Being white in the new South Africa:

The experience of a group young Afrikaners

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DECLARATION

I, **Ehrhard Visser**, declare that this thesis (*Being white in the new South Africa: The experience of a group young Afrikaners*) is my own work except as indicated in the references and acknowledgements. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in Psychology to the University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in this or any other university.

....

EHRHARD VISSER

24077985

ON THE .... DAY OF 2018

In antwoord op jou roepstem…

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A very wise man once told me that undertaking a Ph.D is one of the most difficult and loneliest journeys anyone can choose to embark on. He was right.

Needless to say, an intellectual work of this complex, challenging and sensitive nature is intense and all-comsuming on a whole different level and would never have been possible without the continuous support from a number of individuals.

I wish to convey my sincere appreciation and thanks to the following people and institutions without whom this dissertation would never have materialised.

Abstract

This study aimed at uncovering what it means to be white within the context of post-Apartheid South Africa through examining the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences held by a group of young Afrikaners (the first democratic Afrikaner generation or 1DAGs). Framed within the social constructionist paradigm, this study employed Critical Discourse Analysis as overall methodological framework for analysing participants' discourses. In contributing to the development and refinement of appropriate and effective methodological procedures for the generation of quality rich data, the study employed "hanging out," a conventional sociological data gathering methodology, also adapting this procedure to an online version, i.e. "hanging out online". Seven discursive themes emerged from participants' accounts, which fundamentally served to describe: (i) perceptions of the current South African social formation and the associated position of the Afrikaner (whites) and the "other," (ii) perceptions of the ways in which the majority ruling party utilise their position(s) of political power, (iii) the threats 1DAGs experience, and (iv) the impact of their subjective beliefs and associated experiences on their self and group-based perceptions. Deeper critical engagement with these texts revealed possible contradictions and oppositions within the data, which have exposed the potential for alternative meanings or interpretations to emerge. Findings from this investigation indicate that, for this particular group, whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa is perceived as a burden, and that being white in the new South Africa relates to being oppressed and having to manoeuvre and manage such oppressive conditions in order to have space to strive for a meaningful existence.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. ORIENTATION

During the Apartheid context, all aspects of South Africans' social lives, specifically the organisation of racial relationships and interactions, were dictated and controlled by Apartheid state laws. The lives of both white and black South Africans were purposefully separated, with white South Africans located at the top of the social hierarchy, enjoying a position of absolute power and domination over others. In April 1994, the system of Apartheid officially came to an end: South Africa held its first democratic multi-racial elections. The African National Congress (ANC) won 62% of the votes, and Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, was inaugurated on May 10, 1994, as the country's first black president. This massive change in the social order is what many previous generations of Afrikaners had feared and dreaded; for many, with Mandela's inauguration, their worst nightmare had become a reality. However, as the crimes of Apartheid became exposed, for many other Afrikaners these changes also brought feelings of shame and perhaps even guilt as they welcomed the new social order. In any case, the drastic changes had huge implications for the subject position(s)[1] of the Afrikaner, who found themselves for the first time in over 360 years a minority living under a black majority government in the post-Apartheid South African context. On the day preceding his formal inauguration in Pretoria, Mandela delivered the following address before the people of Cape Town and to the nation, emphasising

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[1] According to Foucault (2002), subjects are created within specific discourse. Foucault was heavily concerned with the relationship between knowledge and power, claiming that it is not the subject who produces knowledge, but the discursive formation of which the subject forms part. Foucault (2002) defines the subject position by highlighting the productive nature of disciplinary power, i.e. the means by which it categorises people into hierarchies

a vision of justice and equality for all, aiming to build a nation united in its diversity, where discrimination on all levels (race, gender, sexuality, religion etc.) will no longer exist:

> Today we are entering a new era for our country and its people. Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa. Our country has arrived at a decision. Among all the parties that contested the elections, the overwhelming majority of South Africans have mandated the African National Congress to lead our country into the future. The South Africa we have struggled for, in which all our people, be they African, Coloured, Indian or White, regard themselves as citizens of one nation is at hand.

> Perhaps it was history that ordained that it be here, at the Cape of Good Hope that we should lay the foundation stone of our new nation. For it was here at this Cape, over three centuries ago, that there began the fateful convergence of the peoples of Africa, Europe and Asia on these shores.

> It was to this peninsula that the patriots, among them many princes and scholars, of Indonesia were dragged in chains. It was on the sandy plains of this peninsula that first battles of the epic wars of resistance were fought.

> When we look out across Table Bay, the horizon is dominated by Robben Island, whose infamy as a dungeon built to stifle the spirit of freedom is as old as colonialism in South Africa. For three centuries that island was seen as a place to which outcasts can be banished. The

names of those who were incarcerated on Robben Island is a roll call of resistance fighters and democrats spanning over three centuries. If indeed this is a Cape of Good Hope, that hope owes much to the spirit of that legion of fighters and others of their calibre.

We have fought for a democratic constitution since the 1880s. Ours has been a quest for a constitution freely adopted by the people of South Africa, reflecting their wishes and their aspirations. The struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans. In honouring those who fought to see this day arrive, we honour the best sons and daughters of all our people. We can count amongst them Africans, Coloureds, Whites, Indians, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, Jews - all of them united by a common vision of a better life for the people of this country.

It was that vision that inspired us in 1923 when we adopted the first ever Bill of Rights in this country. That same vision spurred us to put forward the African Claims in 1946. It is also the founding principle of the Freedom Charter we adopted as policy in 1955, which in its very first lines, places before South Africa an inclusive basis for citizenship.

In 1980s the African National Congress was still setting the pace, being the first major political formation in South Africa to commit itself firmly to a Bill of Rights, which we published in November 1990. These milestones give concrete expression to what South Africa can become. They speak of a constitutional, democratic, political order in

which, regardless of colour, gender, religion, political opinion or sexual orientation, the law will provide for the equal protection of all citizens.

They project a democracy in which the government, whomever that government may be, will be bound by a higher set of rules, embodied in a constitution, and will not be able to govern the country as it pleases.

Democracy is based on the majority principle. This is especially true in a country such as ours where the vast majority have been systematically denied their rights. At the same time, democracy also requires that the rights of political and other minorities be safeguarded.

In the political order we have established there will be regular, open and free elections, at all levels of government - central, provincial and municipal. There shall also be a social order which respects completely the culture, language and religious rights of all sections of our society and the fundamental rights of the individual.

The task at hand will not be easy. But you have mandated us to change South Africa from a country in which the majority lived with little hope, to one in which they can live and work with dignity, with a sense of self-esteem and confidence in the future. The cornerstone of building a better life of opportunity, freedom and prosperity is the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

This needs unity of purpose. It needs in action. It requires us all to work together to bring an end to division, an end to suspicion and build a nation united in our diversity.

The people of South Africa have spoken in these elections. They want change! And change is what they will get. Our plan is to create jobs, promote peace and reconciliation, and to guarantee freedom for all South Africans. We will tackle the widespread poverty so pervasive among the majority of our people. By encouraging investors and the democratic state to support job creating projects in which manufacturing will play a central role we will try to change our country from a net exporter of raw materials to one that exports finished products through beneficiation.

The government will devise policies that encourage and reward productive enterprise among the disadvantaged communities - African, Coloured and Indian. By easing credit conditions we can assist them to make inroads into the productive and manufacturing spheres and breakout of the small-scale distribution to which they are presently confined.

To raise our country and its people from the morass of racism and apartheid will require determination and effort. As a government, the ANC will create a legal framework that will assist, rather than impede, the awesome task of reconstruction and development of our battered society.

While we are and shall remain fully committed to the spirit of a government of national unity, we are determined to initiate and bring about the change that our mandate from the people demands.

We place our vision of a new constitutional order for South Africa on the table not as conquerors, prescribing to the conquered. We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all.

This is the challenge that faces all South Africans today, and it is one to which I am certain we will all rise.

Mandela's address highlighted the need for change and restorative measures to address the inequalities left by Apartheid, while pledging to establish a social order in which the rights of all groups in society will be equally respected, bringing an end to division; building a nation united in its diversity.

The end of Apartheid was accompanied by many significant changes in the South African context, particularly around notions of power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture (Deegan, 2001; Steyn, 2001, 2004; Franchi & Swart, 2003; Davids, 2012; Van der Westhuizen, 2016, 2017). It is argued that Apartheid promoted the main distinguishing factors between the white elite and the Other as embedded in these social constructs (Giliomee, 2001). Whites held an absolute position of power and privilege, which they used to promote their social and economic position at the direct expense and blatant oppression of the Other. Whites had complete trust in their leaders to protect and advance their privileged position. Afrikaner culture and religion formed the cornerstone of Afrikanerdom and was highly acclaimed and respected. As such, the changes which the Afrikaner faced in terms of

their position of power, privilege, socio-economic status, trust in leadership, fear of becoming oppressed and losing their cultural heritage and pride would arguably also have had a significant impact on their meaning making processes in the post-Apartheid context. Hence, these constructs formed the foundation on which the overall research question of what it means to be white in a new South Africa was based.

Our social environments constitute a continuous and inevitable background to social change which is particularly evident in South Africa. Social change may present itself in a variety of forms and may affect individuals in a number of ways. A revision of one's subject position becomes a requisite by default when faced with any shifts in the social matrix. These shifts may result from personal choice, or changing social conditions may necessitate that the individuals move from one subject position to another (Breakwell, 1986). This latter type of social shift is the more relevant when considering the position of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans living in the post-Apartheid South African context. With the advent of democracy, the specific subject position of those considering themselves to be Afrikaners… shifted from a political majority to a political minority, from a position of absolute political power to a position far less powerful, and from a privileged status to a potentially disadvantaged status in light of restorative measures and legislation such as affirmative action, Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BB-BEE), and land distribution. Although official statistics might support or contradict participants' claims of being disadvantaged, these accounts were approached as situated productions of truths and thus of the self or selves. In this regard Van der Westhuizen (2016) notes "what you believe to be true makes who you are" (p. 223). According to Breakwell (1986), changing social circumstances necessitating the individuals move from one position to another can be expected when there is (i) a rearrangement of the social context in terms of either the

composition (number, size, nature) or the organisation (power relations, alliances) of groups in the social system, (ii) a revision of ideologies, or (iii) a disturbance in the social environment that leads to a disturbance in existing social relations.

2. SOME NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

For the purposes of this study, the terms "white(s)", "white people", "white South African(s)," "white Afrikaners" and "Afrikaner(s)" will be used interchangeably in reference to a population group within South Africa who can be racially classified as white and who speak the language of Afrikaans as their mother tongue. It is acknowledged that other individuals might classify themselves under these terms and that the specific boundaries of any social group are porous; however, for purposes of this study, these terms—specifically "Afrikaner(s) and "whites" or a combination thereof—are solely used to conveniently refer to the population group under investigation with no implicit or explicit essentialist assumptions of their exclusivity outside of the study.

It should also be noted from the outset that among this specific population group, these terms specifically are claimed as descriptive noun(s) of this particular in-group; a group which, as will be discussed, have defined themselves (consciously or not) as the only true "whites" or "Afrikaners" of South Africa. As such, when refering to for example "witmense" (white people) or "ons wittes" (us whites), this population group very seldom include English-speaking white South Africans under such terms, as could be evidenced in participants talk. This phenomenon can create some confusion, especially to someone not familiar with the nuances of this particular social/ ethnic/ "racial" group's discourses. That is, although this group does acknowledge English-speaking white South Africans as being white, they do not include them in

their internalised version of "being white". The most prominent distinguishing factor being spoken language. In other words and as stated above, these terms are used interchangeably in reference to a population group within South Africa who can be racially classified as white and who speak the language of Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

This study is specifically focused on the generation of Afrikaners who were born a few years prior to and after the fall of Apartheid: this generation grew up under the context of transformation following the fall of Apartheid and who had little or no direct experience of the social milieu of Apartheid, specifically having no experience of white privilege. For the purposes of this study, this generation will be referred to as the First Democratic Afrikaner Generation (1DAGs) of South Africa.

The constructs on which the research question is mounted and which framed the majority of the data collection procedures, i.e. power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture have been defined and applied in the study as follows:

- *Power* is defined as the ability of a group or individual to fulfil its desires and implement its decisions and ideas, which involves the capacity to influence as well as control the thoughts and actions of others, even against their will. In other words, the element of power provides the opportunity for individuals or groups to realize their own will in communal action, even against resistance (Weber, 2010). Foucault's (1991, 1998) conception of power had major implications in the research and will further be elaborated on in Chapter 3.

- *Privilege* specifically relates to issues of social inequality resulting from preferential treatment or special rights and access to opportunities which only

a specific group enjoy and others are restricted from (Twine, 2013). More specifically, within the convinces of this investigation privilege relates to both material practices and or gains as well as perceived inherent abilities

- *Social status* is defined as a person's standing or importance in relation to other people within a society. Essentially, social status relates to perceptions of the social hierarchy, the individual's respective position therein, and the associated ability to cross perceived group boundaries (Anderson, Hildreth, & Howland, 2015).

- *Economic status* is defined beyond the limitations of mere household income to also include variables such as assets, inherited wealth, savings, employment benefits, and ownership of homes, land, and other material possessions (Berkman & Macintyre, 1997). Such variables are considered in combination with a person's work experience and with an individual or families economic position in relation to others based on income, education and occupation.

- *Trust*, in this study, involves feelings of faith, hope, belief, and confidence in the abilities of political leaders of a country and their consideration for the needs of the entire population of said country (McKnight & Chervany, 1996).

- *Oppression* is defined as the unfair treatment of groups or individuals as members of certain groups, especially by means of overuse of government or political power (Prilleltensky & Gonick, 1996).

- *Culture* is defined as encapsulates the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people and encompasses their history, language, religion, shared symbols, social habits, music, and arts (Macionis & Gerber, 2011).

3. PROBLEM STATEMENT

As already stated, the end of the Apartheid brought about major changes for the Afrikaners. Given the rather unknown nature of Afrikaner attitudes at the dawn of democracy, such a change could arguably have been accompanied by feelings of either loss or relief (Beck, 2000). Furthermore, since the crimes of the old regime had mostly been exposed (Burrow, 1998), there may also have been lingering elements of shame, guilt, and disgrace attached to the social positioning of the Afrikaner (Steyn, 2001).

A number of political and social factors have directly impacted perceptions of the meaning of whiteness in South Africa. The policies of the new democratic government of South Africa are based on an assumption that these restorative measures will eventually bring equity and a measure of equality to the country by means of Black Empowerment, *inter alia* (Joyce, 2007). Taking into consideration that South Africa is possibly the only country in the world whose affirmative action policies favour a majority who also has political control, this might come with its own pitfalls (Hill, 2011).

Other researchers in the field (Harris, 1993; Giliomee, 2001; Harper, 2002; Bonnet, 2002; Steyn, 2001, 2004; Van der Westyhuizen, 2016, 2017; etc.) have largely based their investigations on information gathered from a generation of individuals who lived in and experienced first-hand the ideologies, worldviews, fears, and perceptions present in both the context of Apartheid and the period of transformation thereafter; a generation most familiar with the direct benefit, experience, and subsequent loss of Afrikaner privilege.

A new generation of South African whites have come of age since the fall of Apartheid. This generation experienced childhood in a South Africa in the midst of transformation, arguably being too young to directly recall the injustices carried out by their forebears under Apartheid, protected from the political turmoil which took place during their youth, and possibly more familiar with feelings of shame and disgrace than of social demotion, disadvantage or exclusion associated with the loss of Afrikaner privilege. Within this investigation, this generation is referred to as the First Democratic Afrikaner Generation of South Africa, the 1DAGs. Taking into account the massive changes that occurred since the fall of Apartheid, many of the 1DAGs matured with a mind-set different than those of their predecessors. As such, new perceptions and beliefs emerged within the Afrikaner group as discourses around whiteness changed and became imposed and part and parcel of the up-bringing of the next generation, the 1DAGs. The emergence of new and altered discourses implies that the 1DAGs might have different experiences, worldviews, perceptions, and beliefs than those held by the older and previous generations. In other words, for the 1DAGs, being white in the new South Africa certainly carries different connotations and implications than whiteness would have had during Apartheid, in the period of transformation after Apartheid, and undoubtedly even ten years ago.

4. AIMS, OBJECTIVES, AND JUSTIFICATION

The study aims at investigating what it means to be white within the post-Apartheid South African context through examining the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences around power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression and culture, held by a group of young white Afrikaners (1DAGs) as assessed during 2015 and 2016, more than twenty years into the country's democracy.

From the outset, it should be noted that this study did not aim at investigating Afrikaner identity nor the (re)construction of Afrikaner identities in post-Apartheid South Africa. This investigation was specifically concerned with the meaning(s) attributed to whiteness as an element of cultural identity by a group of 1DAGs, as expressed through self-articulated accounts of lived experiences with whiteness and the associated perceptions, located within the context of South Africa more than 20 years after the fall of Apartheid.

Through examining the various subjective accounts and associated discourses of the 1DAGs, this study aims at contributing to our current local knowledge and also promises to contribute to a more international frame of reference that illuminates the association of whiteness with modernity, as called for by Bonnet (2002). Similarly, according to Steyn (2004), there is a growing global conception that whiteness can only be properly understood when full account is taken of all of its particular dimensions. As such, observation and theory must be approached from the particularity of specific subject positions. The specific position of the 1DAGs in the post-Apartheid South African context is argued to be of particular importance in contributing to an informed local and global conception of whiteness, given the circumstances and unique history of whites in the country (Beck, 2000) as it highlights the often overlooked heterogeneity of whiteness and white's experiences.

This research is expected to increase our knowledge on the dynamics and consequences of being white in post-Apartheid South Africa. On a broader level, given the population group under investigation holds a minority status in the country, this study might also contribute to understanding the social dynamics at play between a (previously disadvantaged) majority ruling party and other minority groups. Ultimately, and as its main focus, this study seeks to contribute to a modern conceptualisation of

what it means to be white in post-Apartheid South Africa through investigating the lived experiences of a group of 1DAGs.

5. CHAPTER OUTLINE

The next chapter in this dissertation will provide an overview of the existing body of knowledge pertaining to the specific research question being investigated. In particular, it aims at locating the present investigation within a larger conceptual framework of related inquiries and their respective approaches and findings. Specifically confined to research conducted within the South African context, Chapter 2 contains a brief discussion and overview of investigations into the historical development of the Afrikaner, a discussion on the findings from research conducted on whiteness in the post-Apartheid South African context, and finally, a brief discussion of findings from studies that highlight the importance of history in the meaning-making processes of young Afrikaners.

Chapter 3 provides a more succinct description of the guiding parameters of the study. Moreover, the chapter provides an important discussion of the constructs power, discourse, and ideology as they were applied in the study; in addition, the relationship between these constructs are explored and discussed. Chapter 3 then provides an overview of the theoretical paradigm in which the study is located and finally discusses the element of whiteness, its' development, (re)construction and associated social (re)positioning within the South African context.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of and an extended rationale for the specific methodological approach employed, and of subsequent steps and decisions taken in the research process. By way of introduction, the chapter provides an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological approach, followed by a

discussion of the specific research procedures employed in this study around data collection and analysis. These discussions are followed by a discussion on the measures taken to ensure trustworthiness, which is then followed by the ethical considerations employed. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the reflexive process the researcher undertook which is aimed at highlighting any potential impact which the researcher himself might have had on the research process and outcomes.

Chapter 5 is geared towards providing a synopsis of the historical context and current South African social context at the time of data collection (2015–2016). Both these contexts are regarded as playing a pivotal role in the meaning making process, that is, within the sum of social interactions and communicative events through which knowledge is expressed, attained, and altered. The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the historical development of the Afrikaner from colonialism to nationalism and the implementation of Apartheid. A discussion of the social context under Apartheid follows, with a brief discussion on the changes which occurred with the abolition of this system in the immediate period of transformation which followed in 1994. Finally, the chapter provides a detailed account of the South African context during the data collection period, specifically focusing on areas highlighted in participants' talk, such as racial discrimination, land reform, corruption, service delivery, crime, racism, education, and employment.

Chapter 6 contains the analysis' report and discussion on the primary discursive themes emerging from the data, including their overall form, functions, and ideological effects. In particular, this chapter provides an analyses of participants' accounts, specifically focusing on uncovering what is located and evidenced within the textual data. Seven main themes can be demarcated within participants' texts; these themes reflect a continuum of discourses surrounding participants' accounts of being white in

the current South African context and forms the focus of discussions within this chapter. Within the first two themes ("Black, Indian, Coloured, White": Discourses of Racial Classification and; "Almal behalwe ons wittes" / "Everyone except us whites": Discourses of Exclusion), participants relied on explanatory discourses, which served to describe the perceived current social formation and hierarchies while emphasising continued systems of racial classification, including the origins and reason(s) for such. In the third and fourth themes ("Vir die sondes van ons voorvaders" / "For the sins of our fathers": Discourses of Injustice and; "First class flights en kastele" / "First class flights and castles": Discourses of the self-serving corrupt Other), participants employed discourses of exploitation as a means to communicate their perceptions of the ruling party abusing their power for their own benefit and at the particular expense of (but not limited to) whites. This was followed by themes five and six ("Kill the Boer, kill the farmer": Discourses of the vindictive Other and; "Wanneer hulle nie kry en kry en kry nie … dan vat hulle anyway" / "When they do not get and get and get … then they take anyway": Discourses of appropriation), which contained discourses relating to perceived threat, expressing the centrality of fear and perceived threat as omnipresent in the everyday lives of participants along various levels such as personal safety and security, the Afrikaner culture and history and the overall future existence of the Afrikaner. The last theme (the seventh: "Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het" / "It's as if "white" has become a swearword": Discourses of Depreciation) reflects a range of discourses of depreciation, stressing the effects of the previous discursive networks on the self- and group-based perceptions of participants. Finally, the last section of this chapter highlights some of the most relevant discursive instabilities within the texts.

Chapter 7, the concluding chapter, provides a brief reflection on the methodological approach and theoretical paradigm as they pertain to the investigation. This discussion is followed by a synopsis and discussion of the analysis detailed in Chapter 6. Finally, the chapter endeavours to interpret these findings in line with the initial research question and along the constructs on which this question is mounted, i.e., power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture, before concluding with some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the body of knowledge pertaining to the specific research question being investigated. In particular, it aims at providing a review of related investigations, respective approaches, and findings as a guiding framework within which the current inquiry was located. Although there has been a surge in international literature on whiteness within various countries and societies such as Australia (Jakubowicz, 2002), Britain (Hickman and Walter, 1995), Canada (Harper, 2002), India (Kidder, 1997), Japan and Latin America (Bonnett, 2002), Kenya (Uusihakala, 1999), and New Zealand (Wetherell and Potter, 1992), as well as particular areas in the USA (Hartigan, 2001), insufficient research on the topic has been undertaken in South Africa, - also attested to by the few scholars in the field (Steyn, 2001; Vestergaard, 2001, Van der Westhuizen, 2016) a country still plagued by racial discrimination where whites form a definitive part of the target-perpetrator constellation, providing a compelling context for studying this construct. This investigation aims at emphasising the necessity for considering the specific context(s) and subjectivities of participants in any investigation dealing with whiteness in South Africa. Moreover, it is hoped that the present research and specifc methodology employed will also highlight the significant importance of transparency and openness throughout the research process that should ideally be address through a process of researcher reflexivity. South Africa's history is complex and unique (Giliomee, 2001, 2003; Beck, 2000; Vestergaard, 2001; Steyn, 2001; Van Der Westhuizen, 2016, 2017); therefore, it is essential to consider that international academic inquiry into the

construction of whiteness, although useful, cannot be directly translated into a South African context without adaptation (Steyn, 2001; Korf & Malan, 2002; Van der Westhuizen, 2016). Moreover, international scholarly work investigating whiteness tends to fall within the confines of whiteness studies.

It should be noted from the outset that this study purposefully distances itself from the field of whiteness studies, which is argued to overlook the heterogeneity of white experiences. Fears (2003), for example, distinguishes between whiteness studies and other similar disciplines by stating, "Black studies celebrates blackness, Chicano studies celebrates Chicanos, women's studies celebrates women, and white studies attacks white people as evil." Similarly, Kay (2006)—founder of, and general counsel for, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association 1969–2009—notes that whiteness studies "points to a new low in moral vacuity and civilisational self-loathing [and is an example of] academic pusillanimity." The field of whiteness studiesis argued to promote an unquestioned "branding" of people possessing the element of whiteness, i.e. whites are seen as being able to mitigate their "evilness", but as being unable to eradicate it. Essentially, whiteness studies is argued to cement perpetual race consciousness in everyone, i.e. perpetual victimhood for non-whites and eternal shame and guilt for whites (Kay, 2006). Within the confines of this investigation, it is argued that whiteness should be deconstructed and stripped from "the protection of the global sanctity of the white skin" (Ndebele, 2007, p 137), but also from negative generalisations problematising whiteness, specifically within post-Apartheid South Africa. As such, academic inquiry into whiteness within South Africa should aim to find means that would enable white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to be "at home"; to establish a community and dialogue between whiteness and its many others.

Resembling the American and British contexts, whiteness in South Africa is equated historically with power and privilege; nonetheless, unlike in these countries, white people living in South Africa constitute a numerical minority (Hill, 2011). In addition, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans have always been aware of their whiteness and the associated privilege, which was normalised rather than purposefully concealed. This normalisation is in contrast with international perceptions (and consequential foci of inquiry) which are primarily concerned with the invisible (unquestioned or unchallenged) vantage point of whiteness from which the Other is constructed or examined (Van Der Westhuizen, 2017). Similarly, Steyn (2001) notes,

> … the particular historical and political configuration in South Africa
> has meant that whites have never experienced their whiteness and the
> advantage it afforded them as invisible—one of the key components
> in the way whiteness is theorised [internationally].

As such, the vast majority of international research is located in contexts where whiteness occupies the position of a numerical majority and where the element of whiteness has become invisible, operating as an uncontested norm.

Although on the increase, very little research has been done on whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa (Giliomee, 2003; Marx, 2005; Davies, 2007). Relatively little has been written about the composition of the post-Apartheid Afrikaner group and their experiences of being white in the new social order (Steyn, 2001; Davies, 2007). More precisely, very little (if any) research has specifically focused on the meaning that white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans associate with and attribute to the element of whiteness as constructed in a post-Apartheid context. This lack of prior research posed a particular challenge for the current investigation, as the few empirical

studies that have been conducted into white positionality in South Africa—the vast majority of which are referenced in this chapter—overwhelmingly tend to focus on (re)constructions of the white or Afrikaner identity specifically in relation to the Other (i.e. the Black Other and / or the English Other). This investigation is specifically concerned with the subjective meanings attached to whiteness and how these generally accepted beliefs impact on the daily existence of Afrikaners, specifically the 1DAGs.

For these reasons, the body of literature selected for review were confined to empirical investigations into whiteness and (re)constructions of whiteness and Afrikaner identity within the South African context, specifically within the field of psychology. Literature flowing from personal opinion, tabloid articles or published by Afrikaner movements that were not deemed credible sources of information were specifically excluded. More specifically, although some historical investigations proved useful, due to the fast-changing social landscape in South Africa, the focus shifted to more recent scholarly work conducted post-Apartheid.

As already stated, it is not within the aims of this study to investigate the Afrikaner identity nor the (re)construction thereof. Nevertheless, the limited nature of existing studies investigating whiteness within South Africa, combined with an overall tendency of these studies to specifically focus on identity and identity constructions in the post-Apartheid context, compared to the specific underlying subjective meanings or realities on which these identity constructions are founded, necessitates some consideration on the way this construct was understood within the confines of the current investigation. Acknowledging that there are various issues and discussions surrounding the concept of identity, the purpose of the following section is merely to provide a general overview of the construct of identity as it has been understood within

the current research. At this point in the academic inquiry, the researcher was faced with a theoretical dilemma. It would appear practical not to conceptualise and operationalise the concept too narrowly, as objective, intrapsychic structures of personality which are universal (or decontextualised) and timeless (Erikson, 1968), as one could then draw on various conceptualisations which subsequently would allow for greater range and depth of theoretical explanations of the empirical data, specifically within the South African context given its unique history and associated shifts of subjectivities.

In the most general sense, identity is understood as "the everyday word for people's sense of who they are" (Djité 2006, p. 6). This "sense of who they are" forms the foundation of this study's conception of identity. According to Baggioni and Kasbarian (1996), a distinction can be made between two types of identity, i.e. the personal and the collective. Through a process termed "identification," the personal and collective identities become connected. The collective identity (also known as the social identity) is "that part of an individual's self-concept that came from knowledge of his/her membership in a social group, together with emotional significance attached to it" (Duzak, 2002, p. 2). Rephrasing the preceding basic definition, Djite's (2006) statement could thus read that identity is in many cases interpreted as people's sense of to what, to whom, or where they belong. This sense becomes a more active concept when identity is regarded as resulting from the process of self-definition. People define themselves as being part of or belonging to certain entities or groups through a process of individuation (Castells, 2001). In turn, this act of individuation results in a notion of Otherness. In the words of Tajfel and Forgas (1981), "we are what we are because they are not what we are" (p. 124). Such notions are in line with those of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), both of which were

utilised in the initial stages of data analysis in order to make sense of the data. These two theories provide a distinct view on the relationship between the individual and the group, i.e. the self and the collective (Foster, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2010). It is assumed that people are able to act both as individual in line with their individuality and as groups, in line with the general politics of the collectivity. Moreover, as both individuals and groups exist objectively, both personal and group based self-categorisations provide valid representations of the self (identity) in differing social contexts (Rubin, Badea, & Jetten, 2014). According to SIT, a person's perception of who they are, i.e. their personal identity, emanates from their membership(s) to a particular group(s), i.e. their social identity (Foster, 2003). According to Tajfel (1979), the groups which we belong to are an important source of pride and self-esteem. These groups provide us with a sense of social identity, i.e. a sense of being part of the social world. Self-categorisation theory, which emerged later in the 1970s from research on social identities, draws a basic distinction between personal and social identity as varying levels of inclusiveness in self-categorisation (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Functional shifts in self-perception from personal to social identity also provides a potential explanation for emerging higher-level properties of group processes (Ruben et al., 2014). The theory further emphasises that the social (or collective) does not merely act as a set external social forces impacting, influencing, or altering the psychology of the individual, but rather that it is as much an expression of the self as it is of the individual behaviour that we tend to describe in terms of personality or individual differences.

Further expanding on these notions, Hermans, Kempen, and Van Loon's (1992) dialogical self-theory, and its associated conceptualisation of identity, provided a

valuable additional framework for understanding the complexities and interplay of meaning making and identity construction. According to the authors,

> the self, conceived of as a dialogical narrator, is a) spatially organised and embodied and b) social, with the other not outside but in the self-structure, resulting in a multiplicity of dialogically interacting selves (p. 23).

On this view, identity becomes embedded within history and context, marking a clear shift from a more rationalistic and Cartesian conception of identity which has dominated conventional psychology for many years. People's subjective realities, the ways in which knowledge is generated and transferred as well as the various relationships that exist between individuals and communities and others became regarded as pivotal factors in the construction and maintenance of identities. Hermans et al. (1992) developed the dialogical self-theory, which advances a post-modernist, constructionist, and discursive position on the self, identity, culture, and society. According to Slugoski and Ginsburg (1989), identity is produced and acted out in and through discourse, as the subject is located within specific social, cultural and historical contexts. This view is in line with dialogical self-theory's conception of identity. Dialogical self-theory promotes a decentred view of the self, which is seen to be intertwined in a multitude of relationships and contexts, imagined, real, and remembered (Hermans, 2001). Regarding the self as constructed in connection with relationships and specific contexts further implies that as these contexts and relationships change or evolve over time, so too does the construction of self.

Identity is also regarded as being primarily collective (Hermans & Hermans-Konopa, 2010). In other words, the (re)construction of identity is not mainly an

individual accomplishment. People located within a particular cultural, social and historical context (Salgado & Hermans, 2005), such as post-Apartheid South Africa, reference pre-established discourses that circulate and are shared among society and their group when constructing their identities. Such discourses, which are generally uncontested, feature as widely accepted regimes of truth which (as will be discussed later) relate to processes of meaning making. In other words, from a critically discursive point of view, the process through which individual selves negotiate and construct their identities is primarily collective and culturally based, which is also in line with SIT. According to the dialogical self-theory, the multivoiced and dialogical self, as decentred, is located socially and culturally (Hermans, 2001), and the assembly of an array of identities (or voices) occur as an intimate part of communal and cultural processes (Salgado & Hermans, 2005). That is, such an array of identities is said to emerge as a result of the decentred self's entanglement with other selves in a changing world.

Dialogical self-theory as theoretical framework considers the identity struggles of people living on the interfaces of cultures within a changing society (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010), where the walls of separation are increasingly disintegrating. This perspective emphasises a conception of and consideration for the complexity of being human in a post-modern and changing world. What is important to note is that identities are viewed as being constructed in and by means of discourse (conveyed during the course of everyday life in a multitude of contexts ranging from political speeches to informal conversations in a mall) and the meanings conveyed by that discourse. Secondly, identities (for example, the Afrikaner identity) are produced during specific social practices (such as Afrikaner social gatherings, formal or informal) and in specific social, cultural, and historical contexts (such as post-

Apartheid South Africa). In other words, identities are regarded as being social, cultural, and historical phenomena. Such a conception then implies that identities (as well as the meanings from which they derive) are not fixed. That is, over time and between contexts and relationships, the processes associated with meaning-making and subsequent constructions of identities are also subject to change. Finally, identity formation is seen to occur within powerful social and cultural processes, rooted in specific regimes of truth that shape it in far-reaching ways.

Based on this broad conception, the Afrikaner identity in general, is regarded as being framed by the specific subjective meanings which this group regards as true. Furthermore, as these "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1998) are seen to be (re)constructed and maintained through discursive processes in a dialectic relationship with both the specific social and historical contexts, they are also open to the possibility of change. Consequently, the Afrikaner identity is regarded as being flexible and porous, i.e. dependant on the specific social context and the particular regimes of truth framing the Afrikaner world at the time. This claim is also in line with the most recent definition, as reported by Van der Westhuizen (2017), who found that the Afrikaner identity in post-Apartheid South Africa has not been rendered invalid but rather has opened to different interpretations which are constituted from both democratic discourses and Apartheid notions of race, gender, sexuality, and class.

In the first section of this chapter, Afrikaner Perceptions of Threats, Uncertainty, and Crisis: A Brief Historical Perspective, the notion that traditional (nationalistic) Afrikaner identities have emerged from perceived threat(s) and deep uncertainty during particular historical circumstances will briefly be discussed. This section will be followed by a discussion on Afrikaner dis-identification and dissidence, which emerged during the late 1980s just before the end of Apartheid. In particular, a review of Louw-

Potgieter's (1988) study on Afrikaner dissidents will be presented. The discussion will highlight the Voëlvry movement as a form of protest and expression of criticism against the militarised Apartheid South Africa as part of an Afrikaner youth counter-culture movement (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011). The next section, Afrikaner perceptions of Threats, Uncertainty, and Crisis Post-Apartheid, then aims to provide a review of findings from empirical investigations into (constructions of) whiteness within the post-Apartheid South African context, specifically within the field of psychology. Finally, the last section, Historical Consciousness and Post-Apartheid Subjectivity, will provide a brief discussion of studies highlighting the importance of history and historical consciousness on the meaning-making processes of young Afrikaners.

2. AFRIKANER PERCEPTIONS OF THREATS, UNCERTAINTY, AND CRISIS:

A BRIEF HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In discussing the notion that a pervasive sense of threat (or insecurity) and uncertainty runs throughout the history of the Afrikaner people, it is also possible that this sense of threat and uncertainty is closely associated with the collective construction of Afrikaner identities as being an exclusive, separate, superior, and special group of people with a divine calling that evolved at the southern tip of Africa.

The twenty-first century Afrikaner is mainly descended from Western Europeans who settled on the southernmost tip of Africa during the middle of the seventeenth century. According to Thompson (1964), the white society at the Cape consisted of an impoverished bourgeois fragment, apartial selection which the Dutch society deemed to be inferior, comprising of the unsuccessful townsman and people with the toughness of the peasant or farmer. Additionally, the settler was marked as "coming from elsewhere" rather than as "being from here," and such an omnipresent

sense of displacement or uncertainty of belonging is argued to have been part and parcel of Afrikaner subjectivities from the outset (Nuttall, 2004).

The early settlers were devout Calvinists or Reformed Protestants (Thompson, 1964; Beck, 2000; Visser, 2007). Afrikaner religion originated from the protestant practices of the seventeenth century Reformed Church of Holland, but was also heavily influenced by Swiss reformer John Calvin (1505–1564), who believed that the church should influence government policy, that races should remain pure and separate and that certain people were specifically chosen by God for damnation as well as salvation. Calvinism became the foundation of the Afrikaners' worldview. Consequently, anyone who accepted the Christian faith was accepted into the Western cultural community, while those outside Christianity were regarded as heathens.

According to MacCrone (1937), one of the seminal scholars on Afrikaner identity formation, for early white settlers this dichotomy between Christians and heathens was regarded as more fundamental at the time than that between black and white. Visser (2007) notes that a "nomadic urge to move" manifested among pioneer and frontier Afrikaner society as early as the eighteenth century (p. 4). Through expanding the Cape frontier, these early Afrikaners encroached on the land of indigenous people, consequently encountering many battles. MacCrone (1937) emphasised that the frontier expansion provided a harsh and isolated environment in which seventeenth century ideas, especially the early settlers' Calvinism, hardened into a rigid ideological racism. This territorial expansion ushered in rigidly ethnocentric views, in which race-based exclusion became the norm. Essentially, during the process of frontier expansion and its associated insecurities, a greater sense of group-consciousness was encouraged. As the indigenous people were usually considered

hostile, the colonists had to unite in order to protect themselves. As such, they fostered a sense of self-identity that was essentially based on race. Consequently, skin colour became the main differentiating factor of group identity, assuming caste-like qualities. MacCrone (1937) attempted to shed light on the racial attitudes of "European" South Africans from a historical point of view in the 1930s. He argued that any given social attitude is always part of the social heritage of a particular community (MacCrone, 1937). As a social habit, this particular attitude has a history that testifies to the continuity of the present with the past in the life of the group.

Nationalist and traditional Afrikaner identities have been explored from different points of view over the past several decades (for example, Degenaar, 1976, 1986; Van der Merwe, 1975). More recently, some scholars (for example, Kinghorn, 1990; Du Bruyn & Wessels, 2009) have interpreted traditional Afrikaner identity as a reaction to deep-seated experiences of threat, fear, and uncertainty. Kinghorn (1990), for example, argues that from the point of view of Christian nationalist and Apartheid ideology, Afrikaner nationalist identities, advocating a "pure" racial identity, would necessarily become threatened within a context of mixed races and cultures. The system of Apartheid is consequently argued to have been a means of safeguarding and securing Afrikaner subjectivities. According to Kinghorn (1990), based on a democratic conceptualisation of self and society, such an experience of threat and insecurity can be regarded as socially and psychologically pathological. Kinghorn (1990) maintains that Apartheid, and by implication traditional Afrikaner ideologies, were indicative of a deep sense of uncertainty, insecurity, and threat. This perceived threat and insecurity managed to find expression in opposition to an array of images of enemies: *Swart Gevaar* (the Black Danger), *Roomse Gevaar* (the Roman Catholic Danger) (Aaboe, 2007) and *Rooi Gevaar* (the Communist Danger). A specific

individual, organisation, or identity often became the fixation point of everything that was threatening to the Afrikaner.

De Bruyn and Wessels (2009) highlight two central themes in the history of the Afrikaner: the desire to safeguard oneself, and the aims of preserving and protecting one's own (white) identity, *volkseie* (national identity). Debatably, even during the time of colonialism and frontier expansion, fear of racial and political supremacy had a powerful impact on the psyche of the Afrikaner. Primarily, it was the fear and threat of the numerically superior indigenous black population that became a dominant factor in Afrikaner ideological and political thinking and action. The small number of Afrikaners were greatly outnumbered by the native black Other, who came to be perceived as dangerous heathens who could easily attack and injure the Afrikaners while destroying or seizing their possessions. De Bruyn and Wessels (2007) also highlight the change in Afrikaners' perceived sources of threat over historical eras—from a fear of Anglicisation by the British to that of equality and mixing with black South Africans. In conclusion, the authors note that a sense of fearand the associated right-wing political attitude in the Afrikaner mind-set originated in South African social life long before 1948.

Apartheid did see the emergence of critical and protesting Afrikaner voices, specifically in relation to the visible power associated with the element of whiteness (for example, Bram Fischer, Beyers Naude, Breyten Breytenbach, etc.). However, these voices often suffered dire consequences, even extending to the dissenters' families, such as ostracism and death threats. However, these critical voices did gain traction: in the latter part of Apartheid, dis-identification from traditional, hegemonic Afrikaner ideology, Apartheid, and notions of threat became increasingly more pronounced.

In 1988, Louw-Potgieter investigated social identity processes amongst a sample of white dissident (or left-wing) Afrikaners who were advocating for change in South Africa. Her sample consisted of university-educated, middle-class white Afrikaners, the majority of whom were males. The study employed a qualitative design utilizing Social Identity Theory as its theoretical framework. In contrast to more conventional approaches in social psychology, which tend to prioritise interpersonal explanations of political dissent, Louw-Potgieter (1988) was interested in Afrikaner dissident, which occurs when a member chooses to disaffiliate from the in-group. As a point of departure, her approach focused on the group from which the individual is dissenting, in other words, the group with which the individual initially identified—in this case, the Afrikaner. This choice was made both because a study of this nature would necessarily consider group identity and because identification with a group precedes disaffection from it. The study contained questions such as, "How or by means of which processes does a person, as a member of a specific group, start to question the political norms of the group?" and "What are the implications of such a critical stance for the group member's social identity?"

Parents of the participants came from middle-class, nationalist, Protestant backgrounds; they shared a typical traditional Afrikaner background. Furthermore, Louw-Potgieter (1988) states that the majority of these parents could be seen as conventional group members in terms of their intergroup relationships with perceived out-groups. The parents had very little contact with white out-groups, and their relationships with black out-groups were generally structured in coherence with the segregated South African society and its prevailing norms of the time. Through an analysis of autobiographical data, Louw-Potgieter (1988) concluded that participants viewed the questioning of the status quo as a gradual process, emphasizing its

rational and logical nature. In addition, she notes that participants characterised this process as slow and not yet concluded; it was to be understood as a new vision. The process of change involves the construction of a new identity, which is often associated with the experience of anxiety at the possibility that this newly formed identity might be stifling and restrictive.

Louw-Potgieter (1988) identified three principal factors (among others) to which participants attributed their experienced processes of social and psychological change. Firstly, their experience of conflicting values led participants to become critical of the status quo in Apartheid South Africa. These conflicts, relating to Apartheid realities, were generally founded in religion, cultural values, norms, and attitudes associated with their white upbringing, for example, exposure to more liberal beliefs and cultures that accepted all races and even homosexuals. Secondly, as they became more aware of the injustices of Apartheid South Africa, they became more exposed to alternative ideas, which occurred mostly at school or university. These liberalizing ideas constituted a recurring theme in the autobiographies. Finally, their growing critical view of Apartheid and the role of the Afrikaner (or whites) within this system was attributed to increasing contact with out-groups. According to Louw-Potgieter (1988), contact with out-groups directly led to a better understanding of other perspectives.

In addition, Louw-Potgieter (1988) states that questioning the status quo will inevitably elicit social reactions toward such critical positions. In other words, within a high-status group characterised by a threatened or insecure social identity, strong reactions from in-group members toward fellow members taking a critical stance can be expected due to the value conflict. Louw-Potgieter (1988) found that in-group reactions to the dissident participants varied from aggression and complete rejection,

to support and understanding. Her study further found differences in social categorisation between the sample of dissident Afrikaners and their conforming fellow group members. The data revealed that dissident Afrikaners, in particular, rejected normative attributes of Afrikaners such as the visibility of their race (being white), political affiliation (voting for the National Party), and religion (belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church or one of its sister churches), which made the group exclusive. Such disassociation in general could also be attributed to emergent (and still current) political and social discourses problematizing whiteness, as previously discussed. Participants unanimously reported that they perceived the use of the Afrikaans language as the most common characteristic of Afrikaners. Furthermore, they viewed holding left-wing political views to be the most common characteristic of being a dissident Afrikaner (Louw-Potgieter, 1988).

Dis-identification and protest against traditional Afrikaner ideologies and Apartheid could also be seen in the Voëlvry Movement in the late 1970s. "Voëlvry" means "free as a bird" and refers to fleeing from the police or authorities, or being an outlaw. This movement captured the attention of both white Afrikaans-speaking individuals and other South Africans, and it has been regarded as an identity-defining event for Afrikaners in particular (Grundlingh, 2004; Laubscher, 2005; Bezuidenhout, 2007). Furthermore, this significant example of Afrikaner protest music formed part of a wider cultural crusade, which became increasingly vocal in its critique of, protest against, and opposition to the dominant Afrikaner (white) values and norms of the time and Apartheid in general.

The Voëlvry tour of 1989 created the platform for the emergence of Afrikaans rock in the South African context. The music was politically charged, conveying a clear and unambiguous social message. Most of these musicians had tertiary education

and came from middle-class white families. Essentially, they confronted traditional Afrikaner ideologies and the socio-political system in which they were embedded. According to Grundlingh (2004), the music conveyed a broadened "Afrikaansness" based on criticism of traditional Afrikaansness and Apartheid.

The Voëlvry movement is also seen to have had certain limitations, for example, it never managed to penetrate the Afrikaner working class, and was mainly a white movement (Laubscher, 2005; Bezuidenhout, 2007). The movement mainly expressed young Afrikaners' concerns about what Apartheid was doing to their whiteness, i.e. Apartheid was portraying a picture of whites as evil dominators or villains. Laubscher (2005, p. 316) notes, "it is a performance of freedom from the group in order to unshackle and shed a burdened (and burdening) past". In other words, it constituted a critique of the effects of Apartheid on the self and not really the Other. Reference to the Other and the impact that Apartheid had on them were only marginally present within the lyrics (Bezuidenhout, 2007). Thus although being critical of the effects of Apartheid, these dissident Afrikaner critics were still more concerned with their own wellbeing and future existence than with the immediate social realities of those most directly affected by Apartheid.

3. AFRIKANER EXPERIENCES OF THREAT, UNCERTAINTY,

AND CRISIS POST-APARTHEID

With the advent of democracy in 1994 and the introduction of the new political dispensation, Christian nationalist ideology imploded (Beck, 2000; Giliomee, 2001; Steyn 2001; Vervey, 2009). This political shift led to a deep sense of uncertainty and perceptions of threat(s) among the majority of Afrikaners, specifically in relation to their social, political, and religious worlds. This dramatic transformation saw

Afrikaners' position within the social order shift from the most powerful group in many spheres of society to a minority group: relatively powerless and potentially marginalised. From the literature reviewed, it is evident that many Afrikaners are battling with the realities of the new globalizing society.

Franchi and Swart (2003) wanted to establish whether post-Apartheid society offers young adults new and different possibilities for constructing their identity, or whether race still constitutes a central defining feature of their representations of self and Other. They drew on findings from previous research conducted by Franchi (1999) using a multidimensional identity questionnaire that examined the self-articulated self-conceptions and future identity aspirations and perceptions of threat of 542 undergraduate South African students who represented different socio-historical backgrounds. Respondents' open-ended self-identity responses were content-analyzed and examined in light of their the subjects' desire to stay in South Africa and their perceptions of being able to succeed (both personally and professionally) as compared to other South Africans. The study found that while respondents rarely made overt use of racial, cultural, and nationalistic markers in their present and future self-articulated self-conceptions, their future identity aspirations and perceptions of threat contained indirect references to an Apartheid past and the transition to a non-racial democracy (Franchi & Swart, 2003). These findings imply that South African youth were still thinking, acting, and viewing themselves along racial lines. Furthermore, this study illuminates the impact that the historical context has on the thought processes of individuals, featuring prominently in everyday social interactions and cognitive and semiotic processes.

Accordingly, Franchi (2003) conducted an analysis of discourses produced in the work environment—specifically, in a state-owned South African company

undergoing structural affirmative action transformation—and found that "race" continued to function as both a cognitive and emotional lens through which to process information about self and Other, in relation to affirmative action. This finding suggests, that while South Africans have changed their language on race, their assumptions about racial asymmetry may persist in subtler and more implicit forms. Arguably, this continued racialisation … could be attributed to the omnipresent emphasis on race in our government policies and everyday media portrayals, specifically in relation to the social dynamics in the country. However, the election of certain Afrikaners, regarding themselves as a separate race, different from all others, would also contribute to this phenomenon.

Rosenstein (2008) examined the relationship between perceptions of individual threat, perceptions of group threat, and oppositions to policies aiding black South Africans. She used the results from a 1994 General Social Survey (GSS) as the main source of data to examine these relationships. Interestingly, she found that whites' fear of losing their previously held privileges is a key component in their hostility towards blacks (Rosenstein, 2008). In line with the theory of displaced aggression, Rosenstein (2008) also states that when threatened, people will be inclined to express negative attitudes or feelings (i.e. prejudice) towards the perceived source of the threat.

Various authors agree that Afrikaners are faced with a severe (identity) crisis in post-Apartheid South Africa (for example, Slabbert, 1999; Hendriks, 2000; Vestegaard, 2001; Steyn, 2004; Verwey, 2009; Van der Westhuizen, 2016, 2017). It is maintained by many authors in the literature that the identity of the Afrikaner at the present historical juncture is faced with a crisis, similar to that faced during the period of dislocation Afrikaners underwent after the Anglo-Boer war (Kinghorn, 1994; Steyn,

2004). Drawing on the work of Laclau (1994), Steyn (2004, p. 150) describes the term "dislocation" as

> occurring when social changes result in the previously unseen or denied being made forcibly visible, when the representations and constructions that shaped identities are recognized, and the boundaries of the approved have moved to such an extent that new horizons for the social imaginary have to be forged.

Steyn (2004) reports on the omnipresence of deep-seated anxieties, threatened identities, and the loss of self in her 2001 analysis of white Afrikaner letters to the editor of the *Rapport* newspaper. According to Steyn (2004), the major concern expressed in most of these letters had to do with the survival of the Afrikaner language, religion, and identity. Steyn (2004) contends that the Afrikaner discourse present in the letters was not just around a concern with preserving Afrikaner privilege, but that it was significantly also about survival and maintaining a sustainable sense of selfhood in radically changing contexts. As such, Steyn (2004) argued that many Afrikaners would experience the advent of the new social context as a loss on various levels.

Steyn (2004) in her review, further found that all of the writers noted that Afrikaners were "grappling with a problem" (p. 154). She defined this problem as resulting from a displacement or removal from a central position as the most powerful group in South Africa. According to Steyn (2004), this displacement from a position of absolute power and control to that of a minority group, was perceived by many authors as "being side-lined" or "ousted," i.e., being alienated from the transforming society (Steyn, 2004).

The threat of crime featured prominently in the letters to *Rapport* which Steyn analysed. Crime is a reality for all South Africans; however, Steyn (2004) contends that the discourse around crime presented by the writers suggested that Afrikaners were being singled out and specifically targeted. Steyn (2004) interprets this presentation as a deliberate rhetorical strategy. Similarly, Steyn (2004) interpreted a universal tendency in the letters to cast (or re-cast) the Afrikaner as a victim in relation to unfriendly historical processes, political strategies gone wrong, deliberate and vindictive actions by enemies, unjust policies, and treacherous behaviour from within their own ranks.

A clear discourse found across the authors is that they were ascribing specific essences to Afrikaners (the *volkseie*) and a sense that these Afrikaner attributes would disappear in the new social order (Steyn, 2004). The most unifying essence for the writers was their language, Afrikaans. Steyn (2004) found that most of the letters were concerned with the development, preservation, marginalisation, corruption, and modernisation of Afrikaans. Afrikaans is valued as a source of Afrikaner heritage, creativity, and soul, and its fate is seen to be aligned to the position of the Afrikaner community (Steyn, 2004). Finally, Steyn (2004) notes that within the discourse of the letters, the major themes to emerge were (i) an expectation that Afrikaners should stick together, (ii) the desire to organise as a political group, and (iii) impatience with the divisions and associated tensions within the group.

The role that perceptions of these threats play in Afrikaners' attitudes towards affirmative action and its beneficiaries was investigated in 2010 by Moolman. The study was conducted amongst a sample of male and female Afrikaners from varying age groups in the Pretoria context. The theoretical framework for Moolman's study was based on tenets from Integrated Threat Theory and Social Identity Theory within

a quantitative research design (Moolman, 2010). The findings of this study indicated high levels of negative stereotyping, and further that participants experienced high levels of realistic and symbolic threat, which were higher amongst the male participants (Moolman, 2010). According to integrated threat theory, these two forms of threats are both based on perceptions; the main difference between them is that realistic threat relates to the physical well-being of the group whereas symbolic threat relates to the group's worldview (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Moolman (2010) found that when asked about their perceptions towards affirmative action policies … younger participants (ages 21-30) were significantly more negative than the older participants and that younger participants also experienced higher levels of threat. Furthermore, the study found that Afrikaner men were significantly more opposed to policies of affirmative action and the beneficiaries of such policies (Moolman, 2010). Finally, Moolman (2010) found a significant positive correlation between attitudes about affirmative action and the level of threat experienced, which means that a greater perception of threat is associated with higher negative perceptions of affirmative action and its beneficiaries. Such findings become important when considering the reasons behind resistance to policies such as BB-BEE: perceived threat, whether real or not, can contribute to negative attitudes and consequently to negative behaviour.

Fourie (2008) investigated the Afrikaner identity through an analysis of letters submitted to the editor of *Beeld* newspaper, published between 1990 and 1992, as well as in 2004. The sample of letters was selected based on their socio-political and identity-related content. Essentially, Fourie (2008) wanted to find out if shifts in the writers' identity construction of the self (as Afrikaner) and the Other would have occurred in the 2004 letters versus the earlier writings. The study employed the theoretical framework of Schutz's social phenomenology (refer to Schutz, 1970). The

study focused on typifications of Afrikaner identities; however, the findings emphasised the omnipresence of perceived threat across distinctions. According to Fourie (2008), various changes did in fact occur in the Afrikaner's construction of identities between the period 1990–1992 and 2004. She specifically notes that the new Afrikaners are profoundly more freed from the burden of Apartheid, accepting of their minority status in a multicultural context, proud of their culture and language, cognisant of past injustices, and motivated to build a new South African society. She concludes by noting that the Afrikaner writers could not achieve a revision of their personification of the racial Other, in other words, a pervasive and omnipresent sense of threat still existed in their constructions of black South Africans. Furthermore, the racial Other is still constructed as dangerous, as an enemy who is unconcerned with the interests of the Afrikaner and bent on harming whites (Fourie, 2008). Importantly, Fourie's findings illustrate the potential for change in perceptions, beliefs, and ideologies over time and between generations. It also strengthens the notion that South African society is still very much demarcated in terms of various racial groups, similarly to the Apartheid context, and that consequently race still features prominently in the current social context.

In 2002, Korf and Malan explored perceptions of threat towards the ethnic identity of urban white Afrikaans speakers (Korf & Malan, 2002). Their theoretical framework was based on the Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 1986). Participants in this study were found to have experienced two levels of threat. The first revolved around concern for their groups' distinctiveness in South African society (i.e. distinctive continuity). The second level was concerned with the evaluation of the in-group's ethnic identity; in other words, participants expressed concern that their membership to the group of Afrikaners would no longer contribute to positive self-

esteem. It was on this second level that participants experienced the most threat (Korf & Malan, 2002). Korf and Malan (2002) noted that high levels of perceived threat on the second level were associated with (i) a belief that members from out-groups would negatively evaluate the in-group (Afrikaners), (ii) a negative evaluation of political changes, and (iii) perceptions of an illegitimate and unstable post-Apartheid system. Importantly, their study found that those participants who believed that Afrikaners would lose their distinctive ethnic identity in the future held more positive attitudes regarding socio-political changes, did not identify very strongly with their ethnic group, tended to be politically more liberal, and specifically had negative self-esteem (Korf & Malan, 2002).

Verwey (2009) investigated Afrikaner identity in the post-Apartheid context amongst a sample of middle-class Afrikaners residing in Bloemfontein. The study investigated Afrikaner discourses produced within the private sphere of a *braai* (barbeque): what is referred to as backstage talk. Discourse analysis was used to analyse the talk of participants in relation to distinctions between "Afrikaner" and "African". The title of the 2009 study was taken from a statement made by one of the participants: *"Jy weet, jy kan jouself vandag in kakstraat vind deur jouself 'n Afrikaner te noem…" ("You know, these days you can end up in 'shit-street' by calling yourself an Afrikaner"): Afrikaner identity in post-Apartheid South Africa*. The title itself makes reference to concerns of unsettledness, threat, and stigmatisation. Verwey (2009) found that even though participants condemned Apartheid, they recycled dominant discourses of Afrikaner nationalism and Apartheid, e.g. viewing black people as being inferior to whites. This finding was linked to participants' arguments in favour of separation, such as, "it is not because they're black; it's because of what they do" (Verwey, 2009, p.88). From the findings, it would seem that participants felt entitled to

the category of "African," but there was no indication that the boundaries of their group were being discursively altered in order to have "Afrikaner" become part of the broader identity of "African" (Verwey, 2009).

According to Verwey (2009), study participants appeared to be discarding specific public features of Afrikaner identity while constructing a form of Afrikaner identity which would be more acceptable within the new society. These unfavourable aspects of Afrikaner identity included (a) stereotypical aspects, such as conservative dress and specific undesirable instances in Afrikaner history (such as the Voortrekkers), (b) the importance of the Afrikaans language, (c) overt racism, and (d) conventional Afrikaner culture (Verwey, 2009).

Visser (2007), through a historical perspective, attempted to address the question of how Afrikaner identity is being negotiated in post-Apartheid South Africa against the backdrop of Christian nationalism and Apartheid past. According to Visser (2007), Afrikaners are constantly battling to re-define their identity in post-Apartheid South Africa and the new socio-political order.

Visser (2007) states that the contemporary Afrikaner diaspora (which emerged from the transition period post-Apartheid) manifests in three different forms. The first: migration of some Afrikaners to the "all-white" reserve of Orania located in the Northern Cape, associated with a longing to isolate themselves as far as possible from the black-dominated South Africa, but still within the South African constitution. These Afrikaners' primary drive is the establishment of a pure Afrikaner state. Secondly, Visser (2007) describes "inward migration," where a number of Afrikaners withdraw themselves physically, emotionally, and psychologically from the reality of a transforming society. The third phenomenon is described as the emigration of some

Afrikaners to other parts of the world. According to Visser (2007) an estimated 841,000 Afrikaners emigrated between 1995 and 2005 alone, and it is further noted that this figure has surpassed that of English-speaking whites emigrating from South Africa. Visser (2007) notes that these Afrikaners reflect a miserable picture of South Africa when asked why they chose to leave. This included (a) deteriorating standards of education and health care, (b) corruption and mismanagement in the public sector, (c) incompetence and weakening government structures, (d) affirmative action, and (e) unemployment and limited employment prospects. However, the dominant reason for leaving revolves around a perceived threat to their personal safety and the future of their children (Visser, 2007). Interestingly Visser (2007) points out that the narratives of South Africans living abroad express a profound sense of loss, and many of these emigrants continually expressed a desire to return to their mother country in order to contribute to its development.

Furthermore, the status of the Afrikaans language emerged as one of the most contentious issues regarding Afrikaner identity (e.g. Louw-Potgieter, 1988; Steyn, 2004). This finding is in line with that of Schlemmer (1999), who found that one area where Afrikaners felt most threatened and marginalised was their language rights. Visser (2007), in this respect, notes that the language of Afrikaans strongly relates to the expression of Afrikaner identity. As such, a perceived threat to the ability to speak one's mother tongue could be strongly associated with the loss of identity (Visser, 2007). Finally, Visser (2007) concludes by stating that many Afrikaners believe the survival of their culture is dependent on the survival of their language, Afrikaans.

Van der Westhuizen (2013) interrogated Afrikaner subjectivities through the interpretative lens of *ordentlikheid*, which she defines as "difficult to translate: its meanings are embodied and include presentability, good manners, decency,

politeness, and humility with a Calvinist tenor." Van der Westhuizen further argues, "These terms collectively all speak to the idea of respectability" (Van der Westhuizen, 2017, p. 23). The findings from this investigation were recently published in a book entitled *Sitting Pretty: White Afrikaans Women in Postapartheid South Africa* (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). Van der Westhuizen's investigations were framed by the theoretical perspectives of Laclau and Mouffe (1990, 1985), Foucault (1988, 1990, 1991), and Butler (2000, 2005), and it utilised Discourse Analysis to analyse three sets of data: (i) texts from the South African Afrikaans-language women's magazine *Sarie*, (ii) texts generated in focus group interviews, and iii) texts from individual in-depth interviews. Participants for the interviews and focus group sessions were sampled from both Cape Town (Western Cape) and Johannesburg (Gauteng) in order to control for potential regional differences.

Van der Westhuizen (2013) found that the Afrikaner identity has not been rendered invalid but rather that it has opened to different interpretations which are constituted from both democratic discourses and Apartheid notions of race, gender, sexuality, and class. Her findings further reveal how different discourses are in competition for the same subject position—a tension which could then result in the subject shifting between contradictory identificatory stances. Participants further employed democratic discourses of feminism, equality, and justice in order to reject the Afrikaner identity as too closely associated with Apartheid injustices.

Democratic conceptions are used to reimagine the Afrikaner and remember the *volksmoeder* (mother of the nation) as a strong woman to arrive at feminist notions of female autonomy, while problematizing heteronormativity and bourgeois whiteness. Contrastingly, subjects tended to identify with "the Afrikaner" in order to deny the effects of racism and sexism and to resist democratic ideas. Van der Westhuizen

(2013) notes the persistence of discourses that function to reproduce normative *volksmoeder ordentlikheid* through femininity as silence, self-sacrifice, servility, sexual accessibility, and reproducing whiteness. The study concludes by noting that Afrikaans women's post-Apartheid identities derive from many *volksmoeders* (mothers of the nation), rather than simply one.

In 2007, the popular Afrikaans artist Bok van Blerk (a.k.a. Louis Pepler) released a song entitled "De la Rey." This song sold a record-breaking 200,000 albums in a very short period of time, taking the Afrikaner community (young and old) by storm and becoming known as the "De la Rey phenomenon." The song centres on the heroic struggle of the Boers against the powerful British forces during the Anglo-Boer war. Within this context of hopelessness, the song calls on General Koos De la Rey to come and lead the Boers to freedom. General De la Rey was a prominent leader in this era and one for whom the Afrikaner soldiers were prepared to die. The reactions elicited by this song were hotly debated amongst intellectuals. Those more critical of this phenomenon described it as an example of Afrikaner "nostalgia" and "romanticism," a longing for an innocent past which focused only on the cultural interest of the Afrikaner, and an expression of marginalisation and uncertainty similar to what was noted by Louw-Potgieter (1988). Bezuidenhout (2007) reports that the veteran journalist Max du Preez describes the phenomenon as reflective of the current Afrikaners' perception that their main enemy is the black-dominated government, seen as hostile towards Afrikaners, rather than about the Anglo-Boer war. This is because the song specifically calls for a leader to come free the Afrikaner people from their implied subjugation by the black other.

The ways in which this song penetrated the post-Apartheid Afrikaner culture and public sphere were investigated by Van der Waal and Robins (2011). They

wanted to examine Afrikaners' experience of transformation in relation to the revival of the "De la Rey image." Van der Waal and Robins (2011) argue that this song was specifically produced for a target audience who was ready for a nostalgic celebration of a new (less political) Afrikaner identity. According to Van der Waal and Robins (2011), this song connected with the unsettled identity politics of many Afrikaners, whose racially exclusivist identity was no longer acceptable in the post-Apartheid South Africa.

The specific strand of research discussed above, primarily focusing on the identity and identity construction(s) of Afrikaners within the post-Apartheid South African context, is considered to be of particular importance to the current investigation. These studies tended to emphasise disadvantaging impact of persistent white privilege and the need for reconfiguring white subjectivities within the new social order, specifically in relation to the Other and the Apartheid past. The role of perceived threats in the construction of Afrikaner identities also features prominently within these investigations. Although these findings relating to identities and identity construction(s) do provide valuable background and context, they are not directly in line with the specific focal point for the current investigation, which is primarily concerned with the meaning making process and subsequent meanings that participants attribute or attach to whiteness. As already mentioned, this specific area of inquiry has predominantly been neglected. As a result, findings from the investigations discussed above, were approached and interpreted in a generic sense, i.e. from the point of view of being in the world as an Afrikaner and in relation to the broad conceptualisation of the construct of identity described above.

The majority of these scholarly works (Steyn, 2001; Davies, 2009; Vestergaard, 2009, Van der Westhuizen, 2016, 2017) indicate that Afrikaners have been struggling

to find themselves in post-Apartheid society. In addition, these findings also support the notion that Afrikaner discourse, ideology, and (re)constructions of the self and the Other have largely been influenced by pervasive perceptions of threat on various levels, most often associated with relations of power, such as the drastic shift in power at the end of Apartheid. A few studies indicate the potential for ideological change, or shifts in perceptions, over time and between Afrikaner generations (e.g. Fourie, 2008; Visser, 2007), which is argued to have a substantial impact on associated meaning making processes. Such findings highlight the possibility of the 1DAGs having different experiences, worldviews, perceptions and beliefs than those held by their forebears. In other words, it is possible that for the current generation of young-adult South Africans, being white in post-Apartheid South Africa certainly might have different connotations and implications than it would have had for Afrikaners, during Apartheid, in the period of transformation after Apartheid, and undoubtedly even ten years ago.

The aforementioned studies were mostly limited in terms of the participants selected and included in their investigations. This limitation is argued to be two-fold. In the first instance, with the exception of Visser (2007), who focused on a sample of Grade 10 learners, none of the previous investigations considered the specific generation of Afrikaners that the present research aims to investigate, nor the potential for differences between generations. Previous studies have been based on information primarily gathered from a generation of individuals who lived in and experienced first-hand the ideologies, worldviews, fears, and perceptions present in both the era of Apartheid and the period of transformation thereafter; this was a generation most familiar with the loss of Afrikaner privilege, which would account for the prevalence of the findings discussed in relation to white privilege or the loss thereof. Since the publication of most of these studies, a new generation of white

Afrikaans-speaking South Africans have come of age. This generation is characterised by a childhood in the midst of transformation, arguably being too young to directly recall the injustices of their forbears (i.e. Apartheid), possibly protected from the political turmoil which took place during their youth (through parents' actions, for example), and perhaps more familiar with discourses of shame and disgrace than with Afrikaner privilege and the loss thereof. Taking into consideration the massive changes that occurred in terms of political power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture after the fall of Apartheid, many of the 1DAGs likely grew up with a mind-set different from those of their predecessors. As such, new perceptions and beliefs might have emerged within the Afrikaner group and became imposed and part and parcel of the up-bringing of the next generation, the 1DAGs. This consideration implies that the 1DAGs might have different experiences, worldviews, perceptions, and beliefs than those held by previous generations. In other words, for young-adult South Africans, being white in the new South Africa would have different connotations and implications than it would have had in the past. On the other hand, this difference might not be the case, meaning that some (or all) of the 1DAGs may still hold the same perceptions as the previous generations of Afrikaners, in which case their inability to adapt to a changing social environment might be the cause of a perceived (identity) crisis. Through examining the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences of this recently seasoned generation of Afrikaners, this study seeks to contribute to a more contemporary conceptualisation of what it means to be white in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The second instance of shortcoming in prior literature relates to the geographical location of participants and the potential impact of such regional differences on white subjectivities. With the exception of Van der Westhuizen (2013),

none of the other investigations were concerned with the potential impact of regional differences on the subjectivities of their participants and the reliability of the subsequent data. The current investigation specifically aimed at including participants residing in all, or most, of the provinces within South Africa in order to account for such differences. The current investigation aimed at including participants from the majority of provinces and geographical regions in South Africa as detailed in Chapter 4.

Finally, the most significant concern relating to previous investigations is argued to be a lack of reflexivity, specifically on the part of the researcher, within the research process. Reflexivity is an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining outside of one's subject matter while conducting research. Reflexivity involves making the research process itself a focus of inquiry, laying open pre-conceptions and becoming aware of situational dynamics by which the researcher and participants are jointly involved in knowledge production. Self-searching involves the researcher examining their conceptual baggage, as well as their assumptions and preconceptions and how these affect research decisions (particularly, the selection and wording of questions as well as the eventual interpretations of findings). Essentially, the process of reflexivity enables the researcher to surface and be conscious of the impact of his/her subject position, personality, and overall impact on the research. The current investigation employed a continuous process of reflexivity in order to control for any such risks throughout the entire research process. The specific steps of this process is detailed in Chapter 4 and the outcome of the reflexive analysis can be found at the end of Chapter 7.

4. HISTORICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND POST-APARTHEID SUBJECTIVITY

The following section aims to provide an overview of findings indicating that history and historical consciousness have formed a fundamental part in the construction of Afrikaner subjectivities, throughout their development. Additionally, these findings indicate that in post-Apartheid South Africa, Afrikaners seem to constantly be referencing their history (or historical events)—specifically, Apartheid and the transition period that followed—when making sense of their social position, self, group, and Other.

In order to investigate how conscious Afrikaner adolescents are of their history, Wasserman (2007) undertook a small-scale pilot survey study amongst a purposively selected Afrikaans co-educational school in a predominantly English-speaking part of South Africa. The study formed part of a larger research project which envisaged to investigate the historical consciousness of adolescents of all race groups in South Africa. According to Wasserman (2007), large-scale changes were implemented in the educational system after the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948. These changes included mass education for non-whites and the enforcement of Apartheid in all spheres of life, including the school system. Important to note is that the NP Government had firm control over history education in schools up until 1994. School textbooks were written, curricula developed, and subjects taught from an Afrikaner-nationalist perspective, portraying whites, and Afrikaners in particular, as historical heroes, with the Other being depicted as villains (Wasserman, 2007). Accordingly, Dhupelia-Meshtrie (2000) indicated that history as a subject at most South African universities, was dominated by the agenda of the state.

As such, Wasserman (2007) goes on to explain that all South African learners were taught a history in which the struggles of the Afrikaner against both native Africans and the British were glorified. This state of affairs, however, changed after 1994, along with all other aspects of South African society. Thus, in a reversal from their previous position of overlordship, Afrikaners found themselves on the fringes of history. Wasserman (2007) notes that in the current context (more than 20 years after all South Africans have gained their freedom) it becomes imperative to investigate the position of the Afrikaner adolescent with respect to history, in light of the history of history education in South Africa, and the previous position of power and dominance held by the Afrikaner (Wasserman, 2007). Wasserman (2007) administered questionnaires to a small sample of students at a school chosen for providing easy access to education to Afrikaner adolescents from a broad spectrum of socio-economic statuses. The sample was a collection of white Afrikaans-speaking Grade 10 learners across gender (63% female), economic status (51% average income), and religion (96% Christian). The data was then analysed using the quantitative research software, SPSS, to conduct descriptive and inferential statistical procedures.

Importantly, Wasserman (2007) found the following: Afrikaner adolescents attached great value to history. Of the respondents, 65% viewed history as providing the backdrop to how we live our present and more than 70% viewed history as providing an opportunity to learn from the past. Noteworthey is that the sample viewed school textbooks' representation of history with great suspicion. This suspicion is argued to be a result of the portrayal of Afrikaners and their history in such textbooks (Wasserman, 2007) where, for example, the majority of Afrikaners were previously portrayed as heroes, in the revised versions some Afrikaans volk-heroes are now portrayed as villainous dominators.

Based on his findings, Wasserman (2007) compiled a profile of the typical Afrikaner adolescent. He presents the following description: someone who attaches great importance to history in terms of understanding the past, present, and future. Furthermore, this person lacks trust in history textbooks and teachers, instead preferring to place their trust in historical documents, documentaries, and museums. Furthermore, they enjoy the study of meta-narratives of world and South African history, specifically study of themes around Apartheid, the Great Trek, and the Boer Republics. Their view of the new South Africa was said to be internally contradictory in that they recognise the democracy, economic opportunity, and the justice and freedom it brought, but they also viewed it as a context where affirmative action is a negative presence and the language and the history of the Afrikaner is being greatly oppressed. South Africa's past is viewed as undemocratic but unpolluted,i.e. prosperous with a low population density—in contrast to the South African future which is anticipated to be democratic and polluted, i.e., unprosperous and overpopulated. Finally, in their view, as in the past, the South African future will be characterised by conflict between the rich and the poor as well as between the various ethnic groups of the country (Wasserman, 2007)

According to Allen (2002), it must be remembered that "historical consciousness" as a mental construct, is invariably influenced by dynamic spatial, spiritual, cultural, and ideological contexts. These contexts will include the post-Apartheid political, economic, social, and educational experiences of the adolescents surveyed. The latter, the educational experiences, becomes of particular importance for the future of South African society, as we have to realise the consequences of the historical knowledge amongst those who are exposed to it; for example, enabling future generations to learn from past mistakes by portraying factual content

In 1999, Van Beek (2000) conducted a survey amongst first-year History students from seven South African universities. This survey was then compared to the findings of a similar survey done in 1989. Van Beek wanted to find out what impact the transformation period after Apartheid had on the mind-set of young South Africans. Her sample (Van Beek, 2000) included 223 respondents representing all the major races in the country. The survey was conducted as an anonymous questionnaire which consisted of eight questions. One out of the eight questions was structured, instructing participants to rank in order of importance several sources for learning history. The other seven questions were open-ended in order to stimulate participants' imagination and elicit opinions and feelings on a variety of issues. These questions revolved around changes in lived contexts and the reasons for these changes, the importance of certain pieces of South African history, as well as the impact of history on everyday life.

Van Beek's (2000) survey found that in contemporary South Africa, history remains in the foreground, with Apartheid still featuring prominently in the historical consciousness of the participants. Regarding emotional attitudes, constructs such as change, the present, and learning had become more dominant in relation to findings from the 1989 study, which emphasised attitudes relating to mourning the past, the desire for a different past, or the wish to change history (Van Beek, 2000). In line with Fourie's (2008) findings, this shift indicate a change in perceptions and beliefs from one generation of South Africans to the next, in a relatively short period of time following the end of Apartheid and early in the period of transformation that followed.

Furthermore, Van Beek (2000) found that cultural heritage remained an important identity factor in modern South Africa and that Apartheid is frequently referred to in order to make sense of the current political situation. According to Van

Beek (2000), the theme of "learning from the past in order to create a better future" flowed throughout the data. Van Beek (2000) could not establish how members of different races viewed one another. The overall impression from the responses was that racial discrimination had not disappeared. The majority of black respondents felt that Apartheid might be gone, but racism is still present. The general perception of the rest of the respondents (which included members from other races) was that the country is in a context of "reversed Apartheid." In other words, under Apartheid, certain races were denied certain privileges or opportunities, and in the contemporary South Africa this dynamic still holds, albeit being reversed. This dynamic is specifically referred to in terms of employment opportunities and the perception of unjust appointment of individuals based on their social background and race at the expense of educational and experiential merit. Furthermore, and quite surprisingly, results from this investigation found such perceptions not to be isolated to the specific racial group of whites, but rather were more readily expressed publically and in private in the wider South African society, especially by people of Indian and coloured communities (Van Beek, 2000).

Finally, Van Beek (2000) notes that the process of national identity formation will be doomed to fail if it is not sensitive to the particular and distinctive nature of the various cultures it attempts to unite. This imperative is argued to be especially salient in a country whose people, prior to 1994, did not have a commonly-shared history with positive associations through which to define themselves as South Africans.

5. CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed at providing a review of the literature around the theme of whiteness and constructions of whiteness within the South African context, specifically

within the field of psychology. The first part of this chapter provided a brief historical orientation to the emergence of traditional nationalistic Afrikaner identities. The second part of this chapter focused on presenting a review of mostly empirical research and scholarly literature investigating Afrikaner constructions in post-Apartheid democratic society. A clear picture of Afrikaners searching for direction, security, belonging and new meaning within the transforming post-Apartheid society emerges from the literature. The tensions, conflicts, perceptions and contradictions found in the literature provide an outline of what could be expected to characterise the discourses of 1DAGs in the current study. However, the possibility for change to occur in such perceptions and beliefs over time, as evidenced in some of the previous findings, should also be considered and could potentially mean that the 1DAGs' experiences or conceptions of being white in the new social order are different than the experiences described in previous research.

The third section of this chapter provided an overview of the impact that history and consciousness of historical developments have on the meaning-making processes of Afrikaners. The findings from previous investigations highlight the omnipresence of history and historical processes (specifically Apartheid and the transition period that followed) in the mind-set of young Afrikaners (and all South Africans) as they navigate the encounters of everyday life and try to make sense of their current situation.

It must be noted from previous academic inquiry that race still predominantly functions as both a cognitive and an emotional lens for self and group categorisation or identification, processing information about the Other or out-groups, and making sense of the current social context in South Africa. Furthermore, the historical context, specifically the Apartheid past, is seen to be omnipresent within the new socio-political

context. In other words, South Africans are still thinking, acting, and perceiving along racial lines. In line with such findings, it has been argued that Afrikaners—even when condemning Apartheid—still view the racial Other as dangerous and not considerate of Afrikaner needs but with an intent to harm.

Interestingly, history was found to be highly valued by Afrikaner youth as (i) providing a backdrop for present conduct and (ii) providing an opportunity to learn from past mistakes—although textbook representation of South African history is perceived as being highly suspect. Furthermore, South African youth recognise the democracy, freedom, justice, and positive achievements of post-Apartheid South Africa, but they simultaneously perceive affirmative action as a negative presence in the current context, greatly oppressing Afrikaner language, culture, and history. Similarly, perceptions of the future South Africa are earmarked by an omnipresent conflict between rich and poor as well as between racial groups.

The literature overwhelmingly evidences a ubiquitous perception of threat, specifically in relation to safety (crime), the Afrikaans language, Afrikaner identity, culture, and the accessibility of resources (e.g. Esses et al, 1998; Rosenstein, 2008; Fourie, 2008). In particular, the use of the Afrikaans language is heavily emphasised as the most common characteristic of Afrikaners; consequently, the marginalisation and suppression of this language is seen to greatly impact on Afrikaner identity (e.g. Louw-Potgieter, 1988; Visser, 2007; Verwey, 2009). Such perceived threats have been found to significantly factor in the formation of intergroup attitudes, emotions, anxiety, fear, and conflict, which in turn directly contributes to levels of in-group bias and out-group hostility. In effect, the perceived source of such threat will be challenged, and this challenge will potentially be expressed in a variety of negative actions, ranging from unfavourable attitudes to full blown hate-crimes (e.g.

Rosenstein, 2008; Moolman, 2010; Visser, 2011). It was found that younger individuals experience significantly higher levels of threat, consequently being more negative towards affirmative action and its beneficiaries (Moolman, 2010). Arguably, higher levels of threat perception could lead to (a) a belief that members from out-groups would negatively evaluate the in-group (Afrikaners), (b) a negative evaluation of political changes, and (c) perceptions of an illegitimate and unstable post-Apartheid system.

The end of Apartheid brought about major changes in the social and political landscape of South Africa. It is to be expected that such changes could result in reconstructing shared ideologies and also necessitate the construction of new and appropriate identities. With any form of change comes feelings of anxiety. Importantly, it has been found that Afrikaners' construction of their identity has undergone some changes in a short period of time, from the end of Apartheid and during the transformation period, and from one generation to the next (e.g. Van Beek, 2000; Fourie, 2008).

However, there is enough evidence within the literature to suggest that modern-day Afrikaners may be finding themselves in a crisis, i.e. struggling to find their place in post-Apartheid South Africa and the new socio-political context. In other words, the 1DAGs may still be in a constant battle to redefine themselves and find their place in the new social context; on the other hand, they may not. Strategies employed for coping with such a potential crisis found in the include (i) complete contextual isolation (such as the community of Orania), (ii) physical, emotional, and psychological withdrawal from the transforming society, and, at the most extreme, (iii) emigration to other countries.

The literature does, however, also show that many Afrikaners have become more open towards change, attained a greater understanding of other perspectives, and even became critical of the status quo through (i) exposure to alternative ideas (at school or university) and (ii) increased contact with out-groups. Such Afrikaners are argued to be profoundly more freed from the burden of Apartheid than their predecessors, accepting of their minority status in a multicultural context, proud of their culture and language, cognisant of past injustices, and motivated to build a new South African society.

However, it may be that more than 20 years after the end of Apartheid, South Africa has still not reached the idealised unified, non-racialised, and just first-world country status it has aspired toward. It is possible that attempting to reach such a status would entail the formation of a unified national identity, inclusive of all races and social groups without distinction and sensitive towards their respective cultures and needs. As such, it is deemed to be of significant importance to attain as accurate a picture as possible—open to all possibilities—of the perceptions and beliefs of the post-Apartheid Afrikaner and to determine what meanings they attach to being white in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The following chapter provides a more succinct description of the parameters of the study. This chapter also contains an important discussion of the constructs power, discourse, and ideology as they were applied in the study. In addition, the relationship between these constructs are explored and discussed. Chapter 3 then provides an overview of the theoretical paradigm within which the study is located and finally discusses the element of whiteness, its' development, (re)construction and associated social (re)positioning within the South African context.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION:

The previous two chapters provided a rationale for the study as well as reflections on some of the more prominent research studies and findings relevant to this investigation. This chapter will focus on providing a more concise description of the guiding parameters of the study. Some of these parameters have already been alluded to in the previous two chapters. However, this chapter will specifically focus on (a) defining the constructs as they were employed within the study and (b) stipulating the broad theoretical coordinates of the study.

2. DEFINITIONS, DEMARCATIONS, AND POINTS OF DEPARTURE

At this point, a number of concepts need to be discussed in order to clarify and delimit the boundaries of the study. The following section will focus on conceptions of power, discourse, and ideology as applied in the study and will aim to provide clarification on the relations between discourses, regimes of truth, and ideology.

2.1 Power

Given the centrality of power and power relations throughout the history of the Afrikaner, featured already in this investigation—specifically, the transition from a position of absolute power to holding a minority status within the country associated with the rise of democracy—it is useful at this stage to discuss the concept of power as it relates to this study. Numerous understandings of this construct have been proposed (for example, Althusser, 1971; Mitchell & Schoeffel, 2003; Gramsci, 1971). The concept of power is generally understood as the ability of an individual or group

to fulfil its desires and implement its decisions and ideas. According to Max Weber (2010), power involves the capacity to influence as well as control the behaviour of others, even against their will. Parsons (1963) defines power as a systems property, a capacity to achieve ends, whereas Mills (1956) viewed power as a relationship in which one side prevailed over the other. Marxian analysis rejects the view that power is a societal resource held in trust and directed by those in authority for the benefit of all. Instead, power is seen to be held by a particular group in society at the expense of the rest of the society.

For the purposes of this study, the construct of power has been defined and understood in line with Foucault's (1991, 1998) conception. Foucault's seminal contributions, specifically to comprehending the transformation mechanisms and techniques of power from a historical perspective, have been most instructive in the present investigation. Foucault attempts to explain why people conform to norms in society and how different institutions exercise power in order to influence people's behaviours. He explains that these exercises of power are carried out in two forms: sovereign power and disciplinary power.

Sovereign power is described as power that is centralised in the state (government) or leader (president/ruling party) and can be characterised by ascending individualism (each individual looks up to the power that controls him and is aware of every symbol of that power that exists in society) and repression. Consider the death penalty, for example. Sentencing a guilty person to death results in the inculcation of fear in witnesses or society. If the punishment is carried out in public, a grisly show is put on display to keep citizens under control. The idea is that if people see what could possibly be done to them, they will not choose the same type of behaviour or actions as the criminal. This type of punishment under sovereign power is focused directly on

the body: the pain inflicted on the person is designed to restore order in the masses (Bertani & Fontana, 2003).

Foucault illustrates how sovereign power in periods of feudalism was slowly replaced by disciplinary power, which he suggests is integrally linked to changing social conditions (1919, 1998). Essentially, what this transition implied was a decentring of power away from the sovereign figure and into more diffuse, anonymous, and invisible techniques within newly established disciplines and their institutions. According to Foucault (1991, 1998), discipline is a mechanism of power which regulates the behaviour of individuals in the social body. This control is done by regulating the organisation of space (architecture, social spaces, etc.), time (timetables), and people's activity and behaviour (drills, posture, movement). Discipline is enforced with the aid of complex systems of surveillance. Foucault emphasises that power is not discipline; rather, discipline is simply one way in which power can be exercised.

Disciplinary power functions in a completely different manner to sovereign power. Instead of utilising violence, force, or the threat thereof, disciplinary power takes effect by means of continuous forms of observation and surveillance which compel populations to behave according to the rules and codes of social formation. In other words, power structures control people's actions indirectly (Foucault, 1991, 1998). In other words, people become easier to control to the extent that they discipline themselves to act in line with the wishes of the person or organisation that controls them. This is because it is "expected behaviour", i.e. what is expected to be normal in combination with an omnipresent perception of being watched or scrutinised. Such self-discipline could occur both consciously (through purposeful actions or behaviour aimed to be in line with the perceived wishes or rules of those in power) or,

subconsciously (operating as uncontested truths determining the individuals place within society and for example future aspirations).

Disciplinary power is characterised by descending individualism (the powerless are individualised and power becomes more anonymous) and rehabilitation where the focus is on the individuality of those subordinated, impacting on the soul in order to discipline the body. Disciplinary power soon transcended institutional means of regulating people, and it became increasingly adapted and changed into internalised forms of self-regulation. Thus, the effect of disciplinary power could increasingly be seen as population-level self-regulation by means of internal, rather than external, forms of surveillance, giving rise to more diffuse forms of power and domination within everyday social interactions (Butchart, 1998). As a result, disciplinary power has the effect of generating generally accepted, or taken-for-granted, ways of understanding and being in the world, which are referred to as "regimes of truth" (Foucault, 1998). In this regard, disciplinary power is said to regulate the nature of social relations along certain pre-established parameters and through certain discourses (which could relate to gender, race, or class relations, for example). However, power is not absolute: it also provides a point for resistance. Bertani and Fontana (2003, p. 280), in citing Foucault, note that

> where there is power, there is always resistance, and the two things are co-extensive. As soon as there is a power relation, there is a possibility of resistance. We can never be ensnared by power: we can always modify its grip.

2.2 Discourse and Regimes of Truth

This study is focused on conducting a critical discursive analysis of a group of young white Afrikaans speakers' discourses on what it means to be white in democratic South Africa. Given the unique progression and transformation of power relations related to this ethnic group's development, the study will also examine the ideological effects embedded within these discourses. It is thus critical at this point to reflect on the relationship between discourses, regimes of truth, and ideology in order to determine, not only the dialectic between these concepts, but also the manner in which these constructs were deployed within this study.

French social theorist Michel Foucault developed a notion of discourse in his early work, especially the *Archaeology of knowledge* (1972). Discourse can be viewed as referring to socially and historically situated domains of knowledge or ways of construing the world (Foucault, 1980). Foucault's definition of discourse can be summarised as follows: discourses are systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs, and practices that systematically construct subjects and the worlds of which they speak. In other words, at a very generic level, the term "discourse" relates to organised networks of meaning or substance attributed to objects and subjects of knowledge (Parker, 1990). Discourses are the varying patterns of meaning used to talk about things such as, for example, "racism" and "privilege," in everyday conversation as if they were predefined and fixed qualities of human psychology. Operating as "language" in a social context, a discourse carries out the social and intellectual life of a community (Mercer, 1995), which emphasises the importance of considering language in context (whether spoken, written or visual).

As discourses find manifestation through various symbolic forms of meaning, such as language, they also bear the social content of various expressions of disciplinary power. This observation is in line with Foucault's (1998) contention that power is everywhere and comes from everywhere. Power is neither an agent nor a structure. As such, its reach spans not simply over individuals, but over the social structures themselves: power operates as a "meta-power," or what Foucault refers to as regimes of truth. Foucault coined the term "power/knowledge" to emphasise that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding, and truth. According to Foucault, each society will have a "general politics" of truth; that is, a society's regime of truth, what knowledge it accepts as true, and how this knowledge operates as true within their specific world. These regimes of truth penetrate society. They are not fixed, but are in constant flux and negotiation. Our regimes of truth enable us to distinguish true and false statements, endorse accepted truths and also assign a certain status to those who are regarded as speaking the truth; as such, they inherently involve relations of power. Regimes of truth are constantly strengthened (and developed or redefined) through institutional systems such as education, religion, and the media, but is also greatly affected by the instability of political and economic landscapes.

Disciplinary power and the discourses through which it is conveyed directly contribute to the generation of regimes of truth (Foucault, 1998). As discussed, these "general politics" construct the world as a unitary and fixed, singular version of reality that is incontestable and taken-for-granted; the "conformity" produced by regimes of truth aids in uniformly regulating social relations (Gevanta, 2003). This does not mean that regimes of truths are not open to change, but represents a unique body of knowledge which is referenced when deciphering information as true or false. It is,

however, important to note that, even though regimes of truth provide the platform for uneven power relations, they do not always actively contribute to broader processes of systemic domination. In situations where they do, they will have certain ideological effects (Hayword, 1998), i.e., where regimes of truth serve in the production, maintenance or resistance of power

2.3 Discourse, Regimes of Truth, and Ideology

Most contemporary writers would agree that the concept of ideology is most frequently used in the context of power relations, specifically with regard to the reproduction and maintenance of systemised forms of domination. It is assumed that ideologies are largely expressed and acquired through discourse, i.e. through communicative interaction (Gee, 1996). Consequently, discourse is seen as a mode of social action that contributes to the production and maintenance of the social world; this includes knowledge, ideologies and social relationships. When group members explain, motivate, or legitimate their (group-based) actions, they typically do so in terms of ideological discourse. Language use and discourse are among the crucial social practices influenced by ideology, and in turn they also influence how we acquire, learn, or change ideologies (Van Dijk, 2001). A large part of our discourse, specifically when we are speaking as members of group, expresses ideologically-based opinions. Most of our ideological beliefs are acquired through reading and listening to other group members, starting with our parents and peers. As we mature, we learn ideologies through exposure to media, scholarly textbooks, or participation in everyday conversations and interactions, and these ideologies continue to be shaped throughout our lives.

Most writers on this subject (Foster, 1991; McLellan, 1986; Thompson, 1984, 1990) agree that the concept of ideology has undergone a variety of transformations since its emergence, and it thus becomes important to determine the conception of ideology that would be best suited to illuminating the constructions of white subjectivities in the current South African context. It is at this point in the academic inquiry that the researcher is faced with a theoretical dilemma. It would appear prudent at this stage not to conceptualise and operationalise the concept too narrowly (for example, that ideologies are only positive or only negative), as one could then draw on various conceptualisations which subsequently would allow for greater range and depth of theoretical explanations of the empirical data.

As an initial point of departure, this study adopts Thompson's (1984, 1990) reformulation of the critical conception of ideology as accounted for by Cornforth (1963), which in essence conveys an interrogative understanding of the functions of ideology within social formations. Thompson's reformulation not only finds congruence with social constructionism but also with the methodological pitch that the present study embarks from. For Thompson (1990, p. 7),

> the concept of ideology can be used to refer to the ways in which meaning serves, in particular circumstances, to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical […] ideology broadly speaking, is meaning in the service of power.

It should be noted that this quote does not only relate to class: it may include relations of power that occur at the levels of gender, race, and ethnicity as well. Thompson (1990) argues that meanings which are conveyed through symbolic forms such as language are constitutive of social reality as they may actively create relations

of power, but that they also maintain such relations through ongoing processes of symbolic reproduction. Thus, ideologies seek to organise social formations along the lines of existing power relations (see also Parker, 1990, 1999). However, if ideologies are able to produce maintain and strengthen relations of power, they should also be able to resist or counter such power, in other words harnessing meaning that serves to resist or undo systematic relations of domination.

In order to understand Thompson's reformulation of ideology, we need a deeper understanding of its four main aspects. These are (a) the concept of meaning; (b) the concept of symbolic forms; (c) the conception of power (understood by Thompson in line with Foucault's conception); and (d) the interplay of meaning and power in the creation and conservation of power relations.

The concept of meaning relates to the connotation of symbolic forms which are rooted in a diverse range of social-historical contexts. For Thompson (1990, p. 59), symbolic forms refer to

> a broad range of actions and utterances, images and texts, which are produced by subjects and recognised by them and others as meaningful constructs. Linguistic utterances and expressions, whether spoken or inscribed, are crucial in this regard, but symbolic forms can also be non-linguistic or quasi-linguistic in nature (e.g. a visual image, or a construct which combines images and words).

Thus, in Thompson's view, symbolic phenomena can be perceived as ideological phenomena. For this equality to obtain, two conditions needs to be met. Firstly, symbolic phenomena must operate to maintain (or arguably resist) relations of

domination. Secondly, they need to function within particular social-historical conditions.

Thompson (1990, p. 59) conceptualises domination as

> …when established relations of power are systematically asymmetrical, that is, when particular agents or groups of agents are endowed with power in a durable way which excludes, and to some significant degree remains inaccessible to, other agents or groups of agents, irrespective of the basis upon which such exclusion is carried out.

In an important departure from the classic Marxist conception of ideology and in line with Foucault (1991), Thompson (1990) rejects the notion that domination or power solely refers to class relations. He argues that it is vital to consider also the inequality of power relations between races, sexes, cultures, ethnic groups, individuals and the state, and competing states, in addition to referring to the inequality and exploitation between classes. This fits in with the present study in that power relations in South Africa has historically been defined along racial lines.

Thompson (1990) proposes five strategies through which meaning functions or operates in the service of power, i.e., legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification. These strategies, mainly in service of maintaining already established power, might not necessarily be directly applicable to the 1DAGs, who perceive themselves to be powerless. However, it is worth briefly outlining each of these tactics as they might relate to strategies of the powerful Other for maintaining their position of power

Extensively drawing on the work of Max Weber, Thompson's description of "legitimation" refers to the representation of relations of power as being innately just and consequently worthy of support. Thompson's (1984) focus is on how symbolic forms in society lay claim to legitimacy of these relations. Further citing Weber, Thompson (1984) distinguished between three types of possible grounds for these claims to legitimacy. These are rational grounds (appealing to the legality of societal rules), traditional grounds (appealing to the sanctity of cultural traditions), and charismatic grounds (appealing to the character of the individual who exercises power and authority).

Claims based on charismatic grounds may be expressed in symbolic forms by using a range of symbolic strategies (Thompson, 1990). Rationalisation constitutes one such strategy, whereby social actors construct a symbolic form which follows a line of reasoning that ultimately legitimates and rationalises the nature of social relations, e.g., white privilege still persists and thus preference should be given to the previously disadvantaged Legitimisation, a second strategy, suggests that institutional arrangements which serve the interests of certain individuals or groups are presented as serving the interests of all groups and individuals. Narrativisation, as a final tactic for claiming legitimacy, refers to claims rooted in stories as well as cultural and historical narratives which serve to justify and legitimise the use of power by those who possess and exert it and to confirm obedience by those who do not (Thompson, 1990).

Secondly, ideology operates through "dissimulation," i.e., the way that relations of power are concealed, disclaimed, or disguised. Here, ideology functions to deter the focus away from relations of power. Dissimulation is attained by means of three strategies, i.e. displacement, euphemisation, and trope. Displacement refers to the

strategy wherein a characterisation of one object or individual is used to refer to another, thereby transferring the negative or positive connotation of the one to the other. In euphemisation, (social) actions and processes, institutions, or objects are redefined to elicit a positive sentiment. Trope refers to a cluster of terms that denotes the figurative use of language and symbolic forms (Thompson, 1990). All these means of concealment operate in the service of dissimulation, and we shall see the degree to which they operated in the experiences of 1DAGs.

"Unification," a third unit of ideology's operation, refers to the symbolic construction of attributes, the foregrounding of common aspects, and the minimisation of differences, e.g., the perceptions expressed by participants that the majority of Afrikaners are calling for equality and inclusion while minimising accounts of some right-wing racist groups. The purpose is to create a collective identity amongst individuals achieved via the strategies of standardisation (involving the adaptation of symbolic forms to a standard socially accepted framework) and symbolisation of unity (the construction of symbols, which nurture a sense of unity and collective identity) (Thompson, 1990).

The fourth technique of ideology is "fragmentation." Fragmentation, contrary to unification, involves disintegrating or dividing potential resistance, perhaps by refocusing dissidents' scrutiny and dynamism toward a fictitious mutual enemy. Strategies of differentiation and expurgation of the Other become relevant here. Differentiation suggests foregrounding the distinctions and divisions between individuals and groups, maintaining divergence and generating in-group and out-group symbolic forms. The fabrication of a common enemy requiring collective resistance is referred to as expurgation of the Other (Thompson, 1990).

The last method of operation of ideology, "reification," involves the representation of society as permanent and natural, but ahistorical. Pertinent here are strategies of naturalisation, involving the portrayal of social processes and characteristics as the product of natural development, and eternalisation, wherein phenomena of the socio-historical essence are relived and presented as a permanent, unchanging state of affairs (Thompson, 1990). Arguably, during Apartheid, certain assigned characteristics of the black other were portrayed as a product of their natural development, or lack thereof.

3. ESTABLISHING THE THEORETICAL CO-ORDINATES OF THE STUDY

This study encompasses a critical discursive analysis of the experiences, perceptions, and beliefs associated with being white in the post-Apartheid South African context. In other words, this study seeks to determine what it means to be part of a specific group of people within a specific context, at a specific point in time. The following section will aim to provide an overview of the broad theoretical co-ordinates which framed the study's investigation into the meaning(s) participants attach to the construct of whiteness. The chapter then concludes by discussing whiteness and its development throughout South African history and will further aim to locate and describe the unique nature and construction of whiteness within this socio-historical context.

3.1 Social Constructionism as Theoretical Paradigm

In establishing the theoretical coordinates of this study, the chosen approach is fairly typical compared to those employed in previous similar investigations: employed here is an approach which argues that all forms of meaning are subjective and created through social processes which are located within a constant interchange of reference

between the historical and present contexts. According to social constructionism, the construct "meaning," at a very generic level, relates to organised networks of qualities, characteristics, and substance attributed to objects and subjects of knowledge associated with our perceptions of what is true and real. This claim would imply that our knowledge and representations of the world are not reflections of a singular unitary and fixed truth or reality, but rather that they are products of our categorisations of the world, constituted by subjective interpretations of our experiences. It is assumed that people's notions of reality (including group-based ideologies) are constructed largely through interaction with others, as mediated by the use of language and other symbolic systems. This critical approach which social constructionism adopts toward "taken-for-granted knowledge" is in line with Foucault's approach to "regimes of truth," in that our knowledge of the world is not seen on either account as an independent truth. Rather, our reality is a product of our discourses (Burr, 1995), which convey our understanding of the world in which we live and which are constructed socially during interactions in our everyday lives (Gergen, 1985). Social constructionism's approach is heavily concerned with language and discourse, arguing that all of our knowledge is constructed through social interactions and the use of language.

Humans are regarded as historical and cultural beings, and their beliefs and knowledge about the world are the "products of historically situated interchanges among people" (Gergen 1985, p. 267). In other words, the ways in which people comprehend and depict their world are historically and culturally specific and conditional; these beliefs and perceptions could have easily been different and they can certainly change over time. Such an anti-essentialist view implies that the world is constructed socially and discursively.

This study assumes a link between knowledge and social processes, meaning that the ways in which we understand the world are produced and maintained by social processes. By means of social interaction, we construct commonly shared truths and debate about what can be regarded as true or false; these processes are seen as creating knowledge, i.e., meaning on which we ultimately draw when constructing perceptions of the self and group.

Hermeneutical thought departs from a similar critical rethinking of ontology. At the outset, humans are seen as "self-interpreting beings" (citation?). That is, to a great extent humans, are what they are because of the meanings they develop in their everyday lives (Taylor, 1985). Such a view is in contrast to the focus of natural science on brute external influences. Additionally, the lives of individuals are constantly located within a familiar life-world from which the possibilities for self-interpretation sprout. Our life stories can only be understood against the backdrop of potential story-lines unlocked through our historical culture. Thus, our specific culture provides us with explanations of potential meanings which we can attribute to our lives (Guignon, 1989).

The notion that the ways in which people comprehend and depict their world are historically and culturally specific and conditional implies the potential for change in such perceptions and beliefs over time and between contexts. Similarly, social constructionists are of the view that identities are not presupposed or gradually developed into predefined variables, but that identities are open to change and develop in ways which might not be predictable. Identities are viewed as being fluidly assembled, perpetually emergent, and socially constructed via social interaction and relationships. In other words, social constructionists assume that humans, as social

beings, actively construct their identities by employing social tools, the most prominent of which is language and the use thereof.

In line with social constructionist perspectives, this study emphasises the complexity and interrelatedness of the various facets of human existence within communities and views individuals as interconnected with their culture and political and historical evolution. This cognisance of the specific times and places that people are located within implies that psychological processes are embedded culturally within the relevant social and temporal contexts. It is important to note that this finding would imply that our mutual existence with other human beings is shaped most actively through socialisation and enculturation amongst the individuals we have known and the influence of those whom we currently know. As such, it should also be noted that from this perspective, true objectivity is not possible within the social sciences, considering that all methodologies require the assessment of a set of subjective humans by another set of subjective humans.

The nature of this study necessitated access to the richness and quality of real-life everyday lived experiences, in contrast to arguably more restrictive quantifiable measures and statistics. As such, and in line with the majority of investigations into whiteness in South Africa (e.g. Louw-Potgieter, 1988; Steyn, 2001; Franchi & Swart, 2003; Fourie, 2008; Verwey, 2009), the study adopted a qualitative methodological approach in order to make sense of the experiences it aimed to investigate. In contrast to a hypothetico-deductive approach, in which a particular set of questions is framed by predetermined hypotheses, a qualitative approach enabled the investigation to carve open territory about which only vague hunches exist(ed), rather than relying on clear predictions to guide the inquiry.

3.2 Locating Whiteness in South Africa

The majority of scholars in the field agree that any study on whiteness within the South African context should take particular consideration of the unique way(s) in which whiteness has been constructed, reconstructed, and located throughout the country's historical development (Slabbert, 1999; Hendriks, 2000; Vestegaard, 2001; Steyn, 2004; Verwey, 2009). The construction of whiteness in the South African context is regarded as unique, in that it is arguably the only social context in the world where whites as a minority group held a position of absolute power for an extended period of time. Moreover, after stepping down from this position of absolute power and assuming a minority status, in the new social order, this previously powerful minority is now faced with affirmative action policies imposed by the majority Other in power. Adding to the intricacy of its development, Steyn notes that within South Africa, "whiteness has [also] been defined in terms of the struggle between English and Afrikaans subjectivities" (2004, p. 147).

Perhaps the first conception of whiteness in South Africa can be traced back as far as the first documented point of contact between the native inhabitants of the land and the white Portuguese explorer Bartolomeu Dias, who led the first European expedition to round the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 (Beck, 2000). At this point of initial contact, the transparently observable differences in skin colour, i.e. the blackness of the native versus the whiteness of the European, would have been obvious to both groups present. It is possible that this initial observable difference would have been perceived as foreign and strange to both groups, who possibly constructed their own conception of this "otherness." When Jan van Riebeek arrived in South Africa 164 years later in 1652, marking the start of colonisation, increased contact between the white European settlers and the native Black population perhaps highlighted even

more observable differences between these groups, both in appearance and in behaviour. Although cognisant of these difference, early settlers initially constructed their group boundaries based on religion (further elaborated on in Chapter 5): those belonging to the Christian faith (the divine in-group) and those outside (the heathens to whom all things bad were ascribed). As the settler community at the Cape developed and expanded the frontier, these religious-based group boundaries also developed and became reconstructed along racial markers, i.e. the colour of one's skin determined your perceived characteristics. Whiteness became associated with all things good and divine, regarded as superior on a number of levels in relation to the black Other who, in the white gaze, inherited most of the traits previously assigned to heathens (Slabbert, 1999).

Similar to what Sarah Nuttall (2006, p. 8) writes about beauty—"beauty stands in an intimate relation to ugliness"—early conceptions of whiteness in South Africa can be argued to have stood in an intimate relation to the native Other, who personified what De Kock (2010) refers to as "wildness." De Kock (2010, p. 16) also echoes this notion in stating,

> The "civilising mission" to the "Dark Continent" brought with it a signifying economy in which the terms "light" and "dark" were entailed in a [debilitating] metonymy of white skin/black skin as bearers of value.

It is in the context of this relationship between white settlers and native inhabitants that whiteness has managed its very construction of differential meaning: that is, attributing specific elements to whiteness, clearly distinguishable from the "wild Other" (blackness).

The term "whiteness" should not be regarded as fixed or constant. Whiteness is a social concept which is based on an association of meanings. According to Ware and Beck, (2002, p. 25),

> above all whiteness is understood as a process that can be contested as well as deconstructed. Due to South Africa's historically artificial construction of race, as well as Apartheid history and its demise, the creation of whiteness in this socio-historical context becomes even more complex.

Similarly to whiteness, race is regarded as a subjective construct, as opposed to being an immutable fact based on biological differences (Thompson, 2011). Race is not dependant on miniscule differences such as physical variations, but rather it is an artificial category created through historical processes. According to Jacobson (1998), "all races are invented categories—designations coined for the sake of grouping and separating people along the lines of presumed differences" (p. 4). The biological differences between people are largely inconsequential. "The issue is not how *natural* differences determine and justify group definitions and interactions, but how racial logics and racial frames of reference are articulated and deployed, and with what consequences" (Donald & Rattansi, 1992, p. 1).

A number of variables, such as socially and historically constructed sets of identifications, have influenced the way in which the concept of race is constructed. However, the way that state politics inform the creation of racial identity is argued to be one of the more prominent influential factors in the construction of race. This note is in line with Donald and Rattansi's (1992, p. 1) view that race as a maze of "social

meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle"—a view which can be clearly evidenced in the South African context.

Social constructionists view race as a pseudo-biological concept which has been utilised to rationalise and justify the unequal treatment of groups of people by others (Machery & Faucher, 2005). The construct of race, and thus whiteness, is not fixed within the South African context, and is seen as originating in the tradition of prevailing colonial hierarchies which were later reified by the Apartheid system. The reformulation and legal inscription of race during Apartheid have resulted in a theoretical divergence between international conceptions of whiteness (for example, in Europe and America) and ideas about South African whiteness. Besides the formal re-inscription under Apartheid, the fact that no numerical minority in the post-colonial era had held an absolute position of power in any country for such a length of time has inevitably affected race relations, specifically the construction of whiteness, more differently than anywhere else (Schutte, 1995).

The formally legalised Apartheid system which the National Party had implemented resulted in its racial stratification being elevated to infamy (MacDonald, 2006). Within Europe and America, the concept of white superiority, belonging to the majority, had become embedded as a tacit and hegemonic norm, invisible to critique and scrutiny. However, South African whites, perhaps as a result of their numerical minority, managed to formalise this Western hegemonic norm more aggressively than anywhere else. As a result, identities became much more formally arranged around conceptions of race. As Epstein (1998) states, "in the South African context, it is obvious that the state, historically, has had differential impacts on people's lives depending on their social, racial and class position (and remembering that these are irretrievably interlinked)" (p. 49).

According to MacDonald (2006), the defining nature of Apartheid was its legal structure. As Schutte (1995, p. 68) writes, "one of the most striking features of white-dominated South African society until the last decade of the twentieth century was its structuration by legal means" (p. 68). This formal and legal structuring of race relations entailed whiteness being stripped from its position of "invisible norm," instead becoming highly legitimised and made visible as a powerful racial group (although numerically in the minority). All races in South Africa can attest to this visibility of whiteness; as Matsebula et al. (2007) suggest, "whiteness has not been invisible to black and indigenous peoples and … it has been part of the long history of resistance by black people in South Africa" (p. 437).

According to Steyn (2005), whiteness, particularly in the last decade of Apartheid, was clearly ideologically grounded, and contrary to international conceptions of whiteness, it was visible. As Posel (2001) suggests,

> [Apartheid] also had a lot to do with the systematic bureaucratisation and normalisation of race. With the advent of Apartheid (which further developed white supremacist foundations laid decades earlier), South Africa became one of the most thoroughly racialised social orders in the world (p. 88).

A significant aspect of the Apartheid system was to normalise hegemonic conceptions of race, consequently reinforcing the existing racial hierarchy. However, it should be noted that the systemisation of race under Apartheid was not sufficient to generate a racial hierarchy on its own. Instead, myths around white supremacy, which had been in development since pre-colonial times, were expanded, developed, and "distributed" by the Apartheid system. Posel (2001) notes that most white South Africans experienced race as socially constructed in ways founded heavily in the myths of racial

science. Such myths further strengthened the perception that race was a norm, a perception that suffused South Africa throughout Apartheid (Posel, 2001).

At the end of Apartheid, political power in South Africa shifted to the majority Other, and the country started its transformation into a democratic state, advocating for equality under the auspices of its newly adopted and internationally renowned constitution. However as Epstein (1998) points out,

> Social inequality persists in the "new" South Africa, the poor are still poor, while the rich retain their wealth. Furthermore, the poor are still mainly black and the rich are predominantly white, making it impossible to disentangle race and class (p. 49).

Epstein's (1988) statement might be demographically accurate; however, the various classes within South Africa are considered to be heterogeneous, and with the emergence of a new black middle class, previously transparent race/class boundaries are becoming less clear.

According to Steyn (2005), white South Africans were very much aware of their whiteness and the associated power, as well as the privileged position which absolutely defined their daily lives. As such, the fundamental difference in racial dynamics from those in America and Europe should become apparent: i.e. whiteness has been more visible and more aggressively promoted in South Africa for more than fifty years as opposed to becoming an invisible norm against which all else is measured. South Africans' greater awareness of their whiteness is what distinguishes them from the homogeneous, globally theorised conception of whiteness. White South Africans recognised their own whiteness initially by its legality under Apartheid, and more

recently by being democratically decentred. This notion is expanded by Epstein (1998), who suggests that,

> where it used to be the common sense of white South Africans that
> they were superior to their fellow countrymen and women, this feeling
> is now not acceptable, even though it may persist in some (maybe
> many) cases (p. 50).

Within South Africa, whiteness has also been constructed based on differences between English and Afrikaans speaking whites (Steyn, 2005; Van Der Westhuizen, 2016). This notion is particularly evident where whites have also historically been divided culturally and linguistically into these two main groups (Posel, 2001): the Anglophone descendants of predominantly British colonists (or "the English"), and Afrikaans-speaking descendants of the original settlers employed by the Dutch East Indian Company (commonly referred to as "Afrikaners"). In 2011, 61% of white South Africans were noted to be native Afrikaans speakers (Afrikaners), 36% as native English speakers, and 3% of another tongue (for example, Portuguese or German) (2011, Statistics South Africa (StatsSA) SA census).

According to Steyn (2004), the socially constructed chasm between white Afrikaans speakers and English-speaking South Africans has its roots in the historic rivalry and battles between these two groups over control of the land (as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). In order to understand the way in which whiteness is constructed in South Africa, it is vital to understand the distinction between these two subjectivities. While they may share many common traits and assumptions of privilege, "there are also significant differences in how their whiteness is being reframed in post-Apartheid South Africa" (Steyn, 2004, p. 144).

Gabriel (1998) regards Afrikaners as a subaltern form of whiteness when considering South African discourses on whiteness from a historical perspective. This is a whiteness that has managed to shift over time, but which has mostly remained caught in the more dominant discourse of specifically British whiteness. Because of this subaltern nature of Afrikaner whiteness, this whiteness has overwhelmingly been linked to ethnic and nationalistic discourse (Steyn, 2005). The defeat of the Boer by the British during the second Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902 lead to the rise of extreme Afrikaner nationalism (Dubow, 1992; Porter, 2000). As a result, the rift between the Afrikaner and English ethnic groups became regarded as deep-seated enough as to be what Steyn calls "untranslatable" (2005). Van Der Westhuizen (2017) expands on this notion by stating that

> Afrikaner whiteness resisted white English-speaking domination. Afrikaners defied being subjected to the hegemonic white English-speaking culture through a counteracting discourse of Afrikaner "volkstrots" (people's pride), noble suffering and Calvinist decency. Afrikaner nationalist histories written in the 1960s overhauled and relaunched Afrikaners as hospitable, brave and fair Christians.

As an ethic group, perhaps Afrikaners have been formed based on language and race, but the perceived racial exclusivity of the Afrikaner is being dismantled in the present post-Apartheid context (Vestergaard, 2001; Steyn, 2004, 2005; Verwey, 2009; Moolman, 2010, etc). As already stressed, the unique relationship between English and Afrikaner whites is of considerable importance in any discussion of whiteness in South Africa. Multiple ethnicities do exist alongside each other in this context, and as such, assimilation of such groups are inevitable, at least for those groups who define themselves along ethno-cultural and racial lines. Although Afrikaans- and English-

speaking whites have been theorised as distinct, various interrelations and racial polarisation have blurred these boundaries. As whiteness is considered to be a central attribute for both groups, any perceived gap between the two can be overcome by this shared racial commonality, e.g. where dissident Afrikaners are able to effectively distance themselves from conventional Afrikaner attributes and easily become part of the English other by adopting generally shared commonalities. This commonality is acknowledged by Steyn (2004). However, she points out key differences in how whiteness has been used by each group. For example, the Afrikaans whiteness is viewed as having a privileged relationship with the land that flows from a deep bond of farming people to the soil, an affinity to which English-speaking white South Africans cannot relate (Norval, 1996; Steyn, 2001). According to Steyn (2004), English-speaking whites rely heavily on an internationally dominant conception of whiteness, i.e. on the post-colonial whiteness. On the other hand, Steyn (2004) argues that white Afrikaners are different from English-speaking South Africans, as their whiteness lacks an international ideological centre which provides the English-speaking white identity with a stable continuity. As such, it is argued in the literature that the post-Apartheid whiteness of Afrikaners are in the midst of a profound existential crisis (De Klerk, 2000; Louw, 2001; Slabbert, 1999). Steyn (2004) furthermore contends that the position of the Afrikaner is regarded as weak in comparison to both the African Other (possessing democratic power) and the English Other (whose whiteness associates itself with the dominant Western brand of whiteness).

In conclusion, it is commonly accepted that Afrikaners became a distinct group of their own social, cultural, historical, and ideological making, regarding themselves (and being regarded) as different from the English and from native South Africans alike, most notably in terms of their language, values and perceived "special" connection to

the land (Thompson, 1985; Webb & Kriel, 2000; Giliomee, 2001, 2003; Botha, 2001). In effect, Afrikaners came to view themselves as the only true white South Africans, an in-group from all Others (Steyn 2004). Afrikaner ideologies also greatly emphasised the organic link between culture and nationhood, suggesting that *die volk* was "a natural pure and integrated entity" (Dubouw, 1992, p. 12).

Post-Apartheid South Africa necessitated that white Afrikaners attempt to renegotiate their identity. If they were to uphold historic white-supremacist attitudes in the new social formation, they would certainly face isolation and rejection, being regarded as reactionary and racist.

A number of political and social factors (e.g. power, representation, employment opportunities, access to education, racial threat, etc.) are argued to directly impact the meaning of whiteness in South Africa. The policies of the new democratic government are based on an assumption that it will eventually bring equity and a measure of equality to the country by means of, *inter alia*, Black Empowerment (Joyce, 2007). Needless to say, taking into consideration that South Africa is possibly the only country in the world whose affirmative action policies favour a majority who also has political control, this restructuring might come with its own pitfalls.

What is important to note from the preceding discussion is the unique nature of whiteness within the South African context. Whereas whiteness historically was aligned to European, and particularly British, constructions of the concept, such similarities became unwoven during the course of South African history and the various battles between the English and Afrikaans whites, which took place mainly for possession of resources and the land. These clashes eventually resulted in Afrikaners distancing themselves from the English-speaking Other and constituting themselves

as the only true white South Africans. Since these historical fractures, both groups developed along substantially different trajectories, and as discussed, they have located themselves differently within post-Apartheid South Africa. Constructions of whiteness during Apartheid were linked to notions of power and privilege. With the advent of democracy in 1994, the change in government also brought large-scale changes relating to the social and political positioning of whites (specifically the Afrikaners) in South Africa. Afrikaans-speaking whites suddenly could no longer assume a sense of belonging in this new order (Nuttall, 2004), and being white in South Africa no longer carried the same meaning as under Apartheid. Consequently, the group of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans emerging from Apartheid found themselves in a much more difficult situation than their English counterparts (Steyn, 2004; Van Der Westhuizen, 2016). Partly due to its direct link with Apartheid, the whiteness of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in post-Apartheid South Africa is specifically seen to be under pressure and problematized in the new context.

This study aims at a critical discursive analysis of experiences, perceptions and beliefs associated with being white in the current post-Apartheid South African context. As discussed in Chapter 1 (and expanded on in the preceding section), the constructs white, whiteness, and Afrikaner, within the parameters of this study, refer explicitly to the ethnic group of Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans (unless stated otherwise) as specifically distinguishable from their English-speaking and racialised Other counterparts.

The next chapter will focus on providing an extended rationale for the specific methodological approach employed, and of subsequent steps and decisions taken in the research process.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to provide a detailed account and rationale for the specific methodological approach and subsequent decisions and steps taken in the research process. The chapter begins by providing an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological approach, then proceeding to discuss the specific research procedures employed in terms of data collection and analysis. Next, the trustworthiness and ethical considerations of the specific study are discussed, before an overview of the reflexive process the researcher employed is provided.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main methodological framework for conducting the research. The following section will aim to provide an overview of CDA by outlining its development, highlighting its general principles and common strategies and briefly discussing the approach of Norman Fairclough, which fundamentally served to inform the current investigation's specific approach to CDA. Hermeneutical Phenomenology served as an interpretative practice within the methodology and will also briefly be discussed. CDA is in a dialogical relationship with other social theories and methods, an observation which is also in line with Luke's argument (2002):

> A linguistic and text analytic meta-language, no matter how comprehensive, cannot "do" CDA in and of itself. It requires the overlay of a social theoretic discourse for explaining and explicating the social,

contexts, concomitants, contingencies and consequences of any given

text or discourse (p.101).

Pennycook (2001) shares this position, arguing that what texts do in the world cannot solely be explained by means of text analysis or text analytic language. In this regard, the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Truner (1979) was found useful when initially engaging with the data, and will thus also briefly be discussed in this section: it provided valuable theoretical insights into the meaning-making processes of the individuals under investigation.

2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Discourse Analysis (DA) is a qualitative methodology developed and adopted by social constructionists (Fairclough, 1992). In essence, it is a way of understanding social interactions (Edwards & Potter, 1992). As such, the researcher is expected to acknowledge their own bias and position (horizon) on the research problem; this process of acknowledgement is referred to as reflexivity. Under standard DA procedures, the research process will kick off with a research question aimed at a theoretical position. A text is transcribed and then deconstructed and interpreted (Widdicombe, 1993).

The various approaches within discourse analysis are similar to one another in terms of their departure from a social constructionist point of view, their view of language—stemming from structuralist and post-structuralist linguistics—and their conception of the individual, which is based on a version of structuralist Marxism. They are, however, different in terms of (a) the scope of discourses (whether a discourse completely constitutes the social or is partly constituted by the social) and (b) the focus of analysis (analysing either peoples' discourses in everyday social interactions, or a

more abstract mapping of the circulating discourses within society). It should be noted that many discourse analysts work across disciplinary borders, and there are many theoretical and methodological tools which cannot exclusively be assigned to one particular approach. Furthermore, within discourse analysis, theory and method are intertwined. In other words, each approach to discourse analysis is not merely a method for data analysis, but rather a theoretical and methodological whole, consisting of philosophical (ontological and epistemological) premises regarding the role of language in the social construction of the world, theoretical models, methodological guidelines, and specific techniques for analysis. It is, however, possible for researchers to customise their approach within these sets of guidelines by combining elements from different perspectives. Such multi-perspectival approaches are often highly valued within the field of discourse analysis, as different perspectives are seen to provide different forms of knowledge about a phenomenon which should culminate in a broader understanding. In order to construct a coherent framework, one must be aware of the philosophical, theoretical, and methodological differences as well as similarities amongst different approaches.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is often used interchangeably with the terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Studies (CDS). This type of approach to critically analysing discourse is rooted in classical rhetoric, text-linguistics and sociolinguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive sciences, literary studies, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The notions of ideology, power, and hierarchy, in combination with sociological variables, were all deemed to be important considerations when interpreting or explaining a text (Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

CDA stems from the field of Critical Linguistics (CL) developed in the late 1970s at the University of East Anglia. CL, in turn, was based on Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and aimed at "isolating ideology in discourse" and explaining how ideology and its processes manifest as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes. CL practitioners saw the use of language as performing three functions simultaneously: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. According to Fairclough (1995), the ideational function is the experiences that speakers have of the world and the phenomena in it. On the other hand, the interpersonal function refers to the addition of the speakers' own attitudes and evaluations of the phenomena in question, as well as the relationship that is established between the speaker and listener. The textual function is instrumental to the ideational and interpersonal functions: through language's textual function, speakers can create texts that the listener can understand.

Both CDA and SFL assert that speakers make principled and systematic choices regarding vocabulary and grammar, implying that these choices are ideologically based. In other words, language is viewed as a social act which is driven by ideology. As CDA developed, some authors raised concerns about potential differences between the audiences's vs. the analyst's interpretations of "discourse," and further recommended expanding the scope of analysis to intertextual aspects, which would then enable a deeper layer of analysis on the way that similar or related texts influence, reflect, or differ from each other.

CDA is a contemporary field of inquiry that is mainly concerned with revealing sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias through analysing written and spoken text. It investigates the maintenance and reproduction of such discursive sources in specific historical, political, and social contexts. In essence, CDA

endeavours to illuminate the often unclear relationships between discourse practice, social practice, and social structures. It aims at making visible those often hidden "agendas" or "connotations" enclosed in the relationships between the aforementioned constructs. For example, a visual advertisement portraying a medical doctor reviewing a specific medication (a discursive practise) contains the hidden implication or assertion that one should trust the information by default, purely because the speaker is portrayed to be a medical expert (a social practice).

CDA also contains neo-Marxist characteristics in that it emphasises the significance of cultural and economic dimensions in the creation and maintenance of power relations. Key figures in this area include Fairclough (1992, 1993, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2003), van Dijk (1985, 1997, 1998, 2001), and Wodak (2000, 2001). There is a general consensus that CDA does not constitute a single method but rather a general approach, consisting of varying perspectives and diverse methods for studying relationships between language use and the social context. The following section will aim at providing a broad overview of the principles of CDA before moving to a more detailed overview of Fairclough's approach to CDA, on which this study is mainly based.

The overall principles of CDA are presented by various theorists according to their own specific understandings (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak & Ludwig, 1999; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). While some are more controversial in their representations, others only tend to represent the common ground of all approaches. Fairclough and Wodak's (1997) view is the most widely cited of this latter category of approaches, and their eight principles of CDA are summarised below:

1. First of all, CDA tackles social problems. Not only does it focus on language and the use thereof, but it also includes the linguistic features of both social and cultural processes. In its attempt to illuminate frequently hidden power relationships, CDA employs a critical approach to addressing social problems. It strives to obtain results which are practically relevant to the social, cultural, political and the economic contexts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

2. Secondly, CDA describes the ways in which social relations of power are employed and negotiated in and throughout discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

3. The third principle is that discourse composes society and culture. In other words, each occasion of language use singularly contributes to the reproduction and transformation of society and culture. This consideration also includes relations of power as discourse also serves as mechanism for relaying meaning in the service of power, i.e. ideology. (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

4. As discussed in Chapter 3, discourse also does ideological work. That is, discourse often produces ideologies. In order to understand the ways in which ideologies are produced, one cannot simply analyse texts. The discursive practice must also be taken into account—that is, the ways in which the texts are produced, received and interpreted, as well as the social effects they may have (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

5. Also important is the notion that discourse is history. As such, the historical context of discourses needs to be taken into account in order to understand them. Accordingly, CDA makes reference to extralinguistic factors such as

culture, society, and ideology in historical terms (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001).

6. The next principle is that the link between text and society is mediated. This point means that CDA aims at illuminating the relationships between socio-cultural processes and structures on the one hand, and properties of texts on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001). This relationship is not seen to be simply deterministic but rather it invokes an idea of mediation (Fairclough, 1992, 1995).

7. CDA is interpretative and explanatory in its intent and goes beyond mere textual analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001). Interpretations and explanations are not rigid, but open and dynamic; they may be affected by new readings and new contextual information. According to Meyer (2001), this process of knowledge expansion is referred to as a hermeneutic process. Meyer (2001) asserts that in comparison with the analytical-inductive process utilised in other fields, hermeneutics can be understood as a method of grasping and producing meaning relations by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole. Hermeneutics as interpretative practice will be discussed later in this chapter as it applies to the current investigation

8. Discourse, from the point of view of CDA, is a form of social action. The principal aim of CDA is to uncover opaque power relationships. CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm. It attempts to bring about change in communicative and socio-political practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

These is no one set or fixed way for conducting critical discourse analyses as research in CDA diverges in both style and focus. Such differences reflect the varying

theoretical or philosophical orientations of researchers as well as the variety of specific research questions to be examined or addressed (Meyer, 2001; van Dijk, 1997; Wodak, 2001).

CDA is in a dialogical relationship with other social theories and methods. It engages with them in a transdisciplinary rather than merely an interdisciplinary way. Transdisciplinarity refers to the creation of new conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and translational innovations that integrate and move beyond discipline-specific approaches to address a common problem, in other words creating a unity of intellectual frameworks beyond the disciplinary perspectives. Interdisciplinarity refers to combining two or more academic disciplines into one activity, creating something new by crossing boundaries and thinking across them, i.e. integrating knowledge and methods from different disciplines, using a real synthesis of approaches. In other words, in interdisciplinary research, each should be open to "internalizing" the theoretical logics of others (Harvey, 1996) in a way that potentially could transform the relationships between the disciplines. A transdisciplinary approach goes beyond multi- and interdisciplinary approaches to foster synthesis across disciplines and focus on translating research findings into real-world solutions. Engaging with other theories and methods in a transdisciplinary fashion provide different perspectives on problems, to create comprehensive research questions, to develop appropriate methodological tools and guidelines, and to provide comprehensive answers to social issues.

Numerous attempts have been made to systematise CDA, the most notable of which were carried out by Fairclough (1992, 1995, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), van Dijk (1985, 1997, 2001), Wodak (1996, 2001), and Gee (1996). Even though there is considerable variation in their technical

specifications, these authors do share a common strategy. Luke (2002, p. 100) explains this commonality as follows:

> CDA involves a principled and transparent shunting back and forth between the microanalysis of texts using varied tools of linguistic and semiotic and literary analysis and the macro-analysis of social formations, institutions, and power relations that these texts index and construct.

As such, CDA contains features of theories and models for textual analysis as well as elements from contemporary political and socio-cultural theories. A number of approaches rely heavily on the linguistic analyses of texts, in particular Halliday's (1985, 1994, 2004) systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Fairclough's (1992, 2003) and Wodak's (2001) investigations are the most noted among these approaches. They begin with the systematic analysis of lexical resources, then proceeding to an analysis of syntactic functions, genre, and text meta-function. Contrary to such approaches, van Dijk's (1997) and Gee's (1996) respective toolkits are less focused on the lexico-syntactic features of texts and more concerned with cultural and social resources and contexts. Van Dijk's (1997) approach centres on four categories: namely, action, context, power, and ideology. Gee's (1996) methodological heuristics are founded in six categories: namely, semiotic building, world building, activity building, identity and relationship building, political building, and connection building.

Even though the primary activity of CDA is the analysis of texts, it should be stressed that CDA is not a linguistic theory. As such, it does not provide an absolute grammar of syntactic, phonological, or other linguistic elements for any particular language. It also does not aim to describe any particular text in exhaustive detail. It does, however, aim to illuminate those features of a text that are most interesting from

a critical perspective in answering the questions under investigation: those that appear to be textual manipulations serving non-democratic purposes. Not all concepts found in linguistic textbooks are equally useful when it comes to doing critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysts differ among themselves in the kinds of tools they use. In terms of macro-analyses, CDA endeavours to progress beyond text analysis towards a critical analysis of text use and interpretation and the visible practices thereof. In doing so, Fairclough (1992), Gee (1996), and Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) engage with a range of major social theories.

As previously alluded to, two major streams are discernible in the field of critical discourse analyses. The first one is represented by the work of Fairclough and Wodak, characterised by detailed textual analyses. The second is represented by van Dijk and Gee and is characterised by a focus on social variables including action, context, power, and ideology.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model provides an analytical framework for discourse analysis and formed the foundation upon which this study's specific approach to CDA was based. His approach is founded on the notion that texts can never be understood or analysed in isolation but only in relation to other texts and the social context.

In its representation of Fairclough's theory, this study draws on Faiclough's books *Discourse and Social Change* (1992), *Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995), and *Discourse in Late Modernity* (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In the following section, Fairclough's framework will be presented: I will outline its fundamental concepts and describe their interconnectedness.

A central tenet of Fairclough's approach is the notion that discourse constitutes an important social practice which can produce, reproduce, and change knowledge, identities, and social relations (including power relations) while simultaneously being shaped by other social practices and structures. Fairclough views social structure as containing both discursive and non-discursive elements; he sees social structures as social relations both within the whole of society and in specific institutions (Fairclough, 1992). Non-discursive practices are those physical practices involved, for example, in the construction of a soccer stadium, while discursive practices are, for example, practices such as journalism or public relations. In arguing that discursive practice also challenges structure through the use of words (e.g. signifying what lies outside of the structure) rather than simply reproducing a pre-existing discursive structure, Fairclough approaches a post-structuralist position. Nonetheless, he does deviate significantly from post-structuralist discourse theory by focusing on the construction of a theoretical model and methodological tools to be used for empirical research into everyday social interactions. Furthermore, he also emphasises the importance of conducting systematic analyses of spoken and written language. His approach is text-orientated and aims at uniting three traditions: (a) detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics, (b) the macro-sociological analysis of social practice, and (c) the micro-sociological interpretative tradition within sociology.

Although Fairclough criticises linguistic approaches for being exclusively concerned with textual analysis and focusing excessively on a simplistic and superficial comprehension of the relationship between text and society, he does employ detailed textual analysis in order to understand how discursive processes operate linguistically in specific texts. According to Fairclough (1992), exclusively analysing text is not sufficient for discourse analysis, as it fails to illuminate the

relationships between texts and social and cultural processes and structures. He argues for an interdisciplinary approach which combines the analysis of text with other forms of social analysis. In this instance, the inclusion of the macro-sociological tradition becomes beneficial, as it acknowledges that social practices are formed by social structures and relations of power, processes of which people are generally not aware. The interpretative tradition contributes by providing an understanding of the ways in which people actively construct a rule-bound world, for themselves and for others, in their everyday practices (Fairclough, 1992).

In Fairclough's three-dimensional model, the concept of discourse is restricted to semiotic systems, such as language and images. According to Fairclough (1992), discourse contributes to the construction of (a) social identities, (b) social relations, and (c) systems of knowledge and meaning. As such, discourse has three distinguishable functions: (i) an identity function, (ii) a relational function, and (iii) an ideational function.

Within any CDA paradigm, two aspects of discourse become central focal points. The first is the communicative event, which is an instance of language use such as an article, speech, or film (Fairclough, 1995). The second is the order of discourse, which is the configuration of all the types of discourses used in a social institution or field. Furthermore, discourse types are said to consist of discourses and genres, as previously discussed.

Text
(Textual Analysis)

Discursive Practice
(Processing Analysis)

Socio-Cultural Practice
(Social Analysis)
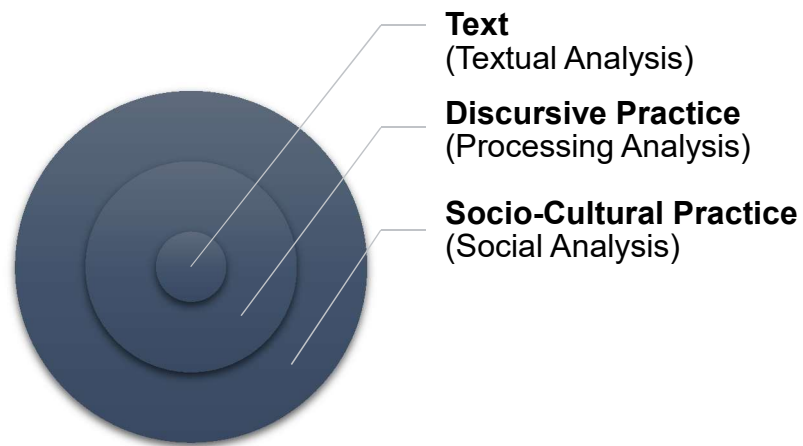
Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Adapted from Fairclough (1995)

Language use, in all instances, is seen as a communicative event which is said to consist of three dimensions: (a) a text, (b) a discursive practice involving the production and consumption of texts, and (c) a social practice. All three of these dimensions should be covered in the analysis of a specific communicative event, which should focus on (i) the linguistic features of the text, (ii) the process of producing and consuming the text, and (iii) the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs. Importantly, the linguistic analysis will inevitably involve analysis of the discursive practice and vice versa (Fairclough, 1992).

According to Fairclough (1992), when analysing the discursive practice, one should focus on the ways in which the authors' texts elicit or are connected to pre-existing discourses and genres in order to produce a text such as those used by

dominant groups, and how receivers of that text also employ available discourses and genres in the interpretation thereof. Analysis of a text focuses on the formal features (e.g. vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and sentence coherence) from which discourses and genres are linguistically realised. The discursive practice mediates the relationship between social practice and the text. As such, texts can only shape and be shaped by social practice through discursive practice. The discourses and genres which produce a text (and which are drawn on by receivers during the interpretation process) are made up of a specific linguistic structure which shapes the production and consumption of the text. As such, the analysis of a communicative event should include (a) an analysis of the discourses and genres present in the production and consumption of a text (level of discursive practice), (b) an analysis of the linguistic structure (the level of the text), and (c) considerations of whether the discursive practice reproduces or instead restructures the existing order of discourse, as well as the consequences for the broader social practice (the level of social practice). What is important to note in particular from Fairclough's approach for the current investigation is his distinction between three levels of analysis, i.e. analysis of the discursive practice, the texts produced as well as the social practice. However, the present investigation required a stronger focus on the historical context and also included researcher reflexivity as a measure to control for any impact the researcher could have had on the research process as a whole.

2.2 Hermeneutic Phenomenology

Hermeneutics means the theory of interpretation, i.e. the theory of achieving an understanding of texts, spoken language, and any other form of social communication. Contemporary philosophical or ontological hermeneutics (e.g. Gadamer, 1975; 1981; Guigon, 1991; Ricoeur, 1992; Taylor, 1989; Wranke, 1987) provides a framework for

viewing social science that attempts to go beyond individualism and postmodernism. Hermeneutical interpretation can be applied to all forms of life stories. Within hermeneutics the tendency exists to view a text as not having a single fixed meaning, and that the meaning of a text is not solely determined by the intent of its author(s) (Olesen, 2013).

Hermeneutic scholars are in agreement with critics of naturalistic philosophy in that they argue that no direct or immediate access to a world independent of our interpretation of things exists (Richardson & Fowers, 1994). In light of such an understanding of the ways in which social processes shape claims to knowledge, the naturalistic perception that knowing is merely the formation of accurate inner pictures of an external reality seems absurd. A hermeneutic approach assumes a critical rethinking of ontology, i.e. the nature of what exists. At the outset, humans are seen as self-interpreting beings. In other words, to a great extent, humans are what they are because of the meanings they develop in their everyday lives (Taylor, 1985). Such a view is in contrast to the focus of natural science on brute influences. Additionally, the lives of individuals are constantly located within a familiar life-world from where their possibilities for self-interpretation sprout. Our life stories can only be understood against the prelude of potential story-lines unlocked through our historical culture. In other words, our specific culture provides us with explanations of potential meanings which we can attribute to our lives (Guignon, 1989). Hermeneutic thought, in contrast to thinking of the self as an object of any sort, aligns with Heidegger's (1962) conception of human existence as a "happening" or a "becoming" — that is, individual lives have a temporal and narrative structure, and life is a type of developing process spanning between birth and death. In Guignon's (1993) words, as "events in a novel gain their meaning from what they seem to be pointing to in the long run […] so our

past lives and our present activities gain their meaning from a (perhaps tacit) sense of where our lives are going as a totality" (p. 14).

From a hermeneutic perspective, humans are deemed to be fundamentally concerned about their lives, whether or not their lives make sense and no matter what they amount to. As such, people constantly adopt some position on their lives by focusing on certain roles, traits, and values. Humans do not merely desire specific satisfactions or outcomes in living: they also make strong evaluations (Taylor, 1995). In other words, humans evaluate the quality of their desires and motivations (even if only implicitly or subconsciously) in relation to the way in which those match their overall sense of a meaningful or decent life. Taylor (1995) states that frameworks mapped through strong evaluations are inescapably part of human agency or social life.

In other words, then, we are always considered to be "insiders" relating to some deep, defining set of commitments and identifications, even though the content thereof varies greatly among cultures. According to positivists and even postmodernists, it is desirable to try to distance ourselves from historical entanglements. However, hermeneutic thinkers consider this distancing to be not only impossible, but also probably somewhat inauthentic (Taylor, 1995). Outside of such a dialectic, we would not be able to gain a greater understanding of who we are, and we would be unable to know what meanings things hold for us, leading to a frightening type of dissociation. Norms and practices accepted in the mainstream can and should habitually be profoundly criticised. However, our critique is always based on other commitments or moral insights which stem from our traditions and are, for the moment, taken for granted. Our diverse cultural and moral traditions provide substantive resources for such critique.

From a hermeneutic perspective, the postmodern and positivist desire to separate from all tradition and authority seems to be misguided and self-defeating. Hermeneutic scholars are concerned that postmodernism and positivism may constitute (in part) a departure from life's unavoidable risks and responsibilities, as if such detachment could defend or protect ourselves from uncertainty, mistakes, disappointments, and tragedy.

From a hermeneutic perspective, our political and moral judgements are forever tied to specific issues and cultural contexts; they can never be certain or final. However, there does not seem to be any good reason to assume that all moral values are ultimately relative or invalid (Taylor, 1995). Hermeneutics offers the process of hermeneutic dialogue instead of the modern quest for certainty (Taylor, 1995). Such a dialogue is in line with social constructionist notions of an ongoing negotiation of cultural meanings. On this view, we are actually encouraged by important moral and political commitments to be open to challenges and potential fresh insights from others or the past; we are motivated by such, because we want to get things right. In turn, our commitments are refined and our understanding is broadened through openness and the continuous testing of our values and beliefs against emerging new circumstances and unpredictable challenges (Wranke, 1987). From a hermeneutic perspective, social sciences and theory are considered to be a form of practice: "They are ethics and politics by other means, an extension of our search for justice, love and wisdom in practical life" (Fox & Prilleltensky, 1997 p283).

Hermeneutic interpretation involves a trilateral relationship between the author, the text, and the interpreter. According to Willis and Jost (2007), hermeneutic scholars believe that the interpreter and the author each bring their own specific experiences and worldview (horizon) to the text (Willis & Jost, 2007). In other words, the author

arguably has a specific purpose in mind when writing or creating a text and intends for it to have that specific meaning. The particular historical context of an author contains, for example, words and sentence structure that have particular meanings that may change with time. Furthermore, an author's own life contains formative experiences entangled with specific ideas and events, all of which have had at least some influence on their perceptions, the majority of which might not consciously be realised—this personal context constitutes their specific horizon (Clingerman, Treanor, Drenthen & Ustler, 2013). Similarly, the interpreters' specific historical experiences and language use may be vastly different from those of the author. As such, and because one cannot have direct and complete access to the author's mind, interpretation becomes a necessity (Willis & Jost, 2007).

In other words, to understand a given expression, we must understand the language in which it is written. "Language" here means more than English or Afrikaans. For example, to understand a concept such as *die Voëlvry Beweging*, one must have some familiarity with Afrikaner culture in general; Afrikaner tragedy, resistance, language in particular; also South African history, poetry, music, culture, etc. Relating to social science, the criteria by which we evaluate or interpret an interaction are determined by concepts and theories ingrained in the field, and these in turn are derived from, among other things, interpretations and evaluations of other interactions.

A number of hermeneutical techniques exist, the most common of which is argued to be that of the hermeneutical circle (Rennie, 2007). This concept refers to the notion that our understanding of a text (i.e. any form of social communication) can only occur with reference to other texts, and in turn that our understanding of these other texts is modified by our understanding of the current text. In other words, the understanding of a text occurs by means of a process in which the meaning of the separate parts is

pre-determined by the global meaning of the text as their meanings are anticipated. Closer examination or interpretation of the meaning of the separate parts may eventually change the originally-anticipated meaning of the text as a whole, which again influences the meaning of the separate parts, and so on.

When engaging with a text for the first time, interpreters bring with them their own horizon of experience: their own world, so to speak. It is through this lens that they will initially start to engage the text. As exploration of the text unfolds, the interpreter will arguably gain an overall understanding of its meaning, which may align with what the author might have intended it to mean. Through successive and more careful readings, interpreters will likely re-evaluate and readjust their overall understanding, which in turn will affect successive readings. Ideally, integration or broadening of horizons will occur in this hermeneutical process. It should be noted that in order for interpretation to occur, one must be open to different horizons.

As previously discussed, reality is deemed to be constituted through the meaning of our experiences, not the ontological structure of objects (Olesen, 2013). The essence of things is not intelligible or approachable. Meanings have an inter-subjective nature; externalizing meanings transforms them into objects of a "constructed" reality (Willis & Jost, 2007). Shared meanings, for example, are constructed by people in their interactions with each other and are used as an everyday resource to interpret the meaning of elements of social and cultural life. People share the meaning of a situation just as they share common sense (Clingerman et al., 2013). Meanings shared between members of small groups and communities could be unclear to outsiders. Similarly, words and phrases can hold different meanings for different people. On the other hand, different words and phrases can also mean the same thing. Meaning is thus elusive. Even within groups, meanings may be contested (Rennie, 2007)

In terms of individual comprehension, Gadamer (1995) points out that prejudice is a (non-fixed) reflection of unfolding comprehension, and that is not *per se* without value (Rennie, 2007). Being foreign to a particular tradition or culture is a condition of understanding that particular culture or ttradition. Accordingly, we can never step outside of our tradition or culture; all we can do is try to understand it (Clingerman et al., 2013). In other words, one can only understand one's own tradition, or those of other cultures, from one's own particular standpoint (horizon). One is not only restricted by personal prejudices, but enabled by them. Such a developing vision is both enlarged and corrected through the act of understanding, simultaneously making the speaker aware of these prejudices, which are not just peripheral but constitute the very core of our peculiarity (Clingerman et al., 2013)

Arguably, pre-comprehensions are first ontological and then gnoseological (the theory of cognition). In other words, prior to comprehending (understanding), we are comprehended (included) into our historical and linguistic horizon; this is the limitation of the human as knower. We cannot leave our horizon to gain an objective or absolute knowledge.

In essence, then, the main objective of the hermeneutic approach is to explore and analyse the "lived world" of individuals—"the world" as immediately or directly experienced in the subjectivity of everyday life, as sharply distinguished from the objective "worlds" of the natural sciences.

Phenomenology can be defined as an overarching term constituting both a movement within philosophy and a range of approaches to research. According to Finlay (2009), phenomenology as applied to research constitutes the study of phenomena and their meanings, and nature as they appear to us through experience,

with the aim of providing a rich, textured description of such experience. Such a definition articulates the potential of phenomenology to deeply penetrate human experience and trace the essence of a phenomenon, explicating it in its original form as experienced by individuals. Hermeneutic phenomenology is a school of phenomenology primarily concerned with the subjective experience of individuals or groups. It aims at unveiling the world as experienced by the subject through their stories about their life-world. This school assumes that all we have are interpretations and that discretion itself is an interpretive process.

According to van Manen (1997), no fixed methods for conducting hermeneutic phenomenological research exist. However, Merriam (2009) suggests purposive sampling of information-rich cases as a variant of qualitative research within the hermeneutic tradition. A variety of tools can be employed for data generation, dependent on the context and area of research.

As mentioned, the hermeneutic circle is applied in terms of data analysis. This entails a process of reading, reflexive writing and interpretation in a rigorous fashion, quite similar to the hermeneutic circle as described above. The most crucial aspect of this research process is maintaining the quality of the entire research process. In this regard van Manen (1997) lists orientation, strength, richness and depth as major quality concerns.

Orientation is seen as the researchers' involvement in the world and stories of the research participants. Strength is regarded as the capacity of the text to be convincing, representing the core intention of understanding and the inherent meanings as expressed by research participants in their stories. Richness refers to an aesthetic

quality of the text that narrates meaning as perceived by participants. Depth is the ability of the research text to best express the intentions of participants.

2.3 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Social Identity Theory (SIT) was originally developed in the late 1970s by Henri Tajfel and his colleague John Turner at Bristol University in England (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this seminal work, Tajfel and Turner developed a theory that is essentially used to explain intergroup relations, covering both individual and social components in an effort to overcome the problem of the individual-social dualism (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Furthermore, the theory explains inter-group discrimination in terms of the need for a positive social identity. SIT's basic processes and principles can be laid out quite easily in terms of three social principles and three individual principles. (Foster, 2003; Brown & Zagefca, 2006).

The central and most important assumption of SIT is that individuals continuously strive for and are motivated by a positive self-concept, or a positive sense of social-identity (Rubin, et al., 2014). This assumption also ties together the individual and social branches of the theory. Effectively, this assumption means that, because one's social identity flows from membership to a particular group, people belonging to a group of a lower status will most likely have a negative social identity, and will thus be motivated to enhance their group-based sense of self-concept (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). This ambition can also be seen in findings from some of the previous studies— for example, Steyn (2004) notes Afrikaners' portrayal of themselves as victims in post-Apartheid South Africa as a deliberate rhetorical strategy. The sense of a positive or negative self-concept is derived from the processes involved in social comparison, during, for example, social interactions (Brown & Zagefca, 2006).

The three social components of SIT could be described as social hierarchies, permeability of group boundaries, and legitimacy of group status hierarchies (Foster, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Status hierarchies refer to various groups arranged in hierarchies according to status, wealth, power, opportunities, privileges, etc. Essentially, we obtain our social identities from groups (Foster, 2003; Rubin et al., 2014). Within South Africa, and specifically within the confines of this investigation, this concept will specifically relate to the various racial (and ethnic) groups in the country.

The permeability of group boundaries refers to the degree to which an individual can shift along the boundaries which separate the categories or groups (Foster, 2003). Considering that in South Africa these boundaries are mainly race-related, this permeability becomes problematic; generally, one cannot simply join another race. However, one can change one's political affiliation by dislocating from the in-group, which could potentially carry some level of personal consolation or perception of penetrating the out-group. It is important to note that permeability also links with feelings of security and social identity (Ruben et al., 2014). When permeability is low, it is likely that individuals or groups will foster a negative social identity and low sense of security (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). All of these considerations have been found to be present within Afrikaner subjectivities. This negative perception, however, only applies to low-status group members, as opposed to high-status members who indeed may foster a social identity that is stable, positive, and "untouchable" (Turner & Reynolds, 2010).

Legitimacy or illegitimacy refers to perceptions of the current hierarchy and whether it is fair, reasonable, and just, or the complete opposite (Foster, 2003). The majority of participants in this study viewed the current system as unjust and illegitimate (Davids,

2012), which may potentially fuel the need among such low-status group members to want to engage in collective action to change the status quo (Brown & Zagefca, 2006).

The three individual components of SIT include categorisation, social-comparison, and self-concept (Foster, 2003; Turner & Reynolds, 2010). In SIT, social categorisation refers to a dynamic and central system of information processing. Large amounts of information are reduced and simplified by means of accentuation: similarities and differences between groups are accentuated or exaggerated (Ruben et al., 2014). In other words, we tend to view members of our own group as more similar to one another than they actually are and members from the out-group as both more similar to one another and more different from "us." This process is the same for all everyday objects (animals, plants, etc.). However, SIT proposes that an additional evaluative (positive or negative) and emotional (feelings of like or dislike) component comes into play with the perception of human groups (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). This creates an affective accentuation of similarities and differences, which forms the basis for social stereotyping.

Social comparison refers to the process of comparing ourselves with other individuals. However, SIT develops this notion even further and states that we also make social comparisons along group lines (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). These comparative processes eventually lead to an evaluation of the self, whether positive or negative. In other words, the process of social comparison might lead an individual to experience negative self-esteem, which in turn will motivate the individual to strive for a more positive self-concept by means of restorative actions.

SIT regards the self-concept as the sum of two subsystems: a personal identity and a social identity (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). The personal self is made up of

aspects that are unique to the individual, whereas social identity constitutes aspects of the self as a member of different groups (Ruben et al., 2014). These two identities are viewed as two end-points on a continuum along which the self is constantly shifting, depending on varying social situations (Foster, 2003). The process of shifting from the personal to the social end of the continuum is known as depersonalisation (i.e. the process of becoming les individualistic and more social, governed by membership to a particular group or social category). We can see this phenomenon on a regular basis within the South African context, for example in media portrayals, specifically during protest actions such as those by Afriforum on university campuses in 2016; interestingly, in such instances these groups also tend to be, though they are not always, racially or ethnically formed. Any given situation could trigger part of the self-concept to become "switched on" or seen as salient. In other words, different psychological processes control interpersonal and intergroup actions, and these psychological processes are motivated by different parts of the self-concept (Foster, 2003). As such, the theory proposes that we consist of multiple selves and that our actions depend on which sense of self is salient at any given moment (Brown & Zagefca, 2006).

SIT becomes further developed through Self-Categorisation Theory, which promotes the notion that self-conception can take place on numerous levels of detail. According to Turner, Hogg, Oaks, and Wetherell (1987), at least three levels of self-categorisation exist and have important functions in the social self-concept. The first (i.e. the superordinate) level of the self as human being is where one's identity as a human being, similarly to other human beings and in contrast to other forms of life, forms the base of self-categorisation. The second (i.e. the intermediate level of in-group-out-group categorisation) is based on social differences and similarities and

focuses on the classification of oneself as belonging to a certain social group, such as "white South African." Finally, differences between members of the in-group and the person as a unique individual form the basis for the third category (i.e. the subordinate level of personal self-categorisation).

SCT states that when people self-categorise, social categorisation into in-group and out-group can be meaningfully applied to the immediate social context. Consider for example a white Afrikaans-speaking South African marching alongside a black South African, protesting for service delivery or free education; in such instances, these individuals find it more "useful" to group themselves, for example, according to class rather than race. Such a grouping is perceived to be more successful in terms of achieving their goal than any other. People may also categorise themselves within a subset of a larger group in a nested pattern of sorts, choosing to identify with a smaller group to which positive attributes are ascribed, but dissociating from the broader encompassing group to which negative attributes are attached. The idea is that there is a tendency for one to self-categorise in the group that will provide association with a higher status (Turner et al., 1987).

Where there are groups that are similar to the one in which a person has self-categorised, the theory asserts that the in-group will seek to distinguish itself from the out-group by attributing negative distinctions to the out-group or bolstering the positive aspects of the in-group (Turner et al., 1987). This phenomenon can also be seen in South Africa on a daily basis, specifically when considering social media statements. In this way, a member of the in-group is able to construct a group prototype, basically a fuzzy set of features, defining and prescribing essential properties of the out-group (Hogg & Reid, 2006). These prototypes are based on the metacontrast principle, which contends that people maximise the ratio of intergroup differences to intragroup

differences. By establishing such a ratio of differences, the group is capable of appearing as coherent and distinct with a structure and clear boundaries (Hogg & Reid, 2006).

In the sense that the group prototypes describe members and their behaviour, these prototypes can also stipulate appropriate behaviour for in-group members and out-group members (Hogg & Reid, 2006). This prescriptivism, in turn, aids in group distinctiveness and positive differentiation as a strategy for intergroup comparison. That is, operating upon group prototypes, members will begin to see and describe themselves in group terms, rather than as individuals. For example, *Ons Afrikaners* and *die swartes* are common terms found in everyday Afrikaner talk. Here, we see that the group member has formed stereotypes of themselves within the in-group (self-stereotyping) and stereotypes of the out-group (Jetten, Spears & Mainstead, 1996). This phenomenon directly corresponds to the claim that self-categorisation "depersonalizes perception and conduct such that members, including one-self, are not processed as complex, multidimensional whole persons, but rather as embodiments of the contextually salient group prototype" (Turner et al., 1987).

Despite its broad influence, the social identity approach has not been without its critics. At a time when there is growing attention given to subgroup identities, cross-cutting identities, relational identities, out-group identification, and the complex intersection of personal and collective identity, the model of functional antagonism and salience proposed in the original texts on SIT can appear rigid and over-simplified (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). It is also possible that the emphasis on uncertainty, reduction, and depersonalisation has obscured the extent to which in-group members tolerate and embrace heterogeneity and dissent within the group (Hornsey, 2006). Some scholars argue that the theory has become so broad and powerful that it ceases to be

falsifiable, as virtually any experimental outcome can be interpreted within its overarching framework (Hogg & Williams, 2000).

Other criticisms are that with its focus on individual processes and social cognition, SIT suffers from some of the flaws it points out in other theories, namely being too reductionist and individualistic (Farr, 1996). Finally, there are repeated claims that the social identity approach is more comfortable explaining in-group favouritism than out-group derogation and genuine intergroup hostility (Brewer, 1979; Brown, 1995).

Suffice it to say that it is almost impossible to think or write about group processes and intergroup relations without reflecting on the core constructs found within Social Identity Theory, such as categorisation, identity, status, and legitimacy. Many of the meta-theoretical and ideological wars that were waged by social identity theorists have been largely won. Few people would now contest that it is important to look at group-level motives for group phenomena, or that group behaviour can only be examined in light of the social context. SIT's emergence has played a critical role in the resuscitation of interest in group processes both within and outside social psychology, and—somewhat unusually for a theory that is over 40 years old—interest in the theory seems to be only accelerating with time.

3. DATA COLLECTION

Given the relative paucity of South African qualitative studies on whiteness, this study focused on investigating what it means to be white within the context of a post-Apartheid South-Africa through examining the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences around power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture held by a group of young white South-Africans more than twenty years after the fall of Apartheid. At the time of the study, the participants were all between the ages of 18

and 30, forming part of the first democratic Afrikaner generation (1DAGs) of South Africa. The study focused on a critical discursive analysis of the textual data received from participants and obtained by means of three distinct modalities.

The study therefore aimed to:

1. Elicit and uncover the discursive networks pertaining to the meaning-making process of participants in relation to what it means to be white in the post-Apartheid South African context;

2. Illustrate the social basis and significance of these discourses by highlighting how they come to reflect, reproduce, and contest relations of power that are operational within the broader social context within which participants' experienced accounts are located; and

3. Highlight the functions and effects of these discourses both within the broader socio-historical context as well as within the ideological space of the participants.

3.1. Participant Inclusion Criteria

In chapter one, a brief rationale for focusing on white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans between the ages of 18 to 30 was articulated. The following discussion serves to augment that argument by noting participant characteristics and inclusion procedures.

Because the study was of a qualitative nature, the strict control procedures utilised within quantitative research relating to sample size, characteristics, and selection were not required (Breakwell, Hammond & Fife-Schaw, 1995; Mouton, 1988). This consideration, however, did not imply that participant inclusion and selection was not

an issue. As previously discussed, the study focused on the 1DAGs of South Africa, consisting of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (who self-identify as Afrikaners) between the ages of 18 to 30, as they may nurture different perceptions, experiences, and beliefs than the previous politically dominant Afrikaner generation. The study purposefully excluded the previous generation of Afrikaners as (a) they had substantial direct experiences of living under Apartheid, in contrast to the 1DAGs who grew up during the transition period following Apartheid, and (b) the majority of previous studies on whiteness in South Africa focused on this group and their perceptions, with very little if any research conducted on the perceptions and experiences of this early adult generation of Afrikaners in post-Apartheid South Africa, the 1DAGs.

In addition, the study did not exclusively focus on the so-called "born free" generation, as it is argued that the experiences of young Afrikaners entering and already having direct experiences in the employment market would be paramount to this investigation, as difficulty in attaining employment has been one of the biggest concerns expressed by Afrikaners since the dawn of democracy in South Africa. Thus, the study allowed for the inclusion of participants who were born a few years prior to the end of Apartheid and who, at the time of the study, constituted the larger part of young employment seekers. Finally, it was argued that participants should be residing in South Africa at the time of the study, as Afrikaners living abroad, in a different social context than the one under investigation, would not be able to provide as rich and relevant accounts of direct everyday lived experiences in South Africa. Consequently, the inclusion criteria for participants in this study were that they had to be white, Afrikaans-speaking South-Africans, between the ages of 18 and 30, currently residing in South Africa and self-identifying as Afrikaners.

3.2 Participant Selection

The study relied on three main procedures for gathering the data to be analysed, employing both convenience and snowball sampling techniques to this end. These procedures were "hanging out online," conventional "hanging out," and personal narratives. The sampling was convenient for participants, as participants were initially accessed from social spaces occupied by the desired age group and demographic located in close proximity to the researcher. Participants were identified in these social spaces and approached in their own personal capacity. These individuals were provided with a very brief verbal overview of the intents and purposes of the study and subsequently gauged or "probed" to establish whether they met the inclusion criteria set out. These participants were then provided with a link directing them to a pre-established social media page on Facebook. In addition, the researcher was also able to source participants directly from other Facebook groups. The researcher targeted popular Afrikaner groups on Facebook including university pages, city and area pages, political groups, various movements, etc.

The study relied on snowball sampling, requesting that those already recruited recruit more participants for the online platform through word of mouth or sharing the page with their peers on Facebook, for example. The online platform proved valuable, as all participants on the Facebook page could again be validated against the pre-set inclusion criteria by viewing personal details already captured on their own Facebook page. In this way, participants who did not meet the inclusion criteria could be excluded from the study. A number of individuals who requested to join the Facebook page did not meet the criteria and subsequently had to be excluded. These were mainly individuals that were either located abroad, who fell outside the age group stipulated, or who did not speak Afrikaans as their home language.

Convenience sampling was employed, since for the other two methods of data collection, personal narratives and conventional "hanging out," participants were sourced from those participants already validated and taking part in the online platform. Participants were asked online to take part in these additional two methods of data collection. In total, seventy-two (72) participants representing six out of the nine provinces (Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Free State, North West, Kwazulu-Natal, Western Cape) in South Africa took part in the study. Of these seventy-two, ten (10) provided personal narratives on their own accounts of being white in post-Apartheid South Africa, and eight (8) took part in the conventional "hanging out." In total, however, only thirty-five (35) of the seventy-two (72) participants actively took part in and substantially contributed to the discussions. The remaining thirty-seven (37) participated more passively, only indicating their agreement or disagreement with statements and comments on an *ad hoc* basis. Nonetheless, it was very clear that all the discussions were regularly viewed by all participants. Although it did not form part of the fundamental aims of this study, the distribution of participants was noted along gender lines in order to highlight any potential gendered differences which might emerge. These indicators will also be noted in the extracts provided later in Chapter Six. From the group of thirty-five (35) active participants nineteen (19) were females (F) and sixteen (16) males (M). Some differences were noted which also resonated with previous research findings. These will briefly be reflected on the final chapter of this thesis and will also constitute the focus of a follow-up article.

It should be noted that this process of participant selection ensured that participants from an array of backgrounds were included in the study, unlike the majority of previous studies on whiteness in South Africa, where the data to be analysed originated from letters or stories written to a specific newspaper or magazine.

In addition, all the data that were collected were included in the present investigation's analyses.

PARTICIPANT DISTRIBUTION

(Western Cape: 5, KwaZulu-Natal: 4, North-West: 3, Free State: 6, Mpumalanga: 10, Gauteng: 7, Rural (farming communities): 14, Urban (cities): 21, Males: 16, Females: 19)
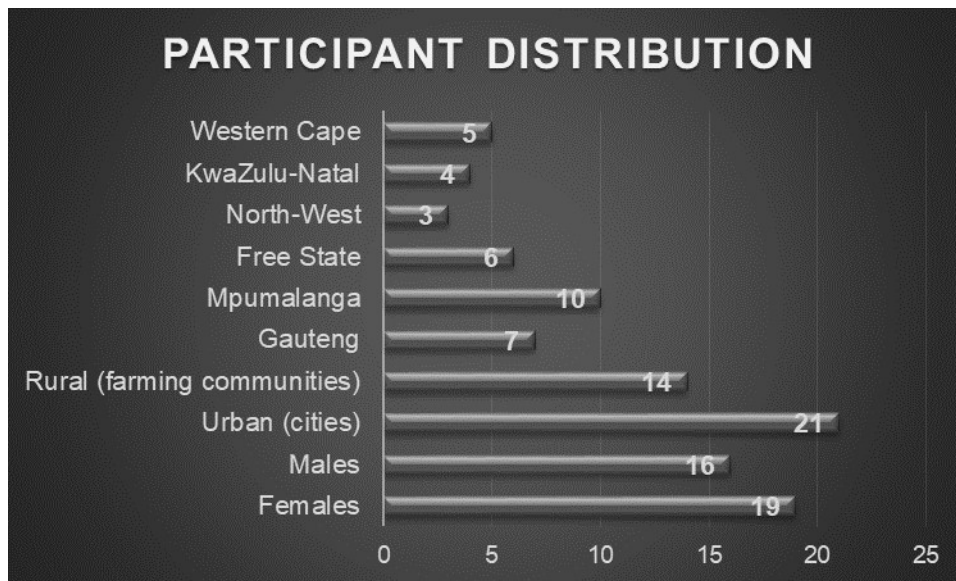
3.3 Data Gathering Procedures

Online qualitative research.

Online research essentially refers to conducting research in a virtual environment by means of the Internet. In qualitative research, this can involve focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, diaries, narratives, blogs, market research, and ethnography, to name but a few. Utilizing this approach proved extremely beneficial in terms of cost and convenience, both for participants and for the researcher. It also allowed for greater sophistication in terms of participant recruitment, as participants could be sourced nationwide online from a large pool, instead of the conventional means of sampling which is often limited to one specific region or area. Participants were quite familiar with operating in an online environment. Furthermore, they were extremely comfortable with sharing their beliefs, experiences, and perceptions within such a context, especially those already belonging to and actively

participating on similar platforms. This openness greatly contributed to the richness of information obtained, as participants were comfortable enough to openly share their perceptions and beliefs, and provide accurate and detailed accounts of their personal experiences, information that one would arguably not have been able to attain in a more formal setting, such as in a focus group.

A central critique of online research is that it cannot be as thorough as face-to-face methods (Clarke, 2000). For example, a moderator can interpret a participants' tone of voice or behaviours in a way which is not possible online. Countering this nuance is the argument that a number of factors can influence the honesty and openness of participants in a face-to-face environment, factors that were not present during the online data gathering process. For example, because participants were able to participate from the comfort of their own personal environment, they arguably felt more safe, secure, and comfortable, which contributed to the honesty and richness of information provided. Additionally, an online environment greatly limited the potential for any setting effects on the data gathering process (Hamman, 1996; Gaiser, 1997). Moreover, because online participants had the freedom to participate at any time, any risks associated with participant fatigue were eliminated.

As alluded to above, this method was specifically used as an adapted version of "hanging out" (described below), and it included: informal "chats" with participants in either a group or one-on-one context; engaging in live debates and discussions; and providing a safe and convenient space where participants could make quick posts or comments on everyday experiences. In addition, the online platform was also used to request that participants submit their own personal stories/narratives, take part in the conventional "hanging out" process, and attract more participants to the study.

The benefits of utilizing an online approach allowed the researcher (a) to collect a large amount of data, from both individuals and groups, within a short period of time; (b) to access participants' individual online (Facebook) profiles to confirm that they met the inclusion criteria; (c) to reduce the need for excessive transcribing, as all data were already captured in transcript form; (d) to ensure the accuracy and quality of transcriptions, as these directly originated from participants; (e) the option to engage individually with participants while ensuring confidentiality; and (f) to reach a more diverse pool of participants. In addition, this method also allowed participants to (i) conveniently participate without the need to travel, and at any time they like; (ii) comfortably leave the study at any stage; and (iii) feel more safe and comfortable sharing their experiences, from the comfort and safety of their own personal environment. There was a concern of potential risk that participants might not necessarily feel comfortable sharing political views on a social media platform. In order to mitigate this risk it was made abundantly clear to all participants that the views they expressed would not be accessible to anyone who was not an approved and validated member of the closed group. Those participants who did not feel comfortable recording their views on the page had the alternative option to engage the researcher one on one.

As previously stated, the researcher created a closed group on Facebook, which provided participants with an online platform to engage one another, post comments, and participate in live debates on specific areas and questions of the study, all from the convenience of their own personal environment.

Image 1: "Cover Page" of the closed Facebook group also indicating the total member count

> *"Being white in the new South Africa: Experiences from a group of young Afrikaners"*

Image 1 Translation

This page was set up as a closed group, which meant that only participants and invited members could search for, find, and view the content of this page online. Subsequently, individuals could only join this page and become participants if invited by the researcher or other members, and approved by the researcher, based on the inclusion criteria set out.

The page contained a brief description, instructing all new members to first read through a "pinned post" at the top of the page (which remained there throughout the data gathering process), which provided a more detailed explanation of the purpose of the study, the inclusion criteria, as well as direction for participants toward the participant information sheet and informed consent forms uploaded on the site (Appendices A & B). Participants were requested to read both documents before

officially requesting to join the page or group. A participant's request to join the study constituted his or her informed consent to participate. Participants were also free to leave the platform at any stage and of their own accord, without facing any negative consequences.

Image 2: Basic information directing potential participants to the "Pinned Post" for more detailed information

PLEASE CAREFULLY READ THE "PINNED POST" ON TOP OF THE PAGE BEFORE YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE! This is a study done in completion of a PhD degree in Psychology and aims to investigate what it means to be white within the context of South Africa, twenty years after the fall of apartheid. The study investigates the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences shared among a group of young white South Africans between the ages of 18 and 30.

Image 2 Translation

Image 3: The "Pinned Post"

> Hi there!
>
> Thank you for your interest in my study! Please note that only WHITE INDIVIDUALS WITH AFRIKAANS AS THEIR MOTHER TONGUE, AND BORN BETWEEN 1985 AND 1996, MAY PARTICIPATE.
>
> You are welcome to invite any of your friends who share these features to join the group and join the discussion.
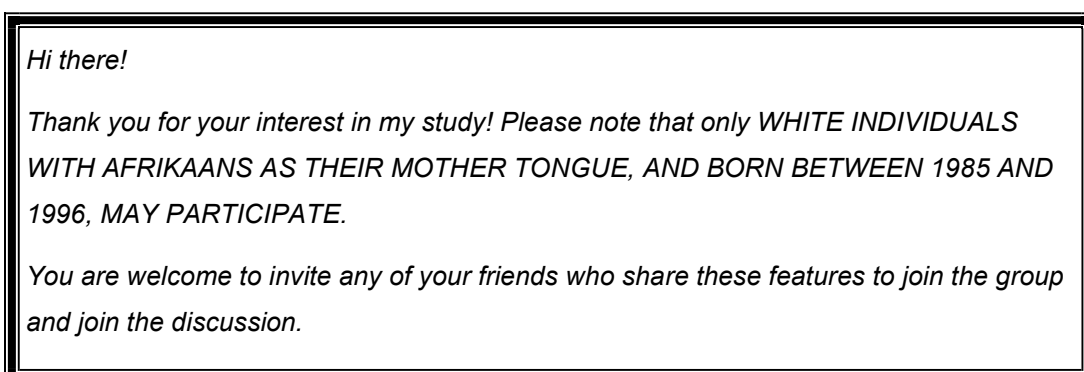
This study is conducted in fulfilment of a PhD degree in Psychology and investigates what it means to be white within the context of South Africa, twenty years after the fall of apartheid. The study investigates the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences shared among a group of young white South Africans.

Please carefully read both the "Participant Information Sheet" and the "Informed Consent" documents before joining this group! These documents can be obtained by clicking on the "Files tab" under the cover page photo.

By accepting membership to this group, you also provide your consent for the researcher to use the information you provide in the study. Please complete and sign the "Informed Consent" document and send it back to me via e-mail.

Please note that this study cannot be associated with the FACEBOOK brand, but is independently executed in the fulfilment of an academic degree. Thus, FACEBOOK cannot be linked or held responsible for any of the information shared and displayed on this page. Furthermore, this platform and its use is subject to FACEBOOK's terms and conditions as it appears on the following link https://www.facebook.com/policies/

Image 3 Translation

Files			+ Create Doc	+ Upload File
Name		Type	Modified	
informed consent_personal narratives_AFR.p...		PDF	Ehrhard Visser May 7, 2015 at 5:57am	...
Ingeligte Toestemming.pdf		PDF	Ehrhard Visser November 15, 2014 at 12:48am	...
Deelnemer Inligtingsblad.pdf		PDF	Ehrhard Visser November 15, 2014 at 12:47am	...

Image 4: Informed consent and participant information sheets uploaded on

Facebook

Image 5: Example post communicating informed consent form

By accepting membership to the group you also consent to the use of the information you provide on this page in the particular study.

Please carefully read both the "Participant Information Sheet" and the "Informed Consent" documents before you decide to join the group.

Image 5 Translation

The Facebook page served both as a medium for "hanging out online" and as a comfortable and secure means for participants to submit personal narratives. It should be noted that although participants were able to engage with one another and view and comment on each other's posts, they were not able to see individual narratives submitted directly to the researcher, nor were they able to see private conversations and discussions between the researcher and other participants. Additionally, as alluded to previously, only approved members of the page or group could view the content on the page.

The Facebook page constituted the first and largest method of data collection in this study in the form of hanging out online. This method of online data collection also proved extremely convenient in terms of sourcing more participants and attracting a more representative sample, than previous studies, i.e. representing the majority of provinces in the country and coming from a variety of socio-historic and social-economic backgrounds as well as subject positions.

Wit in die nuwe Suid-Afrika...

Wit in die nuwe Suid-Afrika...
🔒 Closed Group

About

Discussion

Members

Events

Photos

Files

Group Insights

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Ehrhard Visser
December 15, 2014

Om vriende uit te nooi na die groep Copy en Paste asb die onderstaande uitnodiging in 'n FB message of email en stuur dan uit. Alternatiewelik kan jy ook mense vanaf die "Group Page" uitnooi. Onthou asb die lidmaatskap kriteria = wit Afrikaans as moedertaal, gebore in of na 1985 en ouer as 18.

"Ek nooi jou graag uit om deel te neem aan my studie getitel: Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika: die ervaring van 'n groep jong Afrikaners.

Hierdie studie word gedoen ter vervulling van 'n PhD graad in Sielkunde en ondersoek wat dit beteken om wit te wees binne die konteks van Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná die val van apartheid. Die studie ondersoek die persepsies, oortuigings en ervarings wat gedeel word onder 'n groep jong wit Suid-Afrikaners.

As deelnemer aan die studie sal daar van jou verwag word om aktief deel te neem aan informele aanlyn besprekings oor wat dit beteken om wit te wees in Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná apartheid tot 'n einde gekom het. Jy sal in staat wees om stories van jou eie alledaagse ervarings (van wit wees in Suid Afrika - verlede en hede) aanlyn te deel, sowel as om betrokke te raak met en kommentaar te lewer oor die ander deelnemers se stories, ervarings en oortuigings. Die idee is om 'n aanlyn gemeenskap te skep waar sulke ervarings en oortuigings vrylik bespreek en gedeel kan word met ander Afrikaners. Dit vind plaas in 'n "Closed Group" op FACEBOOK wat beteken dat jou lidmaatskap, insette en besprekings nie bekend gemaak sal word op jou FACEBOOK nuusblad of tydlyn nie. Met ander woorde, slegs lede van die groep sal kan sien wat jy "post".

Maak asseblief seker dat jy noukeurig deur die "Pinned Post" aan die bokant van die bladsy lees sowel as beide die "Deelnemer Inligtingsblad" en die "Ingeligte Toestemming" dokumente wat jy op die blad kan kry onder die "Files" skakel.

Let asseblief daarop dat deelname aan hierdie studie heeltemal vrywillig is en dat jy jouself enige tyd kan onttrek. As jy besluit om te onttrek van die studie, sal enige en alle inligting wat verkry is van jou verwyder en vernietig word.

Al die inligting wat ingesamel is tydens die studie sal as volkome vertroulik hanteer word en op geen manier sal jou werklike identiteit gebruik of versprei word saam met die data nie.

Indien jy belang stel om deel te neem kliek asseblief op die volgende skakel: https://www.facebook.com/groups/witinsa.studie/

Lidmaatskap tot die studie word beperk tot individue gebore in en na 1985, ouer as 18 en wat Afrikaans as moedertaal praat. Voel asseblief vry om enige van jou vriende wat aan die bogenoemde kriteria voldoen uit te nooi om saam te kom gesels. Stuur eenvoudig net hierdie boodskap aan die individue wat jy wil uitnooi na die groep.

Groete
Ehrhard Visser"

Image 6: Instructions to participants on how to invite their friends to the group

To invite friends to the group, please Copy and Paste the invitation below in a FB message or email and then send it out. Alternatively, you can also invite people from the "Group Page". Please remember the membership criteria = white Afrikaans as native language, born in or after 1985 and over 18.

"I would like to invite you to participate in my study titled: Being white in the new South Africa: Experiences from a group of young Afrikaners.

This study is conducted in the fulfilment of a PhD degree in Psychology and investigates what it means to be white within the context of South Africa, twenty years after the fall of apartheid. The study investigates the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences shared among a group of young white South Africans.

As a participant in the study, you will be expected to participate actively in informal online discussions about what it means to be white in South Africa, twenty years after apartheid has come to an end. You will be able to share stories of your own everyday experiences (of being white in South Africa - past and present) as well as to engage with and comment on the stories, experiences and beliefs of the other participants. The idea is to create an online community where such experiences and beliefs can be freely discussed and shared with other Afrikaners. This will take place within a "Closed Group" on FACEBOOK which means that your membership, input and discussions will not be disclosed on your FACEBOOK news page or timeline. In other words, only members of the group will see what you post.

Please ensure that you carefully read the "Pinned Post" at the top of the page, as well as both the "Participant Information Sheet" and the "Informed Consent" documents that you can find under the "Files" link.

Please note that participation in this study is completely voluntary and that you are completely free to withdraw yourself at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the study, any and all information obtained from you will be removed and destroyed.

All the information collected during the study will be treated as completely confidential and in no way will your real identity be used or distributed with the data.

If you are interested in participating please click on the following link: https://www.facebook.com/groups/witinsa.studie/

Membership to the study is limited to individuals born in and after 1985, over 18 and speaking Afrikaans as mother tongue. Feel free to invite any of your friends who meet the above criteria to join the conversation. Simply send this message to the individuals you want to invite to the group.

Image 6 Translation

Hanging out

The technique of hanging out values informal and everyday interactions and processes as valuable sources of information about the issues under investigation. Hanging out is a participatory methodology, thus differing from formal ethnography by involving immersion in a cultural or racial group on an informal basis. In its conventional sense, the researcher would be "hanging out" with, and immersing him-/herself socially and informally within groups of the specified target population on a regular basis, taking notes of the discussions for later analysis. Of specific relevance to this study, Verwey (2009) employed a similar methodology to investigate Afrikaner "backstage" talk (discourses) as discussed in Chapter 2. (See also, for example, Rogers, 2004; Woodward, 2008; and Sonn, 2012). In an effort to gain knowledge about experiences of living under Apartheid, Sonn (2012) drew on stories (informal storytelling and personal narratives) submitted to the Apartheid Archive Project by South African immigrants in Australia about their recollections of racism and insights gained while hanging out with potential participants. His analysis drew on narrative procedures situated within a broader qualitative framework. Importantly, Sonn (2012) found that these stories illustrated the differing ways in which narrators made sense of their decision to migrate, also noting how recalling the events of the past is linked with the way in which we talk about the present. Once again, this approach illustrates the tendency to rely on references to the historical context within current social interactions. By exploring and analysing such stories, we will be able to develop more nuanced understandings of responses to oppression and interventions aimed at overcoming unjust social arrangements. For the purposes of this study, this method of data gathering was adapted in two ways.

In the first instance, hanging out occurred in the online group created on Facebook (described above). In this instance, the researcher was able to hang-out and immerse himself socially and informally in the discussions of the group on a regular basis. Additionally, the conversation and discussions could continue in the absence of the researcher, and the texts (data) could be collected at any time from the Facebook page. The bulk of data was obtained via this method. All posts and chat situations were used in the analysis. All texts produced by participants would be analyzed through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis, as discussed later.

In the second instance (offline), participants recruited via the Facebook page were invited to a *braai* (barbecue), a common social activity among the group of individuals under investigation. There were two *braais*, which were largely sponsored by the researcher, also serving as an incentive for participants to participate. Participants were only requested to bring their own beverages.

The interactions were kept as informal as possible in order to promote the social and relaxed atmosphere of a natural setting, as close to what one would expect to find in a natural setting, where friends are engaging socially. It was argued that participants would be more likely to open up and discuss more candidly their beliefs, experiences, and perceptions within a relaxed and social environment. Each of these two interactions was set up with a constantly burning fire or *braai* to cook the meat, accompanying side dishes, background music, table and chairs, and a dart board. Both gatherings also took place during the evening at one of the participants' residences. Additionally, participants of these sessions were not strangers, but knew each other on a social and informal basis, as friends. This kinship further contributed to reinforcing the informal, social, and relaxed atmosphere of the setting. Two such "arranged" hanging out sessions were held within a comfortable and social

environment involving four (4) participants at a time. After each engagement, the researcher made brief notes on what transpired while the details were still fresh in his mind. These observational notes were then later used during the analysis. The sessions were also audio-recorded, as all respondents agreed to be recorded. The recordings ensured that the researcher captured the views and articulated discourses accurately during the analysis.

Upon arrival, participants were verbally informed about the intent and purposes of the study and again asked to provide verbal (audio-recorded) consent prior to participation. All eight (8) of these participants provided their consent. This method for obtaining informed consent also contributed to the informal and social nature of the engagement or interaction.

The researcher then allowed participants time to relax and interact socially prior to starting the data collection. The researcher made use of a set of guiding questions during each of the interactions (Appendix D). Once the researcher was comfortable that participants were relaxed, he subtly directed the conversation towards the topic under investigation by introducing the first broad probing question. From here on, the researcher allowed the conversation to flow naturally and only reverted to the guiding questions from time to time, in order to keep the conversation going and in order to direct the conversation to a different area, once a specific topic was deemed to have been covered.

The researcher actively engaged in both online and offline contexts, also contributing to discussions. These two techniques were extremely successful in yielding rich and valuable data that would arguably not have been produced and attained in a more formal setting.

Personal narratives

Participants were asked to provide a personal account, or narrative, of their experiences of being white in post-Apartheid South-Africa. These written stories allowed the participant more freedom to express their feelings with a deeper sense of anonymity and confidentiality than may be possible in other data collection procedures. Each of these participants was issued with an informed consent form as well as a participant information sheet for the specific data gathering procedure (Appendices A & C). Participants then had to sign and return their consent form before their narratives could be used in the analysis. In total, ten (10) participants provided personal narratives and submitted these via email to the researcher along with their signed informed consent forms. All ten (10) texts were included in the analysis.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

The study employed a fairly typical approach to CDA, as already discussed. The specific approach focuses on four main dimensions to be analysed both separately and in terms of their interrelatedness, and is argued to be the approach best suited to the current study. Based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA, this approach additionally included researcher reflexivity as an additional dimension to be considered in the analysis. The following figure provides a depiction of these four dimensions of analysis.

Text
(Textual Analysis)

Discursive Event
(Processing and Social Analysis)

Historical & Current Social Contexts
(Processing and Social Analysis)

Researcher Reflexivity
(Processing Analysis)
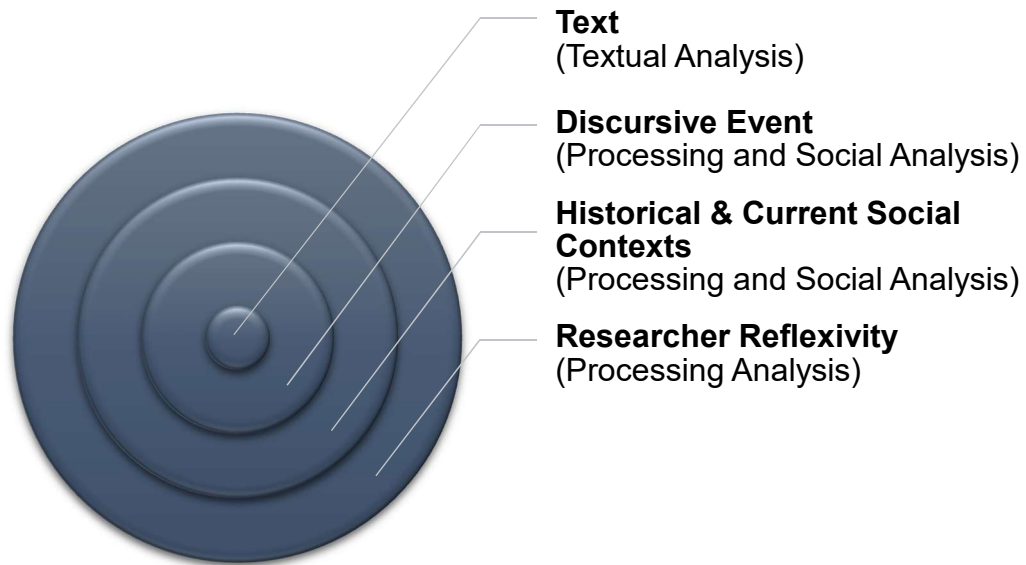
Figure 2: A Four-Dimensional Model for Critical Discourse Analysis

It is argued that analysis should start from the third dimension (context), progressing to the centre (the text). At the final stage of the analysis, the researcher should embark on a reflexive examination of their own horizon and the associated potential impact on the entire research process, incorporating this process into the findings about the data. Reflexivity constitutes a relatively new dimension of the CDA process. It is argued that reflexivity should be done at the final stage of analysis, as it is used to control for any potential influence that the researchers' own horizon might have had on the research process as a whole (Maher & Tetreault, 1994).

The study aimed at investigating perceptions and experiences of a group of young Afrikaners and the meanings they attribute to being white in the current post-Apartheid South African context. More specifically, the research question focused on perceptions of power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture.

As already discussed, language use and discourse are viewed as crucial social practices that are both influenced by ideologies and in turn also impact how ideologies are learned, acquired, and changed. Through the use of language and the discourses it conveys, ideologies are expressed and generally reproduced in the social practices of group members, and more particularly they are gradually acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse and social interactions.

Social interactions within the current South African context are argued to be highly influenced by a constant reflection on the historical context, by all parties, within their daily lives and activities. In addition, the historical context is continuously referenced in everyday media portrayals and government policies, specifically in relation to social dynamics within the country. As such, any investigation within the post-Apartheid South African context should consider the unique historical context, the associated changes which gave rise to the new socio-political order, as well as relevant in-group and out-group perceptions. Consequently, both the historical and current social contexts formed a fundamental part of the analytical process.

The study's specific approach to CDA is summarised below according to the specific process followed:

- Establish the specific historical antecedents and social context in which the discourses were produced or to which they relate. This step entails investigating both contexts, controlling for any form of subjective interpretation at this stage.

- Examine the discursive event. This step entails an examination of the ways in which the discourses were produced, by whom, for whom and for what purpose, as well as how they were received or interpreted and by whom. Additionally, alternative interpretations should also be considered.

- Examine the texts produced (i.e. micro-analysis). This step entails the identification of linguistic and rhetorical mechanisms as well as identifying how various statements, sentences, and words function at the level of language usage and reception or interpretation.

- Examine the interrelatedness of these three preceding dimensions and how this interrelatedness operates in the meaning making process.

- Provide a preliminary report of the findings containing no form of explicit interpretation on the part of the researcher at this stage.

- Engage in a reflexive analysis of the potential influence that the researcher's own horizon might have had on the research process as a whole. This step entails examining the researcher's own perceptions and positionality and establishing how these elements might have impacted the research process and findings.

- Carry out an extensive interpretation of the data, returning to the original research questions and the problem under investigation.

After the various discourses within participants' accounts were identified, the textual elements that helped to convey these discourses were examined. Finally, the relationships between the historical and current social contexts, the discursive practice, and the textual elements were explored.

Consequently, the first step of this approach to CDA focused on a detailed factual investigation of both the historical and current social contexts, the associated dominant ideologies and discourses contained therein, as well as the changes associated with the new social order following the fall of Apartheid and the establishment of a

democratic society. These investigations (discussed in Chapter 5) enabled the researcher to effectively examine the influence of both contexts on the ideologies and discursive practices of the group under investigation.

Following the investigation of both these contexts, only those events specifically referenced by participants and featuring prominently within the discourses produced were highlighted, focused on, and summarised in this study, located in Chapter 5. Uses of these constructs were then further investigated in an attempt to uncover the ways in which they impact one another and how they are utilised within the specific communicative events and associated semiotic processes.

The second dimension of analysis considered the discursive event, i.e. the way in which the texts were produced, by whom, for whom, and how they were received or interpreted. This dimension of analysis also focused on the ways in which the authors' texts elicit or articulate elements of pre-existing discourses and genres to produce a text, and how receivers of that text also employ available discourses and genres in the interpretation thereof. In line with Fairclough's (1991) view, genre is defined as the conventionalised, relatively schematically fixed application of language related to a particular activity; it is a socially ratified way of applying language in connection with a particular type of social activity. In other words, genres are seen as different ways of "acting out" a specific role which produces social life in a semiotic style or mode. This insight is useful to the second dimension of analysis, which focused on analysing the way in which discourses are produced and used in creating a text and how these texts are interpreted, i.e. how they are learned, maintained or altered. The specific genre, or way in which language was applied in the creation or relay of discourses is important in this investigation, as the research aimed to collect data from participants in a natural social setting, i.e., during every day informal social interactions, such as a braai. As

such, interpreting the particular forms of language use, words and phrases which one would find in conversations between young Afrikaners, conversing in Afrikaans, would require a particular nuanced understanding of the language Afrikaans and how it is used in informal social interactions between members of the Afrikaner group.

The fourth dimension focused on the texts produced through the communicative events under investigation. This dimension essentially constituted the central part of the analytical procedure. In line with the aspirations of hermeneutic phenomenological research, in order to maintain quality within the research process, the texts were not altered from their original form, i.e. their natures, whether verbal and written (personal narratives and social media comments), were kept intact. Similarly, the texts were not translated into English, but rather were analysed and interpreted through the language in which they were expressed, i.e. Afrikaans.

Once the data had been collected, the researcher proceeded to a high-level review of the texts in order to identify interesting emerging content and potential themes. The texts and audio recordings were cleaned and appropriately sectioned for ease of reference and convenience during the analytical process to follow. Given the specific audio technology utilised, the quality of recordings was extremely good and could easily be cleaned without the need for excessive transcribing. This process also ensured that the authenticity of data from the audio recordings remained intact without any risk of being compromised through transcribing and translation. For these purposes, the qualitative software package Atlas.ti was utilised. The software enabled the researcher to effectively clean and organise the texts and audio collected, and to group the data into initial themes (which were later further developed and then collapsed) as they emerged from initial readings of the texts.

When utilising extracts from participants' texts as illustrative exemplars within the analysis, the following conventions were employed. Participants were identified by means of numbers, e.g. Participant 1, 2, 3 etc. Illustrative examples and extracts from participants' accounts were indented, labelled with the relevant participant's pseudonym, and presented in sets either before or after a paragraph dealing with the specific extract. Words and phrases referenced from extracts were included between quotation marks and italicised. Finally, square parentheses were employed to illustrate omissions […] and to place additional words or phrases to join or clarify within square parentheses (e.g. [word]).

Generating themes within which the identified discourses were embedded involved a cold reading of the texts and an initial identification of potential thematic categories, followed by several re-readings of the texts to refine these categories. This process was greatly simplified by making use of Atlas.ti. At this stage, the approach drew on the technique of the hermeneutical circle (or cycle) as expressed in philosophical hermeneutics. This technique required the researcher to engage in a circular process of reading (and listening to) each text as a whole in order to gain an initial understanding of its parts, followed by a more detailed investigation of the various parts of each text, which in turn broadened the researcher's understanding of the text as a whole in a circular fashion.

Hermeneutic phenomenology was utilised as the primary interpretative process in which the actual analysis of discourses was undertaken. As an interpretive practice, hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with understanding texts (Cohen, 2001). Through this approach, the researcher aims to develop a rich and deep account of a phenomenon based on intuition. In using this approach, the researcher had to overcome implicit assumptions and attempt to make them explicit (through the process

of reflexivity). Additionally, the researcher had to accept the notion that there may be many possible perspectives on a phenomenon, similarly to when a prism is turned: one part becomes hidden and another part opens. This approach avoids method for method's sake and thus does not have a step-by-step method or analytic requirements, similarly to CDA.

Hermeneutic phenomenology is deeply focused on the life-world, or human experience as it is lived. The concern is on illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within experience that may be taken for granted in our lives with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding about the subject of investigation (Wilson & Hutchison, 1991). Being attentive to the philosophical underpinnings of both hermeneutics and phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology is a "research methodology aimed at producing rich textual descriptions of the experiencing of selected phenomena in the life world of individuals that are able to connect with the experiences of all of us collectively" (Smith, 1997, p. 80). Following from the identification of experienced phenomena, a deeper understanding of the meaning of that experience is sought (Smith, 1997). This approach argues that in order to understand the life-world, we need to explore the stories people tell of their experiences, often with the help of some specific hermeneutic or method of interpretation.

Within hermeneutical phenomenological research, reality is perceived as an individual construct dependent on differing situations (Cohen et al., 2000). Additionally, hermeneutic phenomenological research is based on the belief that realities are multiple and is founded in the notion that knowledge is subjective; in other words, epistemology is grounded on the belief that knowledge or meaning making is possible through subjective experience and insight.

Even though there is not a specific set of methodological guidelines for doing hermeneutical phenomenological research, Kafle (2011) suggests two methodological guidelines based on previous research conducted within such a paradigm. Once data has adequately been gathered, Kafle recommends that it be processed in such a way that thematic aspects are uncovered. Data analysis is then often performed by applying the hermeneutic cycle, constituting reading, reflective writing, and interpretation in a rigorous fashion. This process is demonstrated in the figure below:
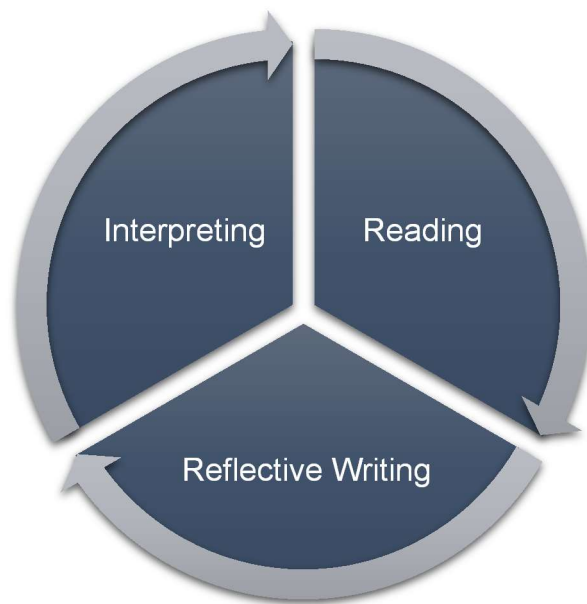
Figure 3: Hermeneutic Cycle

Essentially, the researcher started the textual analysis with a general reading of (or listening to) each text. Initial assumptions of the intended meaning of each text were then noted. Subsequently, each text was then further analysed by utilising Atlas.ti in order to code identified discourses, grouping them under related themes. This further investigation into separate parts of each text provided the researcher with a deeper understanding of each text as a whole, as described above. In this circular fashion, the next step entailed revisiting the separate parts of the text through a more

detailed micro-analysis of relevant linguistic and textual features of the various identified discourses (segments of texts) and how such features function in the production and interpretation of meaning. Such an investigation once again served to broaden the researcher's understanding of each text as a whole through successive readings (listening).

Throughout this process, there were instances where initial themes were elaborated on and extended, as well as instances where themes were collapsed or combined. Such a process is a necessary part of thematising large data sets, and it invariably involves a continuous process of refinement within discursive analyses. It should be noted that once themes had been identified as a result of this process, these themes did not represent a definitive or conclusive analysis of the texts, but rather one set of plausible analytic outcomes. The analytic process within discourse analysis, by its very nature, is socially constructed and thus not exhaustive: an outcome is not the singular interpretive outcome that could have been generated (Thompson, 1990). In addition, the present research was conducted from a psychological perspective and as such did not aim at an exhaustive analysis of the textual features, rather only focusing on those features of the text that provided deeper insight into the intended meaning behind the text production, as well as the potential meanings that could have been generated during interpretation. In this regard, the micro-analysis of the text focused on word groups, grammatical features, and rhetorical and literary figures and devices.

In reality, however, this analytical process did not occur in a linear fashion. Due to the large amount of data gathered, coding of the data was first completed as a means of reducing ungainly information into more discrete and focused areas for actual analysis. Essentially, this step involved a filtering for recurring themes and

systematic networks of meanings from the texts. This filtering process was based on repeated readings (and listening) of the texts, the theoretical orientation of the researcher, as well as findings from the literature reviewed. Parker's (1992) seven criteria were then utilised to elicit the discursive practices within these categories. Additionally, participants' texts were analysed to identify the rhetorical strategies deployed in order to convey these meanings. Besides the lexical character of certain individual words being examined, there was also a broader focus on sentences and sets of utterances. Duncan (1993), with reference to the latter, states that "[there is] a growing trend […] to go beyond single sentences [and to] focus […] on extended sequences of sentences and statements" (p. 66). The present study then focused on the deconstructive process and examined the political, social, and ideological effects of the discourses in relation to social practice.

By employing this integrated approach, the researcher was able to analyse discursive networks within participants' texts, their historical and social embeddedness, as well as their functions and ideological effects The outcomes from this stage of analysis are detailed in the analysis report, Chapter 6, which is intended to provide a preliminary account or initial analysis of the texts, the discourses contained therein, and how they function in the semiotic process.

5. TRUSTWORTHINESS

Validity and reliability are key aspects of all research, but they are particularly vital in qualitative research, where the researcher's subjectivity can so readily cloud the interpretation of the data. As previously discussed, qualitative researchers are interested in studying people's beliefs, experiences, and meaning systems from their own perspective. Methods used for such purposes tend to be more subjective than in

quantitative research and do not include statistical analysis and empirical calculation. Similarly, the tactics or strategies employed to address validity and reliability in qualitative research are not the same as in quantitative research.

The concepts of validity and reliability become problematic to address within naturalistic inquiry. Nevertheless, several researchers (Chenitz & Swanson, 1986; Crabtree & MiÜer, 1992; Field & Morse, 1985; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982; Sandelowski, 1986; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Silverman, 2001) have demonstrated how qualitative researchers can incorporate measures that deal with these issues. Many qualitative investigators have also opted to use different terminology in this regard. One such author is Guba (1981), who proposes a set of criteria to be considered by qualitative researchers in pursuit of a "trustworthy" study.

Guba's (1981) constructs relate to the criteria employed by positivist investigators in terms of reliability and validity. These constructs, in combination with Shenton's (2004) strategies for addressing issues of validity and reliability, formed the basis of this study's measures to control for and ensure trustworthiness.

Guba's (1981) first construct, credibility, relates to the positivists' criterion of internal validity, which is used to ensure that a specific study actually measures or tests what it was intended to. According to Merriam (2009), the qualitative equivalent of credibility deals with the question of how congruent the findings of a particular investigation are with reality. For Lincoln and Guba (1985), ensuring credibility is one of the most important factors in establishing trustworthiness. In order to ensure credibility and promote confidence that the study accurately recorded the phenomenon under investigation, the following provisions were made in line with strategies proposed by Shenton (2004).

The study adopted and made use of research methods that are well established within the field of qualitative investigation as detailed in Chapter 3. In particular, the specific procedures employed during data gathering and data analysis were derived from previous comparable research projects where similar methods and procedures were successfully utilised, as discussed in Chapter 2. In addition, these methods and procedures are clearly detailed within Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of this study. Secondly, as the researcher forms part of the population group under investigation, he was familiar with the specific culture of participants prior to data collection taking place. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend attaining such familiarity, both in order for the researcher to gain an adequate understanding of the subjects and to establish a relationship of trust between both parties. The sampling of participants, although carried out according to convenience at first, was aimed at including multiple voices, from diverse backgrounds, exhibiting characteristics of similarity, dissimilarity, and variety in order to gain greater knowledge of the wider group of Afrikaners. The specific sampling techniques employed in this study have already been detailed within Chapter 4.

Data for this investigation were collected via three distinct methods, which assisted in compensating for the potential limitations of each method. This diversity of methods also enabled the researcher to compare the data obtained via each respective method in order to identify any substantive differences or contradictions which may exist. In terms of content and themes, there were no major or substantive differences found between the data sets that would warrant concerns relating to the credibility of the data. In addition, the data's credibility was further strengthened by including a wide range of participants in the study, as previously discussed. This breadth allowed the researcher to verify individual viewpoints and experiences against others, ultimately

enabling the construction of a rich picture of the attitudes or meanings of the subjects under investigation. Moreover, in order to ensure honest contributions, all participants were informed of their rights, specifically the right to refuse to participate in the study and the right to leave the study at any time, free of any scrutiny. Participants were also constantly encouraged during each session, to be as frank, open and honest as possible, and it was constantly emphasised that there were no right or wrong answers, questions, or responses.

Furthermore, as detailed in the preceding chapter, the researcher also employed a process of reflexivity throughout the investigation. Reflexivity played a key role in what Guba and Lincoln (1985) term "progressive subjectivity," i.e. the monitoring of the researcher's own developing constructions and identification of potential impacts on the research process, considered to be critical in establishing credibility. Finally, relevant previous research findings were reviewed and examined in order to assess the degree to which this study's findings are congruent with those of previous studies.

Guba's (1981) second construct, transferability, relates to external validity, which is concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations. As the findings from a qualitative inquiry are often specific to a small number of particular environments and individuals, it becomes problematic to demonstrate that the findings are generalisable to other situations and populations. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), however, sufficient contextual information should be provided and appropriately documented, allowing other researchers on the topic to adequately assess contextual and procedural similarities and differences relating to their own investigations. To this extent, and in line with Shenton's (2004) proposed strategies, a detailed description of the entire research procedure including substantive contextual information has been provided throughout the present chapter. This includes detailed

information on the boundaries of the study, inclusion criteria for participants, the number of participants involved in each method of data collection, and a detailed description of the data collection procedures.

It should, however, be noted, that the results of a qualitative investigation must be understood within the context of the specific setting, location, and participant characteristics in which the data was collected. In order to assess the extent to which findings may be true of people in other settings, similar projects employing the same methods, but conducted in different environments, could well be of great value; however, it is rare for such complimentary work to be undertaken. Understanding of a phenomenon is gained gradually, through several studies, rather than one major project conducted in isolation (Pitts, 1994). Even when different investigations offer results that are not entirely consistent with one another, it is not, of course, necessarily implied that one or more is untrustworthy. It may be that they simply reflect multiple realities, and if an appreciation can be gained of the reasons behind the variations, this understanding may prove as useful to the reader as the results actually reported. It can thus be asked whether the notion of producing truly transferable results from a single study is a realistic aim, or whether it disregards the importance of context, which forms such a key factor in qualitative research.

Whether or not other researchers would make the same interpretations as the principal researcher relates to the reliability of the analysis. However, given that researchers will most likely differ in their motivational factors, expectations, and familiarity, guaranteeing such reliability is unfeasible. It is important to note that interpretations of the texts are subjective: they might be interpreted differently by other researchers (Potter, 1996).

Guba (1981) relates the construct of dependability to that of reliability, i.e. techniques to show that if the study were repeated, in the same context, with the same methods and procedures, and with the same participants, similar results would be obtained. This construct becomes problematic in qualitative research, due, for example, to the changing nature of phenomena scrutinised by qualitative researchers, as well as the researcher's own subjectivity impacting on the interpretation of findings.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), adequately demonstrated credibility, contributes a great deal to ensuring dependability. However, in order to address concerns about dependability more directly, Shenton (2004) suggests that the processes within a study should be reported with as much detail as possible. This reporting will enable future researchers to repeat the work, if not necessarily to gain the same results. Such in-depth reporting of procedures also allows the reader to assess the extent to which proper research practices have been followed. As such, this dissertation includes sections devoted to (a) the research design and its implementation (describing what was planned and executed on a strategic level); (b) the operational detail of data gathering (addressing the minutiae of what was done in the field), and (c) reflective appraisal of the project (evaluating the effectiveness of the process of inquiry undertaken).

6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study was conducted within the parameters of basic ethical guidelines for research and adhered to the principles of autonomy, non-maleficence, and beneficence (Steere, 1984). Furthermore it was conducted within the ethical guidelines of the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) and the Health Professions Act of 1974 (alongside its associated appendices), with specific reference to informed

consent, confidentiality, and anonymity. Once content and methodological and ethical approval had been obtained from the University of Pretoria, a contract was signed with the Department of Psychology and the research study was allowed to proceed.

Given the sensitivity of the topic researched, it is well worth noting the ethical guidelines and associated measures employed within the study, specifically to ensure that participants were well informed and did not become distressed. In addition, as the majority of data was collected via an online platform, some special consideration had to be given to ethical concerns unique to online qualitative research.

A major ethical concern from the outset of this study related to potential distress that participants might experience when openly discussing the sensitive topic under investigation. In relation to this study, previous findings highlighted the potential risk to participants, associated with, for example, discussing personal experiences relating to victimisation and discrimination (Black et al., 2006). DePrince and Freyd (2004) found that participants who had experienced interpersonal victimisation before age 18, most often reported higher levels of distress in answering questions about their experiences, than during day-to-day life experiences. In comparing distress experienced during various assessment procedures, participants reported significantly more distress during a task that required them to speak aloud about a traumatic experience for five minutes than during interview, computer-based, or paper-and-pencil tasks (Griffin et al., 2003).

Although the potential for distress can often be identified and controlled for in advance, there is always the possibility of participants becoming distressed unexpectedly. Neman, Walker and Gefland (1999) for example, notes that unexpected distress frequently appears to result from examining and reflecting on experiences of

past and current maltreatment from a new perspective. On the other hand, some studies also found participants reporting that, by participating in studies on a sensitive topic, they may be able to contribute to increased public awareness of issues affecting them, and that such increased awareness may lead to beneficial social change (Cook & Bosley, 1995; Dyregrov et al., 2000). According to Decker et al. (2011) the perceived benefits of participating in research on sensitive topics may include the potential to help others; a heightened sense of self-awareness; self-insight or -knowledge; catharsis from reviewing past experiences; and a sense that participation may result in social changes.

The researcher provided all participants contact details for relevant counsellors in the event that any one of them became traumatised during the research process. Additionally, the researcher offered to arrange any counselling sessions to this effect. It should be noted that none of the participants reported experiencing any form of distress during the research process, and thus counselling was never required. Moreover, in order to ensure that participants did not become distressed the following measures were employed in relation to the language used, the setting in which data was collected, information provided and the assurance of anonymity and confidentiality.

6.1 Language use

All forms of communication with participants were conducted in their mother tongue, Afrikaans, including initial engagements, all verbal communications, information sheets, consent forms and instructions, both online and during the conventional hanging out sessions. In addition to aiding in the establishment of participant trust, this also ensured that participants were immediately put at ease and

comfortable enough to participate and open up about their experiences. Specific attention was given to using only informal vernacular in documents and communications. Employing an informal Afrikaans vernacular also ensured that all forms of communications and instructions would be completely comprehensible by the target audience.

6.2 Setting

As detailed in sections above, the particular data gathering methodologies employed were specifically selected with the aim of ensuring that participants would feel as safe and comfortable as possible when providing their contributions. This measure is argued to have had a significant impact on the richness and quality of data obtained.

Online participants took part in the study from the comfort and convenience of their own personal environments, they did not have to travel any distance to participate, they did not physically interact with any of the other participants or the researcher, and they could participate and make contributions to the study at any time they wished during the data gathering process—a factor which also controlled for participant fatigue. Moreover, as previously described, online participants were informed that the Facebook page was set up as a closed group. In other words, only members of the group could see who the other members were and only members could read any of the posts and discussions on the page. Participants also had the option of engaging the researcher more privately via email or direct messaging on the group, which, however, never took place.

Participants were able to view and access the researcher's Facebook profile, similarly to accessing those of other group members, which contributed to establishing

trust both between researcher and participant and participant and participant alike. In this regard, the researcher and participants could control the level of privacy on their respective personal profiles, and consequently control access to which elements of their own personal information that other members were allowed to view. This is a standard function on most social media platforms, applied by users of such on a daily basis. In addition, the researcher also contributed to discussions through active participation and contributions, which significantly aided in establishing trust and ensuring honest participation. The risk of influencing participant contributions and opinions was constantly considered and controlled for during such participation. Moreover, the study also employed a process of researcher reflexivity, allowing the researcher to identify and control for any such influence his contributions or perceptions might have had on the findings.

As already described, the conventional hanging out sessions were designed to be as informal as possible, and as close as possible to what one would expect to find in a social setting where a group of young white Afrikaner friends are gathered. To meet these requirements, a traditional and popular Afrikaner social activity was selected, i.e. a *braai* at a friend's house. Apart from the difference in location, both the research settings were set up in a similar manner as already described, including activities, music, a constantly burning fire, and the presence of alcohol and cigarettes. Each session had four (4) participants (excluding the researcher). Moreover, cell phones were used as recording devices, argued to be a natural (neutral) and expected element in such a setting, in contrast to a more formal recording device. Participants at each session were not strangers, but were from the same group of friends, who allowed the researcher access to their circle in order to collect data. To further ensure the informal nature of proceedings, no formal documentation was presented during

this method of data collection (consent was audio recorded), and participants were allowed ample time to interact socially and make themselves comfortable before the researcher subtly introduced the research topic to the discussions.

6.3 Informed and Voluntary Consent

The inclusion criteria for this study stipulated that participants should have been between the ages of 18 to 30. As such, participants were in a position to decide for themselves whether they would like to participate in the study or not.

Once potential participants for the study had been accessed (either in person or online), a participant information sheet (in Afrikaans) was provided to them (Appendix A). This was done either in person or online as outlined in the preceding section. The information sheet provided participants with a clear explanation of the topic to be discussed and a detailed explanation on the purpose of the study. In addition, for each method of data collection, each participant received either a written informed consent form (Appendices B&C) which provided a clear explanation of the specific activities they would be expected to engage in as participants, or they were provided this information verbally as in the conventional hanging out. All participants were provided ample opportunity to ask any questions for clarification before agreeing to participate. In addition, participants were made aware of and advised that they were free to exit the study at any time they may have felt uncomfortable or distressed, without being scrutinised.

Online participants were well informed of the purpose of the study; however, they could not be assured complete anonymity within the online group discussions, as other participants would be able to see their real identities on Facebook. However, all online participants who were not comfortable with exposing their identity to other participants

had the option to engage with the researcher one-on-one by emailing or engaging in more private discussions online through Facebook direct messages. Besides the ten (10) personal narratives received via email as requested, none of the online participants opted for private discussions.

The Facebook page also contained clear guidelines to be followed in discussions and allowed the researcher to block any participant who engaged in racial slander or racist comments—which, although providing rich information in its own right, was not the focus of this study. Blocking of participants, however, was never required.

Each participant was required to provide their consent to participate, either written, verbal or by means of requesting to join the Facebook group after reviewing the information provided. The information sheets and consent forms outlined the nature and goals of the study and the basic procedures involved, also informing the participants of their anonymity (within the larger data set) and confidentiality on the part of the researcher. After the verbal explanation (aligned to the written information sheet) or reading through the form, participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions they might have had before giving their consent to participate in the study or not. As alluded to, online participants were requested to read both electronic versions of these documents before officially requesting to join the closed group. Once a participant requested to join, this request to join constituted their informed consent to participate. All participants were well informed of their right to leave the study at any stage and of their own accord, without any consequences.

The study did not require any form of deception. As such, participants were fully informed of the processes and purpose of the study.

After each procedure, participants were thoroughly debriefed and allowed ample opportunity to ask any further questions they might have had. Finally, participants were informed that the research findings would be disseminated in the form of a research report and possibly published after final examination and approval from the University of Pretoria, and that research summaries would be available to them upon request.

6.4 Anonymity, Confidentiality, and Data Management

Participants were provided with a detailed explanation on the limitations of both confidentiality and anonymity, given the qualitative nature of this study. In the first instance, the anonymity of participants would be compromised by the specific methods of data collection, i.e. hanging out and hanging out-online. Secondly, confidentiality could also not strictly be maintained, as certain direct quotations would have to be utilised within the final research report. However, participants were assured that the data would be cleaned and stripped of all identifying features, and that their identities would at no point be made public.

Participants' contributions were not transcribed in any way. The textual data obtained were analyzed as is and were not transcribed into English. Similarly, the audio recordings were not transcribed into text, but rather were analyzed digitally using the qualitative software package Atlas.ti. The original texts and recordings were only accessible to the researcher, were digitally stored on the researcher's hard-drive, password protected and in a locked office. In addition, the data will be digitally archived by the researcher for five years after the study has been concluded. Once the data is no longer required, all electronic copies will be deleted and hard copies destroyed.

7. REFLEXIVITY

In addition to the three data gathering techniques outlined above, it was also deemed vital to account for the potential influence of the researcher on the research process in its entirety. Reflexivity entails a process by which the researcher becomes aware of the impact and potential influence that their contributions had on the research process and the outcomes of the research at the analytical and applied levels. The reflexive process becomes particularly important when conducting research from a social constructionist frame, as all research is also then understood as a socially constructed product. The researcher's contributions therefore have a direct bearing on the nature and outcomes of the research process itself. In combination with the notion of reflexivity, the concept of positionality also requires interrogation. Positionality primarily refers to the way in which the researcher locates him-/herself within the research setting in relation to the research participants, which could become instilled with varying degrees of status and power. If we are to understand the unfolding nature of the research process, its particularities in terms of data collection and analysis, the findings, and the related conclusions, the researcher's reflections on positionality becomes critical.

To this effect, researcher reflexivity was included in the study and incorporated in the final discussion chapter, after data gathered from participants had been analysed and discussed. Reflexivity is an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining outside of one's subject matter while conducting research. The study focused on how meanings are produced and reproduced within a particular social, cultural, and relational context. The researcher recognised the hanging out sessions as one such context of interactive meaning-making. As such,

the interpretation of the qualitative data required reflection on the entire research context. Reflexivity involved making the research process itself a focus of inquiry, laying open pre-conceptions, and becoming aware of situational dynamics in which the researcher and participants are jointly involved in knowledge production. Self-searching involved the researcher examining his conceptual baggage, his assumptions and preconceptions, and how these factors affect his research decisions—particularly, the selection and wording of questions, as well as the nature of contributions made to discussions. Reflecting on the research relationship involved the researcher examining his relationship to the respondent, and how the relationship dynamics affected responses to questions. For this purpose, the researcher kept a journal of his thoughts and experiences throughout the research process. The journal was reviewed throughout the research process in order to identify and control for any significant influences that the researcher's subjectivity could have had on the research process. In addition, the researcher also regularly engaged with academic peers in informal discussions about the research topic and process as a whole. These discussions significantly contributed to determining (and mitigating the effects of) the researcher's specific prejudices and provided insight on various concerns experienced throughout the research process.

The following chapter is intended to provide a synopsis of the historical context and current South African social context at the time of data collection (2015–2016).

CHAPTER 5

CONTEXTUALISATION

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief synopsis of the historical context and current South African situation at the time of data collection (2015–16). As discussed, both these contexts are seen as playing a pivotal role in the meaning making process of the research participants, i.e. within the social interactions and communicative events through which knowledge is expressed, attained, and altered. As has been argued, reflections on and interpretations of the historical context filter through and impact interactions within the current social context, including the expressed ideas and experiences of participants in the present study. Furthermore, it has been noted that the current social context both shapes and is shaped by the knowledge which is produced through social interactions. As such, our discourses and the ideologies which they convey can only be understood by examining the historical context from which what we are saying originated as well as the specific social context in which our understanding is located. This implies the potential for change; that is, as our social contexts change, so do our internalisations thereof and consequently the meanings and knowledge we generate or sustain during our social interactions. It should be noted that the information presented in this chapter have purposefully been highlighted as these events and instances were most referenced by the majority of participants when constructing their account of whiteness post-Apartheid.

The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the historical development of the Afrikaner from colonialism to nationalism and the implementation of Apartheid. This historical overview is followed by a discussion on the social context under Apartheid

and a brief discussion on the changes which occurred with the abolishment of this system in the immediate period of transformation that followed 1994. Finally, the chapter provides a detailed account of the current South African context (as it was at the time of data collection), specifically focusing on areas or instances highlighted in participants' talk, such as racial discrimination, land reform, corruption, service delivery, crime, racism, education, and employment.

2. THE RISE OF THE AFRIKANER

A central historical fact of South Africa is the birth and rise of a permanent settlement of "white" inhabitants on (South) African soil (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). Anchored at the Cape in 1652, the intention of the *Vreenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (Dutch East Indian Company, VOC), was not to institute a permanent colony, but rather to establish a base of resources in aid of Dutch fleets sailing around the Cape to the East. According to Thompson (1964) the white settler society at the Cape consisted of a disadvantaged fragment, from Dutch society composed of unsuccessful townsperson with the toughness of a farmer. Elphrick and Giliomee (1988), notes that the first Dutch immigrants were indoctrinated by Dutch religious beliefs and settled at the Cape with a firm belief and certainty of their Godly predestination. They were convinced that God had accompanied them, and that they found themselves in this distant land because of God's will (Albertyn, 1947). This binding foundation of the first European settlers is argued to have remained as the groundwork on which their descendants, the Afrikaners, would construct their destiny in South Africa. According to this way of understanding their life-world, the (early settler) Afrikaner was placed in South Africa to uphold justice and bring civilisation to Africa. Based on this argument, Du Preez (2005) notes that

the conscious and subconscious knowledge that the Afrikaner was placed in Africa by God runs like a golden thread through the founding and developmental process of the Afrikaner. Reformational Protestantism can indeed be known to ground the cultural configuration of the Afrikaner (p. 2).

Afrikaner religion originated from the protestant practices of the 17th century Reformed Church of Holland, but was also heavily influenced by Swiss reformer John Calvin (1505–1564) who believed that the church should influence government policy, and that races should remain pure and separate (Giliomee, 2003). Calvinism became the foundation of the Afrikaner worldview and ideologies; consequently, anyone who accepted the Christian faith would be accepted into the divine "in-group" (Lee, 1992). Those outside Christianity were regarded as heathens, i.e. the Other (the out-group). As such, the social context of the time was heavily founded in religious beliefs. However, this worldview would soon start to evolve, transcending religious beliefs, becoming more concerned with observable differences between the native inhabitants of the land and the white settlers, and eventually leading to discrimination which was based on perceptions of race and being "civilised."

The birth of the Afrikaner can historically be traced to a situation in 1657, when the VOC allowed nine citizens (free burghers) to establish farms below the eastern hills of Table Mountain in order to meet the increasing production demands (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Davenport, 1987; Giliomee, 2004). These early settlers became known internationally as the *Boer* or farming people. As more settlers fulfilled their contracts with the VOC, most remained in South Africa and became free burghers. The free burghers survived by becoming farmers, cultivating the land (as per their perceived divine mission), and supplying the VOC with much-needed resources. They

regarded themselves as defenders of the land, protecting the Cape settlement against attacks from the dangerous heathens or native inhabitants (Giliomee, 2003). Such distinctions served in the favorable ideological construction of the in-group as unique and righteous in striving to fulfill God's will, for which they were selectively chosen. According to Steyn (2001),

> [the] insistence of "being of Africa," an act of dissociation from European roots, has been important in Afrikaner identity since the earliest time of white settlement. This self-identification with the land also indicated a strong claim of entitlement to the land (p. 102).

The VOC's commercial sovereignty over the area came to an end in 1795, and by then, roughly 15,000 free burghers were settled at the Cape Colony (Davenport, 1987). According to Visser (2007), a "nomadic urge to move" (p. 4) manifested among pioneer and frontier Afrikaner society as early as the eighteenth century. The attraction of the interior appealed to the adventurous, who were geared towards hunting or the acquisition of land and other resources held by the Khoikhoi, either through trade or by force (Davenport, 1987). Through initial expansion of the Cape frontier, these early Afrikaners encroached on the land and resources of indigenous people, consequently encountering many battles. Moreover, it is argued that this expansion also resulted in a certain degree of expansion (or evolution) of the dominant religious beliefs and ideology which shaped the context of the Cape colony at the time. More specifically, the religious system of classification in which constructions of the self and Other were founded (which allowed for the inclusion of the native Other, if they converted) evolved into a system of classification based on racially assigned characteristics, although religious beliefs of the self and the Other also featured prominently in this system of classification/categorisation.

Similar to the Khoikhoi, the *trekboere* (frontiers) embraced a nomadic lifestyle fuelled by the search for better resources (grazing, land, water, and game) (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). Such a freedom-loving lifestyle, in line with the social isolation and difficulties associated with frontier expansion (MacCrone, 1937), led to the development of certain traits among the Afrikaner, clearly distinguishing themselves from the native Other and self-characterizing as independent, individualist, patriarchal, conservative, mobile, and stubborn (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). This exodus also marked the beginning of the formation of the two Boer republics. The implementation of a para-military commando system (unique to South Africa) provided a means for the *trekboere* to uphold their own physical safety and security, which held central importance in the lives of the *trekboer* pioneers (Giliomee, 2003).

Almost 100 years of expanding the frontier led the *trekboer* pioneers into direct contact with the numerically powerful and organised Xhosa people, who occupied areas of the east coast and Fish River northwards. Conflict developed between these two groups in the border area, mainly around the possession of land and livestock (Giliomee, 2003). The period between 1779 and 1877 is mainly characterised by conflict and disharmony between these two groups, setting the scene for nine border wars. The perception of insecurity and threat experienced by the *trekboer* (especially between 1834 and 1840) in this region directly contributed to the mass exodus of Afrikaner farmers to the country's interior (Du Bruyn, 1986).

The *Groot Trek* (Great Move) could be seen as a rebellious movement against colonial domination and oppression by the British, geared towards establishing independent states which could not be influenced by the British. Ironically, in its own right, and with the establishment of the independent *Voortrekker* states, this action entailed colonialism and oppression, as it led to the subjugation and oppression of the

black (or native) Other communities of the country (Du Bruyn, 1986). It should be noted that the *Groot Trek* was not a spontaneous event, but rather that it was meticulously planned due to increasing tension between the white *trekboere* and the Xhosas, as well as the expanding political alienation between the white border colonists and the British authorities, fueled by the omnipresent perception and experience of threat and insecurity (Davenport, 1987). The *Boers* suffered heavy losses in the Sixth Frontier War, which took place during 1834 and 1835.

Until this point in history, it can reasonable be concluded that the Afrikaner border farmers of the eastern border region had encountered two powerful social forces, which they perceived as both foreign and threatening to their self- and group-based perceptions (Van der Merwe & Beck, 1995). These were the Xhosa people and the black native Other with whom they had to compete for resources and land, as well as the British Other who held a position of political power were perceived as being antagonistic to the ways of the white border farmers. The Afrikaners would view these two social forces as a direct threat for many years to come.

The entry of the British Other or other foreigners represents another evolution in the specific context of the time, i.e. the emergence of a new threat to "Afrikanerdom". At this point, the Afrikaner could no longer distinguish themselves based solely on skin color and religious beliefs, as these elements were mostly shared with the foreigner. Perhaps at this point the Afrikaner language, culture, and perceived connection to the land started to feature more prominently as unique attributes of the Afrikaner through which they could separate themselves from the British-other. Kruger, President of the South African Republic from 1883 to 1900, adapted the voting bill of 1882 in 1890, which meant that the *uitlanders* (foreigners) had to reside in the country for 14 years before they could qualify for citizenship and attain voting rights. This adaptation was

countered by demands from the *uitlanders* for equal rights for all white citizens as well as representation in government (Van Jaarsveld, 1976; Davenport, 1987). The *uitlanders*' struggle for political rights was not geared towards obtaining citizenship within the South African Republic, but moved more toward an extension of British power, control, and sovereignty in relation to the Boer republic (Van Jaarsveld, 1976).

On October 11, 1899, war broke out between the Afrikaners and the British (Giliomee, 2004). In terms of the Afrikaners' perceptions, this conflict entailed a struggle for freedom—termed the *Vreiheidsoorlog* (war of freedom)—from British domination. According to Van Jaarsveld (1976), the Boer republics had no soldiers, and their defense force was made up of ordinary citizens. On March 13, 1899, the British invaded Bloemfontein, and on June 5, 1900, Pretoria fell under their attack. The Boers retaliated by dividing their forces into smaller units, which swiftly attacked the British by employing guerilla-style tactics.

The British reacted with what they termed the *scorched-earth* warfare, which involved burning Boer farmsteads to the ground and destroying their food, resources, and supplies. Afrikaner women and children were placed in refugee or concentration camps, which led to the tragic deaths of roughly 26,000 Afrikaner women and children under the age of 16 (Van Jaarsveld, 1976). As a result of these devastating circumstances, and in addition to the ruined land, depletion of the Boer commandos, and the ever-increasing numbers of the British army, the Boers were forced to surrender their independence by signing the *Treaty of Vereeniging* on May 3, 1902. This treaty devastated the Boer people, and many of them left their destroyed farms for the city in search of employment and new beginnings. The struggle of British imperialism versus Afrikaner nationalism continued in various forms throughout decades to come through political formations and maneuvering (Beck, 2000).

The establishment of the new South African order in 1910 was accompanied by feelings of exhilaration, arguably similar to those accompanying the inauguration of a democratic society in 1994 (Steyn, 2004). However, this excitement was soon interrupted by difficult social circumstances plaguing citizens of the new state. Various pressures continued to confront political formations and particular communities and groups, as well as individual identities, flowing from divisions in class, race, and culture (Giliomee, 2003).

The white regime of this period developed policy against black South Africans based on whites' economic interests, specifically the ownership of land and suitability for employment, ignoring the needs of black South Africans (Spies, 1986). Furthermore, these policies were based on Afrikaner prejudices and threat perceptions, including a prevailing belief in the inferiority of black people. This racism is evident in the introduction of the Natives Land Act of 1913, codifying territorial segregation (Davenport, 1987). Essentially, the Act limited black South Africans from occupying land, restricting them to roughly 8% of the South African landscape (Joyce, 2007).

The National Party (NP) was voted into power in 1924 and further fueled Afrikaner nationalism as a social and political force. According to Murray (1986), this new government was greatly concerned with utilizing the state as a means to develop the cultural, social, and economic position of the Afrikaner, in an effort to gain equal footing with the British. The issue of race was greatly emphasised during the election campaign of 1929, and the general election in June of that year became known as the *swart gevaar* (Black threat) election (Murray, 1986).

The Great Depression and the onset of World War II brought increasing economic woes to South Africa, leading the government to strengthen its policies of racial segregation. The policy of Apartheid was founded and constituted the cornerstone of the National Party's (NP) election campaign (Murry, 1986). Although the policy of Apartheid was not yet clearly defined or articulated at this stage, even in its nascent form it appealed to semi-skilled white workers and farmers, who perceived the more liberal government of the former war years as threatening (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007).

After coming into power in 1948, the all-white government of the National Party, more forcefully started to implement existing policies of racial segregation under the legislative system of Apartheid (Giliomee, 2003). Apartheid essentially aimed at separating the "superior" whites from the majority Other. This separation occurred on various levels, being most notable in acts like forced separation in terms of living areas, separate public facilities, as well as limited contact between these groups throughout everyday life (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Additionally, this policy also aimed to separate black citizens from each other, and to divide black South Africans along tribal lines in order to decrease their political power.

3. APARTHEID

Following the elections of 1948, Apartheid was for the first time articulated in legal terms and was subsequently instigated with purpose and force through the immediate implementation of various Apartheid laws (Beck, 2000). Initially, the NP government focused on the interwoven-ness of races in the white areas and imposed numerous Apartheid laws with the distinct aims of purposefully separating South Africans from different racial backgrounds in terms of their geographic locations (Beck, 2000). These laws included, for example, the Population Registration Act (1950), which classified all

South Africans by race; the Group Areas Act (1950), leading to residential segregation and subsequent removal of more than 1.5 million people in urban areas alone; the Native Laws Amendment Act (1952), which made it mandatory for Local Authorities to control African urbanisation; and the Natives Resettlement Act (1954), initiating large-scale removals in rural areas (Lemon, 2003).

On May 31, 1961, the Republic of South Africa became a reality, ending its membership with the British Commonwealth. In terms of Afrikaner nationalism, this was a fundamental achievement of the republican ideal: nationalist Afrikaners obtained power and constitutional independence was finally gained from the British Other (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). With this newly found position of power and dominance, the NP government enforced their Apartheid policies and effectively removed the black Other from centers of political and economic power, maintaining them in a subjugated position (Lemon, 2003). At this stage, the Afrikaners held an exceedingly powerful position and blatantly used this power to manage their perceived threat, and to express and realise their nationalist identities through domination, oppression, and removal of the racial Other (Joyce, 2007). Steyn (2001) expands:

> [However] the fear of being overrun, the fear of domination, the fear of losing the purity that was supposed to guarantee their superior position, the fear of cultural genocide through intermingling - these anxieties were always present (p. 25).

Racial classification influenced all aspects of everyday life, as each identity (or racial group) was labelled with certain characteristics or behavioural traits, which designated the individuals' position within society (Ballard, 2004).

The physical separation of races, according to Ballard (2004), enabled white South Africans to create a "comfort zone," i.e. a space allowing for discrimination and the further development of the Otherness of the out-group, whilst simultaneously developing a specific set of ideas regarding their own white superiority. Consequently, living environments were created to facilitate a modern, European sense of self, by removing those individuals, values, behaviors, and languages which were seen as contradicting the Afrikaner identity. As a result, those understood as white were never threatened nor scrutinised, while those perceived as Other were constantly examined. According to Ballard (2004),

> The effect of such classification was to produce a positive self image for Europe/the West/"white" people as hard-working, moral, clean: broadly, as civilised. The identity of "white" people became cast as "white" supremacism, where a secure self image came from one's "whiteness," or at least Europeanness, to which the virtues of civilisation were automatically attached (p. 52).

The essence of the Afrikaner's point of reference under Apartheid is said to be represented by a Christian-national approach to life (De Klerk, 1979; Marais, 1980), which means that the Afrikaner located the national struggle under the guidance of Christianity. The value orientations of the Afrikaner's development are said to be located within this master value within which Apartheid was also anchored (Ballard, 2004). Apartheid was the inevitable result of the Afrikaner's drive to ensure self-determination and to guarantee their own future (Giliomee, 2004). Apartheid as a hegemonic discourse dominated by the logistics of equivalence was not only responsible for shaping an ideological government system, but also ordained the

Afrikaner's social collective and cultural life, as well as that of the Other. In this regard, Slabbert (1999) notes:

> Apartheid told you what the aim of history was, what your role and
> place in it was and that you personally could do nothing about it. But
> those who were in command (the Afrikaner), incidentally benefited and
> it was their "historical duty" to lead all the other excluded groups to
> "maturity and wisdom" (p. 15).

The Afrikaner's values during Apartheid were clearly defined and identifiable. Afrikaners had a Godly calling (Strydom, 1982) and their existence was based on defending Christian principles (Swart, 1981). An individual space, or territory, was essential to the Afrikaner from the moment of national settlement (Jooste, 1997). Together with this drive for land acquisition, the Afrikaner also experienced a need for self-preservation and self-determination (Liebenberg, 2000). The Afrikaans language and culture were highly regarded and heavily promoted (Giliomee, 2004). In addition, within the Apartheid context, some typical identity characteristics were attributed to the Afrikaners. Only white (Leach, 1989), Afrikaans-speaking (Giliomee & Schmeller, 2006) individuals belonging to the Christian faith (Treurnicht, 1975) were considered to be Afrikaners. An Afrikaner was someone who strongly identified with Afrikaner cultural organisations (Slabbert, 1999), and membership to such organisations usually conferred a particular status. Afrikaners mainly held a conservative national political character (Giliomee & Schmeller, 2006) and voted for the National Party. Afrikaners were considered conservative and antagonistic towards all forms of novel, liberating, and popular ideas and elements (Slabbert, 1999).

This narrow conception of the Afrikaner identity eventually elicited resistance from within, although it was limited; this resistance resulted in protests on various levels within the Afrikaner ranks, such as the Voëlvry movement discussed in Chapter 2, and the publication of the popular "Die Vrye Weekblad" by Max du Preez. Consequently, Afrikaners began to redefine themselves within the changing context (Louw-Potgieter, 1988).

Moreover, Black resistance towards Apartheid also started to surface. The infamous pass laws were protested by some 300 demonstrators on March 21, 1960, in the township of Sharpville in the Transvaal (Giliomee, 2004). In the face of the black masses and uncontrollable riots, the small South African Police force opened fire on the protestors, a potential act of panic which resulted in 69 deaths and at least 180 injuries among the Blacks assembled (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). The Sharpville killings and the violent aftermath that followed were incorporated into existing Afrikaner discourse as an assertion that Black South Africans were indeed die *swart gevaar* acting in collusion with Communists to infiltrate and destroy innocent communities (Norval, 1996). These conflicts directly impacted the social context of the time as Afrikaners became increasingly exposed to conflicting ideas, and to the struggles and suffering of the Other under Apartheid. Today, March 21 marks a public holiday in South Africa, termed Human Rights Day.

In response to the Nationalist regime denying black demands for rights, the ANC formed its military wing in 1961, the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation). After being banned in 1960, the ANC moved to Lusaka, Zambia, where it established its headquarters after 1963. In 1964, Nelson Mandela, a lawyer from the Transkei homeland, was convicted of treason and sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Leading the liberation movement against Apartheid, Mandela fostered a vision of everyone having the right to live in freedom (Parsons, 1993).

In 1978, P.W. Botha went from being the National Party leader to being Prime Minister. His government turned the country into a police state through a campaign to eliminate the Black liberation movements (Giliomee, 2003). This stance was characterised by police, soldiers, and armed vehicles patrolling black townships and squatter camps. Botha eventually became the first executive state president between 1984 and 1989. The ANC launched the so-called Armed Struggle when they realised that the NP could not peacefully be convinced to recognise their aspirations. They employed terrorist tactics in government buildings and public areas, killing and disfiguring many civilians in the process (Beck, 2000).

The anti-Apartheid struggle made headlines in world news and left the country in turmoil. Economic sanctions were imposed on South Africa, and pressure both outside and inside the country started to increase (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). President Botha made a number of "cosmetic" changes in the direction of racial equality, but these did not satisfy the international community or the disenfranchised Blacks, forcing the South African government to look for a negotiated settlement (Joyce, 2007).

Botha resigned as president in 1989 due to ill health, and F.W. de Klerk was sworn in as acting State President. De Klerk announced the dismantling of Apartheid only six months later on February 2, 1990. His changes also involved the unbanning of liberation movements, including the ANC, and the release of political prisoners, in particular Nelson Mandela. On February 11, 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from the Robin Island prison after 27 years' imprisonment (Beck, 2000).

After more than a year of preliminary talks, negotiations for a change and handover of power to a majority government began (Giliomee, 2004). The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) took place on December 20, 1991, where all significant political players took part in negotiations. A far-right group of South Africans, plotting to derail these negotiations, assassinated Chris Hani, chief of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* and fierce opponent of the Apartheid government. This act of force was followed by enormous political tension and fears that South Africa would be consumed by violence (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). In the period just prior to the end of Apartheid, and in the approaching reality that the country would become a democracy, many white South Africans feared that black South Africans would be bent on revenge (Beck, 2000). Such fears could be evidenced at the time in safety drills implemented at schools and the stockpiling of food, as citizens feared for an impending civil war (Visser, 2011). These fears also serve as an example of one of the various ways in which Apartheid managed to maintain its power for more than four decades (Louw, 2004). In a speech widely regarded as presidential, Nelson Mandela (not yet President) addressed the nation, appealing for peace. A Government of National Unity was formed and a new constitution agreed to in 1993, whereby all parties polling more than 5% in the elections would be represented in the cabinet. In the same year, Mandela and De Klerk shared the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to transform South African society. According to Van der Westhuizen, (2018, January),

> During Apartheid a great deal of work went into justifying the imposition of inequalities on the basis of human differences. In the end, Apartheid collapsed due to global opprobrium that was heaped on the Afrikaner government, with both material and symbolic consequences. It tipped Afrikaner identity into turmoil, not least

because their sense of themselves as moral beings was radically

challenged.

4. POST-APARTHEID TRANSFORMATION

Election Day, April 26, 1994, was marked by an omnipresent feeling of goodwill

throughout most of the country, as the first free, non-racial elections were taking place

(Giliomee, 2004). The ANC was victorious with 62.6% of all votes, and Nelson

Mandela was inaugurated as executive State President, with De Klerk and Thabo

Mbeki as deputy presidents (Thompson, 2001). In relation to the accompanying

massive changes in the social context Steyn (2004) notes,

> There is almost complete consensus […] that Afrikaners are
>
> grappling with "a problem." The nationalist ideology that shaped the
>
> old South Africa, like all ethnocentric narratives, placed the
>
> Afrikaner in the center. They were the most important population
>
> group; they were in charge. The change in this status to that of a
>
> minority group in line with its demographic position is experienced
>
> as being sidelined, ousted (p. 154).

Within the Apartheid context, the construct of whiteness was intricately

associated with notions of white supremacy, power, and privilege. In this regard, the

change in political government in 1994 was equated with large-scale social demotion.

Suddenly Afrikaners were confronted with the fact that in the new context, their

belonging could not be assumed, and in post-Apartheid South Africa, whiteness no

longer carried the same connotations that it did under colonisation or Apartheid

(Nuttall, 2004).

The end of Apartheid constituted massive social changes, specifically with regard to the loss of Afrikaner privilege and power. Afrikaners were now faced with a new constitution and social order, aiming to grant every person equal rights (Giliomee, 2003). The Afrikaner was no longer in control of the country and feared that the newly-elected government would promote the interests of the majority, those previously disadvantaged by the system of Apartheid, at the expense of the Afrikaner minority (Beck, 2000)

For many Afrikaners, the collapse of Apartheid South Africa brought about major changes. Of course, there were also the dissident Afrikaners, i.e. those in resistance to Apartheid policy who welcomed these changes towards democratic and social equality (Giliomee, 2003).

The government of the new South Africa was mainly concerned with addressing the injustices that the Apartheid system had created. First attempts at this redress came through the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (TRC), whose work was regarded as providing a cathartic outlet which served to contain black anger, but also aided the nation in purging itself of the demons of Apartheid (Louw, 2004). The TRC was established in 1995 and aimed at investigating human rights violations which occurred after the ANC was banned in 1960. The hearings ran for two years, covering the whole of South Africa and providing a means for both victims and perpetrators to testify. According to Steyn, (2004),

> […] whatever the ethical issues may be—the end of the Old South Africa cannot but be accompanied by feelings of loss [for the Afrikaner]. And because the immorality (indeed, criminality) of that systematic sectional advancement has now been thoroughly exposed

through […] the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, there is

certainly an element of shame and guilt—of disgrace—that attaches

to the social positioning of the Afrikaner (p. 150).

Further attempts at redress came in the form of legislation geared towards affirmative

action (BBBEE Act, 2012), aiming to address previous imbalances through, for

example Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which later developed into Broad-

Based Black Economic Empowerment (BB-BEE). The BB-BEE act implies that

businesses also have to consider the race and social background of any potential

applicant for employment, instead of making decisions purely based on qualifications

and experience (BBBEE Act, 2012). This policy inevitably created a system in which

one's race is often the determining factor in finding employment, having serious

implications for young white job seekers' perceptions of what it means to be white in

a new South Africa (Franchi, 2003).

Collective symbols have been argued to play a significant role in the formation of

a national identity (Anderson, 1991). In order to constitute a new unified South Africa

in which blacks are also acknowledged and allowed to be represented by national

symbols, a variety of new national symbols had to be adopted, replacing historic

Afrikaner symbols mostly associated with an Apartheid past (Vestergaard, 2001): for

example, public holidays and monuments commemorating events from an Afrikaner

nationalist history, the national anthem formerly in Afrikaans, the old flag based on

Afrikaner history, and cities and roads bearing the names of Afrikaner heroes and

politicians. According to Vestergaard (2001), these changes in Afrikaner symbols are

a reflection of the general delegitimisation of Afrikaner nationalist history. The new

democratic order had also challenged the Afrikaners' history and portrayals thereof,

rewriting textbooks and adopting changes in the school curricula to more prominently

reflect the history of black South Africans (Vestergaard, 2001). For example, the monument at Blood River commemorating the Afrikaner victory over the Zulus in 1838 has been altered to also commemorate the Zulu victims of the battle. Similarly, the history of the Anglo-Boer War had been rewritten to reflect the participation of Black soldiers.

5. CURRENT CONTEXT

The following section provides an overview of the South African context at the time that data was collected (2015–2016). According to Steyn (2004),

> The current moment in South African history presents a crisis to Afrikaner identity similar to the time of dislocation that saw the original discursive suturing of Afrikaner identity into nationalism. But now the worldview has imploded; Apartheid is the "other" of the New South Africa; Afrikaners are perceived to be in need of rehabilitation (p. 143).

In 2015 and 2016, the current social context in post-Apartheid South Africa was clearly distinguishable from the historical context, specifically in relation to positions of power, transformation of both the social and political contexts, and an overall redress of policy in relation to the injustices of the past. Since the advent of democracy more than 20 years earlier, significant progress had been made in terms of development (Allwright, 2013). These developments include, but are not limited to, the internationally renowned peaceful political transition post-Apartheid, the adoption of a new Constitution in 1996, steady growth in GDP, inclusion in the international order, and improved social and other developments in terms of infrastructure and environmental management. As such, post-Apartheid South Africa has become more

liberal than most Western democracies. Various liberal democratic values have been adopted by the new democracy, including legalisation of abortion, the ending of the death penalty, and the acceptance of different sexual orientations. Furthermore, the new Constitution allows for a range of basic rights which were denied under Apartheid, including the freedom of religion, the freedom of association, the freedom of expression, and the freedom to move and live wherever one wishes (The Presidency, 2014; Gumede, 2013).

The dominant political discourses campaigned within the new socio-political context portrays a nationally shared ideology of a democratic and inclusive society, emphasizing justice and equality in relation to human rights, freedom, non-racism, non-sexism, and the rule of law (Norvall, 1996).

In relation to this democratic ideal, another dominant political discourse advocated in numerous government publications and political speeches relates to Apartheid and its legacy being responsible for the majority of difficulties experienced in the new social order. In particular, the Twenty Year Review of South Africa document consistently refers to Apartheid as the number one factor contributing to prevailing issues of inequality, injustice, prejudice, economic difficulties, and overall limitations in reaching the ideals presented above (The Presidency, 2014). Furthermore, a political discourse regarding a continuous need for restorative or affirmative action is constantly promoted in support of the political actions of the government; for example, the changing of street and city names, racial quotas imposed on education and sport, and the removal of Afrikaner symbols (Vestergaard, 2001). The abandonment of some of these old symbols have arguably had a significant influence on most of the Afrikaners' sense of self, as the symbols

constituting the Afrikaner identity were also the symbols of Apartheid South Africa (Vestergaard, 2001).

Although the social field for defining the Afrikaner and other identities have been opened up with the fall of the Christian nationalist elite's political power, there is a commonly shared perception that it has become illegitimate to express one's identity along racial lines, specifically if you are a white South African (Vestergaard, 2001). This perceived restriction of the white voice could be evidenced in the different reactions and consequential actions relating to white versus black racial statements surfacing on social media during the early parts of 2016 (Kamaldien, 2016). On January 2, 2016, Kwazulu-Natal real estate agent Penny Sparrow spoke her mind about the aftermath of New Year's celebrations on Twitter. In her Tweet, she specifically referred to black beach-front party-goers as "These monkeys" (Wicks, 4 January 2016). Her tweet was followed by a huge debate to which Chris Hart (former Standard Bank economist) and Gareth Cliff (online radio personality and former SA Idols judge) also added their two cents. Hart was forced to resign following his Tweet on January 3, 2016, that read, "More than 25 years after Apartheid ended, the victims are increasing along with a sense of entitlement and hatred towards minorities…" (News24, 2016, March 14). Reportedly, this resignation happened because the comment was viewed as "factually incorrect, [making] inappropriate assumptions about South Africa and [had] racist undertones" (Salie, 2016, January 4). As a result of his Tweet of January 4, 2016, "People really don't understand free speech at all" (in reference to Penny Sparrows earlier tweet of January 2, 2016), Gareth Cliff faced huge social criticism which eventually resulted in the loss of his famed position as SA-Idols judge (Makhafola, 2016, January 26). On the other hand, fellow SA Idols judge Somizi

Mhlongo reportedly (Dipa & Mbangeni, 20 January 2016) faced little if any repercussions for his Tweet, only a month earlier:

> Racist white South Africans hoping that Zuma's fall will give them a white president or bring back apartheid is a true denial of the reality. It's like Oscar believing that he'll one day take part in the Olympics. Never. It's like Donald Trump thinking that he'll be the next American president. Never. It's like Mercy Pakela believing that she'll one day have a duet with Adele. So please stop taking expired drugs and accept or leave our country. Just because you got away with apartheid doesn't mean we can't see you using this Zuma campaign as a shield to hide your racism.

After apologizing on social media, the incident was soon forgotten (Dipa & Mbangeni, 2016, January 20). These instances sparked a massive surge in race-related social media statements, the majority of which were alleged to be racist (Kamaldien, 2016, January 16). As reported by Kamaldien (2016, January 16) these included, for example,

> Billy Buthelezi: "I am calling upon to all Blacks works for whites as house keepers, garden boys and sheffs to buy deadly poisons, to poison and kill the white Bosses, pls take this for reverng."

> Ken Marape: "Is the sparrow still alive? If that's the case I'm disappointed in black people from Natal."

> Mncedisi Mbokazi: "we shud hav killed these f****ng pigs in 94 bt Mandela said we must live 2geda, 4getin dat dey were killing our grandparents 4 ova 400 years."

Malaven Serage: "I'm about the total destruction of white people, I'm about the total liberation of black people. I hate white people. I hate my enemy. I can't wait for the day they're all dead. I won't be completely happy until I see our black people free."

The F.W. de Klerk Foundation appealed to the SHRC at the beginning of January 2016 following this massive surge in racist social media remarks (Kamaldien, 2016, January 16). According to Pretorius (2016), the statement of the De Klerk foundation said:

> […] most media commentators viewed Sparrow's remarks and the subsequent "far less controversial" comments of Chris Hart and Gareth Cliff as evidence of rampant and pervasive white racism while some of the views and threats expressed by black South Africans have not been met with the same disapproval. […] An analysis of Facebook and Twitter messages shows that by far the most virulent and dangerous racism—expressed in the most extreme and violent language—has come from disaffected black South Africans. The messages are replete with threats to kill all whites—including children; to rape white women or to expel all whites from South Africa.

In addition to these social media outbursts, racial tension on South African university campuses[2] were extremely rife during the time of data collection. These originated in the early part of 2015 at Tshwane University of Technology, when students were prevented from registering due to outstanding fees (Hall, 2016, March 3). Protests

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[2] See, for example, Witbank News (2015); Praag (2015); CGTN Africa (2016); Jacaranda FM (2016); AFP news agency (2016)

about increasing student fees were soon followed by outbursts at three other university campuses, which eventually escalated into extreme racial tensions when the Afrikaans language came under attack for its widespread use as medium of instruction at tertiary institutions (Tlhabye, 2016, February 23). These uprisings were reported as having "specific roots in apartheid and colonialism" (Hall, 2016, March 3). During the larger part of data collection, university campuses were in the midst of a full-fledged "war" along racial lines as a large majority of white Afrikaans-speaking students stood their ground against the perceived onslaught on their rights (Tlhabye, 23 February 2016). The situation soon further escalated as angry mobs of "previously disadvantaged" students laid waste to university campuses through fires, riots and even bomb threats (Anatos & Writers, 12 October 2016).

These instances are also in line with findings from a recent World Bank Report (World Bank, 2014) which notes that despite noticeable accomplishments, South Africa is still a country plagued by racial discrimination, unequal treatment, poverty, lack in basic service delivery, corruption, and the mismanagement of state funds, to name but a few.

In terms of racial discrimination, South Africa has still not attained the constitutional ideal of a non-racial democracy (World Bank, 2014). Important to note here is the notion of "positive discrimination," which the constitution of South Africa does make provision for in order to redress the past injustices of Apartheid.The United Nations International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), which was also signed by South Africa, requires its signatories "when the circumstances so warrant, to take special and concrete measures in the social, economic, cultural and other fields to ensure the adequate development and protection of certain racial groups or individuals belonging to them"

(Article 2.2). These actions have come to be known as positive discrimination (Chervonnaya, 2014) on which policies such as BB-BEE have been founded. South Africa is not unique in its implementation of positive discrimination. In 2008, former president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, signed the *Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Act,* which transferred the ownership of almost 50 percent of companies to individuals who had been disadvantaged by segregationist policies. According to Sowell (2004), supporters of positive discrimination promote such actions through a need to restore justice for group(s) of the population who had previously been disadvantaged on some level. These would generally be religious or ethnic minorities, women, children or the disabled. Notably in South Africa the idea of positive discrimination seems misplaced, as privileges and preferences have been accorded to the black majority, who are also in majority control of the state. Krüger (2011), regards this misplaced implementation of positive discrimination in South Africa as resulting in measures such as BB-BEE creating economic and political barriers for whites. Krüger (2011) essentially claims that positive discrimination, although righteous in intent, has not necessarily been implemented righteously within the post-Apartheid South African context. It is important to note that although participants unanimously acknowledged the need for restorative measures post-Apartheid, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, participants had no conception of the notion of positive discrimination. All instances of discrimination experienced by participants were account for negatively. Consider, for example, the racial quotas being placed on both educational institutions and national sports teams. In this regard, De Vos (11 March 2013) reports:

> Ironically, many of the children and grandchildren of those white
> Afrikaners who benefited from unfair racial discrimination in the past

and who, in turn, today enjoy educational and financial privileges because their parents benefited from racial oppression and discrimination, now fight against the implementation of redress measures in the name of non-racialism.

According to an article published online (Deklerk, Isaacson, Del Carme & Vice, 2014, April 7), a resolution taken by the Department of Sport, in a meeting between the minister of sport and the MECs for sport, the previous quota of 50/50 was increased to 60% representation by black players in South African sport. Deklerk et al. (2014, April 7) opine that in this regard, "Failure to field 60% black players will lead to the Proteas, the Springboks and Bafana Bafana being banned from representing South-Africa at international events." Another example of racial discrimination through imposed quotas can be seen in the University of Kwazulu-Natal's MBChB admissions policy, allocating 69% of their 210 available positions to black African applicants, 19% to Indians, 9% to coloreds, 2% to whites, and 1% to other racial groups. (Anthony, 2014). Les Govender, the IFPs spokesperson on Education, was quoted as saying, "it boils down to racist sidelining of people and it's unacceptable. All races are protected under the constitution" (Anthony, 2014). Although there is no question of the necessity for restorative measures to address the injustices of Apartheid past, such measures cannot be implemented haphazardly, without balance, i.e., imposed without careful consideration of their broader social consequences and impact on other social groups.

Mercer (2007, November 22) reports that black South Africans who commit crimes overwhelmingly target Indian and white victims; specifically, Mercer refers to the targeting of Afrikaners as an act of *ethnocide* (state-induced cultural assimilation via hegemony and suppression—similar to what was imposed under Apartheid), leading a charge against South Africa's Afrikaner past, patriotism, and institutions. In

particular, the Afrikaans language is seen as being under attack by the ANC, through government attempts to force Afrikaans schools to adopt English (Mercer 2007), which, as discussed above, has recently spilled over to tertiary institutions. Afrikaans universities, for example, have reportedly been labeled as racist (Mercer, 2007) and not willing to accommodate students from previously disadvantaged backgrounds, both financially and by formal language of instruction. Furthermore, the ANC's attempts to redress the history of the Afrikaner have also been noted in the changing of city and street names.

The establishment of the South African History Project in 2001 addressed the subject of history in the school curricula, previously neglected during the transition (Department of Education, 2003). The project entailed the politically correct reconstruction of historical events, with textbooks being rewritten to interpret the country's history in accordance with the liberation struggle; accounts of European conquests were downplayed to make way for accounts of epic tales of black anti-Apartheid heroes (Mercer, 2007).

As reported by Adi (2011, August 29) farming is a central part of the Afrikaner-Boer people's identity. However, land distribution in South Africa is one of the most unequal in the world, with 55,000 white farmers owning 85% of the agricultural land (World Bank, 2014). Adi (2011, August 29) further reports that,

> In addition to stabilizing rural areas through (e.g.) creating jobs. Food security is the cardinal element to any country's economic sustainability, and one of the primary responsibilities of any government is to promote the well-being of its agricultural industry.

According to the government's land reform policy, 30% of agricultural soil had to be under black control by 2014. Since 1994, the government has spent more than R60bn on land reform projects. Despite this huge investment, a recent report by the South African government's Financial and Fiscal commission (2016, September 30) found that land reform as a mechanism for agricultural development and job creation has failed. Yet these measures are still pursued adamantly, although in differing forms, leaving the majority of white farm owners in South Africa in constant fear of their farms' expropriation (Dawood, 30 September 2016). More recently, this fear has escalated even further as the ANC called for a revision of Section 25 of the South African Constitution regarding property rights to implement land expropriation without compensation (Merten, 2017, December 21).

Corruption is seen as including the private use of public resources, bribery, and improper favoritism. According to the 2013 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), South Africa is ranked 72nd out of 177 countries, with a score of 42 out of 100, in contrast to the previous year's results where the country ranked 69th with a score of 43 (Patel, 2013). In July of 2013, the International Global Corruption Barometer found that 42% of South-Africans who came into contact with government officials had paid them a bribe in the preceding year, significantly higher than the global average of 31% (Patel, 2013).

Certainly the most notorious incident of government corruption during data gathering was the case against former President Jacob Zuma regarding the upgrade of his Nkandla home. Zuma was largely accused by opposition parties in November 2013 of having used taxpayer funds to make additions to his Nkandla homestead. He was accused of deceiving the Parliament about the use of funds for security upgrades, instead using them largely for personal expenses.

After a two-year investigation, Public Protector Adv. Thuli Madonsela released her official report on the "security upgrades" at Nkandla. The report estimated the upgrade costs to amount to R246million of taxpayer's money (The Public Protector, 2014). Initially, the cost was calculated at R27million, but it had escalated drastically after Zuma's architect (appointed by the Department of Public Works) continuously recommended luxurious and expensive options, instead of more cost-effective ones, pocketing an estimated R16.5 million from the project (The Public Protector, 2014). The report states that President Zuma, and his ministers, should have acted in 2009, when the *Mail* and the *Guardian* blew the whistle on the excessive spending and the estimated R65 million the project had cost at the time. Accordingly, Zuma was seen as violating the Executive Ethics Code by failing to contain state spending and also directly benefiting from this embezzlement of state funds (The Public Protector, 2014). Zuma had continuously defended the spending by stating that his family had built their own houses and did not benefit from the upgrades. Although not being true, in light of the findings from the report, the Public Protector accepted that Zuma had told this to Parliament in "good faith" (The Public Protector, 2014).

Although the government has implemented a range of anti-corruption initiatives, it is still faced with challenges. These struggles include the granting of government contracts, where bribery is said to flourish at central government levels as evidenced in high-profile procurement scandals which have been exposed during the last decade (Business Anti-Corruption Portal, 2013). Furthermore, the BB-BEE strategy, aimed at increasing black participation in the country's economy, has been criticised for providing too much preferential treatment to wealthy black elites in terms of receiving government contracts, thus leading to increased procurement corruption. The country's Public Protector, Adv. Thuli Madonsela, has been cited as saying, "All that I

can say to this nation and this committee is: corruption in this country has reached crisis proportions, there is no two ways about it" (Business Anti-Corruption Portal, 2013).

South Africa has one of the highest rates of service delivery protests in the world and has been dubbed the "protest capital of the world" (Alexander, 2012). Arguably, the rate of protests have been increasing since 2004 (Alexander, 2012) with a reported 540 protests in Gauteng alone between April 1, 2013, and May 10, 2013 (Patel, 2013). In February 2014, almost 3,000 protest actions had been reported in the previous 90 days (more than 30 per day), involving more than a million people (Du Preez, 2014). According to Njabulo Ndebele, "Widespread 'service delivery protests' may soon take on an organisational character that will start off as discrete formations and then coalesce into a full-blown movement" (Ndebele, 2012). The most common reasons behind these protests have involved grievances around land, housing, and basic service delivery such as water and sanitation (Davids, 2012). According to the IDASA report (2010),

> Poor service delivery and governance remains an overwhelming challenge in most municipalities. Of major concern is the degree of corruption, institutional capacity constraints relating to appropriate skills and staff, lack of transparency, dysfunctional of ward committees, lack of accountability by councilors and municipal officials, lack of public participation in issues of governance, failure to comply with municipal legislation and other by-laws, failure to prioritise community needs and IDP and budgeting processes not aligned, tensions between the political and administrative sections of the municipalities and weak financial viability of the municipalities. These

factors affect the functioning of municipalities tremendously. As a result this has led to the protests and disgruntlements at local government level. These governance challenges require robust interventions by the national government to expedite local government transformation. Municipalities have a legal obligation to provide basic services to their communities in an adequate and timely fashion. The failure of municipalities to deliver basic services not only causes immense hardship to the residents of municipalities, but can have a detrimental impact on the social and economic development (p. 9).

Crime features prominently in South Africa, and most Afrikaners emigrating out of the country have noted crime as the biggest factor in determining their decision to leave (Williams, 2006). In 2007, a study by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (2007, June 25) made some interesting findings on the nature of crime in the country. Among these findings were that the criminal justice system was mired in many issues, which included inefficiency and corruption. Importantly, the study found that the country's high levels of inequality, poverty, unemployment, social exclusion, and marginalisation are greatly contribute to the nature and occurrence of crime in the country.

The Human Rights Commission of South Africa reported to News24 (2014, August 31) that, on average, 80% of the 10,000 complaints they receive annually concern acts of racism. Mpumalanga is said to have the highest incidence of racism complaints at 74%, followed by the Free State with 69% and the North West with 55% in the first quarter of the 2013–2014 financial year. Kwazulu-Natal had 55% racist complaints, the Northern Cape 44%, Limpopo 43%, and the Western Cape 29%. Such

figures clearly indicate the potential for differing subjectivities within these regions and also highlight the prevalence of racism experienced in post-Apartheid South Africa

In post-Apartheid South Africa, all citizens have the right to basic education. According to the Bill of Rights of the country's Constitution, the state has an obligation, through reasonable measures, to progressively make such education available and accessible. Official figures from the national census of 2011 show that among the country's population, 35.2% of black/African, 32.6% of coloreds, 61.6% of Indians/Asians, and 76% of white citizens hold an education level of high-school or higher. Furthermore, 41.7% of the population has completed an education of high-school level or higher, with 8.6% of the population aged 20 and older not completing any form of education (Statistics SA, 2012).

According to the latest Labor Market Dynamics Report (Statistics SA, 2013), of those members of the population who are unemployed (about 4.7 million), only 13% find jobs, and trends over the past few years suggest that they may remain unemployed for an extended period of time. Those employment seekers who have previous experience are three times more likely to succeed compared to those who have no experience, a fact which emphasises the importance of experience in gaining employment. From 2008 until 2013, employment figures were measured to increase from 22.5% to 24.7%, respectively. In this same period, unemployment amongst black Africans increased from 26.5% to 27.9%. Amongst the colored population, unemployment sharply increased from 18.8% in 2008 to 27.9% in 2013. Finally, white unemployment also increased from 4.2% in 2008 to just under 7% in 2013. As an early indicator of employability figures, the country's student participation rate (the proportion of ages 18-24 in higher education) is said to be extremely low at 16%. About 58.5% of whites and 51% of Indians enter higher education, compared to the 14.3%

of coloreds and 12% of blacks (DBE, 2012), implying that a measure of equity has still to be reached.

As is the case with any reported statistics one needs to be extremely cautious in the interpretation thereof and also need to consider such statistics in relation to the actual figures on which it is based in order to adequately interpret the information it conveys. For example, in 2012 the actual number of black individuals reported (Statistics SA, 2012) as attending tertiary training institutions was at 254 842 comparing to 96 812 white tertiary students. Portraying the information in this way paints a very different picture than the one in the preceding paragraph.

What is important to note about the post-Apartheid South African context, at the time of investigation, is that racial classification and discrimination along racial lines (whether intended to be positive or not) were still prevalent, more than 20 years after democracy was founded. These forms of classification and associated acts of discrimination bares blatant similarities to the racial discrimination and policies advocated under Apartheid, specifically when considering their intended goal, i.e. the advancement of a particular group(s) over others. The historical and contemporary enmeshment of racialisation and associated discrimination within various features of the South African social formation compels us to consider the prevention of such, from a social perspective and as a social imperative. Therefore, texts from participants' accounts were analyzed to discern iterations of truths constitutive of the subject position and associated subjective reality in question.

The next chapter contains the analysis' report and discussion on the primary discursive themes emerging from the data, including their overall form, functions, and ideological effects. In particular, this chapter provides an analyses of participants'

accounts, specifically focusing on uncovering what is located and evidenced within the textual data. Seven main themes can be demarcated within participants' texts; these themes reflect a continuum of discourses surrounding participants' accounts of being white in the current South African context and forms the focus of discussions within this chapter.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the primary discursive themes emerging from the data will be examined, including their overall form, functions, and ideological effects. Essentially, this chapter aims at providing an analysis of participants' discourses as reflected in the texts. Linguistic forms will be highlighted by noting the general textual features and rhetorical strategies deployed, their interdiscursive relationship to broader social discourses, their social functions in relation to the reproduction and contestation of broader power relations, and their reproductive (or critical) effects at an ideological level as described in Chapter 4. As such, the analysis will determine how these discourses serve to maintain existing discursive patterns within the social formation. Therefore, a deconstructionist approach was adopted, to examine the manner in which discourse utilisation reinforces or contests power relations by generating and in turn drawing on certain regimes of truth. In addition, oppositions and contradictions in the texts will be identified and discussed, specifically those which may disrupt continuous understandings and allow for alternative or discontinuous meanings to emerge.

2. DISCURSIVE THEMES

Seven main themes were demarcated within the participants' texts; these categories reflected a continuum of discourses surrounding participants' accounts of being white in the current South African context. At this point, a broad reflection on the relationship between these themes will be useful.

Within the first two themes, which were *"Black, Indian, Coloured, White": Discourses of Racial Classification* and *"Almal behalwe ons wittes"* / *"Everyone except us whites": Discourses of Exclusion* participants relied on *explanatory* discourses while also utilising elements of anti-racist discourses and moral understandings to describe and evaluate the perceived current social formation and hierarchies, while emphasising continued systems of racial classification, including the origins and reason(s) for such. In the third and fourth themes, which were *"Vir die sondes van ons voorvaders"* / *"For the sins of our fathers": Discourses of Injustice* and *"First class flights en kastele"* / *"First class flights and castles": Discourses of the self-serving corrupt Other*, participants employed discourses of *exploitation* as a means to communicate their perceptions of the ruling party abusing their power for their own benefit and at the particular expense of (but not limited to) whites. This grouping of themes was followed by themes five and six, which contained discourses relating to perceived *threat,* expressing the centrality of fear and perceived threat as omnipresent in the everyday lives of participants along various levels. The last theme (seven) reflects on a range of discourses of *Depreciation,* stressing the effects of the previous discursive networks on the self and group based perceptions of participants. Finally, the last section of this chapter will focus on *Discursive Instabilities* within the texts.

The first set of themes, themes one and two, deals with discourses of separation, isolation, exclusion and restriction found throughout the texts, which serve to describe the perceived structure of South African society by harnessing elements of anti-racist discourses and moral understandings of the socio-historical context. By acknowledging the agency of the previous generation of whites in the formation and maintenance of unequal and unjust historical social relations, participants expressing these understandings also tended to reinforce perceptions of and associated

resistance to racial classification and related treatment within the current context. That is, conceptions of South African history reproduced dominant moral discourses and anti-racist ideas, broadly contesting systems of racial classification and associated discrimination, as perceived in the historical, and subsequently the current, social formation.

Participants' accounts reflect experiences of being singled out and isolated, i.e. being separated from the "other" races, which also implies specific social hierarchies and group-based boundaries. Hence, these discourses of separation and isolation are seen as instrumental in producing and maintaining dominant discourses of restriction and limitation, a theme which features throughout the text. Ultimately, discourses of separation and restriction serve to substantiate perceptions and experiences of existing racial classification, which feature prominently throughout all the texts.

The texts allude to an overall perceived presence of disciplinary power, specifically within the political landscape. This form of disciplinary power is perceived to perpetuate racial classification and discrimination in the current social formation. More specific forms of disciplinary power that regulate hegemonic (i.e. ruling or dominant in a political or social context) constructions of race, such as the enforcement of leadership or dominance of blacks over all others, specifically whites, and the nature of racialised society, were also articulated and reproduced within these themes. The primary effects, at an ideological level, serve to reproduce and maintain certain remnants of Afrikaner-nationalistic ideologies, which underpin specific racially assigned characteristics in the mindsets of participants. These prejudicial views were mostly evident in the texts when participants were accounting for perceived malignant behavioural repertoires experienced in everyday racial encounters. Additionally, the moral discourses and anti-racist beliefs contained in the texts also serve to reinforce

and maintain specific elements of post-Apartheid Afrikaner ideologies—emerging during the transition period after Apartheid—relating to guilt, submission, and the need for justice through, for example, empowering the previously disadvantaged Other. Such discourses, in turn, contribute to legitimising ideological constructions of the in- and out-group(s) and their position within the current social order. Furthermore, these discourses serve to challenge the perceived current social structure, hierarchies, and associated relations of power, i.e. the perceived social boundaries and related permeability thereof within the post-Apartheid South African context.

2.1 "Black, Indian, Coloured, White": Discourses of Racial Classification

This first theme contains participants' descriptions of the current social formation and perceived social positioning of the self and the Other. These accounts are mainly founded within moral understandings of the South African historical context and social structure, compared to perceptions of and experiences within the current social context and structure. The majority of participants' accounts acknowledged the agency of their forebears in relation to Apartheid crimes. In addition, accounts contained an overall index of anti-racist discourses, which served to substantiate negative evaluations of the historical context. Such negative evaluations are then used, in turn, to substantiate negative evaluations of the current social formation based on perceived similarities between the two contexts.

> Apartheid was verkeerd in alle opsigte, nie net het dit sekere groepe van hul basiese regte as mens ontneem nie, maar het hulle ook gekeer om te ontwikkel en hulself te verbeter. Die idee dat mense volgens hul verskillende rasse gegroepeer moet word en dienooreenkomstig sekere regte en voordele kry is total en al absurd. Nie te min is dit 'n idee wat steeds vandag voordeel trek.

> *Apartheid was wrong in all aspects, not only did it rob certain groups of their basic human rights, but also prohibited them to develop and improve themselves. The idea that people should be grouped according to their race and subsequently be awarded certain rights and privileges is totally absurd. Nonetheless this is an idea that still takes preference today*
>
> **Participant 16 (F)**

> Ek het geleer van Apartheid op skool en hoe negatief dit was vir ons land. Die boodskap dat wit mense skuldig is en moet betaal vir die ongeregtighede van hul verlede is deurlopend aan ons verkondig. Ons is wel vertel dat ons nuwe land 'n nuwe wetgewing sal he wat sal verseker dat almal gelykheid sal he. Nou 20 jaar later voel dit vir my ons lewe die Apartheid in "reverse".
>
> *I learned of apartheid at school, and how negative it was for our country. The message that white people are guilty and should pay for the injustuces of their past has been persistently preached to us. We were told though that our new country will have new legislation that will ensure that we all have equality. Now 20 years later it feels like we are living Apartheid in "reverse".*
>
> **Participant 28 (F)**

> Was nodig ja, maar moes ons nie langer as tien jaar geneem het nie … die 20-jarige swartes was nie deel van Apartheid nie, hkm nog die hele BEE mission?? As jy 20 jaar al die geleenthede gehad het is die tyd vir huil verby sou ek sê …
>
> *Was necessary yes, but should not have taken us longer than ten years…the 20-year old blacks were not part of apartheid, why still the whole BEE mission?? If for 20 years you've allready had all the opportunities the time for crying, I would say, is now over…*
>
> **Participant 6 (M)**

The excerpts above provide examples of evaluative judgements found within the texts, speaking to issues such as the negative impact Apartheid had on the country

(*"hoe negetief dit [Apartheid] was vir ons land"; "sekere groepe van hul basiese regte as mens ontneem […] gekeer om te ontwikkel en hulself te verbeter" / "how negative it [Apartheid] was for our country"; "rob certain groups of their basic human rights […] prohibited them to develop and improve themselves."*); the unjust and wrongful actions of whites during Apartheid (*"wit mense [is] skuldig"*, *"die idee dat mense volgens hul verskillende rasse gegroepeer moet word en dienooreenkomstig sekere regte en voordele kry is total en al absurd" / "white people are guilty", "The idea that people should be grouped according to their race and subsequently be awarded certain rights and privileges is totally absurd"*); and the need to uplift those previously disadvantaged under Apartheid (*"[BEE] was nodig ja" / "[BEE] Was necessary yes"*).

Such evaluative judgements, in combination with expressed anti-racist ideas, serve to emphasise the perceived unjust nature of racial classification and discriminatory practices prevalent during Apartheid, and similarly of those perceived to be present in the current context. Consequently, participants often utilised terms such as *verkeerd* and absurd to reveal their negative evaluations of the current situation, thereby creating a specific tone for the text. Furthermore, participants frequently used the rhetoric of perspective by narrating their story in the first person, i.e. *Ek* ("I"), also making use of group terms, such as *Ons* ("we") and *Hulle* ("them"), which compels the audience to construe the text through the authors' specific point of view, as members of the in-group.

Although the need for restorative measures during the post-Apartheid period is widely recognised within the texts, the legitimacy of the measures imposed is contested by emphasising a perceived slow pace or progress—and the unjust privileging nature attributable to such processes through, e.g., appealing to common sense, as expressed by Participant 6 in the preceding excerpts. Additionally, the texts

employ contrast as a rhetorical strategy to express this doubt, juxtaposing perceptions of democracy's intentions against experiences and perceptions of the current situation, more than 20 years after the advent of democracy. ("*Ons is wel vertel dat ons nuwe land 'n nuwe wetgewing sal he wat sal verseker dat almal gelykheid sal he. Nou 20 jaar later voel dit vir my ons lewe die Apartheid in "reverse" / "We were told though that our new country will have new legislation that will ensure that we all have equality. Now 20 years later it feels like we are living Apartheid in "reverse"*). Although these perceptions are further discussed alongside later themes within this chapter, the relevance of these excerpts relates specifically to the intended or expected outcome of democracy, and the perceived reliability of the measures implemented or actions taken in achieving such.

By acknowledging the unjust nature of racial classification and associated discrimination under Apartheid, and disputing the legitimacy or reliability of restorative measures, the texts provide a solid foundation for contesting the system of racial classification and discrimination perceived to be prevalent in the current social formation. A more critical reading of these discourses, however, highlights the psychological underpinning of the group identity processes at play. For example, by communicating anti-racist beliefs and employing moral discourses, evaluating and acknowledging the historical context as negative, this group is basically painting a morally superior picture of themselves in relation to that of the previous generation of Afrikaners. Essentially, such evaluations served to bolster perceptions of the present-day in-group by disassociating from the previous, "morally flawed" generation of Afrikaners. Furthermore, by evaluating the current social structure as negative, in relation to the historical structure, it is implied that those in control of the current structure, the Other, are also morally flawed. As such, the in-group is portrayed, and

consequently becomes perceived, as morally superior, not just in relation to the Other, but also in relation to the previous generation of Afrikaners.

Discourses foregrounding notions of separation and isolation were employed by most participants in order to express and substantiate the presence of a perceived system of racial classification in the current South African context. In particular, this perceived system of racial classification is presented as similar to the institutional order under the Apartheid regime. However, differences were accounted for in terms of the perpetrator / target constellation and the mode in which discriminatory behaviours are expressed and acted out.

Ons wit mense word uitgesonder en geniet nie dieselfde regte of voorregte as die ander rasse in ons land nie … Meer as 20 jaar later bestaan Apartheid nogsteeds in die sin dat mense in die land steeds verdeel word volgens hulle ras. Wit mense word apart gestel van al die ander rasse en word ook anders behandel as die res. Daar word alledaags gepraat van die previously disadvantaged wat moet opgelig word uit hul omstandighede. In my opinie het die term previously disadvantaged geen meer betekenis vandag nie. In teendeel moet ons begin praat van currently disadvantaged met verwysing na ons afrikaaners wat konstant benadeel word deur wetgewing en die staat se pogings om die sogenaamde previously disadvantaged te uplift.

Us white people are singled out and do not enjoy the same priveledges as the other races in our country… More than 20 years later apartheid still exists in the sense that people in the country still get divided according to their race. White people are separated from the other races and also treated differently than the rest. Every day there's talk about the previously disadvantaged who need to be elevated from their circumstances. In my opinion the term previously disadvantaged has no more meaning today. On the contrary, we should start to speak of currently disadvantaged with reference to us Afrikaners who are constantly disadvantaged by legislation and the state's efforts to uplift the so-called previously disadvantaged.

Participant 28 (F)

Is dit nie die ding wat voorheen internationaal bekend gestaan het as APARTHEID nie? ipv "slegs blankes" is dit nou "previously disadvantaged only" of meer spesefiek "BLACKS ONLY"!

Is this not the thing that was previously internationally known as APARTHEID? In stead of "whites only" it is now "previously disadvantaged only" or more specifically "BLACKS ONLY"

Participant 14 (M)

Participants regularly harnessed formulations containing imagery such as "BLACKS ONLY" to invoke a specific idea or feeling among their audience. Such formulations are often interdiscursively related to broader societal (in this case, historical) discourses, such as the imagery mentioned above—during Apartheid, signs delineating spaces reserved solely for whites, were marked as *slegs blankes* (whites only). The use and capitalisation of the phrase "BLACKS ONLY" draws the audience' attention to the specific social dynamics and racialised discrimination of the past, while simultaneously inferring that a similar system of racial classification and discrimination is still present in the current society, albeit reversed.

The excerpts above portray participants' specific experiences and accounts of being white as a situation of being separate and isolated from all other races in the country ("*Ons wit mense word uitgesonder […] Wit mense word apart gestel van al die ander rasse*" / "*Us white people are singled out […] White people are separated from the other races*"). Interestingly, however, through a closer critical examination of the choice of words employed, it would seem that participants are also constantly separating themselves from the Other ("*Ons wit mense*" / "*Us white people*"). These accounts resonate with past nationalistic discourses of isolation or being separate from

all others. Whereas such separateness historically coincided with predominant perceptions of being special, powerful, or singled out for a greater purpose, in the current social structure these attributions carry additional negative connotations. Depending on the specific social situation, both accounts will potentially have a profound impact on the meaning-making processes involved in perceptions of the group and the self. Discourses of separation feature throughout all other themes and form part of the foundation (albeit not exclusively) upon which participants based most of their perceptions of being white. These discourses are so widely expressed and accepted in the group that they appear as regimes of truth, elements of the social world of these 1DAGs that are taken for granted as reality and which remain uncontested.

Although explicitly articulated by only a few participants, as illustrated in the preceding extracts, a more critical reading of the texts and its lexical features revealed the omnipresence of this perceived separateness (and associated isolation) throughout. In particular, all the texts contain frequent regularities in the employment of the pronouns *Ons* ("us") and *Hulle* ("them"). As such, the main protagonists and antagonists throughout the texts stay mostly constant, i.e. "us" (whites, *ons*, *witmense*, Afrikaners) and "them" (the other races commonly referred to as blacks: *hulle*, *swartes*). However, in some accounts, other distinctions are drawn between the in-group and the Other. These distinctions are mostly evident in the texts when reference is made to various classes in South African society (e.g. rich versus poor) and were found to be dependant on the specific situation or context being communicated, such as the impact of corruption.

Moreover, the continuous use of group terms, whether conscious or subconscious, compels the audience to shift their cognition from their personal to their

social selves, what is referred to as depersonalisation (Foster, 2003). What is important to note from these discourses is that "race" still features prominently in participants' mindsets and in the ways they define themselves and others. Interestingly, these discourses also seem to contain an element of contradiction. As mentioned previously, a more critical reading of the text reveals the presence of both progressive and regressive elements; participants' accounts are progressive, both in acknowledging the historical harms under Apartheid and in their expression of rejection toward the current perceived separation of whites, but they are regressive in, for example, the sense of constantly placing themselves into a box of racial essentialism, i.e. by consciously or subconsciously referring to "us whites," "whites," etc. throughout the texts.

Such perceptions are seen to directly impact participants' accounts of being white in the current South African context. Discourses of separation and isolation are further used to reinforce and maintain discourses of restriction and limitation and form the basis of the next theme.

2.2 "Almal behalwe ons wittes" / "Everyone except us whites": Discourses of Exclusion

Expanding on these initial discursive expressions of racial categorisation and the consequent perceived separation and isolation of whites, the texts contain a variety of discourses that seem to account for perceptions of whites being restricted or limited.

Furthermore, they reflected broader discourses of social determinism, which locates the element of whiteness within a set of pre-determined social rules, perceived to be imposed by the dominant Other who is also perceived to control the flow of ideas in society.

Discourses of restriction essentially describe the perceived social boundaries of this group and are mainly employed in relation to perceived differential access to opportunities and resources, preferential or discriminatory treatment, and the presence of basic human rights within society, as evidenced in the extract below.

Waar "minder bevooregtes" toegang kry tot aandele, studie geleenthede ens waartoe ons blankes geen toegang het nie! Wie geniet dan die voorreg vra ek jou!?
Where the "previously disadvantaged" gets acess to shares, study opportunities etc. which us whites do not have access to! Who is then enjoying the privilege, I ask of you?!
Participant 16 (F)

Participants regularly articulated brief stories of personal experience to convey their perceptions of being restricted or prevented from accessing opportunities, as illustrated in the following anecdote.

Ek het sielkunde studeer en is omtrent 6 keer keuring geweier, en soos ek verstaan, hoofsaaklik omfdat ek "te wit" was om n sielkundige in SA te word. Ek het uiteindelik M-graad keuring by Kovsies gekry en daar sielkundige geword. Lenings en beurse was deurlopend geweier en ek was selfs eendag gese "why you applying for a loan? You whiteys all have rich parents?!" Toe nou nie …
I studied psychology and was denied selection about 6 times and, if I understood correctly, mainly because I was too white to become a psychologist in South Africa. I finally got my M-degree acceptance at Kovsies, and became a psychologist there. Loans and bursaries were continuously denied, and I even got told one day "why you applying for a loan? You whiteys all have rich parents?!" So not so…
Participant 17 (M)

The extract below (from Participant 14) illustrates the construction of the privileged Other enjoying opportunities and rights which whites are specifically denied, similar to restrictions imposed by whites on other races during Apartheid. A more critical analysis of these discourses once again highlights the psychological processes associated with group identification. That is, by morally disassociating from the previous group of Afrikaners, their privileged position, and their Apartheid crimes, while simultaneously highlighting similar privilege and characteristics apparently present in the ruling Other and the current context over which they preside, perceptions of the in-group as righteous and just are strengthened and maintained.

Participants often relied on underscoring their accounts with emotions relating to general experiences of being restricted, which is then followed by a personal perspective of the situation. Furthermore, participants regularly made use of exaggerated, angry, and insulting language to emphasise a strong rejection of their perceived restricted positionality and the limitations imposed on them (“*Wat de F is dit? Dis fokken belaglik” / What the F is that? It's fucking ridiculous!).*

The rhetorical strategy of allusion, often employed in conjunction with the assertion of facts rooted in regimes of truth, can also be found throughout the texts, when reference is made to a historical period (most often, the Apartheid period) creating a specific resonance in the audience (“*Is dit nie die ding wat voorheen internationaal bekend gestaan het as APARTHEID nie?” / “Is this not the thing that was previously internationally known as APARTHEID?”*)

Ek is nogals baie omgekrap dat daar sekere ekonomiese geleenthede in die land bestaan wat nie oop is vir blankes nie! Goeie voorbeeld - Multichoice wat shares verkoop maar slegs aan die previously disadvantaged of film en produksie companies

> stig met state of the art toerusting waar slegs swart studente mag werk en leer. Wat de F is dit? Dis fokken belaglik!
>
> *I am rather upset that there are certain economic opportunities in the country which are not open to whites. Great example – Mulrtichoice who only sells shares to the previously disadvantaged or who started film and production companies with state-of-the-art equipment where only black students may work and learn. What the F is that? It's fucking ridiculous!*
>
> **Participant 14 (M)**

The most prominent accounts of restrictions and limitations were articulated in terms of perceptions of a complete disregard for the Afrikaner (white) voice in society. The majority of texts make reference to a perceived limitation and restriction placed on Afrikaners to voice and express any form of concern in society. Such perceptions are most often substantiated by juxtaposing society's perceived negative response, non-acceptance, and disregard for the concerns articulated by any Afrikaner, against the unquestioned acceptance of hate speech and songs publically expressed by the Other. These accounts mostly resonate interdiscursively with dominant societal discourses of whites still enjoying and benefitting from white privilege (discourses contained, for example, in policies such as BB-BEE and radical economic transformation), thus legitimizing the assigned inferior status and treatment by the Other. In addition, by means of allusion, other familiar texts are also drawn upon to illustrate the contrast and commonly accepted hate speech and slander expressed by the Other (*"Aan die anderkant is dit helemal aanvaarbaar om doodskrete oor blankes te spreek en liedjies te sing waarin daar gevra word vir n masjiengeweer om die blankes mee uit te moor"* / *"On the other hand, it is perfectly acceptable to speak death cries on whites and sing songs calling for a machine gun to kill the whites"*) referring

to president Zumas' infamous song "umshini wami," and a variety of public utterances by the former president of the ANC Youth League, Julius Malema. Predominantly, participants relied on the assertion of fact, drawing from their regimes of truth, to substantiate their experiences, employing phrases such as (*"dit [is] helemal aanvaarbaar" / "it is perfectly acceptable"*).

Ongelukkig word n wit mens onmiddelik geëtiketteer as n rassis wat veg om "white privilege" terug te kry sodra hy sy mond oopmaak oor die ongelykheid / onregverdigheid en diskriminasie in die land! Aan die anderkant is dit helemal aanvaarbaar om doodskrete oor blankes te spreek en liedjies te sing waarin daar gevra word vir n masjiengeweer om die blankes mee uit te moor

Unfortunately, a white person is immediately labeled as a racist fighting to get "white privilege" once he opens his mouth about inequality / unfairness and discrimination in the country! On the other hand, it is perfectly acceptable to speak death cries on whites and sing songs calling for a machine gun to kill the whites

Participant 14 (M)

Ons het nie meer 'n sê nie, omdat jy wit is maak jy nie meer saak nie.

We no longer have a say, because you are white you no longer matter.

Participant 30 (F)

The perceived disregard for Afrikaner concerns and opinion can also be inferred from the number of online participants, and the extent of their active participation and contributions to the discussions. In total, 72 participants joined the online group; however, only a fraction of them contributed to discussions. It was evident, though, that all online participants did follow the discussions and read most of the posts, often only indicating their agreement with assertions or statements by "liking" them.

Arguably, as will be further discussed in later sections, this lack of active participation could be attributed to participants' belief in society's complete disregard for white expressions of concern. That is, it could be that the majority of participants did not see any value in contributing their experiences and opinions, as it is commonly perceived in Afrikaner regimes of truth that such actions result in little or no impact. In a more extreme scenario, this lack of participation could be the result of a perceived threat of being reprimanded for participating (as in the case of various recent racial slurs surfacing in social media in the early parts of 2016, referenced in Chapter 5). This caution was explicitly articulated by one of the online participants:

> Die meerderheid van ons is heel moontlik te getraumatiseer om hul mond daaroor oop te maak; te bang ons word vervolg of verder verstoot (dus het jy Erhard 50+ lede in jou groep waarvan slegs 3 of 4 aktief deelneem)
>
> *The majority of us are most likely too traumatised to open their mouths about it; too scared of being prosecuted or rejected further (thus Erhard you have 50+ members in your group of which only 3 or 4 participate actively)*
>
> **Participant 15 (M)**

These perceptions are further expanded on in overall discourses of exclusion, where the element of whiteness becomes associated with a state of being excluded, invoking a strong belief of having no place in the social order: of not belonging.

> Ek het al my vertroue verloor die die prinsiep van geregtigheid en gelykheid vir elk - wat so blatant verkondig word in ons land. Duidelik is die waarde wat ek kon toevoeg tot die sisteem nie belangrik genoeg geag nie en ek is suiwer beoordeel op my velkleur!

> *I have lost all trust in the principle of justice and equality for all - which is so blatantly proclaimed in our country. Clearly, the value I could add to the system is not considered important enough and I'm judged purely on the color of my skin!*
>
> ***Participant 35 (M)***

> Ek weet eerlikwaar nie meer of daar 'n plek vir ons wit mense in die land is nie. Ek voel verontreg in die hoogste graad! Ek voel bedreig en onveilig. Ek het geen meer gevoel van veiligheid nie.
>
> *I honestly no longer know if there is a place for us white people in the country. I feel extremely wronged! I feel threatened and unsafe. I have no sense of security anymore.*
>
> ***Participant 21 (F)***

In the two preceding extracts, perceptions of the social positioning of the self and group feature prominently and emphasise a pervasive sense of "not belonging," i.e. feeling as if there is no place for Afrikaners in the current South Africa. However, a more critical reading also highlights a perception of the ruling out-group as unjust and unrighteous in terms of their actions in relation to certain expectations which they created. Additionally, such accounts contain emotive elements which speak to the perception of the self and the group. Participants relied predominantly on perspective, narrating their accounts in the first person (from their own point of view) and the assertion of fact, drawing on the group's taken-for-granted knowledge (regimes of truth) to assert facts, employing words such as *duidelik* ("clearly") and *steeds* ("?") as rhetorical strategies to convey their experiences of exclusion and lack of belonging.

> Ek is n (redelike) ingeligte persoon oor die moderne geskiedenis van SA en daarom verstaan ek die logika van swart bemagtiging. Dit is steeds baie frustrerend dat

> onbekwaamheid en lae morale aan die orde van die dag is. Dit laat my gereeld wonder of daar n plek vir my, as n wit vrou, is in SA.
>
> *I consider myself to be (reasonably) informed about the modern history of SA and therefore I understand the logic of black empowerment. It is still very frustrating that incompetence and low morals are at the order of the day. It often makes me wonder if there is a place for me, as a white woman, in SA.*
>
> *Participant 9 (F)*

The above excerpt serves as an example of a participant's concern regarding commonly-shared beliefs (regimes of truth) contained in the texts (*"Dit laat my gereeld wonder of daar n plek vir my, as n wit vrou, is in SA" / "It often makes me wonder if there is a place for me, as a white woman, in SA"*). In essence, these perceptions relate to expectations of what democracy was supposed to entail, in contrast to participants' current experiences; this tension also features prominently in the previous theme.

> Ons het nie meer 'n sê nie, omdat jy wit is maak jy nie meer saak nie. Ons kinders het nie 'n vooruitsig nie en niemand wil meer 'n helpende hand uitsteek nie. Die wanorde het gemaak dat elkeen van ons in ons eie "kokon" lewe en probeer om jouself so ver moontlik te beskerm sonder om te betrokke te raak.
>
> *We no longer have a say, because you are white you no longer matter. Our children do not have future prospects and no one wants to lend a helping hand anymore. The disorder has made every one of us live in our own "cocoon" trying to protect yourself as far as possible without getting involved.*
>
> *Participant 30 (F)*

The excerpt above again illustrates the use of group terms as a rhetorical strategy, which serves the function of depersonalisation. Operating in group terms,

such personal experiences are projected onto the group as a whole. Essentially, by means of inductive reasoning that draws on regimes of truth, personal experiences of restriction and exclusion are transferred onto the group, ultimately serving to strengthen and maintain group-bound perceptions of being restricted and/or excluded.

Discourses of exclusion are further articulated in terms of Afrikaner representation on television and in the media. The extract below provides an example of participants' talk regarding the lack of Afrikaner representation or inclusion. The notion of not having a place in South Africa is evident once again. Additionally, participants relied on aphorisms as a rhetorical strategy reinforced by appeals to emotion, relying on diction and imagery in order to influence the audience' personal feelings. For example, by employing imagery and referring to a little Afrikaans girl ("*as jy gelukkig is sal jy n afrikaanse dogtertjie of iets raaksien" / "if you're lucky you'll see a little Afrikaans girl or something"*), participants made use of allegory, where the small Afrikaans girl represent a personification of abstract qualities, such as innocence and purity. Such qualities of innocence are also assigned to and thus representative of the self and group in relation to the denial of agency in Apartheid crimes and the morally flawed previous generation of Afrikaners. This strategy creates a certain tone or effect among the audience of the extent and severity of discriminatory practices and white exclusion. By employing deductive reasoning, participants arrive at the same generalised conclusion: that Afrikaners are being excluded.

> Kyk ook bietjie na die verteenwoordiging van witmense op TV. Elke reality programme, advertensie en selfs die nuus bevat n magdom van anderskleuriges en miskien as jy gelukkig is sal jy n afrikaanse dogtertjie of iets raaksien. Sosiall gewys voel ek my plek as witmens in die land word al hoe kleiner … asof ons uitgeskyf word

> *Also consider the representation of white people on TV. Every reality program, advertisement and even the news contain a multitude of different colored people and maybe if you're lucky you'll see a little Afrikaans girl or something. Socially, I feel my place as a white person in the country is getting smaller … as if we are being cast out*
>
> **Participant 21 (F)**

Discourses of exclusion were also expressed in terms of Afrikaners' ability to participate in the development of the country. Although not deliberately stated, a more critical investigation of the texts revealed the use of syllogism as a rhetorical strategy: i.e. extremely subtle, sophisticated, and sometimes deceptive arguments to arrive at a deduction. In the extract below, Participant 30 articulated a perceived state of the country prior to the ruling party taking control, in contrast to the perceived current situation, deducing that the discrepancy is because Afrikaners are not allowed to contribute to the maintenance and development of the country. A closer reading also highlights some obvious implications for the construction of self and group perceptions. For example, the account quoted above also serves to reinforce certain remnants of nationalistic (racist) ideologies, specifically relating to characteristics attributed to the Other, such as incompetence, vengefulness, laziness, etc., based on the participants' perceived racial classificatory schemes. Although such accounts are scarce within the data, their presence is well worth noting in terms of the potential ideological effects.

> Ons infrastruktuur val uitmekaar uit, die dreine loop oor, onderhoud word nie gedoen nie en ons paaie word nie onderhou nie. 'n Eens florerende land is nou 'n plek waar ons nie kan keer hoe vinnig goed agteruit gaan nie en dan voel ons onveilig ook.

> *Our infrastructure is falling apart, the drains are overflowing, maintenance is not done and our roads are not maintained. A once-thriving country is now a place where we can not prevent how quickly things are deteriorating and, in addition, we also feel unsafe.*
>
> *Participant 30 (F)*

Together, these dominant beliefs of being separated, restricted, and excluded culminate in an overall perception of whites being excluded or "secondary" in relation to all others in the country. That is, there exists a perception that the Other is purposefully keeping Afrikaners in an inferior position and not allowing them to advance. In addition, this view also serves to strengthen and maintain perceptions of the Other as dangerous and threatening. This significant perception of being excluded can be seen in the following extracts.

> Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika is 'n straf, dis om te leef in vrees en onderdrukking. Met 'n anker om die nek
>
> *Being white in the new South Africa is a punishment, it is to live in fear and oppression. With an anchor around the neck*
>
> *Participant 31 (M)*

> Apartheid het in my oe van kleur verander … Dit is bloot net rassisme onder die guise van regstelling
>
> *Apartheid has changed clolour in my eyes … It's merely racism under the guise of restorative justice*
>
> *Participant 17 (M)*

Ons word herhaldelik herinner aan Apartheid in d media hoe kan mens dan voorentoe beweeg? Hoe kan daar dan verwag word dat ons n "simonye we are one nation" kan wees?

We are constantly reminded of apartheid in the media how can we then move forward? How can we be expected to be a "simonye we are one nation"?

Participant 10 (F)

Discourses of exclusion inherently relate power relations. Although the specific subject positions (relating to power) have been accounted for in describing the current social formation, the way in which these positions are perceived to be enacted and the associated consequences thereof form the core focus of the next two themes.

The following two themes, theme 3, *"Vir die sondes van ons voorvaders" / "For the sins of our fathers": Discourses of Injustice,* and theme 4 *"First class flights en kastele" / "First class flights and castles": Discourses of the self-serving corrupt Other,* significantly expand on initial descriptions of the current social formation and perceived positionality of, and power relations between, the self and the Other. Subsequently, these themes express perceptions of the powerful Other as exploiting their position of power, control, and influence for their own benefit. In the first instance, distancing discourses contained in the text generally served to largely detach both Afrikaners and their Other from their respective historically located social positions, relocating them in relation to their perceived (post-Apartheid) positionalities within the current social order. As previously noted, from a more critical perspective, these discourses are also seen to serve in the favourable construction of the in-group. Importantly, these discourses served an *exculpatory* function, allowing participants to both deny their agency in Apartheid crimes while simultaneously detaching the Other from any

residual or lingering disadvantage resulting from Apartheid. Discourses of exclusion are expanded on by these discourses to corroborate perceptions of the dominant Other abusing their position of power for their own benefit and at the direct expense of whites.

These perceptions are then further developed by constructions of the dominant (rich) Other abusing their positions of power and exploiting their control over the country's resources for their own benefit. Importantly, within this theme, power relations in certain scenarios are perceived as extending beyond the element of race and ethnicity; that is, power relationships negatively impact not only whites, or the Afrikaner, but all Others (to the powerful) in the country, specifically the poor. While not as widely represented in the texts, these accounts nevertheless deserve some consideration, as they could point to a shift in perceived power relations, i.e. a potential shift from perceived racial hegemony to power relations based on class (the rich and the poor. The discourses contained within these themes express a view of sovereign power wherein political leaders are portrayed as being above the law, having the power to decide what is right and what is wrong and to enforce accordingly. Forms of disciplinary power are portrayed as being institutionalised in various affirmative action policies and measures implemented by the state (that is, the ruling Other). These measures are perceived as privileging the Other and imposing various unjust restrictions on whites. Additionally, such disciplinary power is seen to be reflected within local and international media portrayals of the social dynamics and structure within South Africa, which essentially problamatises whiteness. Although not explicitly articulated, the text creates the impression that both forms of sovereign and disciplinary power, while highly contested, are perceived to be untouchable and impenetrable; closed off to any form of criticism or change.

2.3 "Vir die sondes van ons voorvaders" / "For the sins of our fathers": Discourses of Injustice

"Discourses of injustice" refers to discourses concerning illegitimate or unfair means or actions, employed under the guise of attaining restorative justice. In other words, actions addressed by these discourses are perceived to be aimed at attaining retributive justice under the pretext of restorative justice. As such, this theme contains perceptions of the Other exploiting their position of power by means of unjust measures or practices, implemented in the name of justice, but occurring at the direct expense of whites. While acknowledging the crimes and injustices of Apartheid, as previously discussed, distancing discourses contained throughout the texts served an exculpatory function, allowing participants to deny the benefits accruing to them as a result of their past, while simultaneously detaching the Other from any residual disadvantage resulting from Apartheid. In addition, these discourses also have profound impacts on constructions of the self and group perceptions. The extracts below provide an example of such distancing discourses.

ons is n generasie wat nie rerig geraak is daardeur nie (volgens my glad nie) … ons het d vermoe om uit ons voorouers se foute te leer en dinge beter te doen … voorentoe te kyk … saam te staan om SA n beter plek te maak. Maar ons is tans besig om n nuwe generasie te kweek wat nog slegter is
we are a generation who has not really been aqffected by it (in my opinion not at all) … we have the ability to learn from our ancestors' mistakes and to do things better … to look to the future … to stand together to make SA a better place. But we are currently developing a new generation that is even worse
Participant 10 (F)

Wat betref my kinderlewe, onthou ek nie eens spanning of rassisme nie. Gedurende my "upbringing" kan ek nooit onthou dat 'n swart persoon vir sy "pas" gevra is of verneder is

As for my childhood, I do not even remember tension or racism. During my "upbringing" I can't recall that a black person ever asked for his "pas" or was ever humiliated

Participant 13 (M)

Eerlikwaar ek kan gladni Apartheid onthou nie. Ek was wel bewus van spanning tussen swart en wit, maar ek het geen idee gehad van wat regtig aangegaan het nie. In dieselfde sin kan dit ook gese word van almal in ons land wat in my generasie val. Ons het geen werklikke idee van wat aangegaan het onder apartheid nie en kan slegs staat maak op dit wat ons ouers ons vertel, wat ons in ons skool geleer het en wat ons op TV sien en in koerante lees

Honestly, I cannot remember apartheid. I was aware though of tensions between black and white, but I had no idea what really went on. In the same sense, it can also be said of everyone in our country who fall within my generation. We have no real idea of what happened during Apartheid and can only rely on what our parents tell us, what we learned in our school and what we see on TV and read in newspapers

Participant 29 (M)

These extracts represent participants' recollections of the socio-historical context and dynamics based on information gained from secondary sources, i.e. the lessons learned from their parents or teachers and knowledge and information gained from media portrayals during their youth. Consequently, these accounts emphasise an overall lack of direct experience and knowledge of Apartheid. By expressing a general inability to adequately understand the social dynamics of the time, participants appear to further substantiate their innocence and lack of agency with respect to past Apartheid crimes.

In this regard, the utilisation of anecdote and perspective as rhetorical devices is evident in the texts, where accounts and recollections are portrayed in the form of a story or short tale told in the first person (*"Wat betref my kinderlewe" / "As for my childhood"* and *"ek kan gladni apartheid onthou nie" / "I cannot remember apartheid"*), thereby persuading the audience to construe the texts through the author's specific point of view, as a white Afrikaner. By further employing words such as *verseker* ("certainly") and *dit is* ("it is"), these accounts are portrayed as factual, drawing on specific taken-for-granted beliefs.

> Nou 20 jaar later voel dit vir my ons lewe die Apartheid in "reverse". Ons geleethede is nou minder en Apartheid word in my gesig gegooi al was ek te jonk om dit te onthou […] Daar word alledaags gepraat van die previously disadvantaged wat moet opgelig word uit hul omstandighede. In my opinie het die term previously disadvantaged geen meer betekenis vandag nie. In teendeel moet ons begin praat van currently disadvantaged met verwysing na ons afrikaaners wat konstant benadeel word deur wetgewing en die staat se pogings om die sogenaamde previously disadvantaged te uplift.
>
> *Now 20 years later, it seems to me that we are living apartheid in "reverse". Our opportunities are now fewer and apartheid is thrown into my face, even though I was too young to remember it. […] Every day there's talk of the previously disadvantaged who have to be uplifted out of their circumstances. In my opinion the term previously disadvantaged has no more meaning today. On the contrary, we should start to speak of currently disadvantaged with reference to us Afrikaners who are constantly disadvantaged by legislation and the state's efforts to uplift the so-called previously disadvantaged.*
>
> **Participant 28 (F)**

> Die lewe nou is veel anders as in die sogenaamde wit "glory days … " Ons as 85 'ers moet blykbaar betaal vir die sonde van ons voorvaders. Die swart jeug het geen benul van die konsep "apartheid" nie en leef in 'n land van geleenthede.

> *Life now is much different than in the so-called white "glory days … " We as 85'ers should apparently pay for the sins of our fathers. The black youth has no sense of the concept of "apartheid" and lives in a land of opportunity.*
>
> **Participant 13 (M)**

The excerpts above illustrate the use of distancing discourses (further expanding on notions of separation) to almost completely detach the Other from their historically disadvantaged position. In this respect, the previously disadvantaged Other is relocated to a privileged position within the current context, benefiting from privileges and access to opportunities from which whites are perceived to be excluded. In addition, by employing distancing words such as *sogenaamde* ("so-called"), participants further emphasise their lack of direct experience under Apartheid, in this instance relating to experiences of "*die sogenaamde wit 'glory days'*" ("the supposed white glory days or white privilege") during Apartheid. Consequently, these discourses locate all Afrikaners in a purportedly disadvantaged position within the current context. Furthermore, these discourses reinforce perceptions of the Other exploiting their current social position and power for their own benefit and at the direct expense of specifically, the 1DAGs who are portrayed as innocent victims of their past, as illustrated in the extract from Participant 13's account above (*"Ons as 85 'ers moet blykbaar betaal vir die sonde van ons voorvaders" / "We as 85'ers should apparently pay for the sins of our fathers.*) Interestingly, by using this phrase, Participant 13 (and others) further strengthen the belief in 1DAG innocence through intertextuality. The phrase "Sins of the Fathers" derives from Biblical references (primarily in the books Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Numbers) to the sins of one generation passing to another.

Ons word herhaldelik herinner aan apartheid in d media hoe kan mens dan voorentoe beweeg? Hoe kan daar dan verwag word dat ons n "simonye we are one nation" kan wees

We are continuously reminded of apartheid in the media how can we then move forward? How can we be expected to be a "simonye we are one" nation

Participant 10 (F)

Het 2 Amerikaaners hier by my werk gehad so week terug. Al wat hulle gewys word is ons hoe ons blankes die swart man onderdruk, die Boodskap wat buite toe gestuur word.Hulle wat hongerlei, werkloos, en ons wat maar nog met die geld sit. Hulle weet glad nie van die boere wat so uit gemoor word nie, nog nie van een geval gehoor nie … .my vraag is hoekom nie?? Gaan kyk maar na documentaries soos Miracle Rising en die prentjie wat dit verf.

Had 2 Americans at my work a week ago. All that is portrayed to them is how us whites oppress the black man, the message that is sent out. They who are hungry, unemployed, and we still have the money. They have no knowledge about the farmers who are murdered, have not heard of one case yet … . my question is why not ?? Go watch documentaries like Miracle Rising and the picture that it's painting.

Participant 26 (F)

The texts frequently express forms of disciplinary power that are perceived as institutionalised within both local and international media portrayals of the social structure and dynamics in South Africa, as evidenced in the two extracts above. Such forms of power, and media reporting on them, are alleged to reinforce and maintain a commonly shared construction of whiteness within society, specifically within the South African context. Subsequently, these forms of disciplinary power are perceived to further restrict Afrikaners from finding a place in the new society ("*hoe kan mens dan voorentoe beweeg?*" / "*how can we then move forward?*")*.* These accounts

express a general perception found within the texts that Apartheid and its legacy are being exploited by the Other in order to justify discriminatory actions directed at whites. Such accounts are also intertextually related with the well-known South African Broadcasting Commission public television station (SABC1) slogan "*simunye / we are one*," which promotes the ideal of a "rainbow nation" where all races and genders will become equal under a unified democratic society. The purpose of drawing on this notion is to emphasise a contradiction between what is perceived to be promoted in society and the media and what participants perceive as reality. Similarly, the notion of "white privilege" is frequently referenced within the texts as allegedly being exploited by the Other for their own benefit in order to justify their actions, illustrated in the extracts below:

Daar word gereeld verweis na white privilege asof dit iets is wat ek huidiglik geniet!? Ek weet nie wat dit beteken nie en het verseker nie voordeel getrek uit die Apartheid era of sisteem nie. Inteendeel is dit die hoof sondebok agter my huidige onderdrukking

Constantly reference is made to white privilegde as if it were something I currently enjoy !? I do not know what it means and have certainly not benefited from the apartheid era or system. On the contrary, it is the main reason behind my current oppression

Participant 16 (F)

In terms of white privilege wat is dit? Bestaan daar regtig die persepsie dat ons maandeliks verniet salarise gekry het, nooit hoef te studeer het nie, sonder enige opleiding of ervaring hoe poste gekry het en dat pluimvee en gewasse sommer maar net vanself op ons plase verskyn het? Wake up! Ons is vir die afgelope 21 jaar disadvantaged! Ons is currentlydisadvantaged!!

In terms of white privilege what is this? Does the perception realy exist that we have received monthly salaries for free, never having to study, without any training or experience received high-level jobs and that poultry and crops just appeared on our

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farms by themselves? Wake up! We have been disadvantaged for the last 21 years! We are currently disadvantaged!!

Participant 21 (F)

Geen "helpende wit hand" dus in my onmiddelike voorsate nie. Ek het sielkunde studeer en is omtrent 6 keer keuring geweier, en soos ek verstaan, hoofsaaklik omfdat ek "te wit" was om n sielkundige in SA te word. Ek het uiteindelik M-graad keuring by Kovsies gekry en daar sielkundige geword. Lenings en beurse was deurlopend geweier en ek was selfs eendag gese "why you applying for a loan? You whiteys all have rich parents?!" Toe nou nie … Ek moes toe maar nagskowwe werk, en deur die dag klas loop om klasgelde en boeke te kon betaal.

No "helping white hand" thus in my immediate ancestors. I studied psychology and was refused admittance about six times, and, as I understand, mainly because I was "too white" to become a psychologist in SA. I finally got selected for my M-degree at Kovsies where I became a psychologist. Loans and scholarships were constantly denied and I was even told one day "Why do you apply for a loan? You whiteys all have rich parents?!" So not so … I had to work night shifts, and attend classes during the day in order to pay for class fees and books.

Participant 17 (M)

The notion that "white privilege" is still prevalent in the current social structure is overwhelmingly rejected throughout the texts, positing instead that whites are currently underprivileged or disadvantaged *("Ons is currently disadvantaged!!" / "We are currently disadvantaged!!")*. This conception of whites being underprivileged is often emphasised by the use of claims such as, *"Ons is vir die afgelope 21 jaar disadvantaged!" / "We have been disadvantaged for the last 21 years!"* to invoke a specific theme among the audience, while drawing on regimes of truth, in this instance claiming that whites have arguably been disadvantaged for more than 20 years—

similarly to those previously disadvantaged under Apartheid—further substantiating the rejection of prevailing white privilege.

In addition to relying on perspective and anecdotes, the texts often contain satire as a rhetorical strategy for ridiculing the idea of persisting white privilege, as expressed by Participant 21 above, who emphasised a perceived exploitation of the concept. It should be noted that the construct of "white privilege" is deployed in two very different manners here. In the first instance, the construct is seen to relate to preferential treatment based on the colour of one's skin (i.e. racial classification) located externally; this conception is highly contested. However, in the second instance, this construct relates to inherent abilities, attributes, and competencies. With this discrepancy in mind, a more critical reading of the text again reveals an element of contradiction in participants' accounts. In this instance, the notion of white privilege is rejected and whites are portrayed as being currently disadvantaged relating to preferential treatment and access to opportunities. In contrast, the texts contain more subtle allusions to participants perceiving themselves as privileged (whether consciously or subconsciously) in terms of alleged inherent abilities and attributes (which the Other is seen not to posses), reminiscent of Afrikaner-nationalistic beliefs.

Finally, these discourses of injustice also coincide and further develop discourses of restriction and exclusion, discussed under the previous themes. In this regard, participants' accounts of being excluded or restricted from accessing opportunities and enjoying equal privileges and rights serve to substantiate their perceptions of discriminatory actions by the Other. More specifically, such discrimination is seen to result in unfair employment practices, racial quotas for national sports teams and access to tertiary courses, as well as restrictions in terms of economic and social development. In these instances, race (i.e. the color of one's skin) is perceived as the

only determining factor, prioritised above competence and experience, where the element of whiteness is located at the bottom of the hierarchy. Importantly, by distancing and detaching themselves from the Other, and from respective previous generations, these discourses also serve in the formation of post-Apartheid in-group and out-group perceptions.

2.4 "First class flights en kastele" / "First class flights and castles": Discourses of the self-serving corrupt Other

Theme four contains discourses relating to political power, class-based discrimination (the rich versus the poor), self-enrichment, corruption, and a complete disregard for anything or anyone else. Essentially, these discourses contain participants' constructions and accounts of the minority rich Other holding a position of absolute power (politically and otherwise) and abusing their dominant positions for their own benefit, without any consideration for the consequences of their actions. In other words, here, the perception of a dominant racial Other becomes reformulated into the perception of a dominant political or powerful rich Other abusing their power and access to state resources—in other words, corruption—at the expense of all others, including citizens of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.

Interestingly, while throughout the text categorisations predominantly occur along racial lines (and the racial majority Other is seen to be privileged in the current social formation, at the direct expense of whites, as previously discussed), when accounting for the impact of power abuse (i.e. corruption) on socio-economic status, new group boundaries are formed, where members of the Other can also constitute part of the in-group, consequently also being perceived as socially and economically disadvantaged in the current social context. This observation is in line with self-

categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), which highlights the tendency for one to categorise oneself within the group that will provide association with a higher status, or a better means of achieving one's goal(s). Considering the previously discussed perception that a "white voice" in South Africa carries little or no weight, in this instance, the notion of those in power abusing their position will arguably carry more weight, thus be taken more seriously, if it is made with a consideration of all other subject positions, not just that of the Afrikaner. On the other hand, it might also be a mechanism for strengthening negative perceptions of the out-group. For example, by arguing that all of us suffer equally because of those in power abusing their positions, it is implied that those people keeping corrupt officials in power are not thinking and acting rationally according to what "we" perceive as rational.

Although not as commonly articulated throughout the texts, these accounts are well worth noting due to their potentially significant ideological effects. For example, they allude to a prospective shift in perceived power relations essentially from that of racial hegemony to that of class hegemony; that is, to an emerging system of classification and perceived discrimination based on class (the rich versus the poor) instead of race (black versus white). This shift in group boundaries is, however, only evident in specific instances within the texts when participants are accounting for the impact of state corruption and abuse of power on the socio-economic status of individuals. Although such shifts in group boundaries could be interpreted as merely a strategy for strengthening the specific argument, or strengthening negative perceptions of the out-group, it might also allude to a more pervasive shift in future constructions of group boundaries. Given that this phenomenon does not occur throughout all texts, its exact nature and purpose is still unclear.

Die swart jeug het geen benul van die konsep "apartheid" nie en leef in 'n land van geleenthede. Dit geld ten minste vir 'n klein persentasie van die swart jeug. Die meerderheid swart individue leef in haaglike omstandighede en is dit die sogenaamde "black diamonds" wat die "good life" leef […] My insiens is nie net die wit, gekleurd en indiese persone slegter af nie maar ook die swart individu. Die laer klas swart man is veel meer in populasie as die hoë klas swart persoon en voel verseker die "aftermath" van ons regering se korrupte, toegesmeerde en blatant traak my nieagtige optrede.

The black youth has no sense of the concept of "apartheid" and lives in a country of opportunity. This applies at least to a small percentage of black youth. The majority of black individuals live in harsh conditions and it is the so-called "black diamonds" who's living the "good life" […] My understanding is that not only are the white, colored and Indian people worse off, but also the black individual. The lower class black man is much more in population than the high class black person and definately feels the aftermath of our government's corrupt, covered-up and no-care actions.

Participant 13 (M)

Terwyl meerderheid van ons land se mense in informele nedersettings leef binne ekstreme haglikke omstandigehede en armoede sonder water en basiese dienste bou Mr Zuma vir hom 'n luukse paleis met belastingbetalers se geld. Geld wat beter benut kon word om ons nasie op te lig - no pun intended maar ons het ook n ernstige elektrisiteits krisis!

While majority of our country's people live in informal settlements within extremely harsh conditions and poverty without water and basic services, Mr. Zuma is building himself a luxurious palace with taxpayers' money. Money that could be better used to uplift [light up] our nation - no pun intended but we also have a serious electricity crisis!

Participant 14 (M)

My ekonomiese status as Afrikaner word nie noodwendig benadeel nie. Alhoewel as n Suid Afrikaner is ek gldnie gelukkig met hoe my ekonomiese status beinvloed word nie. Dit is nie n ras spesefieke ding nie want alle belastingbetalende Suid Afrikaners suffer dieselfde! Ons almal moet meer belasting betaal, duurder petrol drank en sigarette

asook etoll om vir Zuma se kasteel te betaal, krag en water aan die laer ekonomiese klasse te voorsien en vir staats amptenare se first class flights te betaal.

My economic status as an Afrikaner is not necessarily being jeopordised. Although, as a South African, I'm not at all happy with how my economic status is effected. This is not a race-specific thing, because all taxpayers in South Africa suffer the same! We all have to pay more taxes, more expensive petrol alcohol and cigarettes as well as e-toll to pay for Zuma's castle, supply power and water to the lower economic classes and to pay for state officials' first class flights.

Participant 21 (F)

The excerpts above express perceptions of political power as it relates to this emerging notion of class-based discrimination through statements such as (*"My insiens is nie net die wit, gekleurd en indiese persone slegter af nie maar ook die swart individu" / "My understanding is that not only are the white, colored and Indian people worse off, but also the black individual" and "Dit is nie n ras spesefieke ding nie" / "This is not a race-specific thing").* This claim is further evidenced by an additional notion suggesting that the majority Other are still living in poverty, unable to rise above their disadvantaged position, found in statements such as that of Participant 14 above. Additionally, these perceptions locate the basis of such continued disadvantaged positions and poverty in a compromised set of moral values and ethical standards by which the minority rich and politically powerful Other are conducting themselves.

The texts contain a number of rhetorical strategies that serve to substantiate such perceptions. These include perspective, where participants predominantly narrated their accounts in the first person evident in the use of terms, such as *My insiens* (**"My understanding"**) and *Ek dink* ("I think"), compelling the audience to construe the texts through the participants' point of view, as an Afrikaner, part of the

in-group. This strategy is further supported by frequently using phrases such as *Dit is* ("This is") and *Dit is nie* ("This is not"), reflecting attempts to portray such accounts as factual. Moreover, forms of deductive reasoning are often used to arrive at conclusions that are based only on a set of premises contained in the texts, without consideration of additional facts.

At a broader social level, these sample discourses resonate interdiscursively with dominant social discourses of corruption being prevalent among state officials, as frequently reproduced in everyday news reports. The texts do reference a variety of instances of wasteful expenditure by state officials, such as travelling in first class and driving luxury vehicles, however, the infamous Nkandla saga is overwhelmingly referenced as an example of the extent and severity of state corruption at the expense of all.

In general, these themes highlighted perceptions regularly expressed within the texts, relating to the dominant Other exploiting Apartheid's legacy through the notion of affirmative action, and general politics for their own benefit, at the particular expense of whites, but also possibly extending beyond the element of race. The fundamental argument emerging from these themes depicts the current social order as highly differentiated, unequal, and legitimising discrimination against specific racial or ethnic groups at various levels.

Within the next set of themes, discourses of separation, restriction, and exploitation are further examined as discourses of threat. These themes deal with a variety of discourses that served to convey perceptions of threat in relation to whites' perceived current social positioning and as emanating from the powerful Other. Such perceptions of threat are portrayed as omnipresent and thus elevated to a degree of

being commonplace in the everyday lives of Afrikaners. These discourses serve to communicate a sense of fear and endangerment. Furthermore, these perceptions of threat (although not always explicitly stated) extend to the future of Afrikaners as a whole, to their culture, history, and position within the current and future social structure. Such perceptions resonate interdiscursively with dominant parental discourses as portrayed in participants' recollections of their youth and the associated knowledge acquired from their parents' talk.

Moreover, participants relied on recollections of personal experiences during their youth (in the transition period following the fall of Apartheid) to substantiate perceptions of threat as constant and omnipresent, a central attribute emanating from the Other. These anecdotes mainly reference accounts of parents stockpiling food and safety drills at schools in preparation for an impending civil war between the races. Although not present throughout all the texts, such recollections provide valuable insight into dominant Afrikaner ideologies of the time, as well as their form, function, and effects on the current ideologies and self-articulated perceptions of the self and group.

Furthermore, these themes contain a number of discourses of appropriation, articulating perceptions of the Other's inherent sense of entitlement, specifically in relation to resources, but also extending to privileges and opportunities within the social formation. These discourses further relate to a perceived constant fear of losing personal possessions, property, and a sense of security, as expressed in the texts.

Current and historical conceptions of the privileged and the disadvantaged constituted a central feature around which perceptions of whiteness are constructed. Whereas whites historically held a position of absolute power and enjoyed associated

advantage and privileges, the foremost belief is that this dominant position was mostly surrendered with the fall of Apartheid. In this regard, participants' accounts reflected an overall acknowledgement of past injustices which served to validate their acceptance of Afrikaners relinquishing their dominant positionality and the associated power as a means toward democratic equality. This shift in power relations could potentially have resulted in an internalised sense of powerlessness associated with Afrikaners' insecurities and additionally relating to their place and position within the new social order.

Moreover, these discourses express a form of sovereign power where the dominant Other or ruling party is perceived to have complete and absolute power, a position from which they may act on their intentions without any repercussions. This form of power extends to the ruling party's ability to seize and redistribute any and all resources at their own discretion, justifying such actions in relation to attaining democratic equality—a concept which they themselves are free to define based on their own interpretation thereof. Such forms of sovereign power often serve to control the masses by means of fear, as evidenced through a more critical engagement with participants' accounts.

Discourses contained within these themes also express views on forms of disciplinary power institutionalised through legislation and policies designed to attain democratic equality, such as BB-BEE, the Restitution of Land Rights Act and the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Such forms of disciplinary power are often imbedded into various institutions (such as schools, churches, the media, etc.) and function automatically, as discussed in Chapter 3. Automatic forms of social regulation succeeds by emphasising "expected behaviour," what is expected to be

normal and acceptable, in combination with an omnipresent perception of being constantly watched or scrutinised and fears of being reprimanded for not conforming.

At an ideological level, these discourses serve to reinforce remnants of racist ideologies which participants might have acquired during their youth through the teachings and accounts of their parents. Additionally, these discourses are seen to impact the meaning-making process of Afrikaners by constructing a form of Afrikaner identity premised upon fear, endangerment, and uncertainty, further reinforcing the prevalent perception of whites not having a place (i.e. not belonging) in the current social formation.

2.5 "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer": Discourses of the vindictive Other

Within this theme, participants employed discourses of essentialism that naturalised the perceived inherent vengefulness of the Other. These ideas often resonated interdiscursively with parental discourses, as articulated in participants' recollections of their youth.

Ek onthou daar was groot oproer gewees en jyt klomp goed gekoop want die swart gevaar was los […] almal het op-gestock want die swart gevaar kom los […] daar was net baie blikkies kos […] ek onthou ons het in standerd een bomb drills gedoen […] want die swart gevaar kom nou hulle gaan ons kom dood skiet.

I remember there was huge upheaval and you bought a lot of stuff because the black danger was on the loose […] everyone stocked up because the black danger was released […] there were a lot tinned food […] I remember we did bomb drills in standard one […] because the black danger is coming now they are comming to shoot us dead.

Participant 33 (F)

> Ek onthou nie veel van die transition period nie net wat my ma'le herhaaldelik vir my gese het … "my kind jy moet hard werk en baie leer sodat jy eendag 'n werk kan kry al is dit nie in hierdie land nie."
>
> Ek self kan dit baie vaag weg onthou […] ek onthou wel die "bom drills" in laerskool gedurende die transition periode […] snaaks genoeg sit die slagspeek "kill the boer kill the farmer" vas in my kop. Ek onthou hoe die skare dit saam geskree het en op posters rondgeswaai het.
>
> *I do not remember much of the transition period just what my parents repeatedly told me … "My child you have to work hard and learn a lot so that you can get a job even if it's not in this country."*
>
> *I remember it quite vaguely […] I do remember the "bomb drills" in primary school during the transition period […] funny enough the slogan "kill the boer kill the farmer" is stuck in my head. I remember how the crowd chanted together and swung posters around.*
>
> **Participant 10 (F)**

The overall register in these accounts is one of uncertainty and impending danger. The texts contain a number of rhetorical devices mainly intended to evoke a specific feeling or idea among the audience, compelling them towards a specific point of view of the characters and actions in the texts. A good example of such rhetoric can be found in the last extract above *("kill the boer kill the farmer" […] Ek onthou hoe die skare dit saam geskree het en op posters rondgeswaai het"/ "kill the boer kill the farmer" […] I remember how the crowd chanted together and swung posters around.").* Here imagery is used (in combination with intertextuality) to compel the audience to recall accounts of such infamous hate speech, including the sound of crowds chanting while waving posters, commonly portrayed in the media and news reports of the time. Additionally, the first extract above employs repetitive referencing (*"die swart gevaar" / "the black danger"*) and combines this tactic with a delayed sentence (withholding the main idea until the end) (*"want die swart gevaar kom nou hulle gaan ons kom dood*

skiet." / *"because the black danger is coming now they are comming to shoot us dead"),* emphasising the seriousness of these perceptions and the perceived vindictiveness of the antagonist.

Participants mostly relied on parents' teachings, as expressed through their recollections of such, to further substantiate perceptions of being threatened. Finally, the statement contained in the second extract above (*"my kind jy moet hard werk en baie leer sodat jy eendag 'n werk kan kry al is dit nie in hierdie land nie"/ "My child you have to work hard and learn a lot so that you can get a job even if it's not in this country"*), resonates interdiscursively with dominant discourses expressed by parents during participants' youth, while simultaneously reflecting a broader social discourse, encapsulated in the same notion of whites being restricted both in terms of employment opportunities and in terms of having better prospects of gaining employment outside the country. Such discourses further reinforce prevalent beliefs expressed in the texts relating to emigration as being the only means of ensuring safety, security, and peaceful future existence. Discourses of the vindictive Other are further elaborated on by discourses of insecurity, expressing participants' concerns relating to their own safety, as well as that of their family, their children, and Afrikaners in general.

> Wat beteken dit om wit te wees in Suid Afrika? My eerste gedagte is, dis vreesaanjaend! […] Die wanorde maak dat ons almal onveilig voel. Moord, inbrake en verkragtings is aan die orde van die dag en daar is geen beheer daaroor nie. Wat gaan van ons kinders word in 'n land waar dit aanvaarbaar is dat daar ingebreek, gemoor en verkrag word en niemand doen verantwoording daarvoor nie? […] met wat huidiglik aangaan voel dit asof jy eerder wil weghardloop en 'n "niemand" gaan wees in 'n land wat nie jou eie is nie en waar jy eintlik nie inpas nie. Die onbekende omgewing en taal is 'n beter vooruitsig as om te bly […] alles verander in 'n deurmekaar, onbeheerde gemors wat maak dat ons onveilig en teleurgesteld voel […] Om wit te wees in Suid Afrika is taai.

Die onsekerheid oor wat more bring los 'n ontsettende vrees […] hoe weet ons wanneer dit nie net drasties gaan verander en daar niks van ons gaan oorbly nie? […] Ons is bekommerd dat daar nie meer vir ons en ons kinders 'n toekoms gaan wees nie. Moet ons gaan of moet ons bly?

What does it mean to be white in South Africa? My first thoughts are, it's terrifying! […] The disorder makes us all feel unsafe. Murder, burglary and rape are at the order of the day and there is no control over it. What is going to happen to our children in a country where burglary, murder and rape is acceptable and nobody accounts for it? […] with what's happening today, it feels like you'd rather run away and be a "nobody" in a country that's not your own and where you do not actually fit in. The unknown environment and language are a better prospect than staying […] everything turns into a confused, uncontrolled mess that makes us feel unsafe and disappointed […] Being white in South Africa is tough. The uncertainty about what tomorrow might bring leaves a terrible fear […] how can we know if it will not all drastically change and leave nothing remaining of us? […] We are concerned that there will be no future for us and our children. Should we go or should we stay?

Participant 30 (F)

Ek weet eerlikwaar nie meer of daar 'n plek vir ons wit mense in die land is nie. Ek voel verontreg in die hoogste graad! Ek voel bedreig en onveilig. Ek het geen meer gevoel van veiligheid nie.

I honestly no longer know if there is a place for us white people in the country. I feel extremely wronged! I feel threatened and unsafe. I have no sense of security anymore

Participant 21 (F)

The extracts above reflect a general perception of being concerned about safety and security, as well as being uncertain about the future prospects of Afrikaners. The first extract above provides an example of the generally shared perception that crimes such as murder, burglary, and rape are commonplace within the South African context, devoid of any measures to mitigate such (*"Moord, inbrake en verkragtings is*

aan die orde van die dag en daar is geen beheer daaroor nie" / "Murder, burglary and rape are at the order of the day and there is no control over it"). These notions are extended by participants to express concerns about their own, and specifically their children's, future. Such personal accounts are frequently coupled with assertions of fact serving to further substantiate these perceptions. This is done by using words and phrases such as *is aan die orde van die dag* ("are at the order of the day") asserting the unquestionable nature of these statements portrayed as fact.

Other rhetorical strategies employed in these accounts include the use of group terms and inductive reasoning or generalisation: that is, assigning information observed in part of a group (or an individual) to the group as a whole. For example, implying that all Afrikaners feel unsafe as a result of perceived chaos in the country (*"Die wanorde maak dat ons almal onveilig voel" / "The disorder makes us all feel unsafe"*) and implying a commonly held concern and uncertainty about their own and their children's future (*"Ons is bekommerd dat daar nie meer vir ons en ons kinders 'n toekoms gaan wees nie" / "We are concerned that there will be no future for us and our children"*). Moreover, arguments are utilised to affect the audiences' personal feelings by appealing to emotion; for example: *"Wat gaan van ons kinders word in 'n land waar dit aanvaarbaar is dat daar ingebreek, gemoor en verkrag word en niemand doen verantwoording daarvoor nie?" / "What is going to happen to our children in a country where burglary, murder and rape is acceptable and nobody accounts for it?".* Additionally, the texts regularly employ perspective, thus providing accounts in the first person evident in phrases such as *Ek weet* ("I know"), *Ek voel* ("I feel"), and *Ek het* ("I have"), compelling the audience to construe the text in line with the author's own specific point of view, as part of the in-group, i.e. as an Afrikaner. Participants also relied on discourses of beleaguerment (i.e. aggressive pressure or intimidation) to

express their accounts of being under constant attack. These accounts are specifically portrayed in relation to Afrikaner history, culture, and the associated symbols extending to the entire ethnic group of Afrikaners.

Pak julle goed mense en gaan bou vir julle 'n nuwe lewe in 'n ander land. Hulle soek ons nie in Suid-Afrika nie en hulle moor en roof om van ons ontslae te raak. […] al wat 'n wit mens is word ontwapen en blootgestel vir roof, moor, aanranding, verkragting ens.

Pack your bags people and go build a new life in another country. They do not want us in South Africa and they are murdering and robbing us to get rid of us. […] all white people are being disarmed and exposed to robbery, murder, assault, rape, etc.

Participant 26 (F)

Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het in ons nuwe land! Dienoorennkomstig word ons geskiedenis herskryf en uitgewis, vra jouself wat jy kan onthou van Afrikaanse geskiedenis […] dis skokkend om te dink […] Afrikaners word uitgebeeld as evil dominators of terroriste wat alles van die swartman gevat het sonder enige vergoeding. Alle simbole van Afrikanerskap val onder die loop, streek, stad en straat name word alledaags verander en aanvaar as normaal. Wie kan bybly met al die nuwe name? Ek wil nie eers praat van ons gedenkbeelde nie […] Daar is niks oor van ons eens trotse kultuur nie. Wanneer laas het jy volkspele gesien of van gehoor? Dis geen wonder dat ons verbouereerd staan en toekyk hoe alles rondom ons vergaan nie […] Afrikaners is vandag 'n bedreigde spesie!

It's as if "white" has become a swearword in our new country! Consequently, our history is being rewritten and wiped out, ask yourself what you can remember from Afrikaans history […] it's shocking to think […] Afrikaners are portrayed as evil dominators or terrorists who took everything from the blackman without any compensation. All symbols of Afrikanership fall under the gun, region, city and street names are changed and accepted as normal. Who can keep up with all the new names? I do not even want to talk about our memorials […] There is nothing left of our proud culture. When did you last see or hear "volkspele"? It's no wonder we are standing around sheepishly and watching everything around us being ruined […] Afrikaners today are an endangered

Participant 35 (M)

The extracts above provide examples of expressed perceptions that whites are being subjected to continuous attacks by the vindictive Other. In particular, these accounts articulate the Other's attacks on Afrikaner culture, history, and the associated symbols (such as statues and place and street names), additionally extending to the entire group of Afrikaners. It should be noted at this point that the Afrikaner language, Afrikaans, is not mentioned much, if at all, when accounting for fears and threat to the Afrikaners (in relation to culture, cultural symbols, and heritage). This observation is in contrast to previous findings (discussed in Chapter 2), which have almost unanimously highlighted the significant importance and centrality of Afrikaans to the identity and future existence of the Afrikaner. Similarly, religion is also not referenced much, with the only concerns relating to religion coming from accounts and experiences articulated by participants who themselves are parents.

The overall expression of these discourses is that of the persistent threat and fear of impending attacks on any one or a combination of levels, extending to an overall extremist perception of the Other's wilful intent to completely eliminate the entire Afrikaner group. The first extract above includes notions of Afrikaners purposefully being disarmed and consequently left defenceless and vulnerable to any form of attack. In particular, this account highlights a perceived form of disciplinary power institutionalised in the Firearms Control Act of 2000 regulating the ownership of firearms.

In the second extract, epigraph is utilised at the outset of the text, suggesting a specific theme of what is to follow (*"Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het in ons nuwe land" / "It's as if "white" has become a swearword in our new country!")* i.e. equating the element of whiteness with a swearword or curse (i.e. something impure and unwanted). This remark is followed by a transition word (*"Dienoorennkomstig" /*

"Consequently") which serves to link the intended theme, i.e. negative evaluation of whiteness, with the rest of the text, thereby creating unity and coherence. The rest of this text provides statements asserted to be fact, located within regimes of truth, followed by rhetorical questions used to substantiate the preceding asserted fact, in order to further persuade the audience of its validity. These include the statement that Afrikaner history is being rewritten and erased (*"word ons geskiedenis herskryf en uitgewis" / "our history is being rewritten and wiped out"*), that all forms of Afrikaner symbols are perceived to be under attack, specifically referring to street and place names (*"Alle simbole van Afrikanerskap val onder die loop, streek, stad en straat name word alledaags verander en aanvaar as normaal" / "All symbols of Afrikanership fall under the gun, region, city and street names are changed and accepted as normal"*), and that Afrikaner culture have completely been erased and is non-existent (*"Daar is niks oor van ons eens trotse kultuur nie" / "There is nothing left of our proud culture"*). This extract ends with an analogy portraying Afrikaners as an endangered species in order to emphasise the perceived severity of attacks on the entire Afrikaner ethnic group.

Finally, previously discussed discourses of restriction are used to substantiate and express a perceived inability to oppose any form of threat for fear of being reprimanded for voicing concerns. Such discourses of restriction resonate throughout all the themes. However, the particular relevance of such perceived restrictions lies in the specific effects or impact at an ideological level: in particular, reinforcing commonly shared beliefs among participants that whites are restricted from voicing any concern, thereby additionally reinforcing commonly shared beliefs of Afrikaner exclusion among participants, being located in an inferior position to all Others without any available prospects or opportunities for advancing their position.

2.6 "Wanneer hulle nie kry en kry en kry nie … dan vat hulle anyway" / "When they do not get and get and get, then they take anyway": Discourses of appropriation

This theme concerns perceptions of a vindictive Other simply taking or annexing whatever they want, without permission, and consequently using, abusing or consuming this for their own self-serving purposes, with a complete disregard for the consequences of their actions on the owner. The texts regularly contain essentialist discourses to account for the Other's perceived illegitimate sense of entitlement and complete disregard for the rights of others. Such discourses resonate interdiscursively with dominant Afrikaner-nationalistic discourses under Apartheid, of the Other's (specifically blacks') perceived naturalised incompetence and overall inability to develop. Although not as widely contained in the textual data, these accounts are well worth noting in respect potential impact on the meaning-making processes of this group and their constructions of the self and Other.

Hulle wil he ons moet hulle dra, ons moet alles vir hulle doen. Wil net he en he en he. En wanneer hulle nie kry en kry en kry nie.. dan vat hulle anyway.
They want us to carry them, we have to do everything for them. Just want and want and want. And when they do not get and get and get .. then they take anyway
Participant 4 (F)

Dit sal amazing wees as ons alaml in die land net kan saamstaan (kleurblind) en die probleme in hierdie land probeer oplos wat ons almal daagliks raak, maar nee, ons sal eerder toekyk hoe die land in duie stort net sodat ek die afrikaner se land kan vat en hy niks kry nie.

Mens hoor baie van mense se plase wat geeis is, maar het nooit gedink dit sal so ver gaan as woonbuurte nie! Moet ons wit mense nou maar ons eie plakkerskampe begin of wat? Maar dit sal ook van ons gevat word

It would be amazing if everyone in the country could all just stand together (color blind) and try to solve the problems in this country which affects all of us daily, but no, we would rather see how the country collapses just so that I can take the Afrikaner's land and leave him with nothing.

You hear allot about people's farms that have been taken, but I never thought it would go as far as neighborhoods! Should us white people start our own squatter camps or what? But this will also be taken from us

Participant 21 (F)

The excerpts above portray an overall perception relating to the Other's sense of entitlement as expressed in actions of appropriation, specifically in relation to land (farms) and residential property. The first extract portrays an aggressive tone and employs insulting language in a satirical fashion as a rhetorical strategy, consequently mocking the notion of the Other's sense of entitlement, additionally making fun of their perceived natural incompetence.

The second excerpt also employs satire to ridicule the Other. Moreover, this participant portrayed their account in the third person, i.e. from the perspective of the Other, a choice which served to emphasise the perceived completely irrational reasoning and associated cognitive processes of the Other (*"maar nee, ons sal eerder toekyk hoe die land in duie stort net sodat ek die afrikaner se land kan vat en hy niks kry nie." / "but no, we would rather see how the country collapses just so that I can take the Afrikaner's land and leave him with nothing"*). Such accounts once again reiterate perceptions of the Other's complete disregard for the consequences of their actions. The text also draws on prevalent societal discourses relating to land claims

and the seizing of farms, compelling readers to recall such instances. Here, the text aimed at emphasising the perceived ridiculous nature of this notion by relating the appropriation of farms to residential property, also employing satire to further mock this idea. Additionally, this participant employed a rhetorical question (*"Moet ons wit mense nou maar ons eie plakkerskampe begin of wat?" / "Should us white people start our own squatter camps or what?"*) to emphasise and strengthen the notion of the perceived injustice of land redistribution and to persuade the audience.

What is important to note from these themes is that this group of 1DAGs' construction of the racial Other is still laden with danger, fear, and threat. The extent of threat perceived is severe, and it is portrayed as omnipresent, elevated to a degree of being commonplace in the everyday lives of Afrikaners. These discourses serve to communicate participants' sense of constant fear and endangerment, specifically in relation to their socio-economic status, their future in the country, and safety (including that of their family and children) as well as the entire Afrikaner culture and overall position in the current social formation. At an ideological level, these discourses serve as a central feature around which participants construct their perceptions of whiteness, i.e. of being under constant threat and living in constant fear and uncertainty.

2.7 "Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het" / "It's as if "white" has become a swearword": Discourses of Depreciation

The next theme, depreciation, expands on the discursive network discussed thus far and deals with discourses that further serve to describe the element of whiteness, and consequently perceptions of being white, in the current social context. In this instance, participants start to formulate a negative perception of whiteness, which may extend to the self and group as a whole, as a result of possessing this

central element of identity. In other words, the element of whiteness is perceived as detrimental, consequently determining one's existence in the perceived current social hierarchy.

Although not explicitly stated, the texts seem to reflect a specific form of disciplinary power that appears to function automatically by indirectly controlling people's actions and thoughts, to the extent that individuals start to discipline themselves, acting in line with the wishes of the controlling Other. Consider, for example, the experience of disciplinary power, institutionalised in policies such as BB-BEE. Although contested, it is commonly accepted as truth, or reality, that employment opportunities in South Africa are mostly accorded to the previously disadvantaged black Other. This notion has become so ingrained in the general politics of the 1DAGs that it significantly impacts their thought processes and behaviour. Consequently, such notions function by demotivating young Afrikaners in their pursuit of employment within the country, additionally strengthening perceptions relating to emigration. At an ideological level, these discourses seem to reinforce post-Apartheid beliefs of white exclusion and subsequent perceptions of not belonging, i.e. of not being valued or having a place in the current South African social formation. Moreover, these discourses also further serve to promote, or strengthen, remnants of Afrikaner nationalist ideologies, relating to negative perceptions of the Other, albeit in a slightly new guise.

Discourses of depreciation are found throughout the texts and feature prominently in most of the participants' accounts. At first glance, these discourses are merely seen as stemming from perceptions of exclusion, abuse of power, and threat discussed in the previous themes. However, a more critical engagement with the texts highlighted the possibility that these discourses might be interpreted to serve the

function of "self-victimisation," or a false victimhood. In other words, the expression of such discourses might be seen as fabricating victimhood in order to, for example, manipulate the audience, or perhaps as a coping strategy, or in order to present one's social entitlements in a better light, or as a means of seeking attention. (This notion will be discussed in more detail later on.) What is important to note for now is that discourses of depreciation often resonate with previously discussed discourses of exclusion, exploitation, and threat to substantiate the little value attributed to whiteness. Such valuations most often result from the perceived impact and disadvantaged status attributed to those possessing the element of whiteness. The extracts below provide examples of such judgements aligned to perceptions of separation, restriction, exploitation, and threat.

Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika is n straf, dis om te leef in vrees en onderdrukking. Met n anker om die nek.
Being white in the new South Africa is a punishment, it is to live in fear and oppression. With an anchor around the neck.
Participant 31 (M)

Ek as wit Suid-Afrikaner moet 'n bietjie harder werk en bietjie harder bid omdat wetgewing bepaal dat ek onmiddellik op die agtervoet is as dit kom by werksmoontlikhede.
As a white South African, I have to work a bit harder and pray a bit harder because legislation stipulates that I'm immediately on the bottom when it comes to job opportunities
Participant 13 (M)

Dis nie so maklik om te kan droom as jy na die realiteite kyk nie. Ek het di BEE effek ook negatief beleef. Ek kon ni n permanente posisie kry ni weens my vel kleur

It's not so easy to dream if when faced with reality. I also experienced the BEE effect negatively. I could not get a permanent position because of my skin color

Participant 3 (F)

The illustrative accounts above express participants' perceptions on the element of whiteness as being a burden (*"Om wit te wees […] is 'n straf" / "Being white […] is a punishment"*), a disabling factor responsible for their perceived sense of being restricted and excluded, discriminated against, and under constant threat. In addition, by portraying these perceptions as factual and uncontested, the texts further aim at convincing the audience of the veracity of these perceptions. The first excerpt associates being white in South Africa with a burden, with living in fear and under suppression. This notion is then emphasised with a short follow-up sentence, making use of imagery to compare being white to having an anchor around the neck. The second extract is portrayed in the first person *"EK"* ("I") and associates being white to having to work harder and pray harder in order to attain employment; because legislation and policies (e.g. BB-BEE) position whites at the bottom of the social hierarchy (*"omdat wetgewing bepaal dat ek onmiddellik op die agtervoet is" / "because legislation stipulates that I'm immediately on the bottom"*). The third excerpt, although concise, provides an illustration of how participants accounted for the impact of being white on their daily existence. The section starts by stating that it is difficult to dream when faced with reality. The following two sentences then proceed to describe reality in terms of the perceived negative effect of policies, such as BB-BEE, which are alleged to limit employment opportunities for those having white skin (*"Ek kon ni n*

permanente posisie kry ni weens my vel kleur" / "I could not get a permanent position because of my skin color"). The texts contain a range of brief stories of personal experience to convey perceptions of being white, as in the following illustrative anecdote.

Dit het my omtrent 'n hele jaar gevat om selfs net 'n interview te kry en selfs toe moes ek deur 'n paar worstel om sukses te behaal. Meeste van my aansoeke het net reguit terug gekom met die boodskap "Sorry your application was unsuccessful as this is a BEE appointment". Ek moet bieg, vir 'n paar het ek dalk bietjie hoog gemik, maar meerderheid was ek way over qualified. Dit het my eerlikwaar BAIE mismoedig gemaak. Het ek sopas 6 jaar se universiteit worstel gewaste om nou werkloos te sit? […] Duidelik is die waarde wat ek kon toevoeg tot die sisteem nie belangrik genoeg geag nie en ek is suiwer beoordeel op my velkleur!

It took me about a year to get an interview and even then I had to struggle through a few to succeed. Most of my applications were merely returned with the message "Sorry your application was unsuccessful as this is a BEE appointment". I have to admit, for some I might have aimed a bit high, but for the majority I was way over-qualified. It honestly made me a bit despondent. Have I just wasted 6 years of struggling through university to be unemployed now? […] Clearly, the value I could add to the system is not considered important enough and I'm purely judged by my skin color!

Participant 14 (M)

The example articulates Participant 14's experienced difficulties when looking for employment. Here, the text follows a process of deductive reasoning, first of all stating that most applications were rejected, as they were BEE positions (*"Sorry your application was unsuccessful as this is a BEE appointment"*). Then, the text proceeded to substantiate the authors' suitability, with regards to the positions applied for (*"Ek moet bieg, vir 'n paar het ek dalk bietjie hoog gemik, maar meerderheid was ek way over qualified" / "I have to admit, for some I might have aimed a bit high, but for the majority I was way over-qualified"*), indicating that the author was overqualified for

most of the positions applied for. As such, a conclusion is drawn that in spite of competence, race (the colour of ones' skin) constitutes the only factor in determining employability. This notion is further emphasised by the presence of a rhetorical question, also appealing to the audience' emotion, detailing the number of years spent in tertiary education and asking if this was all in vain: (*"Het ek sopas 6 jaar se universiteit worstel gewaste om nou werkloos te sit?" / "Have I just wasted 6 years of struggling through university to be unemployed now?").* In this regard, possessing the element of whiteness is asserted as being, overall, debilitating. In other words, from an Afrikaner point of view in the present context, no attempt at developing or progressing the self will yield rewards and is a waste of time, as it is overshadowed by the disadvantage of being white.

In addition, discourses of depreciation contained in the texts seem to generalise negative evaluations of whiteness, as in the extract below.

Ons verloor ons werke omdat ons velkleur nie reg is nie, daar word nie gekyk na jou vaardighede nie, jy word bevooroordeel op jou velkleur. Geen wonder dat ons jongmense nie 'n behoefte het om te verbeter nie, wat is die punt?
We lose our work because the color of our skin is not right, your skills are not taken into account, and you are pre-judged on the color of your skin. No wonder our young people have no urge to improve themselves, what's the point?
Participant 30 (F)

By regularly employing collective nouns such as *"Ons"* ("Us") when detailing accounts of being white, participants often generalise, through the use of group terms, their perceptions to all those possessing the element of whiteness. In this case, Participant 30 further infers that this debilitating nature of whiteness is responsible for

a perceived lack of motivation among Afrikaner youth to further develop or educate themselves. This notion is expressed by means of an intuitive insight relating to regimes of truth (apparently brought on by considering preceding statements) and is further emphasised by employing a rhetorical question asking, *"wat is die punt?'*, i.e. what is the point in trying to develop yourself if all that matters is the colour of your skin? Although not explicitly stated, the majority of participants' accounts acknowledge a similar situation in which the Other found themselved under Apartheid.

Subsequently, the texts allude to the potential impact that such perceptions of whiteness have, or could have, on perceptions of the self.

Geen persoon, ongeag sy gevoel en houding teenoor ander rasse, kan gemaklik voel indien hy/sy afgekeur word vir 'n werksposisie as gevolg van sy velkleur

No person, regardless of his feelings and attitudes towards other races, can feel comfortable if he / she is rejected for a job position due to the color of his skin

Participant 13 (M)

Ek voel belas deur my vel kleur, verhinder en onderdruk! Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het in ons nuwe land!

I feel burdened by the color of my skin, hindered and oppressed! It's as if "white" has become a swearword in our new country!

Participant 35 (M)

Kleur was nooit vir my n kwessie gewees toe ek jonger was nie. Dit was nooit vir my n faktor gewees dat ek wit was nie. Daarom het ek dalk nooit geweet hoe diep rassisme en ongelykheid gewortel is in die samelewing nie. Maar n mens se persepsie verander as jy blootgestel word aan BBBBEEEE (of wat dit nou al genoem word) en die wete dat jy agter in n tou staan om poste te vul, al moes jy hard gewerk het om paslik

gekwalifiseerd te wees en niks net in jou skoot geval het nie. Dit veroorsaak dat jou velkleur jou menswees bepaal en dis tragies.

Color was never an issue for me when I was younger. It was never a factor that I was white. Therefore, I never knew how deep racism and inequality was rooted in society. But one's perception changes when you are exposed to BBBBEEEE (or whatever it is called nowerdays) and knowing that you are in the back of a que when it comes to employment, even though you had to work hard to become aptly qualified and nothing just fell in your lap. This causes the color of your skin to determine your humanity which is tragic.

Participant 9 (F)

The first two extracts above provide explicit accounts of participants' perceptions of the impact that skin colour has on the individual in the current South African context. The first excerpt states that losing out on an employment opportunity because of the colour of your skin will make any person feel uncomfortable. The text generalises this notion by accounting for all people from the outset (*"Geen persoon" / "No person"*). In the second extract, the perceived burden (*"belas" / "burdened"*), limitation (*"verhinder" / "hindered"*) and subjugation (*"onderdruk" / "oppressed"*) associated with being white (*"deur my vel kleur" / "because of my skin color"*) is explicitly stated. The text then further substantiates this perception by employing an analogy, as previously discussed equating whiteness to a swear word (*"Dis asof "wit" 'n vloekwoord geword het in ons nuwe land" / "It's as if "white" has become a swearword in our new country"*).

The last excerpt above provides an illustrative account of the perception that whiteness has become such a burden that it determines one's being or existence (*menswees*). The participant starts by stating that colour was never a factor for them during their youth. This notion is then used to account for their limited knowledge of

the extent of racism and inequality in society. The next section states that the participant's perceptions (relating to colour) changed when coming into direct contact with the BB-BEE policy, which is simultaneously ridiculed (as in most texts) by including more Bs and Es in the acronym, conveying a disregard or negative perception of the concept: *"BBBBEEEE (of wat dit nou al genoem word)"* / *"BBBBEEEE (or whatever it is called nowerdays)"*. This deliberate misspelling of the program relates to the acronym's evolution from BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) to BB-BEE (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment) in the policies' development. The text then describes the perceived impact of BB-BEE as locating whiteness at the back of the line when it comes to employment (*"dat jy agter in n tou staan om poste te vul"* / *"that you are in the back of a queue when it comes to employment"*). The extent of this perceived impact is then emphasised: the participant explains that it occurs in spite of having worked hard to attain suitable qualifications (*"al moes jy hard gewerk het om paslik gekwalifiseerd te wees"* / *"even though you had to work hard to become aptly qualified"*) and in spite of nothing merely falling in your lap (*"niks net in jou skoot geval het nie"*), referring to the notion of white privilege, while simultaneously refuting having benefitted from it. A conclusion is then reached, by means of deductive reasoning, that BB-BEE legislation or policies causes the colour of ones' skin to determine one's existence or being (*"Dit veroorsaak dat jou velkleur jou menswees bepaal"* / *"nothing just fell in your lap"*).

3. DISCURSIVE INSTABILITY AND DISCONTINUITY

As already discussed, discourse analysis is primarily focused on revealing hidden relations of power, contradictions, and potential alternate interpretations, which have the potential to destabilise the apparently continuous nature of meanings within a body of texts. In addition, by exposing the myth of the unitary and fixed subject, critical

discourse analysis reveals how in the details of everyday interactions, the potential for alternative ways of being in the world become evident (Macleod, 2002; Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). By identifying potential oppositions within participants' accounts, alternative interpretations thereof were highlighted and discussed relating to relative positions of power and consequential ideological effects.

While many of these instances of discursive instability have been infused into the preceding textual analysis, the following excerpts represent additional illustrations of oppositions and instabilities within the discursive themes. As previously alluded to, the ensemble of texts does contain instances, although minute, where the notion of racial separation or isolation becomes questioned. Such instances are mainly expressed when accounting for perceived relations of power and their impact on economic status. The following extracts represent moments in the texts where the notion of being disadvantaged on the basis of being white is challenged, instead positing a system of abuse of power based on socio-economic status (or class), rather than on skin colour (or race), i.e. the rich versus the poor.

My ekonomiese status as Afrikaner word nie noodwendig benadeel nie. Alhoewel as n Suid Afrikaner is ek gldnie gelukkig met hoe my ekonomiese status beinvloed word nie. Dit is nie n ras spesefieke ding nie want alle belastingbetalende Suid Afrikaners suffer dieselfde! Ons almal moet meer belasting betaal, duurder petrol drank en sigarette asook etoll om vir Zuma se kasteel te betaal
My economic status as an Afrikaner is not necessarily being jeopardised. Although, as a South African, I'm not at all happy with how my economic status is affected. This is not a race-specific thing, because all taxpayers in South Africa suffer the same! We all have to pay more taxes, more expensive petrol alcohol and cigarettes as well as e-toll to pay for Zuma's castle
Participant 21 (F)

Terwyl meerderheid van ons land se mense in informele nedersettings leef binne ekstreme haglikke omstandigehede en armoede sonder water en basiese dienste bou Mr Zuma vir hom 'n luukse paleis met belastingbetalers se geld.

While the majority of our country's people live in informal settlements within extremely harsh conditions and poverty without water and basic services, Mr. Zuma is building a luxurious palace with taxpayers' money.

Participant 14 (M)

Maar tans is dit net mense wat klaar op daai vlak is wat gehelp word deur BEE terwyl die minder bevooreges nogsteeds is presies waar hulle was

But at present, only those who are already on that level benifits from BEE while the less advantaged are still exactly where they were

Participant 7 (F)

In the first extract, Participant 21 generalises the impact that exploitation of power and subsequent corruption has on a person's economic status, beyond the element of race, to impact all tax-paying South Africans: *"alle belastingbetalende Suid Afrikaners" / "All tax paying South Africans"*. Additionally, the specific choice of words (diction) used within the text draws the audience's attention to inflation, i.e. everyday expenses becoming more expensive (which participants' accounted for as affecting the majority of South Africans), e.g. fuel, alcohol, cigarettes and e-toll, (*"duurder petrol drank en sigarette asook etoll" / "more expensive petrol alcohol and cigarettes as well as e-toll"*). The second extract uses imagery to describe the conditions within rural and poverty-stricken communities (*"ekstreme haglikke omstandigehede" / "extremely harsh conditions"*). This image is then juxtaposed against that of the president's house (*"'n luukse paleis" / "a luxurious palace"*), ultimately appealing to the audience's

emotions and emphasising the notion that the powerful are abusing their positions of power at the direct expense of the poor, not just whites. The third extract echoes these notions of class-based power relations by stating that only the rich (*"mense wat klaar op daai vlak is" / "only those who are already on that level"*) benefit from policies intended to uplift the poor and previously disadvantaged.

Similarly, the texts also contain discontinuities that seem to contest discourses of restriction and limitation to a certain extent, as evidenced in the excerpts below. Such accounts directly challenge the prevailing extremist belief that whites are overall restricted and limited within the South African context, used to substantiate perceptions of being subjugated. Although the texts still allude to a level of restriction and limitation, perceptions on the extent thereof clearly challenged the view common to the in-group that Afrikaners are absolutely restricted, excluded and ultimately subjugated.

al is dit nie meer so regverdig nie, het ons groep nog baie baie geleenthede in SA […] belangrik om te besef dat jy op geen plek nul probleme en onregverdighede gaan ervaar nie, behalwe natuurlik in die graf […] geleenthede is plenty […] jaag dit net na … walala wasala
although it is no longer that fair, our group still has a lot of opportunities in SA […] it's important to realise that in no place will you experience zero problems and injustices except of course in the grave […] opportunities are plenty […] just chase it … . walala wasala
Participant 6 (M)

Ek sal ook se in terme van werk soek beinvloed dit nie rerig vir my nie, maar dit is ook die bedryf waarin ek werk, hulle soek maar mense wat die werk kan doen, dit is net n "bonus" as hulle ook swart is.

> *I will also say that in terms of job hunting this does not really affect me, but this is also because of the industry in which I work, they only want people who can do the job, it's just a "bonus" if they are black as well.*
>
> ***Participant 7 (F)***

> Verder is ek persoonlik gatvol vir wit mense wat heeldag kla oor hul omstandighede. Jou lewe is nie so kak nie. Jy kon die stink boemelaar oop die straat gewees het […] Man is Master of his own destiny […] Dis net bietjie moeiliker vir 'n wit man in Suid - Afrika.
>
> *Furthermore, I am personally fed up with white people who complain about their circumstances all day long. Your life is not so shit. You could have been the stinky hobo in the street […] Man is Master of his own destiny […] It's just a little harder for a white man in South Africa*
>
> ***Participant 13 (M)***

In the first excerpt above, the text states that despite the unjust nature of South African society, the 1DAGs still have a number of opportunities in the country (*"het ons groep nog baie baie geleenthede"* / *"our group still has a lot of opportunities"*). This notion is then further substantiated through the outlook provided that inequality and related problems exist everywhere, except in the grave, additionally stating that opportunities are plenty and implying that one only needs to chase them. This extract further draws intertextually on the popular Zulu saying *"Walala Wasala"* (you snooze, you lose), further inferring that if you do not act, you will not attain success in contrast to the prevailing view among participants that even if you do not snooze, because you are white you have already lost.

The second extract relates to perceived restrictions imposed on whites' employment opportunities through the BB-BEE program. In this instance, the

uncontested belief that BB-BEE extensively restricts every sector of employment is dismantled by providing a personal perspective of direct experience, where competency is valued above race, which is said to be an added advantage (*"dit is net n "bonus" as hulle ook swart is" / "it's just a "bonus" if they are black as well"*). The third extract employs invective, using angry and insulting language in addressing whites, who are perceived to be constantly complaining about their circumstances, additionally relaying subsequent experienced frustration in this regard (*"gatvol vir wit mense wat heeldag kla […] Jou lewe is nie so kak nie" / "fed up with white people who complain […] all day long. Your life is not so shit."*). The text then proceeds, by employing imagery, to convey the notion that whites' circumstances are not "that bad" (*"Jy kon die stink boemelaar oop die straat gewees het" / "You could have been the stinky hobo in the street"*). This notion is further emphasised by employing a didactic injunction intended to teach the lesson that everyone is in charge of, or has control over, their own destiny (*"Man is Master of his own destiny"*). This optimistic statement is followed by employing aphorism, making the point that despite perceived restrictions and limitations, whites can still develop and prosper in South Africa; it is just slightly more difficult for them (*"Dis net bietjie moeiliker vir 'n wit man in Suid – Afrika" / "It's just a little harder for a white man in South Africa"*)

Although highly contested throughout all the texts, a more critical reading highlighted instances where accounts of white privilege are clearly portrayed. The extracts below provide examples of such portrayals through recollections of participants' youth. The first two extracts detail the relatively care-free and "advantaged" lifestyle that participants experienced during their youth. In these instances the texts neglect to make reference to the lifestyle of the Other during this socio-historical context, which, when drawn into comparison, highlights the privileged

nature of growing up as white. The third extract provides a blatant account from one participant, detailing the perceived impact of Apartheid's legacy and the subsequent presence of white privilege. In this account, Participant 12 provides their perspective of white students' support network at home being much more substantial than those of black students. It is implied that this disparity is a result of the white students' parents having benefited from white privilege under Apartheid, which is perceived to have provided them with opportunities to develop, educate, and progress themselves above the underprivileged Other. Subsequently, the text implies that because of Apartheid's legacy, the Other were not able to develop, educate, and progress themselves to the same extent as whites. As such, they are still disadvantaged and unable to provide the same support to their children as white parents, additionally implying that whites are still benefiting from their historically privileged positions and providing justification for affirmative action programs.

Ons as "80's babas" het seker die beste laaste tyd as "grootword - speeltyd" gehad van ons mense (kamp, visvang, stap, parkie speel ens). Ons was ongelooflik baie gesieend & gelukkig.

Us as "80's babies" have probably had the best and last time of "growing-up-playtime" of our people (camp, fishing, walking, park games etc.). We were incredibly blessed & very fortunate.

Participant 11 (F)

Wel kom ons begin met waarmee ons groot geword: ons kon water uit n kraan gedrink het, ons kon op ons fietse na n pel toe gery het en donker terug gegaan het huis toe sonder dat jy geroof word vir jou selfoon of fiets. Ons kon aan sport deeleem en op meriete gekies word. En nie op vel kleur nie.

Well, let's start with what we grew up with: we could drink water from a tap, we could ride on our bicycles to a friend and return home after dark without being robbed of your

> *cellphone or bicycle. We could participate in sports and be chosen on merit. And not based on the color of our skin.*
>
> **Participant 2 (M)**

> Daar was wel al gevalle hoe ek kon sien dat Apartheid steed 'n impak op sommige van die kinders se lewe het. Meeste van my wit leerders gaan na 'n huis toe waar ma en pa geletterd is en hul help met hul huiswerk ens. Baie van my swart leerders gaan na 'n huis waar ma en in baie gevalle ouma nie kan lees of skryf nie en dus het hierdie leerder 'n agterstand veral die wat bietjie sukkel.
>
> *There have been instances where I could see that apartheid still has an impact on some of the children's lives. Most of my white learners return to a home where mom and dad are literate and help them with their homework etc. Many of my black learners return to a home where mom and, in many cases, granny, can not read or write so this learner has a setback, especially those who struggle a little*
>
> **Participant 12 (F)**

Finally, the texts contain a number of instances that seem to contradict discourses of depreciation. Contrary to participants' more prominent articulations, in these accounts, the element of whiteness is related to competence and ability, something to be valued of which to be proud. Whether conscious or subconscious, these assigned characteristics or attributes convey a sense of privilege when compared to perceptions of the Other, as previously discussed. However, this element in the discourse could merely be an effort to attain a more positive self-concept, or a positive sense of social identity, within post-Apartheid South Africa. In the following extract, the participant clearly states that they are proud to be Afrikaans (white). The second extract draws on the popular Afrikaner saying of "*'n boer maak 'n plan*,"

attributing elements of competence, ability, and determination to the element of whiteness.

Is ek trots Afrikaans? Verseker!
Am I proudly Afrikaans? Absolutely!
Participant 12 (F)

'n BOER maak mos nou maar 1 keer n plan!
A BOER makes a plan. Once!
Participant 21 (F)

While the above illustrations were by no means intended to offer an exhaustive account of the discursive instabilities within the participants' texts, they nevertheless provided a snapshot of the internal contradictions relating to the value of whiteness and perceived discrimination within their discursive productions. A closer reading of the previous analytic sections within this chapter reveal many more such instances. When taking into account all of the instabilities and ambiguities reflected within the texts and discursive analyses in this chapter, the potential for subverting continuous and taken-for-granted beliefs and perceptions around being white in the current South African context becomes more apparent.

The next chapter, the concluding chapter, provides a brief reflection on the methodological approach and theoretical paradigm as they pertain to the investigation. The chapter endeavours to interpret the findings from the analysis report in line with the initial research question and along the constructs on which this question is

mounted, i.e., power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture, before concluding with some recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

This study aimed at uncovering what it means to be white within the context of post-Apartheid South Africa through examining the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences around power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture, held by a group of young Afrikaners (1DAGs), more than twenty years after the fall of Apartheid.

By way of conclusion, it is perhaps useful to first of all reflect on the specific methodological principles and aims as framed by the theoretical paradigm and in relation to the current investigation. Secondly, it will also be worthwhile to briefly reflect on the overall predicament that the specific subject position is said to be faced with in the post-Apartheid South African context.

It should be noted once again that this study did not aim at investigating the Afrikaner identity nor the (re)construction thereof in post-Apartheid South Africa. This investigation was specifically concerned with the meaning(s) attributed to the element of whiteness by a group of 1DAGs as expressed through self-articulated accounts of lived experiences and associated perceptions within the context South Africa more than 20 years after the fall of Apartheid.

This study was framed within the social constructionist paradigm, which emphasises the complexity and interrelatedness of various facets of human existence within communities. In other words, individuals are seen as being interwoven with their specific cultural, political, and historical evolution within a specific time and a specific

place. People's notions of reality are assumed to be constructed largely through social interactions, mediated by the use of language (discourse) and other symbolic systems. Importantly, this approach adopts the belief that our knowledge (i.e. the meanings we hold as true and use to make sense of the world) is not a true reflection of an objective reality, but rather that it is a product of our interpretations of the world as mediated by our lived experience and subjective perceptions of such. This consideration is in line with Foucault's (1991) notion of "regimes of truth," in that the meanings we (as individual human beings or social groups) hold and regard as true are not an independent truth but rather a product of our discourses (Burr, 1995). This subjective reality, which we regard as true, conveys our own unique understanding of the world in which we find ourselves and is constructed socially during our everyday lived interactions. In other words, the subjective meanings we attribute to constructs, objects, and everyday events or social interactions in our lives represent a unique system of knowledge that we regard as being true. Consequently, we refer to this unique system of knowledge throughout our daily lives and social interactions in order to make sense of the world as it appears to us. Other individuals or groups may regard this system of knowledge or "regimes of truth" as illegitimate, untrue, or a fabrication of some sort, specifically when it comes into contradiction to their own unique subjective reality. This potential site of incommensurability constitutes part of the unique nature of human beings and is not necessarily considered to be problematic. According to the hermeneutic tradition (Clingerman et al., 2013) we are in fact both restricted and enabled through our own prejudices, in that we understand ourselves and others from our own unique and particular standpoint (or horizon).

The specific methodological approach adopted in this investigation is one that mainly concerns itself with tackling important social problems or issues. Critical

discourse analysis (CDA) assumes a social constructionist view of the world. Consequently, CDA practitioners assume that people's notions of reality are constructed largely through interaction with others, through the use of language and other semiotic systems of subjective meaning-making. Thus, reality is not seen as immutable but rather as open to change—which raises the possibility of changing it for the better. As such, CDA is heavily concerned with language use as discourse and aims at illuminating the particular ways in which dominant forces in society (i.e. those wielding power) construct versions of reality, which often penetrate the regimes of truth of a particular group, to favour their own interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA practitioners aim to reveal sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias. This unveiling is done by analysing written or spoken text (i.e. discourses), with an acknowledgement that authentic texts are produced and read (or heard) not in isolation but in some real-world context with all of its complexity. In other words, the ways in which people comprehend and depict their world are regarded as historically and culturally specific and contingent; any set of beliefs and perceptions could have easily been different, and they can certainly change over time. Consequently, discourse is seen as a mode of social action which contributes to the production and maintenance of the social world, including knowledge, ideologies, and social relationships. Within this methodological approach and theoretical frame, humans are regarded as "self-interpreting beings": that is, our unique reality and perceptions of who we are, are based on the (subjective) meanings we construct in our everyday lives (Taylor, 1985). Essentially, then, the main objective of this study was to explore and analyse the subjective meaning(s) participants attribute to whiteness, and hence to being white, within their unique lived world, the world as directly experienced in their

subjectivity of everyday life, as sharply distinguishable from the notion of an objective world, knowledge, or truth.

As previously discussed, Afrikaners are said to be faced with a crisis in post-Apartheid South Africa. This crisis directly relates to the Afrikaner identity and how Afrikaners are struggling to find themselves, i.e. to reformulate or construct their identity in the new social order, given the massive changes they have experienced. The magnitude and extent of social and political changes that have occurred since the demise of Apartheid have certainly had an impact on the meaning-making process of Afrikaners. Consequently, these changes also directly impacted the meaning(s) attributed to the element of whiteness, and also how possessing this element of whiteness relates to the individual's everyday existence and perceptions of the self, the group, and the Other.

Through a critical analysis of the discourses produced in participants' accounts, this investigation also managed to highlight and discuss alternative ways of interpreting the experiences and perceptions communicated by participants. However, as noted, within the overall theoretical coordinates of this study, the fundamental nature of human subjective experience is highly valued and emphasised. In other words, the investigation did not aim at analysing the legitimacy of such subjective experience in relation to an objective truth, or in producing generalisable conclusions, but was instead fundamentally concerned with the participants' subjective meanings (their "truths") attributed to the element of whiteness as communicated in their accounts, and further with the ways in which they perceived this element to impact their everyday existence. Other individuals or subjectivities might have different experiences and perceptions related to the element of whiteness, as derived from their particular social and historical predispositions, and might very well, as a result,

interpret participants' accounts differently than the researcher has. This possibility is important to note while reviewing the interpretations and discussions provided here. That is, the findings as interpreted and discussed by the researcher cannot and should not be regarded as universally true or generalisable, but only as constituting one specific subjective interpretation of information attained from a group of subjectivities. Nevertheless, the insights gained from these findings are argued to be of significance, specifically in expanding the limited field of knowledge around the element of whiteness in South Africa and how this element is understood and perceived to impact the everyday lives of those who embody it.

2. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In summarising and discussing the findings of the present investigation, it is perhaps useful to also track the analytical process employed. The specific constructs on which the initial research question was mounted and which framed most of the data collection process were not necessarily the main themes that emerged in the texts during analysis, although they were contained therein. As such, the findings are broadly delineated into two areas which integrally relate to one another. As a result and for the sake of convenience, a brief summary of the textual analysis and findings contained in the preceding chapter will be provided before aiming to interpret and discuss these findings along the initial constructs of power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture.

The first broad area of findings generally relates to the discursive themes which emerged from the analysis of participants' accounts. Operating as "language" in a social context, a discourse describes our perceptions of the world and carries out the social and intellectual life of a community or specific social group (Mercer, 1995)

including the social content of various expressions of power. Seven discursive themes emerged from participants' accounts of being white in post-Apartheid South Africa. Generally, these discourses fundamentally served to describe (a) perceptions of the current South African social formation and the associated position of the Afrikaner (whites) and the Other; (b) perceptions of the ways in which the majority ruling party utilise their position(s) of political power; (c) the threats 1DAGs experience; and (d) the impact of their regimes of truth and associated experiences on their self and group-based perceptions. Subsequent consecutive readings and deeper critical examinations of these texts revealed some possible contradictions and oppositions within the data, which exposed the potential for alternative meanings or interpretations to emerge, as previously discussed.

Within this first theme, *"Black, Indian, Coloured, White": Discourses of Racial Classification* the uncontested notion of a racialised society governed and legitimated by the politically powerful Other became apparent. This notion featured throughout all discourses as the fundamental belief upon which perceptions were based. In particular, this system is perceived as an extension of that which was present under Apartheid. However, in the current social hierarchy, whites are believed to be separated from all "other" races as a deliberate attempt of the state at attaining democratic equality. Expanding on this notion is an overall consensus on the injustices of Apartheid and the morally flawed subjectivity of the previous generation of Afrikaners. Such negative evaluations surfaced through the expression of moral discourses and anti-racist beliefs. Moreover, the expression of distancing discourses seem to confirm the general belief amongst 1DAGs that they cannot be held responsible for Apartheid. Drawing on these regimes of truth produced certain ideological effects, the most prominent of which was found in the overt (re)construction

of the perceived social formation (described as being similar to that of Apartheid) and the associated (albeit reversed) positioning of the in-group and the Other within this social hierarchy. Although expressing resistance and challenging this perceived hierarchy, participants' distancing discourses served to further strengthen the maintenance of such a system through the continuous presence of regressive elements. In other words, through the continuous use of group terms such as "us whites" and "them," participants' accounts maintain this perceived system of racial classification. Such regressive discourses were found to resonate with nationalistic discourses of white separation and isolation from all other races. Where such separateness historically revolved around being special, superior, and singled out for a divine purpose, within the current context, participants associated their separateness with more negative connotations. The overall effect at an ideological level served to morally disassociate the 1DAGs from the previous generation of Afrikaners, their privileged position, and their Apartheid history. In a parallel fashion, the politically powerful Other is portrayed as similarly flawed for maintaining the system of racial classification of Apartheid in the current order. Hence, the in-group is portrayed as righteous and just, in favour of democratic equality, but perceived to be prevented from reaching their equal social position within South African society through the purposeful separation and isolation of whites.

Discourses of separation and isolation are further developed in the second theme, "*Almal behalwe ons wittes*" / "*Everyone except us whites*": *Discourses of Exclusion* where they serve to express discourses of restriction and limitation, essentially describing the perceived social boundaries of the group along the described hierarchy. Discourses of restriction were mainly employed when accounting for uncontested experiences of preferential treatment, access to opportunities,

representativeness and inclusivity, and expressions of concern and value. These discourses were so widely expressed that they appear to be uncontested, forming part of this group's general regime of truth. Discourses of restriction further serve in articulating the generally accepted boundaries of the group as perceived within the social hierarchy. A more critical engagement with the textual data revealed certain generally held expectations of what democracy was intended to achieve. The overall acknowledgement of the need for such restorative measures serves to strengthen the morally superior picture of the in-group. In comparing shared expectations of democracy's intent with current experiences, participants' texts pronounce the politically ruling Other as unjust and unrighteous due their political actions being in contradiction with the expectations they created. That is, within democratic South Africa, all races and genders were expected (as evidenced in participants' accounts) to eventually be regarded as equal, eliminating any form of racial- or gender-based prejudice. In contrast, participants regard themselves as being excluded from this idealised society as a result of their whiteness and prevented from finding their place in post-Apartheid South Africa. Through the expression of discourses of exclusion, the text seem to be recycling remnants of old Afrikaner-nationalistic discourses relating to racially assigned attributes, implying a perceived incompetence of the Other on various levels. Although a few participants' accounts opposed discourses of exclusion based on personal experience, these accounts mainly spoke to the variety in the level of exclusion experienced, in that the 1DAGs are not completely excluded from all opportunities. Such incongruences, although relevant, did not seem to destabilise the overall consensus, i.e. these oppositions still imply perceived exclusion to some extent. Together, the discourses expressed in these first two themes portray an overall perception that whites are purposefully being kept in an inferior position to the Other

in order for the Other to further develop their privileged position—in excess of what restorative justice would demand. Given the emphasis on, for example, employment equity, racial quotas and overall radical economic transformation, the overall perception expressed by participants of being subjugated in post-Apartheid South Africa seems to be feasible.

These findings highlight the moral reversal of, and detachment from, Apartheid and post-Apartheid orders as specific strategies employed to cast criticism and doubt on the democratic era. Such strategies could be regarded as ultimately geared towards the (re)attainment of a morally viable subject position. Within the confines of this study, such psychological processes are interpreted as serving to provide the group with a more positive sense of social identity, particularly in situations where the in-group is perceived as holding a lower status in the social hierarchy compared to the out-group and is unable to cross its perceived boundaries (cite self-categorisation theory). What is important to note from these first two discursive themes is that the discourses employed are reflective of a highly differentiated and uneven social context in which the categorisation and respective treatment of individuals based on their historical predisposition and race are legitimised at various levels. Furthermore, the texts reflected broader discourses of social determinism which locate the element of whiteness within a set of pre-determined social rules deemed to be constructed and maintained by the dominant political Other.

By drawing on this group's generally accepted regimes of truth, such as their lack of agency in and knowledge of Apartheid, and their purposeful separation and exclusion within democratic society, the texts further strengthens the perception that the 1DAGs find themselves in a purportedly disadvantaged position within the current South African context. These discourses are further expanded in themes three and

four, which mainly contain discourses of the Other abusing their power (a) at the direct expense of whites and (b) at the direct expense of all others in the country.

Discourses within the third theme are also demonstrated perceptions of the Other exploiting or abusing their position of power at the direct expense of whites. Expanding on the distancing discourses discussed above, within this theme, the in-group is portrayed as innocent and disadvantaged, and the Other as privileged in the current social formation. Within the production of these discourses, certain regimes of truth became apparent. In particular, strong resistance to the notion of Apartheid's lingering effects on the Other, as well as a rejection of the persistence of white privilege. These two concepts are overwhelmingly referenced and accepted overall as being exploited by the Other in order to motivate and justify their unjust actions directed at whites. In this regard, discourses of injustice surface which describe the Other as exploiting their position of power by depicting the implementation of affirmative action policies and restorative measures as illegitimate and geared towards retribution rather than restorative justice. More specifically, such exploitation is seen to result in whites being restricted in terms of finding employment, participating in national sports and access to tertiary education. In these instances, race is perceived as being the only determining factor, prioritised above competence and experience, where the element of whiteness is located at the bottom of the hierarchy. Through such discourses of injustice, this group of 1DAGs are representing themselves as innocent victims of their past, attributing the difficulties they are currently experiencing to the actions of the previous generation, which they consider themselves to have had no part in. Although the existence of white privilege in the current context is heavily challenged and rejected throughout most of participants' accounts, a more nuanced interpretation reveals other salient forms of privilege that participants attribute to themselves,

whether consciously or not. In this regard, being privileged is not associated with material gain, but it becomes located internally, relating to inherent attributes and abilities. In other words, although not directly articulated, the text contains instances throughout where participants describe their inherent abilities and competencies as vastly superior to that of the Other, in a manner reminiscent of nationalistic Afrikaner ideologies. In this sense, and perhaps even subconsciously, participants are portraying themselves as privileged in terms of inherent characteristics which the Other is seen to lack. Once again, this trend in the discourse highlights the psychological processes involved in attaining a more positive sense of self as a member of the in-group.

The fourth theme, although not as widely represented in the texts, expands on the previous by reformulating conceptions of the dominant racial Other as a politically powerful rich Other. In this regard, the abuse of power is voiced in terms of state corruption and described as negatively affecting all citizens of the country, regardless of their race. Although initial readings of these accounts were interpreted as a potential shift in perceived power relations (i.e. from racial discrimination to class-based discrimination), closer examination also revealed the possibility of shifting group boundaries in order to strengthen a position or argument; in this instance, the expressed notion that state officials are mostly corrupt and that they abuse their position of political power for their own benefit without considering anyone else. Consequently, these accounts could also be interpreted as a mechanism to strengthen negative perceptions of the out-group (thus bolstering the in-group). As such accounts are relatively confined within the texts, it becomes difficult to reach a conclusion on a final interpretation of their exact functions. The important findings to emerge from participants' accounts under these two themes, … and …, is the general construction

of the Other as inherently unjust and corrupt, bent on advancing their own interest at the direct expense of whites, although the purported injustice also extends beyond the element of race.

Theme five contains discourses of the vindictive Other, essentially expressing an omnipresent sense of threat as emanating from participants' perceptions of the inherently vengeful nature of the Other. Such threats are expressed in terms of the safety and security of the self and immediate family, extending to the future of Afrikaners as a whole, their culture, history, and position within the current and future social structure. In substantiating these accounts, participants heavily relied on vague recollections of their youth in addition to secondary information gained from their parents, teachers, and the media. Additionally, the texts drew on current events portrayed in the media relating to the changing of street and place names as well as the removal of old Afrikaner symbols.

Theme six expands on these widely cited perceptions of threat, believed to originate from a vindictive Other, through expressing discourses of appropriation. Essentially, these discourses relate to the Other's perceived sense of entitlement, specifically in terms of land and property. Although not as widely contained in the texts as discourses on some other themes, these discourses are mainly substantiated by referencing land claims and associated land redistributions portrayed by political leaders in the news and the media more broadly. What is important to note from the preceding two themes is that the 1DAGs' construction of the racial Other is still laden with danger, fear, and threat. The extent of the threat perceived is severe, and it is portrayed as omnipresent, elevated to the point of being commonplace in the everyday lives of Afrikaners.

An overall expression found in these discourses is that of a persistent threat and fear of impending attacks on any one level or any combination of levels, extending to an overall extremist perception of the Other's wilful intent to completely eliminate the entire group of Afrikaners. Through expressing such discourses, participants are again portraying themselves as innocent victims of an unjust political system which is perceived to condone discrimination, prejudice, and deliberate attacks on the Afrikaners as a means of revenge for Apartheid. At an ideological level, these discourses served the central feature around which participants construct their perception of whiteness and the racial other. That is, the Other (and their position of power) is perceived and portrayed as a central threat to the Afrikaners and their future existence.

The last theme, depreciation, essentially expands on the previous six discursive themes by grouping discourses that serve to describe meanings attributed to the element of whiteness and to perceptions of being white. These discourses of depreciation found throughout participants' accounts served to express negative perceptions of whiteness as a burden, a detrimental factor consequently determining one's entire existence or being in post-Apartheid South Africa. These discourses are interdiscursively related to dominant societal discourses problematizing whiteness, for example, that all whites are to be blamed for Apartheid and that whites are still benefiting from Apartheid at the expense of the previously disadvantaged as evidenced in the texts. Such perceptions also seem to filter through to the groups' regimes of truths, i.e. they are generally uncontested and accepted as reality, except for one or two oppositions in the text where a more optimistic account of whiteness can be located within participants' personal experiences. Although a few participants were more optimistic in their perceptions and depictions of whiteness, their accounts

nevertheless imply congruence with the majority perception that whiteness is a burden and greatly responsible for predicting one's existence within post-Apartheid South Africa. Such discourses are found throughout the texts, featuring prominently in most of the participants' accounts. These accounts were interpreted as stemming from perceptions of being excluded, the Other's abuse of power, and perceptions of threat, as contained in the previous themes. However, upon closer inspection, the few oppositions within participants' accounts revealed that these discourses could potentially serve again to portray whites as innocent victims of their circumstances and at the mercy of the all-powerful Other. The element of whiteness is constructed based on generally-accepted beliefs and a purportedly compromised set of moral values and ethical standards by which the minority rich and politically powerful Other are conducting themselves. At an ideological level, these discourses are seen to contribute to the general political climate of South African society in which the 1DAGs find themselves, in particular strengthening and maintaining dominant societal discourses problematizing the element of whiteness. Such ideologies, in turn, become internalised and are argued to impact the overall being of those possessing the element of whiteness.

Throughout the process of discourse production, certain regimes of truth became apparent which seemed to naturalise the uneven quality of perceived race relations in favour of the Other. These regimes of truth did not only reinforce perceptions of the Other's morally and ethically flawed values relating to retributive measures and entitlement, but they also served to position the 1DAG as innocent victims of their past and present circumstances. In addition, at an ideological level, this group's accounts serve to portray them as morally superior to the Other, but also to the previous generation of Afrikaners, to whom all the negative attributes of Apartheid

are assigned. Such psychological processes are argued to aid in the favourable construction of the self and in-group within a social context perceived to negatively portray whiteness as being directly responsible for Apartheid, and consequently for the lingering effects thereof that are experienced by the Other in the current social context.

The discourses contained in these themes refer to a form of sovereign power that depicts political leaders as being above the law. Forms of disciplinary power are exposed as institutionalised within various affirmative action policies, legislation, and associated measures implemented by the state, the education system, as well as local and international media portrayals of whiteness in South Africa, essentially regulating those possessing this element. Such forms of disciplinary power hold the potential for controlling the individuals' thoughts and actions to be in line with the wishes and aspirations of the ruling Other. For example, participants perceive the content and objectives of affirmative action policies and legislation as problematizing whiteness, a stance which is also perceived to be echoed in dominant local and international media portrayals of the South African context. The texts portray whiteness as consistently problematised and depicted in a negative light throughout such societal discourses. Moreover, as expressed by participants, very little (if any) positive depictions of whiteness in South Africa are represented, either locally or internationally. In addition, the overall perception of being at the bottom of the social order or hierarchy in terms of employment, educational, or other related opportunities contributes to this perception. Through continuous and persistent exposure to such in their everyday lives, participants may be internalising these general politics as part of the group's accepted regimes of truth, which may also contribute to a negative perception of the in-group and subsequent self-image. As a result, participants' actions and thoughts

tend conform with what they perceive to be the intention of such legislation, practices, and societal expectations, but only to a certain extent. As an example, consider Afrikaners' expressed lack of motivation in attaining tertiary education and the general reluctance for pursuing a career in South Africa, instead weighing the viability of chasing a livelihood outside of South Africa. Moreover, as could be seen in the response rate of online participants, this group is generally reluctant to discuss their experiences and concerns as popular beliefs, concurring that any white voice, especially when concerns are expressed, will be rejected as invalid and side-lined as a result of whites' perceived position of lost privilege in South African society.

Generally, the alternative interpretations which emerged from the discursive inconsistencies and oppositions identified in participants' accounts regard these texts and the discourses contained therein as a form of self-victimisation. In the context of such alternative interpretations, this group of participants might be viewed as regarding themselves and their perceived circumstances as so unique and special that they are unable to recognise their privileged status. On the other hand, none of these participants expressed any sense of entitlement to privilege nor did any participant fail to acknowledge the need for restorative measures and the persistent disadvantaged status of the majority Other. Participants accounts do, however, emphasise an overall perception that even the most disadvantaged Other have access to opportunities which whites do not have. Within the context of discursive production (i.e. within informal social interactions between members forming part of the same in-group), such self-victimisation could also be regarded as an attempt to manipulate the researcher and the research process, and the eventual findings. For example, by portraying whiteness as under "attack" in South Africa, participants could have intentionally aimed at influencing the research findings in this direction. Secondly, the notion of seeking

attention could also be argued in a similar fashion, in that influencing the research findings could potentially place participant's expressed position and difficulties under the spotlight of academic inquiry. However, considering the minute frequency of discrepancies and oppositions from other accounts, coupled with the fact that these discourses were expressed so widely in the texts and by the majority of participants, such a conclusion seem to be unlikely. Finally, considering the possibility of a potential coping strategy(-ies) seems to be most feasible. In line with previous findings indicating that Afrikaners are faced with a crisis in the new South Africa, findings from this investigation concur on the existence of major discrepancies between the group's regimes of truth and the general politics of South African (and international) society. In particular, the perceived negative portrayal of whiteness in South African society and at large elicits a negative perception of this group and consequently its members. In line with the psychological dynamics of group processes, an interpretation of a negative group status, located at the bottom of the social hierarchy and restricted from crossing any perceived boundaries, essentially depicting whiteness as being victimised, will elicit attempts at regaining a more positive group status. By portraying the group as innocent victims of their past (detaching themselves from the previous generation) at the mercy of the dominant Other's actions (regarded as morally flawed, vengeful, and unjust), participants could be deploying a coping strategy to make sense of their life-world. In other words, participants portray themselves as morally superior with true democratic intentions but as restricted by the morally flawed and unjust Other from forming part of or contributing to South African society. Finally, the self-affirmation (conscious or subconscious) of white privilege relating to internal competencies could also be argued in the same way. Although recycling and deploying dominant Afrikaner-nationalistic discourses around inherent characteristics of the various races,

particularly whites, this strategy serves to improve perceptions of the in-group by drawing on the only perceived resources available to them, i.e. the only positive portrayal of Afrikaners and whiteness that this group has been exposed to, even though such positive depictions of Afrikaners are reflective of the injustices that this group contest.

The second area of findings relates to answering the overall research question, i.e. what it means to be white in the new South Africa, framed along the constructs of power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression, and culture. In this interpretation, the subjective experiences, perceptions, and realities of the group were emphasised as true reflections of the meanings they attached to the element of whiteness and how possessing this central element impacts their everyday existence. In the face of potential contradictions found in the textual analysis, the importance that the impact of our perceptions have on our daily lives cannot be overlooked. In other words, although the perceptions, experiences, and meanings which participants hold as true and which are reflected in their accounts might contradict even factual information widely regarded as true, they nevertheless appear to be real to this group, constituting a unique "truth" which governs their everyday negotiation through life. Consider, for example, the account of Participant 14 as discussed in the previous chapter. For this participant president Zumas' infamous song "umshini wami" is interpreted to mean, *"[bring die] masjiengeweer om die blankes mee uit te moor"* *([bring me my] machinegun so I can kill the whites).* When googling this song, the translation of the lyrics is completely different. However, the meanings this participant and others attach to such constitute their subjective reality.

Power has been defined as the ability of a group or individual to fulfil its desires and implement its decisions and ideas, which involves the capacity to influence as well

as control the thoughts and actions of others, even against their will. In other words, the element of power provides the opportunity for individuals or groups to realise their own will in communal action, even against resistance. From participants' subjective accounts, it became clear that the element of whiteness has been stripped of all power, even in the face of contradictory information locating whiteness as powerful in areas such as the economy and high-level positions of employment. This belief of white victimhood is expressed so widely that it has become uncontested, forming a central theme within this group's regimes of truth. In particular, the findings from this investigation indicated an overall internalised sense of powerlessness which relates to the group's perceived inability to improve their circumstances in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The construct of privilege has been defined as a special right, advantage, or immunity granted or available only to a particular person or group. More specifically, within South Africa, privilege was said to relate to material practices and or gains. From participants' accounts, the notion of white privilege persisting in post-Apartheid South Africa was overwhelmingly rejected and contested. This rejection was evidenced and substantiated through the array of discourses considered. However, what did emerge from these accounts was the tendency to portray whites as superior to the Other in terms of inherent abilities. Such accounts subconsciously indicate the existence of perceived privilege, although not in the material sense. The depiction of inherent white supremacies was found to be a coping mechanism for improving the perceived low status of the group. Nevertheless, this observation provides valuable insights into the reconstruction of ideologies within the current social formation.

Social status has been defined as a person's standing or importance in relation to other people within a society. Essentially, this construct relates to the perception of

the social hierarchy, whites' respective position therein, and the permeability of such social boundaries. Participants' accounts overwhelmingly reflect the perception that Afrikaners are at the bottom of this social hierarchy, particularly in terms of safety, security, basic rights, inclusivity, and representation. As such, being white in the new South Africa is depicted as being a position of socially exclusion and being at constant risk from omnipresent threats by the Other on various levels.

Economic status has been defined as the total measure of a person's work experience and of an individual or family's economic position in relation to others based on income, education, and occupation. Participants' accounts indicate that their economic status is not worse than those of other citizens in the country, as state corruption and exploitation of power are seen to negatively impact all citizens. However, their ability to improve their economic status is regarded as vastly compromised based on the generally accepted beliefs around being limited and restricted, specifically in terms of education and employment opportunities, as a result of their whiteness.

The construct of trust is seen to involve feelings of faith, hope, belief, and confidence in the abilities of political leaders of a country and their consideration for the needs of the entire population of said country. From the textual data, the overall indication is a complete lack of trust, on the part of participants, in the dominant ruling political Other to acknowledge and address the needs of Afrikaners in the new South Africa. Such perceptions of mistrust are substantiated through discourses of exclusion, exploitation, and threat, where the Other is perceived to justify their actions based on their notion of persistent white privilege, which participants widely believed to be mistaken. In particular, the belief that the white voice is completely marginalised features substantially in these accounts and is based on the inconsistencies

experienced in the way that racial slander and hate speech are addressed by the state, i.e. the notion that such expressions flowing from the Other are condoned, but when coming from a white individual are met with the full force of actions against racism. The most prominent articulation of distrust had to do with personal (and group) safety, relating to perceptions of purposeful and vengeful crimes enacted against whites without any form of protection or dedicated intervention by the state. Moreover, discourses around appropriation found in the texts substantially aid in strengthening these perceptions of distrust, in particular as such referenced instances are reported on daily in the social discourse of the media.

Oppression is defined as the unfair treatment of individuals or groups, especially with the overuse of government or political power. In line with this definition, the central belief expressed by participants can clearly be interpreted as claiming that whiteness, and those who possess the element, are oppressed in the new South Africa. Such perceptions are mainly substantiated through the deployment of discourses of separation, exclusion, restriction, and threat.

Culture has been defined as the characteristics and knowledge of a particular group of people, encompassing their history, language, religion, shared symbols, social habits, music and arts. Although various recent studies have found that the Afrikaner culture is flourishing in the new South Africa (e.g. Steyn, 2016), the subjective accounts of participants describe the Afrikaner culture as being under attack, and in some instances, non-existent. In terms of their history, participants' discourses revolved around the rewriting of South African history in general to erase accounts of white heroes and their righteous victory over both the British and racial Other. The rewritten history curricula in the education system, adapted for a new era, are overwhelmingly referenced in this vein. Moreover, the changes in place and street

names, coupled with the active removal of Afrikaner symbols at the time of data collection, brought out the theme of marginalised cultural history in participants' accounts. Important to note from these findings is that language and religion did not feature as prominently in participants' accounts and fears, if at all, in contrast to findings from previous research. This separation from language and religion could possibly indicate a strategy for disassociating themselves from elements of the whiteness of Afrikaners and the associated burden and guilt of Apartheid, in order to associate with and disappear within the more acceptable whiteness of the Europeans (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

As indicated in Chapter 4, the study did consider the potential for gendered differences in the discourses produced, although this was not one of the fundamental aims of the investigation. Nevertheless, some differences were identified and are worth noting. Such instances also resonated with previous research findings (e.g. Steyn, 2001; Van der Westhuizen, 2017). In particular, female respondents tended to assume a very "descriptive" gendered role, similar to what Van der Westhuizen (2017) terms "die volksmoeder" (mother of the nation). That is, female participants very rarely expressed concern for themselves and their own wellbeing. Instead their discourses predominantly contained nuances of immense concern for their own children, the children of Afrikaners in general and the future of the Afrikaners or whites in South Africa; a concern that was not as prominent among male participants. One could argue that this relates to the notion that the difficulties encountered by certain people in our society are more subtle for woman, in that for example, woman are still accommodated in policies around equity, such as BB-BEE regulations and scoring. However, this argument should only be regarded as indicative, as a more detailed investigation of

the nuanced differences in male versus female Afrikaner accounts would be required to substantiate, or for that matter disprove, any such speculations.

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the historical and contemporary enmeshment of racialisation and associated discrimination within various features of the South African social formation compels us to consider the prevention of such as a social imperative. Avoiding this crucial link between the social and the interpersonal realms, or aiming to dismantle and invalidate the subjective realities of individuals, would be tantamount to a form of denialism that would by default condone the inevitable slide along the path towards repeating history's mistakes. If South Africa is to ever become the unified, equal, and just democratic country it set out to be in 1994, the needs and requirements of all subject positions should be considered equally and without discrimination, specifically when any form of concern or fear are expressed.

According to Fox and Prilleltensky (1997), the institutions and underlying values of modern societies serve to reinforce efforts striving for human fulfilment while aiming to maintain inequality and oppression. Critical psychology's role, then, becomes to raise questions about what psychology is doing to promote social justice and liberation, instead of mitigating suffering and aiming at social control. Its aims go beyond merely studying oppression in the laboratory: critical psychology aims to effect change in the everyday lives of people and real societies. This view of psychology is based on a commitment to the values of social justice, human diversity, self-determination, democratic participation and collaboration, compassion, and caring. At the core of critical psychology lie the concepts of oppression and emancipation.

Oppression is seen to involve both a state of subjugation and a process of exclusion and exploitation (along psychological, social, and political dimensions). In line with such central characteristics, Prilleltensky and Gonick (1996) define oppression as:

> A state of asymmetric power relations characterised by domination, subordination, and resistance, where the dominating persons or groups exercise their power by restricting access to material resources, and by implanting in the subordinated persons or groups fear or self-deprecating views about themselves (p. 129).

The findings from this investigation indicate that these participants perceive their position in South Africa as being one of oppression, consequently providing the overall answer to the research question at hand: that according to this specific group of subjectivities (perceived "truths"), being white in the new South Africa relates to being oppressed and having to manoeuvre and manage such oppressive conditions in order to strive for a meaningful existence and to find a place in the new social order, with the ultimate goal of attaining emancipation, whether in the local South African context or elsewhere. The overall strategy employed by this group of 1DAGs in manoeuvring through their perceived oppressive situations, could perhaps be described as "self-victimisation." This is not to say that their perceived circumstances within the post-Apartheid South African context do not support the notion of whites being victimised: i.e., one should not confuse the notion of "self-victimisation" with "false-victimhood". Participant's accounts of being victimised, whether blatantly expressed or not, constitute their specific subjective reality, which, as previously discussed, has very real implications for the way they live their lives and the way in which they make sense of their life-world. It would be completely irresponsible and highly unethical to contest

and dismiss such perceptions as false purely because it does not fit neatly into one's subjective reality or align with one's prejudices.

Emancipation is defined as both a state and a process inclusive of psychological and political dimensions. Austin and Prilleltensky (2001) define emancipation as:

> The experience of symmetric power relations characterised by equitable and respectful alliances between persons, communities, and nations whereby people are free from internal and external sources of oppression and free to express and explore their physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual human qualities (p. 3).

Evoking emancipation refers to a person's life opportunities in relation to power. Liberation, then, is deemed to involve a dialectic relationship between power and subjective experience.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AND SOCIAL INTERVENTIONS

This study was mostly limited by the lack of previous empirical studies investigating whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa. In other words, the specific base of knowledge on which this investigation could draw was quite limited. Moreover, these limited number of studies were mainly focused on the Afrikaner identity and (re)constructions thereof in post-Apartheid South Africa, with little or no specific focus on the meaning-making processes and consequent meanings associated with the element of whiteness itself. As such, it is highly recommended that studies investigating whiteness and its unique position in the South African context be

promoted within South African academic inquiry. In addition, such studies should take into careful consideration the potential for change in ideologies and beliefs over time and between generations, being careful not to generalise the perceptions and ideologies held by one generation to the next. In particular, it is argued that considerably more research is required into the specific perceptions, beliefs, and experiences of the 1DAGs as well as future generations of Afrikaners to follow. Moreover, future studies into whiteness within South Africa should also take specific care to control for regional differences among participants and the information gained from them, since, for example, the specific subject position and perceptions of 1DAGs residing in the Northern Cape would in all likelihood be substantially different from those residing in Gauteng.

This study confined itself to investigating what it means to be white in post-Apartheid South Africa. Perhaps it would also be informative to conduct similar investigations focused on the subject positions of other races (respectively) in South Africa, as well as their perception of whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, as this investigation did not concern itself with differences in experiences and perceptions between genders, it will also be of significant value to investigate whiteness and the particular meanings this element holds for white people of different genders, also with due consideration for the particular generation from which participants are selected. Van der Westhuizen's (2017) seminal work focusing specifically on white Afrikaans-speaking female positionalities in post-Apartheid South Africa represents an exciting start in this regard. One can only hope that more young academics within South Africa will pursue such daunting and courageous, but very exciting tasks.

Participant's accounts resonate with the perceived (and reported) lingering effects of Apartheid on both the self and the Other. Empirical research into the exact nature of the impact or effect that Apartheid has in the current social formation and respective subject positions would greatly aid in shedding light on the accuracy of such statements—not just those expressed by participants of this study, but also similar notions circulating in South African society at large, mostly uncontested and taken for granted as truths. Furthermore, the extent of privilege that lingers within post-Apartheid South Africa needs to be clearly unpacked and made transparent. Whether accurate or not, perceptions of one group being privileged above another create serious social issues, as was evidenced during Apartheid, and as can similarly be seen in the post-Apartheid context.

One other field of inquiry that was found to be somewhat neglected was studies investigating the notion of "self-victimisation" on both the individual and group level. The lack of such empirical research greatly limited the extent to which findings of this phenomenon within the current investigation could be unpacked, investigated, and discussed. In particular, future investigations into this phenomenon could greatly benefit from locating research within this field within the South African context, given the unique nature and history of social relations and dynamics in the country.

From a methodological point of view, the specific data gathering methodologies, in particular "hanging out" and "hanging out online," proved to be extremely useful in gaining truthful, accurate, and quality-rich information from all participants. In addition, these methods also proved to be particularly effective in terms of time and finances required for qualitative data collection. The method of hanging out online, in particular, proved tremendously valuable, as it allowed participants to continue their discussions without the presence of the researcher and from the comfort and safety of their own

personal environment. In addition, it allowed the study to cover a much larger geographical area for participant selection than other conventional methods. Finally, the process of researcher reflexivity was also found largely invaluable in guiding the researcher and controlling for any potential impact of the researcher himself on the research process as a whole. Such reflexive practises also greatly contributes to the trustworthiness of a particular piece of qualitative research. As such, these methods are highly recommended for use in future investigations of a similar nature.

In terms of social interventions, findings from this study clearly indicate the necessity to investigate minority rights as they would (and should) apply in the South African context. For example, whites are considered to be one of the racial minority groups in South Africa. In the politics of some countries, a minority is an ethnic group that is recognised as such by respective laws of its country and therefore has some rights that other groups lack (Smihula, 2009). This consideration bears specific implications in terms of political power, privilege, social and economic status, trust, oppression and culture, all of which arguably contribute to and impact the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences of the minority group. For example, speakers of a legally-recognised minority language might have the right to education or communication with the government in their mother tongue. Countries that have special provisions for minorities include Canada, China, Ethiopia, Germany, India, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Croatia, and the United Kingdom. The issue of establishing minority groups, and determining the extent of privileges they might derive from their status, is the subject of some debate. One view (Lindgren-Alves, 2005) is that the application of special rights to minority groups may be inappropriate in some countries, for example newly established states in Africa or Latin America, where recognition and rights accorded to specific groups may interfere with the state's need to establish a cohesive

identity and hamper the ability of the minority to integrate itself into mainstream society—perhaps to the point at which the minority follows a path to separatism or supremacism. Such an argument might imply that there should be no privileges accorded to any group, that all (racial) groups should be viewed as equal, having equal access to opportunities and privileges in order to establish a cohesive identity. This position is countered by those scholars (Henrard, 2000) who assert that members of minority groups require specific provisions and rights to ensure that they are not marginalised within society (for example, in the South African context, multilingual education may be needed to allow linguistic minorities to fully integrate into the school system and hence to compete on a level playing field in society), and that rights for minorities, far from weakening the nation-building project, actually strengthen it; where members of minorities see that their specific needs and ambitions have been acknowledged and catered for, they will commit themselves more willingly to accepting the legitimacy of the nation and their integration (as opposed to assimilation) within it. In South Africa, the issue of whether to provide privileges to minorities, specifically to the racial minority group of Afrikaners, poses a real challenge when the issue of Afrikaner privilege during Apartheid is taken into account. On one hand, not according privileges to Afrikaners or addressing their needs might lead this minority group to feel ostracised. On the other hand, according privileges to Afrikaners might resuscitate negative feelings and perceptions amongst the Other—previously disadvantaged—population groups, relating to Afrikaner privilege during Apartheid, but might aid Afrikaners to commit themselves more willingly to accepting the legitimacy of the nation and their integration within it.

As previously discussed, the language we use, the discourse(s) it conveys, and the ways in which these discourses are interpreted feature prominently in our everyday

processes of meaning-making. As such, it becomes imperative to monitor and evaluate the specific language we use and promote within society through, for example, channels such as government legislation and the media, as well as in everyday informal interactions. In particular, forms of language use should be thoroughly scrutinised in terms of the potential meanings they might convey and the various ways in which they could be interpreted. That is, we must consider the ways in which such language use and discourse could potentially penetrate the general politics of society and contribute to the maintenance or reproduction of certain relations of power.

5. RESEARCHER REFLEXIVITY

As previously discussed, reflexivity entails a process by which the researcher becomes aware of the impact and potential influence that their contributions had on the research process and the outcomes of the research at an analytical and applied level. The reflexive process becomes particularly important when conducting research from a social constructionist frame, as all research is also then understood as a socially constructed product. The researcher's contributions, therefore, have a direct bearing on the nature and outcomes of the research process itself. In combination with the notion of reflexivity, the concept of positionality also requires interrogation. Positionality primarily refers to the way in which the researcher locates him-/herself within the research setting in relation to the research participants, a positioning which could become instilled with varying degrees of status and power. If we are to understand the unfolding nature of the research process, its particularities in terms of data collection and analysis, and the power dynamics involved in the findings and related conclusions, being reflexive about one's positionality becomes critical.

Reflexive analysis, by default, requires a different style of writing than the academic style employed throughout this dissertation; the researcher needs to account for their own reflexivity which necessitates a writing style in the first person. The following section will provide a reflexive analysis of the researcher's own subjectivity as constantly monitored throughout the research process to control for any potential impact that the researcher and their specific subjectivity might have had on the research process as a whole and on the eventual findings.

Undertaking an investigation of this nature was weighed down, from the outset, with a variety of challenges. As an example of these challenges, consider the potential perceptions which could emerge about a white Afrikaans male investigating the perceptions, beliefs, and experiences of Afrikaner whites within the post-Apartheid South African context. Such an investigator could potentially be faced with scepticism and critique of his investigation and the legitimacy of its findings, merely for being a white Afrikaans male. These were some of the major concerns I had experienced, even in the conceptual stages of the research proposal. As such, I was extremely aware of and careful for any potential impact that my pre-conceived notions and prejudices might have on the research.

One of the first and more prominent control measures I took in this regard was to find a research supervisor who, first of all, would be highly skilled and familiar with the field of inquiry and methodology, but more importantly was not a white Afrikaans-speaking South African. Such a supervisor, I believed, would challenge my perceptions and interpretations throughout the entire research process and greatly aid in highlighting and controlling for any potential researcher effects on the study and eventual findings. In addition, I regularly engaged in various informal discussions on the study with a number of my peers, in particular two individuals (a black female and

an English-speaking male) who had completed their MA degree in psychology with me. Through these discussions, my own prejudices and beliefs became much more apparent, which enabled me to more effectively control for their impact on the present study. Finally, I also kept a personal journal throughout the entire research process, which I constantly reflected on as my perceptions evolved.

I am part of the 1DAGs of South Africa, and I am currently based in Pretoria, Gauteng. We were all born between 1985 and 1995 in the midst of negotiations to bring the Apartheid regime to an end and the transition that followed. I do not have any concrete or substantial lived experience of the Apartheid context, nor did I have any idea of the concept of white privilege or the loss thereof prior to this study. We (the 1DAGs) are the heirs of the sins of Apartheid. Our activism necessarily involves a reformulation of the traditions of the previous generations, but it also involves the integration of newer traditions made available by an expansion of the political landscape through the transition to democracy and processes of globalisation.

I grew up in the farming community of Kinross, Mpumalanga, South Africa, and I was raised in a single-parent-home. I attended primary school at an all-white and Afrikaans institution—which with the dawn of democracy opened their doors to children from other races to attend the school. I attended high school at a double-medium institution catering to all races. I can't remember a time during this period of my life where I explicitly held any form of racist belief or racist attitude towards others. I do remember bullying one or two of my peers, but they were also white and Afrikaans-speaking. When I eventually moved to Pretoria in 2003 to begin my tertiary education at the University of Pretoria, these non-racialised conceptions of society held and continued to hold throughout. During my tertiary training, I was never exposed to nor did I experience any form of racial prejudice or discrimination against myself or my

other white peers. When pursuing my MA degree in psychology I became involved in an experimental study investigating the impact of perceived threat on the behaviours of white Afrikaans students; it was during this project that my interest in racial relations was initially sparked.

My own position in the current study was initially motivated by a deep dissatisfaction I experienced in my formal employment at the time. In particular, I experienced discrimination from my executive management team, who, at the time, consisted of older white Afrikaans-speaking males. I was outperforming the management team I was assisting, which was evidenced in the creation of new business and the influx of finances my activities resulted in. However, I was prevented from progressing within the particular organisation because of my race and gender, a limitation which was communicated to me directly on a number of occasions. Consequently, I decided to seek alternative employment. My searches proved to consecutively extend for more than six months before I attained any form of success, i.e. even before being invited for an interview. The few responses I did receive from prospective employers were generally negative in that I was not considered for these positions as they were earmarked for employment equity.

Nevertheless, I managed to find suitable employment within a number of organisations, specifically in public sector, where whites are generally considered to be in the minority and employment opportunities for whites are excessively scarce. At present, I occupy a senior position in one of the national government entities, where I am directly responsible for driving radical transformation within the specific sector in line with the country's overall agenda for radical economic transformation.

During the conceptual stage of this project, my main intention was to investigate the realities of white South Africans, specifically the generation of which I form a part. I was convinced that our generation could not be considered in the same light as the previous and thus should not be discriminated against because of the previous generation's actions. My ideological position was rooted in the materialist understanding of race relations based on an expectation on what the country should have been able to achieve within the 20 odd years since the rise of democracy. At this stage, I had not yet engaged with any literature or theorising on whiteness in South Africa. However, through these initial readings, my perceptions on whiteness in South Africa greatly expanded. In addition, my vast research into the history of the Afrikaner (of which I had no real knowledge of at the time) greatly added to my understanding of this group's characteristics, the ways in which they developed through changing contexts, and the underlying ideological beliefs which they held during the time, the remnants of which have somewhat penetrated through to our generation.

At this stage, I had become more open to the expressions and accounts of others as I realised that their particular subjective experiences might be vastly different from mine. As such, and throughout the research, I made a conscious effort not to impose my beliefs and perceptions on participants, but to merely listen and contribute neutral stories of my own personal accounts. My initial entry into the data collection process was therefore characterised by greater openness to participants' tales of their experiences. In addition, I consciously tried to minimise my formal role as academic researcher throughout the process of data collection, specifically as I was concerned about the impact of this positioning on the nature and outcome of the research process. This was not as difficult as I had initially assumed. Given the nature of the data collection procedures, I was greatly accepted by all participants as a member of

the in-group, perhaps also because I am a white Afrikaans-speaking male. The specific informal settings in which data was collected also greatly contributed to this acceptance.

The informal settings in which data were collected proved to be extremely valuable, as all participants were comfortable enough to provide their stories as blatantly and accurately without any form of deception. The discussions seemed to flow smoothly. In addition, the fact that I as a researcher was not necessarily in control of the discussions greatly added to the richness of information I obtained. In particular, the online sessions took a course of their own: participants were able to talk to one another and comment on each other's statements without my presence online.

Throughout the research process and analyses, my overall belief was that although some difficulties do exist for whites in South Africa, these challenges are not as extensive as the majority of Afrikaners tend to proclaim. In particular, I took great offence and consciously distanced myself from important Afrikaner figures, such as Steve Hofmeyr (and his Facebook fan page "1 000 000 stemme vir Steve" aiming to raise his figure to political power), AfriForum and their campaigns, as well as other similar Afrikaner groups. My perception was and still is that these groups were perpetuating the Afrikaner's difficult position in the country through their proclamations and approach to tackling racial issues, specifically those on university campuses in South Africa during the time.

From reviewing my journal, which I kept throughout the research process, as well as observational notes I made during the data collection and analysis, it became clear that I did, in fact, have at least one major influence on the research process, which mainly concerned my approach toward the study and data. This particular

approach was from the perspective that participants accounts, whether in agreement with my own or not, reflected a specific reality that they regard(ed) as true. Although some views expressed by participants would be disputed by society at large and other scholars, it was not my intention to challenge these perceptions or to critique them in such a way that participants' accounts became compromised, disputed, or falsified. Instead, my approach was significantly focused on how these subjective realities and meanings (participants' "truths") mapped on to their specific construction of whiteness in post-Apartheid South Africa and consequently how these perceptions (whether in harmony with broader social reality or not) impacted their everyday existence.

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APPENDIX A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Being white in the new South Africa: the experience of a group young Afrikaners

This study is being conducted in the fulfilment of a PhD in Psychology and investigates what it means to be ***white*** within the context of a new South Africa, through examining the perceptions, beliefs and experiences held by a group of young white South Africans, twenty years after the fall of apartheid.

The study will gather a variety of information through online and face to face data gathering methodologies. The specific objectives of the planned research are threefold:

(1) Generation of new knowledge;

(2) Theoretical: To contribute to future research about discriminating inter-group behaviour; and

(3) Social: Potentially contributing to the establishment of a socially acceptable and respectable position of the Afrikaner within a new South Africa.

Finally the data might also be used to study the identities and identity formation of Afrikaners.

The findings of this study will be used to write-up a PhD thesis and will be published in an academic article. Furthermore, the findings might also be used to write a book on the subject.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may withdraw yourself from the study at any point in time. If you do decide to withdraw from the study, any and all information obtained from you will be destroyed.

All the information collected during the study will be treated as completely confidential, and by no means will your actual identity be used, distributed or linked to the data. The only individuals who will have access to the raw data will be the researcher and his supervisor. The data will be stored at the University of Pretoria, after all forms of personal identification have been removed, and might be used in future research.

The researcher has provided you with his contact details and you are welcome to contact him at any time should you have any further questions relating to the study.

…………………………….
Researcher: Ehrhard Visser
Cell: 082 705 8619
Email: evisser137@gmail.com

DEELNEMER INLIGTINGSBLAD

Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika: die ervaring van 'n groep jong Afrikaners

Hierdie studie word gedoen in die vervulling van 'n PhD graad in Sielkunde en ondersoek wat dit beteken om wit te wees binne die konteks van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná die val van apartheid. Die studie bestudeer die persepsies, oortuigings en ervarings wat gedeel word onder 'n groep jong wit Suid-Afrikaners.

Die studie sal 'n verskeidenheid van inligting insamel deur middel van aanlyn en eerste-handse data-insameling metode. Die spesifieke doelwitte van die beplande navorsing is drievoudig:

(1) Skepping van nuwe kennis;

(2) Teoreties: om by te dra tot toekomstige navorsing oor diskriminerende inter-groep gedrag; en

(3) Maatskaplik: kan moontlik bydra tot die vestiging van 'n sosiaal aanvaarbaar en gerespekteerde posisie van die Afrikaner in 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika.

Die data kan ook moontlik gebruik word om die identiteit en identiteitsvorming van die Afrikaners te bestudeer.

Die bevindinge van die studie sal gebruik word om 'n PhD-proefskrif te skryf en sal gepubliseer word in 'n akademiese artikel. Verder kan die bevindings ook gebruik word om 'n boek oor die onderwerp te skryf.

Let asb daarop dat deelname aan hierdie studie heeltemal vrywillig is en dat u uself enige tyd kan onttrek. As u besluit om te onttrek van die studie, sal enige en alle inligting wat verkry is van u verwyder en vernietig word.

Al die inligting wat ingesamel is tydens die studie sal as volkome vertroulik hanteer word en op geen manier sal u werklike identiteit gebruik of versprei word saam met die data nie. Die enigste mense met toegang tot die rou data is die navorser en sy promotor. Die data sal gestoor word by die Universiteit van Pretoria, na alle vorme van persoonlike identifikasie verwyder is en kan moontlik in toekomstige navorsing gebruik word.

Die navorser het u met sy kontakbesonderhede verskaf en u is welkom om hom enige tyd te kontak indien u enige verdere vrae met betrekking tot die studie het.

………………………………
Navorser: Ehrhard Visser
Selfoon: 082 705 8619
E-pos: evisser137@gmail.com

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

Being white in the new South Africa: the experience of a group young Afrikaners

This study investigates what it means to be white within the context of a new South Africa, through examining the perceptions, beliefs and experiences held by a group of young white South Africans, twenty years after the fall of apartheid.

You are invited to actively participate in informal online discussions around what it means to be white in the new South Africa, twenty years after apartheid came to an end. You will be able to post comments and stories of your own everyday experiences (past and present) of being white in South Africa, as well as engage with and comment on other participants' experiences and beliefs. The idea is to create an online community where such experiences and beliefs can freely be discussed and shared with other Afrikaners. This will be similar in nature to all other social network pages or groups on the internet.

If you are not comfortable openly discussing the topic on an open social media platform, you are welcome to share your experiences, beliefs and perceptions with the researcher in a more confidential manner. Please note that participation in this study is completely voluntary, and that you may withdraw yourself from the study at any point in time. If you do decide to withdraw from the study, any and all information obtained from you will be destroyed or deleted.

All the information collected during the study will be treated as completely confidential, and by no means will your actual identity be used or distributed along with the data. The only individuals who will have access to the raw data will be the researcher and his supervisor. The data will be stored at the University of Pretoria, after all forms of personal identification have been removed, and might be used in future research.

The researcher has provided you with his contact details and you are welcome to contact him at any time should you have any further questions relating to the study.

Signed at .... on .... 20..

....
Participant

....
Researcher: Ehrhard Visser
Cell: 082 705 8619
Email: evisser137@gmail.com

INGELIGTE TOESTEMMING

Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika: die ervaring van 'n groep jong Afrikaners

Hierdie studie ondersoek wat dit beteken om wit te wees binne die konteks van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná die val van apartheid en bestudeer die persepsies, oortuigings en ervarings wat gedeel word onder 'n groep jong wit Suid-Afrikaners.

U word uitgenooi om aktief deel te neem aan informele aanlyn besprekings oor wat dit beteken om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná apartheid tot 'n einde gekom het. U sal in staat wees om stories van u eie alledaagse ervarings (verlede en hede) aanlyn te deel, sowel as om betrokke te raak met en kommentaar te lewer oor die ander deelnemers se stories, ervarings en oortuigings. Die idee is om 'n aanlyn gemeenskap te skep waar sulke ervarings en oortuigings vrylik bespreek en gedeel kan word met ander Afrikaners. Dit sal soortgelyk aan alle ander sosiale netwerk bladsye of groepe op die internet wees.

As u nie gemaklik is om oor die onderwerp op 'n oop sosiale media platform te gessels nie, is u welkom om u ervarings, oortuigings en persepsies met die navorser in 'n meer vertroulike wyse te deel. Let asb daarop dat deelname aan hierdie studie heeltemal vrywillig is en dat u uself enige tyd kan onttrek. As u besluit om te onttrek van die studie, sal enige en alle inligting wat verkry is van u verwyder en vernietig word.

Al die inligting wat ingesamel is tydens die studie sal as volkome vertroulik hanteer word en op geen manier sal u werklike identiteit gebruik of versprei word saam met die data nie. Die enigste mense met toegang tot die rou data is die navorser en sy promotor. Die data sal gestoor word by die Universiteit van Pretoria, na alle vorme van persoonlike identifikasie verwyder is en kan moontlik in toekomstige navorsing gebruik word.

Die navorser het u met sy kontakbesonderhede verskaf en u is welkom om hom enige tyd te kontak indien u enige verdere vrae met betrekking tot die studie het.

Geteken .... op .... 20….

....
Deelnemer   **Navorser:** Ehrhard Visser
                                                 Selfoon: 082 705 8619
                                                 E-pos: evisser137@gmail.com

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT

Being white in the new South Africa: the experience of a group young Afrikaners

This study investigates what it means to be white within the context of a new South Africa, through examining the perceptions, beliefs and experiences held by a group of young white South Africans, twenty years after the fall of apartheid.

You are invited to provide a written account of your own beliefs, perceptions and experiences of what it means to be white in the new South Africa, twenty years after apartheid.

Please note that participation in this study is completely voluntary, and that you may withdraw yourself from the study at any point in time. If you do decide to withdraw from the study, any and all information obtained from you will be destroyed or deleted.

All the information collected during the study will be treated as completely confidential, and by no means will your actual identity be used or distributed along with the data. The only individuals who will have access to the raw data will be the researcher and his supervisor. The data will be stored at the University of Pretoria, after all forms of personal identification have been removed, and might be used in future research.

The researcher has provided you with his contact details and you are welcome to contact him at any time should you have any further questions relating to the study.

Signed at .... on .... 20…

....
Participant

....
Researcher: Ehrhard Visser
Cell: 082 705 8619
Email: evisser137@gmail.com

INGELIGTE TOESTEMMING

Om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika: die ervaring van 'n groep jong Afrikaners

Hierdie studie ondersoek wat dit beteken om wit te wees binne die konteks van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná die val van apartheid en bestudeer die persepsies, oortuigings en ervarings wat gedeel word onder 'n groep jong wit Suid-Afrikaners.

U word uitgenooi om 'n skriftelike rekening van u eie oortuigings, persepsies en ervarings te verskaf oor wat dit vir u beteken om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar ná apartheid.

Let asb daarop dat deelname aan hierdie studie heeltemal vrywillig is en dat u uself enige tyd kan onttrek. As u besluit om te onttrek van die studie, sal enige en alle inligting wat verkry is van u verwyder en vernietig word.

Al die inligting wat ingesamel is tydens die studie sal as volkome vertroulik hanteer word en op geen manier sal u werklike identiteit gebruik of versprei word saam met die data nie. Die enigste mense met toegang tot die rou data is die navorser en sy promotor. Die data sal gestoor word by die Universiteit van Pretoria, na alle vorme van persoonlike identifikasie verwyder is en kan moontlik in toekomstige navorsing gebruik word.

Die navorser het u met sy kontakbesonderhede verskaf en u is welkom om hom enige tyd te kontak indien u enige verdere vrae met betrekking tot die studie het.

Geteken .... op .... 20…

....
Deelnemer

....
Navorser: Ehrhard Visser
Selfoon: 082 705 8619
E-pos: evisser137@gmail.com

APPENDIX D: HANGING-OUT GUIDE

Wait until group is chatting away nicely.
Ask participants about themselves:

      a) Where do you come from?
      b) How old are you?
      c) What do you do for a living?
      d) Where do your parents stay?
      e) Where were you at school?
      f) Do you still have a lot of school friends?

Once everyone is comfortable, start introducing the topic into the conversation. If necessary share a neutral personal experience followed with a question to the group. Once again, ensure the group of confidentiality and anonymity. Again, request the group's openness and honesty. Use the following questions as guidelines for topics to be covered:

1. From what you can remember, how did your parents experience being white in the country?

2. From what you can remember, how did you experience growing up as a white man in the country?

3. Is there any prominent personal event or story you can share (positive or negative) related to what it means to be white in the country?

4. As a white man, how do you experience "trust" in the country?

5. As a white man, how do you experience "power" in the country?

6. As a white man, how do you experience "social and economic status" in the country?

7. As a white man, how do you experience "oppression" in the country?

8. As a white man, how do you experience "culture" in the country?

9. Following our conversation and in your own words, how will you describe what it means to be white in the new South Africa, twenty years after apartheid has come to an end?

10. Is there anything you might want to share before the interview comes to an end?

*** **If a participant wishes to terminate the interview, ask if he or she may want to share his / her reasons for this:**

THANK ALL PARTICIPANTS FOR THEIR PARTICIPATION

"HANGING-OUT" GIDS

Wag tot groep lekker kuier en gessels.
Vra deelnemers uit oor hulself:

    a) Waar kom jy vandaan?
    b) Hoe oud is jy?
    c) Wat doen jy vir 'n lewe?
    d) Waar bly jou ouers?
    e) Waar was jy op skool?
    f) Het jy nog baie van skool vriende?

Sodra almal gemaklik is begin die onderwerp inbring in die gesprek. Indien nodig deel 'n neutral persoonlikke ervaring gevolg met 'n vraag aan die groep. Verseker weereens die groep van konfidentialiteit en anonimiteit. Versoek weereens die groep se oopheid en eerlikeid. Gebruik die volgende vrae as riglyn vir onderwerpe wat gedek moet word:

1. Van wat jy kan onthou, hoe het jou ouers dit ervaar om wit te wees in die land?

2. Van wat jy kan onthou, hoe het jy dit ervaar om groot te word as 'n witmens in die land?

3. Is daar enige prominente persoonlikke gebeurtenis of storie wat jy kan deel (positief of negatief) wat verwant hou met wat dit vir jou beteken om wit te wees in die land?

4. As 'n witmens, hoe ervaar jy "vertroue" in die land?

5. As 'n witmens, hoe ervaar jy "mag" (krag) in die land?

6. As 'n witmens, hoe ervaar jy "sosiale en ekonomiese status" in die land?

7. As 'n witmens, hoe ervaar jy "onderdrukking" in die land?

8. As 'n witmens, hoe ervaar jy "kultuur" in die land?

9. Na aanleiding van ons gesprek en in jou eie woorde, hoe sal jy beskryf wat dit beteken om wit te wees in die nuwe Suid-Afrika, twintig jaar na apartheid tot 'n einde gekom het?

10. Is daar enige iets wat jy moontlik nog wil deel voor die onderhoud tot 'n einde kom?

*** Indien 'N deelnemer die onderhoud wil beeindig, vra of hy/sy moontlik sy/haar redes hiervoor sal wil deel:

BEDANK DIE DEELNEMERS VIR HUL DEELNAME.