full of - full of bullets you know because the sponge you know, it grabbed some of the bullets there you know. And I kept my door the whole time open while they were shooting because I realised if they were catching me here with my father and my girlfriend, they would kill us. And they would - either they would put that - they would put a lot of firearms in that car and say to the news look here we did catch this terrorist, they had a very good history on me and I knew I had to get away to escape ...

RESOLUTION (TEMPORARY)

and I told my father look, drive me just to the near urban place where there is houses.

COMPLICATING ACTION 2

And we drove - as we took the road into Strandfontein, from Strandfontein Village - from Strandfontein Pavilion in - right to Strandfontein Village we hit a car because we didn't have any more balance, there was no brakes, there weren't a fifth gear, we only had four gears. We didn't have steering, we turned again right to come into Strandfontein Village.

At that time the Security police they shot again our car with shotguns and heavy artillery. Our car went up the hill on the sand hill, it came down on two wheels you know, the car was - we were driving with two wheels. We went the first road to our left in - into Strandfontein Road - Strandfontein Village.

EVALUATION

The only way of getting brakes that my father had to drive up into a driveway and to crash inside that people's driveway and the idea was when he go into the driveway, and he like get a break you know with the gear or whatever, I had to jump out in that time and run. And I remember when I opened my door, I still shout to them jump, but their doors couldn't open because it was shot closed you know. The locks were all broken you know

RESOLUTION

and I jumped over the wall. The time when I was jumping over the wall, one Security wo - police lady she jumped out with a 9mm shot machine gun and the bullets just went so over the - you know over the wall like dust, I just saw dust you know.

RECOUNT

ORIENTATION

And they were chasing after me in the hills there in Strandfontein but to my advantage I had combat boots on, now I didn't sink in the sand but they sank, because they had all

takkies, they were like prepared to - prepared to catch me. But I was very fast on my feet and I know if I - of my past experience of running for them and of guerrilla experience I knew if I am going run, deep into this bush, these people would catch up with me. So I decided I would use the half moo- half moon formation that guerrilla's would normally use to advantage when they camp out or if they know if the enemies is trailing them on the border line, they would move in a half moon and they would just encircle the enemy from the back and I used that advantage and run in a half moon position and just come out on the second road on the other side you know. And I ran into Strandfontein Village and hide myself underneath people's bushes till the night fall.

And that whole Strandfontein was - it was cordoned you know they had roadblocks, the - I know there were more than 2,000 police people, the dogs unit were there, there were helicopters throwing their lights in the bushes. And I stayed there underneath the bushes the whole night till some lady,

RECORD OF EVENTS

'seeking help from a Muslim lady'

there were some Muslim lady I went to her, I tell her - I told her look here lady, I am a member of the ANC, I am a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe and I put my whole trust in you, this *boers* they want to kill me. And she sent her daughter around because I told her look here, she must take this watch and put it in her hand and when they come there and - on the scene and they must just show it to my father and my girlfriend, maybe they would catch on that I - that I am safe.

When they came there they couldn't come near the scene it was like cordoned off you know, they came back this lady, but I put my whole trust in her you know and maybe that saved my life, if this lady were an informer that police would have caught me just there you know without people knowing.

'escaping the police cordon'

And I told her I just want to come out of Mitchell's Plain, so she told me the best way to come out now is with some church people that is in the road, that is going to church the New Apostolic people because there is like roadblocks and all this. So she told this New Apostolic people that I am family of them and I got lost, that's why the only - I only know where they were staying so these people must only give me a lift as far as Mitchell's Plain Town Centre.

I climbed in the back of the car and I grabbed of these Psalm books you know, where the people sing out the New Apostolic people, church people sing out and I was reading through it you know and making like I was bit of a religious. Now what they made is when they saw a suspicious guy at the roadblock they would show with the - with the torches and they stopped that car, now they see no this is church people and because I had this brother's jacket on you know a church jacket on. And I was sitting at the back of the car and the book was in my face and they said okay this car can go past let me stop the bus. And I drove out - drove out of Mitchell's Plain to the Town Centre.

'on the run'

From there I moved with the train as far as Bonteheuvel that night, at Heideveld station the police was waiting, when I - when the train was approaching the station, I saw the whole police was standing there. I jumped out of - from the train as it was still driving you know, by the bridge nearby the police station. I ran to my brother in Bonteheuvel, I told him look here they caught up with us, so my brother organized a place where I could go into hiding for that few days.

But as I was staying in that - in that place of hiding, at that certain priest house, he became also afraid of having me there because they were having a manhunt over the Western Cape over the TV, over the radio and all that, giving my prescription. So he said he can't have me there long, so I went on my own initiative, out on the road that same afternoon I was being chased from - down - I tried to move to Camps Bay, from Camps Bay, Cape Town, and from Cape Town to Bonteheuvel

'arrested'

as I came into my grandmother's house, the Murder and Robbery Unit police just came in and they put their guns next to me and they arrest me.

[36:13]

DR ORR: Colin after that arrest you were sentenced to a term of imprisonment and you went to Pollsmoor and were released under one of the indemnities in 1990 is that correct?

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

DR ORR: I know you've only told us a small part of what you experienced in those five years and I am sorry that there is not time for us to hear more. But it's very obvious that a large part of your life was spent being harassed, detained, tortured, intimidated, threatened, imprisoned, how has that affected your life?

COLIN DE SOUZA: It did affect my life because a number of jobs that I went to go and work mainly I am trained in security, I know all security skills, when I went to that jobs people give me a firearm and all that, I found that I - I would get, immediately when I have a firearm in my hand, I can't perform my security duties, sometimes I am becoming too nervous or too tense. At one incident I was just shooting at a guy, shooting to kill, and I realized okay this is going to put me in prison, so I rather I am going to leave this job and I left that job. And I tried to went - to go to the Military also, when I was still in my training in Pretoria about two years ago on Wamanstal, I just felt sick and the only thing that the field hospital doctors were saying is a general body malaise. And after that I analyzed it through speaking to doctors and they told me that, that is the condition of the body that is over tired and the body can't stand the stress any more and I was sent to a specialist in that field you know that dealt with tortured people and he said I was tortured so severely you know that the stress built up on my small brain you know because of keeping secrets and that stuff all in you know and it formed almost like a cancer in my brain, that's why all my hair, I lost all my hair you know during that time when I was in prison for that two years you know. And so the recommended medical treatment for me and I am still under treatment psychologically and medication, still today. [39:00]

DR ORR: Colin thank you very much and I am going to ask your mother just to speak to us for a while and then I am sure my colleagues would want to ask you some questions too. So can you just move the microphone across.

MAIN NARRATIVE (MRS DE SOUZA)

NARRATIVE

ABSTRACT

DR ORR: Ms De Souza we've listened with horror I think to what Colin has told us. Can you perhaps tell us how - what was happening to him affected you and your family during those years.

DOROTHY DE SOUZA:

Certainly it has affected our family in many ways

ORIENTATION

For instance I just recalled the time when he said he had to go - had to appear in Court at Goodwood, that was with the second trial. That evening we were preparing to go to bed early because of the next morning as we had to be there very early as his parents. And I remember while we were sleeping

COMPLICATING ACTION

there was a knock on the door and it was two Security police and they demanded that my husband had to go with them and I refused to let my husband out of the room, I said no we should, you know as well that we should be tomorrow in Court very early to be with our son as he is appearing. They said no but your husband must go with because Colin is at Bellville police station and he wants to see you.

EVALUATION and RESOLUTION

And as you know we had no confidence in the police because of what we went through as a family. I refused and I asked them to give their names and they didn't want to identify themselves and I said I had no trust in them and I'll never allow my husband to come out of the room. And I was trying to be tough there and stood up with them and they left.

RECOUNT

RECORD OF EVENTS

And as they left I told my husband I don't think we should sleep here tonight here is something very funny going on, I just had this strange feeling that something they - I don't know what they were planning up their sleeve. And as we - we had the car that time still we moved out of the house with the smallest boy was still three years old and the daughter was about ten, we moved out of the house with our kids and as we rode out there is a circle in our street in Candlewood Street, and when we got to the circle we met up with the security police and that was an half an hour after they suppose to leave our house but they were still there in the area. And I told them where can we go to because no-one is going to open their doors for us because people were sort of - sort of staying away from us and being very one sided because of the mess we as the family were in. And it's almost like we were the perpetrators.

And as we moved out of the house they had the audacity and followed us in the car at the back and they actually tried to shoot us off the road, me and my husband and the two kids. And they were chasing us through the roads down the freeway and I said to him we're going to hospital and he said what do you mean we're going to hospital, I said just go to hospital, the child is sick, I wanted him to get a grip of the story because they were listening in and we had no privacy. And they had this bugs everywhere and because they were passing next to us in the next car.

And as we drove they followed us to the hospital chasing us like they were chasing criminals. They had no - they – they didn't even think that we weren't involved, we were just the parents of Colin and I had the small baby there in the car and my daughter and they chased us through the streets as far as the hospital.

And there we had to leave our car outside Red Cross Hospital and phone some friends and that was another priest he is not here in the country any more. He had to assist us to take us to some people's houses so we could sleep for the night in order to get to Court the next day so that we can be with our son. We slept there that night and the next morning we went to Court. We met the same police there, which made as if they didn't know us, and anything like that happened that same night. And it was a strain on the family to think that they harassing us in such a way they could of knocked us off the road or drastic accident could have happened and we couldn't - we should never have been there at Colin's side.

OBSERVATION

EVENT DESCRIPTION: the night the comrades attacked

And as Colin said the same night that he was - these comrades came to shoot him, I know I don't blame them today because I know it was the way the – the police worked to make us look as if we were informers and that night they also treated us very badly because we

couldn't turn to the police, but the neighbours in the street because of we knew it was comrades, and we didn't want to be drag them to Court as my son and them were involved. And so other people called the police and I was very hurt because of what the Captain said, Captain Van Brakel over the phone to this policeman, he said to him, I can't remember his name but I can picture him well. He said to him *Moenie notice neem nie van daai mense – hulle is mal, en, Daar was nie geskittery gewees nie, daar was nie geskittery gewees nie. En hy se, Meneer, die bewaarstuk is hierso, die bewaarstuk is hierso, en – en, daar was geskiet en die bullets is daar en die neighbours onderaan (?)* [There wasn't any shooting, there was no shooting incident. And he said but the evidence is here, the exhibits are here and there was a shooting incident and the bullets are there and the neighbours have confirmed it.] Yes and actually he said, don't take any notice, just go away and leave that people alone

COMMENT

and it hurt me to think that this policeman stood there, he wanted to help me, but he couldn't because this captain he was of Murder and Robbery, Captain van Brakel, he was one of the perpetrators as well, he said to him, he must leave us and we were destitute. We had to find our own way out of that mess.

EVENT DESCRIPTION: Jacques Adonis apologises

And I remember Jacques Adonis very well. I met him and I had, I felt guilty even though they were the people that came to my house and he came to me one day and he said Mrs De Souza I've come to apologize because it wasn't my intention to hurt your family

COMMENT

and I did forgive him and I am very glad I did, because it weren't long after that, I think two months after that, he was also killed.

COMMENT (on whole testimony): Repercussions

And thinking about this hearing Colin's story again, some incidences seems like it were funny, but to us as a family it really hurt us. There were times we didn't even feel like speaking to one another or eating because we were all very frail and thin, my husband even lost his job at the time because of going to Court in and out every day. No it weren't like a week or two weeks, it was more than a year that we had to go every day with our son to Court, and it is as if we were on trial.

And the saddest thing was the day that he had to go to prison. On top of it he was in maximum security with rapists, murderers, you name it for two years he never came out. I even begged them to let him go out and work somewhere so that he can just do something with his hands, but they said no he is a political prisoner, he wasn't sent to Robben Island, he had to stay there in that prison, day in and day out without working or doing something with his hands. Sometimes there were times that they cut our visits and

we couldn't see him, we don't know the reasons why. I think that was part of the way to torture the family. And eventually Colin came out but when he came out of prison he weren't a boy any more, of course he was with evil people inside.

And today we still trying to support Colin as a family which is very hard because we're not medical doctors, he's not every day the same. Frustration builds up in him, he's got a little boy of four years old, and I am very sorry because I don't know how I am going to tell his child why his daddy isn't working and why his daddy's got this ways and all that. So it's really spoilt our whole family and another future generation to come, because Colin is also going to grow - his son is going to grow up and it's going to affect him, because he's not with his dad.

CODA (for whole testimony)

So that's my story. [47:45]

DR ORR: Thank you very much Mrs de Souza I think you've told us very eloquently how the effect on one person doesn't stay there, but there is a ripple effect and it affects different people, different generations and I know it must be very painful for you, thank you for sharing with us.

DOROTHY DE SOUZA: Yes. [48:00]

ELICITED TESTIMONY

DR ORR: I am now going to hand over to the Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much Dr Orr, do you have any questions Mr Potgieter.

MR POTGIETER: Thank you Chairperson. Colin [intervention]

CHAIRPERSON: Order, can I please ask people not to move around during the witnesses giving evidence, and if you must please do so quietly, it's not fair on the witness.

MR POTGIETER: Thank you Chairman.

CHAIRPERSON: Mr Potgieter.

MR POTGIETER: Thank you Chairperson, Colin you referred in your evidence to a policeman who referred to himself as the *wit wolf* of the Eastern Cape.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct ja.

MR POTGIETER: Let me just, I want to ask you something very specific about that, because it seems to affect the evidence that was given in an earlier case, that of Ashley Kriel. You say that there was reference to a spade and you were told that you would also be beaten like that.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Ja.

MR POTGIETER: Who actually said that?

COLIN DE SOUZA: I don't know this policeman his name, but I know he was the one, himself, who called himself the *wit wolf* and Sergeant Pikker, they two were responsible, they were the two guys that took John de Vos up to Joburg, should it be - so it won't be

difficult to locate his name. And he weren't like a guy from the Western Cape that I knew because I knew like all the Security cops. He was like a new guy.

MR POTGIETER: And what was he actually suggesting, was he suggesting that or implying that he had beaten Ashley Kriel with a spade.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Ja, that is what he said to my because the morning when they were digging, they were finding - they found no firearms in that field, only scrap metal, doors of cars you know and then he said this guy eventually, this guy Porky lied to us because they took me out of the van and the throw a blanket over me and took me to where they dug this holes and then he start threatening me, he said you see this - this spade, this is how I - I myself hit Ashley with this spade, that is what he was implying. And I will hit you the same way, and after that he said, I will also necklace you how I - the way I necklaced other guys in the Eastern Cape.

MR POTGIETER: Okay, you also said that you laid a charge against Mr Kahn one of the policeman.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

MR POTGIETER: What happened to that charge?

COLIN DE SOUZA: After I was being released the charge had to be follow up and Security police everyday they use to come and harass us, every morning at home, me and my family and eventually one morning me and my mother went with them they took us to I think that was Sergeant Pikker and I - and some other cop, but they took us to Roy Beamish (?) here on Modderdam Road where they had this logistical office where all the big bosses of the Security police were and they took us into a office of Colonel Niehaus and I could - I could have seen all this other policemen whether they were Captains or Colonels, they were all having a respect for this guy, and this guy he said to me they even made tea like we are friends you know they made tea and offered tea and he said no I must eat biscuits *sommer* also. And he took out my file and - a file of mine out of his vault, and he said we now want you - you must withdraw this case because here I got - I got the evidence that shows you had to be killed, you are lucky that the wrong police arrested you on the 2nd of October, because did the right police arrested you, the right guys arrest you, the orders was already been putten out that you must be killed. And he showed to me a - a paper that was actually a death certificate that was stamped and was being signed by the State Security branch, the head of the State Security police branch. I read the name with the name of Viljoen on the signature. He showed it to my mother we all were shocked, he said here I am having all the other comrades names, he named the names Ashley Kriel, Anton Fransch, Andrew November and Colin de Souza. And I was like shocked - shocked for what this guy showed me there at that office. So during that - you know the harassing us and I said okay I would withdraw the cases you know just to get them from my back, I withdraw the case from Constable Kahn.

MR POTGIETER: Okay, I assume you not happy with that =

COLIN DE SOUZA: = No.

MR POTGIETER: = With that result.

COLIN DE SOUZA: No.

MR POTGIETER: You did that under duress.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

MR POTGIETER: You also said that when you were in Johannesburg and you were being questioned...

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct.

MR POTGIETER: ...interrogated you were amongst other things asked about Khotso House.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Correct yes.

MR POTGIETER: What was that about?

COLIN DE SOUZA: It was mainly what was the - who was supplying us with money, while - because they had like information that the Council of Churches, South African Council of Churches were the people that put us in hiding and in sanctuary and they were funding us with money. And they wanted to know who in Khotso House - there was a man with the name of Ike Maketsi, they named him, they - they named the head - the head person in charge of Khotso House, Frank Chikane, they said Reverend Frank Chikane at any times also offered you money, were Khotso House involved in sending people out into exile through the church, were they using the church and particular what formations of the church were involved, particular in Joburg, and to priest, priest names and all that.

MR POTGIETER: Thank you, then just finally, briefly in your statement you made a statement to the effect that they hurt your father and your girlfriend.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Ja.

MR POTGIETER: What - what do you mean by that, just briefly can you explain that.

COLIN DE SOUZA: My father was beaten up very severely, the time - say two weeks after I were in - after I was arrested and I was inside I found my father the one day, they took me to Mannenberg police station the morning and I see here my father is also beaten up, his gums inside and eyes and maybe my mother would know a bit more, because I was also beaten up you know. And my girlfriend she was pregnant at that time and what they actually did is they sent her to this Dr Siroky at Bellville South and he actually gave her this abortion pills in, they forced it into her and she knew because they forced in and after having her two days in detention, she would start bleeding and everything would come down and they send her home.

MR POTGIETER: Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON: Any other questions, Mr De Souza can you just tell me again the name of the Doctor?

COLIN DE SOUZA: His name is Dr Siroky.

CHAIRPERSON: And where is he practicing?

COLIN DE SOUZA: He were practicing in Bellville South as a District Surgeon for the State a few years ago, about four - five years ago, he was still practicing there.

[59:30]

CONCLUDING PHASE

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much. Mrs De Souza I want to thank you for your testimony, I know that you found that hard and difficult, I think we can guess of some of the burden that you have carried and Dr Orr has already underlined the unbelievable suffering that was brought upon not only on individuals but on families. And that, that suffering continues until today. It's very hard, but it's very heartening for us to hear the way you and your husband stood by your son, now that didn't happen all the time and there must of been times when you were critical and worried and full of strain and stress

and yet you've come through it and you continue to take a stand with him as you are today publicly. And we want to thank you very much indeed for that. You could have spent many hours telling us I know, but what you have said gives us a window into what has been happening in your life and the life of your family. Colin we don't know what to say to you, you have experienced so much in a very short life. So much of what is bad, what is negative, what is cruel, and you together with so many others, young people, you were never young, you just had no opportunity and we really find it difficult to know how to respond to the cruelty that is possible within human kind. We are glad to hear that you are finding help in the Trauma Centre, we hope you will continue to do that because you bear upon your body and your soul, scars which won't be very easy to be taken away, it's going to take a very long time. We have taken note of what you have told us, we will follow up whatever we can do, and we hope that by coming here today, by talking with Dr Orr over those last couple of days, by telling us your story publicly, that this will not only be a testimony to what our past has been like, but also part of healing by exposure, by sharing that something of the bitterness and the awful, awful experience that you've had will in some way assist you to bear that burden in the future. We want to thank you both and we salute you, thank you.

COLIN DE SOUZA: Thank you.

[61: 10]



APPENDIX E

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

UWC HEARINGS - DAY 1

DATE: MONDAY 5 AUGUST 1996

VICTIM: FARIED MUHAMMAD FERHELST [son]

NATURE OF VIOLENCE: SEVERE ASSAULT

CASE NO: CT/00666

INTRODUCTORY PHASE

CHAIRPERSON: Ms Burton is going to lead you in a moment and she'll discuss with you who should speak first. But before I ask her to take over from me, would you both please stand for the taking of the oath.

FARIED MUHAMMAD FERHELST Duly sworn states
MINNIE LOUISA FERHELST Duly sworn states

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, will you please be seated. Now you are going to tell us about detention and torture. It's not an easy thing to talk about, it's sometimes difficult to relive those moments. But I am very grateful to you for coming and doing that because it's very important. If we are going to have any kind of future in this country, that we understand what has happened so that we can build a better future. Thank you, and I'll hand over to Ms Burton.

MS BURTON: Thank you Chairperson, good morning again Mrs Ferhelst. Mrs Ferhelst are you going to speak first.

[Mrs Ferhelst gives her testimony.]

MS BURTON: Thank you very much Mrs Ferhelst, you've given a very clear illustration of the kind of anxiety and pressure that the families of young activist had to go through at the time. And like many other families you were very strong through that time. We'll go on now to hear from Mr Ferhelst there may be some questions that people want to ask you though afterwards, so you can move the microphone.

MAIN TESTIMONY

RECOUNT

ABSTRACT [0:00}

MS BURTON: Thank you Mr Ferhelst, you have told us - told our statement takers about your years as a student activist and your involvement then when you were recruited with

MK and about the number of times that you were arrested and questioned. So please tell us about your experiences.

ORIENTATION²

[0:12]

MR FERHELST: My involvement started in 1984 late 1984. I came home from school one day and the cops were looking for me, why - up till today I don't know. 1985 in the beginning I joined like SRC's on the schools - BISCO - and like we were on the run. I was still young and I like any child I was afraid what this people was going to do and the information we got from other children who were caught is they going to kill us. Like we didn't know what to do. In 1985 we like basically had nowhere to go, nobody to turn to in fact. At night we don't - we didn't have places to sleep 'cause we afraid, sometimes we went without food for days, three - four days.

And then the climax - the struggle started to climax. We formed a group, a group of us came together and we started forming an organisation to protect ourselves from the cops because for some of us – for some of us it was like they were shooting on sight, whenever they saw you in Bonteheuwel, they started shooting and we thought well what can we do to protect us against this people. Then we formed BMW, Bonteheuwel Military Wing. From there it just went on - on a day to day basis like we met with MK cadres who trained us, we went out of the area, came back into the areas and then you recruited other people to help with this defence unit structure we built. It went on for '85, '86...

RECORD OF EVENTS

'first arrest'

till 1987 the cops caught me on a Friday morning. It was ... about ten o'clock I was like still sleeping, actually I wasn't sleeping but I got back into bed. I heard cars pull up - at that time your senses are so developed you can hear a car a mile for when it brakes, your senses - everything becomes - you become suspicious of everything and everybody. On a Friday morning yes, when I heard the brakes of a car I stood up, I went to the back window to see what was going on, what car it was whatsoever but it was too late the whole house were surrounded by cops sitting on the walls with guns. In the yard was about something like 25 to 30 cops in the yard. Two sharpshooters were sitting on the roof ... casspirs and stuff were parked say three or four blocks away. I thought, is all this people just coming for me, what did I do wrong, what did I do so badly that these people want me so? I then realise that well all the threats we got from all the information we got from other children who were caught, well this people are going to kill me, that's what they said and ... I got back into bed and laid, I heard a knock on the door like I heard a bang on the door and there was this commotion in the dining room. There was approximately 20 to 30 cops in the dining room and this Captain burst into the room where I was laying, I was still in a shorts. He pulled me up, he said - can I use the exact

² Ferhelst's verbal exchanges with the police are underlined. Afrikaans quotes of Van Brakel and the doctor are in italics. The translations which follow these are my own, not the ones in the official transcription, which tended to be more polite. I have given a more literal translation.

words because like it's hard for me to forget what that man said that day and like I tried to forget, but it's always there - this Captain his name is Van Brakel. He came into that room, he and about 4 or 5 other SB's, he said to me, *jou - jou slym etter gemors, ons het jou, ons gaan jou nou vrek maak* [you slimy pus-oozing rubbish, we have you now, now we're going to kill you].

And like there was one of the other guys who was with me in the room his name is Mymoona Begg, but he doesn't know, he wasn't politically active or anything like that. They took him out of the room and then they started to hit me smacked me around. They closed the door and like, he reckons to me, *why didn't you run, so I said why must I run I did nothing wrong*. What he then did ...

MS BURTON: Can I just stop you one moment, you were staying in the house of Mymoona Begg is that right?

MR FERHELST: Excuse me?

MS BURTON: You were staying in the house of Mymoona?

MR FERHELST: Ja.

MS BURTON: That's why he was there with you?

MR FERHELST: Ja, he then cuffed me, he didn't want me to put on clothes or anything - he just cuffed me there. I asked him if I can put on my clothes, he said, no, you can put it on at the police station. He then put me in a van, took me to the police station and threw me in a cell.

That Friday afternoon - and they also took Mymoona like I protested I said he doesn't know anything about me I am just sleeping here why you taking him. He said, *ag, hou - hou jou bek donner* [shut up, bastard] and he pushed me into the van and whatsoever, took me up to the police station.

At about - if I can judge it was about two hours later they threw in somebody I knew Christopher Rutledge his - and say about four o'clock, they started calling us out one at a time, taking us into the cell for interrogation.

'interrogation'

When it was my turn two SB's - I can't remember the names but Van Brakel was in that room - and two of the SB's stood next to me, one on each side. He started asking questions well I denied everything he asked and I said I don't know what - anything what - how can I tell you these things. They went out of the room, the two SB's tied my hands with a belt behind my back and then - then a third one he came into this room. He also took off his belt, put it around my neck and started to - whenever one of the others asked a question - he started to pull the belt like choking me, pulling it stiffer and stiffer every time like. When they saw they couldn't get any information out of me, took me back to the cell. Later on they came to fetch me again - it was about seven or eight o'clock - started hitting me, asking questions again, well then they took me back to the cell. The next day the same thing happened, the day after, the same thing - same thing happened,

then I went to Court. I was denied bail. For that ten days I can say I was like interrogated for say about seven days.

‘released on bail’

Then I got bail, before we got bail, the day before we got bail, our Section 29 papers were there. This captain reckons to me, he’s going to detain me under Section 29, so I said well you must do whatever you want to. But as soon as I walked out of the Court I started running because I know what - what were on their minds. Luckily I got away but - and I got a date for - to appear later.

‘second arrest’

When I - at the later date I came to court the charges were dropped against me, but a cop which I know his name is Gary I know this cop his name is Gary Harris, he stood in front of the Court - as soon as I left the Court, he said here’s he, I was detained taken to Goodwood police station where they just put me in a cell and about half past four, five o'clock if I can judge, two SB's came to fetch me. From there they took me to Brackenfell police station, they booked me in, threw me in a cell.

‘second interrogation’

At about seven or eight Van Brakel came, he started asking me questions, smacking me around what and then he left again and he said, ons maak jou nog vrek, voor jy uit die tronk uit [we are going to kill you before you leave prison] I thought everything was okay for the night-

‘tortured’

half past two at night, I think it was about two o'clock half past two the first night in Brackenfell, I heard all the doors opening. Well I was laying in a shorts, there was about seven SB's. They rushed into the cell, pulled a black bag around my neck, tightened it, cuffed my hands behind my back and took me out to the car. In the car they started hitting me. They drove - I don't know where they drove, past Spier, but they drove for about an half an hour or so, when they came to a place they took me out again, it sounded like it was in a shack. There I was put in a shower, cuffed to a shower. They started hitting me continuously until I were (un)conscious then I - threw water on me to regain my consciousness and like - they gassed tear gassed the shower, put me in some bin and they tear gassed this bin and start to wet you all over again. Like the majority of the time when they hit you you didn't – you didn't even feel the pain because you passed out or something. It went as I can say that went on for that period after that night it was every night half past two, three o'clock every night they came to fetch me. I can't remember for how long that went on but to me it felt like it went on for - it felt like almost a couple of years, just that short period because of what – of what the people - the way they handle you, the way they hit you.

‘after that...’

After that, they took me to Victor Verster, where I was originally detained. Later on I was released on bail with the other fellow comrades who was with me.

CODA

I think that's about it. [11:23]

ELICITED TESTIMONY

MS BURTON: Thank you very much, so you were several times detained under Section 29?

MR FERHELST: Excuse me?

MS BURTON: You were detained two or three times under Section 29?

MR FERHELST: No just that one time when as I - when I left the court I was detained.

MS BURTON: And that time when you left the court you were charged with arson and then they found you not guilty is that right?

MR FERHELST: Ja they charged me for bombing up a post office and then he said, they herken that I am not guilty.

MS BURTON: And it was while you were going out of the court that they detained you.

MR FERHELST: Excuse me?

MS BURTON: It was while you were going out of the court that they detained you?

MR FERHELST: Ja - ja that's when they detained me.

MS BURTON: Well thank you very much for – for telling us all about your experience. Can you tell us what effect this had on you?

MR FERHELST: Basically, when I came out of prison I was withdrawn from everything, everybody I know (2.0). Like I had no friends (3.0) I was my own friend (0.4) then you come out (0.3) the other guys who I recruited like they were with me but when we came out of prison it was a whole different game here outside like, we were thrown away. Nobody like nobody stood up for us. We were called gangsters and that kind of thing [indistinct]. Like we had no support. That's why I can say my life was never the same.

MS BURTON: Thank you very much, I have no further questions at the moment, Chairperson.

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you Mrs Burton, Dr Orr?

DR ORR: During the times that you were detained under Section 29 and being interrogated and tortured almost every day, did you see a doctor?

MR FERHELST: Ja they took me to a doctor once, I can still remember the doctor was somewhere in Bellville, my whole body was bruised, I had marks on my face. When I came to the doctor the doctor just took out a stethoscope, put it against my heart and he reckons to the SB, *die donner makeer fok all, vat hom hier weg* [there's fuck all wrong with the bastard, take him away]

CHAIRPERSON: Sorry could I just continue where Dr Orr left off, this one doctor you saw can you recall his name?

MR FERHELST: No sorry I can't recall his name. But if I am - if I am not mistaken I think it was the district doctor from Bellville whatsoever.

CHAIRPERSON: Okay, thank you very much, we'll try and follow that up thank you. Mr Potgieter?

MR POTGIETER: Thank you Chairperson, just two issues, two issues Mr Ferhelst, when you were taken away with the bag over your - over your head, right?

FERHELST: Okay.

MR POTGIETER: With the bag over your head that you spoke about, you were taken and you were handcuffed in a shower. That - that incident that you spoke about, did you have that bag over your head the whole time, whilst you were tortured?

MR FERHELST [switches to Afrikaans]: Like - in the first and second evenings the bag was over my head but on the third night one of the policeman took off the bag. I was virtually unconscious and he then took the rifle and gave it to me and said why don't you pull the trigger because we going to kill you anyway. And when they interrogated me - I am talking now of the first ten day period Van Brakel made a statement that - he said that if they caught comrades like Ashley Kriel people like that, they would kill him. He also said that they knew where Ashley was and that they would find him and kill him. If I remember correctly I used to visit Ashley's mother, and we still joked about the fact that Ashley said, that Van Brakel said that he would kill Ashley, and that is in fact what happened, they shot Ashley and I realised that these people were indeed men of their word, if they said something they actually carried it through. And in the interrogation you make sort of peace with yourself and you realise that - what must be, must be. If I can put it this way, you - you actually prepare yourself for the worst.

MR POTGIETER: I am just trying to find out, on that day when you were in the shower cubicle, could you recognize any of the voices?

MR FERHELST: Yes, Van Brakel's voice, he was the one person's who's voice I could recognise, because the kind of a language that he used, like communist rubbish, he was always terribly rude, and I recognized his voice, but the other's, no, I couldn't recognize their voices.

MR POTGIETER: Would you say that Van Brakel was present most of the time during your interrogation and the treatment that you described to us.

MR FERHELST: No not most of the time, I would say, maybe during the first couple of days, whilst I was interrogated, he was present.

MR POTGIETER: Were you asked about Ashley Kriel during your interrogations?

MR FERHELST: Yes, the questions they asked about Ashley were like - where was he and that kind of thing, that was after they shot him. And they wanted to know what the connection was between myself and Ashley, and were the other members of his family who were also terrorists and that kind of thing.

MR POTGIETER: So they were very interested in Ashley Kriel?

MR FERHELST: Pardon me?

MR POTGIETER: They were very interested in Ashley Kriel?

MR FERHELST: Yes, they were very interested in him, his whereabouts, his activities and so on.

MR POTGIETER: Can you remember which policeman put the most questions to you about Ashley? [long pause – Ferhelst whispers to his mother]

MR FERHELST: I am sorry but I can't remember.

MR POTGIETER: That's not a problem if you can't remember. And lastly did you lay any complaints against the policeman who assaulted you?

MR FERHELST: Did I lay charges, well not really. At the time you know what could we really do, nobody could really do anything, the police could do whatever they wanted to.

Who will I make the charge to, to the police. Who could I tell what was happening to me, the same thing would happen the day - the very next day - nothing would happen, there was nobody to investigate my complaint.

MR POTGIETER: And at this stage, how do you feel now?

MR FERHELST: Firstly, I would have liked to ask the Captain personally what motivated him to torture me, to beat me, he couldn't get information out of me, what - what really drove him to assault me and so on. And secondly what I would like to say is, there are people outside, I was not alone, we were a military wing, there was a whole group of us. If I look at them I recruited quite a few of them, and I taught them how to defend themselves and now, now that we have won the struggle, nobody is looking after them. They've become gangsters, and that is what really hurts me, not the fact of the interrogations so much but the fact that nobody is taking care of those who were together with me outside, nobody is looking after them, that is what really hurts me. I accept that I recruited a lot of them, I am responsible - for them - for the fact that they sacrificed their lives for the struggle. And now I can't do anything for them. That is why I think if I today perhaps can speak on their behalf, that somebody will listen and take care for them.

MR POTGIETER: I understand you very well Mr Ferhelst, and I take note of the fact that you say that many of your comrades have become gangsters as a result of the circumstances we know for instance what happened in the early hours of the morning in Woodstock today. So thank you very much for your evidence, and we've taken note of what you've said. Thank you.

CHAIRPERSON [switches to English, and the rest of the dialogue is in English]: Thank you before I - I express the appreciation of the Commission just one final question Mr Ferhelst, what are you doing now, are you employed? Do you have a job, what do you do?

MR FERHELST: I've got a job, but like I don't know how long I am going to keep that job.

CHAIRPERSON: Order please, can you be quiet as possible please.

MR FERHELST: I've got a job but as I say, I don't know how I am going - how long I am going to keep the job, because it's this hatred I got inside for this people. If I explode who knows what I am going to do in the factory. [23:00]

CONCLUDING PHASE

CHAIRPERSON: Thank you very much, first of all may I say to Mrs Ferhelst we really appreciate your being alongside your son. This is very important that he has support in the same way as I am sure it's important that he supports you, both morally and in every other way. I want to thank you both for coming, and Mr Ferhelst I want to thank you for speaking up on behalf of your comrades. You didn't talk about yourself, you talked about them. But really and truly it's about all of you. And I think that the terrible cost of what took place for so long is what we are paying for now. Not only then, but now. I am not sure what the Commission can do, but the very fact that your voice will be heard, I hope will stir those in charge and in authority and responsibility that we cannot forget people who were trained to defend themselves and then in many instances were just left on their

own and therefore started to use the very defence in order to attack. The struggle is not over, the work is not over, there is a huge amount to do and you've reminded us of that and we are grateful to you. We're grateful to you for your courage to undergo the torture that you've undergone is a very-very heavy thing to do. And I am quite sure you carry that with you, I hope you won't explode. I hope that you will use the courage that you have demonstrated today, as a creative force to build and try to reach out to the very people you've been talking about and perhaps together as from today there can be a new start. Thank you very-very much indeed both of you for coming. Thank you.

[25:13]

AFRIKAANS TRANSCRIPTION:

MR FERHELST: Like uh in die eerste – die eerste en tweede aand, was dit oor my kop gewees. Like die derde aand toe hulle die sak [gebruik], het een van die polisiemanne die sak afgehaal...Ek was like, half... unconscious. Hy't toe die haelgeweer gevat, in my gesig gedruk en gesê, “hoekom trek jy nie self die trigger nie, want ons gaan jou tog vrek maak”. En ook um... toe hulle – toe hulle vir my interrogate... dis um vir die eerste 10 dae wat ek... opgetel was, het van Brakel like a statement gemaak dat... as hulle ... enige comrades soos Ashley Kriel of enigiemand soos daai vang, gaan hulle hom vrek skiet, en hy't OOK gesê...“Ons weet waar hy is, en ons gaan hom vrek skiet”. En uh ekke – as ek mooi kan onthou, ek het nog – soos gewoonlik gaan ons in by Ashley se ma um... [en toe gesê] – ons het nog jokes gemaak daarvoor... gesê like... van Brakel sê hy gaan vir Ashley doodskiet en ek dink dit was drie weke na daai toe skiet hy vir Ashley. Toe toe SKIET hulle vir Ashley. Like, ek het besef dat... dié mense, is mense van... daad. As hulle iets sê dan doen hulle dit (0.2) in... in die interrogation, maak jy so peace met jouself dat... wat gebeur, moet gebeur (0.2) om dit so te stel dat... jy prepare jouself... vir die ergste. (0.5)

MR POTGIETER: Ek probeer net uitvind, daardie [tyd]... toe jy – toe jy in die stort is, geboei, kon jy van die stemme uitken?

MR FERHELST: Ja. Van Brakel – ek kon... die... een persoon wie se stem ek ek kon erken was van Brakel. ‘Cause like (0.2) sy language wat hy gebruik het is – “kommunistiese etter” is is like altyd – is net... baie ongeskikte woorde wat hy gebruik... en like, ek kon hom [h]erken. Maar die anders... kon ek uh... kon ek nie eintlik sê nie.

MR POTGIETER: So jy – so jy sê dat van Brakel teenwoordig was die meeste van die tyd? Toe jy ondervra was, behandel was wat jy getuig het?

MR FERHELST: Nee, nie die meeste van die tyd nie. Ek sal sê sê die EERSTE week, die eerste paar dae van die interrogation was hy teenwoordig.

MR POTGIETER: Was jy... ondervra oor Ashley Kriel?

MR FERHELST: Oor?

MR POTGIETER: Ashley Kriel.

MR FERHELST: Ja...Like, die vrae wat hulle gevra het oor Ashley is like, waar is hy... waar wás hy, nie waar is hy nie because like, dis ná die tyd wat hulle hom geskiet het. Waar was hy, watter konneksie het ek met Ashley en en (0.4) wie van sy familie is nog terroriste en en daai klas van [goed].

MR POTGIETER: So hulle hulle het baie belang gestel in Ashley Kriel.

MR FERHELST: Verskoon my?

MR POTGIETER: Hulle het baie belang gestel in Ashley Kriel.

MR FERHELST: Hulle het baie belang gestel. Waar hy was, wat hy gedoen het [inaudible].

MR POTGIETER: Kan jy nog onthou watter polisiebeampte die meeste vrae gevra het [oor] Ashley Kriel?

MR FERHELST: [thinking, whispering to his mother] Sorry, ek kan nie.

MR POTGIETER: Kan jy nie [inaudible] Dis alright (0.2) Dis okay. Sê net vir my laastens, het het jy enige klagtes gelê... oor die polisie wat jou uh so aangerand het?

MR FERHELST: Het ek klagtes gelê? Um... nie eintlik nie. Like, daai tyd as ons kan kyk... wat kon wie doen?... Niemand kon niks doen nie. Hulle wat ek by daai tyd was?... Aan wie lê ek – aan wie sê ek wat met my gebeur, môre doen hulle dieselfde ding niemand gaan niks doen daaraan nie. Waarom moet ek 'n klag maak?

MR POTGIETER: En op hierdie stadium?

MR FERHELST: Op hierdie stadium-

MR POTGIETER: Hoe voel jy?

MR FERHELST: Hoe voel ek? Eerstens (0.3) um (0.2) sal ek lyks om (0.2) die KAPTEIN PERSOONLIK te gevra het wat hy daaruit gekry het om te [?indistinct] te torture, te slaan, like hy kon nie informasie uit my kry, wat wat... wat het vir hom... gedryf om my so te slaan en so aan. En, tweedens, is dat - um... dat ek kan sê hierso's mense buitekant... um ek was nie alleen nie. Ons was... 'n military wing, ons was 'n klomp ... As ek na hulle kyk ek het klomp van hulle ge-recruit in the sense hoe om hulleself te kan verdedig, en so aan, maar... en nou wat ons die struggle... gewen het, kyk niemand na hulle nie. Hulle word gangsters DAAL...DAAI is wat vir my seermaak. Nie die feit so much dat die interrogation so baie gevat het nie en daai, maar die feit dat niemand omsien na die ander wat saam met my was daar buitekant, NIEMAND kyk na hulle nie, DAAI is wat vir my seermaak. Like, ek vat dit, dat ek het klomp van hulle ge-recruit, ek is responsible ... vir hulle... hoe hulle hulle lewens opgeoffer het vir die struggle en nou kan ek niks doen daaraan nie. Dis hoekom ek dink as ek vandag miskien kan praat, dat iemand SAL LUISTER en omkyk na hulle.

APPENDIX F

**TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
YOUTH HEARINGS – ATHLONE - DAY 3
DATE: 22 MAY 1997
NAME: SANDRA ADONIS
CASE: CT/01110**

INTRODUCTORY PHASE [0:00]

CHAIRPERSON: Our last witness for today is Sandra Adonis and I ask her to come to the stage with her briefer. [Approximately 9 minute pause while witness makes her way onto the stage.] Sandra, being the last witness is probably the most difficult of all, because you have to sit and hear so much pain and heartache and tears, but you know that you have your own still to tell and we thank you very much for your patience and we welcome you here as our last witness of these special hearings today. Mary Burton is going to swear you in and then lead your evidence as well.

MS BURTON: Thank you.

SANDRA ADONIS: (Duly sworn in, states).

MS BURTON: Thank you. Are you alright, you are feeling comfortable and you can hear me alright? The microphones do also provide sound amplification so if you don't hear me very well you can always wear them to hear in English as well. Well, thank you again for the long day that you have waited and for coming today to speak in front of us.

MAIN TESTIMONY [1:15]

RECOUNT

ABSTRACT

MRS BURTON: You are going to tell us about your own experience as a young teenager and about that of your husband. So please go ahead and tell us in your own words.

ORIENTATION [1:30]

MRS ADONIS: Well it was in 1985 when I started being involved in politics. I was about 15 years old and, I didn't have any background of politics. I always heard my grandfather he used to say, he used to talk about politics and Vorster and you know all these things he used to make them bad, but when I got to realise why he was going on about these people, seeing how our government was handling our people, it hurt me and I decided to get involved.

RECORD OF EVENTS: STUDENT POLITICS

‘elected to the SRC’

At the age of 15 in '85 the school started or they decided rather to have SRC's at these different schools... just give me a moment ... and as all the schools voted for these SRC's I was elected from my class to be a representative for them on the SRC. In majority vote I was chosen by the school as a Chairperson, then decided by my principal that I was too young, too immature to be the Chairperson. He decided that we should vote amongst each other and then people that was older than me, standard nine and matric, voted me as Assistant Treasurer. Anyway, I also served on the Action Committee in Athlone, Ned Damon Senior Secondary.

‘on the run’

I remember quite vividly that there was one day that I had to leave school after one of the teachers told me that the police came looking for me. I left the school and I went to the lawyer's offices, because I didn't know which way to go, because now I knew I couldn't go home. There would be no home for me now. I mean, as much as I wanted to, my family couldn't protect me. And then, well, I just had to get somewhere, and by the time when they started looking for us all the other people of the Executive was missing.

‘Trojan Horse incident’

And then a few weeks after that that was the Trojan Horse case. Shaun Magmoet them was at the same school as I was and being the only person at school, well I just managed to get to school sometimes, and that particular morning after the shooting one of our teachers told me that Shaun was shot, and of course, being the only person left of the SRC I - it was my duty to convey the message to the students. And I felt like you know being 15 and also feeling like a mother at the same time, because I was just thinking also, what would it have been like if it was me, because I mean I just left them a couple of hours before this whole happening. And also seeing people being shot like Jonathan Claasen standing opposite me on the opposite side of the road was not an easy thing to just put at the back of your mind.

‘exams boycott’

Then it was all, the whole thing of the exams that we couldn't write and all that, because we took a stand that we're not going to write exams. Basically I use to just go and have a look at what is happening at school and what people is doing and who's the people that is writing exams. It - it was my duty because I was on the Action Committee. After that my principal said, I don't want you on my school any more. I forced and I forced and I forced. Eventually '86 he said to me finally, no I don't want you on my school any more, because you are an instigator. I left school I had no alternative because I don't know whether he informed the police whether I am there, but whenever I seemed to just be away from school then the police would come looking for me there. And then I decided, bull shit I'm leaving, I cannot cope with this any more.

‘out of school’

I got a job, not a job, like, I just got a casual job where I worked for about a month. Well I couldn't like keep up with this because certain things happened and I was instructed also like to do things and in the same time I got involved with the people of Bonteheuwel, that is the Bonteheuwel Military Wing. Although we've done things that we're not very proud of, but the reasons why we've done it, we are proud of them, because today we can stand with our heads up high and say that we, together with the nation we've done it.

‘back to school’

In any event, in 1987 I went - I decided that I cannot live my life without education. I went to a school in Bonteheuwel and practically begged the principal there to take me back and I promised him that I'll never participate in politics again, although in my heart I knew that I won't be able to - to withdraw myself from my activities. And in any event I went on trying to do - finish my schooling, but as you know we were all connected somehow so your comrades would know you by name or by face.

‘student politics’

Later on I got involved again like within the SRC and I was chosen AGAIN to be the Chairperson of the SRC, which was quite difficult for me because like I promised the principal that I am not going to be involved, and as much as I tried I couldn't because my beliefs were too strong.

Orientation (again): ‘family background’

Because of my own background as well, my father is a white and my mother is a black or rather a coloured, as they want to call it, so called. I never had a family life with them. My mother was a domestic maid at the so called whites. So like I feel that I had a difficult childhood from the start. So I hated - I hated white people, and I hated the government for doing things to me and to my people and because of that I couldn't I mean I couldn't deny my people my fight as well. I felt that it was not just theirs it was mine.

‘student politics’

And in any event, I got involved in BISCO this was the Bonteheuwel Interschools Congress and also as I said earlier on BMW the Bonteheuwel Milit... excuse me, the Bonteheuwel Military Wing.

‘meets husband’

Then I met my husband, Jacques Adonis he is deceased. At the time when I met him he just came from detention after nine months. For the time that we've had a relationship before we got married things was okay. Although we were still not at home, still roaming around still not sleeping at home, still not being able to really see our family and spend even a whole day with them.

[10:45]

NARRATIVE: Arrest and interrogation

ORIENTATION

In the time I left home my house was - they searched my house in every corner possible. What they were looking for I don't know, and these were Mostert from the Loop Street Security Police. And then when I joined up with them in Bonteheuwel, it was a certain Captain van Brakel who started harassing me. Again they would invade my parent's place, searching and digging for whatever they were looking for.

And there was a time when there was heavy conflict amongst the comrades because of these boers, and because they wanted to plant hatred amongst us, and they wanted to put our struggle back, they planted hatred amongst us.

And as these conflicts went on, one particular night I couldn't go back to where I was hiding and I had to sleep at another lady's place, and I'm not going to mention any names, and the next morning Van Brakel was at her door knocking.

COMPLICATING ACTION 1

He found me lying in the bed and he didn't know it was me. He went downstairs and he came back up, like in a matter of five – five to six seconds, and he said to me, wow, you're the person I've – we've been looking for for five years, and I am not going to let you go again. You have run away from Mostert, but you are not going to run away from me. And he said to me, you are a terrorist and you should come to me. In any event there was, like [6 sec]

EVALUATION

But by the time when he got hold of me I knew their tricks and I was preparing myself all the time for this day. You know, it is like you prepare yourself for death, because you don't know what is going to happen and even if you want to prepare yourself how much, you will never be able to prepare yourself really.

RESOLUTION (TEMPORARY)

And then I decided to have a bath that specific morning, and not just going with them, because I thought to myself well Section 29 or what the hell I don't know for the next 14 to 15 days or maybe three four weeks I might not be able to see my family I might not get clean clothes so well I'll take a bath.

COMPLICATING ACTION 2

'in the bath'

Whilst I was in the bath, he started shouting from outside, if you don't finish up now, I'll come in there and I'll fetch you. And I said to him - and then I realised that this door

couldn't lock - I said to him, if you dare enter this bathroom, I will certainly lay charges against you for attempted rape, 'cause I didn't have any clothes on. In any event, I finished off and I went with them.

'under arrest'

I tried to relax and I couldn't. I had a hell of a headache by the time I got into their car, because I was expecting the worst of the worst. And then I just had to sort myself out while I was sitting in this car. And a certain Mr Strydom, I don't know what his rank was, Strydom, but he was always with this Captain van Brakel, he asked me now, why do you hate policemen. So I said I don't hate policemen, in fact, I just hate what they're doing to my people and then I because I thought well I have to say something to these people to get them out of my hair and I said to him, in fact, I would also like to be a policeman a police woman one day. And I think I played right into their hands, and then when we got to the police station, in fact the lady who we left behind said to – said to me, *ky sê niks* [you say nothing], which means she is trying to implicate me in something. And then he said, Van Brakel said to this woman, well I've got two big hands and *ek klap, ek vra nie* [I smack, I don't ask]. Anyway, so I said to him, well I'll charge you for assault then if you do anything to me.

EVALUATION

And I was like trying to hit back at him all the time, but also in a very gentle way not to have him think that this is a stubborn woman, because once you show stubbornness, they would show no mercy.

RESOLUTION

Then we went to the police station where they questioned me and later on told me that they're going to give me a form to fill in as to become a policeman. Eventually they said to me they couldn't find any forms that I should write out a letter and signing my name underneath.

CODA

So up to today I don't know whether they've used this letter against me but, I hope to find out some day if they did use it, or whatever they did with it.

EXEMPLUM: [17:20]

ORIENTATION

Then I would like to come to my husband, Jacques. He was also a member of Bonteheuwel Military Wing and, in fact I think he would - he was even more involved than I was or rather to a certain extent. There was then at the time when, just a few months after we were married and I think we were - I was about 19 or something like that I cannot remember ...

INCIDENT

‘the arrest’

when one morning Van Brakel and this, I think he was a Lieutenant, yes, Strydom walked into our place, and they said to my husband, jou etter, jy hardloop al weer weg van ons af [you bastard, you are running away again from us] and they took him out of bed and they took him with them. The last time I have seen him he had clothes on, he was decently dressed ...

‘the search’

and then the search started. They told me that I am going to find him at Bishop Lavis Police Station and then I went to Bishop Lavis Police Station and like, he was not there. I went home and I phoned there and they said I should phone Bellville. I phoned Bellville, nobody there. Phoned Bellville South and I just went on and on and on. I think it was for about five days it went on like that and I don't know if any of you people can imagine what it is like looking for somebody, and knowing that this person is in the hands of people who are very dangerous, who are capable of doing anything even capable of killing.

And by the time I got hold of my husband he was at the Bellville South Police Station, and I had such a shock when I saw him, because he was full of blue and purple marks and I asked him - because we couldn't like really speak it was one of the ordinary policemen that took him out the cell, and they still said to me that I am not able they are not able to let me speak long, 'cause if the Security Branch people come and they find me standing there talking to him, they might lock me up as well.

‘tortured’

Then he briefly told me that, what they – what they did. He said to me that they blindfolded him and they first, I think they beat him up and then they took him into a car where they drove for about five to six minutes, and they took him out of the car and, they took him into a building, which sounded very empty, with long passages and they took him into some kind of room whether it was an office or I don't know. He was handcuffed from the police station and they took off the handcuffs and they handcuffed him on the chair, on which he was sitting. And the next thing he felt was the wires that they connected to his fingers and to the back of his - to his back - to his toes as well, and whether it was water, but I think it was mentholated spirits or something and they dabbed it to these wires. And the next thing he felt was like his whole body was going to burst into pieces, the way they've given him this shock treatment, and I think they've done this repeatedly, and he collapsed for a few minutes. By the sec – by the time when he got to - they tried to shock him again, but as – as they did that he moved to the front and he pulled off his his - whatever scarf or whatever it was, and he saw – he saw Captain van Brakel, Strydom and, I'm not sure but I think Pikker was also with them.

‘kept with criminals’

Then he also said to me that he was not like kept separately he was kept with the criminal people that, I mean, that, robbery and whatever and like one of the lawyers came there and as he called to one of the lawyers they ignored him, they never even gave a glance in his direction which is quite upsetting if you know these are the lawyers that is working with us all the time and – and you know for a fact that these people know me, and now suddenly these people don’t this person don’t want to recognise me, just because maybe they think that I’ve done something that is criminal.

‘released’

And then after the seventh day he was released, not even charged, just released. And I’ve actually never heard of Van Brakel after that, but I am telling you he hasn’t tortured me, he has interrogated me by questioning me, but what he has done to my husband is, I think, the worst, because then my interrogation started.

INTERPRETATION [23:45]

‘personal repercussions’

My life started being a mess. My husband was like quite [5 sec] he would like sometimes go off his trolley. He would be like a mad person. And because he knows that his anger his frustrations that he felt at that time, were supposed to be directed at the State, but because I was the nearest person to him, he lashed out. Although I - I understood to a certain extent, but I mean how much can a person take, and being involved since 15, not really having enjoyed a teenage life. In fact I said the other day to one of my comrades you know, it is only now that I realise that I’ve like, I don’t know what it is to go to a bioscope on a Saturday afternoon or even to a disco, like many young people do today or maybe that time as well. I mean I never had friends really. My friends my compadres was my comrades. Those were the only people that I could trust at that point in time, and sometimes you were not even sure if you could trust them.

And as I said like my husband was – just got worse and worse and worse. I tried to get him to counsellors and things, and he wouldn’t accept like – being counselled. He wouldn’t accept being told by other people, because what he used to say to me is that, I had enough of people telling me, I’ve had enough – I’ve had enough of people trying to rule my life for me, and I will do as I please. And like he was never this kind of person before I didn’t know him like that, and always afterwards he would say he’s sorry but I mean as I said how long can a person take somebody saying sorry to you.

‘the cost of being an activist’

Just like these very boers who have been interrogating us and torturing us, is trying to say to us today, we are sorry, we didn’t mean that. We don’t need their apologies. Well, I don’t need them, because I think my life is messed up as it is, directionless I mean, I’ve lost my education, and I’ve lost my childhood, although we have, in return received our freedom and our democracy in this country, but, to what extent, did we, as the comrades, members of BMW, gained. I don’t think we have gained anything, because we are still in the same position as we used to be, unemployed, homeless, abandoned, and there is

nobody that looks back and say well these are the people that has fought the struggle, that has part - that has been part and parcel of the struggle, and has brought us to the point where we are now. Not any recognition I mean and I don't want recognition for myself, but I believe and I have never ever heard anybody say anything in recognition to the youth of that time. In fact, this is the first time that I have seen there is some people who are interested in who we were and who we are now. Thank you.

[28:45]

CONCLUDING PHASE

MS BURTON: Thank you very much. The story you have told is so rich in so many aspects of the experience of people of your age and I could see that some of the time you were actually reliving those moments in your own history. It has given us an extraordinarily vivid picture of what it was like to be 15, to be thrust into a leadership position in a SRC and the other unfolding things that happened to you. It is true that the SCRs' at that time were a testing ground and a training ground for leadership and they pushed people, perhaps, beyond what anybody should be pushed and they created leaders. Our first witness today spoke about how people have aged years in weeks and I think that is something that happened to you. You spoke, for instance, of the way families could not protect their children. One of the most terrible experiences for parents is not to be able to provide that haven for children. You have spoken of disrupted education. I think one of the things we really hope for for young people like you is that it is not too late. I know how hard that is sometimes to accept, but is, there are opportunities. I thought it was very valuable that you said, just in passing, that some things that you and other people in BMW did are things that you are not proud of. One of the things we have to remind ourselves in this hearing about children and youth is that things were done which were wrong things to do which hurt other people, but that was part and parcel of the reality of the time and it is important that that is acknowledged. As you said, you may not be proud of the things you did, but of the reasons why they were done and you spoke, I think, one of the big tragedies of the way that the system broke peoples' trust in one another and we have heard other stories like that today of people being accused of having informed against others or people being forced to inform against others and the damage that does to trust and in human relationships which is very hard to come back from, to learn to trust people again. So, I thank you for that really, really rich testimony. I do not have any questions. I do not know if any of my colleagues do. No. Then I would really just like to thank you very, very much and to wish you well. Thank you.

MRS ADONIS: Thank you.

[32:00]

APPENDIX G

**TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
YOUTH HEARINGS – ATHLONE – DAY 3
DATE: 22 MAY 1997
NAME: MOEGAMAT QASIM WILLIAMS
CASE: CT/01109**

INTRODUCTORY PHASE [00:00]

CHAIRPERSON: Our next witness is Mr Moegamat Williams and I would like him to come up to the stage with his briefer please. [20 sec pause] Good afternoon Mr Williams. You are our second- last witness this afternoon and I know it has been a very long day. Thank you for your patience and your forbearance. I am going to ask Mary Burton to swear you in and then hand you over to Glenda who will help lead your evidence.

MS BURTON: Thank you. Are you willing to swear the oath?

MR WILLIAMS: Yes.

MS BURTON: Please will you stand and raise your right hand.

MOEGAMAT QASIM WILLIAMS: (Duly sworn in, states).

MAIN TESTIMONY [01:50]

ABSTRACT

MS WILDSCHUT: Moegamat, you have given us a written statement. I know that you will talk to your statement. You have had a very difficult, interesting, disturbing, all kinds of descriptions, youth, but it is not for me to talk about that, it is for you to tell us about your own story. I believe you want to do something before you tell your story.

ORIENTATION

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, the thing I would like to do is, okay, I would first like to introduce myself like to the crowd over there. I use to be Craig Williams, running on the name Craig Botha. I later joined up with an organisation the BMW. It's BMW stands for Bonteheuwel Military Wing, and then, at a later stage in life we joined up with the arms struggle MK, and especially to those children out there, I just want to tell them like, I don't think you will ever be able to understand our experiences that we had in life. There was good times there was bad times, but one thing in particular, it was very difficult times for us. There're still a lot of people out there who doesn't understand what we went through. There's still a lot of people I mean grown-ups, and what I wanted to do is like, I wanted to give some kind of demonstration, of, why we really went to prison, and I wanted to sing a freedom song to you. I will interpret it myself into English after I am

finished with the Xhosa version. (Sings freedom song – It is for freedom we went to prison - first in Xhosa, then in English). Thanks.

MS WILDSCHUT: I didn't know you were such a good tenor...

RECOUNT

ABSTRACT continued

MS WILDSCHUT: ...Alright, you want to start telling us about your statement and about your life both in the BMW and as you joined the military wing.

ORIENTATION continued [05:00]

MR WILLIAMS: Ja. I started to get involved in politics at the age of 11 and a half. I was still then in standard four at Bergsig Primary School which is just opposite the high school that I attended as well. And I haven't even reached 12 yet, I wasn't even in standard five yet, and that's when I became wanted by these people who called themselves the justice system, but we all know that they were the injustice system. And I have sworn to myself that I will do it to the best of my capability to make the NP Government ungovernable. I swore that to myself, and I swore as well, irrespective I must lose my life in the struggle, I'll do it, because I want my children, and their children's children, to live in a better society. I mean, today we are in school, we fought against gutter education but there is still gutter education in school. I mean I would like to send my children to school one day knowing that they are going to learn the people's history and not the history that they are learning us in school at the moment.

RECORD OF EVENTS

'on the run'

At the age of 12, I had to leave my mother's nest, I had to leave the house, I had to fight to survive, because I was always on the run. My brother is also sitting in the audience, he wasn't that heavily involved, but he supported us a great deal.

'harrassed by police'

Then what happened, every second month the cops would have this, kind of like, idea, coming around to my mother's house to see if I was there and they wouldn't get me there. They found my brother there and they said to my mother, if we're not going to find Botha, that is what they called me, we're not going to release your other son. And it went on, it went on, it went on, and like they couldn't like, caught me at first. And then at a later stage the same thing happened, my brother was captured again by the security branch forces, and they calling themselves - they calling themselves, the justice system. I mean, I was hiding in the house and I had like to hear something being told to my mother. You say your son is only 12 years old, you are worser than a prostitute, you don't even know where he is, how do you care for your children, and it affected me a great lot.

‘student politics’

And then I told myself, to hell with these boers, because we go to school, found there’s a mass rally, we attend the mass rally, we didn’t want to do our school work, because we want to know what’s happening and what’s going on. And now you become more like a target, and in their eyes the cops, was like, if I cannot get you, I’m going to kill you.

‘branded as an informer

And then 1987, nearly the whole organization, that I represent here today, was arrested. I was still on the run, they couldn’t find me. And then what happened was some boers told people in my organization, they’re not really looking for me, because I was their informer (2 sec). These people came out, knowing in their hearts and minds, I have never been caught by these people, I mean I have been with them every day, believing what these people told them.

What happened, I was told, I was turned around on. I was told listen, we’re regrouping tonight at the church also in Bonteheuwel, and when I came there, there was only three brothers there, I was the fourth one, not knowing what I was coming into. The first thing that happened, my own brothers hit me over the head, with a very heavy object I still don’t know what it was. I fell down to the ground, my clothes was ripped off, petrol were thrown over me, and I was set alight, by my own brothers who I believed in. But what this did, inside of my heart, a build up, even a stronger grudge, against the system, against the boers, and at that particular moment in time, I forced myself, I told myself, this is my brothers that has done this to me. I’m not going to leave them, I’m going to stick like glue to their side, because I want to show them I want to prove them, I’m not a traitor, I’m still the same person who started out with them.

Okay, the story went on. I did exactly what I told myself to do. I kept on going out with my brothers, kept on doing things with them. I never pulled away from them once.

And today still, whenever I hear a security branch officer's name being mentioned, I want to go out there and shoot to kill, because if it wasn’t for that priest on that particular Sunday night, I wouldn’t have been sitting here today. I would have died at the hands of my own brothers, believing in what these Security Branch people, who was supposed to be part of the justice system then told them. I was nearly killed. I couldn’t believe it. My own brothers did this - did this to me knowing I haven’t been arrested yet [4 sec] and what was more funny about it, was... [50 sec pause] I have just been asked ...

MS WILDSCHUT: Maybe I should just explain what is happening, that George is actually just helping you compose yourself ...

MR WILLIAMS: I know.

MS WILDSCHUT: ... without telling you what to say.

MR WILLIAMS: I know.

MS WILDSCHUT: So, we - we - we are aware of that.

MR WILLIAMS: I have not been told, I have been asked.

MS WILDSCHUT: Yes, so George is just giving you some support there.

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, the reason for why the people of the BMW did this to me, it was because these people who were looking for me, they told them I was their informer. That's why all of them has been captured, at the same time, me being the only one not being arrested still on the run.

MS WILDSCHUT: And Moegamat, sorry, you understood that as it happened and that is why you made the pledge to prove to them that you were not a spy.

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, I told myself over and over, I'm not going to let this like, part me from the rest of the BMW members. I mean I am going to stick to them like glue. I mean I'm going to prove to them now I'm still the same person who I use to be, I'm not the people, like, I'm not the person the type of person that you found out I am and I mean knowing that these people were against us. Still yet they believed them.

'detained by the police'

MS WILDSCHUT: But you were eventually detained?

MR WILLIAMS: Yes, and it happened in 1987 and on the sixth of January 1988 I was arrested together with my brother and another member of the BMW. They were taken to Bishop Lavis Police Station. I was held there for about an half an hour, then I was taken away to Brackenfell.

There is no way to describe this I will say where my hell began, because each and every member of the Security Branch police they never knew what I looked like, they knew me by name and my false surname, but they never knew what I looked like. And then they like come through to find out this is like the guy that gave them all the trouble and each and everyone was told listen here you must look properly at him the next time he gives you trouble shoot to kill, kill him, because he is a danger not only to them, they labelled me as a threat to society as well. And I was like first say for, I didn't have the time on me, but it was say for about two, three hours I was interrogated at Brackenfell Police Station, whereafter I was placed under Section 29, and I was only 14 years old then. I was placed under Section 29, and I had been threatened I'm never going to see my family again. This one officer in particular, his name was Sergeant Pikker, he told me, today is the day you are going to meet your maker, you are never going to see your family again. And my direct words to him was, do whatever you want to and do what you have to do. I am not afraid of you, and then I was like smacked around again and that type of thing. And after ten days in Macassar police cells, I tried to commit suicide by hanging myself with my tracksuit pants. And then when the Security Branch came they were informed I nearly committed suicide, and then I was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison, together with, another few of my brothers, comrades Jacques Adonis, Christopher Rutledge, Com Q, Christopher Tinto and our health Minister Ebrahim Rasool, we were all held together. I was only with them for about four days, and then I was charged. Together with the rest of the BMW members, we were charged with over 300 crimes. The then Minister of Defence, Adriaan Vlok, he didn't say it was political motivated or anything, he said it was crimes, and we are a danger to society, and should be locked up, and the keys should be thrown away.

‘released’

And then like, I was released on the same day, R1 000 bail, at the age of 14. And that was only where, I could say, my hell started, because I start having these nightmares, not knowing who to trust anymore, because of all these stories that I was told by them. I mean I was told that my own brother informed me, I was told that my commander informed me. They mentioned nearly all the names because on the morning when they arrested me they knew exactly where to come I didn't sleep at home they knew exactly where to come and they came to fetch me out there, like

CODA

Ja, I think that is about it (6 sec).
[21:00]

COMMENT: ‘the Freedom Charter’

If there is one thing that always gave me, the strength and the courage to fight in the struggle, it was the points of the Freedom Charter, and I would like to know, what I would like to know today is, can any one of the commissioners explain to me what has happened to the Freedom Charter? The Freedom Charter was labelled the most precious ... document in the whole wide world. I believe in the Freedom Charter so did my brothers and sisters who fought together with me. We knew one day, when we have power we are going to live according to the Freedom Charter. It has never happened. You don't even hear about the Freedom Charter anymore. I would like to know, was the Freedom Charter picked up, crumbled and thrown away. That is my pledge to you. I would like to know what has happened to the Freedom Charter. I believe in the document, and I still believe in it. The ANC has taken over, they have got power, but what I can say, I have never once heard any one of the ministers nor the President mention the Freedom Charter or any particular points of the Freedom Charter.

OBSERVATION: ‘the current situation’

EVENT DESCRIPTION

And then I would also like to say, today as I am sitting here, I am a little bit cracked. It might not look that way, but I am. I have brothers, who was – who was with me together in the BMW who operated me for so many years with me. I am still seeing them today, I am still seeing them today.

COMMENT

Now the only point is the places where I see them, it hurts me most. There are a few of my brothers, their expectations was so high with the new government take over. Obviously, they were so overlooked, forgotten, they decided to become vagrants, walking around the streets of town. I found them in the Docks, Waterfront and Woodstock.

I mean, like one of the brothers earlier, asked, I mean, we were like labelled as one of the most dangerous organisations in the whole of the Western Cape. I myself I was labelled as one of the most wanted activists only at the age of 12. I am not worried about me having been overlooked 'cause I was a little bit fortunate, 'cause I tried to fit myself into society again knowing that people are going to ask questions like, why did you fight in the struggle, what have you gained out of the struggle. Sometimes there is an answer to these questions, sometimes there isn't an answer, 'cause you know sometimes you have like four five people asking the same question and they don't – they don't expect the same answer. They want different answers. So I am saying sometimes there is an answer, sometimes there is not an answer for these types of questions people are asking.

REQUEST

And my biggest pledge to you is I would like, I would like whether now or at a later stage, but somewhere in – but somewhere in the near future, I would like to meet up with these Security Branch people. I want them to personally apologise for the statements that they have laid against us in the newspapers.

COMMENT (continued)

I mean, people, it was very hard for people like to accept a terrorist back into society, because we were – we were labelled terrorist. We formed this group the BMW because we knew about this harassment and the arrest and all these kind of threats that the cops laid against us and that type of thing I mean we had to defend ourselves. We couldn't just sit and wait for a kind of bomb to blast them, there we go. We had to defend ourselves. So we did what we did in order to win our struggle. We didn't do it out of selfishness or out of saying, ag this is *lekker* I want to do it. We knew what we did then, but we don't know where we stand now.

[27:45]

MS WILDSCHUT: Moegamat, you really put a very impassioned plea before this panel and before the Commission to really look very carefully at our present state of affairs and how we can deal with those of your Comrades and others who are feeling so disillusioned today. I just wanted to ask you one or two small questions and then perhaps the other panelists might want to ask you some questions.

ELICITED TESTIMONY [28:30]

RECOUNT

ORIENTATION

MS WILDSCHUT: The time you were detained in, on the sixth of January 87, you tell us that you were 14 then.

MR WILLIAMS: Ja.

MS WILDSCHUT: 14 Years old. What were the - apart from beating you and isolating you from others, what were, are you able to tell us what other methods were used when they were interrogating you?

RECORD OF EVENTS: tortured

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, I had it on two occasions where or one occasion where I was hung up by my feet and beaten and then ...

MS WILDSCHUT: Sorry, Moegamat, can I just ask you a bit more slowly. Are you saying that your feet were put together ...

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, I was ...

MS WILDSCHUT: ... and then you were ...

MR WILLIAMS: ... hung up. I was hung up in the air.

MS WILDSCHUT: hung up upside down.

MR WILLIAMS: Ja.

MS WILDSCHUT: Okay.

MR WILLIAMS: Upside down and then I was beaten all over my shoulders and my back. And on the other occasion I was like widely spread, my legs widely spread, my arms widely spread, tied in four different directions, and I had grass thrown between my hair and my private parts, and had a turtle walking over it, pulling for the grass, obviously pulling my hair with. Ja, that was two of the other experiences and the one where the black bag was put over my head, and a rope was put I don't know exactly where I was, because I was taken away from Macassar Police Station, and I was hung up with the rope around here my arms, and then I was - I was airborne, I didn't know where I was and today I still don't know where I - where I were then. But I was told this is the highest building in Cape Town, and if I am not prepared to talk they're going to drop me. And I told them, I already told you do what you want to do. If you want to charge me charge me. If you're not going to charge me, let me go. I'm not prepared to work with you, because I have some responsibilities towards my brothers and sisters being held there.

MS WILDSCHUT: That time you were airborne, as you say, they actually let you out of the building with the rope around your chest. Is that what happened?

MR WILLIAMS: I will tell it to be, like, kind of, like, direct with you. We weren't far away from Macassar Police Station. I knew I know we had a long kind of drive, but I was like something around my eyes, I mean I couldn't see before they put the bag over my head, I couldn't see where we were going, but I believe we just drove around there the whole time, they making me want to believe that we were in Cape Town because my trip back to Macassar Police Station it only took about ten minutes.

MS WILDSCHUT: Were you tied, they tried to drown you at some point?

MR WILLIAMS: Hey?

MS WILDSCHUT: Were you tried, did they try to drown you at some point?

MR WILLIAMS: No.

MS WILDSCHUT: In the toilet?

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, that was on the morning, the sixth of January when I was arrested. I wanted to pee and my head was put down the toilet pot, the chain was pulled, and I was told, if you want to do anything you must ask permission, because I wanted to go in there, go and pee. I didn't even get the chance to do that. And the same thing happened to my

brother. He was also arrested with me, because they asked us this particular question where a friend of ours, also a member of the BMW he was arrested and he was released again but then they looked for him again where he was, and I told them, be realistic, how can I tell you where Roger are if I am here with you, and then I turned around, I went to the toilet, I wanted to go and pee and then is when it happened.

MS WILDSCHUT: As a 14 year old and all of these things happening to you it must have been terrifying?

COMMENT: ‘the struggle continues’

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, that’s why, I will say once again, I will repeat what Riefaat Hattas said earlier. I want to urge these children who are sitting out here, even these parents, to like tell the children, the chances they are getting in life, they must grab it with both hands. I mean, we also had the chance, but instead we chose to fight, a battle that we – that we knew we were going to win some day, irrespective how long, and how hard this battle is going to be for us. We knew one day, we are – we are going to overcome this battle, and so we did. We won the battle, but in our hearts and minds, we know there is still a struggle.

MS WILDSCHUT: Moegamat, thank you. Sorry, you were still busy talking.

MR WILLIAMS: No, it’s okay.

MS WILDSCHUT: Thank you. I don’t have anymore questions to ask you. I will hand over to the Chair.

MS GOBODO-MADIKIZELA: Madam Chair, thank you. Moegamat, I just thinking as you were talking and wondering. You know you were 11 years, 12 years. As adults when we go through trauma we have some resources, we know how to defend against it, but somehow for you, as a child, being immature psychologically, but mature in your strength, you know, amazingly mature in your strength to be determined to do and engage what you chose to do is just most amazing and in a way that gave you strength, but at the same time there was a certain immaturity psychologically, just not having the strength developmentally at that time to know, to have resources built for yourself for your adulthood and I’m wondering how has that experience affected you in your adulthood or how is it, how has it strengthened you?

COMMENT: ‘coping in the present’

MR WILLIAMS: Ja, I will say in my adulthood, thanks to my commander of the former BMW, Faried Ferhelst, who is also sitting in the audience, I would like this chance and opportunity to like thank him again for like meeting up with some people American people, and they are offering these kind of courses, and these people to some extent they helped me forgot – forgot about what has happened in the past and how to like try and cope with the future. I mean there is still a lot of things as I said earlier, we won the battle but there is still a struggle going on. I mean, some people ask where is the struggle going on, but we know where the struggle is going on and what is happening. And also, you know, as I said, thanks Faried. These American people have really helped me greatly

with attending these courses, they have three courses like, and that is one thing that I can like say I will fitted myself into society again and, I mean being able to do the things what I really wanted to do and, I mean okay I am unemployed I don't have any income, I am doing community work and I'm doing it voluntarily and I mean it's kind of like hard sometimes not being able to go back home I mean I am married, got one child, got married in 1995 30th of September. I mean to me sometimes it is like, hard especially on a Friday night because my wife is working I am not. Sometimes on a Friday night she ask me do you want a packet of cigarettes and then I feel so bad, my direct answer is no I don't want anything, and I would walk out, just turn around and walk out, not saying anything further. I mean without explaining to her why my behaviour is like that and that type of thing. [37:05]

CONCLUDING PHASE

MS WILDSCHUT: It is for me to thank you for coming today and for sharing this incredible story with us. It is really incredible to, for any of us to visualise what a young 12 and 13, 14 year old person has to go through, but thanks for giving us a glimpse of what that must have meant, it must have been like for you then, and for me just to re-emphasise that many of the things that you did were not in self-interest, you did it because you felt you had a duty to perform you felt that you were fighting for a just cause and I want to salute you for that I want to honour you for that, and hold you up as an example of how young people have been prepared to sacrifice their youth and their childhood for the struggle in this country. I honour you. [38:20].