The cultivation of the racial identity of an Afrikaner juffrou: An autoethnography

by

MARISA LOMBARD

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Supervisor: Prof Johan Wassermann

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Declaration

I declare that the dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree of Master of Education at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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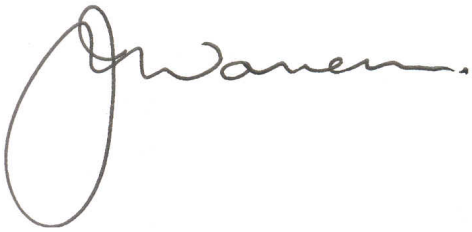
Marisa Lombard



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Prof Johan Wassermann

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Ethics Statement

The author, whose name appears on the title page of this dissertation, has obtained, for the research described in this work, the applicable research ethics approval. The author declares that he/she has observed the ethical standards required in terms of the University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics for research and the policy guidelines for responsible research.

Dedication

Dedicated to anyone who has suffered at the hands of an ordentlike juffrou[1], and to the people who not only save us from them, but who also save us from ourselves.

[1] I have opted not to represent Afrikaans words in this study in italics since they are familiar vernacular within South African language use in general and hence are not considered to be foreign in the context of this study (Pather, 2016).

Acknowledgements

1. I would like to thank Prof. Jan Nieuwenhuis, Dr Wendy Carvalho-Malekane and Dr Sonja Coetzee for believing in me as a student, a lecturer and a future academic.
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5. I would also like to thank Dr Brenda Gouws for making my first editorial experience a pleasing and educational one. Thank you for the effort and time you have put into editing this dissertation Dr Gouws.
6. Lastly, I want to thank Martin, Reynard and Karen Lombard. Thank you for loving and supporting me in so many ways. I will love and cherish you always. My hope is that this tiny contribution to the world of education will help to make the world a better place, not just for you but for everyone you share it with.

Abstract

Racism is taught; no one is born a racist. That seems to be the general consensus in a world where we are still trying to make sense of the resilience of whiteness, ethnocentrism and the divided consciousness that accompanies it, but is it really that simple? The question becomes how and where does this educational transfer of whiteness take place? In this autoethnography I explore the specialised education of my whiteness as an Afrikaner juffrou in the context of South Africa. This qualitative research methodology presented me with the opportunity to reflect on, describe, analyse and interpret my personal lived experiences from pre-birth to adulthood. I disclose and extend my anthropology as a white, Afrikaner juffrou whilst taking the intersectionality between the privilege and inequality associated with race and gender into account. My narrative is presented as short stories and poetry to make my experiences more relatable by aiming for the highest verisimilitude possible. The findings of this study imply that cultivated learning, as conceptualised in this reading, could be one of the educational phenomena that contributes to the transfer of whiteness from one generation to the next. Thus, this study may serve as an introductory conceptualisation of cultivated learning in the context of informal and societal education, which could be explored and enriched via future research endeavours. I hold that due to the complexity of cultivated learning that the most feasible way to combat racial, gender or any other bias, lies within autoethnographic methods of study for pre-service teachers. The pedagogy of which will challenge future generations of teachers to put down the magnifying glass and pick up the mirror.

Declaration by Editor

I hereby certify that I edited the dissertation of Marisa Lombard entitled, *The cultivation of the racial identity of an Afrikaner juffrou: An autoethnography*, for submission purposes in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of Education in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria.

All the suggested changes, by way of track-changes and comments, including the implementation thereof, was left to the discretion of the student.

Please feel free to contact me should you have any queries.

Sincerely,

Brenda Raie Gouws

BA(HDE), MEd, PhD (History Education)
Associate member, Professional Editors Guild (PEG) (current)
Certificate in copyediting, University of Cape Town
Email bgouws@iafrica.com

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CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

I have never seen so much rage and anger erupt with the utterance of one word. The boy swiftly grabbed my collar and seemed to morph into the dimensions of a full-grown man. 'WHAT did you call me?' he whispered and somehow screamed at the same time. It was his eyes. His eyes, not his voice, that did the screaming. I did not realise it at the time (after all, I was only 11) but it was not his anger or rage that was staring at me. Reflecting on it now, I think it was pain. The same kind I once felt when a boy I had a crush on screamed at me, 'NOT EVEN GOD CAN LOVE YOU!' in front of my whole class. It hits you right in the stomach, doesn't it? That first face-to-face encounter with cruelty. That moment when someone does not deem you worthy of being completely human. You can feel how a small part of your innocence is lost. What cruelty did I commit to cause such pain? K. I called him, a K. I realise now that he was a human being.

This is just a fragment of my own lived experience as a young white Afrikaner[2] woman during post-apartheid[3] South Africa. A now 34-year-old, heterosexual, cisgender[4] woman, who is a wife and a mother of two toddlers. I am also a lecturer, employed on a part-time basis at a South African university. Coming from a

[2] I would argue that an Afrikaner is a white South African whose home language is Afrikaans (Giliomee, 2012).
[3] Apartheid was a long-term segregation programme that was designed to ensure the prosperity of white people in South Africa, by oppressing and disadvantaging other racial groups. It began in 1948 and was abolished in 1994 (Jansen, 2009).
[4] My gender identity resonates with the sex I was born into (Matias & Zembylas, 2014).

sheltered Afrikaner background, I demonstrated and held white, ethnocentric (racist) beliefs during my lifetime, which sprouted from my white racial identity.

The question I address is that of how and where I learnt the white, ethnocentric principles that ultimately became part of my white racial identity. I address this question via autoethnography, a methodology that provides rich, in-depth data based on my lived experience, ensuring that I take my anthropology[5] as a white Afrikaner girl and ultimately, juffrou[6] into account. My intention is to shed light on how my milieu, in conjunction with its agents and educational practices, cultivated my white racial identity. Cultivation refers to the educational phenomenon of interest in the context of this study. Its conceptualisation is touched on in the concept clarification section of this chapter and is fully rationalised in Chapters two and three.

My review of the literature discloses that Jansen (2009) has linked the transmission of conditioned ethnocentrism from one generation to the next with formal and informal, social and institutional spaces. These interact within a complex system entailing a variety of authority figures or agents,[7] peers, family and friends, who contribute to the creation as well as demonstration of various morals, values, laws, rules, behaviours and beliefs. Tony Morrison has enlightened us through her written works like The Bluest Eye (Morrison, 1994) and Playing in the Dark (Morrison, 2007) about the positionality of whiteness as normal within society (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). Throughout history, whiteness has been (and mostly still is) portrayed as the benchmark for normality in society, the result

[5] Anthropology refers to one's socio-historical positioning in terms of philosophical assumptions, race, gender and class (Du Preez, 2018).

[6] Juffrou is the Afrikaans word that refers to a female teacher regardless of age or marital status. For the purposes of this study, it refers to an Afrikaner, female teacher. The term, however, has more depth to offer in terms of my gender identity which is elaborated later on in the dissertation. A reminder that individual Afrikaans words that have been integrated into the South African vernacular have not been italicised and are therefore seen as part of the language of this reading (Pather, 2016).

[7] Including but not limited to Government, teachers, religious leaders or councillors, as well as any other individual who had authority due to their age, social standing, or cultural role within such a system as described (Mason, 2008).

being that anything that does not fit within the white paradigm is portrayed and seen as abnormal or strange (Twine & Gallagher, 2008).

To investigate these phenomena, I constructed a multi-layered conceptual framework for the purpose of this study. The key framework consists of concepts within complexity theory, which guides the exploration of my milieu and its agents (Mason, 2014); curriculum theory which allows for the identification and analysis of functioning curricula within my milieu (Griffin, 2018); and cultivation theory to interrogate the white Afrikaner normality that I was born into (Morgan, Shanahan, & Signorielli, 2017). My complementary framework consists of concepts that contribute to the contextual richness of my data construction and analysis. These concepts range between the principles of intersectionality, racialisation and white racial identity theory.

The combination of the theoretical concepts and frameworks above made it possible to understand and interpret how my milieu (complexity theory) supported the education of my white racial identity (curriculum theory) as a benchmark for normality (cultivation theory). I explored the latter, taking contextual factors and power relations into account, while investigating themes like gender, race and class. I am not implying that the role-players within my milieu are worthy scapegoats, responsible for my ethnocentric white racial identity, but rather that I am co-responsible for the cultivation thereof within a complex socio-historical context.

As part of this study and based on memory data, I have written short stories and poetry, consisting of relevant events within my lived experience. The constructed data have been subjected to and interrogated through reflexivity, relatability, co-constructors and verisimilitude within a qualitative research design (Chang, 2016). Data construction and analysis was subjected to intensive reflection and analysis of the critical events selected for this study, not only by me, but also by the selected co-constructors, who were present during key events and who could provide insight or verisimilitude into the stories and poetry written. The co-constructors ensured that the memory data used for this study were as accurate as possible

(Chang, 2016). A multi-layered analysis of the data was thus exercised, which considered existing literature, the conceptual frameworks that were developed for this study, and the reflexive practices referred to above.

It is not my intention to fabricate an excuse for my ethnocentric behaviour, nor the actions of my Afrikaner predecessors, rather, this study was approached from the perspective of a privileged white South African, as a means to contribute towards the humanisation of whiteness in a post-apartheid South Africa. In order to strip whiteness of its power, we should strive to humanise it, as the demonisation or idolisation of whiteness only grants it more power (Willoughby-Herard, 2007).

1.2 Background Information and Context

I was born in 1985 at 5.00 a.m. on a Saturday morning in Louis Trichardt[8] in what is now the Limpopo Province. I grew up in a middle-class Afrikaner household with both my parents, who are still married to this day. I had access to food, television, medical services, education in my home language from kindergarten to the end of my B.Ed (Bachelor of Education) degree, food, electricity, clean water, indoor plumbing, educational toys, clothing, technology like computers, cell phones (when they arrived), a sense of stability, books, transport and later, my own car at the age of 18.

For some, like me, these things may seem ‘normal’ and may not be classified as particularly exceptional. For others, it may be shocking to see how much privilege I enjoyed just from my parents alone. This is not the only privilege I had. Due to my race and gender, I would in all probability have easily found a job. If not presented with an opportunity of employment, I could always rely on social and

[8] Louis Trichardt was ‘founded’ in 1899 but was renamed to ‘Makando’ in 2003 after disputes between the Makhando Municipality and the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC). The name change was disputed by The Louis Trichardt Chairpersons’ Association in court on the grounds that less than one percent of the inhabitants of the town were consulted regarding the name change. It was also disputed on the grounds that the name ‘Makando’ ‘is divisive and makes one tribe superior to the rest’. The name change was reversed in 2007 (Thotse, 2010). It is still a matter of dispute today.

economic connections with family members and friends. I continue to enjoy a level of racial privilege even to the present day, because I can walk down the street without people suspecting me of malicious intent. People in my neighbourhood wave at me and greet me with warm smiles in most cases. These experiences sound simple and insignificant, but I know that people who have been racialised[9] are not always treated with the same courtesy. The examples above are just some of the cases where I enjoy the white privilege[10] consequential to South Africa's segregated history. South African resources and indigenous South Africans have been abused historically, mostly by European colonisers. Ironically, it is the arrival of these colonisers and the slave trade that contributed to the diversity of our 'rainbow nation'.

The rich cultural and racial diversity found in South Africa sprouted from Asian and African peoples who were brought here as slaves or political prisoners, as well as European peoples (including the French Huguenots in 1685), who came to South Africa willingly as settlers or as religious refugees between 1652 and 1834.[11] The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) was the first major role-player responsible for this diverse South African immigration of slaves and settlers (Giliomee, 2012). The trading company's focus was to monopolise the international spice and slave trades, which meant that the settlement in the Cape was not intended to be a permanent colony. As a result, the provision of education to settlers and slaves was not a priority (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016).

It was not long before the settlers who came to the Cape with the DEIC demanded independence from the trading company, due to exploitation and exposure to hard labour in harsh conditions, with minimal payment. The settlers gained their

[9] By racialised, I am referring to people of colour other than white, who were marginalised by the apartheid political system premised on political and legal exclusion.
[10] White privilege refers to the legal, social, financial and political privilege that white people have enjoyed in the past, and currently enjoy due to the implementation and legacy of oppressive systems like apartheid (Bridges, 2019).
[11] It should be noted that slavery was abolished in 1834, meaning it did not necessarily end willingly.

freedom in 1657, which led to the formation of a permanent free burgher[12] colony, and the beginnings of the Afrikaners along with it (Giliomee, 2012). With newfound stability in the Cape Colony, there was a need for churches and schools to be established. The Cape was still governed by the DEIC at this point, which meant that there was no state that would take responsibility for the provision of education. The result was that the church took it upon itself to provide Protestant Christian education for all children, irrespective of race. Dutch was the medium of instruction and a lot of emphasis was placed on fundamentalist Christian education. Those who chose not to send their children to school resorted to private or home schooling. Parents who could afford to do so would hire private teachers, who did not always provide quality education due to lack of qualifications. Unfortunately, the provision of Western education marked the beginning of the disruption of the indigenous peoples' educational practices (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016).

Even though education was not yet racialised during the DEIC rule in the Cape, one cannot assume that there were no racial disputes between the Cape colonialists and the South African locals (referred to as the Khoi-San). There were many feuds and wars between the free burghers and the Khoi-San, mostly concerning resources and land for farming. The Khoi-San were also subjected to slavery by the hands of the DEIC and the free burghers (Giliomee, 2012). In 1803, the Cape was governed by the Batavian Republic,[13] probably much to the disappointment of the DEIC. The Commissioner General, J.A. de Mist, undertook to reform education by providing mother-tongue instruction to all children, modernising the curriculum, providing trained teachers, and by replacing the administrative role of the church in education with the state (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016). However, De Mist's ideal for education was short-lived with the British taking over governance of the Cape in 1807.

[12] Free burghers refer to the settlers employed by the DEIC who were granted their independence. They are also regarded as the predecessors of the later Afrikaner people (Giliomee, 2012).
[13] The Netherlands became known as such, after the French revolution when the Republic of France defeated the Netherlands in 1795 (Giliomee, 2012).

Disputes for power and control between the free burghers (who were later officially referred to as Afrikaners) began at the beginning of the 19th century and only worsened with time, due to the discovery of copious amounts of gold and diamonds in the Transvaal by the end of the 19th century (Clark & Worger, 2016). South Africa became the richest region in Africa, which only made it more vulnerable to colonial exploitation. The British government implemented non-racial government schools in the Cape and later in Natal, promoting English, but included Dutch as a medium of instruction. They also wanted to take a more liberal educational approach by providing religious studies as a secular subject, rather than as a solid foundation for education (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016). Despite the British's claims of a non-racialised education system, they were still the first government to implement segregated schools for white and black children during their sovereignty.

The motivation for the segregation could have been due to the free burghers' attitudes towards racialised people (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016), as slavery had not been completely abolished yet. Just because the free burghers included black children in their educational practices did not mean that the burghers saw them as equals. Britain was moving towards a more enlightened age, where attempts were made to place ex-slaves and their ex-masters on equal footing (Oaks, 1989; Giliomee, 2012). But, given the disputes between the free burghers and the Khoi-San, it would not be surprising if the future Afrikaners did not like the idea of equality.

The combination of Calvinistic[14] beliefs and the need for independence from the more liberal British government resulted in the free burghers (who from here on will be referred to as the Afrikaners) isolating themselves via the Great Trek between 1835 and 1846. This was the mass migration of the Afrikaners from the Cape to the Orange Free State, Natal and Transvaal in an attempt to distance themselves from British rule (Giliomee, 2012). This conscious isolation and

[14] Calvinism is part of Protestantism, which follows the doctrines of predestination and election of 'set-apart' individuals or groups (Gribben & Murdock, 2019).

segregation resulted in parents and the community taking it upon themselves to educate the Afrikaner children.

Communities in the Boer republics[15] emphasised the importance of gender roles not only on a day-to-day basis but also through educational (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016) and religious practices (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). Afrikaner women were expected to perform certain homely duties (care for children, cook and clean) and to act in a socially-approved way. Women who accepted male authority gracefully, supported their husbands by knowing their place as their husbands' subordinates, dressed appropriately, spoke appropriately, and acted accordingly, were deemed not only acceptable, but worthy, by the community (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). The volksmoeder[16] ideology was born. The community gave women who could meet the standards of this ideology great social standing and respect. Yet, the volksmoeder ideology is like a double-edged sword, you must subjugate yourself to oppression with dignity in order to get respect from the community (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

The Afrikaners' schooling approach safeguarded Calvinistic religion, which was a cornerstone of education (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016). Afrikaans[17] was chosen and developed as the identifying language of the Afrikaner people during this time (Giliomee, 2012). The Afrikaners believed that they were set apart as one of the chosen nations of God, an idea which was self-supported by comparing their struggle for independence with that of the Israelites in Egypt (Smith, 2015). They tried to make sense of their hardships in South Africa, whether it was with the forces of nature, conflict with the indigenous people, exploitation of the DEIC or the oppression exercised by the British (Giliomee, 2012), by holding fast to the

[15] Boer is a term that also refers to Afrikaners.
[16] The volksmoeder ideology refers to a socially constructed space in which Afrikaner women need to act in a way that is associated with being ordentlik meaning respectable or decent, and submissive under male authority. If executed in a socially acceptable manner, it can grant a woman power and respect within the Afrikaner community (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).
[17] Afrikaans originated as a broken version of Dutch that was spoken by slaves and South African locals along with the settlers in the Cape (Giliomee, 2012).

belief that those who suffer are chosen by God (Smith, 2015). Their belief was only solidified when the British attempted to take over the Boer republics by force, an act mostly due to the rich resources discovered in the Transvaal at the time (Clark & Worger, 2016). Although in the minority, the Afrikaners managed to fight off the large British army in the Transvaal during the South African war (previously referred to as the Anglo-Boer War) (1899-1902) using guerrilla war tactics.[18]

The British coveted gold in the Transvaal and Orange Free State to replenish their dwindling reserves from the Bank of England (Clark & Worger, 2016) and the Afrikaner republic was considered an obvious and plentiful resource. After failed negotiations between the British giant and small Afrikaner republic, the British retaliated by sending troops to the borders of the small republic. Paul Kruger's request to have the troops removed was met with resistance, which in turn led to war (Oakes, 1989). The South African war took place in regions where seventy-five percent of the population was black. Black Africans were reduced to spectators of the war for the most part, due to an informal arrangement between the British and Boers to keep the war between themselves.

Nonetheless, black African forces were exploited and pressed by both parties to take up arms against one another. At some point, the British nearly outnumbered the Boers five to one (Oaks, 1989), but in spite of this, the Boers' knowledge of the landscape and climate of the battlefield gave them an advantage (Giliomee, 2012). The Boers resorted to guerrilla war tactics as a means to defeat the united forces against them. For instance, the Boers sabotaged the railway that supplied the British army with necessary resources (Giliomee, 2012). The British considered these tactics as foul-play and resorted to placing Afrikaner and black African women and children in concentration camps. Farm burning also became a common practice (Oaks, 1989).

[18] These are war strategies that are considered irregular, used by smaller mostly civilian groups against larger more formal armies. Strategies include ambushes, sabotage, raids and hit-and-run strategies (Grundlingh, 2017)

The vicious actions of the British only fuelled the Afrikaners' belief that they were a nation chosen by God (Smith, 2015). This belief, along with fundamental religious education and self-inflicted isolation, consolidated the establishment of Afrikaner nationalist ideology (Blignaut, 2013). Afrikaner nationalism and its ideals of racial superiority were, perhaps, born in Europe, especially if we consider the international slave trade. However, exploitation, Calvinism, isolation and oppression assisted the cultivation of the Afrikaners' unique strand of ideological ethnocentric whiteness (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). South Africa (or rather, the Afrikaners) gained independence from Britain in 1910 and was governed by the South African Party. General Louis Botha was appointed as the first Prime minister of a united[19] South Africa (Giliomee, 2012). Unfortunately, the beginnings of a united South Africa were characterised by racial segregation. Sol T. Plaatje's immortalised quote from Native Life in South Africa best describes what racialised people experienced at the time:

> Awaking on Friday morning, June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah[20] in the land of his birth. (Plaatje, 1921: 17)

The government implemented various laws, which further enforced the foundations of segregation with racialisation (Miles, 1988), scaffolding into what later manifested as apartheid. The 1911 Mines and Works Act coerced blacks and other racialised groups into cheap labour and thus into the South African social undercase.[21] Implementation of the 1913 Native Land Act secured the geographical segregation of whites and racialised groups. Native Africans, who made up most of the population, were forcefully moved to only seven per cent of the land distributed (Giliomee, 2012). The 1920 Native Affairs Act followed and paved the way for further segregation by granting whites more political power and preventing black Africans from taking a seat in parliament (Oaks, 1989). Finally,

[19] South Africa became a union on 31 May 1910, but racialised peoples were still excluded and were not granted the right the vote (Giliomee, 2012).
[20] An outcast
[21] The bottom of a country's social class and racial hierarchy (Gans, 2017).

the 1923 Natives (Urban Areas) Acts racialised black Africans to the point where their movements in urban white areas would be regulated and controlled (Oaks, 1989). Peaceful negotiations by African leaders with the Afrikaner government towards equality failed, resulting in revolts in rural areas due to increasingly unfair government laws.

When the Second World War broke out in the 1930s, Jan Smuts and South African Prime Minister Barry Hertzog united forces to create the United South African National Party or United Party. However, their union resulted in a split in Afrikanerdom (Giliomee, 2012). After parliament opted to declare war on Nazi Germany in 1939, Dr Daniel Malan revived the National Party (NP) as the Purified National Party. The United Party held the majority of the population's support as Smuts was of the public opinion that South Africa needed to rekindle its alliance with British and Commonwealth forces. Smuts became prime minister of South Africa shortly thereafter.

The tides turned on the United Party when they took the stance that segregation was completely impractical (Oaks, 1989). The view was considered too liberal and the NP celebrated their victory and ownership of South Africa after the 1948 national elections (Clark & Worger, 2016). Afrikaner nationalism was the main driving force behind the oppression, which manifested as apartheid (Blignaut, 2013). When white South Africans elected the NP into power in 1948, they willingly supported the ideology of apartheid, which secured white privilege in a political, legal, social and materialistic sense (Steyn, 2012).

The apartheid system was designed to classify and segregate the various racial groups of South Africa, in order to implement a hierarchical power system that guaranteed the subservience of racialised groups to white rule (Jansen, 2009) and more specifically, to Afrikaner white rule. This meant that the NP exercised control over all aspects of life, including where people lived, which schools they attended, which curriculum they were taught, where they could go, when, and with whom (Noah, 2016). Strict control was also employed when it came to interracial marriage (which was illegal during apartheid), how much money one could earn,

and where the money could be earned. These realities, which came to characterise racialised life in South Africa, were all based on one's racial categorisation, which was implemented by the NP government (Steyn, McEwen, & Tsekwa, 2019).

Due to the resistance exercised by the black people[22] (as in the 1976 Soweto uprisings), the international boycott of and contradictions within the apartheid system and a drop in the economy, the intricate system started to wane (Clark & Worger, 2016). One example of such a contradiction was Bantu education. Bantu education had the appearance of an education system that took an interest in African education, but it was utilised to produce cheap labour and exercise further control (Moore, 2016) over the 'raced'[23] bodies in South Africa.

On 27 April 1994, South Africa held its first inclusive democratic election(s). This was due to policies and reform implemented by the former NP State President, P.W. Botha, as well as the actions taken by NP State President F.W. de Klerk before the 1994 elections (Giliomee, 2012). This was the result of international pressure through boycott action, as well as the actions of liberation groups like the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) (Clark & Worger, 2016). Hermann Giliomee, an Afrikaner historian, explains that the Afrikaners were unique in handing over political power willingly (Giliomee, 2012). However, given the pressure that the NP government experienced as explained above, it was more a situation of adapt or perish as expressed by P.W. Botha at Upington in 1979 (Botha, 1989).

The question remains, what have we done with our democracy? A quarter of a century of freedom has passed and some young black South Africans are frustrated and angry that the economic imbalance between white and black has

[22] In this context, black people refers to all individuals who were classified as such by the NP government's racial standards.
[23] By raced, I am referring to people of colour who were marginalised by a political system premised on political and legal exclusion of aspects of life reserved for whites.

not changed much since 1994, but has rather been replaced by socio-economic segregation (Rasethaba, 2016). The problem with socio-economic segregation is that quality tertiary education, as well as the resources needed to keep up with the new technological pace of education, can only be acquired by the rich and this has sparked debate as to whether race can still be used as an indicator of economic status (Erasmus, 2010, 2019).

Contrary to the experiences above, some young white South Africans are angry and frustrated because they feel they are being blamed for the current problems and inequalities in the country simply because they were born white (Jansen, 2009). South African democracy is a young one, with an ethnocentric past, which means the practice or reception of ethnocentrism is a reality for many in everyday life. The field of neurocognition identifies two kinds of ethnocentrism. The first is ideological ethnocentrism, which revolves around the belief that an individual's racial group is superior due to physical racial attributes like Afrikaner nationalism.[24] The second is conditioned ethnocentrism, which results in racial microaggressions (Bosman, 2012).

Macroaggressions, on the other hand, are regular behaviours that express prejudice toward individuals who are associated with a racial group, gender, religion or sexual identity. This is usually done intentionally or unintentionally by expressing one's disdain or sense of superiority towards the 'other' in the form of verbal or physical actions (DiAngelo, 2018). Bosman (2012) explains how conditioned ethnocentrism, which is usually accompanied by divided consciousness,[25] can be very damaging on a social level as it does not allow for

[24] Afrikaner nationalism is the ideology that Afrikaners as a people are set apart from other racial groups and are the chosen people of God. It is the unjustified belief in the superiority and righteousness of the Afrikaner people, and it fueled the rationale for apartheid (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

[25] Divided consciousness in this study refers to the ignorance white people demonstrate regarding their own ethnocentrism or white privilege (Twine & Gallagher, 2008).

honest conversations regarding ethnocentrism and whiteness with white individuals.

An example of a more extreme and 'right-winged' South African ethnocentrism is the Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging (AWB),[26] which is still associated with offering training camps to young Afrikaner boys. Damian Barr (2019) explains that the aim of these camps seems to be to indoctrinate Afrikaner boys to hate black South Africans; they are also accompanied by informal military training. Barr investigated the death of 15-year-old Raymond Buys[27] at Echo Wild Game Rangers camp under the leadership of 'General' De Koker in 2019, which turned out to be a secret AWB training camp for young Afrikaner boys (Barr, 2019).

This brings me back to my 11-year old self in my introductory paragraph. Why did I feel at that moment that I had the right to call another person the k-word? Even though apartheid had been abolished at that time, I concede that I, as well as my assumptions, were the product of a cultivation process that took place in a segregated white space with little exposure to diversity. I was exposed to a one-sided history at home, church, school and in social spaces. How did these spaces in my milieu, along with its role-players, cultivate the inner construction of my whiteness?

1.3 Rationale and Motivation

When I started working as a lecturer on a contract basis at the University of Pretoria in 2016, I was surprised to see that there were racial tensions similar to what I had experienced as a B.Ed student in 2004. Students still needed to be facilitated or forced to use the diversity measures at their disposal in classrooms.

[26] This is a classified as an ultra-rightwing Afrikaner group by Shamase (2019), whose mission in the past was to rule South Africa and exercise control by militaristic strategies in order to secure white supremacy and privilege. They are still active today and offer training camps for Afrikaner boys (Barr, 2019).

[27] The reason for Raymond's death is still unclear. Speculation ranges from Raymond being homosexual and De Koker (the general) not taking kindly to that, to the 15-year-old being a 'trouble-maker' and De Koker's discipline strategies having been taken too far (Barr 2019).

Some Afrikaner students would voice their distrust of the 'other' to me and would assume that I, as a juffrou, shared the same ethnocentric ideals. Even in my prime as a racist, I would have never thought to expose my inner thoughts about the 'other' to a lecturer as if they were fact. The vigour of these students' racial convictions sparked a few questions. How do certain whiteness beliefs persevere in spite of its social condemnation? Do these students come from extreme right-winged homes? Do their views even come from home? The question of the origins of my own whiteness was raised and more importantly, the question of my complicity in the cultivation of their whiteness became unavoidable.

As a part-time lecturer in the Faculty of Education, I have to empower young aspiring teachers to navigate the South African context of teaching. A large part of their success depends on how they perceive, deal with, and utilise diversity in the classrooms that are found in most South African schools and in everyday contexts. How will these future teachers treat the diversity of learners in their classrooms? An even bigger challenge for me is which racial stereotypes are they going to reinforce in their own learners? Most importantly, am I equipped to guide them as a white juffrou? The questions once again turn more toward me than the students and I feel introspection is needed.

Autoethnographical research requires reflexivity (recognising the forces of socialisation) and analysis (Adams, Jones & Ellis, 2015). Deep autobiographical reflexivity, which has been associated with the field of socio-cognition, is a useful tool not only to get a better grasp of understanding oneself, but also in developing empathy for and understanding of others (Böckler, Herrmann, Trautwein, Holmes, & Singer, 2017). All the above skills are crucial in the fields of diversity and education, and in my professional development as a lecturer.

I hope to contribute towards what is termed the second wave of whiteness, which aims to understand white normality' and the white racist mind (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). In this study, I provide insider information about this phenomenon from the perspective of a woman who was cultivated into and by Afrikaner whiteness. The intention is not to re-establish or excuse my whiteness, which is one of the

problems with critical whiteness studies (Nayak, 2007), but rather to understand how it came to be. Since it is apparent that no one is born a racist, the consensus is that racism is taught (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman, Hariri, Jarcho, Eisenberger, & Bookheimer, 2005). I do not fully agree with this statement, however, as complexity theory shows that behaviours and beliefs are cultivated in complex and intricate social systems consisting of various role players, processes and factors (Mason, 2014).

Pedagogical education methods linked to the direct transmission of knowledge are rooted in behaviourist paradigms (Handal, 2003). Behaviourism holds that knowledge is external and needs to be directly transmitted from one person to another to achieve learning (Imenda, 2018). No one in my family, church, school or social environment taught me to be ethnocentric. The term 'taught' implies that someone deliberately sat me down and educated me through direct methods to be ethnocentric. On the contrary, I was exposed to certain situations, conversations, rules, values, beliefs and a type of 'normality' all of which contributed to the construction of my own ideas about the racialised 'other', that is, anyone who is not white or Afrikaans. The term 'cultivation' is a more appropriate description of how my racial identity came into being, as it acknowledges the complexity of my milieu, its educational vehicles and its agents, as explained in Chapters 2 and 3.

This autoethnography gives me the opportunity to know myself better as a lecturer, a scholar, a mother and a person. My hope is that if I confront my past, I can change my children's milieu in order to amend their cultivation for the better. I want them and myself to be worthy of the title 'South African' by investing in a better future for all South Africans, regardless of race, gender or class. I want them to identify as South Africans who happen to speak Afrikaans, not as Afrikaners who happen to be South African.

1.4 Focus and Purpose

The focus of this study is to understand the cultivation of my white racial identity as a juffrou. My aims are neither to re-establish nor to demonise whiteness, but rather to humanise my whiteness by understanding where it came from. I do this through an analysis of the in-depth reflexive and analytical practices of my lived experiences and how I perceive and interpret my milieu.

1.5 Research Questions

How and where was my white racial identity cultivated in the context of a white juffrou?

My research project relies heavily on the principle of emergence, which forms one of the foundational components of complexity theory (Mason, 2014). The research question above will look at all the factors that may have influenced my cultivation process as an Afrikaner. These factors may include people, conversations, morals, values, laws, rules, activities, places and the behaviour I was – implicitly and explicitly – exposed to from childhood to the present. The reason for this is that although my stories and poetry range within a specified timeline (1985–2015), my self-observational data adds depth in terms of my current anthropology, as compared to the past.

The idea behind the principle of emergence in the research is that previously marginalised factors regarding the education of a white racial identity could have had a stronger influence on my cultivation than expected. Due to this, I feel that adding more research questions could lead to side-tracking the focus and purpose of this study.

1.6 Concept Clarification

National and international contributions have been made in the fields of sociology, psychology, education and neuroscience to understand whiteness, white identity, white teacher identity as well as gender, and how these constructs manifest in

everyday life. The themes of Afrikaner identity and the volksmoeder concept are explored, along with the themes above, thematically and linked with themes like gender, race, power relations, white privilege, othering and racialisation (Miles, 1988; Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The diagram below illustrates how the identified concepts work together in the cultivation of a white juffrou.

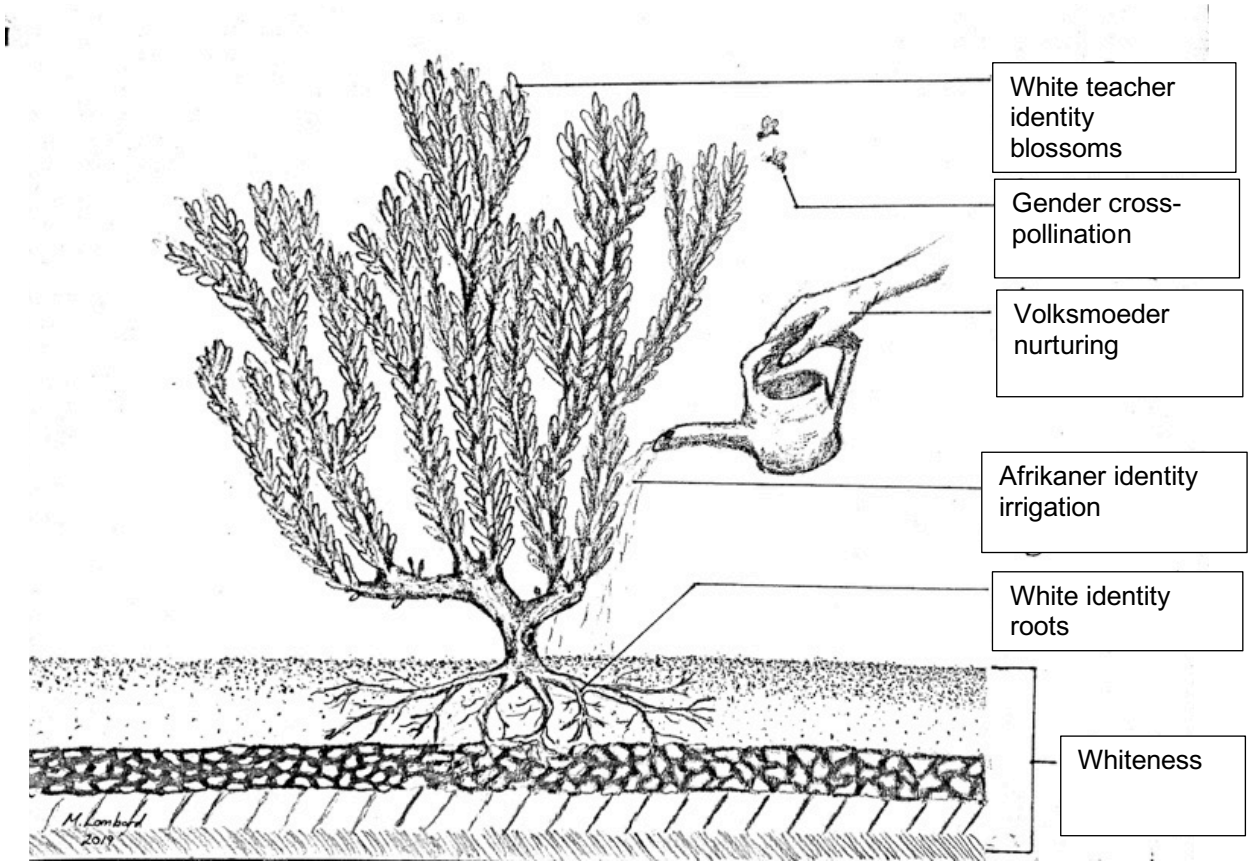


Fig 1.6 (a). A diagram representing my understanding of the relevant themes which contributed to the cultivation of my white racial identity as per the literature reviewed (Lombard, 2019).

1.6.1 Whiteness

Whiteness is portrayed in Fig 1.6 (a) and elaborated on as the soil from which my white teacher identity has sprouted. I unearthed principles, practices, development and nature of whiteness by moving through it via three waves as per Twine and Gallagher (2008). I compared international and national perspectives along with contexts of whiteness to showcase the uniqueness of the racial setting in the South

African context. The positioning of whiteness as normal has emerged as a point of interest (Morrison, 2007) in terms of how it fuels degrees of ethnocentrism and racialisation. Light is also shed on the divided consciousness that white individuals and groups demonstrate that results in continuous unequal treatment of racialised groups, thereby sustaining white privilege. The treatment that racialised groups receive ranges from microaggressions to harassment and/or persecution (Gans, 2017).

1.6.2 White racial identity

White racial identity is represented as rooted within whiteness with the broader themes of whiteness branching into the actions, statuses and foundations of individual white identities. I found that white racial identity studies tend to emphasise the ability of said identities to reach a status of autonomy, meaning that white identities make a meaningful and active contribution toward breaking down systems of oppression (Helms, 1990). While I do not deny a person's capacity for change or racial identity transformation, the statuses of white identity theory involving introspection, reflexivity and responsibility need more attention and have been identified as analytically significant in this research. Many academic and other attempts to understand white identity can be seen as an excuse for ethnocentric behaviour, which only contributes to an already emergent frustration and anger in racially-disadvantaged groups (Zenoyise, 2019). I therefore draw a distinction between overt and covert ethnocentrism relating to white racial identities (Bosman, 2012).

1.6.3 White teacher identity

White teacher identity is represented as the blossoms blooming from white identity and is approached as a sub-category of white identity studies. The work of Matias and Zembylas (2014) on white-teacher identities showed that white female teachers have the capacity to hide their ethnocentrism behind expressed emotions like sympathy, caring and concern. Their ethnocentrism is usually exposed via their lack of action on matters regarding racial inequality or due to white fragility. White female teachers may demonstrate this behaviour due to their training, which

compels them to demonstrate such emotions (Matias & Zembylas, 2014). The capacity for deception demonstrated by female teachers became a point of interest in this study.

1.6.4 Gender identity

I used the metaphor of cross-pollination to represent gender identity due to its intersections with race, class and age. The distinction was made between sex as a biological category and gender as a social one. A general overview was compiled to introduce the intersectionality between power relations regarding gender, class and race (Tobin, Menon, Menon, Spatta, Hodges & Perry, 2010). This provided the academic scaffolding needed to understand my gender identity in light of the volksmoeder concept (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

1.6.5 Volksmoeder

I found that the volksmoeder concept had strong connections to and was complicit with Afrikaner nationalism and Afrikaner identity (Pretorius, 2019). The volksmoeder concept is thus represented in my diagram as the hands that enable Afrikaner identity in the context of this study. I considered the role and impact of ordentlikheid[28] and the volksmoeder ideology on middle-class white Afrikaner women in South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2017) and realised that they provided more contextually-relevant insight in terms of the intersectionality between the privilege and oppression experienced by white Afrikaner women. The levels of conditional power granted by the volksmoeder ideology illuminated the reasoning behind the ideology's resilience and influence in Afrikaner culture and identity (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

1.6.6 Afrikaner identity

Afrikaner identity is represented as an external controlled, collaborative source in the cultivation of my racial identity along with the volksmoeder concept (irrigation

[28] Ordentlikheid refers to a type of feminine politeness that is associated with 'proper' femininity in Afrikaner culture (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

by hand). These factors contribute to Afrikaner identity's construction and socio-historical navigation in society. Ignorance plays a major role in sustaining white systems of power, as do continuing ethnocentric beliefs and behaviour (Steyn, 2012). It became clear, based on the reactions from participants in some of the research reviewed, that the participants' reactions and answers during the interviews may not always have been authentic. According to Verwey and Quayle (2012), participants tended to feel shame or dissonance when questioned about their Afrikaner identity and, as a result, more in-depth ethnographical evidence has been requested by academics regarding whiteness and gender (Jansen, 2009). Hence, my intention was to provide insider information with regards to Afrikaner identity and corresponding themes.

Jonathan Jansen (2009) did extensive research among his Afrikaner students and staff during his time as Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria to understand this somewhat unique Afrikaner strand of whiteness and how it is transmitted from one generation to the next (Jansen, 2009). Spaces where Afrikaner identity develops include school, church, family, peers, sport and social groups/events (Jansen, 2009). The othering and self-othering practised by Afrikaners in the past and present were discussed as a means to better understand the persisting racialisation that some Afrikaners practise (Vanderhaeghen, 2018).

1.6.7 Cultivation

A specific challenge presented itself when selecting a concept to describe the phenomenon of my study. I selected the concept of cultivation to describe the educational process that contributed to the formation of my white racial identity. Throughout my review of the literature, ethnocentric principles are described as something that is taught, socialised, constructed or developed. All are fair options but are not sufficient as stand-alone descriptions of the various factors at play when white ethnocentric principles are learnt and become part of a white identity. Hence, my propagation of cultivation as the descriptor of my intended phenomenon of study. Cultivation in the context of this study describes the process

of various curricula operating simultaneously on an individual or group within a complex milieu, resulting in a specific individual education. The learning achieved is a combination of social construction and internal meaning-making throughout one's lifetime. The themes and concepts above are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The complex nature of, and intersectionality between, the themes explored in the literature review encouraged me to develop a multi-layered conceptual framework through which to analyse my constructed data. I have developed a key conceptual framework that can be used in every piece of data constructed, specifically with the intention of exploring my phenomenon of interest. My key framework serves as the conceptual foundation for cultivation as the intended phenomenon of this study.

The themes that emerged from the literature which are relevant to cultivation are education, milieu and normality. I have linked concepts from three appropriate theories as a means to rationalise and support the connections I have made between the emerged themes above. The concepts and theories identified include the following: complexity theory is relevant to the analysis of my milieu (Mason, 2014); curriculum theory explores educational practices and phenomena within said milieu (Griffin, 2018); and cultivation theory questions my sense of 'normality' which is being portrayed and cultivated (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2017).

My decision to develop a complementary conceptual framework sprouted from the complexity and socio-historically-significant themes that emerged when doing research on identity and education. This complementary framework consists of theories and concepts that address emerging, but not always present, themes from the constructed data. Intersectionality addresses power relations and anthropology in terms of gender, race, age and class (Hankivsky, 2014). White racial identity allowed for more authentic reflexivity regarding my personal anthropology as a white juffrou (Helms, 1990). Lastly, the process of racialisation

was useful in analysing the causes, effects and degrees of racialised othering that others and I have practiced, as per the constructed data (Gans, 2017; Miles, 1988). Chapter 3 provides more depth relating to my conceptual framework.

1.8 Research Design, Methodology and Methods

1.8.1 Research design

I approached this study from a qualitative perspective within an interpretive paradigm. The ontology of interpretivism holds that reality exists within human experience, while the epistemological assumption of interpretivism is that understanding reality is achieved through understanding human experience (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). A more inductive approach was justified and thus applied in terms of data construction and analysis. Due to the call for a more defined and detailed positioning of the researcher within autoethnography specifically, I included my anthropology within my research paradigm. My positionality can therefore be referred to as integrated personality positioning, which is elaborated on in Chapter 4.

1.8.2 Methodology

I conducted my research by means of autoethnography but more specifically through narrative inquiry. My selected methodology aligned with my philosophical stance that knowledge is gained from understanding human experience. Narrative inquiry holds that if we give people a voice, so that their stories are heard, we give ourselves the opportunity of understanding our reality (Jarvis, 2014). This autoethnography was not only intended to represent my voice, but rather to represent a co-constructed narrative consisting of a variety of perspectives and experiences within my narrative. This was subjected to multi-layered analytical practice in Chapter 6 of this dissertation

1.8.3 Methods of data construction

The following strategies were employed to either co-construct data relevant to the composition and analysis of the narrative or to collect and construct self-observational data needed for reflexivity and analysis:

- Reading published materials
- Memory work
- Keeping a field journal
- Critical memory sharing
- Photographs and artefacts

I perused the responses of my co-constructors to ensure that the verisimilitude of the stories and poems were credible. My field journal assisted in the self-analysis and reflexive practices required by autoethnography. The details of how I employed the data collection methods above is contained in Chapter 4.

1.8.4 Data analysis

The data analysis of my study consists of three analytical layers. Firstly, narrative analysis contributed to the depth of my self-observational data and also illuminated the theorising and analysis that went into writing the stories and poetry. Secondly, a thematic analysis was applied to address my research question via the conceptual framework put forth in Chapter 3 to contextually understand how the cultivation of my white racial identity as a juffrou took place. Lastly, the structure, linguistics and presentation of the stories and poetry was analysed in terms of meaning and symbolism. The findings of my analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

1.9 Overview of the Study

This chapter served as a road map to my study providing the context, background and motive for my autoethnography. My research question, along with the focus and purpose of this study, was rationalised. The methods I utilised to conduct this research were introduced along with a general explanation of how the data was

constructed and analysed. The rest of this section provides a preview of the chapters to come.

Chapter 2 provides an in-depth, thematic look at existing literature on international and national levels concerning the themes related to the cultivation of my white racial identity. Each theme is explained contextually and the links between my experience and literature choices are made clear. The gaps which are addressed in this study are identified and discussed.

The rationalisation of my constructed multi-layered conceptual framework is expressed in Chapter 3. This chapter elaborates on the guidelines I followed in analysing and thinking about the themes and their intersectional relationships within my research context. My key (primary) and the complementary conceptual frameworks are illustrated and positioned to ensure accurate and justified methodology and data analysis.

Chapter 4 exposes my ontological and epistemological assumptions, whilst emphasising the importance of the researcher's anthropology as part of the research paradigm. My selected methods to select co-constructors as well as construct, represent and analyse the autoethnographical data are laid bare, whilst keeping academic critique in mind.

In Chapter 5, my short stories and poetry are presented in chronological order. The opening poem takes place during 1984 whilst my mother was pregnant with me. The rest of the timeline of the short stories and poetry range from 1989 to 2015. The critical events that took place were in the context of our home and family, primary school, church, high school, university and work. Themes that emerged ranged from those identified in the literature, to new emerging themes, which are explained in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 shows the key themes that I identified relating to the cultivation of my white racial identity. Here I apply my multi-layered analytical approach as rationalised in Chapter 3 in accordance with the data analysis methods as per

Chapter 4. The reflexivity called for by autoethnography and anthropology is contained within this chapter.

My final chapter serves as a general overview of the study in terms of methodological reflection, findings and as the conclusion to my dissertation. I make recommendations for further study within educational spaces and share my personal reflections of my research.

1.10 Conclusion

The background, context, rationale and methodology were introduced in this chapter. Chapter 1 has served as the roadmap and overview of my study and provided a glimpse of what to expect from this dissertation. Chapter 2 represents my process of navigating and understanding the literature, which, along with my research question, serves as the inspiration for my conceptual framework.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Cultivating White Juffrouens

2.1 Introduction

This literature review provides a thematically-approached re-examination of what has already been done regarding the themes relevant to the cultivation of a white racial identity such as mine (Athanasou, Di Fabio, Elias, Ferreira, Gitchel, Jansen & Mpofu, 2012). Themes include but are not limited to, international and national perspectives on whiteness, racial identity, white teacher identity, gender identity, the volksmoeder and Afrikaner identity. The purpose of this literature review is to position my research topic within the existing body of knowledge (Creswell, 2012).

The focus of this study is to understand the kind of milieu and curriculum that cultivated my white racial identity as a juffrou. This places me in the second wave of white teacher identity studies, which, according to Jupp and Lensmire (2016), advocates more complex consideration of social biographical research regarding white teacher identities. For instance, white teachers are doing research in order to understand their own implication in a white supremacist system, with the intent to dismantle white supremacy as well as the power it holds (Jupp & Lensmire, 2016). The placement of my research in the second wave of white teacher identity studies, as well as the focus of my study, makes whiteness the core theme regarding my racial identity in this literature review.

The ethnocentric nature of a white racial identity is illuminated and conceptualised within the theme of whiteness, in the context and background thereof in social and neurocognitive studies (Bosman, 2012). The aim of this illumination is to better represent the links between ethnocentrism and white normality that emerged from the literature pertaining to the cultivation of a white racial identity and its resilience from one generation to the next (Morrison, 2007; Jansen, 2009). My focus then turns to how and where whiteness has been represented as normal. This is not limited to literary works generally as identified by Morrison (2007) but pertains specifically to whiteness within my milieu.

In order to take up the issue of how my racial identity was cultivated, I unpack its layers to explore how whiteness grows through each complex aspect thereof in a reasonable manner. Relevant aspects of my individual identity including my gender identity, my Afrikaner identity and my white teacher identity will be examined as respective themes whilst keeping the intersectionality between identities and themes in mind.

The phenomenon of cultivation is elaborated on, along with curriculum. For the purpose of this study, curriculum refers to the relevant information that I was exposed to in my milieu regarding my racial identity's cultivation. An existing conceptual framework emerged from the literature during the exploration of cultivation as an educational phenomenon for this study. The emerged theoretical concepts that were selected include intersectionality, white identity theory and racialisation. These concepts are only briefly described in this chapter and will be elaborated on as part of the analytical framework used for the analysis of my data later in the dissertation.

Thus, to understand my racial identity's cultivation, I view the complex interaction of the various aspects within my examined milieu through the lens of complexity theory, curriculum theory and cultivation theory. Complexity theory assists in understanding how the role-players, laws, values, beliefs, education, discussions, spaces and institutions contribute towards manifested behaviour in my identity. Curriculum theory allows for the exploration of educational practices and curricula, which empowered my racialised learning. Cultivation theory, traditionally used in media and more specifically, television, assists in exploring how the complex system examined in my milieu through complexity theory portrayed whiteness to me as normal.

2.2 Whiteness is a Rich Soil

I agree with McLaren's (2018) description of whiteness as an articulatory practice.[29] It embodies a system, which fabricates and racialises a subservient 'other' in relation to a benchmark of self-declared normality (Kincheloe, Steinberg, Rodriguez, & Chennault, 2000).

Whiteness is also a socio-historical form of consciousness that originated amongst the ideals of colonialism, capitalism and epistemology, resulting in the oppression and exploitation of others (McLaren, 2018). Garner (2017) revisits the academic foundations of whiteness via the work of Twine and Gallagher, in which they explain the scholarly development of whiteness in three waves.

2.2.1 First-wave whiteness studies

The foundations of the first wave were laid through the work of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois based on three main observations he made throughout his academic career. Firstly, in Black Reconstruction in America 1860–1880, Du Bois revealed that the material, social and psychological privilege of whiteness among white labourers in the United States ensured that there was a strong motivation for them to adopt racist attitudes of a majority toward minorities (Du Bois, 2017). It should be noted that the white labourers would also not adopt an identity framed around a class solidarity with recently-freed slaves, due to the privilege that came with embracing the racial identity of the dominant white group (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The same choice against solidarity and opting for a more 'superior' racial identity was also demonstrated by the Trek Boers[30] in South Africa (Giliomee, 2012). It becomes rational to assume that the abolishment of slavery along with the idea of being seen as equal to former slaves was a strong driving force behind the Great Trek.

[29] Articulatory practice fixes and sustains discursive regimes that represent self and 'other' (Kincheloe, eds., 2000)
[30] Trek Boers refers to the Afrikaners during the Great Trek as explained in Chapter 1 (Giliomee, 2012).

Almost parallel to the academic emergence of the first wave in the United States, Sol Plaatje published his narrative on the melancholy experience of blacks at the hands of a white governing minority in South Africa following the implementation of the 1913 Land Act (Plaatje, 1921). Plaatje's first-hand experience in Native Life in South Africa: Before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion, provides the opportunity to understand the physical manifestation of systematic, political, legal, social and psychological privilege in which white identities are assured through the actions of a white government (Plaatje, 1921). The assumption that whiteness bears power in relation to it being a majority, as expressed by Du Bois, is laid bare for questioning when confronted with Plaatje's autobiographical narrative. However, Du Bois did acknowledge the power of white minorities in his third observation.

Secondly, Du Bois sheds light on the ignorance that white individuals demonstrated regarding their implicated superiority, prejudice, discrimination and thus material deprivation of blacks. The Philadelphia Negro, for example, elaborates on the ignorance white individuals demonstrated toward the suffering of their fellow black Americans during the end of the 20th century. It is in this wave, Du Bois explains that the ignorance white individuals demonstrate regarding their own privilege may be due to a perception that their privilege is 'normal' or 'natural' (Du Bois, 2007). The inability or unwillingness of white individuals to understand how a colonial history and systems of power ensured their own current privilege is once again confirmed. The perception is thus cultivated that white individuals, through their own honest, hard work alone, achieve success. The result is that whiteness is represented as the benchmark in society of what is deemed normal and, by extension, socially acceptable.

The literary works of Toni Morrison re-imagined Du Bois' observation on white normality about a century later and will be discussed under the second wave of whiteness (Garner, 2017). However, looking once again at the narrative of Plaatje (1921), one is met with the manifestation of Morrison's window onto black experience and how they epitomized the truth. Plaatje (1921) elaborated on how

whiteness warrants its materialistic manifestation as superior by implementing laws and policies that were rooted in the oppression of a racialised 'other' in early 20th century South Africa. Once again, the intersectionality as well as contrast between the American and South African experience is evident.

Lastly, Du Bois explored the benchmark that whiteness holds in a broader international scope. Illustrated Souls of Black Folk (Du Bois & Provenzo, 2015) provides insight into the problem and scales of the colour-line in relation to darker- and lighter-skinned Asian, African, American and Polynesian individuals. Due to whiteness' intrusion and colonisation in 'other worlds', it self-ensured the opportunity to reinvent itself upon arrival as a superior entity (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The result is that whiteness has been represented as a benchmark for normality and self-made success in beauty, cultural products, music, television, business, education and religion (Shome, 1999). The case of South Africa in the time period of Du Bois' work, serves as a strong reminder of the oppression whiteness can exercise, even as a minority with access to enough power. Plaatje (1921) grants us a glance at how the colour-line alone has been used to justify the forced removal of families and confiscation of land at the hands of a white supremacist government.

In summary, the first wave of whiteness focused on the institutional, psychological and social power and privilege that whiteness holds globally. The notion was introduced that white ignorance is based on the perception of white privilege as 'normal'. Finally, the first wave described the link between colonisation and whiteness' ability to 'reinvent' itself in relation to a racialised 'other'. The ethnocentric nature of whiteness and how it secures white superiority in a diversity of spaces was exposed This self-appointed superiority ultimately led to it becoming an almost global benchmark for 'normality' among a variety of ethnic groups (Garner, 2017). With this normal portrayal of whiteness in mind, I dove into the second wave of whiteness.

2.2.2 Second-wave whiteness studies

Critical race theory upholds the tradition of exposing institutional racism within the second wave of whiteness (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The literature in this wave exhibited pragmatic narratives of racism and its root causes. Looking at the focus and descriptions in the first wave, one understands that recognising the power whiteness holds is necessary. Yet, in order to strip it of its power, the focus needs to shift from the manifestation of white power toward how and why it is being sustained.

Hence, the systemic implementation of institutional doctrines like separate development and apartheid,[31] as per the first wave, is set aside, making way for approaches that are more attentive to the mind of ethnocentric white individuals (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). It is quite clear that the second wave is already 'budding' the opportunity to elaborate on the construction of a white racial identity.[32] However, due to the key role that white racial identity plays in the focus of this study, it will be discussed later along with a thorough conceptualisation of ethnocentrism as a theme in its own right.

Two pillars serve as the foundation for the second wave of whiteness studies. Firstly, it turns towards understanding individual dispositions of whiteness. The shift of focus from the group toward the individual is deemed necessary. Secondly, rather than demonising whiteness through the practice of recognising and, by extension, further emphasising the power it holds, the second wave moves toward humanising whiteness. By demonising whiteness, we run the risk of propagating its destructive superiority, and, by extension, black inferiority (Willoughby-Herard, 2007). Humanising, in the context of this study, refers to exposing and confronting the vulnerabilities and flaws that whiteness holds, rather than projecting them onto a racialised 'other'.

[31] Apartheid is written without a capital letter to represent it as a primitive and inferior concept.
[32] Due to the focus of this study, when referring to a white racial identity, it is automatically assumed that ethnocentrism is included with the conceptualisation thereof.

Twine and Gallagher (2008) refer to An American Dilemma, written by Myrdal with the assistance of Sterner and Rose (1944), which was republished in 2017. Myrdal identified divided consciousness as a characteristic in white individuals. Divided consciousness is a type of hypocrisy wherein white individuals have a strong sense of liberty and civil rights for all but feel very strongly that this does not apply to African Americans (Myrdal, 2017). Ironically, these white individuals did not have access to the privilege associated with whiteness due to lower socio-economic status, or simply through geographical distance (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The exclusion of whites by whites, as seen above, has also been mentioned by Nayak (2007), whilst explaining levels of white privilege. White individuals or groups run a higher risk of being excluded from white privilege due to poverty and social class (Nayak, 2007). White normality thus becomes not only a racial benchmark but also a social and financial one.

The second pillar of this wave builds on issues concerning how whiteness has been and still is being portrayed as a benchmark for normality (Garner, 2017). Toni Morrison paints a detailed picture in her novel, The Bluest Eye (2007), which shows the level of damage ideological and conditioned ethnocentrism can do to the development of the self during childhood and adolescence. The illumination Morrison brings to how whiteness is allied with cleanliness and goodness under a paradigm of normality throughout her work is, to say the least, educational and disturbing. The reality is that the mere existence of whiteness is enough to spark racial and aesthetic self-loathing in the identity of a little black girl. Although Morrison uses a very specific context for Pecola, the protagonist, to demonstrate the latter, she states the following in the foreword of The Bluest Eye:

> But singular as Pecola's life was, I believed some aspects of her woundability were lodged in all young girls. In exploring the social and domestic aggression that could cause a child to literally fall apart, I mounted a series of rejections, some routine, some exceptional, some monstrous, all the while trying hard to avoid complicity in the demonization process Pecola was subjected to. That is, I did not want

> to dehumanize the characters who trashed Pecola and contributed to her collapse. (Morrison, 2007: xii)

Morrison (2007) emphasises the depiction of white normality in Playing in the Dark. Her work arguably supports the notion that we are taught to make stereotypical associations about the racialised 'other' (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et al., 2005). The representation of white normality contributes to the social education that it also piloted some African Americans towards having the same negative assumptions in relation to people belonging to their own race (Bosman, 2012).

The term 'taught' is something to be challenged. In education, the term 'taught' is linked to the imparting of knowledge and behaviouristic education strategies (Weegar & Pacis, 2012). When we are exposed to this white normality through media, literature and society, I maintain that a type of cultivation of whiteness is taking place, rather than it simply being taught. The question emerges, 'Which spaces outside of the media and literature are cultivating whiteness as normal?' I will return to this question at a later stage under the theme of cultivation in this literature review.

As the second wave turned more toward the individual and the representation of white normality, a recently-free South Africa still dealt with the consequences birthed by the actions of their Afrikaner oppressors. The lion's share of senior positions in the private sector were still occupied by whites in South Africa when Nelson Mandela took the presidency in 1994 (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010). In 2010, the Quarterly Labour Force Survey showed that the unemployment rate stood at 29.5 per cent for Blacks, 22.5 per cent for Coloureds, 10.1 per cent for Asians/Indians and finally at Whites at 6.4 per cent. The persistence of white privilege in South Africa at the time motivated Ratele and Laubscher to beg the question (2010):

> Again however, one should be careful not to equate dominance only with income and/or wealth. How for example, is the privilege of wealth qualified alongside a loss of political power? And can we talk of

> Blacks as possessing privilege as it pertains to the political? (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010: 85)

The move by Ratele and Laubscher (2010) toward more inductive reasoning in the understanding of white privilege and power, catapulted South African scholars toward their contribution to the second wave, despite South Africa's delayed liberation when compared to the United States. They realised that due to the complexity of white identity, deductive reasoning and group identity might not hold the key to understanding whiteness in a diversity of contexts (Ratele & Laubscher, 2010). With the complexity of individual white identity in mind, the third wave of whiteness broke.

2.2.3 Third-wave whiteness studies

The third wave distinguishes itself from previous wave in three ways. Firstly, it makes use of a diversity of methodologies like racial-consciousness biographies and photo-elicitation interviews (Twine & Steinbugler, 2006). Information regarding the third wave surfaces from various sources like internet sites, biographies and media such as music and film (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The multiplicity of research found in this wave supports the perspective that white identities are complex and are integrated with history, politics, class and gender. Information regarding whiteness and race have enabled researchers to explore how whiteness navigates and manifests itself in everyday life on private and public terrains (Steyn & Conway, 2010). The third wave is built upon the foundations of work done in the second wave by taking the mind of an ethnocentric individual into account.

Secondly, this wave takes an interest in the cultural customs and discourse that white individuals employ to reconstitute or reconstruct their white identities. Attempts to do so may include the restoration of white supremacy and white privilege in neo-apartheid[33] contexts. White individuals may also resist ethnocentrism as the central focus of the third wave (Twine & Gallagher, 2008).

[33] According to Troy Duster (1997) neo-apartheid refers to post-apartheid, post-imperial, post-industrial and post-civil rights contexts in general.

Attempts at dismantling white systems of power are also apparent (Jupp, Berry, & Lensmire, 2016). The focus has not only turned towards the further understanding the white individual, but also towards exposing stereotypical discourse and complicity that white people have regarding the treatment of the racialised 'other' (Matias, 2016). Conway (2017), for example, sheds some light on how liberal white academics use their liberalism to secure their positionality in academia. Self-preservation manifests when these white liberal academics critique whiteness without considering or acknowledging the privilege they themselves have acquired due to their race and, by extension, their complicity in sustaining it (Conway, 2017). The lack of transparency is usually accompanied by a lack of action or involvement when hands-on measures need to be taken in South African universities and other institutional spaces towards racial transformation (Conway, 2017).

Matias and Zembylas (2014) explained a similar phenomenon in a study in which they found that racism among teachers was hidden behind kind or caring behaviour that lacked authentic empathy and action. This means that we understand that ethnocentric behaviour is wrong, and we attempt to 'fix' it without investing in the effort to understand and reflect on why it is wrong. The result is that a hidden apathy for the racialised 'other' manifests itself in superficial 'caring' and 'interest' without action (Matias & Zembylas, 2014). These attempts at sustaining and reinstating white superiority have resulted in the establishment of more specific sub-fields of whiteness studies, like white teacher identity studies. This wave of whiteness studies thus strives to strip whiteness of its power in education through self-aware autoethnographical research (Jupp & Lensmire, 2016).

Thirdly, the focus shifts away from European immigrants only, towards the descendants of a diversity of immigrants and how white identity forms amongst them (Twine & Gallagher, 2008), taking whiteness's articulatory practices examined in the first wave to a more personal and contextual level of practice (Garner, 2017). The third wave of whiteness presents the opportunity to unitise autoethnographical research in the context of white teacher identity studies. Thus,

positioning my research within the third wave provides insider information on the processes involved, which in turn cultivated my white racial identity with the intent of humanising it.

2.3 White Racial Identity Roots

The conceptualisation of white racial identity aligns with Helms' (1990) white racial identity development framework (Miller & Fellows, 2007; Utt & Tochluk, 2020). The framework holds that white racial identity development moves through six statuses: contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion and autonomy. All of these will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The status of autonomy refers to a white person who understands and acknowledges racial inequality and takes action to break down systems of oppression (Helms, 1990; Miller & Fellows, 2007). This tends to be the status of choice in white racial identity research conducted by white individuals (Conway, 2012).

Researchers who, for example, utilise critical race theory to theoretically address social injustice, are not always transparent about their white anthropology (Conway, 2012), while self-proclaimed white allies or liberals run the risk of being critical of whiteness without addressing their own prejudices first (Matias, 2016; Matias & Zembylas, 2014). In order to address my white racial identity and my prejudice in the context of this study, ethnocentrism needs to be conceptualised as a key characteristic of my racial identity. The conceptualisation of ethnocentrism will be addressed via two key questions. What is it? How does it work? I looked to the field of neuroscience and, more specifically, neurocognitive studies to address how ethnocentrism works, but to my surprise found that it addressed the question of 'what' as well. These fields of research provided information on how the human brain's neuropathways adapt and develop with the intent to understand human behaviour and identity. They also serve as a scientific 'backbone' for social and humanities research (Fitzgerald & Callard, 2015). Bliss (2016) referred to the marriage between neuroscience and social studies as social neuroscience.

According to social neuroscience, ethnocentrism is a manifestation of certain neuropathways that have been constructed in the brain itself in association with what we have been taught about the racialised 'other' (Lieberman et al., 2005). I argue that we are not simply 'taught', but that we have learned things about the 'other' in a complex way, which is explained later under cultivation. The aim of including neurocognitive information is to comprehend exactly how strongly the effects of ethnocentric learning manifests itself within the constructed neuropathways of the brain and if the connections in the brain can be rehabilitated (Lieberman et al., 2005).

Bosman (2012) traced the concept of ethnocentrism through Brewer (1999), who resurfaced the work of William Graham Sumner from 1906 in the United States. Sumner pioneered the concept of 'ethnocentrism' (more commonly known as racism today) by suggesting that by holding ethnocentric beliefs or epistemologies, we strongly distinguish ourselves as part of an in-group (Sumner, 1906). Thus, ethnocentrism is the notion that one's own self-identified ethnic in-group is the epicentre of reality (Craighead & Nemeroff, 2004) and, by extension, other ethnic out-groups are measured and appraised in comparison to its own constructed normality.

Sumner held the view that an ideological attitude toward one's in-group results in contempt, hostility, hatred and microaggressions[34] toward any out-group (Sumner, 1906).

> The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside… Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without—all grow

[34] Microaggressions are 'normalised' everyday manifestations of stereotypical disdain, underestimation, disgust, or distrust of a racialised 'other', who you do not consider to be part of your ethnic ingroup.

> together, common products of the same situation. (Sunmer, 1906: 12)

Bosman explains how our brain makes the connections between what we believe regarding the racialised 'other's' morality, humanity and worth (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et al., 2005). If we have been taught that the 'other' is a threat, or inferior in some way, an automated reaction is triggered that activates the fight-or-flight response (Bosman, 2012). The key to understanding why this automated response is activated when confronted with a racialised 'other' lies in the SCARF model. David Rock developed the status, certainty, autonomy, relatedness and fairness model or SCARF model, in 2008. It shows that the brain has five social needs, which play a role in how we perceive our own safety when interacting with people belonging to racial groups different from our own. These social needs are status, certainty, autonomy, relatedness and fairness. Relatedness, in particular, means that we tend to feel safer among individuals that fit into our perception of what is normal and safe in terms of appearance and behaviour (Rock, 2008). This explains that if we encounter a person who differs from our own perception of normal a fight-or-flight response is triggered (Bosman, 2012).

Bosman (2012) brought two types of ethnocentrism to our attention. The first is (overt) ideological ethnocentrism, which is rooted in a personal and conscious, indoctrinated belief in racial superiority in terms of intelligence, skill and humanity. It is a belief which is purely based on pseudo-scientific or Calvinist-religious principles (Verwey & Quayle, 2012) which emphasise race as a significant factor when evaluating a person's potential and/or morality (Bosman, 2012). Ideological ethnocentrism, namely Afrikaner nationalism, was a main driving force of the Afrikaner government to justify their oppression and exploitation of the racialised 'other' through apartheid and Bantu education (Verwey & Quayle, 2012).

The second is (covert) conditioned ethnocentrism, which refers to sub-conscious and hypothetical (stereotypical) racial differences (Bosman, 2012). These racial tensions tend to manifest themselves in microaggressions toward people of colour and can be damaging in various social environments, for example the workplace,

personal and social spaces (DiAngelo, 2018). Conditioned ethnocentric microaggressions can be triggered by physical characteristics like accent, skin colour, or behaviour like cultural and religious practices (Lieberman et al., 2005). In the context of this study, my own racial identity can be described as a conditioned ethnocentric white identity.

The perpetrators of racial microaggressions are usually oblivious to their own racial bias due to their disdain for ideological racism (Conway, 2012). The latter is not only an example of the divided consciousness, as mentioned in the second wave of whiteness, but also of the ignorance that conditioned racists display regarding their own white privilege (Bosman, 2012). When confronted with their own conditioned ethnocentrism, white fragility[35] usually comes into play. White fragility is the main reason why most of the discussions regarding whiteness with white individuals prove futile (DiAngelo, 2018). In line with the aims of this study, I feel it is important to try to understand some of the reasons for these exaggerated responses of white identities in conversations regarding microaggressions and white privilege.

DiAngelo (2018) makes the academic assumption that due to the privilege that white people have, owing to our colonial background, we have become accustomed to the normality of our white 'superiority'. In other words, due to our historical and current inexperience of racial discomfort, white identities find it difficult to handle said discomfort when confronted with the part that we will have to play in achieving equality (DiAngelo, 2018).

Steyn (2005) and Verwey and Quayle (2012) have done research on 'White Talk' and how South African white identities navigate their way through everyday life. Melissa Steyn brought the role of ignorance and how it relates to racism and specifically Afrikaner whiteness to our attention. In The Ignorance Contract, she

[35] White fragility refers to defensive responses that are triggered when a white person is confronted with racial views regarding whiteness and white privilege. These responses usually include anger, fear, guilt, withdrawal, and denial, and aim to restore white racial comfort and thus hierarchical power and white equilibrium (DiAngelo, 2018).

explains how white people in South Africa have signed a figurative contract to stay ignorant of the atrocities of apartheid (Steyn, 2012).

Steyn takes the stance that white people who do not educate themselves about our apartheid history and how it secured white privilege are exempting themselves from their social responsibility to break down the ongoing racial hierarchy in South Africa (Steyn, 2012). Verwey and Quayle (2012) further explored how Afrikaners struggled with re-defining their racial identity after the fall of apartheid. National research in terms of white racial identities leans more toward Afrikaner identity and will be discussed as a theme later in the literature review.

2.4 White Teacher Identity Blossoms

There seems to be a lack of balance in academia regarding white identity studies in general. You get to choose between a 'healthy' and, by extension, a possibly 'superior' identity (Roediger, 2007), or a 'shameful' one, which is more acceptable when taking whiteness' colonial history and its sustained privilege into account (Rose, 1996). The problem with white guilt is that it is projected onto racialised groups and manifests as white fragility when confronted with issues of race (Matias, 2016; DiAngelo, 2018). Thus, white racial identity research can be approached theoretically in a diversity of ways.

White racial identity theory and critical race theory (Matias, 2016) are popular frameworks of choice in white teacher identity studies. White racial identity theory provides a theoretical lens for the inspection of classroom instruction, clinical practice and racial awareness (Malott, Paone, Schaefle, Cates, & Haizlip, 2015), whereas critical race theory aims toward social justice in education. By employing both frameworks in various spaces, the focus turns mainly to the rehabilitation of white teacher identities (Matias, 2016). My intention, however, is to understand where ethnocentric beliefs and behaviour are cultivated in the first place, which makes my study more interpretive and self-reflective in nature than critical.

White identity theory lays out identity statuses of white identity development that requires a conscious movement away from racial ignorance toward a more mindful and nonracist life by the individual themselves (Malott et al., 2015). My question, however, is how does one measure the claimed transition from racism to antiracism as described by Helm's model? Based on Matias and Zembylas' (2014) research, measuring a person's racial beliefs and attitudes according to their behaviour is not necessarily a trustworthy methodology to follow.

Teachers who are predominantly white, middle-class females have the manipulative capacity to use emotions like care, empathy and sympathy to hide expressions of disgust for the racialised 'other' (Matias & Zembylas, 2014). They are trained to react with care, empathy and sympathy towards their learners. However, when confronted with their hidden disdain for the racialised 'other', white fragility delays any attempt at transparency, honest reflexivity and, by extension, true transformation (Matias & Zembylas, 2014).

White fragility manifests in reactions like, 'You are making me feel like a racist' or 'But not all white people are racist.' The projection of racial angst like the latter completely derails an honest conversation, which makes the person aware of their whiteness and the privilege that goes along with it (DiAngelo, 2018). I want to stop here for a moment and explain why reactions like the latter are considered disruptive and unproductive in racial conversations.

Imagine for a moment that a car has hit you. The ambulance arrives, and the paramedics ask you what has happened? You reply, 'I've been hit by a car.' The paramedics immediate and irritated response is, 'Not all drivers hit pedestrians!' They slam the ambulance door and speed off. White teachers whose benevolent emotions are not authentic are caught out as their demonstrations of 'good' emotions are very seldom followed by action (Matias & Zembylas, 2014).

The aim of first wave of white teacher identity studies is to prepare and educate white pre-service and professional teachers on how to teach effectively and appropriately in culturally-diverse public schools (Jupp, Berry & Lensmire, 2016).

A key aspect of white teacher identity studies and more specifically in the second wave thereof is that white teachers should utilise their privilege and power where possible to break down institutional racist practices.

What distinguishes the second wave of teacher identity studies from the first is the emphasis placed on meta-cognitive reflexivity in terms of white teachers' own complicity and role in complex social milieux (Jupp et al., 2016). The work of Matias and Zembylas (2014) directs us toward covert ethnocentrism in white women taking the conditional and divided privilege, as well as power they hold within a socially-constructed context, into consideration.

2.5 Gender Identity Cross-Pollination

Research relating to any sub-field of identity studies is usually a complex endeavour. However, in the case of gender identity studies the field is especially murky (Wood & Eagly, 2015). Wood and Eagly (2015) refer to Stets and Burke (2000) to lay emphasis on the degree of intersectionality between gender identity and other social categories like race and social class. A marriage between the above-mentioned intersectionality, along with the development of gender identity across one's lifespan (Tobin et al., 2010), makes for a challenging as well as multifaceted conception and positioning of self within social structures. It should be noted that although gender identity is differentiated from sex and sexuality, the intersectionality between said categories is acknowledged.

Gender identity is distinguished from sex and sexuality in the fields of social science and psychology. Wood and Eagly (2015) affirm that sex represents natal attributes such as reproductive organs. The latter is used to classify all creatures, including humans, into the social categories of male or female. Sexuality associates physical attraction with sexual practices and identity, all of which may or may not be shaped by sex or gender identity (Oakley, 2015).

Gender involves the socially-constructed, cultural meanings society aligns within scopes of femininity and masculinity. Gender becomes part of an individual's

identity when certain societal and cultural meanings are assimilated into their psyches. Our gender identities enable us to understand ourselves relative to the same socially constructed scopes of femininity and masculinity relating to sex. The assimilation of gendered cultural meanings may not only facilitate an individual's navigation within society (Wood & Eagly, 2015), but how others position themselves in comparison.

In the context of this study, the gender specific geography aligning within the specific identity in question lies within the Afrikaner volksmoeder ideology. A patriarchal set of standards set as benchmarks for women to achieve if they desire to be considered the 'ideal woman', according to Afrikaner nationalist standards (Brink, 1990). The standards that women need to meet in order to align themselves with the volksmoeder ideal are traditionally parallel to religious practices, motherhood and domestic responsibilities. The modernised adaptation of the volksmoeder, however, includes categories like physical appearance and career, as explained by Pretorius (2019).

The concept of ideal womanhood can be found in other societies too. Feminist research during the 1980s focused on the social position of women during the 19th and 20th centuries in the context of Europe and North America. The ideological framework identified at the time, which encapsulated the ideal woman, consisted of characteristics like care, conformity, discipline, frugality, gentleness and kindness (Brink, 1990).

2.6 Nurture like a Volksmoeder

Oh Woman! In our hours of ease
Uncertain, coy, and hard to please,
And variable as the shade
By the light quivering aspen made;
When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou!
(Scott, 1855)

Plaatje included a chapter in his 1921 narrative, dedicated to 'their indebtedness to white women'. He introduced his gratitude with a poem by Scott (1855) from Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field. An image of a very influential, respected and powerful Afrikaner woman is painted. Despite Mrs V's openly racist language and bordering on overt ethnocentric behaviour, Plaatje's words paint a portrait of respect with authentic gratitude.

What commenced was a story of how black workers and other black people on an Afrikaner farm had to choose between servitude toward their now legally-justified white masters or moving from the land that had been part of their families for generations. The protagonist of this tale was a white Afrikaner woman who ordered her husband to ignore the new land act and to leave the people be. Her husband addressed the people and said, 'The Nooi says we must not obey this law: she even says if it comes to physical ejectment, of if they take me to prison, she is prepared to go to Pretoria in person and interview General Botha' (Plaatje, 1921, pg. 88).

Mrs V, as Plaatje dubbed her, was a powerful and influential woman who showed no fear toward her husband nor the then government. She was willing to face her husband and the state head on to secure land for the blacks who were staying on their farm. She represents the affirmation, as well as the refutation, of the volksmoeder ideal. Plaatje's admiration of her authenticity is almost tangible. It comes as no surprise that the volksmoeder concept had not yet grabbed hold of Mrs V in the early 20th century on her farm, as it was only coming into being at the time. However, she unknowingly became the blueprint in constructing the volksmoeder ideal, ironically to control women like her.

Pretorius (2019) referred to the work of Brink (1990) in Man-made Women, which elaborated on how the volksmoeder concept originated in 19th century South Africa. Women's role during the Great Trek was emphasised as a role model representing ideal womanhood to which all Afrikaner women could aspire. Brink

further conceptualised the Afrikaner variety of idealised, man-made womanhood as a distinct yet restricted position within society (1990), implying that the power Afrikaner womanhood holds is conditional and controlled by a patriarchal society.

Brink's (1990) description of how ideal womanhood was articulated by society in a British context resonates with how the image of the volksmoeder came into being in South Africa. Brink also argued that a woman's status was measured by her role as a caregiver to her family when measured against middle-class standards. The roles set by society and government for women would always fill the needs of a male-dominated society (Brink, 1990; Du Toit, 2003).

Brink (1990) stated that the volksmoeder concept was sustained via an Afrikaner, male-dominated society's dealings to fulfil their own needs. Women were 'awarded' when the 'correct' behaviour, according to societal standards, was displayed toward her family and/or nation. Volksmoeders were awarded with respectability, honour and status. Pretorius (2019) outlined the requirements an Afrikaner woman would need to meet, to be considered good enough to be included in the volksmoeder ideal, as they had articulated themselves throughout the past three centuries.

The foundation of the volksmoeder ideal is laid upon family. Good Afrikaner women were to put the needs of their families above their own, emphasising their spirit of sacrifice (Pretorius, 2019). Brink's debate further explored the roles the volksmoeder assigned to Afrikaner women. Afrikaner women were depicted as a cornerstone of the household. They also represented a unifying force within collective Afrikaner identity, making the Afrikaner woman a powerful symbol in reinforcing Afrikaner nationalism (Brink, 1990). The Afrikaner woman's identity was dependent on Afrikaner nationalism, a Calvinistic ideology that was forged in opposition to African and British identities (Anderson, 1983) .

Pretorius introduced the 'spirit-of-sacrifice' as the rural volksmoeder, which was the main characteristic linked with the volksmoeder in the early 19th century. This role was enforced by religious views imparted to women in Afrikaner religious

spaces. The rural volksmoeder was represented as a poor white woman who lived in the countryside and dedicated all her time to her family, despite the hardships she faced, in order to survive (2019). She had strength, and she had faith.

Conversely, Van den Heever showed the reality of individual accounts of incest and oppression that could be exercised on volksmoeder women,[36] in more isolated and rural areas in Droogte (1930). At the time, publications such as this challenged generalised assumptions propagated by the volksmoeder ideology and those who propagated it. One example mentioned by Pretorius was that people assumed that unmarried women living in the city were not as safe as those in the countryside. There were also perceptions that urban women were not as worthy of the volksmoeder ideal as women living in rural areas (2019), hence, the need for the urban volksmoeder (Pretorius, 2019). With poverty and industrialisation on the rise, more poor, white women shifted toward the role of breadwinner (Brink, 1990). The shift was met with scrutiny by organisations like the ultra-right-wing Ossewabrandwag movement in 1938, which emphasised that a woman's religious and moral role in society was to stay at home, caring for her family, and, by extension, the nation (Vincent, 2000). Afrikaner intellectuals who emphasised that good motherhood was the answer to white poverty (Vincent, 1999) supported their claims.

White working-class women, as a result, were regarded as a threat to the Afrikaner patriarchal system (Hyslop, 1993; E. Roberts, 1984). Consequently, working-class women were represented as linguistically impure (mixing their language), opinionated, narrow-minded and indifferent to their own Afrikaner culture. The motivation behind this type of othering within the volksmoeder framework may have been due to urban women being more cosmopolitan than their rural counterparts (Pretorius, 2019).

[36] Models in this context are women who were living within the circumstances used to enforce the *volksmoeder* concept.

Cities were also propagated as sinful places that would tempt innocent and 'god-fearing' Afrikaners to a life of immorality. The aim was, of course, to shame and change women who did not conform to the volksmoeder ideal (Pretorius, 2019). An example of just how autocratically this was imposed on women was that of the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932. The report endorsed the volksmoeder image through its endorsement of the stereotypical male paradigm of the time. The endorsed image was based on interviews aimed mainly at poor white women in rural areas, not taking the challenges of urban working women into account. The report propagated the idea that if Afrikaner women took their rightful place in society, they would be the hands that strengthened the Afrikaner nation (Pretorius, 2019).

As poverty escalated, so did the number of young white women who joined the labour force to relieve their families from poverty. A working volksmoeder image arose (Pretorius, 2019), which demanded the roles of motherhood, caretaker, mother of the nation and breadwinner to be gratified. Due to the low wages offered to women's services in the labour force, some turned to prostitution, according to Van Onselen (2001). The stereotyping of sexual behaviour, racial mixing and the promiscuity associated with white working women resulted in lower respectability for them from the Afrikaner community (Hyslop, 1993).

Pretorius concluded that white women played a part in the Afrikaner nationalistic origins of a particular white racial identity (2019). Just like its predecessor, whiteness, the volksmoeder ideology articulated and reinvented itself as an ideal to strive towards in Afrikaner culture and society. The concept included all white women, even though it originated from a white middle-class minority. Poor white women aspired to the positions offered by the volksmoeder ideal, as they wanted to prove that they too were worthy volksmoeders and had the strength to be considered as such (Pretorius, 2019).

Pretorius' categorisation of volksmoeder varieties demonstrated how women created in-groups and out-groups within the parameters of the ideology's standards. The principle, as identified by Sumner in 1906, provided intersectional

insight between racial identity and gender identity. Van Onselen (2001), on the other hand, explained that working women in urban areas would look down on women in rural areas for choosing to comply with the volksmoeder ideal. In turn, the women from the rural areas would feel they had a moral high ground in comparison to their urban counterparts, based on Afrikaner nationalist ideologies (Pretorius, 2019).

The volksmoeder concept has demonstrated resilience since its humble Dutch-South African historiographical origins from as early as the 19th century (Brink, 1990). The volksmoeder concept adapts along with society to ensure that it is passed on from one century to the next. Van der Westhuizen (2017) elaborated on how ordentlikheid is the face of the volksmoeder in the 21st century by how it has been constructed as an ethicised respectability. The constitution of the historical identity of Afrikaner identity has allowed for the above-described adaptability to take place (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

In her book, Sitting Pretty, Van der Westhuizen (2017) examined the concept of ordentlikheid through the lens of intersectionality. Crenshaw (2016) conceptualised intersectionality as a theoretical lens that drew focus toward the various intersections of systems of oppression, as described by Brink (1990). Van der Westhuizen (2017) makes us aware of the value ordentlikheid may hold in terms of honest conversations regarding benchmarks of othering in terms of race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and age. This can be challenged by the work of Matias and Zembylas (2014), which shows that more in-depth ethnographical evidence is needed in terms of white Afrikaner female identities.

Van der Westhuizen also explored how Afrikaner women and the volksmoeder ideology have been modernised through women's magazines and how Afrikaner identity tried to re-establish itself after apartheid by using the ideology as a benchmark for women. The two sides of the volksmoeder coin are power and control. On the one hand, embodying this specific kind of ordentlikheid gives you power and respect as an Afrikaner woman, but it also dictates what is expected of you. This also controls how Afrikaner women carry themselves in the company of

others (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). I hold it is this intersectional oppression experienced by Afrikaner women that co-motivates figures like Julius Malema to specifically address white Afrikaner men in dialogues regarding racial power in South African context in Die Poppe Sal Dans (Watson, 2016).

Jonathan Jansen shared his experiences whilst building relationships with schools in Pretoria as the first black dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. In Knowledge in the Blood (2009), he compared attitudes of transformation in Afrikaner high school boys to those of Afrikaner high school girls. He described his encounter with the girls as more accepting of and open to transformation. The boys, on the other hand, were much more vocal about their mistrust of a black person (Jansen, 2009). Jansen had the opportunity to speak with Grade 10 girls regarding transformation and diversity during a school getaway. He also used a moment to share some of his personal lived experiences during apartheid (Jansen, 2009). He stated that the girls showed interest and empathy, but some told him that their fathers would not share their sentiments. Accounts such as those experienced by Jansen could quickly lead to the generalisation of the Afrikaner family. This could become precarious; something that could be interpreted as a shortcoming in the analysis of white Afrikaner women identities and their positioning within the household and society.

In families, the father is generally placed in the traditional role of the patriarch, who demands respect and submissive behaviour from other members of the family (Jansen, 2009). Given the information on the systemic and social oppression Afrikaner women experienced, Afrikaner women were traditionally placed as such, within generalisations. Jansen's research calls for more in-depth ethnographical information, to understand the Afrikaner family and individuals from an inductive perspective, rather than a reductive one (Mason, 2014).

The work of Brink (1990), Van der Westhuizen (2017), Pretorius (2019) and Jansen (2009) support the argument that the volksmoeders' hands were bound to support Afrikaner nationalist ideologies. This guides us toward Afrikaner identity

and Afrikaner whiteness as a whole, in order to understand the position that white Afrikaner female teachers hold in a society such as South Africa.

2.7 Water with Afrikaner Identity

In the South African context, we have various displays of whiteness. According to David Conway in the book, Exploring Complicity: Concepts, Cases and Critique, we have liberal whites and we have conservative whites (Afxentiou, Dunford & Neu, 2016). English-speaking whites are perceived as liberal whites and were described by students at the University of Cape town as nice and approachable (Mensele, Nel, Nel, & Louw, 2015). The Afrikaners, on the other hand, are associated with conservative whites and were perceived by the same students as aggressive and racist (Mensele et al., 2015). This is something that I have seen in the international film industry as well. In the film The Purge: Election Year (2016), an Afrikaans character expresses delight at the opportunity to kill people as he states, 'Die Afrikaners kom vir julle!' This translates to, 'The Afrikaners are coming for you!' One characteristic of the Afrikaners that is a positive stereotype, as pointed out by Jansen's (2009) and Mensele's (2015) studies, is that they are perceived as hardworking.

We also have the closet racists that Steyn referred to in her study entitled White Talk (2003), who do not openly showcase their racism for the world to see, but who continue to affirm racist stereotypes and long for the romanticised good old days behind closed doors (Steyn & Ballard, 2013). Even though South Africa has its own unique displays of whiteness, as shown above, there are links between these indigenous types of whiteness and international whiteness, specifically between South Africa and the United States. The distinguishing component of Afrikaners is that they are a minority group that has exercised oppressive power on political, social, materialistic and legal platforms in the South African context.

Jonathan Jansen's intensive groundwork among his students during his time as Dean was driven toward understanding Afrikaner identity in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. Jansen identified schools, churches, family, peers, sports

(specifically rugby) and cultural networks (like the Voortrekkers) as possible role-players that contribute to the transfer of racial knowledge from one generation to the next (Jansen, 2009).

The spaces identified by Jansen were usually culturally exclusive, where Afrikaners were isolated from the rest of the diverse South African community (Steyn & Ballard, 2013). Afrikaner nationalism was not only the primary foundation for Afrikaner identity in the past, but also the result of Afrikaners isolating themselves from British and African groups (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). One of the most noteworthy intentional segregation attempts by the ancestors of the now Afrikaners, was that of the Great Trek.

The Great Trek was an attempt by the Afrikaners to establish their independence as a set-apart nation. As a result, the Afrikaner community took it upon themselves to educate their children in their home language using the Bible as a textbook (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016). The combination of isolation, Calvinism, oppression and other hardships faced by the Afrikaners strengthened their belief that they were the chosen nation of God and were set apart from other lesser or impure nations (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). This was confirmed by a quote from Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika published in 1955.

> Met die Bybel in die een hand en die geweer in die ander, het die boer met sy gesin, sy ossewa en sy ryperd die vaandel van die Christelike beskawing diep in die binnelande van Suidelike Afrika gedra en daarna stewig geplant. (Van der Walt, Wiid, & Geyer 1955: 594)

This translates to:

> With the Bible in one hand and the gun in the other, the Boer along with his family, his ox wagon and his horse, carried the banner of the Christian civilization deep into Southern Africa and planted it firmly.

The quote above provides context in terms of the education and literature early generations of Afrikaners were exposed to at the time. We are reminded of the role that representation in literature plays in enforcing and sustaining white ideologies and supremacy, as pointed out by Morrison (2007). History books, like the one I used for the quote above, advocated Afrikaner nationalism by idolising Afrikaners as moral and religiously righteous agents as opposed to European and African people.

Calvinist dogma was preached and practiced by the Dutch Reformed Churches as a means to develop and strengthen Afrikaner nationalism. The church aimed to create a sense of sameness toward one another and otherness in comparison to those racialised by Afrikaners (Hexham, 1980; Magaziner, 2007). However, Hexham argued that more conclusive evidence was needed to prove that all the individuals mentioned were, in fact, Calvinists (Hexham, 1980). Hexham (1980) strengthened his argument with assumptions such as segregation during 1857 in terms of worship and congregation, which was endorsed by the Dutch Reformed Church. These assumptions were evangelical in purpose rather than discriminatory in nature. More modern literature regarding Afrikaner nationalism and how Calvinist religion supported the development of Afrikaner nationalism shows that the two concepts were quite inseparable (Magaziner, 2007; Venter 2018).

The role of the volksmoeder ideal was also not taken into consideration when considering the role of Calvinist-driven nationalist identity. Mans and Lauwrens' (2013) research on Christian-Afrikaans women and their prescribed roles in religious and political contexts demonstrates the persistence of religious ideals within a modern Afrikaner identity. Their focus, as in the case of Du Plessis (2010), was on the power literature holds in supporting ideological representations.

Afrikaner nationalism represents a complex discourse between various views of the word and of the Afrikaner 'self' in terms of religion, policy, science and politics (Du Plessis, 2010). Nationalist ideals are not necessarily taught or implemented directly on a formal level, but are also insinuated, propagated and advocated via

modes of representation, such as literature (Du Plessis, 2010). The question is now: What are the foundations of Afrikaner identity in post-apartheid South Africa after the fall of Afrikaner nationalism?

Vanderhaeghen argues that one of the strategies Afrikaners are currently using to navigate their way in post-apartheid South Africa is a stance of victimhood. He explains that Afrikaners are doing this to nullify their past role of oppressor, especially in Afrikaans media (2018). It appears Afrikaners are still demonstrating a deep-seated need to be 'special' or rather 'set-apart' from the rest of South Africa through self-othering (Vanderhaeghen, 2018). He suggests that due to the external perception that Afrikaners are racist and a historical enemy, the assertion of a transformed Afrikaner becomes problematic.

Afrikaners' use of self-othering is explained as a strategy to represent themselves as an oppressed minority group within a general South African identity. Vanderhaeghen argues that Afrikaners are using the farm murders and the media to enforce their self-othering strategies (Vanderhaeghen, 2018). The farm murders are usually represented on social media and in more official Afrikaner media as significant in comparison to other similar daily crimes in South Africa.

One of the main problems that Vanderhaeghen points out is the Afrikaners' inability to bring about true transformation through intra-othering. Intra-othering is a process by which individuals could be othered from the core Afrikaner group for ethnocentric beliefs or behaviour. The core insiders of a group usually determine who is othered from the group based on the morals and values of the insiders (Vanderhaeghen, 2018). Unfortunately, ethnocentric individuals are held as the core insiders of the Afrikaner group, resulting in the intra-othering of more pro-transformation individuals. It can thus be deduced that there is still a measure of divided consciousness within Afrikaners' identities, by which they perceive themselves as the newly oppressed, without understanding or acknowledging the oppression of the racialised other.

According to Verwey and Quayle (2012), a divided consciousness is more prominent in private conversations among Afrikaners. There is a distinct difference between the topics of discussion between Afrikaners in private and more public conversations. On a public platform, participants would reject their association with Afrikaner culture and would rather refer to themselves as 'Africans'. A strong resistance would accompany this to a more inclusive African identity. The topics discussed in more private settings, like a braai, tended to focus on how black people were perceived as dangerous, incompetent or inferior (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). Once again, the work of Matias and Zembylas (2014) proves relevant in the context of this study.

It was clear from the literature explored that the concept of a white, Afrikaner, cisgender woman teacher was a context-related intersectional process, which was too complex to subject to reductionist research. It was becoming more evident that autoethnographical research should contribute toward racial identity studies. Jarvis' (2014) autoethnographical research, for instance, demonstrates the value that authenticity can bring to a racially diverse dialogue.

Jarvis (2014) described how he needed to direct his focus toward the 'self' and the 'them' to understand the nature of his socialisation into whiteness. He became acutely aware of his own whiteness and his normalised[37] compliance with white ideologies. Jarvis shows vulnerability by exposing the trauma his white socialisation caused during his lifetime. We are given the opportunity to have an in-depth look at a first-person account of someone who bridges his or her divided consciousness via reflexivity. The public silences referred to by Verwey and Quayle (2012) are broken within the spaces as identified by Jansen (2009), thereby presenting the opportunity to understand how the education of whiteness ensures its persistence in white Afrikaner identities.

[37] Complying with ideologies such as whiteness, because it has been portrayed to and excepted by you as normal behavior, as derived from the second wave of whiteness.

2.8 The Propagation of Cultivation

Most scholars refer to the construction of an identity rather than the cultivation thereof. In the case of Jarvis, he referred to the phenomenon which resulted in his whiteness as a socialisation process, implying that it was something that we learn as we interact with society (Jarvis, 2014). Arguments in neuroscience and whiteness on the other hand argued that ethnocentrism is taught (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et al., 2005); this is a more direct educational principle. Personal meaning-making, however, is a central driving force of identity construction (Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin, 2010). The key positionality of personal meaning-making confirms that the information used to do so is found from specific environments along with collaborative cultural stereotypes (Owens et al., 2010), thus substantiating the argument that Afrikaner identity is constructed within various social and formal spaces, as mentioned above (Jansen, 2009).

Education can be conceptualised as an organised way within the socialisation process by which society attempts to sustain beliefs, interests and practices that society, segregated groups or individuals hold dear (Biesta, 2007). Educational practices within society are usually intended to knowingly equip newcomers with the cultural, historical and socio-political knowledge and skills needed to navigate their way through a society. The result, however, is that historical inequalities, as well as existing discriminations, are also reproduced intentionally or unknowingly. Education is not a phenomenon that can be contained by socially-constructed parameters. Education stretches beyond formal curriculum activities and is also concerned with the cultivation of our humanity (Biesta, 2007). Thus, the term ‘cultivation’ piqued my interest as an educational phenomenon.

Campbell (2012) maintained in ‘The Cultivation of Racism’ that by advocating diversity at universities, ethnocentrism is actually cultivated. Campbell (2012) held that by creating safe spaces at tertiary institutions for people who were of the same ethnicity only created more racial segregation. Segregation can cultivate racism if the discussions in these closed spaces did not make room for constructive debate and fair representations of the groups or individuals who were excluded.

Campbell did not provide a clear conceptualisation of what he meant by the term 'cultivation'. I found the description of the term in agricultural science relevant to my intended use of the concept in this study. Cultivation in agriculture refers to the preparation of soil and surroundings to ensure that specific plants grow and develop. It is a process that relies on external as well as internal factors to ensure a successful harvest (Etingoff, 2016). For example, if we cultivate flowers, the external milieu is prepared in such a way as to ensure that the inner workings of the flower give us the desired result. Cultivation also refers to inhibiting the growth of weeds or invader species of plants that could threaten the intended plants' development (Etingoff, 2016). Cultivation can thus be viewed as a process that is reliant on numerous intersectional external and internal factors.

In the context of this study cultivation refers to the process of various curricula (vehicles of education) operating simultaneously on an individual or group within a complex milieu resulting in specific individual learning. Wilson (2009) described curriculum as any planned or unplanned action that teaches a lesson. Carl (2012) and Wilson (2009) referred to various types of curricula relevant in schools and everyday life within society. Relevant curricula relating to this dissertation include: the societal curriculum, the null curriculum, the concomitant curriculum, as well as the internal curriculum.

The societal curriculum was defined by Cortes (1981) and Carl (2012) as a major informal curriculum within the context of peer groups, family, churches, occupations, mass media and other educational forces within society. The interactions within the familiar spaces as stipulated by Cortes (1981) are influenced by what is accentuated by authoritarian figures as important in terms of religious expression, values, ethics, behaviour and morals. The latter action of what society deems worthy of teaching the next generation is referred to as the concomitant curriculum (Carl, 2012; Wilson, 2009). This curriculum traditionally gets the blame for ethnocentrism that surfaces within society.

Carl (2012) reminds us that not only do the things we emphasise have an impact on our societal curriculum, but the things we do not teach can have just as strong

an influence on what we deem to be important or not, such as those instances where we keep quiet when someone else is doing something that is clearly wrong, as in the case of abuse or ethnocentrism.

As confirmed by Owens, Robinson and Smith-Lovin (2010), we all construct meaning internally via the combination of processes, information and knowledge combined with our own reality. Via this process, we construct new knowledge through a 'filter' consisting of our own experiences and sense of logic. This internal curriculum is unique to each person and plays a key role in how information is processed, understood and constructed. External role-players have very little to no control over a person's internal curricular process (Carl, 2012).

The information above demonstrates the intersectionality and complexity of the curricular processes that result in ethnocentrism and relate to identity. The exploration of curriculum within a specific milieu that resulted in ethnocentrism and contributed toward the construction of white identities may provide useful information regarding practical transformation. I hold that cultivation is a concept which takes the complexity of the education of my white racial identity into account.

2.9 Conclusion

Throughout my research, I have not found in-depth insider information from an Afrikaner juffrou within my age group, who has analysed and interpreted the cultivation of her own white racial identity through autoethnographical practices. Also, there may be previously marginalised factors in existing literature regarding the cultivation of whiteness that may prove to be more significant than previously assumed. I want to provide more in-depth information and contribute to the fields of Afrikaner identity and whiteness, not to re-establish it, excuse it or to demonise its ideals, but to contribute to decentring whiteness by understanding my own complicity therein. With the themes relating to my curricular cultivation in place, I now proceed to the rationalisation of my constructed multi-layered conceptual framework. Chapter 3 describes the lenses through which my data is approached and thematically analysed.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Landscaping my study

3.1 Introduction

I have developed a layered conceptual framework for this study with two aims in mind. The first is to suggest the possible value of further research on cultivation as a credible educational phenomenon. The second is to explain the integrated relationships between emerged themes from the literature as per Chapter 2, relating to the context of my narrative. Both of these are in line with the purpose of creating conceptual frameworks, as opposed to using existing theoretical frameworks (Adom, Hussein, & Adu-Agyem, 2018) .

Theoretical frameworks are useful blueprints that researchers can use when exploring identified phenomena in existing readings. Theoretical frameworks are also utilised in critical autoethnographies by Jarvis (2014) and Lewis (2019), the rationale being that critical theories, like critical race theory, align seamlessly with critical research paradigms that focus on social justice. Conceptual frameworks, on the other hand, are custom-designed scaffolds, which may explain the natural progression of the phenomenon identified (Grant & Osanloo, 2016).

My key conceptual framework acts as the pillars that theoretically justify cultivation as a phenomenon worth exploring in the field of education. It also acts as the main framework of analysis in the context of this study. My key framework will be utilised in every story and poem presented in this study to explore the phenomenon of cultivation that took place during every incident.

My complementary conceptual framework relates more to the themes that emerged from the literature review, and which should be considered when analysing socio-historical contextual aspects of my narrative and anthropology.[38] This means that my complementary framework's theories may be selectively applicable to the data, depending on the context of and themes in the narrative.

[38] My anthropology is the socio-historical positionality relating to my data (Du Preez, 2018).

The emerged themes, along with their corresponding theories, are later presented and explained, along with Figure 3.2, under the complementary conceptual framework section of this chapter.

3.2 Key Conceptual Framework

My conceptualisation of cultivation is rooted in three theoretical frameworks: complexity theory, cultivation theory and curricular theory. Conceptual frameworks such as mine are aimed at developing new theories, which could be useful to practitioners in similar future research endeavours (Adom et al., 2018). I suggest that this conceptual framework be referred to as curricular cultivation theory if it is ever utilised in future research.

I hold that cultivation is an educational phenomenon that describes the process of various curricula operating simultaneously on an individual or group, within a complex milieu, and resulting in a specific individual education. The learning experienced is a combination of social construction and internal meaning-making throughout one's lifetime. In the context of this study, I am exploring the cultivation I experienced that resulted in my white racial identity. Which lessons did my milieu teach me and what made me the way I am today? Consequently, I justify the use of curriculum theory as one of the roots of cultivation (Griffin, 2018).

The literature showed that there are many factors to consider when asking where whiteness was 'taught'. Jansen (2009) illuminated the physical spaces in which Afrikaner racial identities have been cultivated. Van der Westhuizen (2017) showed that ordentlikheid is a cherished characteristic of Afrikaners on a cultural level, while Steyn (2014) brought resistance to transformation of Afrikaners to our attention, as well as how Afrikaner dialogue changes between public and private spaces. Accordingly, I have selected complexity theory, which includes and analyses the role-players, spaces, beliefs, morals and values that result in certain behaviour, to determine how my milieu contributed to the cultivation of my racial identity.

A key point that emerged from the literature review was that the white experience was and still is portrayed as a benchmark for normality (Morrison, 2007). Any behaviour or beliefs that divert from what is considered a white 'normal' are often met with some kind of racialised othering via in- and out-grouping (Bosman, 2012). Racialisation is then reinforced by means of social stereotypes and informal educational practices, which imply that race is a relevant factor when judging a person's capacity for good or bad (Lieberman et al., 2005). Thus, to answer the question of how whiteness was portrayed as normal to me, I am utilising cultivation theory.

Based on the evidence presented in the literature review, I argue that I have used my white normality as the basis from which to racially other myself from people whose skin colour differs from my own. This makes white normality a key point of interrogation in this study. My stance, along with my key conceptual framework, paves the way for an analytical autoethnographical approach. According to Anderson (2006), analytical autoethnography is dedicated to understanding broader phenomena via the development of the theoretical understanding thereof.

Figure 3.2 (a) represents the identified themes from the literature which relate to the phenomenon of cultivation. Figure 3.2 (b) illustrates the theories that have been selected to investigate the emerged themes as in Figure 3.2 (a).

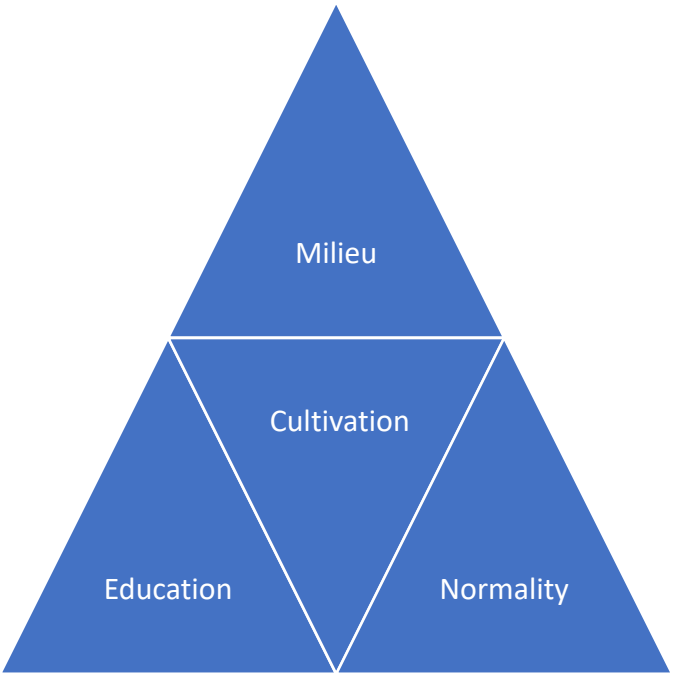


Fig 3.2 (a). Diagram illustrating my understanding of how the emerged themes from the literature link with one another

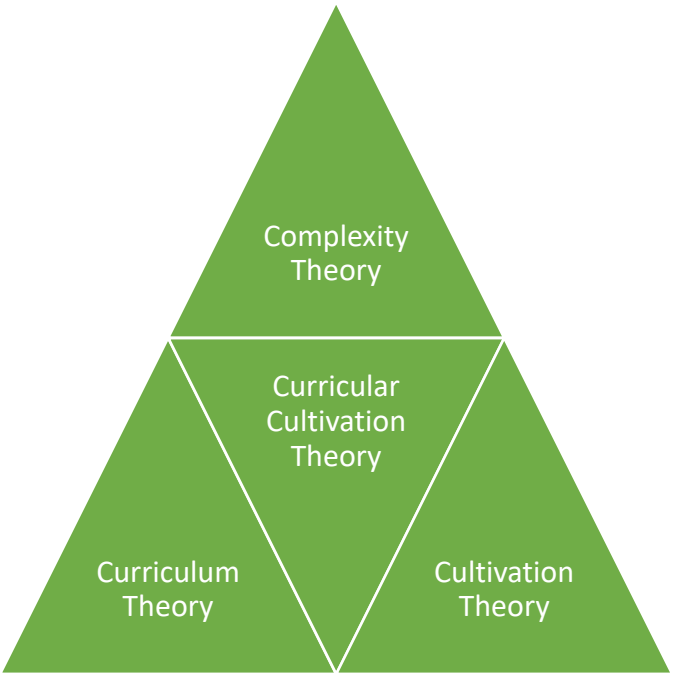


Fig 3.2 (b). Diagram showing theories I utilised to understand the cultivation of my white racial identity

3.2.1 Complexity theory: Where does the cultivation take place?

Complexity theory relates to the milieu that is being studied, including, but not limited to, all the factors identified in the literature. However, complexity theory holds that the epistemology of education is an emergent phenomenon. This means that the perspective of complexity theory could spark different questions and analytical outlooks (Mason, 2008a). Complexity theory relies on the notion of emergence, which maintains that new behaviours and beliefs could emerge when diversity is introduced into a person's milieu (Mason, 2008a). It can be assumed from the notion of emergence that a lack of significant complexity may result in restricted development of individuals in more segregated environments.

Even though complexity theory sounds reductive in nature, it is important to note that emerged beliefs and behaviours cannot be predicted based on knowledge of the environment and circumstances. This lack of prediction, and thus more inductive approach, is due to the emerged manifestations not necessarily being in line with those of the basic elements in the milieu in question (Mason, 2008b). Thus, not all behaviour that manifests is cultivated intentionally and therefore cannot be predicted by simply analysing what is already known about a milieu. The notion of emergence is the legacy from complexity theory's origins.

Complexity theory arose from chaos theory in scientific fields like physics and science. It was later utilised in economics and fields relevant to the social sciences, like education. Chaos theory feeds complexity theory to view a milieu, and the relationship between the basic agents and elements within it, as a whole as opposed to reductionist research practices (Mason, 2008a, 2008b, 2014). Complexity theory is easily misunderstood as a prescriptive theory, when in fact it is descriptive in nature. Instead of attempting to predict behaviour based on preliminary knowledge of the milieu being studied, complexity theory aims to provide details on how learning occurs based on observation or in this case experience (Ullrich, 2008). Morrison (2007) held that there was a need for

qualitative, multi-perspectival and self-organised research, which rests on the premise of interpretive, interactive accounts. Autoethnography provides such an opportunity.

By utilising an autoethnographic methodology, I can take as many factors as possible into consideration when exploring my intended phenomenon. Complexity theory refers to the amount of exposure to diversity, which will result in newly emerged behaviour as a critical mass. Emergent phenomena stemming from a critical mass is rationalised by complexity theory's association with the notions of lock-in, path dependence and inertial momentum (Mason, 2014).

Lock-in and path dependence recognise socio-historical factors in terms of pathways of change. Decisions made in the past shape and limit our current options and thus current decisions. The pathways of change can thus be laid toward positive or negative change (Wilson, 2014) . Inertial momentum stems from the concept of inertia, which is generally used in physics when studying movement and resistance to movement. Mason (2008a) applied inertial momentum as the theoretical link between the notions of emergent phenomena, as initially developed in natural science, to the concept of socio-historical change in society. The theoretical stance above argues that educational change is a state of affairs that generates momentum in a new direction, by conducting research, and which considers as many factors as possible (Mason, 2008b).

I am taking a bottom-to-top approach in the context of this study, by acknowledging the emerged ethnocentric behaviour and principles as part of my racial identity. I then explore the question of where and how I learned the life-lessons that resulted in my white racial juffrou identity. I turn my focus toward the exploration of the curriculum within my socio-historical milieu. Complexity theory acknowledges the milieu factors and agents that have already been identified in the literature review, as shown in Fig 3.2.1 (a). However, the notion of emergence allows for previously marginalised practices, factors and agents to be re-evaluated. The prospect of new influential aspects emerging from the data, in accordance with the curriculum practiced in the milieu, comes with the use of cultivation theory.

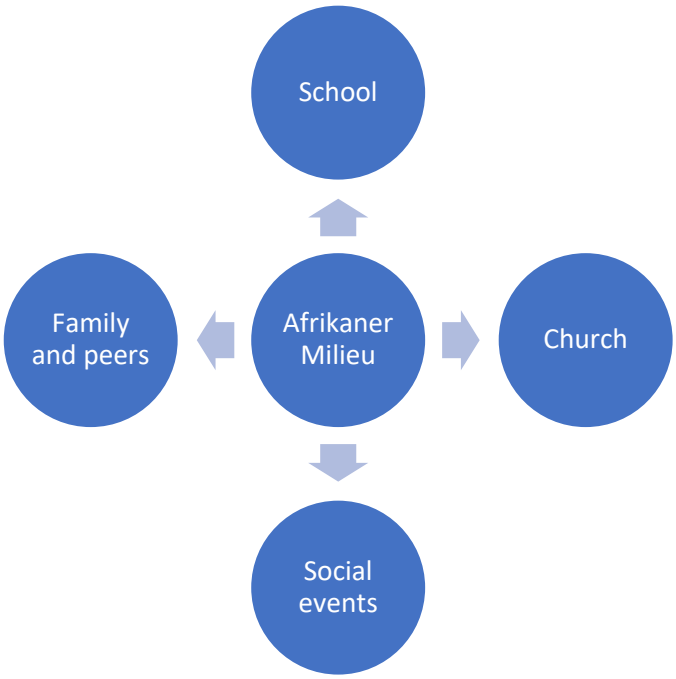


Fig 3.2.1 (a) Diagrammatic representation of relevant spaces in the context of this study where my cultivation could have taken place, as identified by Jansen (2009).

Complexity theory proposes that the inertial momentum from an ethnocentric identity is broad and is sustained by the intricate systems functioning within the milieu in question. Transformation will only become a possibility if interactions are made possible between initial factors and new ones (Mason, 2014). I can thus use complexity theory to pinpoint emerging factors regarding the education of my racial identity. However, 'without curriculum, education has no vehicle' (Taylor & Richards, 2018: 11) .

3.2.2 Curriculum theory: How did I learn it?

Within curriculum theory's flexible conceptualisation, lies the core, which embraces the notion that everything that teaches a lesson is curriculum (Carl, 2012; Griffin, 2018; Wilson, 2009). Education sectors outside of school sectors hold very low interest in terms of curriculum matters. Yet, there is a lot to be explored regarding curriculum development within the great scope that non-school sectors provide (Griffin, 2018). The marriage of curriculum theory with complexity

theory is ideal in exploring the non-schooling environment and how curriculum functions within a contextual milieu.

Curriculum in non-schooling environments is worthy of study, due to affiliations between curriculum's role within perceptions of ontology, culture and control (Griffin, 2018). A wider perspective on curriculum is encapsulated by what are deemed socially 'worthy' aspects of human culture like knowledge, attitudes, skills and values. A school curriculum only includes cultural aspects that are considered essential for a learner's future contribution to society and, of course, their overall survival (Lawton, 1975). By exploring curriculum as a wider social concept, I can explore the curricular vessel which provided the education of my racial identity.

I accept the notion that without curriculum, education has no vehicle. There are various types of curricula that function outside of the classroom, which I have selected for analytical purposes in this study, as identified and explained in Chapter 2. The selected curriculum will allow me to analyse educational forces that function within my milieu (societal curriculum) (Carl, 2012; Cortes, 1981). I will not only analyse what was said and done, but what was not said and not done (null curriculum) (Carl, 2012). Learning is identified as an internally-filtered process and not as solely dependent on external educational forces (internal curriculum) (Owens et al., 2010).

The process of how an individual interprets and understands the way in which information is presented to them can be conceptualised by cognitivist learning. Cognitivist learning refers to the internal process of how a person makes sense of the information that they have been presented with (Ertmer & Newby, 2013). In basic terms, it refers to the process by which assumptions are made. In education, if a learner misinterprets or does not understand the information presented to them, a teacher intervenes with behaviourist or constructivist teaching strategies. Behaviourism relates to more historical and traditional teaching methods like drilling-in information or rote-learning. Constructivism, on the other hand, entails that the teacher creates a space for the learner to explore and construct the

information for themselves, whilst the teacher facilitates the learning process (Slabbert, De Kock, & Hattingh, 2009).

The SCARF model, from the field of neuroscience, explains how an ethnocentric racial identity is a matter of education. Our sense of social safety is reliant on social needs like status, certainty, autonomy, relatedness and fairness. The body reacts in a similar way to social threats, as it does to physical ones, because in both cases our fight-or-flight response is triggered (Rock, 2008). Our brain contains a small structure (shaped like an almond) called the amygdala which not only plays a role in memory and emotional learning but is also a key component in our fight-or-flight response. If we perceive something as a threat to any of the social needs identified, the amygdala sends a message to the hypothalamus. The hypothalamus, in turn, activates the sympathetic nervous system, which triggers an involuntary fight-or-flight response (Bosman, 2012).

The information above can quickly instigate the assumption that due to physical differences racism is a normal function of the brain. However, we are educated in our cultural environment to believe that people from other ethnicities are dangerous or inferior in some way because of their race (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et al, 2005). This type of cultural cultivation is so influential that it also led some African Americans to have the same negative responses to people from their own race owing to the socio-cultural conditioning that they were subject to.

Due to the neurological (the brain has the potential to label any group perceived as ‘other’ as a threat) and mostly social nature (socially learnt, fear conditioning, reinforces and amplifies the brain’s automated response) of ethnocentrism, it is possible to rewire the ethnocentric brain in the following ways:

1. The neuropathways in the brain which play a role in ethnocentrism can be re-wired or even changed with proper education. This is referred to as neuroplasticity.

2. The fear of a racialised 'other' is identified as an irrational one, meaning that rewiring is less challenging. However, conscious reframing in terms of how one thinks of the racialised 'other' is crucial.
3. Exposure to diversity and real-life experiences are key in reframing stereotypical ideas of the racialised 'other' (Bosman, 2012).

By taking a more focused and in-depth approach to curriculum and the education of racial identity, new correlations between ethnocentric principles and our social curriculum may emerge from future research endeavours. The inclusion of the SCARF model supports the notion that if we can understand a curriculum and what it results in, we can change it for the better.

3.2.3 Cultivation theory: The cultivation of white normality

Cultivation theory is a well-established theory and used in communication studies (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Developed by George Gerbner in the 1960s, cultivation holds that people who watch television on a more regular basis are predisposed to construct their perception of an external reality in accordance with the material they expose themselves to (Gerbner, 1970). When deconstructed to its core, cultivation implies that one's perception of reality is cultivated around what a person is exposed to.

The relevance of cultivation theory, and thus cultivation as an appropriately identified phenomenon, is supported by complexity theory's notion of emergence and curriculum theory's stance on education's diverse transmission. Cultivation theory, however, supports the work and observations made by Morrison (2007) on white normality, as explained in Chapter 2. Thus cultivation theory supports the idea that our sense of reality and thus normality is reliant on what we are, and are not, exposed to.

Cultivation theory adds value to this research in that it provides the opportunity to focus on details of my life that I have always perceived as normal within my complex milieu. I can then analyse those emerging details from the constructed

data and analyse how this white normality was portrayed within my milieu to understand the curriculum, which assisted in the cultivation of my racial identity.

3.3 Complementary conceptual framework

My complementary conceptual framework represents contextually applicable theories that emerged from the themes explored in the literature. I have selected three main theories that will be implemented according to three core themes, namely, whiteness, gender and racial identity. Intersectionality addresses contextual power relations and inequality in terms of gender, social class and race (Oakley, 2015; Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Van Marle, 2001). I have selected white identity theory to analyse the status of development of my own white racial identity. Lastly, the process of racialisation focuses on identifying and evaluating educational functions within my milieu relating to the cultivation of my racial identity.

Contrary to the key conceptual framework, the complementary framework will not be utilised as a set outline in this study. It functions more like a theoretical vine from which applicable theories can be selected according to the emerging data. Some of the constructed data is focused on the racial aspects of my identity while others are more concerned with gender, age, power or social class. The analytic advantage of the complementary framework is that a more holistic view can be provided in terms of the limitations and privilege that social roles hold. This is not from a critical perspective as explained in Chapter 4, but rather from an interpretive point of view with the intention to explore and understand.

3.3.1 Intersectionality

Intersectionality holds that inequality is the result of various social locations, experiences and power relations that intersect with one another. Hankivsky (2014) and Dhamoon (2011) highlight seven key principles: intersecting categories, diverse knowledges, power, time and space, multi-level analysis, reflexivity, and social justice and equity.

- Intersecting categories: Lived realities are multi-dimensional experiences, which are shaped by social forces and factors that function together. Hence, single categories including gender, race and class are not sufficient in understanding and explaining human life.

- Diverse knowledges: Intersectionality concerns itself with the relationship between power and knowledge-making. Special emphasis is placed on the epistemologies of marginalised groups that have been and are excluded from the production of knowledge (Dhamoon, 2011).

- Power: Power relations between social practices like ethnocentrism, sexism, ageism and classism are connected and developed in accordance with geographic and time-related settings.

- Time and space: A person can experience oppression and privilege at the same time in accordance with their complex context.

- Multi-level analysis: To understand the social construction and individual experience of social power relations, multi-level analyses are necessary to relate the experience to the system. The analysis of research aimed at social problems should be susceptible to discovering the significance of gender, race and class, as opposed to predetermine a category's importance.

- Reflexivity: Agents of research, policy and activism must consider their personal anthropology via reflexivity when utilising intersectionality.

- Social justice and equity: Intersectionality is aimed at social justice and advocates partnerships between different groups.

(Hankivsky, 2014)

Fig 3.3.1 (a). Diagram showing the principles of intersectionality

The principles above complement my key conceptual framework in that intersectionality encourages research practices that move beyond identities being deduced to group-orientated concerns (Clark, 2015). The inductive nature of intersectionality in conjunction with the principle of emergence, as applied to my narrative's analysis, could possibly bring to light vital information about power relations concerned with themes like race, gender, class and age. A more comprehensive understanding of the origins of white ethnocentrism can be achieved by following intersectional principles, which go beyond a 'one size fits all' approach when exploring inequality.

The diagram below shows the intersectionality between various contextual agents and factors that result in unique circumstances of power, privilege and identity.

(Hankivsky, 2014)

Fig 3.3.1 (b). Diagram showing intersectionality within society

I have adapted the above diagram to better represent how intersectionality is applicable to the themes relating to my study.

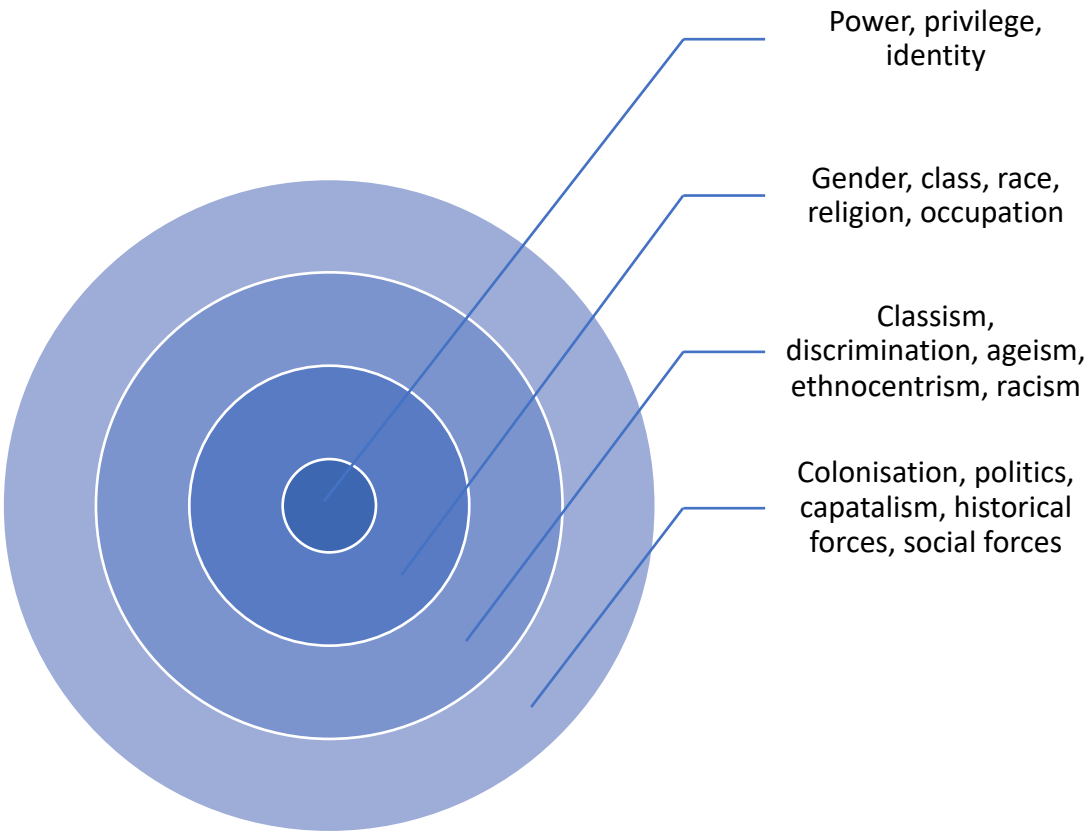


Fig 3.3.1 (c). Diagram representing intersectionality as applied in this study modified and simplified from Hankivsky (2014)

Intersectionality enables the analysis of the power relations that have been socially constructed within my milieu, in relation to my racial identity, gender and age. I can explore my positionality within each role and each phase in accordance with social agents that exercise power over women and racialised groups (Hankivsky, 2014). Hence, intersectionality acknowledges and emphasises the complexity of my anthropology and individual anthropologies in general. This makes autoethnography an ideal methodology to understand complex, intersectional phenomena like the social educational practices that result in ethnocentric white identities.

3.3.2 White identity theory

In my review of the literature, I found that white identity studies tend to overemphasise autonomous white identities, which contribute toward dismantling systems of oppression. I am not denying that such white identities exist, but rather suggest that more attention be granted to the earlier statuses, which personify some white identities' ethnocentric navigation in their environment (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998). White identity theory explains the latter navigation via six identity statuses: contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion and autonomy (Helms, 1990).

- Contact: Whiteness is accepted as normal, which goes hand-in-hand with a person being oblivious to the privilege they hold.

- Disintegration: White normality is disturbed by increased interaction with groups that are racialised by whiteness. White fragility usually comes into play in this status, manifesting emotionally via anger, guilt, resistance to change, and denial.

- Reintegration: The emotions that emerge from the disintegration status could result in white individuals resenting people of colour and blaming the victim. This resentfulness could bring the development of white identity to a halt if the individual in question refuses to confront and deal with his or her emotions accordingly. Only then will they be able to reach the next status.

- Pseudo-independence: In this status, white individuals become aware of their privilege and more mindful of racial inequality. Some white people distance themselves from their whiteness in this status. However, they do not necessarily take part in actions intended to dismantle the power whiteness holds.

- Immersion: A person achieves this status when they decide to immerse themselves in their new-found normality. This status is defined by an

individual's efforts to understand their own racial anthropology and their capacity to demonstrate new meta-frameworks about their white identity.

- Autonomy: The last status of white identity theory is realised when a person actively contributes to the breaking down of systems of oppression.

Helms (1990) made it clear that the statuses of white identity theory are not steps in a process that holds pure autonomy as a final destination. Our 'un-learning' of ethnocentrism could be a lifelong expedition due to the deeply embedded roots of white racial superiority in white culture. Hence, a more balanced representation of all the statuses in white identity theory should be explored indefinitely (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; Miller & Fellows, 2007), the reason being that the process will repeat itself every time we are confronted with phenomena outside of our perception of what is 'normal'.

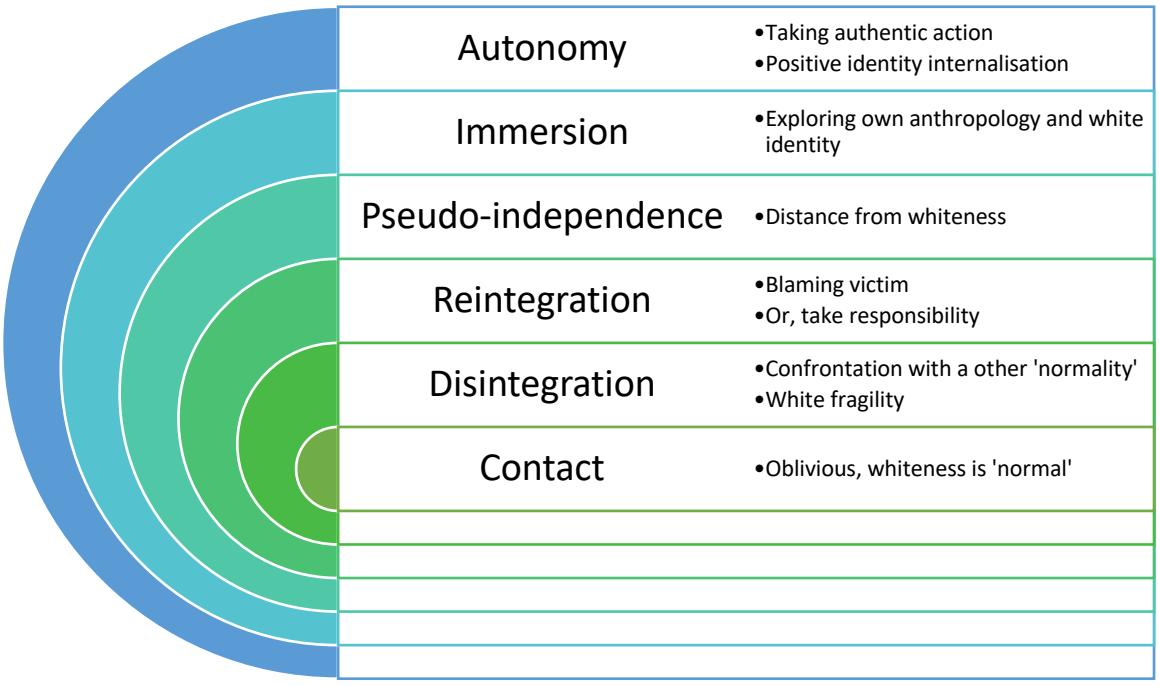


Fig 3.3.2 (a). The statuses of white identity theory according to Helms (1990).

White identity theory provides me with the opportunity to construct and analyse data in a more mindful way. My intention is to focus not only on areas where I may have achieved a status of autonomy within my white identity, but rather to contribute more information with regard to what happens in the statuses of contact, disintegration and reintegration. It is in these statuses where people are wary of exposing the racial instances that expose their ethnocentrism. By withholding the narrative of our mistakes, we are not only limiting social and academic racial dialogues but also the decolonisation of our white normality.

3.3.3 The process of racialisation

Racialisation can be described as the process of 'othering' a group, based on the perspective that race is a valid biological category to consider when evaluating our environment for physical and social threats as well as human potential. Racialisation can be triggered by the arrival of newcomers into one's milieu. The chances of newcomers being perceived as a threat is increased by darker complexions and poverty (Gans, 2017; Hochman, 2019; Miles, 1988).

There are two main processes through which racialisation takes place according to Gans (2017): racialisation of others, which is inflicted by others, and self-racialisation, which is self-inflicted. Both white majorities (as in the United States) and minorities (as in South Africa) have, for example, inflicted racialisation on groups that they considered 'not white' based on white social standards and meaningless phenotypical[39] categories like skin colour (Murji & Solomos, 2005). When an isolated reality like whiteness is utilised by a group, a system or an individual as the benchmark for normality and humanity, self-racialisation is taking place to the point where whiteness is believed to be a superior, biological trait.

A relevant example is that of the burghers when they demanded their independence during the mid-1600's from the DEIC as discussed in Chapter 1. Having won their independence, a new-found racial and national pride arose, as self-racialised burghers. Self-racialisation, which manifests as a reaction to

[39] One's physical appearance or traits.

inflicted racialisation, can be useful in restoring racial pride in socio-historically-oppressed groups. Unfortunately, the restoration of racial pride achieved by self-racialisation can be accompanied by defensiveness (Murji & Solomos, 2005; Gans, 2017). It should be noted that the burghers probably already had a self-racialised sense of superiority toward the already racialised groups in the Cape due, but not limited, to the white normality of slavery at the time.

The intersection between the burghers' racialisation of other groups and the othering of the burghers by Europe as a lower white class, catalysed the beginnings of the racialisation process of the Afrikaners. The inevitable connection between racialisation and intersectionality blossomed and social class became a point of interest within the degrees or racialisation (Gans, 2017). The burghers' sense of racial and national pride became corrupted and transmuted into segregated, white-supremacist, Afrikaner nationalism. This begs the question: What separates a healthy sense of racial pride from nationalist ideologies? I suspect it comes down to the same principles that distinguish arrogance from confidence in any context.

We already know, based on the SCARF model, that rewiring is possible, which makes the process of deracialisation in a social science context[40] probable via educational practice (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et al., 2005; Rock, 2008). Gans (2016), for example, described deracialisation as an attempt to reverse racialisation and its effects. However, the current descriptions of the degrees of deracialisation lack descriptions or suggestions of educational interventions. There are various approaches taken by white individuals, groups and institutions in an attempt to apply deracialisation that range between ideological, realistic and limited concepts (Gans, 2017; Roediger, 2007; Wildman, 1996).

One approach is the propagation of the notion that all racial concepts within society should be eliminated. This would result in racial colour blindness, which holds that

[40] Deracialisation in political science is conceptualized as the phenomenon of black politicians who side-step racial issues when campaigning for office in the United States.

all racialised groups are equivalent to whiteness, and racial identities are insignificant (Hagerman, 2014). Although the notion of racial colour blindness seems in line with what deracialisation strives for, it provides an out for white people to remain blind to their privilege and advocates their ongoing ignorance (Medina, 2013; Steyn, 2014).

Concepts that are more realistic in terms of current attempts toward deracialisation are limited and conditional in nature. Instances include contexts where people are deracialised on an official level, like the job market, but not a personal, experiential one in everyday life situations (Murji & Solomos, 2005; Gans, 2017). Once again, white ignorance is being sheltered and propagated by strategies that ignore the effects of racialisation. Effects include microaggressions, demonisation, discrimination, segregation and persecution (Hochman, 2019).

Deracialisation can also manifest in a more physical manner when racialised minorities immigrate to a country with a white majority. Intermarriage between the racialised minority and the white majority results in future generations running a lower risk of being racialised, due to a whiter complexion (Gans, 2017). Dark-skinned individuals and groups run a higher risk of racialisation based on our history where dark-skinned groups were racialised and taken into slavery (Gans, 2017; Ignatiev, 1995) and continuing racialisation practices within our modern society.

A limited type of deracialisation includes attempts where the unjustified and unequal treatment of racialised groups via liberal movements could be used to mask an underlying disdain for the racialised other. The opportunity also presents itself for white liberals to abuse liberal movements in order to hold positions of power in various authoritarian spaces like academia, as discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, white movements started gravitating toward the elimination of white privilege by altering the patterns of white self-racialisation (Gans, 2017). One of the major limitations is that white individuals tend to deracialise people they know, and yet still evaluate others based on racialised stereotypes (Gans, 2017).

The instances where I have racialised others based on the evidence my normality provided will be explored throughout my narrative. By focusing on the instances where I learned that racialising others was an option, the education thereof is exposed. Furthermore, my motivations for making racialisation a practice within my own capacity are laid bare for analysis in Chapter 6 of this study.

3.4 Conclusion

My conceptual lenses are put into place within this chapter to guide the thematic analysis of curricular cultivation as an educational phenomenon and the themes relating to my cultivated white racial identity. I can now explore my phenomenon of interest not only from a socio-historical context, but within a relevant academic and conceptual context as well. In the following chapter, my research design is exposed and rationalised in terms of my research paradigm, approach and methodology.

CHAPTER FOUR: LANDSCAPING MY RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Using the right tools and methods for a plentiful harvest

4.1 Introduction

The themes relating to the cultivation of my whiteness were identified in Chapter 2 and conceptually framed in Chapter 3. This chapter aims to methodically elucidate the meta-theoretical assumptions that inspired my choice for my qualitative research approach and, hence, design. Both the approach and the design were selected to obtain and analyse relevant data in conjunction with the analytical framework suggested in Chapter 3. The scaffolding above leads to a comprehensive blueprint of my methodology, the aim of which is to understand the cultivation of my racial identity, as discussed in Chapter 1. In this blueprint, I clarify and rationalise my selected research methods in terms of style, data construction, representation, and analysis. My research design substantiates an autoethnographical research methodology to address the aim of this study, which is to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. The aptness of the particular branch of autoethnography, namely narrative enquiry, is accentuated but not without acknowledging the limitations and academic critique thereof. In providing my plot of how the research design, methodology and methods were developed and executed, I address concerns that usually arise within academic spaces regarding the trustworthiness, credibility, validity and ethics relating to autoethnographical designs.

4.2 Research and Design: Plotting the Landscape

Jarvis (2014) characterises a research design as the selected mode of study employed to answer an intended research question. The research design also consolidates the method of study with the conceptual framework that emerged from the literature. This research design aims to verify the suitability of my conceptual framework and to exhibit that reasonable steps were taken to construct

and analyse the data derived from this study (Lewis, 2019). According to Hammersley (2016), the perspective of how I got here is key to assessing and understanding the emerging data in any research endeavour. Lewis (2019) states that a plausible and thorough research design safeguards the trustworthiness and credibility of one's research results.

I have deduced from the autoethnographic work of Lewis (2019), Hammersley (2016) and Jarvis (2014) that a well-rationalised research design is rooted in three principles. Firstly, a sound research phenomenon worthy of investigation had to be substantiated via a literature review, prior to the design process. The design then relies on the disclosure of the researcher's philosophical assumptions via a legitimate research paradigm. Thirdly, a fitting research approach needs to be elected to explore the phenomenon in question.

My research question asks how I became a white Afrikaner juffrou as characterised in the literature review. The how is condensed and conceptualised within the educational phenomenon of cultivation as proposed in Chapters 2 and 3. Based on the descriptions of Creswell and Poth (2016), I am investigating a phenomenon that addresses the meaning an individual ascribed and still ascribes (when considering reflexivity) to a social and human context. Hence, the contextual placement of my study can be plotted within an interpretivist research paradigm.

4.2.1 Research paradigm: Landscaping perimeters

The research paradigm is traditionally associated with the disclosure of the researcher's ontological[41] and epistemological[42] assumptions within said paradigm (Athanasou et al., 2012). My study is settled within the interpretive paradigm to contextually understand and interpret the educational phenomena relating to the development of my racial identity. The interpretive paradigm holds the ontology that reality exists within the experiences and narratives of the

[41] Begs the question: 'What is knowledge?'
[42] Begs the question: 'How do we acquire knowledge?'

individual. Interpretive ontological assumptions vindicate research methods that aim to understand the world via the experiential narratives of the participants (Thanh & Thanh, 2015).

There is an increasing need for the disclosure of the socio-historical positioning or anthropology of the researcher alongside their epistemological and ontological stances (Du Preez, 2018). The call for transparency regarding the perspective and position of the researcher has been emphasised by Pitard (2017) and can be traced back to the acknowledged necessity of critical self-evaluation, or rather reflexivity within qualitative inquiry as expressed by Glesne (2016), Mauthner and Doucet (2003), Merriam (1998) and Berger (2013). Du Preez's (2018) reference to anthropology resonates with Berger's (2013) description of researcher positioning. Both describe how the social, racial and educational positioning should be disclosed, but Berger (2013) adds that by exposing the researchers' lifelong accumulated assumptions and philosophical beliefs, various biases can be exposed and analysed.

My anthropology in the case of this study can be referred to as integrated person positioning (Du Preez & De Klerk, 2019). To fully understand the reality that I am exploring in this study, I need to apply deep and intentional reflective practices in terms of my own positionality as the researcher and, in this case, the key participant. Autoethnographical research allows integrated person-positioned researchers to expose, and thus explore, their human standing in relation to complex, socio-historical cultural predispositions (Chang, 2016; Coaley, 2014).

The perimeters of the interpretive paradigm admit integrated person positioning in qualitative research approaches as true. The relevance of combining ontology, epistemology and anthropology as a way toward more contextually accurate understanding of behavioural and social sciences in general is encouraged (Maul, Irribarra, & Wilson, 2016). In-depth qualitative research using autoethnography demands the intense reflexivity called for by Pitard (2017) and Du Preez (2018). The reflexivity applied by the researcher will address the question of how it influences the analysis of the data (Pitard, 2017).

The emphasis on the importance of said reflexivity makes autoethnographical research applicable to critical paradigms as well. However, the fact that I am exploring aspects such as ethnocentrism and divided consciousness within myself makes my anthropology within a critical paradigm a hypocritical one. The concerns expressed in the third wave of whiteness and white identity studies regarding white liberals who attempt to control the racial narrative within academia whilst remaining complicit in sustaining white privilege should be taken into account. My interpretive, philosophical assumptions regarding the study of cultivation presupposes the use of a qualitative research approach.

4.2.2 A qualitative research approach: Landscaping

Based on the three-world[43] meta-theoretical framework (Du Preez & De Klerk, 2019) as landscaped in the above paradigm, as well as the setting of this study, I have opted for a qualitative research approach. The research approach of a study indicates whether the research conducted is positivistic or post-modernist in nature. Qualitative research is mindful of the complexity within an individual's experience and milieu and necessitates that the researcher experiences and understands the authentic milieu from where data will be constructed (Ormston, Spencer, Barnard, & Snape, 2014; Wolcott, 2008), whereas quantitative research is aimed at more positivist pursuits in which to acquire and create knowledge (Lewis, 2019).

I must disclose that I am originally a natural science teacher and have a very high regard for evidence presented within positivist research, which may seem contradictory to some critics of autoethnographical research. I elaborate on my positionality and approach in this regard by providing a neuroscientific perspective on autoethnographically-based practices under my research methodology later in this chapter. The marriage of qualitative and quantitative perspectives may

[43] The exposure of the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher combined with the disclosure of their anthropology (Du Preez, 2018).

address the academic critique of autoethnography as presented by Campbell (2017) and Pitard (2017).

My anthropological position above is not uncommon, as interdisciplinary research involving the collaboration of social and natural sciences is presented as an option within academia (Tobi & Kampen, 2018). As my conceptual framework for investigating cultivation of my white racial identity rests on a principle of emergence and, given my anthropology, I am open to any emerging data relevant to natural science.

A good example of how natural science substantiates social research topics is the concept of topics relating to social justice, like race. Samuel Morton made 'scientific' deductions, resulting in a five-tier racial hierarchy during the late 19th century. His findings were rooted in what he subjectively observed in various individuals from a variety of ethnic groups and pseudoscientific research methods (Menand, 2001). Despite natural science's stance that Morton's deductions are irrelevant, his legacy continues to influence social and political perspectives in modern society (Kolbert, 2018). Morton's science behind race can be debunked with one high school level biology question: What do you get when two people with different skin colours have a baby? You get a human baby. It is a basic biological fact that two different species who mate will not be able to conceive offspring, or the offspring will be sterile, as in the case of a mule (Shcherbakov, 2010).

Thus, there is no scientific foundation for any assumption that ethnocentrism is scientifically justified. Race is a social construct, meaning groups of people throughout history regarded the colour of one's skin as an important factor when considering human potential, or even humanity itself, as per Chapter 2. Social science carries the torch in terms of why bias still manifests in society and thus in ourselves as the deductive nature of positivist research limits personalised contextual exploration. In-depth qualitative research, like autoethnography (Adams, Jones & Ellis, 2015) can be used as contextual roadmaps in other research endeavours, as suggested by Du Preez (2018) and Pitard (2017).

Qualitative research approaches are post-modernist in nature, and include methodologies like ethnography, grounded theory, case studies and narrative related approaches (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Ormston et.al, 2014). All of these enable the researcher to relate participants' experiences by means of verbal (such as writing and words) or symbolic communication (such as symbols or illustrations) to gain a deeper understanding of human behaviour (Hammersley, 2012; Kim, 2015).

Due to the ambition of qualitative approaches, along with the flexibility it grants in developing a research design, the number of participants need not be a large one (Lewis, 2019). Qualitative research contrasts quantitative strategies by providing participants with the opportunity to elaborate as much as possible on their own perceptions and views based on their lived experience (Hammersley, 2016). The postmodernist foundation of qualitative approaches permits the collection of diverse and unique data relating to a contextually dependant phenomenon (Lewis, 2019).

A qualitative approach, as conceptualised by Creswell and Poth (2016), requires data collection, or in this case construction, within a familiar[44] setting which is sensitive to the individuals participating in the data construction process, all of which is based on the interpretive philosophical underpinnings of the research paradigm I used. In both the literature review and conceptual framework, I acknowledge the complexity of the cultivation process and argue for more inductive data analysis. However, data analysis needs to be deductive, to confirm existing themes relevant to the field of study, which contributes to academic credibility (Creswell, 2012).

Contrariwise, inductive analysis allows for the possible emergence of new and previously marginalised themes. I combine both analytical practices as suggested by Creswell and Poth (2016) to ensure that the final reading consists of the voices

[44] As noted in the literature review, 'natural' or 'normal' is a matter of perspective. People's perceptions of normality can be deduced to their sense of familiarity as described in Chapter 2.

of the co-constructors of the narrative (Chang, 2016), and contains the reflexivity of the main participant, who is also the researcher. All of the above is accompanied by an in-depth description and interpretation of the intended phenomenon in a real-world context (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

A qualitative research approach with interpretive ambitions is best suited for my study as it allows for in-depth autoethnographical research about my whiteness, as well as an analysis of the individual mind of an ethnocentric white Afrikaner juffrou. I want to understand how my whiteness was cultivated, before attempting to contribute toward bigger conversations on transformation and social justice.

My rationale is self-reflexive; however, the cultural and academic interpretation of white teacher identity and Afrikaner identity is included. The critically introspective nature of autoethnography is a necessity as autobiographical reflexive practices have been neuro-scientifically proven to improve our ability to understand the individuals we interact with in various social spaces (Dimaggio, Lysaker, Carcione, Nicolo, & Semerari, 2008).

4.3 Autoethnography as Methodology: Landscaping for a Plentiful Harvest

Autoethnographical research dedicates itself to understanding phenomena concerning the complex experiences and perspectives of the individual in society in depth and embraces the inevitable subjectivity of research practices (Adams et al., 2015). This research methodology elaborates on the applicability of autoethnography to this study. I rationalise its methodological applicability to address the gaps in the literature as outlined in Chapter 2. I clarify the research process in terms of the researcher's anthropology as the sole-participant, roles of co-constructors of the narrative, memory data construction and analysis, as well as steps taken to ensure the verisimilitude[45] thereof, via methods of autoethnographical narrative inquiry (Chang, 2016).

[45] Plausibility, authenticity and likelihood.

Chang (2016) rationalises autoethnography as a conceptual framework, which rests on four pillars. Firstly, culture is a socially constructed concept reliant on the interaction between the self and others. Secondly, written auto-narratives provide the opportunity for reflexivity, and thus, the understanding of the self as well as others within a socio-historical context. Thirdly, an autoethnographical narrative does not aim to instantly result in the understanding of generalised human behaviour. Such understanding can only be acquired and vindicated with a diversity of applied research approaches (Tobi & Kampen, 2018). Lastly, autoethnography aims to be an instructional means that can contribute to the in-depth understanding of the self in relation to others within social scientific fields (Chang, 2016).

Chang's (2016) sound conceptual foundation is authenticated with Du Preez's emphasis on the practical need for the transparent anthropology of the researcher. Du Preez's (2018) work aims to develop more contextually accurate psychological measurement practices and tools, by utilising more reflexive practices within a researcher's disclosed three-world research paradigm. Chang (2016) indicates that autoethnographical research can be used as such a developmental tool. Autoethnography does not aim to generalise or prove anything. It rather aims at understanding one reality at a time, by analysing how said auto-reality engages with their socio-historical contextual realities. This social cognition (Greifeneder, Bless, & Fiedler, 2017) which we practice finding our place in a socially constructed world, is a complex, time-bound and personalised process. As narrative inquiry required an acknowledged focus on the self, the critique of autoethnographical methods labels the practice as narcissistic or self-absorbed (Campbell, 2017).

Chang (2016) warns against narcissistic narration, with an over-emphasis on personal memory data, especially in the cases of narrative inquiry as in the case of this study. Narratives that rely too heavily on personal memory data, without the collaboration of critical memory sharing, run the risk of misinformation regarding facts. A lack of external analysis of the data may propagandise the researcher's

finding of the self. Autoethnographers should be wary of relying on personal memory data alone when sharing their stories. For instance, if an autoethnography's conclusions are accepted as plausible just because the participant claims that the events happened, it assimilates the narrative of alien abductees.[46]

Narrative inquiry explores the remembered, lived experiences of one participant at a time, by exploring multiple narratives on said experiences, as shared by the co-constructing cohort. Thus, contrary to some academics' beliefs, autoethnography does not represent the sole voice of the researcher. The various perspectives of the co-constructors are incorporated into the main narrative of the story, or in the case of contradictions that are more prominently illustrated, as multiple narratives within the relevant presentation. The differences that emerged during the construction of data were a consideration in my layered data analysis, whilst keeping the verisimilitude of the narrative in mind.

My aim is to understand, not to prove, disprove or excuse. I intend to use autoethnography as a means to expose certain realities of my white cultivation. I hope to engage in honest academic and social discussions on race, gender, social class and age with regard to transformation. Narrative inquiry is a relational methodology that encourages engagement between the creator and consumers of the research conducted (Haydon, Browne, & van der Riet, 2018), making it heavily dependent on the collaboration of self-narration, analysis and cultural interpretation (Chang, 2016). To give the consumers of research a voice to respond to discussions sparked by autoethnographical data, qualitative research methods, including group discussions, interviews, or open-ended questions can be used in further pursuit of the study.

Hence, autoethnography should act as a bridge between the academic citadel and people experiencing the real world. The data is presented, accordingly, in more creative, authentic, probable and relatable ways, which makes the findings not

[46] Individuals who claim to have been abducted by aliens.

only more comprehensible for the public but seeks contextual and cultural connections between the researcher and the reader. Narrative inquiry explores what matters based on the receiver's complex lived experience (Adams et al., 2015). Reflexivity demands that I question my positions as a white juffrou.

Autoethnography by means of narrative inquiry is a research methodology that grants the researcher the opportunity to have a voice (Adams et.al., 2015). It is not intended as academic anarchy, but rather as presenting the prospect of an in-depth understanding regarding the complexities involved as individuals make sense of the self and their world (Jarvis, 2014). The use of memory data in qualitative spaces is supported by Schank and Abelson (1995) who argue that experientially rooted stories of one's self and of others are fundamental in terms of what we consider knowledge.

Personal memory data can be portrayed as, amongst others, short stories, novels, plays, operas, dance, art and various creative formats. The experience of characters based on co-constructors and the researcher are illustrated through these formats. The binary placement of the researcher as the main participant requires meta-cognitive practices aimed at analysing the experiences of their past self as they would any other participant. Co-constructors of the narrative assist in providing perspective with regard to memory-data analysis.

According to Chang (2016), the lived experiences of the researcher's meta-cognitive practices are utilised to analyse and interpret cultural assumptions as well as their socio-historical positionality. Based on the definitions above, autoethnography can be seen as the exposure of insider information from a first-person's perspective in a specific cultural context through intensive self-study and critique. This also correlates with the notion of emergence in complexity theory within my key conceptual framework, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Lewis (2019) rationalises autoethnography by holding that the re-construction of the narrative requires reflexivity on the researcher's part, which is connected to the political and social positions held by others (Chang, 2016). I add that the

reflexivity exercised by the researcher should also bear their own political, social and philosophical positionality in mind (Du Preez & De Klerk, 2019), especially in the case of racial identity research.

Reflexivity is a mindful, triangular and critical evaluation of self in relation to others, and one's environment (Chang, 2016). Adams, Jones and Ellis (2015) along with Lewis (2019) argue that due to the intense critical analysis of the self and reflexivity autoethnography requires, it cannot be deemed a narcissistic endeavour. Personal memory data is used in this study to replicate my lived experiences in a relatable manner to understand how the cultivation of my white racial identity took place (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011).

4.4 Methods of Data Construction: Productive Harvesting

In this autoethnography, I represent the data via factional[47] short stories and poems. I provide a transparent and reflexive picture (Adams et al., 2015) on what my milieu looked like and what I learned from it as a white juffrou. By analysing and interrogating my contextualised environment, I am putting my focus on the cultivation of my racial identity within a specified timeframe. The bi-directional relation (A. Wilson & Ross, 2003) between the past and the present is considered within the process of contextual meaning-making (Lewis, 2019). Lewis' assumption is supported by Tobin, Menon, Menon, Spatta, Hodges and Perry (2010) in gender as a social phenomenon, considering that gender roles change according to age, and are thus time related.

There are two types of data that the researcher should concern himself or herself with when doing autoethnographical narrative inquiry: memory data and self-observational data (Chang, 2016). First off, my personal memory data, along with the critical memory data of the co-constructors who were present during the events in question, should be collected. I hold that the methods used to construct co-constructors' narratives should not be dominated by my version of the events in

[47] Meaning the happenings in the story or poem are based on real events, only the names of people, institutions and locations were changed.

question. My stance is supported by the work of Scoboria, Wysman and Otgaar (2012), which shows how credible suggestions can lead to false autobiographical beliefs. A more mainstream example of this phenomenon is found in the documentary Tell Me Who I Am, which shows how Alex Lewis lost all his memories after a horrific motorcycle accident in 1982. Alex created false memories based on information suggested by his identical twin brother Marcus Lewis who revealed fractional information and photographs (Perkins, 2019).

By withholding the narrative of the participant and allowing each co-constructor the opportunity to recall their memories autobiographically, the second type of data, self-observational data, is enriched. The overall analysis of memory data correspondingly improves and contributes toward a more credible retelling of events. Self-observational data should be collected as the study is being conducted for reflexivity purposes. The untainted accounts of the participants also provide perspective for the analysis of the participants' narrative.

A variety of data collection methods are available in the autoethnographic genre (Adams et al., 2015). The data collection methods I applied in this study include memory work, critical memory sharing, reading published material, as well as using photographs and artefacts to obtain needed memory data. Self-observational data was collected by keeping a field journal and seeking responses from readers of my stories, along with the co-constructors' analyses and recall of events that inspired my stories and poetry. One of the pitfalls to avoid when embarking on autoethnographical research is that there is an exclusive reliance on personal memory and recall as a data source, hence the need for a variety of data collection strategies (Chang, 2016).

I used something referred to as epi-poetics in history education unknowingly to construct the memory data needed for my opening poem. Although epi-poetics is described as a pedagogical strategy that could be used in history education (Genis, 2019), I found it to be a very useful data-construction method in the context of this study. Genis (2019) holds that the data we store in our genetic code (genome) can be accessed by writing poetry. As I only discovered that such a

strategy existed years after I wrote my poem, I discuss epi-poetics in more detail in Chapter 6 amid the findings of my study.

I have opted to use non-probability sampling methods, which includes purposive sampling for the co-constructors who were present during the events in question in relation to the cultivation of my racial identity. Examples of said co-constructors include friends, family, colleagues, as well as my primary school and high school teachers. Opportunistic sampling will be used for individuals who can relate to this study and can thus contribute to the data construction and analytical process (Athanasou et al. 2012).

4.4.1 Published material

I spent the majority of my time reading existing literature on white women teacher identities, Afrikaner identities and the nature of whiteness in general. A sound, complex and intersectional outline emerged, guiding which critical moments should be revived in this reading. Using the literature as a skeleton to pinpoint which events should be focused on for the purpose of this study ensured that I selected experiences that could contribute to existing literature within the themes identified. A sound review of the literature also ensured that I provided insider information applicable by request of previous authors, or in addressing the 'silences' I identified in the literature.

I read the biographical works of Trevor Noah's Born a Crime (2016), Antjie Krog's Country of my Skull (2007), Sorry Not Sorry by Dawjee (2018) and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's narrative on her time in prison, 491 Days: Prisoner Number 1323/69 (2017). I also looked at The Resurrection of Winnie Mandela by Mahlatsi (2018) to better understand the racialised person's experience during apartheid in general. The accounts and experiences revived within the collective readings above provided much needed context and perspective whilst I collected data. I was confronted with realities that were paradoxical to my own, which sparked the reflexivity of my positionality as a white woman. Perspective assisted my narrative

to not be a fragile white one that only sought to regain control of the academic and social racial narrative, as pointed out by DiAngelo (2018).

I found the exploration of academic and biographical works overwhelming. My confrontation with my white privilege and the history thereof was occasionally traumatic, but educational and necessary. However, the intersectionality of gender re-surfaced memories of events, which I did not consider relevant when first embarking on this study. Issues in relation to my social class also emerged, which enriches the intersectional analysis of data between racial and gender identity. The question of how the latter contributed to my white teacher identity is a relevant point of focus when collecting data. White female teacher identities in the South African context, as shown in Chapter 2, is a field of study that needs fortification.

4.4.2 Memory work

Memory data refers how a person recalls events they experienced in the past. Ethnographers in general use the memory data of their selected participants when carrying out fieldwork (Lewis, 2019). What distinguishes autoethnographers from ethnographers is their use of personal memory data to expose, analyse and understand the phenomena in question (Chang, 2016). Lewis (2019) holds that we use our memories of the past to make sense of the present. I wrote stories and poetry about my memories to make sense of the cultivation of my whiteness, gender and teacher identity, as guided by my selected reading materials.

I created a chronological timeline to discern which events were relevant to this study. The events spanned the period from 1989, when I was four years old, to the present day. Based on the work of Lewis (2019) along with Wilson and Ross (2003), the context of the time period was taken into account when analysing data. As shown by the literature review, normality is what we experience, what we see, and what we know. All of this is reliant on our exposure to information, behaviour and lived experiences with a time-dependent, socio-historical context. My intention is not to use context as an excuse for myself or for the co-constructors' views or

behaviour, but rather to explore its educational origins. Why was this considered normal? Where did I learn it?

Data was collected in phases. I started by recording my personal memory data as stories and poems in typed Word documents, as well as gathering self-observational data via notes on my cellular phone, and handwritten notes in a physical field journal. My variety of formats which make up my field journal is due to the tendency for memories and emotions to be unintentionally triggered. Ellis (1999), as confirmed by Peace and Porter (2004), rationalised the accommodation of subjective emotions by autoethnography through the brain's tendency to recall information more reliably when associated with trauma (Peace & Porter, 2004) or strong emotions (Ellis & Bochner, 2006). The researcher/participant's emotions are not necessarily validated by acknowledging them. They are simply open for analysis and critique, like the rest of the data.

One of the challenges of memory work is remembering things you do not want to, or cannot, remember. Reasons for selective memory retention can range from pain, sadness, depression or guilt. Hence, we tend to control the narrative by censoring some of the more shameful details in our narrative (Lewis, 2019). My standing on transparency is simple. If I am not willing to be honest, I should do another study. The co-constructive cohort consisting of close family members, colleagues and friends held me accountable to my authenticity.

The inclusion of co-constructors, literature and my multi-layered conceptual framework assisted me in placing my narrative within an appropriate 'ethno' (cultural) context. All of the above also aided in verifying details of the narrative as captured in poetry and short stories of the cultivation of my racial identity. Consequently, contributing to the verisimilitude (probability aiming for relatability) of the stories and poems that I wrote (Adams et al., 2015). The data collection methods implemented in this study not only assisted in constructing the narrative, but also in the scaffolded analysis thereof. The co-constructors of my narrative or literature relating to it assisted me in reflecting on the events that were recalled, as well as indicating silences within the narrative, which should be addressed

(Jarvis, 2014), especially in the case of my intersectional positionings within my milieu as a white woman.

4.4.3 Keeping a field journal

A field journal assists memory work, as memory work begins with the evaluation and self-observation of the current self (Ellis, 2004; Pitard, 2017). We recollect experiences of who we were through the outlook and beliefs we hold now (Lewis, 2019). Hence, Chang's (2016) emphasis on self-observational data also allows for the analysis of my positionality, behaviour, thoughts, emotions and views (Ellis, 2004).

The information documented in my research journal (Chang, 2016) focused on how I interpreted the key events that made up my memory data, as I am now. What were my current, thoughts, beliefs and positionality, and how did I navigate myself in relation to the 'other' now? The main aim was the execution of reflexivity and self-critical evaluation.

Self-reflective data goes hand in hand with self-observational data in order to understand my identity, values, beliefs and relationships with others (Chang, 2016). To avoid the use of arbitrary or random pieces of data, which might not relate to the focus of this study, inventorying was used during the construction of my autobiographical timeline to further collect, evaluate, organise and interpret data. Due to the relation of the themes as identified in Chapter 2 to age, I wrote the events in chronological order, from my first experience as a child to my experiences now, as a white juffrou. A comparison between my past identity and current identity is included in the analysis of my data in Chapter 6. I have also compiled the majority of my self-observational data within story-like dairy entries, which have been included in Chapter 5.

4.4.4 Critical memory sharing

The second phase of data collection consisted of the co-constructed narrative. Each co-constructor who was present during the events in question was asked to

retell their version of the events that had passed. Basic prompting questions were asked like ‘Do you remember the time I got meningitis?’ without disclosing more details. The rationale was to avoid suggestibility, which may have led to the creation of false memories (Wade & Garry, 2005).

Co-constructors had the choice of retelling their version of the events verbally, or in written format. I would not describe my family and myself as the most emotionally articulate individuals involving discussions with one another. As some of the memories could be painful or traumatic to recall (Adams et al., 2015), I gave all the co-constructors the option for a written, and thus more private, response, excluding the ones selected opportunistically for the purpose of verisimilitude. My reasoning behind the latter exclusion was due to the verisimilitude of short stories or poetry that was found by observing people and taking parts of their stories which related to mine, to ensure the data was relatable and probable (Chang, 2016).

Co-constructors of the narrative also assisted in unearthing my supressed, or selectively withheld, memory data relevant to the focus of my study. All the data collected from the cohort of co-constructors was considered and incorporated into my representation of my experiences. However, this was done only after my final representation of the narrative was evaluated by the relevant co-constructors of the narrative, including family, critical friends and colleagues. Purposefully selected co-constructors assisted in providing perspective and verisimilitude in terms of the actual events within the exposed narrative. Others were nominated in terms of experience or specialised knowledge to provide perspective and rigour to my self-observed data, consisting mainly of critical colleagues or friends, thereby strengthening the ‘ethno’ factor of autoethnographical study.

4.4.5 Photographs and artefacts

Whilst conducting memory work, I made use of photographs, paintings and possessions that my mother had saved from my childhood. I have three crates containing my childhood toys, school report cards, pictures, letters, birthday cards and old schoolbooks that proved useful during the retrieval of my memories.

Anderson and Glass-Coffin (2013) refer to photographs as visual autoethnography. These were used to jog my memory while I was reading literature on relevant subjects or while I was writing my stories and poetry.

Wade, Garry, Read and Lindsay's (2002) research on false childhood memory creation showed how easily the brain creates a false narrative with partial information and photographs without full context. The cohort of co-constructors in this reading ensured that I did not necessarily fabricate memories when I struggled to recall childhood events clearly. Wade and Garry (2005) suggest five strategies that people use to verify false autobiographical memory data. To verify a memory's authenticity, family, others, location, and physical and cognitive strategies can be implemented. Thus, by using photographs and artefacts, along with my co-constructing cohort, context was provided, which reduced the chance of using fabricated memories for the purpose of this study. I have included the relevant photographs and documents in Chapter 5.

4.5 Writing Autoethnography: Presenting My Harvest

After the final phase of data collection was completed, short stories and poetry were written in chronological order to represent my narrative. Why stories and poetry? There are a vast number of ways in which to express my story autoethnographically. These include film, drama, music or combinations thereof. I selected writing, specifically short stories and poetry, as a means to increase the verisimilitude of my narrative. Short stories and poetry provided me with enough room for immersive depth and exposure without excessive unnecessary details.

I practiced writing activities from the beginning of my research, which I explained in my field journal. I took notes on reflections, ideas, feelings, perspectives and beliefs, as suggested by Chang (2016). I compiled short stories, in the format of diary entries, to represent my self-observational data and make my anthropology transparent. I then used my self-observational data for the purpose of analysis and reflexivity (Chang, 2016; Du Preez, 2018). All of these served as a precaution

against delusions of grandeur, narcissism, white fragility or attempts to control the social and academic racial narratives.

Autoethnographical writing needs a frame of mind that focuses on threading fragmented details together to create a cohesive and believable finished product (Chang, 2016). My stories and poetry are more than the result of rearranging bits of information together. They were shaped around the questions of 'how' and 'why' my whiteness was cultivated (Chang, 2016). These questions differ from the traditional question of 'what' in research. The latter, along with the anthropology of autoethnographic writing, is seen as a departure from traditional ethnographical studies.

I wrote my narrative in a factional way to protect the identities of my co-constructors and institutions, but my self-narrative is rooted in mixed writing methods. Factional stories are based on real events that took place. However, details like names and locations can be changed to protect the identities of those involved, and to conduct ethical research (Chang, 2016). I asked co-constructors of the narrative who were present during the events in question to provide their accounts of what took place, and what they experienced at the time. The co-constructors of the narrative also read the final representations of the data, so as to provide their responses and feedback for constructive and analytical purposes (Jarvis, 2014).

The co-constructors were asked to provide their responses in accordance with their presence during the events, which are represented in the co-constructed stories and poems below. They were also given the option to select their own pseudo-names which Madame Chocolat Croissant, and Cornelius did. There are however, two stories based on events where only I was present. The co-constructors' responses below can be found in the annexure A of this dissertation.

- My mother and father were present during the events of 'Die Swart Gevaar'[48] during 1984.
- My mother and father co-constructed the data of 'Groen Oog Monster' in 1989.
- My mother was present during the events of 'Dr Lets en Mnr Pretorius' which took place in 1992. However, my father's recollection of the times he spent with me in hospital between 1989 and 1992 was included to construct richer data.
- I provide my account of 'Nederlandse Kat' which took place in 1993.
- My mother co-constructed the data relevant to 'Meraai se Blikbeker' in 1994.
- My mother provided her account of the events relating to Sunday Lunch, 1994.
- I constructed the memory data regarding 'Sal Jy met My Dans?' based on events from 1998.
- A friend of mine, referred to as Sam as well as my mother, assisted in co-constructing the data relating to 'Onse Vader', 1990-2003.
- 'Die Geskenk', 2004 is based on events where only I was able to produce the constructed memory data.
- 'Fast en Furious', 2005 was constructed based on my own memory work.
- One of my former lecturers (Madame Chocolat Croissant) and a friend/ colleague (Cornelius) contributed toward the co-construction of 'Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes', 2015.

Descriptive-realistic writing was then used to ensure that the events were probable and recognisable using verisimilitude. I followed Jarvis' (2014) example in testing the verisimilitude of my written work by asking critical friends, family members, co-workers and people who related to my stories during discussions to read my stories and poetry and to respond to them. The relatability of my data increased

[48] Swart gevaar is a term that refers to the idea that black South Africans are a threat to white South Africans. The idea was propagated by the National Party (NP) government during apartheid among white minorities (Davidson, 2017).

because the readers provided information regarding the environment or small features of the time period represented (Chang, 2016). The names and locations have been changed, as mentioned before, but not to the extent that my writing can be classified as imaginative creative writing.

My self-observational data was written with confessional, emotive intent and is mostly included as part of the analysis in Chapter 6, as well as in my personal critical reflection. This approach was necessary to ensure authenticity, transparency and reflexivity on my part. Confessional-emotive writing exposes dilemmas, questions, confusion, various emotions or bias I still have. A confessional approach increased the transparency of my anthropology and the authenticity and verisimilitude of my data. Thus, my exposed vulnerability provided the constructed data with more authentic information regarding my experiences and positionality (Chang, 2016).

Finally, I was mindful of the analytical and interpretive nature of my study and made use of such writing accordingly. To understand the curriculum of my whiteness, I needed to identify connections between my milieu and my own internal meaning-making process. I looked at my experience, within a broader socio-historical context, to understand the interconnectedness between all the components that were considered and deemed worthy to analyse.

By sharing my experiences, thoughts, and emotions, I could actively interpret my connection to others (Chang, 2016). Autoethnographical writing provided me with the opportunity to acquire new knowledge and insight into myself and by extension others (Utt & Tochluk, 2020). Thus, autoethnography can be a transformative process, and is considered constructive and interpretive (Chang, 2016). Writing for me also assisted in recalling memories more vividly and clearly. I opted to write the titles of my stories and poetry in Afrikaans and to write my poetry in Afrikaans, the reason being that Afrikaans is the language in which I express my true feelings the easiest. I felt it was only fair that I use the language in which I expressed my ethnocentrism as a means to confront it.

4.6 Data analysis: Evaluating the harvest

I analysed the co-constructed data of my study by means of chronological organisation, explanation and interpretation. I clarified the intention of the data analysis and how it shaped the approach that I took in writing up the analysis of my data. Qualitative data analysis should take how experiences are framed and how they are contextualised into account (Jarvis, 2014). The analysis ought to be mindful of events, agents and phenomena within the narrative that could assist in the understanding various degrees of perception, and behaviour on the part of the researcher and the socio-historical context being analysed (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013). Structural and thematic perspectives are viewed as analytically significant as the narrative can then be approached and analysed as a manner of rationalisation (Richardson, 2000).

My narrative was analysed in three levels. My first analytical focus was on the narrative itself, which Ellis (2004) and Jarvis (2014) refer to as narrative analysis. A narrative can be approached as theoretical and analytical, as analytical practices are utilised by authors, to interpret and ultimately represent their experience accurately through storytelling (Ellis, 2004), as I do in this reading. Thus, Chapter 5 represents my narrative analysis of the constructed data collected for this study. My reflections or self-observational data on the actual experience of recalling, reliving and writing my narrative are discussed in Chapter 6.

My multi-layered conceptual framework addresses the second level of analysis, referred to as the thematic analysis of the narrative (Ellis, 2004; Jarvis, 2014). During this level of analysis, the phenomenon of my racial identity's cultivation was dissected and explored along with the complex intersections between agents and factors of my milieu. This level of analysis addressed my research question in a more direct, and academic way. The existing literature and theoretical concepts in Chapter 2 provided a sound framework which guided the analysis of all the themes relating to the cultivation of my white racial identity. Concepts relating to cultivation as an educational phenomenon include complexity theory, curriculum theory and cultivation theory. Concepts relating to my white racial identity and power relations

within society include intersectionality, white identity theory and racialisation. My thematic analysis of my narrative can also be found in Chapter 6.

The final level of analysis focused on the structural aspects of my narrative. The structural analysis of a narrative involves the structure, articulation and over-all linguistic processes involved when writing stories (Jarvis, 2014). The decisions I made in terms of the technical presentation of my stories and poetry are exposed and analysed in Chapter 6 of this study.

4.7 Methodological limitation: The limitations of harvesting

Unfortunately, I was unable to re-visit all the locations where the events of my narrative took place. Fortunately, I had access to ample photographs and artefacts, which was used for memory work. I regard my age as an advantage as well in this regard, as some of the events did not happen too long ago. Another limitation I experienced was that not all the co-constructors I initially intended to participate in my research were available to do so. Some co-constructors refused to discuss and re-evaluate their versions of events, which resulted in me using hypnotherapy with a therapist to achieve a higher verisimilitude for some of the stories and poems written.

4.8 Relatability and credibility: Produce quality control

As described in the methodology, data collection and analysis are a collaborative effort between the researcher and the co-constructors of the data. Triangulation between the narrative and its constructors, literature and conceptual framework increases validity as the researcher only prompts the participants to recall key events as they experienced the events themselves. This is done before the researcher shares his or her own recollection of the event to avoid data manipulation. The data collected is then further analysed and interpreted with the use of similar accounts, literature, and theories (Athanasou et al. 2012).

It should be noted that autoethnographical research does not aim for trustworthiness, but rather for relatability and credibility. Autoethnography as a methodology seeks reciprocal reactions or the sharing of similar stories from readers as conformation of the data's verisimilitude (Adams et al., 2015). Verisimilitude gives the stories and poetry in this autoethnography is relatability and authenticity, resulting in the increase of my constructed data's credibility (Ellis, 2004; Jarvis, 2014).

4.9 Ethical consideration: Ethical harvesting

As mentioned before, some of the memories that the co-constructors had to revive could be experienced as traumatic, depressing, or emotional. I as the main participant might also experience distress during the study, as I was not attempting to place myself in a neutral position within this research. I made therapy sessions available to all my selected co-constructors in the event one of them was in need of counselling, due to their participation in this study.

I applied for ethical clearance as required by the University of Pretoria and was granted such under the reference number HU 18/10/02 (Annexure A). Co-constructors were then sent a letter of invitation and consent at the appropriate time, wherein they could indicate if they would like to take part in this research (Annexure A). Co-constructors could discontinue their participation any time during the study, without needing to provide a reason for doing so.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter has served as a roadmap of my research design and methodology. The rational of my ontology, epistemology and anthropology was made clear, and how they empowered me in addressing my research question. The links between my conceptual framework, the existing literature and my research question were illuminated, and the methods used to conduct this study were stipulated clearly. The critique against autoethnography was considered and I have disclosed the measures put in place to avoid the pitfalls of autoethnographical research as

warned by Chang (2016) and Campbell (2017). The following chapter contains the stories and poetry, representing the co-constructed data used to understand the cultivation of my white racial identity.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CULTIVATED HARVEST

Geloof, Hoop, Liefde en Nederlandse Katte
(Faith, Hope, Love and Dutch Cats)

A collection of short stories and poetry by a white juffrou

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I chronologically present my narrative as a bundle of short stories and poetry, all of which represent the critical events that have been deemed relevant to the cultivation of my white racial juffrou[49] identity. I have interpreted and analysed the co-constructed memory data collected for this study (Annexure A) and pieced my narrative together accordingly. I have done so with the intention of revealing how and where my white racial identity was cultivated from pre-birth up until adulthood. The emerged themes represented in this chapter are analysed and discussed in Chapter 6, accompanied by the structural analysis of my short stories and poetry. The self-observational data I constructed whilst compiling my narrative will also be discussed in the following chapter.

My narrative begins in 1984 in Louis Trichardt (also referred to as Makhado) in the North Transvaal (now known as the Limpopo province) during my mother's pregnancy. My story follows me from Limpopo to Gauteng (then a more central part of the old Transvaal) and shares my experiences relating to racialisation and othering as a toddler, pre-teen, teenager, student and ultimately a teacher in 2015. Most of my narrative is written from a first-person perspective to reveal thoughts and beliefs which are rarely acknowledged by ethnocentric white individuals, as per Chapter 2.

[49] As per chapter one, the Afrikaans title can be used to address an unmarried woman, or a female teacher as an act of respect. However, the term was also used historically as a respectful way to address married woman. I came from a context where unmarried women were addressed as mejuffrou, so I traditionally used the term to address my female teachers.

It should be noted that all the names mentioned in my stories and poetry are pseudonyms. The use of pseudonyms protects the identities of the co-constructors of the narrative and were chosen by the participants themselves. I am represented by the name Meraai, the pet name my parents used for me all my life. My story focuses for the most part on how I grew up, in order to understand how a white juffrou's racial identity was cultivated in the first place. Basically, this is an origin story.

5.2 Die Swart Gevaar / The Black Peril 1985

My story begins in the North Transvaal, now known as the Limpopo province. I was born in Louis Trichardt on the 21st of September at five in the morning. A few months before my birth though, there was an incident involving my mother and their black male gardener. My family had recently moved to Louis Trichardt from Pretoria and my parents had built their new house for their growing family from scratch. I was their second child, born nine years after my older brother. My father was a quality control official for a major transport company in Louis Trichardt.

Fig 5.2 (a) Photograph of a painting of the house (left). Fig 5.2 (b) The house my parents built for our family in Louis Trichardt (right) (Lombard, 2020).

My mother (I called her Ma) was assigned by the National Party government to teach typing in the black homeland of Venda after her maternity leave. Even

though the homelands had to manage their own affairs, the then South African government transferred experienced and qualified Afrikaner teachers to homeland areas with reasonable pay and sponsored transport, as long as there were four people sharing a car.

I remember going to Venda with my mother as a toddler. I would sit at the back of her matric typing class and play on the loud, metal typing machine. The focused girls would only look at me if my mother paused for a moment to give me a reprimanding glance. After class, I remember playing on the dusty playground, surrounded by glowing, smiling black faces. The girls would give me oranges and play with my hair very gently. I adored the attention!

When the construction of our new home in Louis Trichardt was completed and only the finishing touches on the garden remained, my parents appointed a black man, who claimed to be very experienced in laying new grass, to do it for them. Ma was home alone one day, whilst pregnant with me, and the new gardener came in to work as usual. My parents had already been a bit irritated by the black man because he worked very slowly and didn't really seem quite the specialist he had claimed to be. On this particular day, the gardener went to my mother and asked her for a raise.

My mother felt at the time that he wasn't too serious about the job in the first place, and that he had not done the groundwork to get a raise. She was also taken aback by his arrogance to ask for such a thing while she was home alone. He wouldn't have had the guts to do that with Hendrik (pseudonym for my father). She then considered that she was pregnant and home alone with him. If he had the resolve to ask for a raise, what else could he be capable of? Her intention wasn't really to shoot him, but rather to simply send a message that he wouldn't get away with trying to take advantage of her, especially as he was so lazy to begin with.

Fig 5.2 (c) Photograph of my mother holding me tenderly on the day of my baptism at only a few weeks old (1985 Louis Trichardt) (left). Fig 5.2 (d) Photograph of me at only a few months old (right) (Lombard, 2020).

Die Swart Gevaar	**The Black Peril**
Sy sien hom, in die verte … Verskuil onder ‘n kleed van lanfer[50], smart. Al wat haar Afrikaner hart sien, Is intensies van pik en swart. Die Swart gevaar is voor haar deur, Vermom in kleure wat na meer smag. Gevaar, voorwaar dis in my gesit: ‘Die gevaarlikste is dié wat dink hulle, is wit.’	She sees him, in the distance … Hidden under a crepe cloak, of anguish. All that her Afrikaner heart sees, Are intentions of tar and black. The Black peril is at her door, Disguised in colours that yearn for more. Danger, indeed, it is placed within me: ‘The most dangerous are those who think they are white.’

[50] Lanfer, according to the Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (WAT) dictionary is a black crepe material with a crinkled appearance, associated in Afrikaner culture with mourning and death. It was historically draped over women’s hats during funerals.

Met rewolwer in die een hand, Staan sy wetend soos wet, Frustreerd met die luiheid Wat haar Afrikanerskap, besmet. Vinger op die sneller, Gemik. Standvastig. Reg. Gee sy een waarskuwing: 'Kaffer[51], jy beter werk of, vir jou lewe veg!' Volksmoeder liefde, volksmoeder trots Gegrond in geloof, Die Here is haar rots! 'Ek sal die vyand verslaan, soos beloof! Ek moet, ek moet Hulle, op hul, plek sit jy weet? Al is hy lank, lui en skraal. Anders sal hy die plek wat ons vir hom bied, vergeet. Toemaar Meraai, my baba, my lief. Sy plek sal hy ken wanneer jy kom. Dié wêreld is joune, En behoort nie aan Die dief.'	With revolver in the one hand, She stands knowing like law, Frustrated with the laziness That infected her Afrikanership. Finger on the trigger, Aimed. Standing firm. Steady. She gives one warning: 'Kaffer, you'd better work, or to fight for your life you must get ready!' Volksmoeder love, volksmoeder pride Grounded in faith, The Lord is her rock! 'I shall defeat the enemy, as promised! I must, I must Put them, in their place you know? Even though he's tall, lazy and slim. Otherwise he will forget his, the place we've made for him. Never you mind Meraai, my baby, my sweet. He will know his, place by the time we meet. This world is yours, And doesn't belong to this thief.'

[51] Kaffer is a term which was historically used as a racist derogatory term referring to any male member of the racialised communities in South Africa.

5.3 Eendjies, Eendjies … / Ducklings, Ducklings … – 1990)

‘The truth is rarely pure and never simple.’

-Oscar Wilde-

5.3.1 Prologue

We lived in Louis Trichardt until I was three or four years old. We then moved to Potgietersrus (we called it Potties) which was still located in the Northern Transvaal. My father, whom I called Pa, got a promotion at a major transport company which required a relocation to ‘Potties’. He had been promoted to depot manager. It was nice because our new house was close to my father’s brother’s (my uncle’s) house so I could see my cousins on a regular basis. Our new home was a double story with a big pointy grey roof, a banana tree, and the best part – a hot tub outside. My brother and I didn’t get to use the heating and borrels (bubbles) because Ma and Pa said the electricity would cost a fortune.

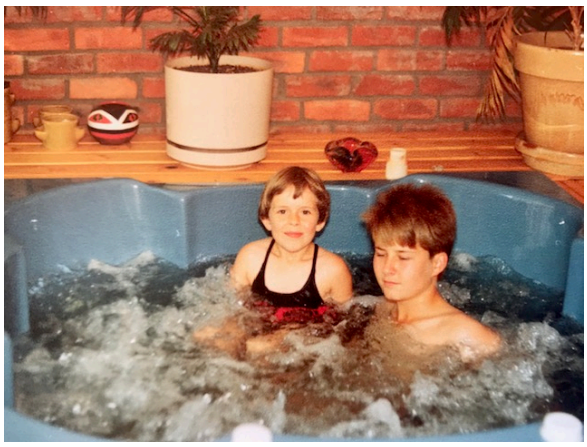


Fig 5.3.1 (a) Photograph of a painting of our house in Potgietersrus (left). Fig 5.3.1 (b) Photograph of my brother and I in our outdoor jacuzzi on a rare occasion we got to use the jets (right) (Lombard, 2020).

Pa wasn’t always home as his work required him to travel often. On top of that, he was a part-time police reservist and sergeant. Pa wanted to contribute to containing crime and violence in the area, and honestly there wasn’t that much to do in a little town like Potties. Pa also provided firearm use and safety courses in Potties at the local shooting range. I was four years old the first time I fired a 1.22 pistol and did it quite well if I might add.

Fig 5.3.1 (c) Picture of my father taking me to shoot a blesbok for the first time in winter of 2000 (left). Fig 5.3.1 (d) My dad's facial expression when he is in a bad mood (right) (Lombard, 2020).

Ma got a principal's position at the local kindergarten, which I then attended. I constantly challenged my mother in front of the other children and refused to do as she requested in the Lion class. Our classes were assigned according to animals rather than numbers. She moved me to the Deer class, because I was too 'clever' to be in the Lion class. The kindergarten wasn't a government-owned school but, rather, was founded by the South African Women's Federation[52] and received a subsidy from the state. She later obtained a position at the local bank as a typist, which paid more, but she returned to the kindergarten after finding the typing job made her miserable.

[52] An organisation founded in 1904 by Mrs Georgiana Solomon, to empower women (now including men) by creating jobs for women, widows and young pregnant girls (Lamprecht, 2007).

Fig 5.3.1 (e) My mother and I on picture day at the kindergarten in Potties in 1991 (left) Fig 5.3.1 (f) My mother at her job as a typist at the local bank in Potties 1989 (right) (Lombard, 2020).

Two pictures showing the face I made when I was being stubborn as a kindergartener.

Fig 5.3.1 (g) I was between age five in our back yard in Potgietersrus, right in front of the big thorn tree in our garden (left). Fig 5.3.1 (h) At age four when we went on holiday during my childhood (right) (Lombard, 2020).

Pa owned a pale-blue, silver-trimmed Mercedes Benz, with pale leather seats. He always took pride in taking good care of his belongings, especially his cars. God help you if you ever slammed one of his car doors or the boot. My parents appointed a gardener, who will be referred to as Moses in this story. Moses came in every once

and a while on a Saturday to help with gardening, cleaning the jacuzzi and other physical chores like washing the car. This story is about an incident involving me, both my parents and Moses. It is told from three perspectives: that of my father, my mother and finally my own. I was five years old when this incident took place.

Fig 5.3.1 (i) Me at age five, standing next to Pa's Mercedes at my maternal grandparents' house in Wonderboom, Pretoria (Lombard, 2020).

5.3.2 Pa and Moses laugh together

I was upset and it was probably the first time that I spoke a bit harshly to Meraaitjie, but you should remember that is how I was raised, it's what I know from my background. Moses is a blesbok and I'm a gemsbok.[53] I respect him, he respects me, and we work together but at the end of the day, he must go his way and I should go mine. We're not meant to mix; its nature and nature works like that for a reason.

I wasn't upset because she gave him water, I was upset because she gave it to him in our glasses. He had his own special things to use, you know. I had to make sure she understood that. Yes, I did speak in a loud voice but only so that she knew this issue was non-negotiable. She was a very wilful child. Stubborn (slight smile), like her father. She gets it from my side of the family, bedonerd[54] but fearless. I could see it caught her by surprise when I reprimanded her.

[53] Blesbok and gemsbok are two types of antelope indigenous to South Africa.
[54] Short-tempered or broody or scatterbrained

I was usually a softy when it came to Meraai. Nonetheless, they had their own special things to use, and Moses knew this. We even had a good laugh about it all by the car afterward, he was a good guy. I sent Meraai to put the glass in the kitchen afterward to be washed and that was it, we moved on, like we[55] always did. My family can be stubborn, but we never hold a grudge. We fight, we forget, we move on.

5.3.3 Ma and the duck glass

Meraai was in Grade R when we lived in Limpopo. Our gardener, Moses, came in to work every Saturday. Meraai would always follow him around throughout the day, moving from garden bed to garden bed. They would just talk for what seemed like hours on end. I don't really know what their conversations were about, I just know she enjoyed them so very much. Meraai always enjoyed talking to and spending time with people.

On this particular Saturday, I was doing some schoolwork by the dinner table beneath the stairs, when Meraai proudly strutted past me. It had been a particularly hot day, even according to Limpopo standards, so it didn't surprise me that she had a glass with her. One of my 'high fashion' (as high fashion as you can get in a town with only an OK supermarket to buy from) red duck tumblers. The glasses were covered in little white and red flowers; they also featured a row of white ducks with red ribbons around their necks. Meraai stopped abruptly and announced with the utmost pride that she had given Moses a glass of icy water because it was so very hot, and he was working very hard in the hot sun. I wasn't really upset with her, but I did bring the message across that the glass was not to go back into the kitchen. I didn't want the glass she had just used to mix with ours. So, six duck glasses became five when I threw the duck glass she held into the dustbin.

5.3.4 Meraai sees a monster

It was a really hot day, the hottest I'd experienced in my entire life! Which sounds dramatic but to be fair, I was only five at the time. Our little slice of Limpopo was in the midst of a heatwave and my moist mushy tongue was transforming into pumice stone.

[55] Pa's is referring to his side of the family here.

I rushed downstairs and into the kitchen to pour a glass of water from the bottle in the fridge. We rarely had cool drinks in the house, and if we did it was the kind you had to mix with water, like Sweeto, or if we were lucky, Oros. I always assumed fizzy drinks were for rich people because Ma and Pa would always say they were too expensive. However, none of the sugary drinks, no matter how fancy, could quench thirst like ice cold water from the fridge. After almost sacrificing breathing for drinking, I finished my water and placed the glass in the kitchen basin with the rest of the 'flock' that had been used throughout the morning.

As I made my way to put away the cow-themed water bottle into the fridge, I saw Moses washing Pa's car outside. He almost looked like he was in pain. The sun was very bright, and he was squinting his eyes something fierce. His skin was all shiny from the sweat, as his body was trying to save him from the heatwave outside. I hastily searched for a clean glass to use, but most of the glasses were already in the sink. Only one of Ma's new duck glasses was left in the cupboard, so I took it. I filled the glass with water from the fridge, as well as some ice cubes from the freezer and off I went. I decided to use the back door, as it would get me to Moses faster. I loved Moses, the only way five-year-olds can. He always had time for me when no one else did. We had the longest conversations in the yard, well, I think I did most of the talking, but it was nice to have someone take the time to actually listen to me. I decided It was my turn to be there for him.

I marched straight up to Moses and offered him the ice water with the biggest smile I had to offer. He looked more distraught than relieved as I had hoped. My arms and shoulders drooped in harmony with my smile as Moses refused to take the water from me. I gave his squinty face and sweaty brow one more look and decided he didn't know what was best for him, so I insisted. I wouldn't take no for an answer, it was hot, and if I needed ice water inside the house, he must need it too. Moses let out a long soft sigh that seemed to hypnotise his stiff shoulders into comfort's embrace. He smiled as he bowed down his head and gently took the duck glass from me with both hands. I could see he knew they were special, and they were. Ma loved those glasses. Moses didn't even have to choose between breathing and drinking like I had. The contents of the glass disappeared in one gulp. I offered to get him some more water,

but he assured me that he had enough, and he had to get back to work. Moses gifted me with a final thank you before I made my proud entrance into the house.

Ma was sitting at the dining table underneath the stairs, busy sewing, or working. I announced what I had done for Moses with confidence and flare because I knew, I knew I had done a good thing. My pride was short-lived when I saw and felt an aura of slight annoyance in my mother's face. I could always feel it when grownups were upset. Before I could give Ma's demeanour another thought, Pa's urgent footsteps approached and grew louder rapidly. The type of footsteps that make your heart pound louder and faster with every thud you hear and sometimes feel stomping toward you through the floor.

I turned around as quickly as I could, but by the time I could move again I looked straight into a pair of angry green eyes. They'd never looked like that: I always thought Pa's eyes were brown? I didn't like it, they looked cold. I could barely see his pupils in the murky waters of his green iris as he spoke in a loud voice just bordering on shouting.

'Jy doen dit NOOIT weer nie! HOOR jy my?!' (Don't EVER do that again. You HEAR me?!), he says. 'Hy het sy EIE goed! Jy gebruik nie ONS s'n vir HOM nie, VERSTAAN JY my?!' (He has his OWN things! You don't use OURS for HIM, do YOU UNDERSTAND me?!).

Ma got up from the table, still carrying a thin veil of annoyance on her face. I could always feel it in the air when Ma was angry or annoyed, without her needing to say a word. I stood frozen with the precious duck glass in my hands, which I had obviously soiled in some way, not knowing what to do next while Ma approached me.

'Gaan gooi dit in die asblik,' (throw it in the dustbin) she instructed.

I follow her to the kitchen clutching the little ducks in my hands all while trying to understand what I'd done wrong. As the cogs in my little mind worked away at finding a reasonable answer that could give me closure, it hit me. Munnas[56] must be so dirty

[56] My mother taught me to say Munna when addressing black men, in an effort to stop me from using the K word. She also taught me to refer to black women as Musadzi. the Venda word for woman.

that even washing the glasses wouldn't work. As the thought settled snugly into the folds of my brain, Ma opened the cupboard underneath the kitchen sink and showed me the special enamel cup and plate intended for Moses.

5.4 Dr Lets and Mr Pistorius – 1992

5.4.1 Prologue

Soon it was time for me to leave kindergarten and go to Grade 1 in the big kid school. My mother asked me if I wanted to go to the red school or the blue school. I remember some kids talking during play time about the red school and that all the English kids go there. I liked blue, so I picked blue. My mother was still the principal of the kindergarten I attended, which was conveniently close to my new blue primary school. I would walk to the kindergarten after school in the afternoon and return home with Ma from there. It was a small town where everyone knew one another, and with Pa patrolling the streets I felt safe walking to my mother's place of work.

Ironically, Potgietersrus was also where the Boeremag[57] headquarters were located at the time. The White Supremist group took their racialised ideologies to practice in 2002, as shown in the article below (Henne, 2011).

[57] An Afrikaner nationalist group who planned to rid South African of all black people. The group attempted to make their ideals reality by means of terrorism. The Boeremag bombed Soweto (largest township in South Africa) in October 2002 resulting in the destruction of a mosque and one death. They also attempted to assassinate former president, Nelson Mandela. The group advocates the separation of Boer state and government, similar to what the free burghers did during British rule in the Cape during the 19th century (Henne, 2011). (Also see Chapter 1, background and context.)

Airport bombing 'extension of Boeremag plans'

2002-11-25 08:47

Sonja Carstens

Johannesburg - Grand Central Airport, where a bomb exploded on Saturday evening, was not among the targets of the Boeremag (Boer Force), but it was listed as a secondary target that should be "occupied".

This has led to fears that a cell of the Boeremag is making good on threats to launch more attacks during the "false, worldly festive season".

Henri Boshoff, military strategist of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), said three white males in a Corsa were apparently seen at the office adjacent to the police's air-division hangar at the airport shortly before the explosion.

Boshoff said commercial explosives, similar to those used by the far-right-wing, were used in the attack.

Speculation is that the three sons of Dr Johan "Lets" Pretorius from from Mohapane (Potgietersrus) might have been involved in the explosion.

The fingerprints of one of the brothers allegedly have been linked to the bombs that failed to go off at a filling station in Soweto on October 29-30.

Fig 5.4.1 (a) Newspaper article (Carstens & Steenkamp, 2002)

My parents were never really aligned with the extremist views of the Boeremag, so they didn't give their presence much mind. So, as a child, I wasn't even aware that

such an organisation existed at the time. Hence, Potties was a paradise to me. I loved school, I loved my friends and I loved the people around me. Unfortunately, as in the case of any tropical paradise, Potties also had fantastical and deadly beasts in every shape, colour and size.

Fig 5.4.1 (b) A school photograph taken of me aged 7–8 years during the year of the events in the story titled ‘Dr Lets and Mr Pretorius’ (Lombard, 2020).

5.4.2 Part I

My head is throbbing, and all while I am walking in this blistering heat. I’m almost there, I just need to pass the Jacaranda tree and go straight past the dark brick house with the white Toyota bakkie. Ugh, why is the sun so bright? I can’t see … ok, I see the kindergarten. I just need to make it to Ma’s office for sweet relief from this headache. ‘Mamma, my head hurts.’ Ma hands me a Disprin[58] without giving it too much thought and returns to her schoolwork. She is the principal of the kindergarten and has to work after school like this on a regular basis. I lie on the couch, waiting for the little white

[58] A small white effervescent aspirin that can be bought over the counter to treat headaches.

tablet to do its pain dissolving magic as I drift in and out of a light sleep, which is as deep as my throbbing head is willing to go. Ma finishes her work, and we go home.

I'm in my room, on my bed with the covers removed. I lie in the dark on my pink summer-fitted sheet that is already stained by sweat. My brain is beating like it's trying to compete with my heart for a top position in my body's senior management department. It hurts so bad! I can't lift my head … my neck is stiff too. My mother gives me another pill but this time it's bigger and yellow. She crushes it in a teaspoon with some apricot jam. I swallow the apricot pill potion along with a big gulp of water, and as smoothly and quickly as it went down (regardless of the bitter taste mixed in with sweet, watery apricot jam), it comes right back up. I see a flash of horror on my mother's face. She leaves and phones Dr Lets and makes another quick call to someone else before we leave for his house.

After another mini-blackout, I find myself in the doctor's house. He greets us with a slight, warm smile; however, it isn't as keen as his usual greetings. It is almost like he is a bit … distracted. He hands me a little yellow bucket to vomit in and does a fleeting check-up. I'm rather surprised that I notice so many small details during our short visit to his house, because for the most part I remember seeing the bottom of that little, yellow bucket.

He takes us on a small tour of the house, while he listens intently to what my mother has to say about my condition. Their voices fade out and I focus on the house. It is the most beautiful house I've ever seen. The feature I like the most is the medium-sized indoor garden. It has a green and lush appearance with delicious monsters and other shady plants growing in every corner. There is a wooden jacuzzi at the centre of the little magic garden. It is covered with a blue plastic sheet, but not the cheap kind. We also had a jacuzzi, but this is an INSIDE JACUZZI! I don't know why but my seven-year-old mind concludes that he must be rich. Only rich people have jacuzzies and swimming pools inside their homes.

The house embodies warm décor themes, complemented by heavy, dark furniture made of sleeper wood. There is a dark wooden bar in a room that seems like it has been built for the sole purpose of hosting fancy parties, the kind of parties that grown-

ups like while drinking grape juice that burns.[59] The nude brick walls are almost as dark as the furniture, which seems to bring the colourful art and family portraits to life.

Despite the house's attempts at being warm and welcoming, I don't really feel as welcome as the house's decorator intended. It feels empty. There isn't another family member in sight. As we continue our small tour with Dr Lets, he does the strangest thing. As we enter a room, he switches the lights on, but as soon as we leave, he switches them off again. On the one side I'm thinking 'Really? You're worried about the light switches right now?' Maybe he is just environmentally conscious. Mother once said it's probably because he's greedy and counts every single penny he spends. Then we're back in the car.

'Mamma are we going home now?'

'No, we're going to the hospital.'

I'm a bit confused as to why I didn't receive a sweet from Kallie-the-parrot puppet. Every time we went to see Dr Lets, he'd reveal the hand-puppet from behind his desk with childlike excitement. Kallie would complement me on my bravery with great enthusiasm while inviting me to feel if there was a treat in his belly. It would always be empty the first-time round, but after the second exploration of Kallie's bowels, I would be rewarded with a magic sweet that appeared out of nowhere.

A visit to Dr Lets was always a magical and wonderous experience, no matter how sick or injured you were. I love Dr Lets; I really love him. When I had croup at the age of five, he sat with me in the oxygen tent at the hospital, holding an adult-sized oxygen mask over my small face. He tried to let go of the mask while asking, 'Are you ok? Can I let go poplap?'[60]

I grabbed his hand with both of mine and held it tightly in place so he wouldn't leave. My eyes pleaded, 'Stay. I'm scared.'

[59] The character Sheldon Cooper in the sitcom *The Big Bang Theory* and I share this opinion of wine.
[60] This was the term of endearment that Dr Lets used for me. According to the WAT dictionary, poplap means doll, or more specifically a type of ragdoll.

He did, and only left after I was fast asleep.

'Mamma, where is Kallie? Why didn't—'

She interrupts me somewhat sharply. 'You're very sick, we need to hurry.'

5.4.3 Part II

Looking back, I think my ma went full Sandra Bullock, Birdbox style.[61] No time for softening the blows. Her baby was dying.

Meanwhile, my father was engaging in negotiations with the industrial council to acquire medical aid. He was the second person Ma phoned before we left for Dr Lets's house. He had just started a new job and all the arrangements regarding the added benefits of his contract had not been finalised yet. Luckily, he was successful in his negotiations with his superiors, I mean, a dying seven-year-old girl is quite the leverage. However, the medical aid was only cleared after he paid a month's tariff in advance. He rushed to the hospital at lightning speed, and by the time I came to from my last blackout he was with me. Four-and-a-half hours had passed.

Pa held me tight whilst one of the nurses try to convince me to hug some dodgy Noddy doll while she inserted the needle for my IV. She could probably see that I was dehydrated and that it was going to take a few tries for her to find a vein. Hmf, like hugging a doll was going to distract me from some strange lady playing violin with a needle in my veins. After all, this wasn't my first rodeo with an IV needle. I looked at her and asked, 'Can I bite it?' She gave me a slightly nervous giggle and began a lengthy and complicated explanation as to why I couldn't.

[61] A Netflix film wherein the main character, played by Bullock, places her and her children's survival above emotional bonds. She is very clinical and practical with the children until they are finally safe (Clark & Townsend, 2018).

I glance at my Father's face and could clearly see the (what will now be referred to as a 'Ag my fok[62] Marelize'[63] (My fuck, Marelize)) expression on his face. Pa always did this if I was sick or injured in any way; he would show me the utmost patience and compassion, while radiating his disdain at the incompetence of those responsible for my care[64], especially if they were doctors or nurses who were supposed to know what they were doing. All jokes aside, I was too exhausted and defeated to make a scene of any kind after her lengthy explanation. She could have just done it and gotten it over with: I didn't have any fight left in me. The hospital lights shot through my eyes into my brain like long sharp daggers. Everything hurt and my body was on fire. I just wanted it to stop.

The slightly flustered nurse slowly shrank to the size of a toddler as my six-foot-something father gave her a small nudge to the side. He took my jaw in his gigantic, rough and yet gentle hands, opened my mouth and placed a small part of his palm on the pinkie's side between my teeth. His hands tasted clean. It smelled like him. It smelled safe. He looked at me and almost whispered,

'Byt Meraaitjie, byt so hard as wat jy kan, en so hard as wat jy wil. Dis nie seer nie, kom BYT!' (Bite Meraai, Bite as hard as you can, and as hard as you want to. It doesn't hurt, come on BITE!).

I tried to sink my teeth into the rough thick skin as best I could. I could barely feel any mushy flesh as I bit down. Years of working with his hands had created a very impressive skin armour on my father's hands. So, I bit with all my might.

I didn't even feel the needle go in, nor do I recall how many tries it took, but it felt like one. The IV was in. Pa was always the best at calming me down when I was hurt or sick. He had a much warmer approach than Ma. He would make jokes or reassuring statements in his calm, deep voice. He always seemed in control of whatever situation I found myself in, no matter how terrifying. Ma, on the other hand sacrificed the luxury

[62] The Afrikaans swear word for 'fuck', which can refer to the actual act of having sex, or which can be applied in various contexts as an insult.
[63] Refers to a video that went viral in 2019. It shows an 18-year-old girl trying to ride a bike on a rugby field that she rams straight into a pole. Her mother, who was filming, expressed her exasperation with 'Ag my fok, Marelize' (Grobbler, 2019).
[64] I realised that I share this trait with my father when I became a mother.

of emotions in such times, for a more clinical and logical approach to ensure the survival of her children. She had always felt like her emotions would just be an extra burden for us to bear, so in her own way, she knew that had saved us from something.

5.4.4 Part III

The only clear memory I have of that car ride was the vision of flying trees against the backdrop of a starry night sky. Their branches looked like witch claws that were desperately trying to grab me, but they couldn't. Ma was driving too fast. I was probably hallucinating a bit at this stage due to dehydration, pressure on the brain and a high fever. We didn't know it yet, but I had bacterial meningitis.

For those of you who don't know, 10–20 per cent of bacterial meningitis cases in pre-adolescents end in death when caused by Streptococcus pneumoniae within hours after showing symptoms. About 15–25 per cent of cases in older children result in permanent disability and neurological problems such as hearing loss and intellectual disability (Weinberg, 2020). I was seven years old at the time and four hours had passed since I'd displayed symptoms, which was more than enough time for the bacterial infection to claim a toddler's life.

The collective actions of my mother, father and most of all, Dr Lets, saved my life. They saved my intelligence, they saved all of me, well … almost. The only parting 'gift' I carry with me daily after my life-threatening experience, is that I can't spell very well. I was a very able little reader before the incident; however, it was a skill I needed to re-learn afterward. My lack of spelling skills is a 'gift' I carry with gratitude, given the worst-case scenarios that could have unfolded on that day.

We left Potgietersrus and the North Transvaal almost a year after the events of that night, moving to the East Rand. My biggest regret was that I wouldn't be able to see Dr Lets again. I couldn't imagine another doctor with his patience, kindness and especially his fondness for children. I would tell stories about him to my new teachers and new friends on the East Rand, especially the one where he saved my life. My parents and I would sometimes share stories about him around the dinner table. Pa always emphasized our Dr's kindness and humanity due to the medical care he provided to the black communities in Potgietersrus. Dr Lets had space in his heart and in his practice for everyone.

5.4.5 Epilogue – 2002

One night, after dinner, my parents and I were watching the news, as we usually did after dinner. I was in Grade 11 at the time. It had been ten years since Dr Lets and I cheated death together. I wasn't paying attention to the monotone news broadcast: I was more interested in watching a light-hearted sitcom as we usually did after the news. My focus of interest changed as I heard my father's dramatic exclamation. 'Bliksem!'.[65] This was quickly followed by a slight gasp from my mother's lips. I looked up to see wide green and blue eyes with a touch of terror reflected in their expressions.

'Dr Pretorius, along with his three sons, were taken into custody today after investigators found evidence linking them to the bombing that took place in Soweto earlier this year. The explosion resulted in the death of one person, and serious injury in another. The Pretorius brothers and their father, Lets, are also responsible for an assassination attempt on President Nelson Mandela. The Boeremag leader and medical doctor has confessed that he, along with other members of the Boeremag, planned the attacks during—'

I didn't understand. Why was I seeing Dr Lets in handcuffs? Ma and Pa couldn't get over their shock.

'Pa, what is the Boeremag? What did he do? Why are they arresting him?' I had so many questions. I didn't get a response, my father only seemed to be able to speak to the television. With a face still frozen in shock, my father murmured 'Mens sou dit nie kon dink nie. Lets, van alle mense.' (One wouldn't think it. Lets, of all people).

[65] An Afrikaans swear word which can be used to refer to someone as a 'bastard'. Historically it referred to excommunication from the church. In the context of this story it is used as a swearing word, similar to 'damn'.

Rightwing coup suspect makes court appearance

Zelda Venter and Hanti Otto
COURT REPORTERS

Another alleged rightwinger, possibly involved with the plot to overthrow the government in a military-style coup, yesterday appeared in the Pretoria Regional Court after he had earlier handed himself over to police.

Abraham Hendrik van Leeuwen (29) will be the 13th man added to the group facing charges of high treason and terrorism. Van Leeuwen, a farmer from Bela-Bela (Warmbaths) area, handed himself over to the investigating officer in the case in Pretoria on Tuesday after he apparently heard he was wanted in connection with the alleged coup. Van Leeuwen will appear in court again next week along with the other accused.

Three of the group will remain behind bars awaiting trial after their appeal against a magistrate's refusal to grant them bail failed.

Judge Dikgang Moseneke yesterday turned down their appeal in the Pretoria High Court. He said Louis du Plessis, Johan Scheepers and Adriaan van Wyk had not proved that the interests of justice would be served by their release on bail.

Counsel for the three men also complained that four other co-accused were earlier granted bail while their clients were not but Moseneke said each case had to be dealt with on its own merits.

The judge quoted from "Document 12" – an apparent plan to overthrow the government and to establish a new government. He said the evidence of the police typified all three men as conspirators and all of them had attended meetings at which the conspiracy was discussed.

Police are still searching for Herman van Rooyen, Thomas Vorster and Johan Pretorius jnr.

Pretorius is the son of Dr Lets Pretorius who was arrested in connection with a truck which was found in Lichtenburg and which was filled with arms, ammunition and medical equipment.

National police spokesman Director Phuti Setati said: "These people do not enjoy the support of the community and we believe they will eventually stop running as there is nowhere to run. Then we can arrest them.

"If anyone knows the whereabouts of these three, they should contact the police," Setati said.

Fig 5.4.5 (a) Newspaper article (Venter & Otto, 2002)

Fig 5.4.5 (b) Photograph of Dr Lets Pretorius in court (Nel, 2014)

'Rightwingers are busy mobilising'

Police witness opposes bail for Boeremag accused

Hanti Otto
COURT REPORTER

Police have information that rightwingers have started to regroup following the arrest of five men alleged to have been responsible for the fatal bombing at a railway line in Soweto last year.

They also have statements of about 300 witnesses regarding the Boeremag and its alleged plans to overthrow the government.

This was the evidence yesterday of Superintendent Tollie Vreugdenburg, one of the investigating police officers in the case.

He testified during the bail application of Dr Johan "Lets" Pretorius in the Pretoria Regional Court.

Pretorius was arrested in October last year after a medical truck filled with weapons and ammunition was discovered in Lichtenburg. Pretorius is a doctor from Potgietersrus.

"We do not have evidence under oath, but we do have classified information that the Boeremag – a rightwing organisation – has started to regroup," Vreugdenburg testified.

He opposed bail, claiming Pretorius could continue to organise Boeremag activities if released.

He said the truck carrying the arms belonged to a medical company of which Pretorius was a director. The police suspect the weapons in this truck was part of "Popeye", the code name for the alleged coup.

About 10 targets were due to be blown up on September 13 last year to mark the start of the coup. This was apparently cancelled after the Boeremag suspected they had been infiltrated.

"Several fingerprints were found in the truck, but none has been linked to the accused yet. Inside we also found a bag containing clothes, including underpants which we have linked to Pretorius," the investigating officer said.

During cross-examination, defence advocate Piet Pistorius said his client had no previous convictions. He said other accused in the same case were granted bail and that Pretorius's businesses, farming and medical practice had been hit financially as a result of his incarceration.

> 'We cannot put all the witnesses under protection so that the accused can walk around outside'
>
> **Police superintendent Tollie Vreugdenburg**

Pistorius said he was told the trial could continue for three to four years and the investigation was still not finalised.

Said Vreugdenburg: "I foresee it could be finalised by the end of the month. We still have a warrant for an arrest, but that will not influence the investigation."

He added that they found Document 12, the alleged detailed plan of the coup, on another accused's computer. He admitted that the contents had been changed several times and different names placed next to different "jobs" which were to be carried out by members of the Boeremag during the staging of the coup.

Vreugdenburg said the police had been investigating the Boeremag since mid-2001, but only became aware of Pretorius's alleged involvement in January 2002.

He admitted the police had no evidence that Pretorius was involved in the formulating of the document, but he had been at a meeting where the document was discussed.

Vreugdenburg conceded it was possible that some names could have appeared in the document next to certain "jobs" without the knowledge of the people involved.

"Several people whose names appear in the document did not know about it. However, most of the information in the document is reliable," he said.

When Pistorius said military experts regarded the coup as naive, Vreugdenburg replied: "Even if the plan did not work, it would still cause anarchy in the country with huge loss of life."

But the defence felt Vreugdenburg was seeking to create fear without any grounds.

Vreugdenburg said witnesses feared intimidation by Pretorius. Five of them were already in witness protection programmes and they could not "put all the witnesses under protection so that the accused can walk around outside".

• Another lawyer appearing for alleged Boeremag members yesterday accused police of hampering them in their preparations for the trial that starts in May.

Paul Kruger said outside court after the bail application of Pretorius that legal representatives of the accused had difficulty preparing their

Fig 5.4.5 (c) Newspaper article (Otto, 2003)

'Boeremag doctor' is denied bail

By CAROL HILLS and ELEANOR MOMBERG

THE Boeremag's alleged medical commander, Johan "Lets" Pretorius, 56, was yesterday denied bail in the Pretoria Regional Court.

He is to stand trial in the Pretoria High Court on May 19 with 22 others – including his three sons – for alleged high treason, terrorism and sabotage arising from an alleged plot to violently overthrow the government.

Magistrate Michiel de Kock, said he was "not satisfied" it would be in the interests of justice to grant Dr Pretorius bail.

The charges against him were very serious and the case against him strong. Staring a long prison sentence in the face if found guilty, there was a very real possibility he would try to escape trial.

He would remain a very rich man even if his bail was estreated and strong bail conditions would be "of little or no use" with a nationwide network of Boeremag sympathisers already having shown it would shelter people on the run – among them his three sons, since arrested.

There was concern he would try to threaten witnesses, having already allegedly threatened members of his Boeremag cell and close family and friends, when they told him they no longer wanted any involvement in the plot.

No evidence had been placed before the court of his distancing himself from the Boeremag.

With police intelligence that Boeremag members, in prison and out, were continuing plans to destabilise the country, overthrow the government, and disrupt the trial by assassinating and discrediting witnesses and police investigators, there was a possibility Dr Pretorius would put the safety of the public in danger if he was released on bail, said Mr De Kock.

In a Press conference attorney Paul Kruger, who represents Dr Pretorius and 12 other treason trialists, accused the state of "gross human rights violations".

Police had tortured at least one of the trialists, threatened them with sodomy and death, refused their constitutional right to remain silent and assaulted women detained in the investigation, he alleged.

Dr Pretorius's son, Johan Pretorius junior, had embarked on a hunger strike after not being allowed to communicate with his lawyer – as were many of those arrested or searched, he added.

He also charged that bugging apparatus had been found in the cell of one of the accused, legal and privileged documents were removed from that of another, and undue influence was exerted on families of the accused.

Fig 5.4.5 (d) Newspaper article (Hills & Momberg, 2003)

5.5 Nederlandse Kat in die Groot Stad – 1993

(Dutch Cat in the Big City – 1993)

We lived in Potgietersrus for a few years, then my father got another promotion from his company as a senior training officer in Johannesburg. We moved to a suburb called Park Rand in Boksburg in the East Rand.[66] Our new street name was Impala Street, which I found comforting as our suburb in Potties was Impala Park. I remember thinking that everything looked pale in comparison to Potties. The grass and plants, the buildings, the streets, even the sky looked grey on a bright and sunny day in Boksburg. Our new house was pale as well and needed a lot of renovation to make it look decent. My parents had to remove tons of wallpaper from the interior of the house, along with a plastic garden complete with fake grass and boulders right below the staircase. I liked that the house was a double story, like the one in Potties.

Fig 5.5 (a) (left) and Fig 5.5 (b) (right) Our house in Impala street, Park Rand, Boksburg, after my parents had done some renovations (Lombard, 2020).

My mother applied for teaching positions at primary schools in the surrounding area and after about six months she got a position at a local primary school as the special needs or remedial class teacher. Ma was a qualified foundation phase teacher, who specialised in remedial education. I was enrolled for my second semester of Grade 2

[66] A cluster of towns neighboring Johannesburg and Pretoria. Major towns on the East Rand like Nigel, Benoni, Brakpan and Springs originated as coal- and later gold-mining settlements by the end of the 19th century. The East Rand's contribution to the national economy during the mid-20th century in gold mining, and its industrial boom thereafter was substantial. Unfortunately, poverty and unemployment riddled various locations, especially the townships (S. Roberts, 2006).

at the closest (and if possible blue) primary school in Park Rand during Ma's six-month waiting period.

I struggled a bit in Boksburg. My address was a lot longer and more difficult to memorise and my new telephone number was too. It felt like Ma and I started fighting more, and she seemed to be losing a bit of energy as well. She wasn't as lively in the city as in the bushveld. It was like the East Rand air wasn't good for her.[67] Pa was exhausted at night from all the driving between Boksburg and Johannesburg every day, and also seemed to lose a bit of his youth once we entered the city.

School didn't go any better. The new teacher was skinny and looked quite scary with the giant black ball of teased hair on her head. We didn't do very exciting work in school. Lots of writing alone at your desk, then reading together on a carpet. No survival training of what to do if you were stranded in the bushveld, or what plants to eat and not to eat. No looking at pictures of different antelope and animals, while trying to identify them before the other kids on the carpet. The classroom was blue, grey and small. No display tables, no lollipop board[68], nothing, no sticker or stamp system, just a cold, 'Mooi!' or just a signature and comments on my mistakes in my workbooks.

[67] My mother was diagnosed with life-threatening asthma and respiratory problems a few years into our stay on the East Rand.

[68] My teacher in Potties had a big board with holes in it. She placed our names on the left side of the board with a lollipop placed into a hole beside our name. Every time you got a gold dot in your workbook for doing good work, your lollipop moved to the right by one hole. If it reached the end, you got your hard-earned lollipop.

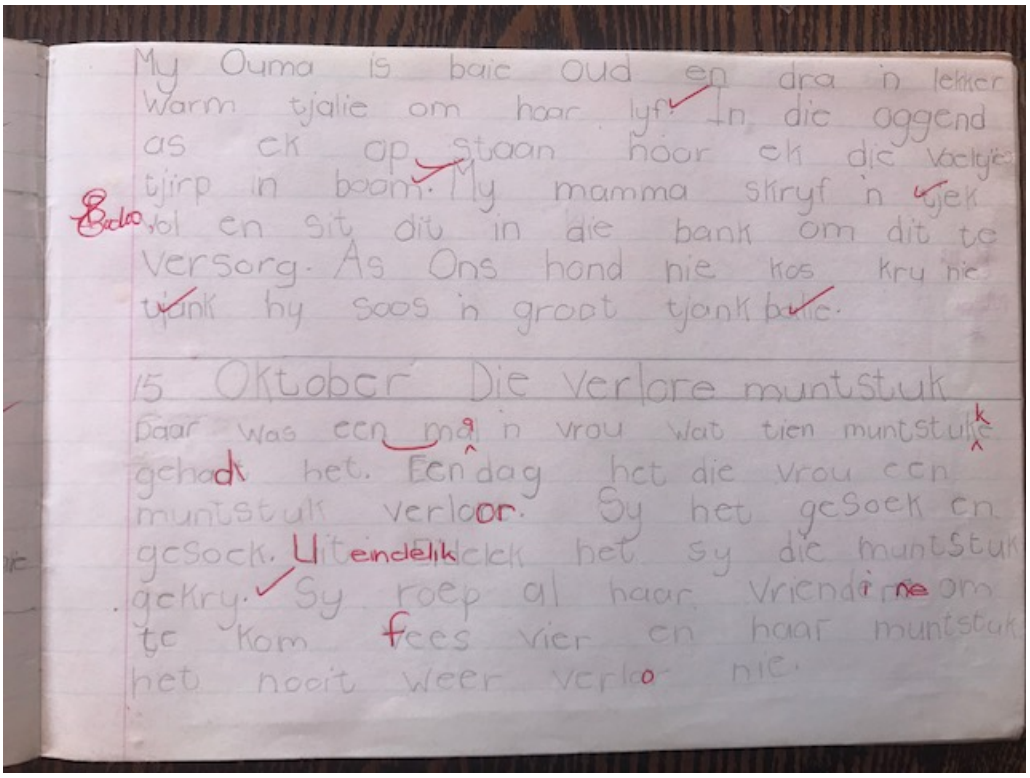


Fig 5.5 (c) An example of the feedback my Grade 2 teacher in Park Rand gave me in my workbooks (Lombard, 2020).

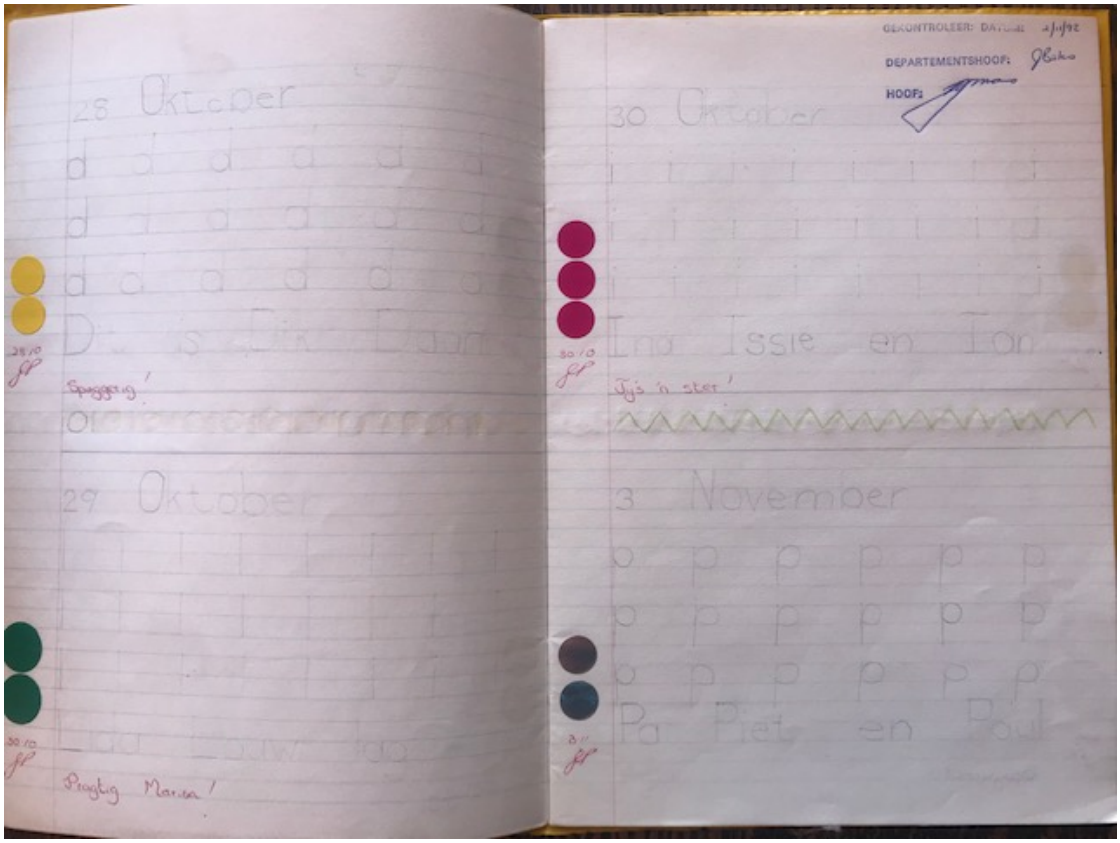


Fig 5.5 (d) An example of the feedback system my teachers used back in Potties (Lombard, 2020).

I struggled to make friends and was bullied by the other girls and boys on a regular basis for how I spoke, what I talked about, the way I did things, and my fashion sense. The teacher never believed me when I told her about the teasing because the girls just acted sweetly and kindly in front of her, and simply said that I was lying. So, I just stopped telling her after a while and took it. To the teacher it looked like I had friends that were playing with me, but it was more like a parasitic relationship. The following story is about one such bullying incident.

Fig 5.5 (e) (left) and Fig 5.5 (f) (right) A pair of photographs depicting my sense of fashion in Potties as a pre-schooler. My sense of fashion pretty much stayed the same when I entered primary school (Lombard, 2020).

‘Stop that … STOP IT!’ I awoke from my daydream and looked up at my new Grade 2 teacher, already feeling the blood rush to my cheeks in embarrassment. All the children had turned around and looked at my red face, while I cowered behind my book. The teacher grabbed my only defence from the judgemental gaze of my classmates and swung the reading book in the air whilst preaching about the dangers

of flapping one's book in front of your face while reading, as I just did. She caught me in a daydream because honestly, reading was boring.

Back home, where we used to live, carpet-time was more practical, and usually revolved around discussions of what you should do if accidentally confronted with Oom[69] Pieter's leopard on his game farm; and what to eat and not eat when stranded in the bushveld. Everything seemed paler in the city compared to Limpopo. My new classroom, my new teacher's dress and the sky shared the same depressing shade of blue-grey. The children in my new class didn't like me. Sure, I had a bully back home, but it was one bully, not a complicated network of cliques like the eight-year olds of the city were accustomed to. Maybe it was because I was so different coming from the countryside, but making friends was a challenge.

On the rare occasion that I was included in playing a game of kiss and touchers (but is pronounced 'kiss and tatchers'), I was slapped in the face four times by a boy my age, while two other boys held me down. I always felt it was my fault. I slapped him first (you know, like in the movies?) because I didn't want him to kiss me, even though those are the rules of the game. You get tagged then you have to kiss the person who tagged you. My marks went down, along with my overall sense of worth. Then, I met Adrian.

Adrian was a boy in my class. It seemed like he really wanted to be my friend, even though I didn't understand why. I was only eight at the time but, I remember thinking that he was a cute boy. He was taller than me, which was rare because I've always been 'the tall one' in all my classes. He had ginger, chestnut eyes and dark-red auburn hair to match. There were small freckles over his face, and he had a warm smile. Adrian would sit with me during break times and share his lunch with me. After about a week, he asked me if we could kys, which is basically small children's version of dating. A usually innocent tradition. I of course said yes, because he was already my only friend, so why not?

[69] An Afrikaans title used to address more senior male members of the community. It also refers to one's parents' male siblings.

One morning, Adrian eagerly waited at the school gate for me to arrive. As soon as I entered the schoolyard, he grabbed me by the arm and pulled me around a corner.

'Wil jy vry?' (Do you want to make-out?) he asked.

Now don't freak out, making out at this age was basically a version of 'show me yours, then I'll show you mine', without knowing what the parts are for or how to use them. I got nervous, because I didn't want to get into trouble, but before declining outright, I asked,'Waar?' (Where?)

Adrian explained that we could go into the boys' bathroom during breaktime and do it there. This is where I just said no and left, no questions asked. Adrian became furious and started shouting at me. The bell rang and I walked toward our classroom, with Adrian still mumbling behind me.

As the day moved along, it seemed like Adrian had gotten over his tantrum. Just as the bell rang for break, he approached me with a smug expression on his face, and slipped me a folded letter, titled 'Meraai'. I opened the letter, expecting an apology for his behaviour that morning. Instead the letter read:

Meraai,
Jy is 'n
POES![70]
Want jy wil nie met my vry nie!!!!
(Meraai, you are a CUNT! Because you don't want to make out with me)

A poes? What the hell was that? I'd never heard that word before. Adrian burst out laughing with his friends, whispering and pointing as I held the letter, confused. I decided to show the letter to our teacher. She was a bit exasperated when she took it from me, but her eyes widened as she read on. After taking a deep breath, she took me and Adrian close, told him to never do such a thing again and basically gave me

[70] In an Afrikaans context, poes is a crass term referring to female genitalia, used as a derogatory term toward a person. It demonstrates exceptional behaviour which others experience in an extremely negative way. It is also the Dutch word for cat.

'the boys will be boys' talk, and told me that I should not provoke them if I wanted them to respect me. My mother let me move schools after that.

5.6 Meraai se Blik Beker / Meraai's Tin Cup – 1993

During our stay in Park Rand, we got acquainted with the neighbours across the street. They had a son, Thomas, who was one or two years younger than me, but we enjoyed playing together. They were quite wealthy, so Thomas' mother (referred to as Tannie[71] Magriet in the story) could be a housewife. I always enjoyed visits to their fancy house across the street, until I was invited for a Sunday lunch by Tannie Magriet. We definitely had different ideas about what a Sunday Lunch was …

Whilst crossing the street, I could barely contain my excitement. It was always a treat to visit Thomas at his house. Tannie Magriet was always so friendly and happy when I came to visit. She showed her gratitude by providing snacks that we would reserve for special guests, like when the dominee[72] came to visit. Her sandwiches always tasted better, the crusts were cut off and you could always find fresh cucumber, tomatoes, grapes, mango, apple or paw-paw on the side of your sandwich plate.

The house was always laced with the scent of freshly-cut lavender or baked gifts of deliciousness like cookies or cake. Ma always seemed to have a bad taste in her mouth when I told her what Tannie Magriet had to offer and would sometimes answer my keen descriptions with an abrupt, 'She doesn't have a job!' I would usually leave it at that.

I knocked at the door and waited for someone to answer with a big smile on my face. Tannie Magriet answered the door with a smile of the same calibre, which quickly disintegrated into a facial expression that I didn't know what to call. She quickly scanned my wardrobe. I was wearing my usual attire that consisted of faded knee-high ski-pants with white polka dots and a lime green t-shirt. She paused before letting

[71] Tannie/Auntie is the appropriate title in Afrikaans by which to address a senior female member of the community.
[72] Dominee or reverend is the parson of the godly word, and the title used to address any of the reverends devoted to the Dutch Protestant churches in the Netherlands and elsewhere.

me in, and quickly checked if my bare feet were clean. I could hear that her other guests had arrived for our Sunday lunch.

Tannie Magriet led me into the living room to awkwardly introduce me to her family. I realised immediately that I was not dressed for the occasion. Thomas was wearing a pale-blue buttoned shirt with black pants that boys usually only wore to church, with a maroon-coloured tie. The gaggle of tannies were also wearing nice dresses with floral patterns and collars. The ooms were wearing clothes similar to Thomas's, which seemed to have been deliberately chosen by the tannies to match their dresses. Tannie Magriet started with an awkward laugh and gave a brief explanation that I didn't really pay attention to.

If I had any context of Liza Doolittle and My Fair Lady (Cukor, 1964), I probably would have started to recite: 'DA RAAINN IN SPAAIN FALLS MAAINLY ON THE PLAAIN' just to relieve the tension. I quickly realised that Sunday lunch was a serious affair in thís house and I should be on my best behaviour. I greeted the guests in the politest way I could muster, in the hope that their attention would be drawn away from my Liza Doolittle-themed costume. Luckily Tannie Magriet ushered all of us to the dining table. I felt the relief wash over me, as eating was an activity that I had mastered. How hard could it be?

My relief was quickly dethroned by a feeling of utter anxiety and pre-accepted failure. I heard the voice of my current Grade 3 teacher, who always emphasised how important mathematics was, and now I knew why. I had never seen so many plates, bowls, knives, forks, spoons and glasses at one place setting in my life! Only a person with a doctorate in mathematics or physics would be able to navigate their way through this labyrinth of dining confusion. I quickly scanned my mental encyclopaedia for any reference as how to deal with the situation, for anything, that could save me the embarrassment of exposing my dining incompetence. I stopped my mental search at the cloth napkin. In all the cartoons that I'd watched, I'd seen characters place napkins by the collar of their shirt. Believing that this was a relevant reference, I grabbed the napkin and tucked it neatly with the utmost care into the collar of my t-shirt.

Tannie Magriet, with the reflexes of 'Die Swart Kat (The Black Cat)'[73] grabbed the napkin from my collar and placed it firmly on my lap. She took it upon herself to sit next to me for the duration of Sunday lunch, which commenced with social agony for me and her. We finished dessert, which felt like the last of a 100-course dinner. Tannie Magriet made tea and coffee and we moved to the music room. Finally, something that I knew I wouldn't screw up.

Thomas and I shared the same music teacher. He was on Grade 5 level and I was at Grade 1 and a half. Thomas' father was very highly qualified in piano and had the most beautiful grand piano. We were going to perform a music concert for the ooms and tannies. I couldn't wait, I always loved playing on the grand piano. Thomas started with some of his classical pieces that he was doing in music lessons. How I wished I could get to his level. He read music with such ease. I, on the other hand, was struggling to read sheet music. I could play very well by ear though and decided that given the situation and the fancy audience I should play some of those pieces rather than Grade 1 and a half level sheet music.

All of a sudden, I felt like I was being acknowledged for something that I could do well. Requests were being shouted from the ooms and tannies, 'Can you play…? Will you play …?' Between the requests were gasps of awe and praise at my ability to play almost anything requested by ear. But the glory was short-lived. Thomas' father, Oom Pieter, was standing next to the piano. He gave me a strict look and placed a piece of sheet music in front of me.

'Play,' was all he said.

I quickly deduced from the cover of the book that this was a Grade 3 music book and that even if I wanted to, I was not able to read this level of sheet music yet.

'I can't, Oom,' were the only words I could muster.

'PLAY,' he repeated in almost a shout of strictness.

[73] A popular Afrikaans TV show which first aired in 1986 about a 10-year son of a police detective, who practiced vigilante justice disguised as The Black Cat so that his father wouldn't find out (Cawood, 1986).

I tried to read the music, jokingly at first. I mean he couldn't be serious, could he? The combined efforts of his eyes and tone of voice made me realise that this was not a joke and he was serious. I nippily took on the wanted serious approach, but I didn't understand what half of the symbols on the music sheet meant. It was the dining table all over again and this time everyone was watching and waiting. He reprimanded me for every mistake I made and refused to let me leave the piano until I'd struggled through the whole sheet of music. Only after shedding a few tears out of despair and humiliation was I allowed to leave the piano and, finally, the house.

5.7 Sunday Lunch – 1994

Ever since I can remember we would visit ouma's (grandmother) house often, no matter where we lived. We would use the train from Louis Trichardt and Potties to visit my grandparents' home in Wonderboom, Pretoria, where both of my parents grew up. Since I was little, I remember spending days, sometimes weeks alone at my grandparents' home, without getting homesick. My grandmother always told my mother, 'She never asked for you, she always knew exactly where she was if she woke up during the night, and she was the most well-behaved and sweetest little thing in the world.' I would spend my day's at ouma's house having tea parties, with real tea and cookies, on a fluffy, pink blanket on the lush Pretoria grass. Every morning we would be up very early and ouma made me as many toasted cheese sandwiches as my heart desired; or she made mieliepap (maize porridge) on the stove, served with real butter, salt and a mountain of sugar surrounded by a moat of fresh full cream milk.[74]

[74] My mother only purchased powdered milk for a long period of time during my childhood.

Fig 5.7 (a) A photograph of me and my cousins at my grandparent's house in Pretoria. You can see the blue Mercedes in the background (top left). Fig 5.7 (b) Me playing in a small plastic tub with some water and the hose at grandma's house (top right).

Fig 5.7 (c) Me with my maternal grandparents and mother at Gold Reef City (bottom left) Fig 5.7 (d) My maternal grandparents with me on the day of my baptism (bottom right) (Lombard, 2020).

Ouma would give me her undivided attention and would have real conversations with me. She always gave me an opportunity to speak and delighted in the answers I gave her. However, when my parents were present, I didn't get much attention but was never excluded from conversations either: I was allowed to sit and listen while the grown-ups talked. Most of the grownup conversations would take place around the dining table on Sunday afternoons. This story is an account of such an intimate family conversation.

'Seën Here, wat ons eet, laat ons U nimmer en nooit vergeet. Amen.' (Lord bless this meal and let us never ever forget you. Amen.)

I was always grateful when my father prayed before Sunday lunch at ouma's house. I loved oupa, but he could take his time praying if he felt like it. I remember there was one day, when I was so hungry that my oupa took mercy and just prayed, 'Dankie vir die kos. Meraai, eet.' (Thank you for the food. Meraai, eat). I loved him so much that day.

Ouma's food was the highlight of every fortnight for our family. My mother wasn't much of a cook, so the abundance of vegetables was a real treat. You could almost feel your body suck up the nutrients in desperation and relief. I would always mix my rice with the caramelised, sweet, mashed pumpkin. Then, as the meal progressed, I would add the salty, black-pepper green beans with mashed potato and little strips of gravy-covered chicken breast. The beetroot salad would always mix with everything on its own, but I didn't mind. I loved the explosion of flavour in my mouth! The best part was that there was always dessert, which could be anything from a baked toffee or malva pudding with homemade custard to milk-tart, trifle, ice cream or chocolate cake.

Family Sunday lunches also presented the opportunity to listen in on adult conversations which you were usually excluded from. I remember sitting at the table trying to nod in agreement, even though I had no idea what they were discussing. You always knew if you had crossed a conversational line if grown-ups reacted with, 'Man, ek praat nie met jou nie.' (I am not speaking to you) or 'Ag, eet net jou kos.' (Just eat your food).

However, during this Sunday lunch I wasn't particularly interested in the adult conversation. I was too fixated on the wonderful meal my grandmother had made. I loved ouma's food. My euphoric culinary experience was unexpectedly interrupted with a louder than usual statement from my father, 'Hulle moes hom nooit tronk toe gestuur het nie, want nou dink hy, hy is belangrik!' (They should have never sent him to jail, because now he thinks he is important!).

My mother made the face she always made when Pa became too opinionated, especially in discussions regarding politics. Her facial expression was something between exasperation and the face a teacher makes before they explain something to you slowly.

'Hendrik (my dad), dit is nie van pas om politiek te praat nie, en jy weet dit.' (Hendrik, it is inappropriate to discuss politics, and you know that.)

Ma continued eating to emphasise that the discussion was over and not open for debate. Her authority was, however, over-ruled by my grandfather who added,

'Jy weet Hendrik, ek dink jy is reg. Sodra jy vir 'n piksteel[75] soveel aandag gee, dan vra jy vir moeilikheid' (You know Hendrik, I think you're right. As soon as you give a pickaxe so much attention, you are asking for trouble).

My grandmother, who couldn't wait any longer, made her contribution, even though her mouth was still full,

'Nou Hendrik, wat dink jy gaan gebeur met ons? Wat as hy president word?' (Now, Hendrik, what do you think is going to happen to us? What if he becomes president?).

Pa's posture was different now. He was sitting up straighter and more confidently. His shoulders were pulled back and he cut his meat with conviction. In a more authoritative and smug tone of voice Pa closed the conversation with,

'Jong, Ma, ek weet nie, maar dis soos Pa altyd sê, as hulle net vir hom 'n coke en 'n brood gegee het, implaas daarvan om hom tronk toe te stuur, sou hy nie so arrogant en beroemd geword het nie.' (Ma, I don't know, but it's like Pa always says, if they had only given him a coke and a bread, instead of sending him to prison, he wouldn't have become so arrogant and famous).

Everyone laughed in amusement, but their laughter was interrupted by a little voice asking, 'Pappa, van wie praat julle?' (Pappa, who are you talking about?).

Ma grabbed my thigh and squeezed it slightly, saying, 'Niemand. Eet jou kos.' (No one. Eat your food.).

Later that same year, I was sitting in front of the television one afternoon gripped with terror. I was watching the results of the national elections roll in. It was De Klerk against Mandela and I was praying that De Klerk would win. I did this after my father walked

[75] Derogatory term used to refer to black people. It was considered politer than the k-word.

in, looked at the television screen, crouched down and said, ‘As daai swart man wen, gaan ons baie swaar kry. Meraaitjie. Jy moet bid.’ (If that black man wins, then we are going to suffer Meraaitjie. You must pray).

5.8 Sal Jy Met My Dans? / Will You Dance with Me? – 1998

After leaving my Park Rand blue primary school at the end of Grade 2, I joined my mother at the school she got appointed at in a suburb called Van Dyk Park. The houses and neighbourhood didn’t look as nice as in Park Rand, but the people and teachers were a whole lot nicer. I remember on my first day of Grade 3, my Grade 3 teacher gently lifted my chin, looked me in the eye and said: ‘Well aren’t you just the most precious thing?’ I made friends rather quickly, real ones this time.

My mother only had one condition which I was to abide to if attending the school that she was working at. I was to fight my own battles and never run to her to fight them for me. It was fair, I mean, none of the other children’s parents were at school the whole day, so I shouldn’t take advantage of the fact that mine was. I did well academically, but my relationship with my mother became rocky as soon as I was expected to write exams from Grade 4. Ma had always been a very self-disciplined student, who would spend hours studying to memorise vast amounts of information. I on the other hand, struggled to memorise information, and had always been more prone to remember things I understood or could explain. Hence, I struggled with subjects like History and Geography.

I can understand why Ma became frustrated because her job was to assist kids who had learning barriers all day long, and probably the last thing she had energy for was a daughter who was lazy, and didn’t try very hard to memorise anything for her exams. As a consequence, we started fighting a lot. Mom would shout, I would cry and panic. So, we would spend most nights during exam time together until I could recite the answers to Ma’s questions by heart. She did this with me up until the end of Grade 7. In high school, she let me take responsibility for my own studying.

I became the head girl of my primary school in Grade 7, and always occupied one of the top three places in the school’s list of top ten academic achievers per grade after every formal exam but never held first place. I won trophies for field hockey as well,

along with a trophy for most participatory learner at the end of Grade 7. Before leaving primary school for good, our teachers took us on a camp to the bushveld so we could have a proper and fun Grade 7 farewell. The following poem is about what happened on the night of my Grade 7 farewell.

Fig 5.8 (a) Photograph of our primary school ceremony when we became the new school prefects. It was a great honour if you were selected to become one (left). Fig 5.8 (b) My trophies and honorary colours earned by the end of primary school (right).

Fig 5.8 (c) Me getting my first top 10 academic badge in Grade 4 (Lombard, 2020).

Sal Jy Met My Dans?	**Will You Dance with Me?**
Ek is jammer. Ek hou regtig van jou, Jy was nog altyd vriendelik, Snaaks, en nogal oulik.	I am sorry. I really like you, You've always been kind, Funny, and rather sweet.

Ek het nie geweet wat om te doen, Toe jy my so direk, vra jy weet? In die suiwerste Afrikaans … 'Meraai, sal jy asb met my dans?' En, ek skuld jou! Ek weet, Jy het my gehelp in kom. Jy weet dit nie, maar Dit was, my skuld gewees. Ek wou nie vir 'n ander seun sê: 'Ja!' Toe hy vra: 'Meraai, sal jy saam met my Na die afskeid gaan?' Hy was vriendelik en lank, Lomp en skaam. Maar ek het net gevoel, Ek wil nie met hom gaan. Ek het gehou van iemand anders jy sien, En hy het my ook gevra: 'Meraai, wil saam my gaan, Na die afskeid vanaand?' Ek bloos toe en antwoord: 'Ja, natuurlik! Ja!' Maar kyk toe op in klip oë, Wat na my staar.	I didn't know what to do, When you asked me so directly, you know? In the purest Afrikaans … 'Meraai, will you please dance with me?' And, I owe you! I know, You helped me get in. You don't know this, but It was my fault. I didn't wan't to say: 'Yes!' to another Boy when he asked' 'Meraai, will you go to the farewel with me?' He was friendly and tall, Clumsy and shy. But I just felt, I didn't want to go with that guy. I liked someone else you see, And he also asked: 'Meraai, please go to the farewell with me?' I blushed and answered: 'Yes, of course! Yes!' But looked up into eyes of stone, Staring at me.

Die warmte in my, verander na ys. Toe die skaam langeraad met trane uit die bosse agter my 'Romeo' rys.	The warmth in me Turned to ice. When the shy, tall boy rose From the bushes behind my 'Romeo' With tears in his eyes.
Kwaad en koud word ek gevra Soos 'Romeo' punt na langeraad: 'Nou hoekom sê jy nee vir hom, En vir my is dit 'n ja?'	Angry and cold I was then asked As 'Romeo' pointed to the tall boy: 'So why did you say no to him, And yes to me?'
Nou kyk, ek is nog altyd so . . . Jy gaan my nie dwing As die selle in my lyf duidelik: 'NEE' sing!	Now look, I've always been so . . . You are not going to force me When the cells in my body sing: 'NO!'
Juffrou was baie kwaad, Want ek was een van baie, Wat die seuns harte Met 'Nee' vermink het.	Juffrou was very angry, Because I was one of many, That mutilated the boys' hearts With 'No'.
Sy roep al die meisies toe saam: 'Sies! Julle is lelik, Julle behoort jul te skaam! Gaan sê ja, want dis meer redelik.'	She called all the girls together: 'Sis! You are mean, You should be ashamed! Now go be reasonable by saying 'yes'.
Ek weet nie hoekom nie, Maar ek kon net nie. Ek wou nie met hom gaan nie, En ek het net bly staan.	I don't know why, But I just couldn't. I didn't want to go with him, And I just kept standing.
In stilte, gestaar Na juffrou se blou oë. Sy het net op haar hak gedraai,	In silence, staring At juffrou's blue eyes. She turned on her heal,

En weg geloop.	And walked away.
Toe hoor ek, Van die reël wat sy vaslê, As gevolg van my rebellie, En ‘feministiese’ streek.	Then I heard, About the rule she had layed down, Due to my rebellion, And ‘feminist’ streak.
Niemand sal sonder ‘n metgesel kan, Die Graad 7 afskeid se deure binne gaan!	**No one will be able to enter the doors, Without a date for the Grade 7 farewell!**
Dik en duidelik staan dit op die deur, Van die klein saal in die bosveld geleë.	It reads thick and clear on the door, Of the tiny hall located in the bushveld.
Juffrou het gestaan met haar arms gevou. Met koue oë wat vra: ‘So Meraai, wat doen jy nou?’	Juffou was standing with arms crossed. With eyes that ask: ‘So Meraai, what are you going to do now?’
Ek het aanvaar, Dat ek buite sal bly, Maar toe sien ek vir jou, En jy sien vir my.	I accepted, That I would stay outside, But then I saw you, And you saw me.
Ek stap toe met mening na jou met die idee Om jou dan te vra: ‘Sal jy asb my date wees?’	I walked with purpose Toward you with the idea To ask you: ‘Will you please be my date?’
Jy’t my so gekyk en gesug, ‘Meraai, jy is die hoofmeisie, wat van my swart gesig?’ Ek ‘n rukkie vir jou gestaar.	You looked at me and sighed. ‘Meraai, you are the headgirl, What about my black face?’ I stared at you for a while.

En antwoord toe eindlik: 'Nee man, ons kan toi-toi, So toemaar!' (Jammer, ek weet noú dit was dom)	And finally answered: 'No man, we can toi-toi, So don't worry about it!' (Sorry, I know now that was dumb)
Jy kyk toe op, en glimlag. Jy staan toe met arm gehou. Ek hak grappig in, soos in die movies, En aan jou arm, stap ons in die gebou.	You looked up, with a smile. Standing and holding your arm, I hooked in jokingly, like in the movies And on your arm, we walked into the building.
Deur die deure van die plek Waar juffrou my Nie wou hê, en vergeet het Van jou in die proses.	Through the doors of the place Where juffrou didn't want me to be And forgot about you In the process.
Ek het vir haar gekyk, 'n geglimlag gegee, wat sê: 'Vat só Teef!' En haar oë het terug geskree.	I looked at her, and gave A smile that said: 'Take that bitch!' And her eyes skreamed.
Ons het los gedans Saam met almal daar. Ek kon sien hulle was bly Ons het dit gemaak.	We danced without touching, Along with everyone there. I could see they were happy That we'd made it.
Vir die eerste keer in 'n ruk Het ek myself geniet, Sonder om 'n seun Se aandag hulde te bied.	For the first time in a while I enjoyed myself, Without seeking the Attention of boys.
Ek het nie eers daaraan gedink Of dit enigsins oorweeg Dat jy meer sou wou hê	I didn't even think about it Or considered That you would want more

As toi-toi, en sing.	Than toi-toi and singing.
Ek't iewers om gedraai, Toe sien ek jou staan, Volle oog kontak, regop En senuwee's verby	I turned around somewhere, And saw you standing, Full eye contact, straight And nerves shot.
Dis toe jy vra, Onder mooi liggies, En Bon Jovi: 'Sal jy met my dans? Nie toi-toi, asseblief.'	That was when you asked, Under pretty lights, And Bon Jovi' 'Meraai, will you dance with me? Not toi-toi please.'
My lyf gaan toe in skok, Ek weet nie wat gaan aan. Hoekom vra jy? Ons kan nie! Hoe weet jy dit nie?	My body then went into shock, I don't know what is going on. Why are you asking? We can't! How don't you know this?
Ek trek dadelik terug van jou, Asof 'n Rinkhals[76] sou pik. Ek lag senuweeagtig en skud my kop: 'Nee, man ons dans nou lekker kom'	I recoiled from you, As if a Rinkhals was going to strike. I gave a nervous laugh and shaked my head: 'No man, we are having fun dancing now come!'
Ek het gespring op en af, Dansend en laf. Jy kom toe saam, Kop hoog, en gaan net aan	I jumped up and down, Dancing and silly. You came with, Head held high, and carrying on
Asof niks gebeur het, Jy sê: 'dit was net 'n grap.'	Just like nothing had happened You said: 'It was only a joke'.

[76]Rinkhals as per the WAT is a speckled or blotched dirty-black and highly deadly snake found in South Africa. *Hemachatus heamachatus*.

Ek is so jammer Ek het jou hart so lelik vertrap.	I am so sorry I so carelessly trampled your heart.

5.9 Onsevader / Our Father – 1989–2003

In this story, I explain my religious context and interactions, while exposing my inner dialogue and assumptions. An important detail that should be noted: I made a conscious decision to write the names of the various churches I belonged to and attended in Afrikaans. This is because the Hervormde Kerk and Gereformeerde Kerk both translate to the Reformed Church in English. The common terms Afrikaners use to distinguish between the two churches are doppers, members of the Gereformeerde Kerk and hervormers, who are attendees of the Hervormde Kerk. I was baptised in the Hervormde Kerk, in Pretoria (so that my grandparents could attend) when I was only a few weeks old.

Fig 5.9 (a) A picture of my parents holding me on the day of my baptism at my maternal grandparents' house (Lombard, 2020).

I never belonged to the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk or NG Kerk although I spent a short time there. The NG Kerk translates to Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), however, the term can still be confusing due to the Dutch origins of all three church denominations. Hence, it will also be referred to by its Afrikaans name in the following story. This story consists of my religious interactions from age four up until age 18. My

family and I were hervormers,[77] which is a congregation that isn't as conservative as the doppers,[78] but we were more conservative than the NG Kerk. I don't recall having a specific name for people belonging to the NG Kerk.

Fig 5.9 (b) My brother and I ready for church in Louis Trichardt (left). Fig 5.9 (c) Me in my favourite, red velvet Sunday dress in Boksburg, playing piano at age 11 going on 12 (right) (Lombard, 2020).

By the time I attended high school and had reached age 14 (Grade 9), my best friend, Sam, and I in joined the Apostoliese Geloofs Sending Kerk (Apostolic Faith Mission) or AGS (AFM) for short. We referred to people affiliated with this church as apostolies[79], and Pa wasn't very fond of them. It was the only church he would refer to as a sect. For the sake of consistency, I refer to this church in Afrikaans as well throughout the story.

When it was time for me to go to high school, my parents decided to sell the big house in Park Rand and rather look for something smaller, especially since my brother hadn't been living with us for a while. He was living in Pretoria whilst attending University. So, we moved to a beautiful little townhouse in Brakpan which meant a new church as well. I was relieved since I had to attend Sunday school in Park Rand with my classmates from my blue primary school in Boksburg, and I was bullied on a frequent basis every Sunday. Brakpan was a new start for me.

[77] This is just what we called ourselves, or what my father called us in a religious context, or anyone belonging to the Hervormde Kerk.
[78] A common Afrikaans name which refers to a member of the Gereformeerde (Reformed) church.
[79] A reference to anyone belonging to any Apostolistic church sect outside of the Dutch Protestant churches.

Fig 5.9 (d) Me on my first day of Grade 8 at our house in Brakpan (left). Fig 5.9 (e) Me in Grade 9 with a boy two years older than me, attending a technical school's Halloween ball (right) (Lombard, 2020).

I found the Christian gospel very confusing as a child. I could never really wrap my head around what God was supposed to be like. Like many children born into the Christian faith, I started my religious journey in Genesis. Now, I don't know how other kids interpreted the story of our religious origins, but I didn't process it very well. First of all, God creates this amazing garden for Adam and Eve, whom he loves but he also creates a tree from which they are not allowed to eat. Okay, why would someone do that? Especially to someone they love? Why would you deliberately put something, in a place where they can eat everything, a make one single fruit tree forbidden? Why!?!?

Then Eve eats some of the forbidden fruit because a snake lies to her. So, if Eve is the first woman, how the heck was she supposed to know what a lie is in the first place? How could she know that the snake in the garden, made by God whom she trusts, would lie to her? Anyway, Adam and Eve get banished into the wilderness, not just with a slight nudge out the garden doors – oh no, they are chased out by a giant angel wielding a freaking flaming sword. They will have to work hard for everything they need to survive from now on. Oh, and, as an added bonus, Eve's daughters (that's me) are punished for all eternity with painful childbirth. Wow.

A few genocides, miracles and wars later – for a God of love, he sure seems to love war – this cool dude named Jesus comes onto the scene. Jesus is amazing, he loves everyone, and he includes everyone, and I reckon he invented Christmas. The guy is a legend. So, Jesus then gets betrayed by someone he loves, is horribly tortured and crucified. All because why? Because I am a sinful piece of shit.

Whenever I asked, 'Why am I bad? What did I do?', the answer would usually be that all humanity is born in sin. Great, so not only am I a sinful piece of shit, I was born this way. So much for free will. Even though Jesus rises from the dead three days later, and ascends to join God in heaven, it doesn't make his murder any less traumatising. Especially after the 'let this cup pass me' thing, because then I realised that he REALLY didn't want to do it.

Consequently, I wasn't the most well-behaved toddler during sermons, nor the most subservient teenager in Sunday school. As a toddler I would have trouble sitting still during Sunday sermons. I would run around in the back, playing in the blue, red and yellow light, right next to the decorated windows. It was the only bright spot in the church. The rest was brown, and mostly wood, which felt kind of depressing. One time I was getting a bit too flamboyant, if you will, whilst playing in the window's kaleidoscope and my father grabbed me by the edge of my Sunday dress. My immediate response was, 'JY GAAN MY PANTIE AFTREK!' (You're going to pull down my panties). I, of course, announced this, with a loud, high-pitched squeal. From there I remember spending a lot of time with my mother outside, whilst the sermon was being delivered inside. We tried sitting in the mother's room, but I bit and pinched the babies. I don't know why.

By the time we moved to the East Rand, I was older and saved my parents the embarrassment of childish shenanigans on Sunday mornings. I had started Sunday school, but unfortunately the majority of the class consisted of my new 'friends' from my primary school, and let's just say that I had a hard time fitting in. I had very specific and you could say sometimes weird taste in clothing. My favourite Sunday outfit at age 11, for example, was a deep-red, velvet, long-sleeved dress, worn with deep forest-green silk stockings and black, babydoll leather shoes. It was the first Sunday dress

and accessories I got to choose for myself. It made me feel elegant, and beautiful, like a lady. The feeling was not mutual. I stood out like a 30-something year old dressed like mutton at Presley's.[80] All the city girls that age were wearing more mature outfits like pant suits, pencil skirts and flowy button-up shirts, with slightly-heeled shoes or knee-length boots. I got teased on a regular basis for a variety of things, my dress sense, my answers to questions during class, and just for existing in general.

The teasing at church continued well into Grade 7, until I became the head-girl of my new school. That accomplishment seemed to appease the teasing gods at church. After graduating from primary school, we moved again – not as far as last time, though. We still lived in the East Rand, but it was far enough to go to a new church, and a high school where I believed none of my primary school peers could join me. Things went better at our new blue house of god. It was a modest building in terms of size, but the walls were covered from corner to corner in beautiful, little blue tiles. I had a MAJOR crush on my Sunday school teacher. He looked like Orlando Bloom, olive skin, dark chestnut hair and eyes to match. Above all, he was nice to me. It was in the blue church where my parent's lack of embarrassment was unfortunately, put to an end.

My high school wasn't completely primary peer free as I had hoped. There was one girl, Bella, whom I knew from my latest primary school, who joined me in Grade 8. We probably weren't the best match, but we most certainly were a fun one. She was just as secretly sinful as me. We swore like no grown Afrikaner man could, we stole alcohol from my parents' liquor cabinet, we talked about sex and practised the dark art of 'glasie-glasie'[81] in my room. She was my best and only friend at the time. Being with Bella also meant protection from bullies, because, well, we were the bullies. I remember telling a girl in my class who was always complaining about her weight that she wasn't fat, simply horizontally challenged. Bella nearly peed herself laughing, so yeah, it was bad.

It was the end of the first year of high school, and New Year's Eve. Not just any New Year's Eve, the eve of the new millennium, the year 2000. My mother said I could

[80] Presley's is a night club situated on the East Rand, and in Pretoria.
[81] Any games that aim to communicate with the dead or spirits were referred to as glasie-glasie by my peers.

invite Bella to spend the night, which she always did when invited. Her parents never said no. We spent the evening eating keffie[82] pizza and Simba chips with chocolate and sweets whilst washing it down with fizzy cooldrinks. We rented four movies because the video rental store had a special every Friday: rent four videos for the price of two. Two of the videos were confiscated by my parents before they went out for a while. They didn't deem the sexually explicit content appropriate for teenage girls, but the violence in Blade[83] (Norrington, 1998), was okay. Bella and I spent the rest of the night and early hours of the morning swimming, watching movies, eating and listening to music.

Just as we were drifting off to sleep, my mother woke us for breakfast. 'Kom, maak klaar, ons gaan kerk toe.' (Come on, finish up, we are going to church).

Without thinking I let out a cheeky and loud 'Why!?!?' and my mother replied with a stare that made me understand the topic was not open for negotiation and that I had better hurry. I know that Bella and I didn't drink alcohol from the liquor cabinet during New Year's Eve, but I can safely say that a night filled with sugar, cheese, preservatives and no sleep felt like a bad hangover. I smelled of Simba chutney, chlorine and teenage hormone sweat but Ma was in a hurry, so there was no time to take a bath or a shower. I placed a few glitter butterfly-clips into my short, greasy hair, put on my purple jacket with black fuzz on the collar, and hastily grabbed my boots whilst running toward the car. Luckily Bella had packed her stuff in time, and we were off.

It was only after we'd reached the halfway mark to Bella's house that my mother realised the state I was in. My hair was stringy and dirty, I had dark smudged make-up around my eyes from the previous night's make-over girl madness and a single earring dangled from my right ear. The matching whore boots and a fuzzy collar purple pimp coat didn't help. My mother complained and preached about my appearance until we parked in front of god's blue house. The morning's sermon was accompanied by giggles from the congregation, the dominee, my peers, and unfortunately my Sunday

[82] A keffie or café, was what my mother used to call local fry food, and independent take-away shops. They usually sold a few basic household items and sweets too.
[83] A film starring Wesley Snipes about a half-vampire, half-mortal vampire hunter and protector of the human race, with an age restriction of 16 years. (Norrington, 1998)

school teacher, although the crush I had on him subdued directly afterward. One boy was kind enough to point out that one of my earrings was lost and that I should probably take the other one out too. Luckily the incident didn't seem to stick, so I wasn't teased for it afterward.

Bella didn't come back to school the following year. Her mother placed her in another high school in the northern parts of the East Rand, and I never really saw her again. I spent most of my school days skulking around the netball fields, but felt too ashamed to approach anyone, since I was such a bullying-bitch before. Then I guess you could say Sam found me. I sat in on a conversation she was having with some of the other kids at school about Jesus and salvation. Maybe it was my need for belonging somewhere that compelled me, but after criticising almost every apostoliese word that came out of her mouth for the previous fifteen minutes, I asked her if she could help me convert to Jesus by guiding me with prayer.

We sat under the shade of a giant tree next to the hockey fields. Sam held my hands tenderly and led me in a prayer wherein I pledged myself to Jesus and gave my heart to him. From that day, Sam and I became best and lifelong friends, although both of us abandoned our Jesus-freak-streak shortly after our high school days. Nonetheless, we went with it full steam between Grades 9 and 12. Both of us were nominated as spiritually mature enough at age 14 to be front-runners in the Christelike Studente Vereniging (Students' Christian Association at our school), CSV for short. Sam was in charge of organising daily morning bible-study and prayer meetings, while I was responsible for leading the school in worship every Friday morning.

I think our teacher, Ms Poppins, started second-guessing her spiritual insights after following God's orders to appoint me as the leader of worship. Her doubts seemed to surface after a particular Friday morning of Christmas worship in the school assembly hall. I may have gone overboard when I selected the classic hits of Boney M. as the school's musical itinerary for our Christmas assembly. Now, Ms Poppins knew I was eccentric, so I doubt that my Boney M. selection was the only reason for her embarrassment that day. I suspect it may have been the hoedown my co-singer and I did on stage, dancing round and round with arms hooking and switching in sync with 'Jingle Bells, Jingle Bells' blasting away whilst wearing red and white Christmas hats, in front of the most conservative dopper dominee on the East Rand, before his sermon

on how Christmas was not a time of cheer, but our obligation to remember the suffering Christ endured for our sins. Clearly the 'conversation' I had with 'God' in my prayers about the music selection were misguided.

By the time I was in Grade 11, I had spent many Sunday mornings in Hervormde Kerk sermons. At night, I attended AFM Church youth services. It was also the year I needed to prepare for my proposal and adoption into the Hervormde Kerk. You only get invited to do so by the dominee if you successfully complete your final year of catechization catechism class[84], which is presented by the head dominee himself. At this stage I had come to embrace the AFM dogma because honestly, it was more relatable and understandable. The people were warmer and really seemed more invested in my personal and spiritual wellbeing than the Gereformeerde Kerk. Sam and I also spent our Friday nights with friends from school at the NG Kerk's weekly youth events. The DRC followed a dogma very similar to that of my family's church, but shared the warmth, and relatability I found at the AFM.

Consequently, I wasn't the most cooperative student in the dominee's classes during Sunday mornings. To the frustration of the dominee, I questioned the principles and the traditions of the Hervormde Kerk frequently. I would ask him, 'Why do we only worship with a pipe organ? Why can't we use more modern instruments, and make more lively music?' Apparently, according to our dominee, the pipe organ represents the pinnacle of classical music's beauty and sophistication and God is worthy of nothing less. The question that came out of me like an automated reflex was, 'Huh, says who?'

That was enough for the dominee to give me a look that said, 'Who the hell do you think you are, little girl?' He became a bright red with rage and asked me to please leave the class and not return until I got my priorities straight. I kept my mouth shut as best I could as soon as I was allowed back into the Sunday class. But it didn't last long.

One morning after the sermon, our dominee announced that Oom Piet, who had been in the hospital for a few weeks, was doing very well and had been discharged during

[84] Final year of Sunday school.

the week. The dominee looked at the congregation, smiled and said in his sermon voice, 'If we were not in church, I would have asked you to applaud Oom Piet's recovery.'

I felt a question brewing inside of me. As I entered catechisation class, my question reflex kicked in and I asked, 'Why can't we applaud Oom Piet's recovery in church, Dominee?'

The dominee turned red with frustration and almost surpassed his usual shade of rose red but contained himself and calmly said, 'We are not to do such inappropriate things in the presence of God.'

It seemed that my vow of 'silence' may have served as a cocoon for my question reflex, which had morphed into a statement reflex as I unreservedly exclaimed, 'Well, then I can't even go to the toilet, because that is waaaaay worse than clapping hands and I am ALWAYS in the presence of God.'

Dominee lost all inhibition and in a fit of rage was detonated like I'd never seen before. 'OUT! GET OUT! You insist on making a mockery of this church and God's ways! OOOOUUUUUT!' After lots of tears and protest, I unwillingly agreed to apologise to the dominee and promised my mother I would soldier through without causing any more trouble. The deal was I just had to ride it out until I was proposed and adopted into the Hervormde Kerk. After that, I could attend any church I wanted.

The end was in sight and I only had to attend three more Sunday classes to get my spiritual freedom. It was a beautiful Sunday morning and the church was packed. The spring-summer air flooded the church on beams of sunlight. Glybane vir die engeltjies (slides for the angels) is what Pa always called them. The head dominee was giving his sermon with a small skip in his step that day: I wasn't listening though. I was more focused on the dust flecks that were dancing in the sunlight. My dust ballet was interrupted by a shadow of something in the doorway. The dominee's face dropped, and he became silent for the slightest second as he gazed at the figures in the doorway.

As I turned around the dominee was trying to preach as he did before but was struggling to find his last preaching point. I saw a family of five black people making their way into the church. The father was wearing a worn brown suit with a deep-red tie, white-buttoned shirt and shiny black shoes. He was holding hands with his wife, who wore what seemed to be a much-loved summer dress that had lost some of its lustre over the years. Walking right alongside each of the parents were their two little girls, aged about five and seven, neatly dressed in beautiful Sunday clothes with shiny shoes and colourfully braided hair. The family made their way to the front of the church and sat right in front of the dominee.

It felt so surreal. Up until that day I had never seen a black person in any of the churches I attended. During this time of my life I was a self-declared colour-blind white girl. After the incident with the black boy in primary school, I made a conscious decision to be colour-blind and treat all people equally. It was so simple in theory and thought but a completely different story in practice. My mind knew racism was wrong, but I could feel my body becoming anxious and almost recoil in their presence. I swiftly turned my gaze to Pa to see his reaction. I knew he wasn't going to like it. He stared at the family whilst mumbling something about a piksteel. His eyes were green and their pupils small. Pa's nostrils flared slightly as straightened his back and broadened his shoulders. He folded his hands in his lap and squeezed till his knuckles were white.

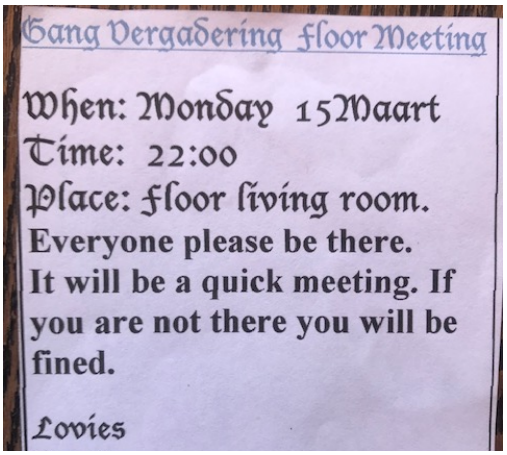
Ma grabbed Pa by the thigh and squeezed, whispering assertively,'Jy, sal, sit.' (You, will, sit). When I looked up to see how dominee was dealing with the situation, I saw that half of the congregation had stood up. It wasn't time to pray because women were standing too. The pipe organ wasn't playing so it wasn't time for singing either. Without saying a word, more than half of the congregation left the church because of the black family's presence. The dominee stated nervously that everyone is welcome in God's presence once he realised what was happening, but to no avail. I was proud of my father, even though Ma technically told him to sit, he didn't have to. However, given my last fight with the dominee, I was shocked that so many white 'good', 'Christian' people, would leave God's presence rather than share it with a black family who were seeking it.

5.10 Die Geskenk / The Gift – 2004

5.10.1 Prologue

Despite not being the most disciplined student in high school, I had managed to get accepted into the University in Pretoria, along with on-campus hostel accommodation. I had decided to become a teacher. My main motivation for becoming a teacher was that my mother had forced me to study something that would ensure I could make a living for myself before following my dreams of becoming an AGS pastor. I was annoyed, but it wasn't the worst thing in the world. I decided that studying teaching wouldn't be too challenging and that it would give me the opportunity to prove my Biology teacher's assumptions about my potential wrong.

Earlier in my final year of school, I had told her I would like to become a Biology teacher one day. She explosively laughed in my face, humiliating me in front of the whole class. Also, teaching had something other professions didn't – four holidays a year. So, I asked my mother to sign me up for a bachelor's degree in education (B.Ed) as part of the Further Education and Training phase, majoring in the Natural Sciences. I didn't really apply myself as I should have but managed to pass all my modules in four years, but not without repeating some of them. The following story is about an incident regarding my racial stereotypes during my first year of university.



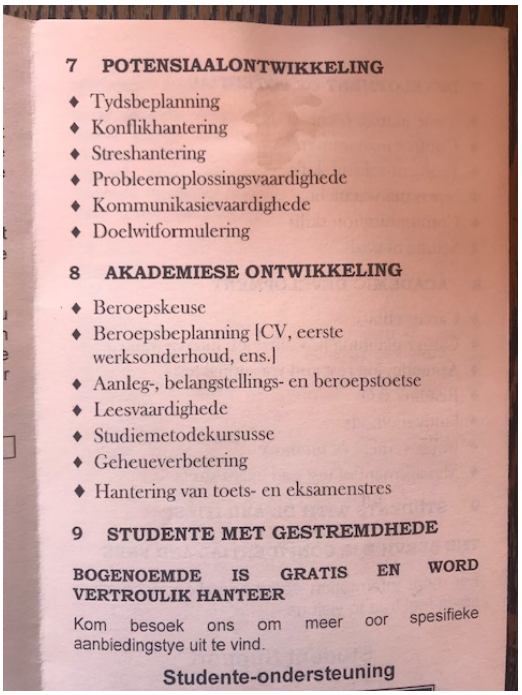


Fig 5.10.1 (a) Photograph of a notification for a floor meeting in my hostel during my first year at university (left). Fig 5.10.1 (b) Photograph of a support and information pamphlet provided by the university in my first year, in Afrikaans for the Afrikaans-speaking students (right) (Lombard, 2020).

5.10.2 Part I

Sixty-five per cent. Not bad for my first semester test at university, in Botany no less. Lally was looking at me in shock. She'd studied very hard and had only gotten 69 per cent, whereas I had only skimmed through the first three pages of our notes. Luckily for me, 70 per cent of the test was basically set based on those three pages. The long question regarding types of soil was a surprise to everyone. So, everyone's marks ranged between 40 per cent and 73 per cent. Or so I thought.

'Congratulations, Gift, you are top of the class with 98 per cent. You may come and collect your script.'

I turned around to see a short black girl getting up and walk to the front of the lecture hall. I stared at her, with my mouth gaping open and eyes wide. A black girl, 98 per cent for Botany. How was that possible? They were stupid? Black people were stupid. The thought seemed to short-circuit my brain and just kept repeating in the back of my mind as I watched Gift collect her script.

5.10.3 Part II

Gift and I were both in the same university hostel. I knew this because we were wearing the same conservative first-year uniform. Ankle-length skirts, with matching buttoned shirts stained by sweat patches in the summer heat. I nearly ran her over as we left class whilst asking, 'How did you do that?' with obvious disbelief on my face.

Gift turned around with a confused expression, jumping a bit at the sight of this tall, Afrikaner girl towering over her short stature. 'Do what?' she asked as her posture relaxed, and her expression melted into a confident smile.

'Get 98 per cent when nobody else could?' By nobody I actually meant the white people.

Gift looked at me with a slight frown but refused to release her cheeky smile. She said something along the lines of 'Ka caf, akir?' to her friends, meaning, at the caf (cafeteria), okay?

I looked back to see if Lally was waiting for me, but no one was there. Gift turned to me and asked if we could walk to the hostel together and talk? I agreed, she made me feel at ease with her open demeanour. I tried to be as polite as possible whilst speaking to her – she deserved it after all, with marks like that. At that stage I hadn't really spoken to English-speaking black people like her, ever. I've known a few black and coloured kids during my school year, but they were all Afrikaans. Also, none of them were ever top performers when it came to academics.

I had never met a black person in a position of power either. My current dean at the time had been the first. I knew I had to respect him because he was the dean, but he was black, so I didn't take him seriously. I treated him with respect, though, because I knew racism was wrong and I didn't consider myself a racist. Until then I had always made a point of calling out my father when he was being racist or made racist comments, so I always tried to be extra nice when talking to a black person, despite my inner assumptions and stereotypical beliefs. After all, they couldn't help it, and I felt sorry for them.

Gift and I got acquainted as we walked to our hostel, she was a few years older than me and a single mother. Her mother was looking after her baby, so that she could study to become a teacher. She made a point of studying every day and prepared for lectures before they were even presented. I asked her if she would be my tutor because I didn't know how to study. I hated studying. Ma would shout at me until the late hours of the night until I memorised my work for exams, as she had done since Grade 4. I was never good at memorising information. I remember one time in Grade 5, I locked myself in the bathroom and prayed that God would kill her on her way home from work. No, not prayed, pleaded, cried and begged Him to do it, so that she wouldn't shout at me. I thank Him for not answering that day.

5.10.4 Epilogue

Gift agreed that she would help me, and she did a few times. My own tardiness robbed me of more time with Gift, but she never held it against me. I would still walk on campus and randomly hear a girl scream, 'Heita, Meraai!' and I would automatically respond with, 'Hola, Gift!' knowing it was her. This of course would be followed with bowels of laughter from the black girls, usually followed with, 'Ha Meraai, do you have a totti?!' and more hysterical laughter, which I didn't understand, but tried to join in with anyway. My encounter with Gift wasn't enough to completely change my mind about their potential. However, I was more open to the idea that there might be exceptions to the rule.

5.11 Fast en Furious – 2005

During my second year of varsity, my parents gave me a car. I had found a part-time job at a primary school in Pretoria and needed transport. My parents bought my mother a small Nissan bakkie and gave me a metallic green Nissan Sentra with a 16-litre engine. It was fast and I loved to drive fast. I got my driver's licence on the first try, so I was competent. I was, however, involved in a few road accidents, but all of them took place when I was driving at 20 km per hour or less. One of my cars was written off during my first year of teaching in Pretoria-West.

I was trying to over-take a slow-moving bakkie[85] when I crossed the road in front of it. As it was driving very slowly, I assumed it was his intention to turn left before passing me. The road was clear on the left-hand side, and the right, and the bakkie was turning anyway, so, I went for it, a right turn over a four-lane road. At that moment, a woman in the white Toyota came speeding at over 100 km per hour from behind the bakkie and decided to overtake it at the last second. She crashed into me and pushed my little blue Nissan Micra over three lanes, over a grassy sidewalk and into a tree. I walked away with a stiff neck and she broke her collarbone.

After that, I became a more cautious driver. However, in the following story I was very young and had received my first car – a fast one at that. I was extremely reckless and know now that I should be extremely grateful that nothing worse happened to me during my young driving days in Pretoria.

It was spring. The Jacaranda blossoms were flooding the streets in what looked like a river of purple, as the sweet aroma of new life was filling the air. Maybe if I took the time to look at my surroundings properly, I wouldn't have been in such a rush. You know, just take a moment to sniff the flowers. But patience is not something that runs in my family. We are doers. We get things done, and if you don't do something, you are a waste of space and oxygen. 'Kannie is dood van kruiwa stoot!'[86] ('Can't die from pushing a wheelbarrow'), my mother used to say if we complained about a task being too difficult, which basically meant that can't wasn't an option.

To be honest, I can't remember why I was in such a rush that day. However, I remember that I always drove fast. I still love driving fast. The thrill, the adrenaline, the chase, the whole game of beating an Audi A3 with my 16-litre Nissan Sentra. Her name was 'Die groen mamba' (The green mamba) and she could kick any fancy car's ass in a short unofficial street race. Those little spurts of speed where you proved your superiority to the occasional BMW and Mercedes drivers who didn't even know how to use an indicator. I just loved the feeling of victory when I saw the shock in their eyes

[85] An Afrikaans word for a small pick-up truck.
[86] An Afrikaans expression you use on someone who claims that the task at hand cannot be done.

in my rear-view mirror. That look of 'I just got my ass handed to me by a girl in a Nissan.'

I was driving in the city, which was already frustrating as I couldn't let my groen mamba stretch her legs properly. Then there was always the issue of pedestrians.

South Africa had and still has many pedestrians in cities like Pretoria and Johannesburg. The pedestrians in Hatfield, Pretoria are usually people who have just arrived by bus and are walking to work after being dropped off. This means that a whole bunch of pedestrians sometimes cross the road in bunches of 60 to 70 people, which doesn't allow them all enough time to cross the street according to the traffic light's timer. As they are on foot, going to work, and some have to walk a bit further than a few blocks, the pedestrians are in a hurry, so they sometimes just power through and ignore the traffic lights. Some pedestrians in South Africa basically do whatever they want. They cross the street where, how and when they please. Some will even look you in the eye as they slowly cross in front of you, as if they are using magic powers to keep your car at bay. Then you also have the occasional person who will deliberately run in front of a car in the hopes of a bountiful lawsuit, according to my friend Sheryl, who was a fellow teacher later in my life. Point is, be careful when you drive.

My biggest frustration in the morning when I left my apartment for work and class (I was a student at the time) was that the pedestrians didn't always stop when the light turned red for them. Then you had to wait for the light to change twice before you could cross the street with your car. It also happened to be that all the pedestrians were black, and my racist brain made the links from there.

That day it was back to the city. I was almost out of my city cage and had only one traffic light standing between me and driver freedom, a big stretch of open road that led right onto the highway. The light turned green and as I revved my mamba inches away from release, a big black mamma waddled over the street. She used her mind powers to stop my car with a calm and collected stare as she swayed from side-to-side. I felt like a dingy waiting in the bay for the Titanic to pass. I swear a snail riding a tortoise would have lost its patience with her. I heard the Afrikaner voices in my head, 'Hulle is lui die goed, man!' (These things are lazy!)

I specifically reflected on my father's 'righteous' anger when one of 'them' didn't follow the rules of the road properly. This was something that was drilled into me as a child in kindergarten. Daantjie Kat (Daantjie Cat) was a road-safety character that explained the rules of the road to children on TV and at school. Always look left, right, then left again. Always cross the road at a designated crossing, walk fast but don't run! The other was don't litter and if someone else litters, you call them a mors jors! (Litter bug) and pick up the trash. The thing I remember the most about my kindergarten teachings is that if you didn't abide by these rules, you were regarded as the most worthless human being in existence.

I came back to my senses in the hope that big mamma had moved out of my way by then. I looked up and I saw that she was smack in the middle of my mamba's nose. She had moved half a meter in what felt like ten minutes. I feel the genetics of my ancestors bubbling up and I lost control. RAGE! RAGE! FUCKING RAGE![87] How dare this 'meid'[88] fucking walk so slowly in front of me? What the fuck! Who does she think she is? If she wasn't so fucking fat and lazy life would be easier for everyone. Fucking waste of space and oxygen! They are all the same! Fucking spiteful pieces of shit that do their utmost best to inconvenience me! Why can't they just follow the rules of the fucking road!!!!!

And with that I gave mamma a slight nudge with the nose of my car. Just on the side of her left bum-cheek. She dramatically fell on the bonnet of the car, eyes wide, screaming 'OOOOO, OOOOOOO, OOOOOO.'

She looked at me frantically and I thought to myself, 'Not so fucking arrogant now, you fat piece of shit!'

I drove away, fast, but with a small feeling of 'What have I done?' while watching the mamma hopping and angrily pumping her fist in the air in the rear-view mirror.

[87] Hormone monster quote from *Big Mouth* season 1 episode 1 (2017) I found it very relatable and relevant to express my emotions in that moment (Funaro, Galuska & Moser., 2017)

[88] A racist term historically used to refer to women belonging to racialised communities in South Africa; or as a derogatory term when referring to any woman who is doing work of a submissive or lower nature.

5.12 Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes – 2014

Prologue

I finished my four-year degree in Botany, Zoology and Technology Education for Grades 10 to 12 not with flying colours, of course, but I passed. I accepted a teaching position in Pretoria West near Danville at an Afrikaans high school. The school quickly offered me an opportunity to apply for a permanent teaching post, funded by the Department of Education. This included benefits and a raise in salary. I was given the opportunity to teach Natural Science to Grade 8 classes and Life Science to Grade 10s. I taught at the Afrikaans school for four years, until the principal deemed screaming at me an appropriate manner of managing me as a member of his staff. I then moved over to an independent school in Pretoria Central for half the pay, but with half the pressure. It was there I was inspired to take my own education further in an attempt to 'save' my black students.

I never wanted to be a teacher. I only studied teaching because my mother 'forced' me to study before doing what I really wanted to do. I think I wanted to be a pastor at the time, like my boyfriend. She wouldn't have it (Thank you Ma), so she sat me down at the dinner table with a university application form. 'What are you going to study?' she asked, holding the pen ready. Before hearing the 'calling of the Lord', I'd considered graphic design for a while, and my family was very supportive. Physiotherapy had been my first choice, but my marks weren't good enough for that. My mother even arranged for me to meet a graphic designer in person one night.

With the application form in front of me, and no way of backing out, I could only see the graphic designer in my mind, twitching and rattling her cup of tea due to stress, deadlines and impossible customers. Deadlines had never been my strong point. Without really thinking, I uttered, 'Teaching, high school biology.' I then saw Mrs. Jones my biology teacher, laughing at me when I had suggested it in class earlier that year. 'YOU!?!? BAHAHAHAHAHAHAH a Biology teacher?!?!' said the woman who confused Lamarck's theory with Darwin's.

I looked up from my daydream and saw Ma in shock, just staring at me for a moment. ‘Teaching.’ Her shock turned to joy, with a glimpse of pride. Ma’s blue eyes always sparkled when she was proud. The conditions were very clear. My parents said that they would pay for my education, but that they were not paying for a wedding one day. My only responsibility was to pass. That’s all, no extra pressure or expectations. ‘Meraai, please just pass,’ they would say.

I did the bare minimum when it came to my tertiary education. The plan was to go into strength and conditioning training like my brother, but all of that changed during teaching practice in my fourth year. My mentor lecturer made a point to assess all her students twice in a semester. Her first visit entailed an informal mark and feedback on a presented lesson. This was to prepare her students for her second, formal assessment visit for teaching practice.

We, the student teachers, were all sitting in a small office with our mentor lecturer after attending each other’s lessons with her throughout the day. Our mentor didn’t hold back as she gave her feedback, and most of the students were in tears after receiving it. Their only solace was that they would have passed if that had been her formal visit for the semester. She turned her gaze toward me, and I knew it was my turn. I didn’t expect excellent feedback, the girls were very noisy and excited during my lesson, but I believed that I had done enough to at least pass.

‘You would have failed dismally today if this were a formal assessment,’ she said. I didn’t understand and immediately responded with an arrogant, ‘What!? Why? I didn’t do any worse than the rest of them?’ whilst pointing at the whimpering students wilting outside the door. My mentor looked me straight in the eye and with the utmost elegance of professional poise calmly said, ‘When I saw you, I saw myself at age 22. I expect more, because you can do better.’ She then got up, greeted me and left. From that moment on I did better. I acquired 70 per cent for my formally assessed lesson, graduated and became a teacher.

I started my teaching career at an Afrikaans high school, situated in a familiar social context. A traditional, lower middle-class, predominantly white neighbourhood. On my first day the principal emphasised how lucky we were to have the opportunity to teach beautiful, white, Afrikaans children. He then elaborated by reminiscing on the failed

attempts of government to verengels[89] the school in the past. I taught there for three years in a permanent, government-appointed teaching position. However, I resigned abruptly after realising that the principal and I didn't share the same beliefs regarding managerial approaches when reprimanding staff.

Luckily my former cluster leader was getting a promotion from head of department (HOD) to principal at the independent school where she was teaching. So, a teaching position had opened up and I was a good candidate. The pay was a lot less, like 50 per cent less, without considering the benefits but there were no extracurricular activities. You taught and went home. It was perfect! I was done with busy afternoons and late nights. I was a newly-wed and planned on spending quality time with my husband. My only concern was not that the medium of instruction was English, but that all the children were black. I had never taught black children before. Half the staff at the school were also black, including my HOD.

Everything went well and I adapted quite quickly. I had more off periods to plan lessons, however, the meetings I needed to attend, organised by the Department of Education, and my administrative responsibilities were way more. The school was tiny, which meant that I was the only Life Science teacher and my HOD was responsible for coordinating various subjects, not only one. We all had to go to our own subject meetings and had more autonomy when it came to setting tests and managing the curriculum. I never had discipline issues at the school, even though some of the senior learners were involved in gang-related activities in the city. I gave respect, they returned it. I remember telling my husband after the first day that they were only kids. Just, normal kids, and they were very easy to love.

I decided to further my tertiary education when one of my Grade 10 classes got an average of 32 per cent after a term test. The problem wasn't that the children didn't have the capacity for learning, two years of a 100 per cent pass rate at the school and for my Life Science and Tourism classes proved that. These kids faced different challenges on a daily basis, including xenophobia, abuse, drugs, gangsterism,

[89] Change the school's medium of instruction from Afrikaans to parallel-medium instruction or English.

violence, poverty, and many more. The problem was that English was not their home language, and for some of them it was their fourth or fifth language.

Being the self-declared white saviour that I was, I felt I needed to get higher up on the educational ladder if I really wanted to help 'my kids'. I couldn't understand why I could receive my primary education in my home language, but they couldn't. The truth also was that some of these kids were terrified of me because I was Afrikaans. When I asked them about this, they replied, 'Mam, Afrikaans people are always so angry.' I immediately and consciously applied softer and more approachable strategies to interact with my learners. I realised that my lack of discipline problems may not have been due to my teaching ability, but due to fear and that was the last thing I wanted.

I enrolled at my former university for the Curriculum Design and Development Honours in Humanities Education programme. Surprisingly, I got accepted, my marks from B.Ed weren't that good, but my teaching experience probably made the difference. My intention was to develop a curriculum that allowed for home-language instruction and more culturally appropriate education. In basic terms, I wanted to (ignorantly) re-create apartheid, but with equally spread resources and equal education so that my black kids could have the advantage that Afrikaans kids did with home-language instruction.

I remember speaking to one of my lecturers about the idea at the time saying, 'They are different, they struggle, they need their own space. They just can't keep up with white kids, especially if they need to study in English.'

She looked at me and said, 'Yip, and it's our fault. Do you know that some domestic workers don't believe that their daughters will be able to go to University? So, do you know what they do? They take their little girls to work every day during school holidays to train them how to do domestic work one day.'

I didn't understand how that was my fault, so I asked her. She replied, 'Do you know what Bantu education is?'

I didn't. They didn't teach history as a subject in my high school, and I hated history because of my mother's study methods during primary school. Until the moment my

lecturer asked me that question, I never had any reason to take up South African history as self-study.

I felt conflicted between the grit demonstrated by my black learners despite all circumstances and my stereotypical beliefs, especially after watching a video online of a black pastor preaching that black people had a problem. He said, 'When white people got to Africa there was nothing. No castles, no monuments, no ships, nothing.' He carried on about how white people tried to 'fix' South Africa, and how Mandela the 'terrorist' had messed it all up.

Later that evening, my friend and colleague Cornelius joined my husband and I for dinner, and I asked, 'But isn't it true what that pastor is saying? I mean, look at Europe and the technology and development that took place, but in Africa there were huts and loin cloths.' Cornelius, who was very good at and enjoyed discussions on morally complex topics, just stared at me, squinting his big blue eyes as he usually did whilst contemplating his next articulatory move.

'Who taught you that technology is a characteristic of superiority?' Cornelius asked.

I looked at him confused and was honestly feeling a bit annoyed at his question. I retaliated with 'Isn't it obvious? A civilisation's superiority is measured by their capacity to adapt and develop.'

Cornelius, as if prepared for an oral exam on the topic began listing examples of civilisations and ethnicities who had been seen as primitive or inferior by their colonisers. Even though they managed to survive the harshest conditions for thousands of years without money and without what was regarded in a Western sense as the written word. The Mayan temples' advanced construction was among them. This really shifted my perception on what and who I've deemed superior during my lifetime.

The following fortnight during my post-graduate lecture, Madame Chocolat Croissant, our lecturer for Diversity and Education, showed us a video entitled Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes. It was about a teacher in the United States who did an experiment with her primary school class on racism. I found it fascinating given the workings in my mind at

the time. Afterwards she challenged us to share some of our racial experiences and stereotypical beliefs in class.

I loved Madame Chocolat Croissant; she was very kind, intelligent, understanding, beautiful, funny and interesting. Her father was of African descent and her mother European. I remember thinking she was like a female Trevor Noah, always sharing the experiences she had when going out with her black father vs. with her white mother. She shared how shopkeepers would follow her around whenever she was shopping with her father, but never whilst with her mother. I was outraged at the thought. Who could do that to her, she had a PhD for crying out loud!

It was during that lecture, when Madam Chocolat Croissant asked us to share our experiences, that I remembered the duck glasses and Moses and Pa's car. The penny finally dropped, 'Am I a racist? It can't be. I'm colour-blind. I want to help my black students; I love my black students. How did this happen to me?'

5.13 Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented my personal narrative in accordance with the constructed data collected for this study. The themes relating to my racial identity's cultivation and the complex milieu in which it took place emerged from my narrative. A thematic analysis of my short stories and poetry follows in Chapter 6, along with the structural analysis thereof. My self-observational data, which enriches my anthropology, is also discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER SIX: DATA ANALYSIS, DESCRIPTION AND INTERPRETATION

Inspecting the Cultivated Harvest

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I describe, analyse and interpret the emerged themes from my narrative as portrayed in Chapter 5. I intend to answer the questions of how, where and why the cultivation of my racial identity took place in the context of a white juffrou. I also provide an in-depth and reflexive look into the self-observational data I constructed during the execution of this study. The latter data provide more depth in terms of my anthropological positioning not only as a white juffrou but as a researcher and a person. I discuss my findings, and how these either contribute to or fill gaps in relevant existing bodies of literature.

The purpose of the description, analysis and interpretation of my narrative exercised in this chapter allowed me to take a step back and observe the emerged phenomena from my constructed data. I now intend to identify cultural and contextual themes that relate to the unique cultivation of my white racial identity, ensuring that the context of the ethno (culture) is considered whilst exploring the beliefs, actions and decisions of the auto (self) (Chang, 2016). I then turn my focus to how I interpreted the data I was presented with in my milieu as a child, a teenager, a young woman and ultimately a juffrou, in an attempt to understand how and why I firstly racialised black groups and individuals and secondly learned and held certain stereotypical, ethnocentric beliefs about the racialised other.

Although the themes of race and more specifically whiteness, gender and social class make for convenient headings to discuss an analysis, the intersectionality between these themes in the context of a juffrou identity makes such an approach impractical. As gender identity studies are already familiar with exploring gender roles in liaison with chronological stages throughout one's lifetime, I have opted to discuss, analyse and interpret my constructed data in several chronological stages. I have divided the section in this chapter devoted to the latter, into the following sections:

- ‘Mamma Se Kindjie’ (Mommy’s Little Child’) is a section devoted to the poem titled ‘Die Swart Gevaar’ (The Black Peril). This is the only section in Chapter 5 that relates to the discipline of epigenetics and epi-poetics.
- ‘Mejuffroutjie’ (Little Missy) is dedicated to the analytic discussion and interpretation of the sections in Chapter 5, which took place when I was between ages four and 12 (1989–1998).
- ‘Mejuffou’ (Young Missy) explores the data in Chapter 5 relating to my experiences as a teenager from age 13 up until my experiences as a B.Ed student at age 22.
- ‘Juffrou’ (Mam) represents the analytic discussion and interpretation of my experiences as a beginner teacher at age 22 and ultimately post-graduate student at age 28 (2004–2015).

It should be noted that all my experiences and my milieu have been and still are filtered through my internal curriculum based on my conceptual framework as per Chapter 3. I describe in Chapter 3 how the learning theory that encapsulates the functioning of the internal curriculum is the cognitivist learning theory, along with the roles behaviourism and constructivism play as the vehicles of education within my milieu. My conceptual reasoning, as per Chapter 3, begs for the practical application thereof in my data description, analysis and interpretation. This means that the actions of all the characters described are described from my perspective, and the focus of my study is to investigate the learning I acquired based on how I perceived the actions and dialogue of people within my milieu from childhood until my early teaching career. Once again, it is not my intention to blame or excuse, but to understand and practice in-depth reflexivity as a woman, a teacher, an academic and a person.

6.2 Mamma se Kindjie / Mommy’s Baby

The description, analysis and interpretation of the opening poem ‘Die Swart Gevaar’ (The Black Peril) will be dealt with not only in a thematic way but also in a structural manner (Adams, Jones & Ellis, 2015). Each stanza paves the way for major themes that can be traced throughout my entire narrative. The poem contains a metaphoric value not only in symbolism and structural poetic metaphors but also in the order in which the themes reveal themselves naturally with each succeeding stanza. ‘Die

Swart Gevaar' also proved to be a rich source of epigenetic data relating the cultivation of my racial identity.

Epigenetics surpasses the age-old debate of nature vs. nurture and looks at how our genes or rather deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) interacts with molecules within our bodies' cells. DNA reacts to molecules in our cells and this allows for certain genes to be activated as well as deactivated throughout our lifetime. These changes within our DNA can survive cell division when cells are copied via mitosis or when sex cells are produced via meiosis. Chemical tags from our genes' interaction with the molecules in our cells are responsible for the activation and deactivation of genes. Although many of the chemical tags are removed during meiosis, traces may remain in the produced sex-cells. Chemical tags can be influenced by things like diet, medication and chemical exposure like pollution. Emotional trauma and stress can also catalyse the activation and deactivation of genes leading to changes in a person's epigenome (one's genome or genetic code).

Whilst I was conducting my autoethnography, a pedagogical tool in the field of history education, referred to as epi-poetics, was developed (Genis, 2019). I applied epi-poetics as a methodological memory data-construction technique when I wrote my poem 'Die Swart Gevaar'. I initially wrote the poem without any data input from my mother, as she needed time to remember the events in question. I relied on my intuition as a mother and as a previously paranoid (and at times still) white Afrikaner woman who might find herself in the company of black men in an attempt to 're-create' and humanise my mother's experience. Genis (2019) argues that poetry can be pedagogically applied in history classrooms. His research aims to apply epi-poetics as a means to access historical information carried within our genealogy as per the principles of epigenetics. My understanding of epigenetics is summarised below, based on the works of Gill (2015), Hanson (2015) and Osborne (2015).

The genetic transfer of trauma, as per epigenetics, from my parents to me, along with the trauma I experienced with my mother whilst she was pregnant with me during the events of 'Die Swart Gevaar' may account for why I was able to recall the events so accurately without the assistance of my mother's constructed data (Gill, 2015; Hanson, 2015; Osborne, 2015). I unsuspectingly applied epi-poetics as a data construction method when I wrote 'Die Swart Gevaar' in 2018. Even though I was not born yet

during the events of 'Die Swart Gevaar', I was there. After collecting my mother's constructed data relating to the day that she decided to pull a gun on our gardener, I found that there was no need to modify my initial version of the poem. I had managed to capture my mother's humanity, ignorance, fear, uncertainty, racism, ethnocentrism and certainty just as she had described it two years after the initial poem was written.

Although epi-poetics is a relatively new concept in history education, my experience leads me to believe that it could be a very useful methodological practice in autoethnographic research to access and construct epigenetic memory data. Based on my findings after applying epi-poetics as an epigenetic memory data construction method during this study and the principles of epigenetics (Gill, 2015; Hanson, 2015; Osborne, 2015), I hold that the cultivation of my racial and gender identity began long before my birth.

The importance of including cultivation theory's principle of perceived normality (Gerbner, 1970) in cohesion with the societal and historical portrayal of whiteness as normal (Morrison, 2007; Matias, 2016) becomes clear. Whiteness, especially in an area like Louis Trichardt/Makhado, illuminates the layers of white normality from which the cultivation of whiteness germinates. As shown by the collective works of Morrison (2007), Matias (2016), Twine and Gallagher (2008), Jansen (2009) and Nayak (2007) as per Chapter 2, whiteness has been used as an international benchmark and symbol for goodness, purity, holiness and beauty, thereby confirming that there is a larger societal, historical space which encourages a globalised cultivation of white normality and thus superiority (Morrison, 2007; Nayak, 2007). Within the rich soil of global white normality, more nuanced and cultural types of whiteness develop in various contextually historical spaces such as South Africa (Jarvis, 2014; Lewis, 2019). The complex and intricate cultivation of whiteness within an individual is made possible by the various geopolitical and educational layers wherein the socialisation of whiteness takes place in a contextual historical space (Jarvis, 2014). Louis Trichardt/Makhado, the place of my birth, is contextually and historically Afrikaner nationalist in nature (Magwira, 2016). In 1985, the year of my birth and the events of 'Die Swart Gevaar', the United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed and opposed the National Party (NP) and apartheid, in cohesion with the African National Congress (ANC) and other groups relating to sport, women, church or students (Giliomee, 2012). The 1980s were the

most violent years during apartheid (Oakes, 1989; Giliomee, 2012), supporting feelings of white fear and paranoia against the then united racialised other in South Africa. The then NP government was put under international pressure as boycotts and national uprisings commenced (Oakes, 1989; Jansen, 2009; Giliomee, 2012).

Volksmoeder ideology was utilised by the Afrikaner nationalist patriarchy as a means to promote Afrikaner nationalism thereby inspiring white unity (Pretorius, 2019). The volksmoeder concept and gender normality was constructed according to the needs of the Nationalist patriarchal government and was depicted in a variety of educational vehicles or curricula. Afrikaner women were depicted in the formal curriculum in history textbooks as resilient, strong and self-sufficient (Pretorius, 2019). The depiction of the above volksmoeder traits were also depicted in Afrikaner literature and media as part of the societal curriculum. Volksmoeder ideology no longer presented women only as homemakers and caregivers but also as working-class women (Van der Westhuizen, 2017; Pretorius, 2019).

Men were put under pressure to protect their families against the black peril, which was a metaphor for the now rebelling united black force represented by the UDF, which had previously been kept divided through apartheid (Carolin, 2017). Women were expected to be strong and show no weakness toward the threat that groups of black people and black men posed. In the context of white normality, using guns as a means to protect oneself against the latter was considered normal in ultra-conservative Louis Trichardt (Magwira, 2016). The global, national and contextual layers of white socialisation (Jarvis, 2014) supported the individual cultivation of my intersectional white racial and cisgender identity. Thus, the events of ‘Die Swart Gevaar’ show the progress of my mother’s racial and gender identity’s cultivation as well as the beginning of mine.

The title of the poem translates to ‘The Black Peril’ and is a phrase that was used historically during South African elections in the 20th century by nationalist parties such as the National Party (NP) and Herstigte National Party (HNP) to emphasise the perception that black people as a collective posed a threat to whites’ safety. The title emphasises the main emerged theme, which relates specifically to how white women perceive not only a black collective, but black men as dangerous and primitively sexual, especially in one-on-one situations (Curry, 2018). The opening stanza

embodies the perception I have had about black men for most of my life as well as the defence mechanism I and my mother employed to keep black men at a distance and in their place. As white women, the mindset that was cultivated on a continuous basis was that black men were dangerous and Afrikaner women were expected to hold their own (Pretorius, 2019; Brink, 1990). Our best defence against our perceived threat as women was by attempting to put black men 'in their place', because an arrogant black or a lazy black was a dangerous black. Putting black men 'in their place' requires a white woman to be emotionally distant, as any sign of vulnerability or weakness will create an opportunity for them to practise deception in an attempt to get more money, to steal or to inflict physical harm. Black men were and still are portrayed in white conversations as dangerous, dishonest, conniving sexual predators (Curry, 2018).

On the flip side, we have Plaatje's narrative that white women have heart, compassion and a sense for the greater good: if you need help, go to the women (1921). Maybe the NP decided to exercise more control over the white women who defied their husbands and their government to aid racialised groups, as per Plaatje's account, by inciting the idea that the object of their compassion was dangerous. My observation, however, needs more substantial evidence to be stated as a plausible truth. Thus, I suggest that more research is needed to provide insight into the modern sociological relationship between the volksmoeder and patriarchal bodies of power.

The colours referred to in the second stanza provide a glimpse into the political background of South Africa during the 1980s. The ANC had garnered more international support and the NP was being pressured on a local and international level to abolish apartheid (Giliomee, 2012). The knowledge and experience of the turbulent 1980s which held that there were black collectives who were rising against the NP government rationalised my mother's white fear and her decision to go and fetch the revolver from the kitchen (Oakes, 1989; Giliomee, 2012). My father had strategically placed the revolver in the kitchen because my mother was not only home alone with a black man whom they had appointed a few weeks before, but she was pregnant with me. My father might not have felt the need to place a firearm within arms' reach if a gardener had been working for them for a few months, confirming that racialisation is practiced more easily toward individuals we do not know personally (Hochman, 2019; Gans, 2017). My mother's fear was irrational if placed into rational

perspective, although she did not feel that it was at that time. The threat in my pregnant mother's mind while living in ultra-conservative Louis Trichardt was very real (Magwira, 2016). I suspect my father even gave my mother a briefing on when, who and where to shoot if the opportunity presented itself as he usually did when leaving any of us alone at home.

My father was a firearm-training officer, so we all knew how to shoot. My father's duty within national and cultural Afrikaner perspectives and expectations of the time was to be a white patriarchal protector. All Afrikaner men were exposed to some type of military training in high school or young adulthood to fight the black or red danger.[90] The latter's communist nature made them synonymous at times with their accompanying negative indoctrination in Afrikaner spaces (Carolin, 2017). The fact that my mother held the revolver with one hand is an indication that she never intended to shoot. She only meant to put the gardener in his place because he had worked too slowly, so he was lazy according to hypocritical white standards. He dared to ask her for a raise and not my father, which indicated to my mother that the gardener thought he could get away with things while my father was gone. As the gardener ticked all the boxes of a potentially dangerous black man, as per my mother's cultivation within a layered white normality, she left nothing to chance and decided to threaten him with a gun.

The interesting part about the poem from here on is how I captured my mother's rationalisation process after threatening the gardener with the gun. My inspiration for stanza five was the feeling I had whenever I did or said something racist to and about a black person or 'them' as a collective. I always knew that what I was doing was wrong. I felt uneasy about it and always tried to rationalise my behaviour with irrational and Calvinistic thoughts. The result was the rationalisation of my bad and destructive white ideologies. There are distinct differences between confabulation and rationalisation (Jefferson, 2020). Confabulation entails responses that stem from a position of ignorance and pseudo-evidence is used to substantiate irrational beliefs. The key issue regarding the confabulation of white ideologies as well as ethnocentric

[90] Reference to international communism (Giliomee, 2012)

beliefs and behaviour is that it avoids the admittance of ignorance (Bortolotti, 2018) and thus limits an individual's susceptibility toward change (Bosman, 2012).

Rationalisation, on the other hand, seems to be a case of motivated cognition. Motivated cognition is a method by which we practice reasoning to obtain or avoid certain subjectively desirable beliefs or both (Hughes & Zaki, 2015). In the case of my narrative, the curricular dialogue of the church adds depth to the layers, which allowed for the basis from which to rationalise ethnocentric beliefs and behaviour. My mother used all the evidence that was presented to her within a layered white normality, as portrayed by international and national socio-historical portrayals of whiteness, as normal. On a personal and contextual level, my father assured her by placing the revolver in the kitchen that it would be alright to shoot the gardener if he posed any threat.

The explanation above also accounts for the mentality that my mother demonstrated through her extremist rationalisation that my unborn life as a white baby was more important than the gardener's life. That is the message she tried to get across. If it came down to it, we were more important, our white lives were more valuable than his black life. In reality he did what all labourers do, he asked if the fee for his services rendered could be increased. There was no need to meet the gardener's request with such an act of extreme violence. The white normality in which my parents had been socialised and cultivated, however, justified for them that being black was reason enough for their actions against the gardener. Their actions as Afrikaner patriarch and Afrikaner volksmoeder mirrored the actions of the NP government during the 1980s. Both my parents also kept emphasising that it was considered 'normal' to treat black people as such during the course of this research. Their emphasis of the latter once again shows how ethnocentric practices toward a racialised other can be seen as normal behaviour by white individuals. White normality encourages the racialisation of others and even acts of extreme violence against racialised others on international, national, contextual and cultural levels. The curricular dialogue within the layered and complex socio-historical context described above provides the means for ethnocentrism to be rationalised by white people who believe and act as such. The legacy of Plaatje's (1921) hopeful gratitude toward Afrikaner women as allies against

the inhumanities of white men becomes corrupted as the tensions between white Afrikaner women and black men rise.

6.3 Mejuffroutjie / Little Missy

(Ages 5–13)

This section includes the description, analysis and interpretation that focuses on the events that took place between 1990 and 1998. It pertains to the events portrayed in 'Eendjies, eendjies ...' (Ducklings, ducklings ...) (age 5); 'Dr Lets and Mr Pretorius' (age 7); 'Nederlandse Kat In Die Groot Stad' (Dutch Cat In The Big City)(age 8); 'Meraai Se Blik Beker' (Meraai's tin cup) (age 9); 'Sunday Lunch' (age 9) and 'Sal Jy Met My Dans?' (Will you dance with me?) (age 12). The title mejuffroutjie was given to me by my parents, teachers and other elders between the ages of 5 and 12, hence, my decision to use my assigned title as the heading for this section, which is dedicated to the description, analysis and interpretation of these formative years.

I made my first racial assumption at age five, during the events of 'Eendjies, eendjies ...'. At the moment my mother instructed me to take the little duck tumbler to the dustbin, my brain began searching for a reason as to why it was necessary to throw the glass away. I entertained the idea that maybe black people like Moses were very dirty, and no amount of soap would be able to wash the glass clean again. My assumption was confirmed when my mother showed me the enamel cups and plates which were strictly assigned to black workers around and in our home. My first racialised stereotype that black people were dirty and unsanitary was not the result of direct instruction, but rather arose from a complex educational process that was catalysed by the behaviour of my parents toward me for giving a black man ice water from 'our' glasses. I processed the information presented to me via my social curriculum (Carl, 2012; Cortes, 1981) and by utilising my internal curriculum through cognitivist processes (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010). The most 'reasonable' explanation arose in my mind and my assumption was confirmed by my mother, who confirmed it as a 'fact' rather than an assumption.

During the rest of my formative years, the normality of whiteness was emphasised every time I entered a space that contained only white bodies. The first time I shared a classroom with a black or Coloured person was at the second primary school I

attended, but by that time it had already become an anomaly, hence my decision at age 11 to call the first black boy who attended our primary school the k-word as discussed in Chapter 1. I viewed 'them' as intruders who did not look after what the government had given them, and now they were out to destroy everything that the Afrikaner government had built. The boy's reaction and my conscience, however, challenged me to see more than the latter. I remember he was genuinely hurt by what I had said, and I could not sleep until I had apologised and presented him with food the following day as a peace offering.

My presentation of food may seem insignificant, at first, but this was the second time that I had offered a black man food or drink, and complexity theory holds that previously marginalised behaviours or factors may emerge and be more significant than they appear (Mason, 2014). My first gesture was when I offered Moses water as an intended act of kindness. However, my gesture in the introductory paragraph of Chapter 1 was my attempt at an authentic apology after demonstrating overt ethnocentric behaviour. I have always felt the need to confirm my words with actions. The question that surfaces now is, Was my ordentlike behaviour toward men, regardless of race, an expression of character, or the result of cultivated Afrikaner patriarchy-inspired volksmoeder ideals?

After I had called the boy the k-word, I asked my mother – without confessing my crime – why the new black children at our school were so different and disruptive. She explained that black people had been disadvantaged in the past and that many of them were poor. She also explained that the black children might have felt somewhat out of place in a white Afrikaans school and that we had to do everything in our power to make them feel welcome. My mother's perspective on black people challenged my already-cultivated ideas at age 11 that black people were dirty and intellectually disadvantaged in comparison to white people. My mother's position on race during my mejuffrou years was clearly at odds with her actions and perceptions, as shown in my previous sections. Her sudden change of attitude and behaviour toward black people may possibly have been an ordentlike attempt at adapting to her new political surroundings, or it could have been an attempt at hiding her own ethnocentrism, making the presence and thus portrayal of divided consciousness possible in my family sphere.

Regardless of the intentions behind my mother's message, it fuelled my decision to become a white saviour (Matias, 2016). The idea had, by then, been cultivated in me that black people were incompetent and had to be taken care of. Once again, my mother may not have intended our conversation to lead to my assumption above but my internal curriculum (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Lovin, 2010) processed the received information as such. The role of my internal curriculum within the cultivation process confirms its collaborative nature as an educational phenomenon.

The roots of my reasoning regarding my racial assumptions become more apparent in the events of 'Sunday Lunch', especially when my father asked me to pray that Nelson Mandela would not become president, with the added warning of suffering that would come with it. My racialised assumptions branched into feelings of being in danger, worry and overall disdain for black men. No one ever spoke about Winnie Mandela, or about the imagined dangers that black women posed to white civilisation: the discussions were always aimed at black men. I now believe that my assumptions about black intelligence also sprouted from the conversation I observed between my parents and grandparents. The statement, 'If they only gave him a coke and bread, he wouldn't have thought that he was important,' gave me the impression that black people must be really stupid. Note that my grandfather's statement included a reference to food and drink, which reinforces its possible significance as an emerged theme. Also, it was not so much a direct instruction but the collaboration between my social and internal curriculum (Owens, Robinson & Smith-Loving, 2010) that resulted in the cultivation of my racial and gender identity.

The significance of my education lies not only in the curricular dialogue that continuously took place but also in the overpowering sense of white normality that I was exposed to as a child. I never experienced a sense of insecurity as a child when it came to housing, clothing and food. Looking back on Chapter 5, the reason becomes clear. Every home that I lived in from Limpopo in the Northern Transvaal through to the East Rand was spacious, secure and, according to my standards, beautiful. Every house had a big garden, jacuzzi or pool. Three of my previous homes were double storied, and, even when my parents scaled down to a townhouse in Brakpan, it was once again very well equipped or resourced, if you will. My father lost his job shortly after we moved to Boksburg, but even then, we did not go hungry or suffer. Due to his

specialised expertise in transport auditing, he managed to find a new job shortly thereafter.

I never experienced the poverty and suffering of the racialised groups in South Africa, which made it very easy for me to buy into the general white idea that it was black people's fault that they found themselves in unfortunate positions. My parents always made it clear that they worked very hard for what we had. My father sometimes spent weeks away from his family to provide for us. My mother was constantly exhausted from the strain and stress of teaching in a less-fortunate schooling district. Hence, having witnessed my parents' hard work, the idea that white people worked harder than black people soon became part of my white normality. So as a child, I had no reason to question the hard work my parents put in to give us all that we had. Once again, the dialogue and limited evidence of my white normality was reason enough for my racial assumptions to become more sound and secure.

The events of 'Dr Lets and Mr Pretorius' were included in my narrative to demonstrate the extreme differences that can exist between white ideologies within the same milieu. My father disclosed in his constructed data that Dr Pretorius once punched another doctor in a fit of rage regarding political differences. As a child, I never experienced any threat from Dr Pretorius. I only experienced feelings of security, love, compassion and empathy. My family, along with other inactive yet knowing white people, were complicit in supporting white supremist ideals in their silence and inaction regarding the Broerderbond via the null curriculum (Carl, 2012). Even if my parents were unaware of Dr Lets' involvement in the Broerderbond, my father was aware that he had a violent streak, especially when it came to his political and nationalist views. The events of 'Dr Lets and Mr Pretorius' remind me that generalisations regarding white people and the levels of ethnocentrism they hold are not recommended. Also, white people can be ignorant about one another's comings and goings in racial and political spaces, even if they share the same milieu. However, by letting others express their ethnocentric beliefs or ethnocentric behaviour within your milieu unchallenged, you are contributing to the null curriculum that enforces and cultivates ethnocentrism.

Just as ethnocentrism and nationalism have levels of intensity, so does whiteness and white privilege. To achieve the peak of whiteness and the privilege it holds is an 'honour' that only a select few truly qualify for. As explained in Chapter 2, whiteness

functions on a scale that is heavily reliant on social class and status (Kincheloe, Steinberg & Chennault, 2000; McLaren, 2018). Certain white individuals can be othered by groups of white people based on geographical location, status, finances and behaviour. White people who live in the East Rand, for example, are stereotyped as being common, sub-class whites by those bourgeoise whites who live in certain other upmarket suburbs of Johannesburg or Pretoria. As I discovered, based on the events of 'Nederlandse Kat in die Groot Stad', certain stereotypes also exist among white people regarding whites who reside in the countryside versus those in the city. In this story, the white people in the East Rand regarded themselves as representatives of bourgeoise whiteness, although, as I experienced later, they were not perceived as such by the bourgeoise whites in Pretoria. The othering described above by white people and groups validates the idea that whiteness and white privilege are represented in scales (Nayak, 2007) with bourgeoise whiteness being representative of authentic whiteness (Jarvis, 2014).

I was ostracised in Boksburg by the children and teacher at my first primary school in the East Rand. My behaviour, as well as my dress sense, were mostly a cause for ridicule by the other children. In the case of 'Meraai se Blikbeker,' I was underdressed, according to my hosts, for a Sunday lunch and play date at age eight. Ironically, I was bullied at Sunday school for being dressed too formally at ages 11 to12. There was little room for individuality, and for the longest time my attempts at fitting in felt futile. As soon as I realised that my appearance would be scrutinised no matter what I did, I turned to performance as a means to seek a new narrative for my life. As I was playing the piano by ear at Thomas's house in 1993, I realised that the same people who were very quick to judge me responded splendidly to certain skills. Playing the piano by ear, and quite well I might add at such a young age, was a much-appreciated skill. Thomas's father thought it necessary to remind me of my social standing when he forced me to play sheet music in front of his guests. Playing the piano by ear, according to white western standards, was not the proper or pure way to play music (Lewis, 2019). In that moment, the oom must have felt that he had exposed my falseness when he exposed my inability to read sheet music, which was above my graduated level anyway.

It was during this stage of my life that I began putting a large amount of pressure on myself, not necessarily to become a musical virtuoso, but rather to become likeable. Likeability just so happened to be connected to skills like playing musical instruments by ear and other culturally-oriented skills like drama and art. My 'hypothesis' was confirmed when Tannie Magriet nearly had a heart attack in 1996 when I received an A++ for playing the piano for an eisteddfod. Thomas received a B for the same event and their disappointment and shock was the only gratification I needed. I realise now that it was at that moment that I became almost addicted to proving people wrong about me. As I only had whiteness as a reference for normality and bourgeoise whiteness as a reference for excellence, I, like the women described by Pretorius (2019), strived to become better through demonstrations of my competence, talents and desirability as a young volksmoeder woman.

People who seek constant affirmation from external forces based on achievement or performance run the risk of rooting their feelings of self-worth in superficial entities (Heppner & Kernis, 2007). The result was that I tended to protect and enhance myself and my whiteness through a variety of strategies that proved irrelevant to my self-worth. People who have a healthy sense of self-worth that is well-rooted generally do not promote or overly protect themselves (Heppner & Kernis, 2007). My self-protective tendencies due to my superficially extrinsic affirmations of self-worth enabled my everyone-for-themselves mentality throughout the majority of my life.

As shown by 'Sal Jy Met My Dans?', I achieved my goal to create a new narrative based on my academic, cultural and sporting achievements by age 12. I was nominated by the teachers as the head girl of the school, I played first-team hockey, and I held a sound third place in the top ten academic performers of my primary school. The latter was due to my mother's diligence during exam time in drilling the work into my brain. This resulted in disdain for studying throughout my teenage years and young adult life. I only developed a passion for learning when I became a teacher and a post-graduate student.

As mentioned earlier, I gained a sense of pity for black people from conversations with my mother. She made a conscious effort whenever I asked questions about the differences between black and white people to educate me about the privilege we had, and she emphasised that we should always help others in need. My mother had

always been comfortable with change, and as soon as Nelson Mandela became president, she challenged my father's and my ethnocentric views on a regular basis. My mother always had an if-you-can't-beat-them-join-them kind of attitude throughout her life. Maybe it was also her way of dealing with her own guilt which she carried with her. However, direct instruction never included the role whiteness played in black people's misfortune. It would, therefore, be irresponsible to ignore my white saviour pity's presence during my actions in 'Sal Jy Met My Dans?'. On the surface, it looks like I considered a black boy when others did not. The truth, however, was that I took advantage of a situation that presented itself, not only to enter the Grade 7 farewell party, but to prove a rebellious point to my teacher. Based on my observations regarding my interactions with men up to this point in my narrative, it becomes clear that I felt it necessary to be subservient to a black boy as opposed to white ones. My rebellion against the teacher and the boys who asked me to the dance was not seen as behaviour that befitted a juffroutjie. The patriarchy of Afrikaner whiteness and the cultivation thereof needs more in-depth investigation.

Although the theme of my womanhood does not filter through very strongly during my childhood, it does rear its head by the end of my primary school years in 'Sal Jy Met My Dans?' I was sheltered more aggressively against the 'dangers' of black men than my brother and the world in general. In my experience, girl children in particular were perceived as more vulnerable and were not encouraged as much as boy children to take risks. Women and children were to be protected by men and young boys because of our physical vulnerability and the male gender's physical strength (Keegan, 2001). The only thing I could use as a reference when dealing with boys was women slapping men across the face on television, as per 'Nederlandse Kat in die Groot Stad'. The 'normality' of the boys-will-be-boys argument is made clear when the boys who held me down and slapped me numerous times were not castigated by the teacher, nor when I was called a vulgar word by another boy in the same class. The null curriculum, consisting of my Grade 2 teacher's silence on the matter, showed me that nothing would be done to boys if they abused girls. The deduction was usually that I was the one who had gotten myself into a difficult situation in the first place, and thus it was my fault if boys were mean or abusive toward me.

In ‘Sal Jy Met My Dans?’ I turned the tables on the boys when I rejected Langeraad’s proposition (the first boy I rejected in ‘Sal Jy Met My Dans’) and decided to attend the dance alone. I became the villain in the narratives that the boys disclosed to our juffrou. What I found to be of interest was that she took it upon herself to ‘correct’ my behaviour. The message that I took from her behaviour and dialogue was that I was to be grateful if any boy showed interest, and I was not allowed to be picky in my choice of boys, nor was I to say no if a boy asked me to do something that I did not want to do. This reinforced the theme found in ‘Nederlandse Kat in die Groot Stad’, as both female teachers enforced the toxic behaviour boys demonstrated either by supporting their cause, as in ‘Sal Jy Met My Dans?’, or by choosing to do nothing, as in ‘Nederlandse Kat in die Groot Stad’. The volksmoeders thus continued the legacy of nurturing their sons by taming their daughters, and in the process reinforced patriarchy as a cornerstone of whiteness and Afrikanerdom.

Yet, looking back on the black boy, I am confronted with the image of a man. First of all, he was not intimidated or flustered by me asking him to the dance, although he immediately voiced his insecurities regarding our race and what people would think. He admired my courage when I showed him that I did not care what people thought, and, at that moment, I think he fell in love with my courage, not my looks or status. He was the first boy who treated me like a person, regardless of my obvious racial ignorance.

What may not seem academically significant is that fact that my body did not once physically recoil from him. Fortunately, the Status, Certainty, Autonomy, Relatedness and Fairness or SCARF model, from a neuroscientific perspective (Rock, 2008), shows that this means that I never perceived him as a threat until he asked me to dance (Bosman, 2012). It should be noted that my body recoiled immediately whenever I was in Langeraad’s presence. I am not intending to portray Langeraad as a physical danger to me, but it shows that I did not like him on a personal level for some reason. Thinking back, it was the way he looked at me: it always made me feel uncomfortable. The fact that I only recoiled when my black knight asked me to dance with him as a person and not as a black boy further supports the notion that we are educated into believing racial stereotypes in our social education (Bosman, 2012; Lieberman et.al, 2005). My first thought at the moment was not that I was repulsed by

the boy or the act of dancing, it was that we were not allowed to do it and we could never be together in a romantic context. My educational and racial assumptions triggered my fight or flight response, as explained per Chapters 2 and 3. The cultivation of my racial identity had resulted in my perceptions of normality being measured by white experiences, while excluding those of racialised others. This resulted in a cultivated assortment of stereotypical and unfounded beliefs that only made me more cautious of people belonging to racialised groups in South Africa. As per my analysis above, it also becomes clear that the patriarchal nature of my Afrikaner culture needs further exploration.

The theme of my Afrikaner womanhood and the influence of Calvinist religion in Afrikaner whiteness becomes more apparent during my high school and university years, which are discussed in the following sections.

6.4 Mejuffrou / Young Lady

(Ages 13–22)

I was cultivated to pursue volksmoeder and, by extension, Afrikaner nationalist ideals (Pretorius, 2019) toward the end of apartheid South Africa between 1985 and 1993. My cultivation took place from a young age in an ultra-conservative Afrikaner milieu (Magwira, 2016), as shown in the previous section. The curricular dialogue of white normality and the volksmoeder ideology took a spacial turn when I moved to and stayed in the East Rand between 1993 and 2003 (Jarvis, 2014). Afrikaner nationalism had by then fallen politically and institutionally in post-apartheid South Africa (Giliomee, 2012). However, white talk still persisted in white-only spaces which nostalgically looked back on apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism during the time of my teenage and young-adult years (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The modernised volksmoeder in post-apartheid South Africa used, and still uses, ordentlikheid (feminine politeness and decency) as a means to repair their Afrikaner identity after apartheid (Van der Westhuizen, 2017). The problem is that the ordentlikheid demonstrated by many Afrikaners may also be used as a means to hide their disdain for the non-racialised other whilst expressing their true feelings within selected, familiar white spaces like church and school (Jansen, 2009; Matias, 2016; Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

In high school, I did not place as much emphasis on impressing my seniors as I did in primary school. Rather, I turned my focus to my peers and to attracting the attention of boys. Our high school was deprived of racial diversity except for a small group of coloured and black children who kept to themselves. I never shared a class with a black learner during my high school years. After the incident described in the opening paragraph of Chapter 1 and the events of 'Sal Jy Met My Dans?', I took it upon myself to try and not be a racist and declared myself, rather naively, colour-blind. I took it upon myself to correct my father if he ever made racist claims or statements at home. I knew racism was wrong and that we needed to help black people based on the conversations my mother and I had about black people's disadvantage. This was, of course, never without acknowledging that my parents worked very hard for what they had, leaving me still believing that black people were lazy.

One space which is amplified in 'Onsevader' is the religious sphere of my complex Afrikaner milieu. The Hervormde Kerk, which is one of three sister churches as explained in Chapter 5, supported apartheid morally and ethically after the Second World War by providing theological support for the justification of Afrikaner nationalist ideologies (Dreyer, 2013). The Hervormde Kerk voiced their views during official meetings as per Article III of the Church law of 1951, in official writings to churches overseas, and in pastoral writings which were given to members of the church (Dreyer, 2013). The Hervormde Kerk slowly re-evaluated their position in terms of their support of apartheid between 1990 and 2010. During the 69th General Church Meeting of the Algemene Kerk Vergadering (AKV) in 2010 it was officially declared that the historical theological support that apartheid received from the Hervormde Kerk was contradictory to the gospel (Dreyer, 2014).

The division between the modes of thinking on racial segregation and apartheid within the Hervormde Kerk, as described by Dreyer (2013), was clearly demonstrated in 'Onsevader' when half of the congregation left as a black family entered our Afrikaner church in the East Rand during 2002. The null curriculum (Carl, 2012) surrounding me in church and school between 1999 and 2003 consisted of only white faces and Afrikaner voices. The one-time black people entered the 'house of god' they were made to understand that they were not welcome, without anyone uttering a single word. The rest of the congregation who stayed, however, cannot be generalised as

more liberal because like us they may have stayed for the sake of ordentlikheid . This once again shows how ordentlikheid can be used as a means to obscure Afrikaner ethnocentric beliefs or views (Matias, 2016; Van der Westhuizen, 2017). Little actions of ordentlikheid as described above fuelled and supported my white-saviour complex as I self-othered myself from Afrikaners whom I perceived as racists. The role of my internal curriculum as part of the cultivation process (Owens et al., 2010) was once again illuminated as I was responsible for the assumptions that I made in relation to the information provided through the social (Carl, 2012; Cortes, 1981) and null curriculum (Carl, 2012) within the context of my conservative Afrikaner milieu.

I believed that I was better than the people who left the church when the black family entered because I was more tolerant and inclusive in terms of race than them. My incapacity or even unwillingness to identify, acknowledge and explore my own whiteness was coddled by self-righteous beliefs like the latter. I exempted myself from whiteness and ethnocentrism because I did not demonstrate the overt ethnocentric behaviour that more nationalist Afrikaners did. My behaviour and beliefs during the cultivation of my racial identity between 1999 and 2003 in high school and in church shows that I was entering a white identity status of disintegration by demonstrating a need for reconciliation with black people out of white guilt (Helms, 1990; Matias, 2016). In ‘Onsevader’, I tried to ease my white guilt by staying in church when the black family arrived. However, I never took up issue about it with the dominee as I did when I was passionate or curious about other topics, thereby confirming my lack of authentic emotional investment in the matter of racialised groups in South Africa (Matias, 2016).

My volksmoeder role in Afrikaner culture was emphasised through the null curriculum and societal curriculum within the church, home and school between 1999 and 2003. During my years at high school in Brakpan, the formal curriculum also supported Afrikaner racial ignorance (Steyn, 2012). History was not offered as an elective between Grades 10 and 12 and the content of history in Grades 8 and 9 was purely focused on European history. This is an example of how the null curriculum and the formal curriculum synchronise their curricular discourse within the context of a school subject. The null curriculum comes into play as the more representative and un-propagated history of South Africa was silenced between 1999 and 2000 in Grade 8 and 9 history. It is also represented by the absence of History as an elective between

2001 and 2003. As seen from the events in 'Onsevader', greater emphasis was placed on how I dressed and behaved by my mother, my female peers and juffrouens (women teachers) when attending church, school or social events. The dominee expected more obedience and perceived my questioning of his teachings and the rules of the Hervormde Kerk as arrogance. However, I believe he would have reacted the same way toward a teenage boy who challenged his authority. The possibility should be explored that modernised volksmoeder ideologies are still bound by social patriarchal expectations (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

In all the churches I attended, I was surrounded by god-fearing volksmoeders. The societal curriculum the women in church portrayed showed me that Afrikaner women were soft-spoken, attractive, stood up straight, dressed appropriately and demonstrated the utmost devotion to god by supporting their husbands subserviently. At school, I was surrounded by juffrou volksmoeders whose societal and formal curriculum taught girls how to behave and dress. The behaviour of the boys toward girls was portrayed as a direct result of a young woman's ability to behave, speak and dress appropriately. Every year we had to sing the school anthem to the first rugby team, never to the girls' netball or hockey teams. Masculinity had always been represented as something to be respected and treasured, not only in school but in the church as well. The null curriculum worked alongside the societal curriculum in the spheres of school and church of my milieu. The null curriculum is represented in various ways. The silence of the girls when we were instructed to sing the school anthem to the ruby team in high school supported the notion that men or boys were to be praised and motivated. The school also supported the latter notion via the null curriculum when they did not do the same for the girls' sport teams. The silence in school and church shows how the null curriculum in general supported the notion that girls or women were to be blamed for how men treated them, or how society perceived them (Carl, 2012; Cortes, 1981).

It becomes clear that even though 'Onsevader' includes my infancy, childhood and teenage years, the fruits of my religious education only emerged in my teenage and young adult life. As can be seen from the introductory paragraphs of 'Onsevader', I was probably born with an inquisitive and somewhat cynical personality. My parents can also attest to that. We were dedicated churchgoers who went to sermons every

Sunday morning, according to general Afrikaner standards, although we were not as dedicated as some black families who would go to two or three sermons in two different cities every Sunday per taxi (Noah, 2016). My rebellious nature was tolerated or labelled as high-spirited as a child, however, as a teenager the reactions toward my behaviour changed, showing how my role as a young woman changed and developed with age in an Afrikaner cultural and religious context (Tobin et al., 2010).

By the time I went to university as per 'Die Geskenk' (The Gift), my ethnocentrism resurfaced because I was now in contact with black fellow students. I believed all the stereotypes about black people that were portrayed to me throughout my life to be true. My evidence was based on the actions I observed in a handful of black students at high school as well as the views of other like-minded white ethnocentric students. The latter emphasises the dangers of being surrounded by and associating only with like-minded individuals as held by Campbell (2012). I used the distorted racialised views of ethnocentric, ignorant peers to support my own stereotypical views. Regarding the actions of black students, if a black student came late to class, I did not consider that they may have had problems with transport, I just assumed that they were late because they were black. When a black student out of hundreds of others were late for class who lived in the hostel on campus, I further assumed that it was in black people's nature to be late.

I demonstrated a strong divided consciousness whilst judging my black peers as I never took notice of the white students who would do the same things as the black students. The cultivated idea that white people, specifically Afrikaners, were hard workers as opposed to black people is accentuated in 'Die Geskenk' by the shock I felt at Gift's academic abilities in 2004. I could not believe that a black girl could achieve such high marks for a scientific subject. The sense of white normality into which I had been cultivated from pre-birth up until 2007 was being challenged in my racially diverse milieu. Some of my self-confirmed or peer-confirmed assumptions were being challenged by Gift's actions of friendliness, once again showing how the introduction of diversity into one's milieu contributes to the cultivation of change (Mason, 2014).

My white privilege is also confirmed when my attitude toward obtaining a degree is compared to that of Gift's. She came to the university to become a biology teacher, to

provide for her child and to make a difference in her community. I, on the other hand, saw my degree as an obstruction and an inconvenience that my parents forced on me. The fact that I never took my studies seriously until my fourth year also testifies to my ignorance regarding my privilege and white privilege in general. The intersectionality of the statuses of white identity theory is confirmed in this section as ignorance of white privilege is associated with the initial contact status of white identity development (Helms, 1990; Miller & Fellows, 2007), showing that a relapse from one status to the previous one is possible.

I moved into a white identity status of disintegration and white guilt once again in 2004 when I was overly ordentlik to Gift when I approached her regarding her high marks for Botany. My tendency to be overly ordentlik to black people in general had become a habit from high school by the time I attended university. I demonstrated divided consciousness on a personal level by harbouring feelings of pity, disdain or apathy toward black people (including the Dean at the time) and demonstrating overly ordentlike behaviour toward them during one-on-one conversations. However, the fact that I excluded Gift from my stereotypical ethnocentric assumptions shows that, like my parents, I tended to racialise those whom I did not know on a personal level, no matter their social status, education or position of power (Hochman, 2019; Gans, 2017).

It is also believed that some Afrikaners may have dealt with their white guilt and/or denial after apartheid by placing themselves in the role of a victimised minority (Vanderhaeghen, 2018). Groups of Afrikaners perceived themselves to be under threat from the ANC government and black people in general shortly after the abolition of apartheid (Van der Waal & Robins, 2011; Vanderhaeghen, 2018). Afrikaner media sources have been found to enforce the latter mentality of Afrikaners by only publishing news articles that feature mostly white and or Afrikaner victims, whilst ignoring the integrations of the past (Vanderhaeghen, 2018). The experiences of the individuals on which the articles were based are not undermined or seen as less significant. However, cultivation theory supports the notion that the lack of racially diverse representation in media, as described above, contributes toward an accepted normality that white people are more likely to be the victims of violent crimes at the hands of black perpetrators (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Jansen (2009), Van der

Westhuizen (2017) and Vanderhaeghen (2018) agree that the end of apartheid came as a great shock to Afrikaners, and that they suffered a traumatic identity crisis which led to some Afrikaner people or collectives to adapt via the strategies explained.

I placed myself in the role of victim during the events of 'Fast en Furious' when I demonised the black woman who was crossing the street as a means to justify my overt aggressive ethnocentric behaviour toward her in 2005. I convinced myself that she was the one who was breaking the rules of the road, and she deserved to be punished for it by me. I deemed myself a worthy judge, jury and executioner in the moment that I nudged her with my car. I viewed the Afrikaner way as the correct way and once again showed a complete disregard for the rules of the road I was breaking by speeding and nudging a pedestrian with my car. She represented all the bad things I believed about black people that made me feel threatened. Although my actions are inexcusable, they do indicate that after my encounters with Gift I may have achieved a status of reintegration in terms of the cultivation of my white racial identity. My actions of victim-blaming in 'Fast en Furious' indicate that I held feelings of resentment toward black people as soon as I was exposed to racial and cultural diversity for the first time in my life (Helms, 1990).

The intersectionality between race, gender and power becomes more complex in terms of my interactions with black women and men at university. Firstly, I deemed the then black dean worthy of my pretentious respect and ordentlikheid because he was a man in a position of authority and I needed to hide my ethnocentric feelings and thoughts from him, once again implying an ongoing patriarchal influence of modern volksmoeder ideologies that should be explored further. Secondly, I deemed Gift worthy of more authentic gestures of friendship and equality because I considered her my superior in terms of cognitive ability. I didn't have any power over Gift because I considered her to be my equal or even my superior in terms of hard work, dedication and resourcefulness, all of which were characteristics I assumed considered to be part and parcel of Afrikaner culture as per my racial identity's cultivation. Lastly, I deliberately and hypocritically exercised the power and privilege I had over the black woman who was crossing the street, thereby exposing the white divided consciousness that has been a primary characteristic of whiteness in the second wave of whiteness as discussed in Chapter 2 (Myrdal, 2017).

My actions and divided consciousness throughout my teenage and young adult years show that covert ethnocentric beliefs can manifest and morph into overt ethnocentric actions. It also shows that the cultivation of my racial and gender identity formed a foundation, which I used as a warped point of reference to navigate my way through young adulthood. However, my encounters and experiences during university show that by introducing even a small amount of diversity into ones' environment can lead to changes in cultivated perceptions about the racialised other and one's own normality. My experiences as a juffrou and a post-graduate education student between 2008 and 2015 are elaborated on in the following section. The factors and role-players responsible for initiating and inciting the still ongoing unlearning process of my racial cultivation are also discussed in the next section.

6.5 Juffrou / Woman teacher

I am aware that the term 'woman teacher' sounds strange but given the explanations on gender roles and biological sex, I hold that the term 'female' refers to biological sex, and 'woman' refers to the gender role I am focusing on in this study (Wood & Eagly, 2015). Thus, I feel that using the term 'female teacher' or juffrou is limited and rather unspecific in the context of this study. The events referred to in 'Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes' encapsulates my experiences as a beginner schoolteacher and later a post-graduate student at the university from which I acquired my B.Ed degree. The university was the only place in which I was exposed to very little cultural and racial diversity, and which excluded authentic conversations and confrontations regarding whiteness and racialisation. The amount of diversity that I was exposed to as an undergraduate at university was, however, enough to encourage my movement between statuses of disintegration and reintegration in terms of the development of my racial identity (Helms, 1990; Miller & Fellows, 2007).

In this section, the emphasis on the cultivation of my own racial identity takes a step back as a shift in my gender role takes place. Initially I complied with my cultivated role of a complicit volksmoeder as an adult woman and juffrou at an Afrikaans school. But I am no longer solely portrayed as the object of cultivation and an agent of the cultivation of Afrikaner identity in an Afrikaans school. The cultivation of my racial

identity continues for the better when my white normality becomes challenged by diversity.

My journey as a juffrou began in the familiar context of a middle- to lower-class white Afrikaner neighbourhood, similar to Brakpan. The white Afrikaner paranoia that was used during the 1980s in an attempt to strengthen Afrikaner nationalism (Oaks, 1989: Giliomee, 2012) was echoed when my new Afrikaner principal reminded his staff how lucky we were to be teaching beautiful, ordentlike white Afrikaner children. The principal strongly implied that white Afrikaner children were better behaved, morally purer, and safer than black children, or even white English children, if you took the principal's specific words into account. My first day in the staff room as per 'Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes' demonstrates and further substantiates the resilience of Afrikaner whiteness and nationalist ideals within segregated, white, Afrikaner spaces, like Afrikaans schools, as pointed out by Jansen (2009).

The principal's statement supported the notion that segregation between Afrikaners, English-speaking children and black children should still be practiced in 2008. The comfort with which the principal shared his racialised views shows that mono-racial and mono-lingual staffrooms, such as at the Afrikaans high school where I was appointed, can also serve as spaces where white talk endures (Steyn, 2005; Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The latter observation supports the argument presented by Campbell (2012) that spaces which lack cultural or racial diversity are conducive to the cultivation of ethnocentrism. The silence of the juffrouens, myself included, safeguarded the practice of patriarchal white talk and ethnocentrism in the staffroom by leaving the statements and views of the principal unchallenged. In that moment I became part of the volksmoeder body that socially and culturally supported Afrikaner nationalist ideals, just like my juffrouens before me. We supported the latter principals and ideals with our silence and thus with the null curriculum (Carl, 2012). I was no longer merely the object of ongoing racial and gender identity cultivation but also an active role-player in a sphere which supported the cultivation of whiteness and ethnocentrism among Afrikaner youths (Jansen, 2009). The women's silence once again emphasises the need to further explore the ongoing relationship between sustained patriarchal power and the enduring volksmoeder identity.

The descriptions above further support the notion of complexity theory by showing that in order for a person's racial identity and ethnocentrism to change, constant exposure to cultural and racial diversity within their milieu is needed (Mason, 2008a). Even if we manage to achieve a more advanced status of white-identity development with minimal exposure to diversity, as discussed in the previous section, we can relapse or stagnate in that status if our exposure to such diversity ceases or stagnates. My decision to resign from the school led to yet another spatial turn (Jarvis, 2014) within my perceived white normality as my new place of work confronted my ethnocentric views head on. All the learners in the inner-city school were black as well as 50 per cent of the staff, including my new head of department. I was in a context where I only had power as a juffrou over my learners but was subordinate to my black colleagues in terms of experience or post level. I also engaged on a more professional level with my facilitator at the Department of Education, who was a black woman, by participating in the moderation of learner portfolios.

The culture of discipline, teaching and learning, and professionalism at my new Pretoria inner-city school differed greatly from that of the Afrikaans school in Pretoria West. However, the more understanding and interactive culture of the inner-city school did not result in a culture of ill-discipline among the learners or staff. I was terrified to teach classes consisting of only black teenagers. My already-cultivated assumption that black people were rude, unruly, disrespectful or even dangerous by nature was reaffirmed by the white talk I supported in silence in my previous school's staffroom (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The fear and anxiety I felt at the thought of teaching Life Science to black children confirms the role our social education plays as per Chapters two and three. If we are socially educated into believing that people belonging to a specific racialised group are a threat, our fight-or-flight response is triggered (Bosman, 2012). I had never even been in a classroom or a space that consisted of only black teenagers or people, yet I believed that it would be challenging or dangerous due to the cultivation of my racial identity.

The longer I was immersed in my new culturally and racially-diverse milieu, the more the irrationality of my cultivated fears began to emerge. I was surrounded by black learners and staff members on an almost daily basis in the sphere of my professional life. My new diverse milieu thus represented a more significant disruption to my white

normality than my interactions with black people at university. My interactions with my new learners and colleagues portrayed a new normality with which I was not familiar, and my white normality was challenged. Jansen (2009) has suggested that the transfer of ethnocentrism in Afrikaner individuals and groups from one generation to the next can be disrupted via changes in the formal schooling curriculum. Complexity theory's fundamental notion that the introduction of diversity into an object's or person's milieu can bring about change, development or evolution supports Jansen's (2009) suggestion (Mason, 2008a, 2008b). I soon realised that black children were only children and black teachers were only teachers. Most of all I realised that black people were only people and my perceptions began to shift along with my shift in normality.

However, the dangers of self-declared colour-blindness by a person who had been cultivated into a white racial identity were also accentuated (Matias, 2016). Up to this point in the narrative, blackness had only featured on a mostly superficial face-to-face level in my experiences. My body of knowledge regarding black people and black culture was mostly obtained through white people's dialogue about and behaviour toward black people in the spheres of my Afrikaner context. My exposure to racial diversity was not enough to rid me of my ethnocentrism. As per the white racial identity model, an individual's reaction to newly acquired information about the racialised other was key to reaching a status of autonomy (Helms, 1990). The latter supports my position that cultivation as an educational phenomenon is a process that relies on the role-players and factors within a person's milieu as well as how they process the information through their internal curriculum.

My white guilt became more overwhelming the longer I spent time with my new learners and colleagues. I resorted to a hypocritical white saviour initiative by helping my learners through my own post-graduate education in an extremely ignorant manner. The university had changed quite a bit since I did my B.Ed in the early 2000's. The student body and staff were more racially and culturally diverse in 2015 than between 2004 and 2007. Open discussions and lectures were presented on race and ethnocentrism, which made my white guilt turn to frustration. I tried to exempt myself from my white guilt by once again blaming blackness in my discussion with my close Afrikaner friend, Cornelius, but my attempt to do so failed the moment Cornelius confronted my perceptions on white superiority. The foundations on which I had

confabulated and rationalised my ethnocentric beliefs and behaviour began to tumble. My notions on western technology and superiority shattered with the education that most of the latter consists of a menagerie of colonised epistemologies from a diversity of cultures, as explained to me by Cornelius. My experiences within my more diverse milieu, along with that of an Afrikaans white person who calmly and logically challenged my irrational fears for the racialised other, began to re-wire my racist brain with education (Bosman, 2012). Having a white person whom I respected confirm my new reality was significant and relevant. Cornelius also chipped away at my ignorance with his broad and encapsulating knowledge of South African history, confirming the role of ignorance in sustaining my ethnocentric views and beliefs (Steyn, 2014). Shortly after my discussion with Cornelius, Madame Chocolat Croissant held her open discussion on racism during a lecture and, for the first time, I was open to new information without retaliating. The latter marked my transition to a white identity status of pseudo-independence as I realised that ethnocentrism and white superiority was unfounded (Helm, 1990). The collective efforts of the lecturer, Madame Chocolat Croissant, Cornelius, my learners and the staff that I worked with at the time contributed to my racial identity's cultivation and hopefully lifelong transformation. I now wish not only to develop and grow as a white Afrikaner juffrou but as a South African and a person.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed, interpreted and analysed the data as presented in Chapter 5 as a means to understanding how, where and why the cultivation of my racial identity as an Afrikaner juffrou took place. My cultivation took place in spaces where a white normality was propagated within my complex milieu that consisted of home, church, school and social events including peers, authority figures, family and friends, as stipulated by Jansen (2009). The propagation of my perceived white normality and, more specifically, Afrikaner normality in South Africa was driven by the societal curriculum, null curriculum and formal curriculum (Carl, 2012; Cortes, 1981). However, all the information that was presented to me in my complex milieu was processed cognitively through my internal curriculum (Owens et al., 2010). Cultivation is thus a collaborative educational phenomenon, which consists of a curricular dialogue between external curricula and a person's internal cognitive processes. I

made assumptions based on the information that was presented to me – or sometimes not presented to me.

Depending on the amount of diversity in my milieu, my assumptions about the racialised other or myself as a white juffrou were confirmed or challenged. As per complexity theory (Mason, 2014), spaces with less diversity in terms of culture, race, language and gender left stereotypical and toxic assumptions unchallenged and thus confirmed. Spaces with a rich diversity, on the other hand, challenged my assumptions, which stimulated the development of my racial identity as per the white racial identity model (Helms, 1990). The behaviour and beliefs that were expected of me as an Afrikaner woman emerged from my narrative and demonstrated how the volksmoeder ideology endures and is cultivated from one generation to the next.

Cultivation as conceptualised in the context of this study is a highly specialised and individual educational process, which cannot be generalised to Afrikaners as a whole. Whiteness and ethnocentrism is cultivated from one generation to the next within a complex socio-historical system that consists of various curricula, role-players and circumstances. It is, therefore, impossible to determine the exact pedagogy and methodology of whiteness and ethnocentrism required to disrupt the cultivation thereof. However, the reflexive practices and introspective nature of autoethnography can empower a person to challenge their cultivation and bias for the better (Dimaggio, et al., 2008). Education and willingness to change is key in re-wiring an ethnocentric brain (Bosman, 2012). Thus, I hold that autoethnography may be the key to disrupting a willing person's internal curriculum processes by eradicating ignorance and gaining perspective.

The following chapter provides an overview of this study along with my methodological reflections. I discuss my key findings as well as the contribution this study makes to the already existing body of knowledge. I make suggestions for further research that might better our understanding of the themes addressed in this study. My critical self-reflective data is discussed as a means to clarify my anthropological positioning, not only as a researcher, but as a white Afrikaner juffrou in South Africa.

CHAPTER SEVEN: OVERVIEW, FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

I saw the devil in the daylight,
and she was me.
Singing hallelujah to souls
I declared as lost with siren might.
Whilst cloaked
in ordentlike white light.

This chapter marks the end of my dissertation, wherein I disclose and discuss my professional and personal anthropological positioning through methodological, scholarly professional and personal reflections. The execution of my research is reviewed by looking back on the previous chapters of this study. I also propose probable answers to the question of how, where and why my racial identity was cultivated as an Afrikaner juffrou. This autoethnography used co-constructed memory data from my personal lived experiences to understand how whiteness and the volksmoeder ideology was cultivated and manifested. The experiences relevant to my cultivation range from pre-birth to young adulthood. The purpose of my study was to humanise my whiteness by understanding its origins within an interpretivist paradigm. I went about my investigation by applying analytical and reflexive practices to my experiences and learnt assumptions in terms of race, gender and class within a milieu that portrayed a white normality. My intention was to disrupt the curriculum and context which cultivates whiteness, gender and social inequality on a personal and professional level.

My final chapter serves as a testimony of my anthropological reflections in terms of the relevance and applicability of autoethnography, my selected research methodology. The findings of my research show that cultivated learning, as in the context of this autoethnography, is a complex process that cannot be generalised. The curricular discourse of each person, even as part of a group, is exposed to the constantly developing or more static context and is unique to every individual. Even if juffrouens like me are cultivated in the same environment, the cognitivist functioning of the internal curriculum makes every person's racial learning experiences a unique one. Afrikaner juffrouens may also be using their cultivated ordentlikheid and thus

enduring volksmoeder ideology as a means to hide their disdain for racialised groups in their classroom.

This chapter serves as an anthropological extension of the description, analysis and interpretation I carried out in Chapter 6. I focus on how, where and why my racial identity has been cultivated as an Afrikaner juffrou throughout my lifetime. However, I also reflect on how the exploration of that cultivation, by means of an autoethnography, impacted on me both personally and professionally. The academic contribution of my research is motivated along with suggestions for further research as my dissertation comes to a close.

7.2 Review of my Study

I now review the chapters of my study by discussing how each chapter unfolded. In Chapter 1 of the dissertation, I provided an introduction and overview of the study. The focus and purpose of my research were disclosed along with my selected research question. The history and background of the context of my study were elaborated on to show how the South African context is similar to or different from a national and international perspective. I provided a summary of my conceptual framework as well as how I intended to use the methodology of autoethnography. A roadmap of how I went about my data description, analysis and interpretation was also provided in the opening chapter.

Chapter 2 served as a guide through the existing literature on whiteness, white racial identity, gender, class and teacher identity. Due to the in-depth nature and rich history of the waves of whiteness, gender and class, I opted to dedicate Chapter 2 entirely to the literature review of this study. The background and history of the waves and development of whiteness from a global and local perspective were elucidated along with relevant discussions regarding the various themes relating to the education, development and navigation of whiteness, gender and teacher identities in a diversity of spaces.

Chapter 3 was dedicated to the rationalisation of the conceptual frameworks I developed for this study. I described the concepts and principles of complexity theory, cultivation theory and curriculum theory as the key framework that I utilised to

understand cultivation as an education phenomenon in a socio-historical context and complex milieu. A complementary conceptual framework was constructed as a means to understand and explore the intersectionality of power between race, gender and class as portrayed in white normality.

I disclosed the research design, methodology as well as research methods that I used to conduct my research in Chapter 4. I rationalised my decision to use autoethnography as my methodology of choice to conduct qualitative research as a means to understand how my racial identity was cultivated. Data construction methods and the presentation of my data were validated in Chapter 4 and I introduced my selected methods for my data analysis as well.

Chapter 5 represents the narrative analysis of the memory data constructed by me and the co-constructors selected for this study. My narrative analysis was presented in a bundle of short stories and poems as a means to achieve the highest verisimilitude possible when representing the events and the people involved. Chapter 5 served as the window through which the reader could re-live the events relevant to the cultivation of my racial identity with me. This hopefully contributes to a better understanding of the events in question.

Chapter 6 shows how I described, analysed and interpreted the co-constructed narrative that was presented in Chapter 5. I navigated the study of my phenomenon of interest, cultivation chronologically along with the emerged themes relating to my racial identity, gender identity and social class. I applied my conceptual frameworks as per Chapter 3 to explore the cultivation of my racial identity as an Afrikaner juffrou in this chapter. My description, analysis and interpretation of my narrative accentuated the relevance of my experience within a broader socio-historical, cultural and philosophical context. The latter not only provides explanations that are contextually and culturally relevant but also meaningful.

7.3 Methodological Reflections on Writing an Autoethnography

After I had made up my mind as to which topic would mark my entrance into academic research, I grappled with which methodology and methods that would be best suited to potentially answer my research questions on the cultivation of Afrikaner racial

identity. I soon realised that the knowledge I intended to seek was historically withheld by white participants who participated in more traditional research methodologies and methods with regard to Afrikaner racial identity (Conway, 2017; Steyn, 2015). I needed a research methodology that would allow me to reveal myself as a sensitive insider and to disclose my self-knowledge regarding whiteness, racialisation, othering, gender and social class. Autoethnography provided all of the above along with critical, rational feedback and reflexivity, which are effective safety nets in avoiding delusions of grandeur.

However, my autoethnographical approach did not come without its challenges. My parents, for example, were very assertive that their recollection of the events that took place during my childhood were factually accurate in comparison to mine. My request for follow-up memory-sharing discussions with them were denied. My experience shows that the collaborative construction of memory data with authority figures, as in the case of my parents, can prove challenging. My failure to reconcile differing narratives resulted in a need to write 'Eendjies, Eendjies … (Ducklings, Ducklings …)' from more than one perspective, which proved to be methodically challenging. In addition, the process of constructing memory data proved to be more emotionally exhausting than I had initially anticipated. This autoethnography made me relive past traumas and facilitated me in confronting and reflecting on my past beliefs, values, transgressions and experiences. The process of facing my inner demons proved to be emotionally, mentally, spiritually and sometimes physically taxing. I therefore suggest that supportive measures such as therapy and/or hypnotherapy be applied as soon as an autoethnographical research endeavour is initiated.

There was also the initial challenge that my mother did not initially recall the events pertaining to 'Die Swart Gevaar (The Black Peril)'. I then resorted to using my own lived experience as a mother in an attempt re-construct what possibly could have happened between my mother and the gardener. Fortunately, my mother's memories were re-ignited when she used writing as a data-construction tool. I then discovered that the pedagogical practice of epi-poetics, as described in the field of history education (Genis, 2019), proved to be a useful data-construction method in autoethnographic research. I found the memory data I constructed on my own, based on events after my conception yet before my birth, via epi-poetics, was quite accurate.

My experience, along with the rationalisation Genis (2019) provided, therefore drives me to suggest that epi-poetics be explored as an autoethnographic data-construction method in future research endeavours.

I hold that autoethnography provides a diversity of methods and techniques which may equip self-declared, white-saviour teachers (Matias, 2016) to aspire to achieve a true status of autonomy, as per Helm's white identity model (1990). Autoethnography can be described as the purest form of qualitative research (Adams et al., 2015) because the data analysis is directed at in-depth information that is aimed at the historical actions, thoughts and beliefs of one main participant. Autoethnographical studies provide researchers with the opportunity to disclose called for insider information regarding socially sensitive topics such as race, gender and class. Autoethnography can be applied as an effective introspective tool to confront bias that a person may carry within them. The practise of placing one's own experience within a broader context is a valuable tool that role-players in education should be able to practice.

Autoethnography's reflexive nature encourages a deeper understanding of the self and thus a deeper understanding of others (Utt & Tochluk, 2020). The value that autoethnography as a research methodology held toward understanding my own anthropological positioning as a woman teacher, a researcher and a person may contribute to dismantling toxic and institutional ethnocentric and gender-biased practices in my personal life and milieu. Autoethnography's call for authenticity and reflexivity ensures that we dismantle toxic beliefs and behaviour within ourselves before passing generalised judgements on a diversity of othered groups. I acknowledge that we should not dwell on the past. However, understanding how, where and why the cultivation of my racial identity took place does provide an intimate road-map as to how I can avoid the same mistakes in the future. I hope that my dissertation will inspire others to question and challenge their own 'normalities' in the pursuit of equity and equality.

7.4 Proposing Answers to My Research Question and Research Findings

The findings that emerged from my description, analysis and interpretation of my narrative are presented in the following section, all of which relate to my research

question: How, where and why was my white racial identity cultivated in the context of a white juffrou?

The question of how my racial identity came into being lies in the conceptualisation of my phenomenon of interest namely, cultivation. Cultivation encapsulates the complex educational processes and curricular dialogue that I experienced on a personal, daily level in a complex milieu. Cultivation in the context of this autoethnography refers to the educational vehicles or curricula, be they formal, informal or non-formal, that preserve things we morally, personally and culturally hold dear. Education is the cultivation of that which we deem important enough to incorporate into our daily lives (Biesta, 2007) and, by extension, our normality (Matias & Zembylas, 2014).

The findings of this study indicate that cultivated learning acknowledges the internal curriculum of an individual as a key factor in how the curricula and their content that stimulate learning are interpreted. Our inner assumptions that result from our internal meaning-making processes can, however, be challenged. Cultivation can thus be viewed as a complex, unique and personalised educational phenomenon, meaning that the individual who is being cultivated also carries responsibility for the assumptions they make and can challenge their ignorance and racialised views in adulthood through education. Thus, I hold that the cultivation of whiteness and racial identities is too unique a curriculated educational phenomenon to be generalised in any manner to any group of people. My suggestion for future research pertaining to cultivation in an educational and social sense can also refer to the phenomenon as cultivated learning. The latter emphasises that educational cultivation is conceptualised and approached as a process through which learning takes place. Cultivated learning does not rely solely on behaviourist teaching and constructivist facilitation but rather on the complex cognitive processes by which we try to make sense of what is portrayed to us as normal in a complex milieu.

I found that I acquired my knowledge on race, gender and class from my socio-historical milieu and its role-players. Whether the knowledge was presented in a behaviourist or constructivist manner, it was filtered through my internal curriculum. It should be noted that the epigenetic influence that marked the beginnings of my racial cultivation may have already predetermined some of the ways in which I made my assumptions on race and gender. However, in all probability, the reality might be that

my way of thinking could be a consequence of my racial and gender cultivation. The latter, however, does not exempt me from the responsibility I need to take for my own racialised and gendered conclusions and assumptions. Consequently, making the intentions of the parties involved in the cultivation process irrelevant in contrast to the internal assumptions I made throughout the cultivation process. The latter indicates that the cultivation of ethnocentrism, as in my case, is not always a deliberate action and can happen unintentionally in spaces that leave white ignorance unchallenged.

My use of complexity theory in conjunction with cultivation and curriculum theory allowed for the consideration of the various factors in the complex milieu where my learning took place. My milieu was never static, yet certain aspects thereof were consistent while others differed as we moved to different geographical areas. The rules and perceptions regarding the racialisation of black groups seem to be consistent throughout my narrative, whereas the culture and context regarding classism and gender within whiteness seemed to change within the various contexts and cultures.

I was made aware of my racial 'otherness' by age five by the curricular discourse that manifested between me and my parents at home. I used a variety of informational cues received from home, church, family, school, peers and teachers to construct racial and gender meaning through my internal curriculum in an attempt to position myself within society. The vehicles of education ranged from direct instructions and actions to silences when certain accusations were made. By doing this autoethnography on my ethnocentrism, I hope to take responsibility for my irrational ethnocentric beliefs and actions, rather than shifting the blame for or excusing them.

As soon as my environment became racially and culturally diverse, my learnt assumptions on race were challenged. The interchangeability of the statuses of white identity development (Helms, 1990) became apparent as I went through the motions of confronting and rationalising my ethnocentric beliefs throughout my narrative. I was wary of declaring myself a non-racist, as my ethnocentrism could be triggered by factors unknown to me at any time throughout the rest of my life. I have also realised the dangers of proclaiming oneself transformed or non-racist on any level. By proclaiming that I have won the battle of racism within myself, I am denouncing any further opportunities for reflexivity or critical self-reflection because I believe that my journey of the self has come to an end.

Another key theme that emerged from the beginning of my narrative is that of the relationship between black men and white women. There is a strong contrast between Plaatje's description of white Afrikaner women from a black perspective and how white Afrikaner women can sometimes perceive black men from a white perspective. Plaatje urges his black peers to seek help from white women, as, he states, they are pure of heart (1921). In contrast, my mother and I, throughout my narrative, represent the fears that some white women - especially mothers - may feel in the presence of black men. Black men who dare to ask white women for financial or material assistance may do so due to a legacy left by the white women described in Plaatje's narrative.

The assumptions I made regarding black people from age five onwards echo the themes that emerged from my narrative's opening poem. By the time I was 11 years old, I had learned and assumed that black people were dirty, stupid and rude. From age five to age 11, I was in the contact status of Helms' (1990) white identity model. I was aware of my whiteness but saw the privilege associated with my whiteness as 'normal' or as the fruits of my own or my parents' labour. As soon as I was confronted by a boy whom I called the k-word, I moved into the status of disintegration. I attempted to increase my understanding of what I perceived to be black culture and declared myself racially colour-blind as a means to come to terms with the guilt which is associated with this white identity status (Helms, 1990). It should be noted that I only attempted to learn more about black culture from other white people and not via actual integration with racially diverse groups.

As soon as I entered a racially diverse space for the first time in my life at university, I ascended to the reintegration status. The prior ethnocentric beliefs and assumptions, which I avoided via my self-declared colour-blindness, resurfaced and resulted in blaming black people for their circumstances and disadvantage. I coddled my ignorance and my unfounded racial assumptions as I saw black students and staff members who excelled in academia, or anything else for that matter, as exceptions to the rule. The characteristics of the reintegration status also explain how my covert ethnocentric beliefs morphed into overt ethnocentric behaviour during my years at university. I reached a status of pseudo-independence in terms of my white racial identity as soon as I began teaching at the school in the inner city of Pretoria. I realised through my interactions with my learners and racially diverse staff members that

ethnocentrism, as cultivated in me, was unfounded. It is during this status that I adopted the identity of white saviour when I decided to study curriculum design and development at my university of choice. My intention was to create a segregated education system where learners could all benefit from receiving education in their home language as I had. My tertiary goal at the time made my ongoing ignorance regarding South African history apparent.

I achieved a status of immersion when enrolling for this autoethnography, which is an active attempt at understanding and dismantling my whiteness and ethnocentrism. I am also actively seeking new ways to think about and navigate my white identity in a culturally-diverse society in a constructive manner (Helms, 1990). I hope to achieve a status of autonomy with the publication of my research as a means to inspire change in systemic and institutionalised systems of inequality and power relating to gender, race and class. To move from one status of white identity to another, a person needs to demonstrate a sense of curiosity about the racialised other and to be susceptible to racial identity development and growth.

A significant finding that emerge from my narrative is how I measured and assessed my worth as a mejuffroutjie, mejuffrou and later a juffrou. Throughout my various juffrou phases, I sought the approval of others via my achievements. As described by Pretorius (2019), I attempted to attain a volksmoeder-like status from a very young age by seeking a new narrative through accomplishment, especially after I been made aware of my inadequate whiteness by an Afrikaner man in ‘Meraai se Blikbeker (Meraai’s tin cup)’. After my realisations as to how society can view and treat women according to their perceived purity, fragility, spirituality or ordentlikheid, I beg the question: How far do women’s perceived fragility and Afrikaner women’s ordentlikheid exempt them from ethnocentric accusations in society, not to mention white women teachers? What does white talk (Steyn, 2005) sound like in all-white, mostly-female Afrikaans staffrooms today? The relationship between a patriarchal society and the enduring volksmoeder ideology leaves much to be discovered, in my opinion. I hope to contribute to academic works on how women Afrikaner teachers are cultivated to use ordentlikheid as a means to hide their disdain for the racialised other in further research endeavours.

Lastly, I found that the null curriculum, in particular, played a major role in sustaining my irrational and stereotypical ethnocentric beliefs. Ultimately my cumulative experiences in my white normality showed that if white people were to do something to black people, nothing would happen, or no one would say anything. The actions of the null curriculum, along with the verbal confirmation I found within my like-minded milieu from childhood to young adulthood, supported my ethnocentrism by never challenging it. This supported the notion of complexity theory that the more diversity an object or person is exposed to within their milieu, the more likely that change will take place (Mason, 2014). My whiteness and racial identity were challenged and developed with every confrontation that logically contradicted my white, ideological beliefs. The complexity theory principle resonates with the neurological perspective that education and rationalisation are key in re-wiring the racist brain (Bosman, 2012). By understanding how, where and why we learn that ethnocentrism is normal, we can take control of our cultivation by rooting ourselves in the diverse and constructive milieux throughout our lifetimes.

The issue of white female teachers who used expressions of endearment to hide their ethnocentric beliefs became a point of interest for me because I knew that I was capable of hiding my ethnocentrism from black people by demonstrating a perfect, yet fake, ordentlike facade when engaging with them. My smokescreen would, of course, disappear whenever I needed to show active support in the face of racial inequality, instead of simply voicing it. The practice of including my anthropological positioning as a researcher and a white Afrikaner woman teacher provided valuable perspective and contextual relevance to my research. The information derived from doing so also presents me with the opportunity to develop more contextually accurate data collection techniques for future research projects in the same field of interest as that of this research (Du Preez, 2018).

I recommend that autoethnography be used as a pedagogical tool within tertiary educational spaces dedicated to faculties of education. Based on the findings expressed above, I reiterate that the re-wiring of cultivated ethnocentric beliefs cannot be curriculated due to each individual's unique experience and internal curricular activities. Based on the neuroscientific evidence as presented by Bosman (2012) and Dimaggio, Lysaker, Carcione, Nicolo & Semerari (2008), I argue that the curriculation

of a three-year autoethnographic core module is necessary for tertiary teacher-training facilities, that is, a module that presents undergraduate teacher students with the opportunity to practice autoethnographic research on their own biases in terms of race, gender or class. By facilitating undergraduate teacher students via autoethnography, we are cultivating future teachers who are not only aware of their biases but who understand the consequences thereof. I hold that the key characteristic of a teacher is teachability, not only in terms of subject matter but in terms of themselves and what they hold dear.

7.5 Personal and Professional Reflection and Conclusion

I was inspired to investigate the cultivation of my white racial identity as a juffrou when I began lecturing at my historical and current university in the Gauteng province. I noticed that the white women students carried some of the same irrational ethnocentric beliefs I did as an undergraduate university student. The only noticeable difference was that the generation of students whom I was lecturing were more open and vocal to me about their disdain for the racialised other than I would have been at their age. I wanted to understand how and why Afrikaner, ethnocentric whiteness was being cultivated. I turned to the works of Plaatje (1921), Morrison (2007), Jansen (2009), Steyn (2014), Nayak (2007), Gallagher and Twine (2008), Matias (2016) and Van der Westhuizen (2017) to understand the concept of whiteness and white privilege. I found myself resisting the information from white women academics as I felt that they did not classify themselves as white or disclose their privileged anthropology in their work. My experience was consequently stained with feelings of anger and retaliation, with claims or feelings of disdain, for my perception of the hypocrisy that the authors displayed in their judgements of whiteness, hence my decision to disclose and explore my ethnocentric whiteness rather than risk defensive reactions from participants who might also have viewed me as hypocritical. A secret hope that I held when embarking on this autoethnographic journey was to discover that my Afrikaner heritage was not as bad as people made it out to be. I realise now that being Afrikaans does not imply that one is a racist. However, I can no longer deny the toxic racial stereotyping that is cultivated in enduring segregated white spaces.

I was thus taken aback at the mercy and unawareness demonstrated toward white women's capacity to resist racial transformation, as in the case of Jansen and the white Afrikaner schoolgirls (Jansen, 2009). The historical development and resilience of the volksmoeder ideology throughout history becomes apparent in my narrative. My narrative provides a glimpse into the othering taking place among various volksmoeder figures, including myself, within my milieu. My relationships with women throughout my life have, for the most part, been competitive and, at times, damaging, yet I still find myself pursuing a working-mother, city-volksmoeder identity (Pretorius, 2019).

The in-depth nature of the data derived from autoethnographic methodologies and methods enabled me to look at cultivation as an educational phenomenon within a complex milieu which portrayed and sustained whiteness as a sense of 'normality' to use as a racial benchmark. By referring to the curricular dialogue that I observed and took place in as cultivation, I am acknowledging that I am responsible for the assumptions that I made during my racial identity's cultivation. Even though some of the assumptions were made when I was a mejuffroutjie, persisting white normalities in my changing contexts coddled my cultivated racialised assumptions by leaving my ignorance unchallenged as a mejuffrou. Cultivation in the context of this study thus acknowledges the curricular dialogue taking place within one's milieu but does not exempt the individual who is learning in the process from their responsibility. Due to the complexity of my milieu and my teacher identity, I used co-constructed data to include other perspectives and concepts relating to my identity in terms gender, social class and othering. The latter amplified the intersectional nature of power relations within racialisation, whiteness and gender, which I wish to further explore in future research endeavours.

The cultivation of my racial identity as a white juffrou took place during the last days of and after the age of apartheid in 1994. Yet, the white talk some of my students, peers, family and friends sometimes demonstrates that the historical racialisation practices of South Africa are not something we can simply get over. My autoethnography forced me to put down the magnifying glass and pick up the mirror. I explored the curricular dialogue I was exposed to and participated in during my lifetime and represented my experiences in short stories and poetry. I then dissected

the co-constructed narrative in pursuit of understanding where, how and why the cultivation of my racial identity took place. My autoethnographical study exposed me to a rich and diverse environment in terms of race, class, experiences and modes of thinking. Furthermore, my awareness of my white privilege was heightened by those who broke the null curriculum that I used to support my ethnocentric views. Constructive and critically stimulating conversations with a diversity of people whom I greatly respected contributed toward the development and rehabilitation of my racial identity.

As I never really 'fit-the-bill', as it were, in terms of Afrikaner volksmoeder ideologies, I do not feel a sense of loss regarding white people who shun the findings of my study. I do, however, sympathise with someone who denies themselves the opportunity to transcend their racial bias in the hopes of becoming a better person. Unfortunately, racialised groups make for an irrational yet comfortable scapegoat for very human and complex problems within society. The journey toward understanding and, in essence, accepting my whiteness was an extremely emotionally uncomfortable and, at times, an extremely painful one. Hopefully, I am all the better for it, but that is not for me to decide nor declare. I present my narrative as an experience which is open for interpretation, analysis and constructive criticism. As per my introduction of this chapter, confronting my whiteness sometimes made me feel like a monster or a devil. The key lies in knowing that my whiteness does not have to define me as a person and that the white devil within me can be overcome by education. May my dissertation bring peace to those who were made to believe that their claims were nonsense and that their experiences did not matter. My hope for myself is that I never find peace and security in my white existence, but that I rather find peace in who I am aspiring to be as a person instead.

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ANNEXURES

Co-constructors memory data

Annexure A: Die Swart Gevaar (The Black Peril)

Ma's written account:

Ons Louis Trichardt (nou Makhado) tuinhulp. . .

Ons het 'n groot huis laat bou met 'n enorme 'tuin'
Die jongerige tuinwerker het kom vra wir tuinwerk en selfs vertel hoe hy 'tjop-tjop' vir ons die grass al plant want volgens hom het hy by baie huise in die nuwe uitbreiding vir mense gras geplant.
Pa het met hom onderhandel vir 'n daaglikse salaris maar ook gese hy gaan vir my werk (Pa het baie uitgeslaap met sy werk e nook lang ure gewerk veral as hy ver gaan ry vir inspeksies).
Ek was hoog swanger met jou in die tyd.
Nou ja daagliks het die werker (ek kan nie sy naam meer onthou nie) sy kos gekry in die oggend en middag. . . maar vordering met sy graspant was vrek stadig. . . as ek deur die venster kyk. . .staan hy op die graaf, dalk vurk en doen niks. Bure ne vriende het selfs al gese hy sal 'n goeie lamppaal wees.
So het ek eindlik al begin vies word want ek het werks-trots en doen altyd meer as wat ek behoort te doen en is presies en stiptelik – niemand gaan ooit vir my se ek doen halwe werk of swak werk nie
Maar 'lord' is besig om my vir ''n ride' te vat. . . en wraggies toe het hy die cheek of vir 'n verhoging te kom vra?
Grootste fout van sy lewe.
Net daar en dan het ek my handwapen. . . kon pa se Rossi gewees het gegryp (dit was in die kombuis langs die kas omdat ek alleen was) en vir (wens ek kon sy naam onthou) hom geskree het (iets soos) 'loop dadelik! Jy sit nie jou voete weer hier nie dan skiet ek jou vrek!' Toe kon hy vinnig beweeg. Ek het nog dreigimente geuiter toe sien ek hom nie weer. . .
Die middag laat toe pa by die huis kom wou hy weet wat gebeur het. . . die tuinjong het vir hom op die straathoek voorgekeur, sy geld gevra en verwyn.

Translation

Our Louis Trichardt (now Makhado) gardener. . .

We built a large house with a huge 'garden'.
The young gardener asked us if we had any gardening work he could do and even told us how he could plant the grass for our lawn, as he put it, 'chop-chop', since according to him he had already installed lawns at many houses in the new neighbourhood.
Pa and the gardener negotiated a daily wage, but Pa also said that the gardener was going to work for me (Pa was away from home a lot especially when he was travelling for inspections)
I was highly pregnant with you at the time.
Well, every day the gardener (I can't remember his name anymore) got his food in the morning and afternoon. . . but progress on his lawn installation was pretty slow. . . every time I looked through the window. . . he was standing on the shovel or maybe the pitch-fork doing nothing. The neighbours even said he had the makings of a good lamp post.
So, I finally started getting angry because I always take pride in my work and always do more than I should while being precise and punctual - no one will ever accuse me of doing shoddy work.
But, 'lord' was taking me for a ride. . . and he even dared to ask for a raise?
Biggest mistake of his life.
Right there and then, I grabbed my handgun. . . could have grabbed Pa's Rossi (it was in the kitchen next to the cupboard because I was alone) and (I wish I could remember his name) shouted at him (something like) 'Leave immediately! Don't put your foot back here or I'll kill you!' Oh, then he could move quickly. He disappeared as I was making threats...
Late that afternoon when Pa came home, he wanted to know what had happened as the gardener met to him at the street corner, asking for his money and disappeared.

Pa's account via critical memory sharing interview:

Meraai: Kom ons begin met die storie waar ma ons tuinjong gedreig het met die revolver.

Pa: Die, die lat het daar aangekom en hy het werk gesoek by ons, maar dié kon nie ‘n woord Afrikaans of Engels verstaan nie, en ek kon nie agter kom of hy ‘n Sesutu, ‘n Venda of wat hy was nie. Dan verduidelik jy vir hom ‘n ding, dan verstaan hy nie dank om ek in die aand by die huis, en dan het hy dit nie gedoen nie en as jou ma by die skool was en sy kom terug dan het hy nie die goed gedoen nie, dan het hy heeldag daar rond gesit, dan moet ons hom betaal.
En toe het jou ma net een dag besluit kyk, nou het sy genoeg gehad van hom. Toe gryp sy die revolver en sy dreig hom. Toe gaan hy en toe gaan staan hy onder in die pad staan hy agter die elektriese paal, of staan agter die lamppaal.
Toe ek die aand by die huis kom toe kry ek die kitaar, toe is hy vrees bevange. Toe was hy bang ma gaan hom skiet. Toe het hy nie verstaan wat hy moet doen nie. Toe het ek hom depot toe gevat na iemand wat sy taal praat en vir hom vra asb vra vir hierdie perd wat ons wil hê. Toe’t ek later met hom in my gebroke sisutu verduidelik waar kan hy klippe kry vir die tuin en dit aan ry na die tuin toe. Maar hy het nie lank daarna by ons gewerk nie.

Translation
Meraai: Let's start with the story where Ma threatened our gardener with the revolver.

Pa: The lad was looking for a job, but he couldn't understand a word of Afrikaans or English. I couldn't tell if he was Sesutu, Venda or what he was. Even if you explained something to him, he didn’t understand. His tasks were not completed when I got home late in the evenings and the chores that he should’ve completed during the time your mother was at work were also not done as he sat around all day, but we still had to pay him.

One day, Ma decided that she had enough of him. She grabbed the revolver and threatened him. He went down the road and hid behind an electric pole or a lamp pole. The lad was terrified of being shot when I met him near our house that evening. He didn't understand what to do. So, I took him to the depot where someone who spoke

his language could interpret for us. Later, I asked in my broken Sesotho if he could find and deliver rocks for the garden. But he didn't work for us long after that.

Annexure B: Meraai se Blikbeker (Meraai's tin cup)

Ma's written account:

Thomas van Boksburg

Ohhh vreeslike snobistiese bure, of liewer die buurman (Thomas se pa). Hulle was eindlik baie goed met neus in die lug loop. . . seker so geword, hul moes niks gewoond gewees het as kinders (dink ek) of dalk het hul net meer kultuur gehad want ons huis was (volgens my) mooier as hulle sin en ons het saam hulle in die gegoede buurt gebly.

Thomas, hul enigste kind, was beter as enige ander kind in akademie met musiektalent, kuns. . . noem dit en hy was beter.

Meraaitjie, my laatlammetjie, jy was baie life vir maatjies en mense om jou en toe jy die Sondagmiddag genooi word vi rete wou ek eintlik gesê het NEE!! Maar jy was so opgewonde.

Later die middag het jy huistoe gekom en vertel. Na ete moes Thomas op die clavier speel vanaf musieklad. . . as ek reg onthou was di took nie vir sy pa so perfek soos hy wou he. Daar is ook 'n musiekstuk voor jou neergesit (nooit geweet jy kan nie note goed lees nie, self a jare se klavierlesse en dat jy alles op gehoor speel. . . wow!).

Thomas se pa 'vieslik', onredelik en vernederend teenoor jou toe jy nie die note kon lees/speel nie.

Ek is tot vandag toe jammer ek het nie my voet neergesit nie, jammer oor dit Meraai. Maar ek het ook vir jou daarna gesê daar gaan altyd in die lewe mense wees wat nie van jou hou nie – dit is hoe jy dit hanteer. Onthou jy 'payback time'.

Kunswedstryd, klavier speel, musiek blad van jou eie keuse.

Thomas en sy ma op ons afstorm na die tyd …

Jy het 'n A+ en Thomas … B+

Bitter pil vir hulle!!

Ek glo dit was een van die dinge in jou lewe wat jou die sterk en dinamiese (vir my...) mens gemaak het wat jy vandag is!

Translation

Thomas from Boksburg

Oh, they were snobbish neighbours, or rather neighbour: Thomas's father. They were always walking with their noses in the air. . . probably became that way, maybe they weren't used to anything as children (I think)? Or maybe they just had more 'class' than us? I'm not sure why they were that way because, in my opinion, our house was nicer than theirs and we lived in the affluent neighbourhood.

Thomas, their only child, was better than any other child in academia, music or art... name it and he was better.

Meraaitjie, my late lamb, you loved having friends and people around you and when you were invited on that Sunday afternoon, I wanted to say NO!! But you were so excited.

When you got home later that afternoon, you told me what happened. After dinner, Thomas had to play the piano from his music notebook. . . if I remember correctly, it wasn't as perfect as his father wanted. There was also a piece of music laid out in front of you (I never knew you couldn't read notes well, even after a year of piano lessons... wow!).

Thomas' father was 'nasty' and unreasonable. He humiliated you when you couldn't read/play the notes.

I am still sorry for not preventing that from happening. I am sorry Meraai. But I also told you afterwards that there are always going to be people who don't like you in life - that's how you handle them. Remember 'payback time'.

Art match, piano playing, music sheet of your choice.

Thomas and his mother rushing toward us afterwards …

You got an A+ and Thomas … B+

Bitter pill for them!!

I believe it was one of the things in your life that made you the strong and dynamic (to me ...) person you are today!

Annexure C: Dr Lets and Mr Pretorius

Ma's written account:

Breinvliesontsteking (Jy in Graad 1)

As 'n juffrou het ek gelukkig, meeste simptome van siektes geken. Ek het ook geglo in 'n Disprin vir alles.
Jy het die middag so na 4 begin kla oor kopseer, ek het die Disprin (fyngedruk in 'n lepel met konfyt gemeng) gegee. Na 'n halfuur het jy steeds gekla, weer 'n ander pil fyngemaak, gemeng met konfyt gegee maar dadelik besef iets in nie reg, jou nek was styf en jy was near … ons het dringend 'n dokter nodig.
Vir Dr Lets Pretorius gebel. Hy was reeds by sy huis maar ek kon jou dadelik na sy huis vat, hy wag daar vir ons.
Ek onthou … 'n pragtige enorme huis, nes 'n ryk dr kan besit op die platteland.
Daar gekom in die lang gang na sy studeerkamer.
Soos jy naer word en ons kort kort moes badkamer toe – is die gang en die badkamer lig voor ons aangesit en agter ons afgesit.
Dit was vir ons al 2 ongewoon en snaaks … soveel geld en so suinig … in ons huis is ligter eers afgeskakel as alles klaar gedoen is.
Dr Lets et vining gespeel … jy is dadelik opgeneem in Potgietersrus (vandag Mokopane) se provinsiale hospitaal.

Translation

Meningitis (You in Grade 1)

Fortunately, as a teacher, I knew most illness' symptoms. I also believed in a Disprin for everything.
You started complaining about headaches at around 4 pm and I gave you a Disprin (crushed in a spoon mixed with jam). After half an hour you still complained, so I crushed another pill, mixed it with jam but I then realized something was wrong. Your neck was stiff, and you were nauseous, we urgently needed a doctor.
I Called Dr Lets Pretorius. He already left his practice, but I could immediately take you to his home, he will be waiting for us there.

I still remember … a beautiful enormous house, which could only be afforded by a wealthy doctor in the countryside.
When we got there, we went through a long hallway to his study.
Every time you got nauseous and had to go to the bathroom, the hallway and bathroom lights would be switched on and immediately switched off after we left.
It was strange for us both…so much money, yet so stingy … in our house, lights were only switched off once you were finished with everything.
Dr Lets didn't waste any time…you were immediately admitted to Potgietersrus (today Mokopane) Provincial Hospital.

Pa's account via critical memory sharing interview:

Meraai: Ek wil graag praat oor wat pa gedoen het as ek in die hospitaal was toe ek klein was. Soos wat het pa gedoen om my kalm te hou as hulle 'n drup in my arm wou sit ens?

Pa: Daai oggend was jy hospitaal toe, ek kan nie onthou vir wat nie. Toe moes hulle 'n drup in jou arm in sit, en jy was bietjie kleinserig gewees. Toe gee ek die agter kant van my hand, hierdie dik vlies kant van my hand vir jou om te byt, en gese jy moet hard byt.
En wat dit doen, is dit neem jou aandag af van die ander plek op jou lyf waar daar einlik iets gedoen word, daar waar hulle die naald in druk, en jy het nie eers agter gekom hulle het die naald ingesit en die drup ingesit het nie.

Meraai: Het pa soms frustreerd geraak met verpleegsters of dokters wat nie geweet het hoe om 'n kind kalm te hou nie?

Pa: Ja. Ek het by Dr Lappies eendag baie my humeur verloor toe hy jou so vas druk op die bed om die stetoskoop te gebruik om jou, om na jou bors te luister toe jy siek was. Toe't ek die ding by hom gegryp en hom uitgejaag uit die kamertjie uit toe sê ek vir hom, wag, ek sal dit doen. Toe't ek die stetoskoop, want jy was bang vir die stetoskoop gewees, toe't ek jou kalmeer, en ek het die stetoskoop gevat en vir jou gewys en jy het gevat aan hom en gevoel aan hom en ek het hom teen jou gedruk. Sodat jy kan agterkom die ding is nie gevaarlik nie. Daarna was dit 'n heeltemalle

ander storie, toet jy self ook gekalmeer as ons by ‘n Dr kom want jy was nie ‘n maklike eenetjie wanneer dit by ‘n Dr gekom het nie.

Meraai: En as ons nou daaroor kan praat, of soontoe kan spring, dis ook hoekom pa so baie van Dr Lets gehou het? Want hy was goed met kinders.

Pa: Dr Lets het fantastiese maniere gehad as dit kom by mense. En hy was ‘n baie goeie dokter gewees.

Meraai: Hy was, hy het altyd so baie gedoen. Ons was baie lief vir Dr Lets. Ek onthou nog toe ons daai nuus berig gesien het saam, was pa baie geskok gewees?

Pa: Nie regtig nie, ek het ‘n idee gehad toe ons nog in potties gebly het dat hy met politieke dinge, aan vêr regste politiek deelgeneem het. Hy’t eendag gevra ek moet vir hom plakkaate druk. Toe sê ek vir hom uh-uh, ek gaan dit nie doen nie.toe wys ek vir hom hoe om dit op sy eie drukker te doen. En hy het ‘n dokter aangerand in die hospitaal, ek weet nie of dit waar is nie maar blykbaar is hierdie ou se goed aan die brand gesteek as gevolg van politiek. Hy was ontsettend vêr regs gewees met politiek.

Meraai: Dis eindlik so snaaks want dis amper soos twee verskillende mense. Aan die een kant was hy hierdie sag-geaarde wonderlike dokter, en aan die ander kant is hy hierdie ander mens.

Pa: Ja, hy was blykbaar baie aggressief gewees wanneer dit kom by politiek. Maar ja, uh, dis dit.

Translation

Meraai: I'd like to talk about what Pa did when I was in the hospital when I was little. Like what did Pa do to keep me calm if they wanted to put a drip in my arm etc.?

Pa: You were once admitted to hospital, I can’t remember what for, and, they had to put a drip in your arm. But you were too nervous. I told you to bite down hard on the thick meaty part on the side of my hand. What this does is, it takes your attention away

from the other place on your body where the nurse was busy placing the drip. You did not even feel the needle.

Meraai: Did Pa sometimes get frustrated with nurses or doctors who didn't know how to keep a child calm?

Pa: Yes. One day, I lost my temper with Dr Lappies when he held you tightly on the bed to listen to your chest with a stethoscope. I grabbed the stethoscope and chased him out of the room, telling him that he can wait. You were afraid of the stethoscope, but I calmed you down, allowing you to touch the stethoscope and pressing it against you. It was a completely different story thereafter, you calmed yourself when we needed to visit a doctor because you were not an easy one when it came to seeing a doctor.

Meraai: And if we can talk about it now, or jump over there, that's also why Pa liked Dr Lets so much? Because he was good with children.

Pa: Dr Lets had fantastic manners when it came to people. He was also a very good doctor.

Meraai: He was, he always did so much. We loved Dr Lets very much. I remember when we saw that news story together, Pa was very shocked?

Dad: Not really, while we were still in Potties I suspected that he was involved in right-wing politics and moved in right-winged political circles. One day he asked me to print some posters for him, but I refused. I then showed him how to do it on his printer. He also assaulted another doctor in the hospital, I don't know if that's true but apparently, this guy's stuff was burned down because of politics. He was extremely right winged.

Meraai: It's so funny because it's almost like two different people. On the one hand, he was this mild-mannered wonderful doctor, but on the other hand, he was this other human being.

Dad: Yeah, he seems to have been very aggressive when it came to politics. But yeah, uh, that's it.

Annexure D: Eendjies, Eendjies. . . (Ducklings, Ducklings. . .)

Ma's written account:

Tuinhulp en my eendjie glas

Jy was in Graad R (5 jaar oud). Ons het in Potgietersrus (vandag Mokopane) gebly. Ons tuinhulp het elke Saterdag ingekom. Dink sy naam was Thomas. End it was jou hoogtepunt van die dag. Jy het vreeslik baie met hom gesels … wat weet ek nie … en letterlik agter hom aangeloop van bedding tot bedding. Die spesifieke Saterdag was dit baie warm … ek was in die huis doening en toe ek weer sien kom jy baie trots met my hoogmode eendjie glas die kombuis binne en kondig aan dat jy vir Thomas …water gegee het want dit is so warm en hy werk in die son. As ek reg onthou was ek nie rerig kwaad nie maar het wel besluit daai eendjie glas gaan nie weer terug in my kombuis nie, 6 glase het nou 5 geword.
Ek dink jy moes die glas in die asblik gegooi het.*

Translation

The gardener and my duckling glass

You were in Grade R (5 years old). We stayed in Potgietersrus (today Mokopane). Our gardener came in every Saturday. I think his name was Thomas. It was your highlight of the day. You talked to him a lot …what about, I do not know …and walked behind him everywhere. It was very hot on that particular Saturday... I was in the house busy with errands when you proudly held up one of my high-fashion duckling glasses and announced that you gave Thomas water because it was so hot and he is working in the sun. If I remember correctly, I was not angry but decided that that duck glass would not go back into my kitchen, 6 glasses would now become 5.
I think you should have thrown the glass in the trash.

Pa's account via critical memory sharing interview:

Meraai: Wat kan pa onthou van toe ek, ek dink ek so vyf jaar oud, toe ek vir ons tuinjong ys water in ons glase gegee het in Potgietersrus.
Pa: Ek was net omgekrap dat jy dit vir hom gegee het omdat ons, ons het spesiale koppies en bekers en goed gehad vir hulle, om uit te drink. En omdat ek uit so agtergrond kom waar ons so groot geword het, waar die bediendes of die tuinwerkers of die watookal het hulle eie borde, koppies en pierings en goed gehad, of bekers waaruit hulle gedrink en geeet het.

Meraai: En ek meen dit was die eerste keer wat ek, wat ek iets gegee het vir iemand, so ek het ook nou nie geweet nie.

Pa: Dit was vir jou ook ‘n moerse skok gewees. So …

Meraai: Ja want pa het nooit met my geraas nie né? Ek het nooit eindlik raas gekry nie. Was dit die eerste keer wat ek regtig eindlik raas gekry het?

Pa: Ek het nie regtig hard geraas met jou nie, ek het net bietjie hard met jou gepraat, en ek kan nie presies alles skerp onthou nie, maar ek onthou ek was ongelukkig dat jy dit gedoen het. Omdat, ek meen dit is hoe ons groot gemaak is.

Meraai: Kan pa onthou dat ma die glas of glase weg gegooi het?

Pa: Nee, ek verbeel my ons het die glas gehou, ons het hom net een kant gehou. Ons het hom later ook weer gebruik.

Meraai: En die tuinjong? Het hy in die moeilikheid gekom?

Pa: Nee, hy was dood happy gewees.

Translation
Meraai: What can dad remember from when I, I think I was about five years old when I gave ice cream to our garden boy in our glasses in Potgietersrus?
Dad: I was just upset that you gave it to him because we, we had special cups and mugs and stuff for them to drink. And because I come from such a background where

we grew up, where the servants or the gardeners or whatever, had their plates, cups and saucers and stuff, or cups from which they drank and ate.

Meraai: And I think it was the first time I gave something to someone, so I didn't know now either.

Dad: It was a shock to you, too. So …

Meraai: Yeah because dad never bothered with me, did he? I never finally got the rage. Was this the first time I finally got the rage?

Dad: I didn't really scold to you, I just talked a little loudly to you, and I can't remember exactly everything, but I remember I was unhappy that you did. Because I think that's how we were raised.

Meraai: Can dad remember that mom threw the glass or glasses away?

Dad: No, I imagine we kept the glass, we only kept it one side. We also used it again later.

Meraai: And the garden boy? Did he get in trouble?

Dad: No, he would have been happy.

Annexure E: Sunday **Lunch**

Ma's written account:

Sondae: Eet by Oupa en Ouma

Sondag ete was altyd om die groot eetkamer tafel. Almal, selfs die kleinkinders het aan tafel gesit.
Oupa het sy idee orr politiek gehad (maar gebore in 1919 en oorlede op 97 jaar) is dit te verstane.
Ek dink nie aan die tafel gesprekke was net politiek nie.
Ek weet die nuwer bedeling, PW Botha en Roelf Meyer se aandeel daarin, Mandela se vrylating en die politiek na 1994 is nogal bespreek en het op en aanmerkings gemaak want nuus het hy geluister en koerant gelles (alles was daarop geskoei).
Wat ek goed onthou enw at Oupa gereeld gese het.
Hul moes Mandela nie in die trunk gesit het nie, maar moes hom daai tyd 'n Coke ne 'n brood gegee het dan was hy nie 'n ikoniese figuur nie.
Oupa het ook gese Zuma was 'n beeswagter sonder enige akademiese agtergrond end it is waarom dit so sleg gaan in die land.
Pa het altyd saamgepraat en saam Oupa alles vergroot.
Ek en Ouma het nie hul praatjies oor politiek geduld nie. . . dink dit is onder die lapa voortgesit.
Politieke praatjies staan my tot vandag toe nie aan nie.

Translation

Sundays: Dinner with Grandpa and Grandma

Sunday dinner was always around the large dining room table. Everyone, even the grandchildren sat at the table.
Grandpa had his idea of politics, but since he was born in 1919 and died at the age of 97, it is understandable.
I don't think table talks were just political.
I know the newer dispensation, PW Botha and Roelf Meyer's part in it, Mandela's release and politics after 1994 were discussed a lot and made comments and

comments because he listened to the news and scanned the newspaper (everything was based on it).
Which I remember well, as Grandpa often said.
They should not have put Mandela in jail but should have given him a Coke and bread at that time – then he was not an iconic figure.
Grandpa also said Zuma was a cattle ranger with no academic background and that is why things were going so badly in the country.
Dad always talked and together Grandpa enlarged everything.
Grandma and I did not tolerate their talk about politics. . . think it has continued under the lapa.
Political talk doesn't bother me to this day.

Annexure F: Onsevader (Our Father)

Ma's written account:
Kerk, skool. . . gedrag.

Laerskool, Kleuterskool het jy al 'n wil van jou eie gehad en jou nie maklik laat voorskryf nie … was vir my 'n goeie ding en ek het nooit dit prober onderdruk nie. Sulke kinders kom ver in die lewe en kan hul man staan.
Familie het altyd gese 'haar ma se kind, die appel val nie ver van die oom af nie …'

Ai en toe kom die Hoërskool.
Gedoen wat en soos jy wil/goed dink, terug gepraat, eie kop gevolg – nes ou ma – al verskil ek het my simple geleer op skool en jy … baie min.

Kategese en Kerk.
Jy het alles bevraagteken, vrae gevra waar ander kinders net niks gese/gevra het nie. Ek het weer gevoel 'word tog net aangeneem in die Hervormde kerk dat dit ook net gedoen is'. Jy het dit teen jou sin gedoen.

Op Hoërskool, het jy koppe met die Biologie juffrou gestamp (weet net van haar). Jy beantwoord jou vrae in jou eie woorde en verduidelik dit so. Sy soek alles uit die handbook geleer, geskryf en weergegee.

My ma was ‘n onderdanige vrou aan my pa. As kind het dit my gegrief daarom het ek besluit ek sal nooit so wees ie en het di took by jou ingeprent. . . wees onafhanklik.

Translation
Church, school. . . behaviour.

Primary school, nursery school you already had a will of your own and not easily prescribed … was a good thing for me and I never tried to suppress it. Such children come a long way in life and can stand their man.
Family always said, ‘her mother's child, the apple does not fall far from the uncle …’

Oh and then comes high school.
Do what and how you like/think, talk back, follow your head - just like old mum - even though I taught myself simple at school and you … very little.

Catechism and church.
You questioned everything, asked questions where other children just didn't say/ask anything. Again, I felt 'just accepted in the Reformed Church that it was just done too.' You did it against your mind.

At high school, you bumped into the biology teacher (just know about her). You answer your questions in your own words and explain them in this way. She seeks out everything from the textbook learned, written and reproduced.

My mother was a submissive wife to my father. As a child, it annoyed me so I decided I would never be like that and imprinted this one on you … be independent.

Sam’s written account:
Hi Tjomma,

Ek het so lekker gelag! What a walk down memory lane.

Ek dink dit is 100% reg en akkuraat. Ek dink al wat ek kan byvoeg (it might not even be relevant or necessary) is dat ek jou as baie uitgehonger vir alternatiewe ervaar het. Enige nuwe informasie oor God of die Kerk was deur jou verslind. Ek dink ons albei het ons rebellion in die lamest vorm ooit express - deur Jesus Freaks/rebels te wees. Bwhahahahaha! Dit is nou kak snaaks!

Ek dink ook ons het albei 'n plek van belonging in die AGS kerk en die CSV gevind. En as ek terugkyk was dit verseker 'n ‘reguit hou met 'n krom stok’ scenario. Ek dink dit het ons ridiculously passionate persoonlikhede en energie 'n 'outlet' gegee. En al glo ons nie meer so fundamentalisties soos ons toe geglo het nie, dink ek het ons albei iets daaruit geleer. En as ons vriendskap die AGS kerk, die heilige gees, Nico en ons ma's kan survive. We can survive anything.

Ek hoop dit help!
Vriendelike groete

Sam

Translation
Hi Tjomma,

I laughed so much! What a walk down memory lane.

I think it is 100% correct and accurate. I think all I can add (it might not even be relevant or necessary) is that I have been starving you for alternatives. Any new information about God or the Church was swallowed up by you. I think we both have our rebellion in the lamest form ever express - by being Jesus Freaks / Rebels. Bwhahahahaha! It's shit funny now!

I also think we have both found a place of belonging in the AFM church and the CSV. And when I look back it was definitely a ‘straight up with a crooked stick’ scenario. I think it gave us ridiculously passionate personalities and energy an 'outlet'. And though we no longer believe as fundamentalist as we believed then, I think we both learned

something from it. And if our friendship can survive the AFM church, the holy spirit, Nico and our mothers. We can survive anything.

I hope this helps!

Kind regards
Sam

Annexure G: Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes

Cornelius's written account:

I clearly recall the day Marisa and I had the conversation she refers to in the chapter entitled Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes. I also remember the recording of the pastor she mentions.

To be honest, I was somewhat taken aback by Marisa seeking some form of confirmation from me about what the pastor said about black people and Africa in general. I clearly remember thinking, why does it have to be true? How does that change your life for the better should what he said to be true?

Marisa mentions that my response was articulate and well thought out. Unfortunately, the exact opposite is true. My response was actually a type of defence mechanism that has developed in response to a very personal struggle. You see, I am a white, gay, Afrikaans male. I was, and still am, very much aware of how I am regarded by the white, Afrikaans community; at best, I am a 'must-have' best friend to 'progressive' white women, as shown in TV series and magazines, but, to the vast majority, I am representative of the unseen threat to the holy union between man and woman, seeking to destroy the family unit, a sinner who has no greater goal than to corrupt the youth. A bit like die swart gevaar.

It would be extremely arrogant to compare my struggle with the system to that of an entire race. But when you live your life on the fringes of societal systems, you find yourself asking 'why' quite a lot. Why is my very existence an abomination to you? How does denying me make your life any better? So, when Marisa asked whether it

is true what the pastor said, my response was somewhat automatic and came from a personal struggle against a societal system that despises me. I asked, ‘Why? Who says so? Who says there is anything wrong with living in a hut? Who says wearing a loincloth is wrong? From whose perspective and frame of reference are you making these judgments? And what does it matter how people choose to live their lives? How does their living in a hut affect your life?’ After this initial discussion, we spent the evening talking about how we adapt and develop the frames of reference and perspectives of the systems we live in, in exchange for safety, security and acceptance, our most basic needs.

One function of systems is to remind you of your role as an individual, a family and community member within the greater social arrangement. We brilliantly employ our social institutions, like our churches and schools, to teach us how to conform. Within these institutions, we are rewarded for our conformity. Our systems carefully equip us with a set of filters through which we view the world to determine what and who is acceptable, worthwhile and what is not. It is within these institutions that the abstract becomes tangible. It is within these systems that our worldview becomes crystallised in behaviour and responses to others. It is within these systems that we become aware of the threat of the 'others' pose to our safety and security, whether real or not. It is here where we learn not to ask ‘why’ because asking why threatens conformity and threatens you with the loss of its rewards.

The pastor Marisa refers to in her story, is the perfect example, of what happens when we have come to accept the filters of the systems we live in, and that we are willing to reject and deny who and what we are, in exchange for the safety, security and acceptance offered by the organisation within a system. The learned filters of the organisation ensure that we present behaviour, thoughts and ideas that are consistent with the requirements for membership of our systems. This ensures our safety, security and acceptance within the system and our acceptance thereof reminds us of our place within the system. For me, this is the story of this pastor. His views of his people being rescued by whites, put in proper clothes, taken from their mud huts shown how to build houses of brick and mortar, is characteristic of someone who has come to know his place within a system that offers him scraps of safety and security.

However, we should not forget that systems are dynamic. Like waves, they build up energy, break upon themselves, pull back, but before they could be subdued, they break on themselves again, and in doing so gain more momentum. The same goes for those rejected by systems who live on the fringes and feed off the scraps of appeasement tossed to their side. We remain dangerously blind to history and her lessons. Those forced out of the system because they do not fit in, look and think like the rest, they too, like waves, tend to gather and slowly build momentum. And when such systems have built enough momentum, they topple governments, burn buildings and people die, to gain some sense of safety, security and acceptance.

To close, I used the Inca and Maya empires as an example in our discussion. I've always wanted to visit Machu Picchu. The fact that the citadel was constructed high up in the Andes, without any advanced technology has always fascinated me. What I've always found interesting was that these peoples developed a unique, well-organised and advanced society in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. As I was reading up on the location and its history, I came across a review of the site and the Inca people. It compared the site and the Inca's achievements to those of other civilisations. The review implied that there is nothing to inspire awe or admiration, as other civilisations had already achieved much greater architectural wonders by the 15th century. As I read through the replies to the review, I saw how a few sentences made the achievements of this great civilisation null and void. I remember replying to the review, asking why is it important to make this comparison? Why? I never got an answer. Maybe the reviewer is still learning how to act brown-eyed?

Madame Chocolat Croissant's written account:

My reflection – as lecturer ... well the parts I can remember

I was born into an interracial family, my father African-black (South African) and mother white (Spanish-Portuguese). I identify as bi-racial. I have three younger siblings, and we spent our first developmental years living in Europe. While in Europe our mixed-raced family was accepted as a 'futuristic family'; but once we stepped into South African territory, our family often become a 'target' of racist looks, nasty comments or

pure curiosity. I guessed we represented what the past dispensation of Apartheid had fought so hard for decades ago: racial integration

Growing up in a mixed-race family, the race topic was very fluid in our daily interactions and our family, in particular, took 'racial banter' as a way to deal with racial ignorance and prejudice. When we used to have friends and acquaintances visiting our home, they used to 'cringe' and be scared of how we used banter and jokes as a way to tackle and discuss freely the race issue. It used to baffle them how we had freed ourselves from the social rule of 'no race discussions allowed'. I think this was our way to untangle such a 'complicated subject' and discuss and confront societal racial taboos.

However, when the time came for me to discuss race and racism in the classroom, I felt very unprepared and actually uncomfortable. I was used to talking about race and how it affected my daily life, freely with my family but with strangers, I felt out of the water with the situation. As a young lecturer, I was given the module and a study guide but had no tools on how to start the discussion with students or how to foster reflexivity within my students regarding the topic.

Before even beginning the class preparations … I thought about my own school experiences … I had had a lot of negative experiences at school because of how I looked, for example, teachers struggled to place me in groups for assignments. Groups were normally divided according to South African racial groups. Usually, I ended up being placed within the South African racial category called 'coloured'. Once, I remember being sent to the principal's office because my hair was curly and considered exotic and unruly? I was told to tie it up or cut it.., I remember going back to class crying and humiliated as all the other girls stared at my hair ... or when it was time to do the Census at school and I remember the teacher being furious with me because I refused to choose one racial category and ticked both black and white boxes on the official form. She ended up putting me in the Indian category … That was just Grade 9… I was given many different racial identities by many more teachers, my own chose identity usually ignored and frowned upon. At other times, my work was questioned, because it was so thorough, and I was questioned whether I had another student (white) do my work for me? … looking back the way I was treated because of

how I looked, definitely impacted my academic experience … I did what was needed in class, joined a group of friends from other international countries or who they themselves, came from interracial backgrounds and became a ghost in the hallways, just trying to get through the school years … invisible. I remember entering the classroom eager to learn but left school wounded and confused because my teachers lacked the skills and awareness to foster positive racial identities in me and other students of colour.

Lesson planning

What I knew was that new teachers were given many tools at varsity such as classroom management, teaching with technology, lesson planning, etc ….but were they actually given skills to navigate race and racism in the classroom? So why did I use the 'The class divided reflection experiment' in my class…??? one of my favourite tools that can be used to explain in a very simple way what it is like to feel marginalised and discriminated against because of one's physical features. I didn't have special training in diversity to duplicate the experiment, so I instead decided to show the film to engage the students in the exploration of central issues related to race.

Goals of the lesson:

I began thinking about what I wanted students to take from the class …. I researched and hoped that the class would help students realise that self-criticism is an important aspect of change, empathy is a critical aspect of unlearning negative narratives, it's important that we continually expose ourselves to other people's stories (different narratives of race, religion, gender, culture, sexual orientation; etc); and that they could in their future classrooms make space for people of colour to be seen and heard.

During the lesson:

I tried to create rules so students would feel safe enough to participate openly. Continuously, reiterating that it is normal to feel some discomfort when engaging in deep reflection. I tried to acknowledge that talking honestly about racism, prejudice, and discrimination is hard and these are topics that people generally avoid.

My observations: At times students expressed anger by sharing stories of being discriminated against and even bias stating that this discussion was not necessary as they had lived through racism

Others expressed guilt and at times indirectly, reacted defensively. When this occurred, I reiterated that the video was not used to make them feel bad about themselves, but to try and understand that racism and discrimination have real-life consequences. Other students confided in me that they kept were quiet during the class as they did not want to unintentionally say something that will offend.

Final reflection in class

In the end, I tried to emphasise that anti-bias or anti-discriminatory work is a life-long journey just like education, for people of all races and cultural backgrounds. I reiterated that change will not happen in this class, change happens over time and encouraged students to continue to give themselves and others space to change and to take action in their future classrooms, with small actions such as not making assumptions about individuals, challenging theirs and others' discriminatory comments or actions, and learning more about different religions and cultures.