

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Articles

- Adam, Heribert (1971) *Modernizing Racial Domination* (Cape Town: David Philip).
- Adam, Heribert (1994a) 'Ethnic versus Civic Nationalism: South Africa's Non-Racialism in Comparative Perspective', *South African Sociological Review*, 7, 1-17.
- Adam, Heribert (1994b) 'Nationalism, Nation-Building and Non-Racialism', in N. Rhodie and I. Liebenberg, eds, *Democratic Nation-Building in South Africa* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council Publishers) 37-51.
- Adam, Heribert (2000). 'Divided Memories: Confronting the Crimes of Previous Regimes', *Telos*, 118 Winter
- Adam, Heribert and Herman Giliomee (1979) *The Rise and Crisis of Afrikaner Power* (Cape Town: David Philip).
- Adam, Heribert and Kogila Moodley (1993) *The Opening Up of the Apartheid Mind: Options for the new South Africa*. (Berkeley: University of California Press.)
- Adam, Heribert and Kogila Moodley (July 2000) 'Race and Nation in South Africa', *Current Sociology*, 48, 3 51.
- Alexander, Neville 'Manuel Castells and the New South Africa' (2000), *Social Dynamics*, 26, 1 9.
- Anderson, Benedict. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso).
- Asmal, Kader (1996) 'Foreword', in M. Gevisser, *Portraits of Power: Profiles in a Changing South Africa* (Claremont, 1996).
- Baringhorst, Sigrid (2000) 'Political Rituals'. In: Alan Scott and Kate Nash, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Barth, Frederick. (1969) 'Introduction'. In F. Barth (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press).
- Bayart, Jean-Francois (2005) *The Illusion of Cultural Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- Beck, Ulrich (1992) *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage)

- Beck, Ulrich (1994). 'The reinvention of politics: towards a theory of reflexive modernization' in: U. Beck, A. Giddens, S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order* (London: Polity Press, 1994), 123-139.
- Bocock, Robert (1993) *Consumption* (Routledge: London).
- Bosch, Alain (1999). 'L'ANC et le concept de Nation', in D. Darbon, ed., *Ethnicité et nation en Afrique du Sud* (Paris: Karthala)
- Bozzoli, Belinda (1981) *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class. Capital and Ideology in South Africa, 1890-1933* (London: Routledge)
- Brink, Chris (2006). *No lesser Place. The taaldebat at Stellenbosch* (Stellenbosch: Africa Sun Press)
- Bouchard, Gerard (2000) *Genese des nations et cultures du nouveau monde. Essai d'histoire comparee* (Montreal: Boreal) 198-212.
- Buruma, Ian (1994) *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan* (London: J.Cape)
- Calhoun, Craig. (1997) *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press)
- Castoriadis, Cornelius (1987). *The imaginary institution of society* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press)
- Chatterjee, Partha (1986) *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London: Zed Books for the United Nations University)
- Chatterjee, Partha (1993) *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Clandinin, Jean and Michael Connelly (2000) *Narrative Inquiry. Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers)
- Clarke, David B., M. A. Doel and K.M.L. Housiaux (2003) *The Consumption Reader*. (London and New York: Routledge).
- Czarniawska, Barbara (2004) *Narratives in Social Science Research* (London: Sage).
- Dickie-Clark, Hamish F. (1983) "Ideology in recent writings on South Africa" in Heribert Adam, ed. *South Africa, The Limits of Reform Politics* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), 105-116
- Du Pisani, Kobus (2001) 'Puritanism Transformed: Afrikaner Masculinities in the Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Period.' in: Robert Morrell, ed. *Changing Men in Southern Africa*

(Pietermaritzburg and London: University of Natal Press and Zed Books), 157-176.

- Du Preez, Max (2003) *Pale Native. Memories of a Renegade Reporter*. (Cape Town: Zebra Press:)
- Du Toit, Andre (1981) 'Facing Up to the Future', *Social Dynamics*, 7(2), 1-27.
- Du Toit, Andre. (1983) 'No Chosen People: the Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology', *American Historical Review*, Vol. 88, issue 4, 920-952.
- Edwards, T. (2000) *Contradictions of consumption. Concepts, practices and politics in consumer society* (Buckingham and Philadelphia: Open University Press).
- Elias, Norbert (1991). *The Society of Individuals* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell:).
- Erasmus, Zimitri. (2001) "Introduction: Re-Imagining Coloured Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa". In *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town*, edited by Zimitri Erasmus (Cape Town: Kwela)
- Evans, Dylan (2001) *An Introductory Dictionary of Lacanian Psychoanalysis* (London: Routledge)
- Feiermann, Stephen. (1990) *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press)
- Finlayson, Alan (2000) 'Imagined Communities'. In: Alan Scott and Kate Nash, eds. *The Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology* (Oxford: Blackwell)
- Flick, Uwe (2000). 'Episodic Interviewing'. In: Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell (2000) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (London: Sage), 38-56.
- Frankenberg, Ruth (1993) *White Women, Race Matters – The Social Construction of Whiteness* (London: Routledge)
- Frederikse, Julie (1990) *The Unbreakable Thread: Non-Racialism in South Africa* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press)
- Friedman, Steven (1994) 'Settling for Second Best: Preconditions for Reconciliation and Nation-Building', in N. Rhodie and I. Liebenberg, eds, *Democratic Nation-Building in South Africa* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council), 176.
- Furlong, Patrick (1991). *Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era* (Johannesburg: Wits

University Press)

- Gagiano, Jannie (1990) 'Ruling Group Cohesion', in: H. Giliomee and J. Gagiano, eds., *The Elusive Search for Peace: South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press), 191-208.
- Gaskell, George (2000). 'Individual and Group Interviewing'. In: Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell (2000) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (London: Sage), 38-56.
- Geertz, Clifford (1963) 'The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiment and Civil Politics in the New States', in: C. Geertz (ed.) *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (New York: The Free Press), 106-157.
- Gellner, Ernest. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell)
- Gezerlis, Alexandros (2001). *Democracy and Nature*, vol. 7, no. 3, 'Castoriadis and the Project of Autonomy. A review of The Imaginary Institution of Society' 469-487.
- Giddens, Anthony. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press)
- Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-modernity. Self and society in the late modern age* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Giddens, Anthony (1994). 'Living in a post-traditional society', in: U. Beck, A. Giddens, S. Lash, *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order* (London: Polity Press).
- Giliomee, Herman (1989) 'The Beginnings of Afrikaner Ethnic Consciousness, 1850-1915'. In L. Vail, ed. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (London: J.Currey)
- Giliomee, Herman (1991), 'Nation-Building in a Post-Apartheid Society', in W.S. Vorster, ed., *Building a New Nation: The Quest for a New South Africa* (Pretoria, 1991), 30-50
- Giliomee, Herman (1996) 'Being Afrikaans in the New (Multilingual) South Africa', *New Contree*, 40 (Nov. 1996), 59-85.
- Giliomee, Herman (2003) *The Afrikaners. Biography of a People* (Cape Town: Tafelberg)
- Giliomee, Herman and Lawrence Schlemmer (1989) *From Apartheid to Nation-Building* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press).

- Gilroy, Paul (2000). *Between Camps: race, identity and nationalism at the end of the colour line* (London: Allen Lane).
- Gilroy, Paul (1994). *Small Acts: Thoughts on the Politics of Black Cultures* (London: Serpents Tail)
- Gilroy, Paul (1987) “*There ain’t no black in the union jack*”: *the cultural politics of race and nation* (London: Hutchinson).
- Gorski, Philip. (2000), ‘The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism’. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vo.105, Iss.5, 1428-1468.
- Greenfeld, L. (1992) *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Harvard, Mass.: Harvard University Press).
- Guelke, Adrian (1999) *South Africa in Transition – The Misunderstood Miracle* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris)
- Guelke, Leonard (1979) ‘The White Settlers, 1652-1780’, in: R. Elphick and H. Giliomee, eds. *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820* (London and Cape Town: Longman)
- Guindon, Hubert. (1967) ‘Two Cultures: An essay on nationalism, class, and ethnic tension’. In: R.H. Leach, (ed) *Contemporary Canada*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press)
- Haas, Ernst B. (1997) *Nationalism, Liberalism and Progress. The Rise and Decline of Nationalism*, Vol. 1 & 2 (Cornell: Cornell University Press)
- Habermas, Jurgen (1977). *Legitimationsprobleme im Spatkapitalismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag).
- Hall, Stuart (1996). ‘The question of cultural identity’, in: S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert and K. Thompson, eds. *Modernity. An introduction to modern societies* (Blackwell: Oxford and Cambridge, MA).
- Hall, Stuart (1990) What is black in “black” popular culture? *Social Justice*, vol. 20, nos. 1-2
- Hobsbawm, Eric (1983) ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions.’ In: E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Hofmeyr, Isabel. (1987), ‘Building a nation from words: Afrikaans language, literature and ethnic identity, 1902-1924’. In: S. Marks and S. Trapido, (eds) *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism* (Harlow, Essex: Longman), 95-116.

- Hofmeyr, Isabel. (1988) "Popularizing history: the case of Gustav Preller". *Journal of African History*, 29, 521-535
- Howarth, David (2002) "Ethnic and racial identities in a changing South Africa: the limits of social science explanation." *South African Historical Journal*, 46,
- Hylland-Eriksen, Thomas (1999) A non-ethnic state for Africa? A life-world approach to the imagining of communities in: P. Yeros (ed.), *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: Constructivist Reflections and Contemporary Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press), 45-64
- Hyslop, Jon (2000) Why did apartheid's supporters capitulate? 'Whiteness', class and consumption in urban South Africa, 1985-1995', *Transition*, 31 (1), 36-44.
- Hyslop, Jon (2005) Shopping during a revolution: entrepreneurs, retailers and "white" identity in the democratic transition, *Historia*, 50 (1), 173-190.
- Jewsiewicki, Bogumil (2004) "Representation du passé comme réparation. L'histoire après l'apartheid". *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, XLIV (1-2), 173-174, 2004, 447-452,
- Jovchelovitch, Sandra and Martin W. Bauer (2000). 'Narrative Interviewing', In: Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell (2000) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound* (London: Sage), 38-56.
- Joffe, Helene (1999) *Risk and 'the other'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Jung, Courtney (2000) *Then I was black*. (New Haven: Yale UP)
- Kenney, Henry (1990) *Power, Pride and Prejudice* (Cape Town: John Ball)
- Krikler, Jeremy (2005) *White Rising. The 1922 Insurrection and Racial Killings in South Africa* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press).
- Krog, Antje (2003) *A Change of Tongue*. (Random House: Johannesburg)
- Krog, Anjie (2004). *N.P. Van Wyk Louw Lesing, Die Beautiful Woorde van Van Wyk Louw*, lecture given at the University of Johannesburg, unpublished manuscript
- Kymlicka, Will. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Letourneau, Jocelyn (1998) 'La Nation des Jeunes.' In: J.Letourneau and B. Jewsiewiecki, eds. *Les Jeunes a l'ere de la mondialisation. Quete identitaire et conscience historique* (Quebec: Septentrion), 411-430

- Lodge, Tom (1983) *Black Politics in South Africa since 1945* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press)
- Lodge, Tom (2002) *Politics in South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki* (Cape Town: David Philip), 45.
- Lonsdale, John (1992) 'The Moral Economy of the Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty and Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought', in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa, Book 2: Violence and Ethnicity* (London: James Currey).
- Mbembe, Achille (2001). *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- Mbembe, Achille (1992). 'Provisional Notes on the Postcolony', *Africa*, 62 (1), 3-37
- McGrew, Anthony (1996). 'A global society?', in: S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert, eds., *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies* (Blackwell: Oxford and Cambridge, MA), 325-341.
- McGuire, Meredith (1991). *Religion: The Social Context* (Belmont: Wadsworth).
- Meyer, Birgit. and Peter Geschiere (1999) *Globalization and identity: dialectics of flow and closure* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Mitscherlich, Margarete (1995). How Do Germans Face Their Guilt? *Partisan Review*, 62. no. 4, 527
- Mitscherlich, Alexander and Margarete (1967). *Die Unfähigkeit zu Trauern* (Frankfurt: Piper).
- Moodie, Dunbar T. (1975) *The Rise of Afrikanerdom*. (Berkeley: University of California Press,).
- Moodie, Dunbar (1978) 'The Afrikaner Civil Religion' in: H. Mol, ed. *Identity and Religion. International, Cross-cultural Approaches* (London: Sage, International Sociological Association), 203-228.
- Mostert, Noel (1992) *Frontiers. The Epic of South Africa's Creation and the Tragedy of the Xhosa People* (London: Pimlico).
- Norval, Aletta (1996) *Deconstructing apartheid discourse* (London: Verso).
- Nuttall, Sarah (2001) 'Subjectivities of Whiteness', *African Studies Review*, 44, 2, 115-137.
- Oezkirimli, Umut (2003) 'The Nation as an Artichoke? A Critique of Ethnosymbolist Interpretations of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalisms*, 9, 3, 339-355

- O'Meara, Dan (1983) *Volkskapitalisme. Class, Capital and Ideology in the Development of Afrikaner nationalism, 1934-1948*. (Johannesburg: Ravan Press).
- O'Meara, Dan (1996) *Forty Lost Years: The apartheid state and the politics of the national party, 1948-1994* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press)
- Posel, Deborah. (1991) *The making of apartheid, 1948-1961: Conflict and compromise* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Posel, Deborah (2000) 'Labour Relations and the Politics of Patronage: A Case Study of the Apartheid Civil Service', In: Glenn Adler, ed., *Public Service Labour Relations in a Democratic South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press)
- Posel, Deborah (2001) 'What's in a Name? Racial Categorizations under Apartheid and their Afterlife', *Transformation*, 47,, 50-74.
- Ranger, Terence (1993) 'The Invention of Tradition Revisited: the Case of Colonial Africa'. In: T. Ranger, O.Vaughan, ed. *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-Century Africa* (London: Macmillan).
- Rappoport, Leon, Steve Baumgardner, George Boone (1999) 'Postmodern Culture and the Plural Self', In: John Rowan, Mike Cooper, eds., *The Plural Self. Multiplicity in Everyday Life* (London: Sage)
- Roberts, Brian (2002) *Biographical Research* (Buckingham: Open University Press).
- Roodt, Dan (2005) *The scourge of the ANC* (PRAAG: Pretoria).
- Ross, Robert (1993) *Beyond the Pale. Essays on the History of Colonial South Africa* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press:).
- Ross, Robert (1999) *A Concise History of South Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Sadie, J.L.(2000) *The Fall and Rise of the Afrikaner in the South African Economy* (Stellenbosch: Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University)
- Sears, David O. (2005) 'Inner Conflict in the Political Psychology of Racism', In: J.F.Dovidio, P.Glick, L.A. Rudman, eds., *On the Nature of Prejudice – Fifty Years after Allport* (Malden, MA: Blackwell)
- Schlemmer, Lawrence (1997) 'Education and Culture: Prospects for Progress and Peace in South Africa', in H. Kotze, ed., *A Future South Africa: Prospects for 1999 and Beyond* (Stellenbosch)
- Schlemmer, Lawrence (1999) *Factors in the persistence or decline of ethnic group*

mobilization: A conceptual review and case study of cultural group responses among Afrikaners in post-apartheid South Africa. (PhD. Thesis, University of Capetown)

- Schoenteich, Martin (2003) and H. Boshoff, ““Volk”, *Faith and Fatherland: The Security Threat Posed by the White Right*. Monograph no. 81 (Pretoria: Centre for Security Studies,)
- Slabbert, Van Zyl (2006) *The Other Side of History. An Anecdotal Reflection on Political Transition in South Africa* (Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg and Cape Town)
- Slater, D. (2004) ‘New Times ?’ In: V. Buchli, ed. *Material Culture. Critical Concepts in the Social Sciences* (London: Routledge), 172-207.
- Smith, Anthony D.(1995) ‘Gastronomy or geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations’, *Nations and Nationalism*, volume 1, issue 1, 3-23.
- Sparks, Alistair (2003). *Beyond the Miracle: Inside the New South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathon Ball)
- Steyn, Melissa (2001) “Whiteness is just not what it used to be”. *White identity in a changing South Africa* (Albany: State University of New York Press).
- Supriya, K.E. (1999) White Difference: Cultural Constructions of white identity. In: Thomas K.Nakayama, Judith N. Martin. *Whiteness. The communication of social Identity* (London: Sage), 107-128.
- Suzman, Mark (1999) *Ethnic nationalism and state power: the rise of Irish nationalism, Afrikaner nationalism and Zionism* (Basingstoke: London).
- Tambini, Damian. (2001) ‘Post-national Citizenship’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24, 2, 195-217.
- Tambini, Damian (1998) ‘Nationalism: A Literature Survey’. *European Journal of Social Theory*. Vol. 1, No.1, (July 1998),137-154.
- Tamir, Yael. (1993) *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Taylor, Charles.(1992) *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Taylor, Charles (1998) ‘Nationalism and Modernity’, in: John E. Hall, ed. *State of the Nation: Ernst Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Taylor, Charles (2004). *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham and London: Duke University Press).

- Thompson, Leonard (1985) *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press).
- Thompson, Leonard (1990) *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Van Coller, H.P (2003) 'Die Medium van Onderrig aan Suid-Afrikaanse Universiteite: Die Geval van Afrikaans', *Koers*, 68, 1, 87-105.
- Van Jaarsveld, F.A.(1961) *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism, 1868-1881* (Cape Town: Human & Rousseau:).
- Van Onselen, Charles (1982) *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914, vol. 2, New Nineveh* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press).
- Van Rooyen, Johan (2002) *The New Great Trek: The Story of South Africa's White Exodus* (Pretoria).
- Vatcher, W.H.Jr.(1965) *White Laager. The rise of Afrikaner nationalism.* (London).
- Vestergaard, Mats (2001) 'Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Daedalus*, 130, 1 19-44.
- Yeros, Paris. (1999a) 'Introduction: On the uses and implications of constructivism' in P. Yeros (ed.), *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: Constructivist Reflections an Contemporary Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press), 1-14.
- Yeros, Paris (1999b) 'Towards a Normative Theory of Ethnicity: Reflections on the Politics of Constructivism' in: P.Yeros (ed.) *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: Constructivist Reflections and Contemporary Politics* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Press),101-132.
- Yoshino, Kosaku (1999) *Consuming Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Richemond, United Kingdom: Curzon Press)
- Young, Crawford (1994) "Evolving modes of consciousness and ideology: nationalism and ethnicity", in: D.E.Apter and C.G. Rosberg, eds.,*Political development and the new realism in sub-Saharan Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia), 61-86.

Primary Sources

African National Congress (1999) 'Building the ANC', African National Congress, <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/conf/conference50/resolutions2html> (accessed on 4 September 2003)

African National Congress (1997), 'Nation-Forming and Nation-Building'. <http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/discussion/nation.html> (accessed on 11 March 2004)

Die Oorlegplatform (2002)., 'Open Letter to the Taaltaakspan van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch'

Mbeki, Thabo (2003) 'Address by President Mbeki at the Occasion of the Launch of Freedom Park, 16 June 2003', p. 4, <http://www.freedompark.org.za/index.html> (accessed on 17 March 2004)

Serote, Mongane Wally (2003) 'Speech of Dr Wally Serote, Chairman of the Freedom Park Trust at the Occasion of the Cleansing, Healing and Symbolic Reparation Ceremony in Northern Cape Province, 29 June 2003', p. 4, <http://www.freedompark.org.za/index.html> (accessed on 17 March 2004)

Newspapers

- Asmal, Kader (2002) 'Their True Native Tongue is Superiority', *Sunday Times*, 28 July 2002, p. 17.
- Devji, Faisal (2005) 'A War Fought For Impersonal Passions', *Financial Times*, July 25, p.13
- 'Different Races Still Have to Make Friends' (2005), *Sunday Independent*, June 19, 17.
- Du Toit, Z.B. (2005) 'Red een universiteit vir Afrikaans – en gou?' *Rapport*, 25 September, b.2.
- Goosen, Dani (2002a) 'Die Taalstryders Is Nie Almal So Nie', *Rapport*, 11 Aug. 2002, p. 17;
- Goosen, Dani (2002b) 'Embracing "Politics of Recognition"', *The Star*, 11 Dec. 2002.
- Makhanya, Mondli (2003) 'We Can't Pretend Tribalism Will Just Go Away', *Sunday Times*, 16 June 2003.
- Matshikiza, John (2005) 'Out on a limb at Aardklop', *Mail & Guardian*, October 7 to 13, p.34.
- Mthombothi., Barney (2003) 'Mbeki has Redefined ANC Politics', *The Star*, 26 Aug. 2003, p.12.
- Niewoudt, Stefanie (2002) 'Hoor jy Jong SA se Dreuning?', *Beeld*, 25 Sep. 2002, p. 11.
- Retief, Hanelie (2003) 'Sy Afrikaansheid Was Nooit Weg Nie', *Rapport*, 9 Mar. 2003, p. 21.
- Sampson, Lin (2006) 'Dressing Right', *Sunday Times Lifestyle*, January 29, p.12.

Published on the Worldwide Web

- Adam, Heribert (1999/2000). 'Vergleichende Vergangenheitspolitik'. Presentation at the Max Weber Kolleg, Universitat Erfurt. *Kolloquien des Max Weber-Kollegs*, VI – XIV
<http://www.db-thueringen.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-1343/adam.pdf>, (accessed on November 1, 2006)
- Bostock, W.W. (2000) 'South Africa's Language Policy: Controlled Status Enhancement and Reduction', *Mots pluriels*, 13 (Apr. 2000)
<http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP13000wban.html> (downloaded, 29 July 2003)
- 'New Energy in Afrikaners' Mulder (2002), *Dispatch Online*, 22 October 2002,
www.dispatch.co.za/-2002/10/22/southafrica/GNEW.HTM (accessed on 13 March 2004)
- Pieter Duvenage 'Is 'n saaklike debat met Dan Roodt moontlik?' *Litnet*, 7 Maart, 2005
http://www.oulitnet.co.za/seminaar/roodt_duvenage.asp (accessed June 8, 2006)
- Rossouw, Johan (2002) 'Adriaan Basson Slaan die Bal Ver Mis', *LitNet Boekindaba*, 2 Julie 2002, <http://www.groep63.org.za/dok2002/litnet02072.htm> (accessed on 4 March 2004)
- Scholtz, Leopold (2003) 'Afrikaans se Toekoms Lê Buite Formele Politiek', *Die Burger*, 9 May www.news24.com/Die_Burger/Kommentaar/0,,4-78_1357408,00.html (accessed on 10 May 2003).
- Solidarity (Solidariteit) homepage, <http://www.solidaritysa.co.za> (accessed February 7, 2007)

Documentary Film

- Desai, Rehad (2006) *The Heart of Whiteness*. (Johannesburg: Uhuru Productions)

Unpublished Manuscript

- Titlestadt, Michael (2006) 'The secularization of South African white male identity' (Johannesburg).