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Building an inclusive South African society: The position of young, white Afrikaans speaking women

Lidia Rauch

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Abstract

Globally, white people enjoy historical, unearned privilege. This phenomenon is known and understood as 'white privilege'. In contemporary South Africa, white privilege stems from colonialism and apartheid. The legacy of colonialism and apartheid is still felt today and has a direct and continuous consequence in the form of racial inequality.

This dissertation confronts the legacy of Afrikaner nationalism, which essentially instituted and upheld apartheid and still undergirds white people's privilege in democratic South Africa. Engagements were undertaken with ten white, Afrikaans speaking women between the ages of 24 and 32.

Substantive transformation, bringing about the necessary change to racial power relations, has not been realised in contemporary South Africa. The research finds that this phenomenon is a result of a 'reconciliation gap' that was left by the participants' parents' generation. It is argued that reconciliation in South Africa will only be possible if responsibility is taken for the wrongs of the past. A 'responsibility gap', left by the participants' parents' generation, is identified and the research findings suggest that this gap should now be covered by the post-apartheid generation. This generation must cover the gap and shoulder the responsibility that was not taken by their parents' generation.

An inclusive innovation praxis model was produced, to suggest practical steps aimed at cultivating positive political agency and to cover the 'responsibility gap' and contribute towards a more inclusive South African society.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research Area

This dissertation investigates young, white Afrikaans speaking women's potential position in the building of an inclusive South African society. The dissertation first explores and confronts white privilege in contemporary South Africa as a result of apartheid and colonialism. It then moves beyond this confrontation and explores the disposition of young, white Afrikaans speaking women towards becoming active citizens by attempting to interrogate their historical, unearned privilege as well as filling the 'responsibility gap' left by their parents' generation, to ultimately realise substantive transformation and reconciliation. This dissertation, and more specifically the innovation praxis model (Appendix A), is offered as a potential social innovation tool for young, white Afrikaans speaking women who might be interested in building an inclusive South African society.

An empirical study was undertaken to build the innovation praxis model and draw the research conclusions by engaging 10 participants in interviews and focus group sessions. Participants were white, female, Afrikaans speaking and between the ages of 25 and 32. Participants reside in Durbanville, Cape Town and held divergent political positions and views on the research topic.

1.2. Research context and relevance to South Africa

South Africans are too racially divided, especially given the fact that it is 25 years after the first democratic election. Ignorance about South African apartheid and colonial history, as well as an unwillingness to engage it honestly, among white South Africans is a significant part of the reason for this division.

A social innovation initiative is proposed, to potentially result in active citizenry among the target group. Critical Whiteness Studies provide a theoretical framework but can also be used to build a practical model for any type of organisation or public process. This research project therefore aims to serve as the foundation of a social innovation model, with the potential to encourage positive political agency.

Social innovation is intimately involved in the social conditions in which it is produced. It calls for new paradigms and new theoretical perspectives to move forward, which will ultimately result in new social practices (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014). Agents cannot exist independently from their social context and therefore cannot be understood as separate or distinct from one another (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014). In the context of this study, therefore, white privilege does not exist separately from the social context which produces it. The interrogation of white privilege and consequently social identity can serve as a precursor for possible social innovation.

One of the reasons why the Afrikaner is worth studying is that the generations to come have the opportunity to either prevent the mistakes of the past and to learn from them or simply forget apartheid ever happened (Loubser, 2014), and take the risk of potentially repeating the mistakes of the past. Regrettably, Jonathan Jansen found that "the majority of young Afrikaans speaking white South Africans do not see the need for redress and suggest that the apartheid past should be forgotten" (as cited in Loubser, 2014, p. 20).

Van der Westhuizen (2017b) reminds us that Nelson Mandela extended an invitation to South Africans who identify as 'Afrikaner women' when he remembered Afrikaans poet, Ingrid Jonker in his inaugural 'State of the Nation' address in 1994:

> She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being. In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted by death, she asserted the beauty of life […] She instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child.

This research project will ultimately be an attempt to accept Mandela's invitation.

1.3. Conceptual approach

This research project aims to serve as a contribution towards the reimagining of socio-political possibilities for young, white Afrikaans speaking women in democratic South Africa. This dissertation allows an opportunity for explorative and interrogative groundwork and further offers an honest and ethical engagement with aspects of identity formation.

Afrikaans speaking white women historically occupy an intermediate intersectional position, as both oppressor and oppressed, and might therefore be more amenable to confronting white

privilege as they may want to also confront male privilege (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). There is a scarcity of studies on young, white Afrikaans speaking women. The 'born-free'[1] generation grew up in a country significantly different from the generations before them. The transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa unpicked the hierarchical unity of Afrikaner nationalism, making the identity of the 'Afrikaner woman' available for reconfiguration (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). White Afrikaans speaking women seem to have developed an identity crisis during the post-apartheid years and may have to realise some aspects of the self that were suppressed by their cultural identity and their obedience to the strong patriarchal authority (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). This dissertation is a result of this very identity crisis and an attempt to actualise the suppressed aspects of the self.

1.4. Research question and contribution

This dissertation aims to answer the following question:

> How might the interrogation of historical, unearned privilege cultivate positive political agency in relation to the South African democracy?

The objective of this study stems from an awareness of unearned historical privilege and a need for perspective with the potential to result in paradigm shifting. In an attempt to realise the said objective, an inclusive innovation praxis model for young, white Afrikaans speaking women interested in participating in building an inclusive South African society was produced.

[1] The 'born-free' generation is generally understood as the South African generation born from 1994, onwards.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical framework

Noting that no group is ever homogeneous, and that white people are just as diverse as other racial groups, this research project will specifically look at the position of young, white Afrikaans speaking South African women between the ages of 24 and 32. This dissertation will start from the theoretical vantage point of Critical Whiteness Studies, as part of Critical Race Theory.

2.1.1. Critical Race Theory

The political reality of democratic South Africa, a society which is ideologically contested, makes the study of whiteness an interesting one (Steyn, 2007). It also seems as if the possibility for interrogating the racial power of whiteness is currently more of a possibility in South Africa than anywhere else in the world, which makes this particular study all the more relevant. The construction of whiteness was central not only to the processes of power and oppression established during the era of colonialism, but still shapes the postcolonial world we live in (Steyn, 2004). Therefore, racial order still indiscernibly functions around the comfort, convenience, affirmation, solidarity, psychological well-being, advantage, and advancement of white people (Steyn, 2004).

Critical Race Theory acknowledges that knowledge comes from thinking and feeling human beings, that are raced, gendered, and sexualised and that are located in hierarchical relations and places of difference (Baszile, 2015). Critical Race Theory also recognises that revolutionising a culture begins with a radical assessment of it (Modiri, 2012). Therefore, to engage with race in post-1994 South Africa, the implications of life under law after apartheid must also be considered. This is particularly true for the reproduction and maintenance of white privilege, as well as the systemic exclusion of black South Africans through direct and indirect forms of racial marginalisation (Modiri, 2012). It must be noted that notions of white guilt, white habits, white ignorance, white invisibility, white privilege, and white shame, as they are theorised in much critical race theory, share a vital limitation in minimising white people's active interest in maintaining the racist status quo (Milazzo, 2017). These notions can therefore

be understood as a reproduction of white privilege and the systemic exclusion of South Africans of colour.

2.1.2. Critical Whiteness Studies

Critical Whiteness Studies has emerged as an interdisciplinary intellectual project aiming to unmask the power and structural advantages associated with whiteness (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). The objective of Critical Whiteness Studies is to reveal the strategies by which whiteness operates and, by naming these, to sap the power it wields (Steyn, 2007). Critical Whiteness Studies should result in aiding those who do not want to be stuck with the heritage of whiteness to fulfil more democratic and self-respecting subject positions (Steyn, 2004).

White people should ask themselves what can be done with their knowledge. If a transformative practice is to emerge it will have to continuously critique power relationships and find constructive spaces into which it can feed, generate discussion and be useful to action aimed at contesting racialised inequalities (Garner, 2017). Critical Whiteness Studies is supported by the beliefs that: Whiteness is a modern invention and has changed over time; whiteness is a social norm and has become chained to an array of unspoken privileges; and whiteness has yet to be interrogated for the benefit of humanity (Nayak, 2007). Critical Whiteness Studies presents an intervention into race thinking as well as the possibility of challenging the idea of whiteness as a universal norm (Nayak, 2007).

This research project investigates whiteness, from the perspective of young, white Afrikaans speaking women. An alternative lens that could have been used to unearth the participants' perceptions was Feminist studies. However, this study's focus on race specifically necessitated the lens of Critical Whiteness Studies, as part of Critical Race Theory. The dissertation reflects on the respondents' position in society and the historical privilege it holds. Although the respondents are women, the study does not focus on their femininity, but rather on their whiteness.

2.2. White privilege in the South African context

Globally, whiteness is historically linked to privilege. According to MacIntosh (1992), whiteness can be understood as frequently functioning from a space of taken-for-granted

privilege, allowing white people to be oblivious to their own racialisation and unearned privileges (Steyn, 2007). MacIntosh (1992) conceptualizes white privilege as the bundle of unearned resources carried in an 'invisible weightless knapsack', a recognised identity or social position that has a symbolic authority or privilege to it. For example, silently demanding not to be watched when walking into a grocery store (Chen, 2017), as a black person might be. Apartheid was about creating differential life opportunities, where white South Africans, especially white men, were systematically advantaged. Unfortunately, this hierarchical legacy is still deeply entrenched in the South African social fabric and institutions (Steyn, 2004).

This research project builds on the idea that the impact of settler colonialism is still prevalent in South Africa today as South Africa could be described as a settler state. Settler colonialism is distinct from colonialism. Settler colonialism does not emphasize imperial expansion driven primarily by militaristic or economic purposes, which involves the eventual departure of the colonizer. Settler colonialism rather focuses on the permanent occupation of a territory and removal of indigenous persons with the sole purpose of building an ethnically distinct national community (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). The process of settler colonialism in South Africa started when the first Portuguese explorer planted a cross near the mouth of the Bushman's River on the Eastern Cape coast in 1488. However, the first real European settlement was in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck arrived in the Cape of Good Hope. By engaging with whiteness through the lens of settler colonialism, white supremacy can be understood as an ongoing colonial project (Bonds & Inwood, 2016).

Although the Dutch East India Company did not specifically state that the 'burghers' had a superior legal status, it upheld a social hierarchy with officials and 'burghers' at the top and Khoikhoi and slaves at the bottom (Adam & Giliomee, 1979). Thus, the group that later became known as the Afrikaners increasingly considered political privilege a crucial element of its position in society. And because virtually no black free 'burghers' emerged, this came to be perceived as white privilege (Adam & Giliomee, 1979).

The categorisation and rank of people in a hierarchy, naturalising a view of white people as superior to other races and which downgraded black South Africans to the lowest rung, can be understood as an outcome of colonialism (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). These classifications fixed a person's position within a racial hierarchy, associating whiteness with power, privilege and opportunity, and blackness with poverty, dispossession and inferiority (Bock & Hunt,

2015). It is, therefore, understandable that, although apartheid ended with the first democratic election in 1994, the issue of race as a primary identity marker has continued to permeate many aspects of private and public life in democratic South Africa (Bock & Hunt, 2015). In Richard Dyer's book *White* (1997, pp.1-2) he says:

> As long as race is something only applied to non-white people, as long as white people are not racially seen and named, they function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are not. The claim to power is the claim to speak for the commonality of humanity. Raced people can't do that – they can only speak for their race.

Dyer makes an important point in that whiteness has to be acknowledged as a social and historical construct like blackness, in order to realise non-racialism (Motlanthe, 2018).

In South Africa, white privilege was produced through political power and economic advancement during apartheid. While the National Party, the political party associated with the creation and enforcement of white privilege, no longer rules, white South Africans generally still enjoy economic privilege (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). Black South Africans constitute the majority of the poorest half of the population, with coloured South Africans making up the balance (Van der Westhuizen, 2017a). Therefore, white privilege prevails in democratic South Africa.

In order to do a credible study on white privilege it is vital to take South Africa's history of oppression into consideration, as well as the fact that black disadvantage is not being sufficiently redressed in democratic South Africa (Steyn & Foster, 2008). The South African government introduced legislation affecting labour relations, basic conditions of employment and employment equity, providing the basis for far-reaching changes in its employment practice. Despite the legal imperative for affirmative action and broad-based black economic empowerment (BBBEE), the diversity of the South African population remains largely untapped as a resource, and is still often regarded as a source of difficulty (Steyn, 2010). This can be understood, among others, as a result of white privilege being safeguarded in democratic South Africa.

Disappointingly, institutional racism continues to provide concrete material advantages for white South Africans. Less than 9 per cent of the South African population is white but own over 80 per cent of the land and economy as well as 90 per cent of the companies listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (Milazzo, 2017). Moreover, 38 000 white families still own close to 70 per cent of the land in South Africa (Van Heerden, 2017). These statistics serve as proof that economic prosperity is still mostly reserved for white South Africans and that black poverty is not being adequately redressed.

During apartheid, the majority of white South Africans not only turned a blind eye to the ongoing human rights violations, but supported the way the security forces dealt with black South Africans (Theissen & Hamber, 1998). Many white South Africans seem to still turn a blind eye to the fact that apartheid was a crime against humanity, even in democratic South Africa. According to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation's Reconciliation Barometer, 2013 figures suggest that only 52.8 per cent of white people are of the opinion that apartheid was a crime against humanity (Van der Westhuizen, 2017a). It should also be noted that whiteness is not static and it was culturally created in a specific time in history, which creates the potential for whiteness to undergo further transformation (Chen, 2017). This dissertation will speak to the potential of further transformation, focusing on the position of young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

A non-racial South Africa is only possible if white South Africans no longer consider themselves superior to other South Africans and no longer expect to occupy a dominant position within society (Matthews, 2015). In order to realise this ideal, white people will have to be able to acknowledge that they are in fact benefiting from their whiteness, and that apartheid benefitted them, at the expense of South Africans of colour. The challenge today, however, seems to be that this proves to be a difficult realisation for a large portion of white South Africans. This difficulty can be attributed to the fact that for white South Africans to acknowledge that they have benefited from a system that oppressed fellow human beings, threatens their sense of humanity (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014). It can be argued that white South Africans need the psychological protection that denial provides to shield them from recognising and confronting the injustice of apartheid (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014).

Ignorance has emerged as a strategic white disposition in democratic South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2016), producing the outcome that white people will generally be unwilling to

acknowledge their privilege. Dislocation of a particular worldview can be understood as occurring when social changes result in the previously unseen or denied being made forcibly visible, when the representations and constructions that shaped identities are recognised, and the boundaries have moved to such an extent that new horizons for the social imaginary have to be forged (Steyn, 2004). It can be argued then that, for white South Africans to make a positive contribution to the democracy, they will have to take responsibility for decolonising their minds and use their privileged position to work towards dismantling the system that produces it (Moore, 2018).

The first step of decolonising might be the acknowledgement that white privilege in fact exists. However, decolonising whiteness will require much more than simply looking at the implications of white privilege and its ignorance. A decolonised whiteness would mean changes to all facets of being – cognitive and epistemological, affective and ethical (Steyn, 2018). It should also be noted that the belief that the problems of racism can be solved by white people changing their minds does exist (Moore, 2018) and that acknowledgement alone will never suffice as a solution to racism.

Acknowledgement should stretch further by an understanding that a change in laws will not result in an automatic change of attitudes, and that racism will continue to filter into our democracy (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014). White people should focus on the psychological legacy of apartheid racism, i.e. the experiences of white privilege while South Africans of colour were excluded from economic, educational and occupational opportunities, which instilled a sense of superiority in the minds of many white South Africans (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014). It is vital to note that under apartheid it was not only legal, but also socially acceptable for white South Africans to treat South Africans of colour as inferior (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014). As a starting point towards addressing racism, Nozipho January Bardhill's sentiments from her appearance at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission can be echoed: "Reconciliation will only take place the day whites also feel offended by racism, instead of feeling sorry for blacks" (Krog, 1998, pp. 111).

It should be noted that white fatigue is evident among white South Africans. White fatigue exists among white people who intuitively understand the moral imperative of antiracism, but are not yet in a position to understand the complexity of racism and how it functions as an institutional and systemic phenomenon (Flynn, 2015). White South Africans who are fatigued

claim to be tired of talking about racism or white privilege and believe that they no longer have to learn about it (Flynn, 2015).

Van Heerden (2017) argues that when white South Africans learn that skin colour is not an indicator of a person's humanity, personality or abilities, he or she can become aware of the discrimination that exists in the South African society. It is still easier for an average white male to find employment than the average black woman, because black women have been denied the opportunity to be as efficient, educated and productive as white males, due to unequal access to society and resources (Van Heerden, 2017). For example, due to apartheid spatial planning, a river, railway line or hill separates poor people of colour from every town and city in South Africa. Although some people of colour can afford to move into previously 'white areas' very few whites move into previously 'black, coloured or Indian' areas; the result is that poor people of colour remain trapped in the same place as before 1994 (Van Heerden, 2017). Under apartheid, R4 was spent on every black child's education for every R100 spent on a white child (Van Heerden, 2017). This grossly unequal access to quality education still results in massively unequal access to opportunities for all South Africans. Therefore, it can be argued that white South Africans must come to the realisation that the discussion of white privilege will stay relevant until opportunities for the average black and white person in South Africa become equal.

Being white seems to carry with it a significant taint in democratic South Africa, due to the scars apartheid left us with as a nation. Some white South Africans responded to this by declaring themselves African (Matthews, 2015). Equally, many white Afrikaans speaking South Africans refuse to call themselves Afrikaners, due to the stain of apartheid (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). It is important to note that taking on an African or 'non-Afrikaner' identity is not sufficient for the actual interrogation of white privilege (Matthews, 2015) or for addressing racism. Addressing continuing racism is not about changing the ways in which people identify themselves, but rather about changing the way in which society is structured and the way in which people behave towards each other (Matthews, 2015). It is important to be cognisant of this phenomenon so that this dissertation can reflect an inclusive and current overview of what it means to come to grips with white privilege and subsequently navigate through democratic South Africa today.

2.3.White fragility

Robin DiAngelo (2018) argues that white fragility exists and continues to hold racism in place. White fragility is the result of superiority and entitlement, and is triggered by discomfort and anxiety (DiAngelo, 2018). DiAngelo (2018) argues that white people see themselves as entitled to and deserving of more than people of colour. White people work hard to deny this and become defensive when these dynamics are named and subsequently this very defensiveness perpetuates the racial status quo (DiAngelo, 2018). White people raised in post-colonialism societies are conditioned into a white supremist worldview because it is the foundation of the society and its institutions (DiAngelo, 2018). DiAngelo (2018) is of the view that white people are socialized into an internalised sense of superiority that they are either unaware of or can never admit to themselves. Therefore, they become fragile in conversations about race. White fragility can thus be understood as protecting white privilege (DiAngelo, 2018). DiAngelo (2018) argues that it is impossible for white people to entirely escape having developed problematic racial assumptions and behaviours. This view is based on the understanding that race as a social construct shapes every aspect of daily life (DiAngelo, 2018).

Many white people see racism as a 'thing of the past' and do not acknowledge it in the present. Yet, racial inequality between white people and people of colour continues to exist in every institution across society (DiAngelo, 2018). The phenomenon of racism benefitting white people are usually invisible to them. White people are typically seen to be unaware of, or do not acknowledge, the meaning of race and its impact on their lives (DiAngelo, 2018). White people generally struggle to recognise or admit to white privilege and the norms that produce and maintain it. Thus, merely suggesting that whiteness grants unearned advantage will trigger the protective response of white fragility (DiAngelo, 2018).

In contemporary South Africa and globally, white people continuously receive the benefit of the doubt, which is not granted to people of colour. Whiteness alone assists with the establishment of innocence (DiAngelo, 2018). For example, when an alarm goes off in a grocery store, due to an item being stolen, the first suspect will not be a white person. The assumption will typically be that a person of colour will be involved in criminal activity. This is grossly unfair, but very important for white people interested in building inclusive societies, to be cognisant of and address. Unequal power relations cannot be challenged if they are not acknowledged. To avoid talking about racism will only hold misinformation in place and prevent white people from developing the necessary skills and perspective to challenge the

status quo (DiAngelo, 2018). DiAngelo (2018) argues that "the lifelong work of white people is challenging their complicity with and investment in racism" (pp. 33). This dissertation serves as an attempt to challenge white South Africans' complicity with, and investment in racism, from the perspective of young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

2.4. Afrikaner history and how it contributed to the collective identity of a people

Years of struggle against the British started to affect the Afrikaner's thought patterns. More than one hundred years after the South African War of 1899 to 1902, many older white Afrikaans speaking South Africans still hold unprocessed hurt toward the English. Former president FW De Klerk's sentiments when appearing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in 1997 reflect this unprocessed hurt. He referred to the loss of power the Afrikaners experienced because of their war with the British: "It deprived us of our hard-won right to rule ourselves," he said. "But somehow or other, we have succeeded in putting most of the bitterness behind us" (Gobodo-Madikizela, 2014, pp. 7). Many Afrikaners were raised to believe that fighting for their survival was the very essence of their identity. When under threat, the Afrikaner starts reverting to laager mentality (Van Heerden, 2017). This can be understood as a mental habit of holding on to the ideas and emotions that are familiar, which resulted in making assumptions about the 'other' and which the Afrikaner tried to rationalise and articulate (Van Heerden, 2017).

Through the legalisation and implementation of apartheid, those traumatised by the South African War soon became the new traumatisers (Robus & Macleod, 2019). Unfortunately, the Afrikaners at this stage have not learnt from their history. They, who had been humiliated and oppressed, and who had suffered an immense amount of collateral damage and associated trauma during the South African War, became the new oppressors of people of colour from 1948 onwards under the banner of apartheid (Robus & Macleod, 2019).

The South African War is the most extensive and destructive war that has been fought in Southern Africa (Robus & Macleod, 2019). A prerequisite for breaking intergenerational cycles of repetition is knowledge of history. Therefore, understanding the profound collateral damage and related consequences of this war is vital to conducting an honest study on the position of young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans in building an inclusive South African society. The history of the Afrikaner cannot be fully understood without considering the significance of the South African War. Together with the Great Trek of the 1830s, the South

African War was the most defining event in the history of the Afrikaner (Robus & Macleod, 2019).

It must be noted that key events in Afrikaner history such as Blood River, the Wars of Independence, and the concentration camps were woven together in a 'sacred history' in which God had, as was believed, repeatedly revealed Himself to the Afrikaners as His chosen people. The sacred history constituted a civil religion and, after the emotionally-charged commemoration of the Great Trek in 1938, most Afrikaners believed that they belonged to a chosen people (Adam & Giliomee, 1979). The Afrikaners were recruited by a nationalist project that presented them as a 'volk (nation or people) with a calling' (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

Historically, Afrikaner identity was produced by Afrikaner nationalism, which provided a language of 'volkstrots' (the nation or people's pride), noble suffering and a Calvinist decency to oppose the inferiority complex the Afrikaners experienced towards English-speaking white South Africans (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). Afrikaner nationalism centred on themes of religious, racial, and cultural purity, superiority, calling, and autonomy against British oppression. This included the struggle for an independent language (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). Throughout the 20th century, Afrikaans was used to mobilise Afrikaners around an anti-English and white ethno-nationalist identity. Therefore, the Afrikaans language was essential to nationalist aspirations and became a powerful ethnic and cultural mobiliser (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

The Afrikaans language became the primary symbol of being an Afrikaner socially, culturally and politically (van der Waal, 2012). Afrikaans was shaped by the structural violence of the colonial past and thus a new, creolised language emerged within the complex mix of people from diverse origins at the Cape (van der Waal, 2012). The creation of a standard Afrikaans language was a conscious construction of an ethnicity, an 'imaginary community', creating a division between the language of ordinary white Afrikaners and the working-class dialect of the coloured population (van der Waal, 2012). The language has been shaped by an overriding racialised binary based on imaginings of purity versus creoleness (van der Waal, 2012). While a process of creolisation was determinative of the Afrikaans language, white imaginings and practices of linguistic and racial purity emerged and became hegemonic. Standard Afrikaans

became the core symbol of white Afrikaner ethno-nationalism in the 20th century (van der Waal, 2012).

By the early 1930s, Hertzog, prime minister from 1924 to 1939, felt that the time was ripe for Afrikaners and English speakers to become one nation and subsequently, together with Smuts, he formed the United Party (Duvenage, 2018). The United Party's main opposition was the Purified National Party (Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party) of D.F. Malan (1874-1959). For Malan, English-speaking South Africans still considered England as their home and, therefore, infinitely more important (Duvenage, 2018). Malan's politics were linked to the 'poor white issue' and the need for Afrikaners to make material progress in a country dominated by English business interests.

Given the English-dominated structure of the South African economy at the time, entry into the urban economy proved difficult for Afrikaners. Many Afrikaners were classified as 'poor whites', since 30 per cent of them could not feed or house their children in 1932 (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The 'Reddingsdaadbond' (Rescue Action League) was established in an attempt to address the Afrikaner's 'poor white' problem (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The objective of the fund was for Afrikaners to buy, sell and provide services strictly to each other, as far as possible. This resulted in significant growth of Afrikaner owned companies in South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The Afrikaner's share of businesses grew from 5 per cent in 1938/9 to 11 per cent in 1948/9. This growth resulted in a leap in Afrikaner commerce from 8 to 25 per cent and in the doubling of finance capital in the hands of the Afrikaner (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

It should be noted that Malan's political position rested on an ethnic-communitarian argument that Afrikaners had the democratic right to lead South Africa towards a republic (Duvenage, 2018). In this pursuit, he was assisted by Eric Louw (1890-1968), C.R. Swart (1894-1982), J.G. Strijdom (1893-1958), Eben Dönges (1898-1968), Paul Sauer (1899-1976) and H.F. Verwoerd (1901-1966) - a younger brand of modernising nationalist politicians (Duvenage, 2018).

Although narrow in its victory, the 1948 victory of the National Party meant that Afrikaners, without the help of English speakers, had succeeded in taking power in a unitary state. Their immediate projects were the establishment of a republic in 1961 and the implementation of the

apartheid policy (Duvenage, 2018). Through laws and policies that influenced education, culture and the economy well into the twentieth century, Afrikaans was constructed as a white language, with a white history and white faces (Duvenage, 2018). In a disastrous policy decision, the Department of Bantu Education enforced its 50-50 language policy, thereby imposing Afrikaans as a language of instruction on non-Afrikaans speaking South Africans.

The ethnic movement of Afrikanerdom insisted on an absolute loyalty to controversial decisions by its leadership. Once a decision was made, criticism amounted to treason, because it would threaten unity (Adam & Giliomee, 1979). Ethnic identification occurs strongly where a group of individuals consider themselves collectively deprived and believe that mobilisation as a group would improve their position or where individuals seek to protect their privileges against others who do not enjoy them or whom they are exploiting collectively (Adam & Giliomee, 1979). As the history of the Afrikaner reflects, discrimination and prejudice are the consequence of the maintenance of ethnic rights and interests (Adam & Giliomee, 1979).

2.5. History of Afrikaner women

Dutch colonialists known as *trekboere,* and later as the Boers, started what was later called 'the Great Trek' from the Cape colony in 1838 to 'the interior', to escape British rule and pursue an ideal of independence (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). The Boer women suffered severe personal hardships, such as the realities of illness, murder and death of families on border farms during the trek. This lack of security and safety were echoed strongly in their experiences (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). The Boer's Great Trek, the Transvaal War of Independence (from 1880 to 1881), the Battle of Blood River and the South African War (from 1899 to 1902) are viewed as some of the major historical events which played a significant role in the establishment of Afrikaner identity and culture (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010).

Afrikaner women were regarded as national heroines during the Great Trek and the South African War, mainly due to their physical abilities. These included the ability to shoot with a heavy rifle, handle the oxen and drive the wagon (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010), following the Afrikaner men into 'the interior'. The period of intense suffering experienced inside and outside the British concentration camps further elevates Afrikaner women to national heroines. Despite their own sacrifices, they persisted and supported their husbands' duties as defenders of their 'volk' (nation or people) and country (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). Emily Hobbhouse, a

famous British welfare campaigner during the time if the South African War, was of the opinion that the Boer women led the Boers to independence by virtue of their noble character and humility (Hobbhouse, 1943).

Settler masculinity provided a cultural patriarchal order which distributed power unevenly between Afrikaner men and women during, and naturally before, apartheid (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). Afrikaner women were governed by obedience and duty and were socially and historically enslaved by their devoutness and submissiveness (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010).

The role of 'volksmoeders' (mothers of the nation or people) was claimed by middleclass Afrikaner women to give guidance to young, poor and working-class Afrikaner women who had relocated from the rural areas to look for work in the urban areas at the start of the twentieth century. This role of 'volksmoeder' was created from idealised images of Afrikaner women, drawn from the ideals of Voortrekker women and from the suffering of Boer women in the concentration camps (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). Racial purity had to be protected at all costs, and as a result, Afrikaner nationalists created the 'volksmoeder' (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). The 'volksmoeder' can thus be considered the prototype of the 'ideal' Afrikaner woman. She was dutiful, Christian, hard-working, selfless and submissive, while limiting her own sexuality to keep the 'volk' white (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

Men represented the political and economic agency of the 'volk' in Afrikaner nationalism, while women were assigned as the keepers of tradition and of the moral and spiritual mission (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). The 'volksmoeder' created an identity of active patriotism and passive martyrdom and came to form an integral part of Afrikaner nationalism, approved and enforced by Afrikaner leaders and the Dutch Reformed Church. They were depicted as the cornerstone of the household and as a central unifying force within and the hope for Afrikanerdom (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). The 'volksmoeder' was used historically both for and against women's active political participation in the public sphere.

The social and economic challenges of the 1920s and the 1930s gave rise to an Afrikaner female working class whose new-found independence threatened the patriarchy of the white society (Hyslop, 2012). In 1924, 48 per cent of the total manufacturing workforce in Johannesburg were white women and this figure had increased to 73 per cent by 1935 (Hyslop, 2012). Young women playing a growing economic role outside the home was inherently threatening to the

kind of patriarchal authority Afrikaner men had previously exercised (Hyslop, 2012). This situation rapidly changed social relations inside Afrikaner families and domestic violence emerged as a major problem as existing patterns of gender relations crumbled (Hyslop, 2012). Afrikaner men experienced women's greater economic and social independence as a challenge to their authority (Hyslop, 2012). This 'challenge to masculine authority' speaks to the gender hierarchy which sat at the core of Afrikaner nationalism, aimed at protecting racial 'purity' through a strictly confined role for Afrikaner women (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b).

2.6.Apartheid

The first indication of what segregation might look like in South Africa came from Milner's Native Affairs Commission, which held hearings between 1903 and 1905 and recommended the following: Racial separation of land ownership; the establishment of 'native locations' in white towns; influx control with passes to regulate the movement of black people into the cities; differential wage levels; mission-based rather than state schooling for blacks; administration by separate native councils; and limiting the franchise for black people to the Cape (Van der Westhuizen, 2007). While the British presented themselves as the liberal alternative to the Boers, the racism that existed in the approach and practice of both the British and the Boers differed in rhetoric but little in effect (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

H.F. Verwoerd, a prominent architect of apartheid, described South Africa as a "piece of Europe on the tip of the African continent" (Verwey & Quayle, 2012, pp. 572). Apartheid South Africa was often held up and defended as the 'last stand' for white people in Africa (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The idea of the Christian, Calvinist Afrikaner was carefully created and reproduced, most notably in the period after the South African War (Loubser, 2014). Maintaining the distinctiveness of the Afrikaner from the British and South Africans of colour was considered a sacred duty. This 'sacred duty' became the ultimate justification for apartheid (Loubser, 2014).

The belief that Afrikaners could realise, maintain, and protect their cultural identity only through separation and isolation became central in the Afrikaner's cultural identity (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). The social order was permitted by policies and rules of law when the National Party came into power in 1948. Afrikaner children were taught the Afrikaner system and its

values, as well as the standards and expectations for individual successes within Afrikanerdom, and were exposed to a world which supported these values (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010).

While most Afrikaners benefited immensely from apartheid on an economic level, they had to externally comply with the prevailing Christian nationalist doctrine (Vestergaard, 2001). If they failed to embody the 'good Afrikaner', they could not only lose their material privileges, but also fall out of favour in their communities, churches and at their workplaces (Vestergaard, 2001). Because Christian nationalists managed to present themselves as the only representatives of the Afrikaner people, they were able to amalgamate political and theological concerns. Opposing apartheid meant opposing not only one's own people, but also, the will of God (Vestergaard, 2001).

In an effort to remain unbiased, the courageous Afrikaners who challenged the status quo during the height of apartheid should also be noted. Writers, such as Andre´ P. Brink, Breyten Breytenbach and Antjie Krog opposed apartheid and contributed to the creation of alternative Afrikaans identities. In the 1980s, the 'Voëlvry' movement of alternative musicians, which included Koos Kombuis and Johannes Kerkorrel, also challenged Afrikaner nationalism (Loubser, 2014). Afrikaner nonconformists who played significant roles in actively opposing the status quo include the Dutch Reformed theologian Beyers Naude, the opposition politician Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, who led a group of Afrikaners to a conference with the ANC leadership in Dakar in 1987, and the journalist Max du Preez, who founded the anti-establishment newspaper, the 'Vrye Weekblad' (Loubser, 2014).

Apartheid resulted in a national psychic trauma (Robus & Macleod, 2019). Following the end of apartheid in 1994, dramatic efforts were undertaken to implement a new, post-racial nation, which became evident in the establishment of The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as well as the drafting of the South African Constitution. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established by an Act of Parliament with the task of investigating and exposing gross violations of human rights that took place in South Africa under the apartheid regime, during the period from March 1960 to May 10, 1994 (Norval, 1998). The task of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in the words of the Vice Chairperson of the Commission, Alex Boraine, was to contribute to the healing process in SA through:

> An honest assessment and diagnosis of the sickness within our society in an attempt to give people, both perpetrators and victims, an opportunity to face the past and its consequences and to start afresh. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission is an opportunity to make a contribution in order to deal finally with the past without dwelling in it and to help to create the conditions for a truly new South Africa (Norval, 1998, pp. 252).

This sentiment was made clear in the South African Constitution. Its last section, dealing with 'National Unity and Reconciliation', includes the following statement:

> The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge. These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation (Norval, 1998, pp. 254).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission constituted an institutional response to overcome the perceived obstacles to national self-development (Robus & Macleod, 2019). Through it, South Africans were being provided a vehicle to forgive one another and for reconciliation to take place between all sectors of society. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission represented South Africa's effort to reclaim a common humanity that had long been denied. Unfortunately, and despite some successes, South Africa's apartheid past still haunts the present (Robus & Macleod, 2019).

Although apartheid affected every aspect of life for every South African, disproportionally few testified before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, as only the most dramatic and traumatic cases were heard. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been criticized for overlooking systemic social violations (Steyn, 2012). The countless humiliations that South Africans experienced were not included in the scope of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work (Wyngaard, 2019). While it is understandable that the Commission would not have been able to manage with the volume of testimonies, it still meant that the majority of

South Africans never experienced closure regarding the injustices they experienced during apartheid. The result is that, even though the ideological system ended, the trauma caused by apartheid continues (Wyngaard, 2019).

During apartheid, Bantustans were created for black South Africans to have their own 'nations'. This partially enabled the denial of oppression by Afrikaners, as they convinced themselves that the dehumanising measures against black South Africans were not oppression, but rather mere differentiation between white people and black people, in the form of 'equal' but separate 'development' (Van der Westhuizen, 2007).

2.7. White Afrikaans speaking people's position in democratic South Africa

White South Africans had created, defended and nurtured apartheid since its inception, and returned the National Party to power with every election since DF Malan first seized power in 1948 (Jansen, 2009). This resulted in a multigenerational inequality gap, based on race. Therefore, it can be understood that every white person was a perpetrator of apartheid (Jansen, 2009). When the Polish philosopher, Admam Mischnik appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, he said that "there is such a thing as collective responsibility for a mental and cultural context which makes crimes against humanity possible" (as cited in Krog, 1998, pg. 24). It can therefore be understood that white South Africans must take collective responsibility for apartheid. Although positive steps have been taken in realising this ideal, much more can and should continuously be done.

The closest to an apology for apartheid came from FW De Klerk's submission to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. His partial and cautious apology was not acceptable to the victims of apartheid. De Klerk went as far as to deny any criminal role for his state machinery or himself (Jansen, 2009). Jansen (2009) begs the question: How can reconciliation take place if past discrimination is not accepted as principally wrong and evil? White Afrikaans speaking South Africans have a responsibility in the task of interrogating inequality and building inclusivity. It is the task of all white South Africans, and Afrikaans speaking white South Africans in particular, to understand and acknowledge the ways in which unequal relationships were constructed to their advantage and to demonstrate a willingness to deconstruct them (Steyn, 2018). Democratisation troubles whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b).

An awareness of learned gendered discourses in public arenas overlapped with the post-apartheid era and the end of Afrikaner political domination (von Veh, 2013). This loss of power in the patriarchal Afrikaner culture resulted in a loss of male stature in society in some cases, which impacted personal- and family relationships (von Veh, 2013), which is evident in contemporary South Africa.

White Afrikaans speaking South Africans cannot escape the fact that apartheid was put in place in their name. Therefore, many Afrikaans speaking white South Africans seek to rescue their identities from the historical guilt that apartheid put on them (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b).

There is a 'profound confusion' around what it means to be an Afrikaner in democratic South Africa. The term 'Afrikaners' was first used for white Afrikaans speaking South Africans early in the eighteenth century, but it had to compete with other terms such as 'Burgher', Christian, Dutchman and Boer. The term was only reserved for white Afrikaans-speakers in the mid-twentieth century (Loubser, 2014). The Afrikaans language is strongly associated with South Africa's apartheid past, even though it was appropriated by Afrikaner nationalists and its genesis was as a language created and mostly spoken by people of colour in the 19th century.

Afrikaners used education to uplift themselves from poverty and despair after the South African War and, in so doing, uplifted the Afrikaans language (Jansen, 2009). The Afrikaans language lost its political power at the end of apartheid except in three cultural spheres, namely schools, churches and universities (Jansen, 2009). It also still holds significant economic power. Since most black students do not speak Afrikaans and most black teachers cannot teach in the language, Afrikaans has become an appropriate way of keeping black people out of traditionally Afrikaans universities in South Africa without getting into a racial argument (Jansen, 2009) in most cases. Although movements, such as 'Luister'[2] (Listen) at Stellenbosch University have arisen, this issue is still prevalent, as traditionally Afrikaans universities are still viewed and experienced as exclusively 'Afrikaans spaces'.

[2] 'Luister' is a 2015 documentary about the lives of students of colour who attended Stellenbosch University at the time. In a series of interviews, students recounted instances of racial prejudice that they experienced in Stellenbosch, and the challenges that they faced due to the use of Afrikaans as a language of teaching at the university.

Afrikaans is still the second most spoken home language in South Africa; however, only roughly 40% of South Africans who speak Afrikaans as their mother tongue are white (Loubser, 2014). While attempts are made by white Afrikaans speakers to include black and coloured Afrikaans speakers into a language community rather than an ethnic group, during apartheid people of colour were excluded from the discourse of Afrikaner nationalism based on their race (Loubser, 2014). It should be noted that this cannot simply be forgotten or overlooked. While Afrikaner identity formed based on a common past and a common enemy in the British and became a well-defined form of nationalism, it is no longer an 'organised ethnicity', but it has rather become a language community (Loubser, 2014).

There are major discrepancies among Afrikaans speakers currently in South Africa and a singular definition of 'Afrikanerness' does not exist, except that of a language affiliation. However, a prevalent sense of 'being Afrikaans' does still exist among many white South Africans who identify themselves as Afrikaners (Loubser, 2014). This is evident in the growing market for Afrikaans music and the continuing popularity of Afrikaans arts festivals, such as the 'Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees' (Karoo National Arts Festival).

One of the issues that matter most to white Afrikaans speaking South Africans who identify as Afrikaners is the use and survival of the Afrikaans language, as the survival of the language is understood to be closely related to the survival of the Afrikaners as a group (Loubser, 2014). A recent survey among Afrikaners has found that language rights is the area where white Afrikaans speakers felt most threatened and ethnically marginalised in democratic South Africa (Loubser, 2014). However, many young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans are opposed to mobilising on ethnic grounds (Loubser, 2014). Therefore, the younger white Afrikaans generation has the potential to recreate the 'Afrikaner narrative'. This research project will aim to realise this potential, to some extent.

According to Vestergaard (2001), white South Africans who formerly might have identified as 'Afrikaners' now increasingly define themselves according to their profession, their geographical location, or simply as 'South African'. An alternative expression of current Afrikaner identity is to be found among young, white Afrikaans speaking artists, for example. Many young, white Afrikaans speaking artists politicise the Afrikaner identity and display a high degree of self-consciousness as white Afrikaners, which speaks to separatist notions. Paradoxically, they seem to be equally sceptical of the established values long associated with

the Afrikaner (Vestergaard, 2001). There are many other examples of how 'traditional' Afrikaner values are being challenged by young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans. Ideally, this research project will serve as an opportunity for an alternative white Afrikaans identity, playing an active role in building an inclusive South African society.

The United Nations declared apartheid to be a crime against humanity on the 30th of November 1973. The end of apartheid left Afrikaners with an overwhelming existential crisis (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The term 'Afrikaner' has become virtually synonymous with racism in the eyes of the post-apartheid world. This term will most likely remain synonymous to racism due to the human rights abuses committed 'in the name of the Afrikaner' during apartheid (Loubser, 2014). The Afrikaner had to go from seeing themselves as God's chosen people to a disgraced nation, compared to Nazi Germany (Loubser, 2014). Van der Westhuizen (2017b) identifies the key term in which the Afrikaner identity is recreated in democratic South Africa as 'ordentlikheid' (respectability). 'Ordentlikheid' serves as a moral script to recover the ethnic whiteness of the Afrikaner, or to hold on to the privileges of whiteness by including Afrikaner identity in global Anglo whiteness (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b).

Interestingly, Jansen (2009) found that white Afrikaans speaking university students held a "powerful knowledge of the past", although they never experienced it (Loubser, 2014, pp. 4). When young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans carry subjective knowledge of the apartheid past without it being challenged, it will have "profound consequences" on how they live, learn and see the world (Loubser, 2014). For example, if a student hails from a home where Afrikaner nationalist rhetoric still prevails, and she gets warned against the 'swart gevaar' (black danger) on campus, her worldview will have to be fundamentally challenged in order for the student to not only embrace fellow students, but to also prevent discriminatory actions against them. This dissertation aims to challenge the knowledge of the apartheid past that exists among young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

According to Jansen, many Afrikaans speaking white children in democratic South Africa display many of the same responses as the children of Nazi perpetrators. This includes issues of silence, denial, aggression, irritability, externalisation, shame and guilt (Loubser, 2014). According to Van der Westhuizen (2017a), denial of white accountability for past injustice is aimed at denying liability for restitution in present-day South Africa.

It might be argued that Afrikaans speaking white South Africans reject the concept of being considered privileged, as Afrikaners were not considered to be 'properly white' by the English colonialists, but were able to overcome their ambiguous racial status due to their physical appearance (Matthews, 2015). The conclusion can be made that Afrikaners primarily self-identify on the basis of ethnicity, not race. It is their very ethnicity that sets them apart from English speaking white South Africans.

The decline of a nation-state can be dangerous as it gives rise to narrow and defensive exclusivist national identities and ideas about what it means to be an Afrikaner in democratic South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). For example, in contemporary South Africa, individuals are understood to be 'true Afrikaners' by becoming consumers of Afrikaner space and culture. In the present-day context, Afrikaner politics is reorganised in the guise of an anti-politics channelled through the consumption of products, ranging from financial services to education, security and labour (Van der Westhuizen, 2018).

A current inward migration among Afrikaners in democratic South Africa is noted as a wielding of ethnicity to withdraw from shared national spaces while whitening 'own spaces'. An Afrikaner neo-nationalism has arisen in democratic South Africa, that is shifting the perspective from the nation state to smaller locales, targeted to be made 'homely' again (Van der Westhuizen, 2016). This can be interpreted as a yearning for certain aspects of Afrikaner nationalism and can be noted in certain communities in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, such as Durbanville.

Although apartheid has been over for 25 years, many young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans still spend most of their time in Afrikaans environments with limited interaction with other South African groups and cultures (Loubser, 2014). For example, most white Afrikaans speaking students are only confronted with students of colour at university for the first time in their life (Jansen, 2009). This phenomenon can be interpreted as a result of inward migration. Primarily functioning in 'Afrikaans spaces' will naturally result in exclusivity and a misperception of the outside world. Naturally, this makes it much more difficult for racial attitudes to change and results in a worldview formed only through the lens of the marginalised Afrikaner.

‘Afrikaner spaces’ are being further extended by organisations such as the Solidarity Movement. The Movement’s anti-establishment attitudes and calls for autonomy and cultural nationalism are portrayed as a response to corruption and state failure (van Zyl-Hermann, 2018). Closer examination, however, shows its antagonism is directed at all black South Africans, represented as the unscrupulous majority ‘other’ threatening white livelihoods and cultural identity. Movements such as Solidarity seem to try to maintain white privilege in the face of black power, or work to rehabilitate an ethnic whiteness in contemporary South Africa (van Zyl-Hermann, 2018). However, the Solidarity Movement is an example of an organisation active only in ‘Afrikaner spaces’, and simply perpetuates apartheid-like racial attitudes.

Van der Westhuizen (2018) identifies three groupings of Afrikaners in democratic South Africa: The Afrikaner nationalists, the neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalists and the Afrikaans South Africans. The neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalists are currently the most vocal and often positioned by other South Africans as ‘the Afrikaners’. Organisations such as Solidarity and Afriforum are essentially operating as the twenty-first century versions of the cultural entrepreneurs who first cobbled together the Afrikaner a century ago (Van der Westhuizen, 2018).

Afrikaners did not leave South Africa, like the majority of other settler communities in Africa, when white rule ended. Settlers typically fled back to the motherland, for example, from Kenya to England and Mozambique to Portugal (Jansen, 2009). South Africa is home to the majority of white Afrikaans speaking South Africans. In 2009, the African National Congress President, Jacob Zuma, called Afrikaners “the only white tribe in a black continent or outside of Europe which is truly African”.

Solidarity and Afriforum are often understood to be the only ‘public voices’ for white Afrikaans speaking people in contemporary South Africa. This poses a great concern, as many white Afrikaans speaking South Africans fundamentally disagree with their position. This dissertation aims to provide an alternative voice.

2.8. Claimed innocence

Melissa Steyn (2012) conceptualised the ‘ignorance contract’ as “the tacit agreement to entertain ignorance, that lies at the heart of a society structured in racial hierarchy” (pp. 8). She argues that white South Africans were and are still being taught to sign up for the ignorance

contract and in so doing, take the succeeding racial privileges it comes with (Steyn, 2012). Ignorance forms subjectivities, which in turn perpetuates the cycle of ignorance.

The terms of the ignorance contract were set by white South Africans during apartheid (Steyn, 2012). Steyn argues that ignorance can be put in place through different forms of communication and subsequently be disseminated across social settings (Steyn, 2012). Whites in contemporary South Africa have the most to gain from remaining ignorant, instead of engaging with the historical legacy of apartheid and their complicity therein (Steyn, 2012). Furthermore, because many brutalities which occurred against people of colour during apartheid remain unconfessed by white South Africans, the ignorance contract remains intact (Steyn, 2012). Therefore, white South Africans continue to feel justified to claim innocence and claim that they did not know about apartheid injustices and brutality.

Three ways in which white people, and particularly Afrikaners, have created distance between themselves and accountability for the past are through constructing innocence, withdrawing and claiming victim status (Steyn, 2018). To construct innocence, many white South Africans claim that they were unaware of what happened during apartheid. This claim then removes the need for self-reflection and means that white South Africans claiming such innocence do not feel an obligation to negotiate a real relationship with their fellow citizens (Steyn, 2018). This claimed innocence unfortunately shows a commitment to ignorance about how South Africans of colour have been, and continue to be, affected by the prevalent white preference of the South African societal system (Steyn, 2018).

2.9. White, Afrikaans speaking women's potential in democratic South Africa

The 'volksmoeder' femininity has been challenged by resistant femininities (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b) since South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. However, despite some resistance, the imaginary of ethno-racial femininity continues to impose compulsory hetero-motherhood in democratic South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). Unpacking 'ordentlikheid' reveals that it derives from and elaborates on white English-speaking South African's respectability. It is also, simultaneously, what sets Afrikaner whiteness apart from the white English speaking South African's identity (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). It articulates

the femininity under scrutiny with a 'just about white' identity's aspiration of equality with Anglo whiteness, while still retaining its ethnic uniqueness (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b).

Among emotions, shame most presents opportunities for transformation, whilst unacknowledged shame hinders transformation. In the words of Nomfundo Walaza, "when you feel shame about something you really want to change it, because it's not comfortable to sit with shame" (as cited in Krog, 1998, pp. 161). Prevalent uncertainties in democratic South Africa involving affective practices, particularly with regard to shame, will necessarily unsettle whiteness (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). Van der Westhuizen (2017b) poses the question:

> Can emotion engaged to do political work result in transformation in democratic South Africa, to reimagine ordentlikheid?

This research project will attempt its realisation through the fieldwork that will be conducted with young, white Afrikaans speaking women. In order to realise this ideal, Van der Westhuizen (2017b) suggests that white Afrikaans speaking South Africans should adopt an active position of directed nonconformity to turn 'ordentlikheid' into a sincerely ethical position, aligned with values of humanisation, as opposed to the values of dehumanisation of apartheid and colonialism.

2.10. Conclusion

Globally, in order to build truly inclusive societies, white people should feel grief about the brutality of white supremacy and their role in it (DiAngelo, 2018). The emotionlessness of white people towards the racial injustice that occurs daily is instrumental to holding it in place (DiAngelo, 2018). Importantly, the grief must lead to sustained and transformative action. Because emotions are indicators of a human being's internal framework, they can serve as entry points into the deeper self-awareness that leads to this action (DiAngelo, 2018). Examining what is at the root of our emotions (shame, guilt, etc.) will enable white people to address these frameworks (DiAngelo, 2018).

A study on white privilege, specifically confronting the protection and reproduction thereof in democratic South Africa, proves to be not only relevant but vital in the pursuit of an inclusive

South African society. White privilege and white supremacy not only exist but has been normalised to such an extent that it remains unseen to white South Africans unless explicitly confronted. This dissertation will serve as such a confrontation. A gap in the literature in this regard has been identified, specifically from the perspective of the participants of this research project's generation as well as from an Afrikaans perspective.

The normalisation of white privilege has been enforced with settler colonialism and further legalised and engrained in the worldview of South Africans of all races during apartheid. Despite the Afrikaner's history of extreme humiliation and suffering under British rule, this particular ethnic group has a specific responsibility to play an active role in creating a more equal and inclusive South African society. This responsibility resides with the Afrikaner because of apartheid, which very existence came to be as a result of the active protection and enforcement of Afrikaner nationalism. White Afrikaans speaking South Africans still enjoy cultural and economic privilege in democratic South Africa as a direct result of apartheid. The literature suggests that white Afrikaans speaking South Africans' responsibility in this regard also includes bringing about real reconciliation by openly confronting and engaging their unearned historical privilege. This study will investigate what this potential engagement might look like.

The conclusion can be made that black disadvantage is not being addressed in democratic South Africa due to the institutional racism that still exists. The literature suggests that a non-racial South Africa will only be possible when white South Africans engage the legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and the subsequent normalcy of white privilege that it produced, honestly. This confrontation and honest engagement with white privilege proves to be challenging as an ignorance about the South African past exists among the white South Africans, particularly those that do not have lived experiences of the apartheid era. The literature suggests that individuals in this group claim innocence as a result of their ignorance, which makes a study on this particular group relevant and vital in the realising of substantive transformation in democratic South Africa.

Post-apartheid South Africa has left some white Afrikaans speaking South Africans with an identity crisis, due to the apartheid legacy and the fact that apartheid existed in the name of the Afrikaner. The literature suggests that Afrikaans women particularly have a unique opportunity

to reimagine and redefine their cultural identity to play a more significant role in the building of an inclusive South African society. This dissertation will seek to fulfil this potential reimagining of young, white Afrikaans speaking women's identity.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Research strategy and approach

This research project followed a multi method qualitative research approach. The focus of this particular Master's degree in Philosophy is to research inclusive innovation and develop a praxis model. This study was aimed at the cultivation of political agency towards the interrogation of white privilege among young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

Qualitative research is intended to approach the world 'out there' and to understand, describe and sometimes explain social phenomena 'from the inside' (Coffey, 2018). This can be done by analysing experiences of individuals or groups and analysing interactions and communications in the making and by analysing documents to ultimately understand how people construct the world around them (Coffey, 2018). This research project investigated how a reflection on the position of white privilege ('from the inside') might facilitate positive political agency in relation to the South African democracy ('out there') among young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

Qualitative research consists of comparing ideas with observations (Stiles, 1999). Qualitative researchers typically reject the possibility of absolute objectivity and truth, as reality cannot be viewed from outside of one's own frame of reference. Qualitative researchers are known to replace the concept of objectivity with the concept of permeability, the possibility of understanding to be altered by encounters with observations (Stiles, 1999).

Qualitative research is different from quantitative research on human experience in several ways. Research results are primarily reported in words instead of numbers (Stiles, 1999), which typically includes descriptive terms. Qualitative researchers use their empathic understanding of their respondents' internal experiences as data (Stiles, 1999). Research material may be chosen as appropriate examples and not simply because they are representative of a larger population (Stiles, 1999). The liberation of respondents may also be considered as a purpose of the research (Stiles, 1999). Because of these characteristics, the interpretation of a qualitative researcher will always be determined by context.

The research project took an interpretivist epistemological approach. Interpretivism involves the aim of understanding the subjective meanings of respondents partaking in fieldwork (Goldkuhl, 2012). The main objective of interpretivism is to work with these subjective meanings that already exist in the social world, to acknowledge their existence, to reconstruct them, to understand them, to avoid misrepresenting them, and to use them as the foundation for theorising (Goldkuhl, 2012). The advantage of the interpretivist approach lies in its ability to address the complexity and meaning of situations (Black, 2006). Interpretive research can be understood as complex, as it involves the interaction of individuals with themselves, family, society and culture (Black, 2006). This study's goal was to understand the position of young, white Afrikaans speaking women in regard to the building of an inclusive South African society. As such, interpretivism was the appropriate as it created this understanding.

3.2 Research Design

The research design of this dissertation took the form of an ethnographic study, with autoethnographic elements. An empirical study was undertaken, using Steve Edwards' (2001) approach to phenomenological research as an intervention to facilitate an understanding of white privilege, thereby ultimately developing an inclusive praxis model.

3.3.Research methods

The phenomenological method is primarily concerned with the description of the original experience of a particular phenomenon (Edwards, 2001). Phenomenology attempts to get to the 'real truth' of matters, to describe phenomena as they manifest themselves to consciousness in which the researcher must pay close attention to the nature of consciousness as it is experienced (Moran, 2000). The approach towards problems, things, and events must involve taking the respondents' manner of appearance to consciousness into consideration when conducting phenomenological research (Moran, 2000). Therefore, the fieldwork was undertaken with an awareness of and a responsiveness towards the surroundings and the perception thereof, as well as that of the respondents.

In its fundamental form, phenomenology is interventionist. From an epistemological perspective, research can be understood as a matter of gaining knowledge about another's way of being in the world. Phenomenology can be understood as being concerned with the meaning (logos) of that which appears (phenomenon) and may be described as a method in which

preconceptions are suspended in order to allow original lived world reality to reveal itself (Edwards, 2001). Intervention also implies intentional action to bring about an immediate and effective form of beneficial change, as well as solution orientated research (Edwards, 2001). Since a general denial or lack of understanding of white privilege exists among white South Africans, the first intervention was an initial realisation that it in fact exists. This was followed by a reflection on the position of white privilege among respondents, which were made up of young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

Ethnography is a social research method for understanding and making sense of cultural and social worlds through researcher engagement and participation (Coffey, 2018) and can be understood as the best way to understand phenomena (O'Reilly, 2005). Ethnographic methods are part of a broad umbrella of qualitative research approaches for documenting and understanding social and cultural life (Coffey, 2018), which is what this research project aimed to achieve.

Ethnographic research suggests that we learn about people's lives from their perspective and from within the context of their lived experience (O'Reilly, 2005). It relies on a close engagement with the setting, community or group of respondents and is based on an understanding that we learn 'about' by being 'with/in', which might include observing, listening, asking questions and gathering any and all information available (Coffey, 2018). Ethnographic data are generated by the researcher's engagement and interactions in the field (Coffey, 2018).

Ethnographic research provides mechanisms for gaining understanding or exploring meaning, as opposed to testing variables (Coffey, 2018). Innovation is part of the historical narrative of ethnography (Coffey, 2018), which makes this particular method best suited for this dissertation, as the objective was to ultimately develop an innovative praxis model.

An ethnographic study offers the possibility for researching social change, in that it allows attention to interactions and dynamics in which social changes are experienced and articulated (McLeod & Thomson, 2011a). An ethnographic qualitative research approach allows insight into change processes because it adopts a close-up analysis of phenomena over and in a specific timeframe (McLeod & Thomson, 2011a). The fieldwork for this research project was conducted over a period of three months.

Autoethnography is a particular form of ethnographic practice which focuses on ethnography as autobiography and draws on the researcher's own personal experiences as a platform for analysis and writing and for understanding social and cultural life more generally (Coffey, 2018). Drawing on our own experiences and lives can be productive, in terms of providing us with a lens through which to experience and make sense of complex social worlds (Coffey, 2018). Autoethnography goes beyond telling a story. It necessitates writing about cultural context and identity and subsequently analysing the story in relation to these aspects (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Autoethnography can be described as a sub-genre of ethnography, with the following features: The researcher is a complete member of the social world under study; she engages in analytic reflexivity, demonstrating an awareness of the reciprocal influence between members of the social world, their setting and their informants; the researcher's presence is visible within the narrative; the researcher engages in dialogue with informants; and she demonstrates a commitment to theoretical analysis and not simply capturing what is going on in an individual life or socio-cultural environment (Pace, 2012). Self-reflection was used to explore personal experience to ultimately widen cultural, political and social meanings and understandings as discussed in the section on research reflexivity and self-reflection below.

3.4. Data Collection

A multi-phased empirical study with qualitative data collection methods was undertaken. This study was undertaken with a small group of 10 respondents. Five of the respondents participated in two focus group sessions while the other five participated in two rounds of individual semi-structured interviews.

Phase One: The group of five respondents met in Durbanville in January 2019 for the first focus group session. The vision and objectives of the research project were introduced and input and feedback from the group was encouraged. The session furthermore explored the respondents' socio-political positions in democratic South Africa, their social identities and their understandings of privilege. During January and February 2019, the first round of in-depth, one-on-one interviews with another five respondents took place. The interviews followed the same structure as

the focus group session. Respondents either took part in the focus group sessions or one-on-one interviews. No respondent took part in both.

Phase Two: Each participant received a copy of Country of My Skull, a book by Antjie Krog on the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, written from her perspective as a white Afrikaans speaking woman, as well as a copy of Sitting Pretty by Christi Van der Westhuizen, a book on the role of white Afrikaans speaking women in post-apartheid South Africa. Both books are written from the perspective of white Afrikaans speaking women, one shortly after apartheid and the other 23 years into democracy. Both books necessitate a confrontation with the legacy of apartheid and colonialism, the subsequent socio-economic and political South African reality, as well as the position of white Afrikaans speaking women within it. Lastly, both books have the potential to stimulate critical thinking around the potential of white Afrikaans speaking women towards building an inclusive South African society. Participants received copies of the books from the researcher at the first focus group session and interviews. The researcher purchased the books and gifted each participant with a copy of each book.

The focus group session or interview experience, followed by the reading journey, facilitated a process of mutual participatory conscientisation and a possibility for groundwork, as well as reflecting on ethical engagement with the self and others. The respondents had three months to read the books and were encouraged to reflect and journal during this time.

Phase Three: The same group of respondents met again in April 2019 for a second focus group session. One of the respondents was unfortunately not able to make it to the second session, so the second focus group session took place with four respondents. The second session served as a natural follow-up on the first session. It provided an opportunity for a group discussion and reflection on the reading and learning experience. This session ultimately was the birthplace of the innovative praxis model. During April and May 2019, the second round of in-depth, one-on-one interviews with the same five respondents took place. The interviews followed the same structure as the focus group session. The respondents were co-creators of

the praxis model, which served as the design of the social innovation model for future use.

Interviewing is one of the most commonly accepted methods of gathering qualitative data. The participants were able to speak freely, share their perspective and develop their ideas in a reflective manner. Therefore, every effort was made to create a safe and comfortable space for every participant an interview was conducted with.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured order. Semi-structured interviews typically follow a general order where the interviewer has a series of questions and/or themes that are flexible in nature, so that the researcher is not restricted to a linear path (Davies, 2015). Semi-structured interviews can also encourage reflexivity and give respondents time to delve into their thoughts, to express their contradictory opinions, their doubts, fears and hopes (O'Reilly, 2005). Honest reflection and debate were indicative of the success of this research project. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were the best suited for this study.

The advantages of focus groups are that they generate conflicting ideas, making people change their mind and think again, which ignites creativity. Innovative ideas and potential solutions might emerge from a focus group that the interviewer might not have considered (O'Reilly, 2005). A focus group session was therefore a natural choice for this study, as the grappling with ideas allowed the respondents to critically engage with the topics that were discussed. Ultimately, the innovation praxis model was a result of both the focus group sessions and the interviews.

The setting in which an interview or focus group takes place can have an effect on the information gathered and on the authenticity of engagement with respondents (Davies, 2015). Therefore, the focus group and interview sessions took place in a comfortable and private space, such as a coffee shop or a private room, for example.

Audio recordings are especially beneficial for focus groups and interviews as it allows the researcher to listen, think and reflect. An audio recording also assists concentration as the researcher does not have to take notes (O'Reilly, 2005). The data which resulted from the focus group sessions and interviews were collected via audio recordings, which were fully transcribed thereafter. The focus group sessions and interviews were held in Afrikaans. The recordings were transcribed in Afrikaans and then translated into English thereafter by the researcher.

Please refer to Appendix B for the questions that were posed to respondents, in a semi-structured manner, during the first and second round of interviews, as well as the first and second focus group sessions.

3.5. Sampling

Purposive sampling was used for this research project, which ultimately enabled the production of a reliable study. Purposive sampling is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected on the basis of the information they can provide, that cannot be acquired as well from others (Maxwell, 2009). The sampling is purposive in the sense that individuals are selected on the basis of being 'fit for the purpose' of answering questions about the particular field of study. Purposive sampling can also be used to achieve representativeness and to adequately capture the heterogeneity in the population (Maxwell, 2009). The respondents were both 'fit for purpose' and captured the heterogeneity of the population, as a result of the purposive sampling that was conducted.

The sampling was purposeful in that the participants were white, Afrikaans speaking, and between the ages of 24 and 32 years of age at the time that the focus group sessions or interviews took place. Participants were of this particular age bracket because they were either not born, were not of school going age, or were in grade one (i.e. seven years or younger) in 1994, which is when South Africa held its first democratic election. The respondents were also purposefully selected on the basis that they occupy diverse subject positions but are all considered to be young professionals. Social networks were utilised to connect with interested young, white Afrikaans speaking women who self-identify as such, fall within the age bracket mentioned above and reside in Durbanville.

Durbanville is situated in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town. The Northern Suburbs is typically where Afrikaans speaking white Capetonians reside and where the Afrikaner culture is very much alive. Durbanville was specifically chosen, as it is generally considered to be the epitome of 'Afrikanerdom' in Cape Town.

Participants one-five were part of the focus group sessions, with the exception of participant three, who was not able to attend the second focus group session. The researcher held in-depth, one-on-one interviews with participants six-ten:

Table 1. Demographics of participants

	Age	Occupation	Marital status	Sexual orientation
Participant 1	26	Secretary	Single	Heterosexual
Participant 2	29	Admin Assistant	Married	Heterosexual
Participant 3	30	Researcher	Single	Heterosexual
Participant 4	26	Occupational Therapist	Single	Heterosexual
Participant 5	29	Copywriter	Engaged	Heterosexual
Participant 6	32	Oral hygienist	Married	Heterosexual
Participant 7	30	Compliance Officer	Married	Heterosexual
Participant 8	24	Beautician	Single	Heterosexual
Participant 9	29	Doctor	Married	Heterosexual
Participant 10	29	Financial Planner	Single	Heterosexual

3.6.Data analysis

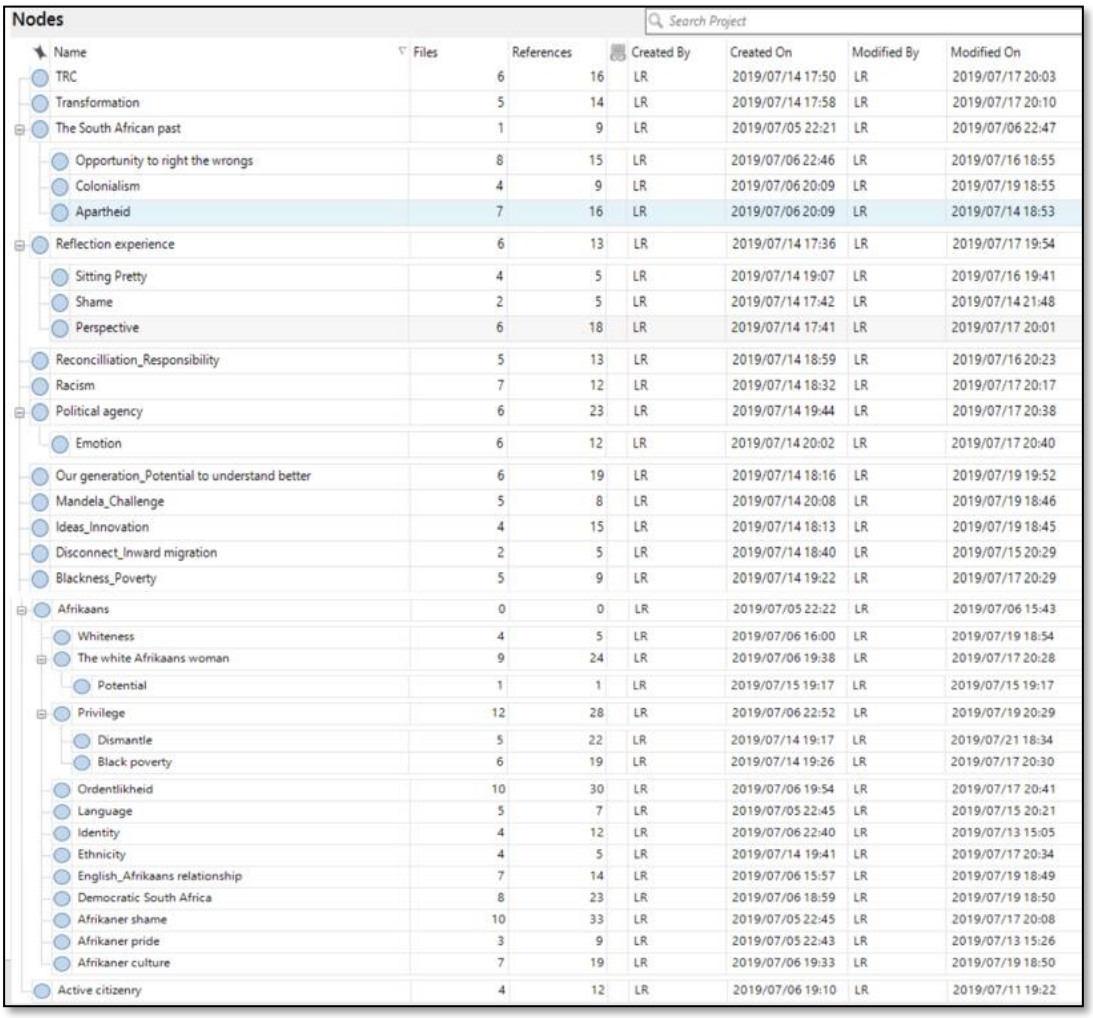
The data collection and analysis efforts took place simultaneously for the purposes of this dissertation.

The focus group sessions and interviews were transcribed verbatim and served as the basis of the data analysis. Analysing data is central to building theory from data collection (Eisenhardt, 2011), therefore, this process was conducted in great detail and with the effort it requires.

Data analysis is an integral part of the ethnographic research process, of which the approach should be systematic, rigorous, flexible and imaginative (Coffey, 2018). It is strongly recommended that ethnographic data be organised and stored in ways that facilitate retrieval, manipulation and display (Coffey, 2018). Analysis involves sorting data into categories that can be thematic, descriptive or both (O'Reilly, 2005). Coding is the process of categorising the data into codes, assigning an interpretive label to concepts, ideas or themes that originate from

the data. The codes are then used to retrieve and categorise data that are similar in meaning to easily find and cluster the sections that relate to one another (Stuckey, 2015).

Nvivo is a qualitative data-analysis software programme, which was used to analyse, code and decode the data. Coding on Nvivo is made possible through nodes. A node is a collection of references about a specific theme. References are then gathered by coding sources to a node.



Nodes

Search Project

Name	Files	References	Created By	Created On	Modified By	Modified On
TRC	6	16	LR	2019/07/14 17:50	LR	2019/07/17 20:03
Transformation	5	14	LR	2019/07/14 17:58	LR	2019/07/17 20:10
The South African past	1	9	LR	2019/07/05 22:21	LR	2019/07/06 22:47
Opportunity to right the wrongs	8	15	LR	2019/07/06 22:46	LR	2019/07/16 18:55
Colonialism	4	9	LR	2019/07/06 20:09	LR	2019/07/19 18:55
Apartheid	7	16	LR	2019/07/06 20:09	LR	2019/07/14 18:53
Reflection experience	6	13	LR	2019/07/14 17:36	LR	2019/07/17 19:54
Sitting Pretty	4	5	LR	2019/07/14 19:07	LR	2019/07/16 19:41
Shame	2	5	LR	2019/07/14 17:42	LR	2019/07/14 21:48
Perspective	6	18	LR	2019/07/14 17:41	LR	2019/07/17 20:01
Reconcilliation_Responsibility	5	13	LR	2019/07/14 18:59	LR	2019/07/16 20:23
Racism	7	12	LR	2019/07/14 18:32	LR	2019/07/17 20:17
Political agency	6	23	LR	2019/07/14 19:44	LR	2019/07/17 20:38
Emotion	6	12	LR	2019/07/14 20:02	LR	2019/07/17 20:40
Our generation_Potential to understand better	6	19	LR	2019/07/14 18:16	LR	2019/07/19 19:52
Mandela_Challenge	5	8	LR	2019/07/14 20:08	LR	2019/07/19 18:46
Ideas_Innovation	4	15	LR	2019/07/14 18:13	LR	2019/07/19 18:45
Disconnect_Inward migration	2	5	LR	2019/07/14 18:40	LR	2019/07/15 20:29
Blackness_Poverty	5	9	LR	2019/07/14 19:22	LR	2019/07/17 20:29
Afrikaans	0	0	LR	2019/07/05 22:22	LR	2019/07/06 15:43
Whiteness	4	5	LR	2019/07/06 16:00	LR	2019/07/19 18:54
The white Afrikaans woman	9	24	LR	2019/07/06 19:38	LR	2019/07/17 20:28
Potential	1	1	LR	2019/07/15 19:17	LR	2019/07/15 19:17
Privilege	12	28	LR	2019/07/06 22:52	LR	2019/07/19 20:29
Dismantle	5	22	LR	2019/07/14 19:17	LR	2019/07/21 18:34
Black poverty	6	19	LR	2019/07/14 19:26	LR	2019/07/17 20:30
Ordentlikheid	10	30	LR	2019/07/06 19:54	LR	2019/07/17 20:41
Language	5	7	LR	2019/07/05 22:45	LR	2019/07/15 20:21
Identity	4	12	LR	2019/07/06 22:40	LR	2019/07/13 15:05
Ethnicity	4	5	LR	2019/07/14 19:41	LR	2019/07/17 20:34
English_Afrikaans relationship	7	14	LR	2019/07/06 15:57	LR	2019/07/19 18:49
Democratic South Africa	8	23	LR	2019/07/06 18:59	LR	2019/07/19 18:50
Afrikaner shame	10	33	LR	2019/07/05 22:45	LR	2019/07/17 20:08
Afrikaner pride	3	9	LR	2019/07/05 22:43	LR	2019/07/13 15:26
Afrikaner culture	7	19	LR	2019/07/06 19:33	LR	2019/07/19 18:50
Active citizenry	4	12	LR	2019/07/06 19:10	LR	2019/07/11 19:22

Figure 1. Nodes created for this study.

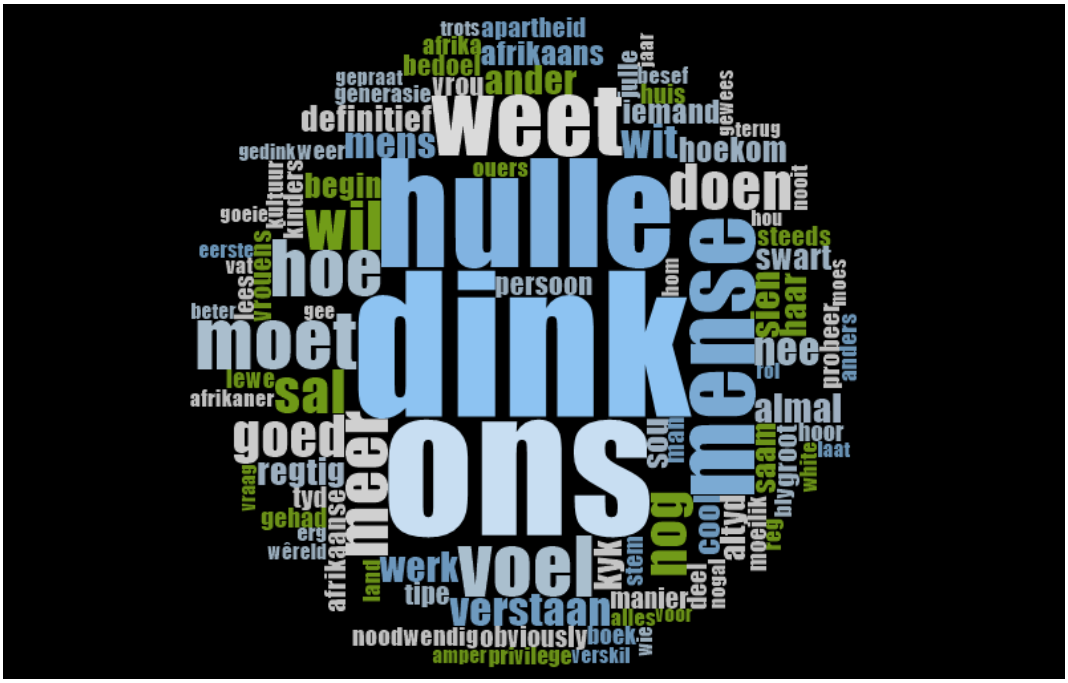


Figure 2. 'Word cloud' of some of the most used words during the interviews.

3.7. Research reflexivity

As an ethnographer, the researcher brought her experiences, assumptions and personal characteristics with her (Coffey, 2018), which made a case for understanding and reflecting on the self as part of the research process. A qualitative researcher is part of all aspects of the research process and also essential to it (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Therefore, a strong sense of awareness thereof was critical.

Insider research refers to when researchers conduct research with populations of which they are also members. Therefore, the researcher will share an identity, language and experiences with the respondents (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). This position gives researchers some legitimacy and allows for a more immediate and complete acceptance by the respondents. Therefore, there is typically more trust, openness and honesty expressed towards the researcher, which results in greater depth to the data gathered (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Insider research may result in respondents experiencing the researcher as 'one of us', which is something that the white Afrikaans speakers typically hold in high regard, in the researcher's experience. As a young, white Afrikaans speaking woman, hailing from the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, the researcher conducted insider research, which assisted with the fostering of trust towards her

and the process from its commencement. There are also potential drawbacks to insider research. Some of these are discussed in section 3.10 below.

By consciously reflecting, the researcher moves to a deeper level of awareness. Part of this awareness is a sense of self and an emerging sense of identity (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Reflexivity is about sensemaking and identity construction is a key component of making sense of the world around you (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Reflexivity results in increased uncertainty, which opens one up to exploring and finding potential answers. It also allows for the researcher's preconceived assumptions to surface (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Research reflexivity was incorporated throughout the writing of this dissertation. The research reflexivity arguably resulted in the most authentic answers to the research question as well as in an honest representation of the research process in its entirety.

3.9. Self-reflection

I am a 30-year-old white Afrikaans speaking, proudly South African woman, who often struggles to make sense of my 'Afrikaner identity'. I self-identify as a white Afrikaans speaking South African, not an Afrikaner in the traditional sense, yet I still feel trapped in the Afrikaner enclave. A part of me loves my culture, while another despises what it represents and struggles to accept it. I believe one must understand where one comes from, and accept it, to forge the path of where one is going.

My grandfather served three terms as a national minister during apartheid and my grandmother was the leader of the National Party Women's Action, the epitome of the 'volksmoeder'. I struggle to reconcile the grandparents I knew and have fond memories of with their actions and legislation implemented towards South Africans of colour during apartheid. Although I did not make the decisions that resulted in segregation enforced by law, I am a direct family member of one of the longest serving national ministers in apartheid history. Someone who personally made the very decisions which denied South Africans of colour the same freedoms that white South Africans enjoyed and who believed his decisions were justified. Our nation has still not healed from my grandfather's decisions and, because of the decisions he made, my access to opportunities is still significantly higher than South Africans of colour, simply because of the

colour of my skin. I feel shame and regret about what was done ‘in my name’, although I do not have the lived experience of apartheid.

I was privileged to have been raised by parents who actively fought Afrikaner nationalism. Both of my parents initially supported Afrikaner nationalism, but through their own lived experiences came to understand that the apartheid system was inherently evil and started to actively oppose it. Both of their decisions were rooted in their Christianity. My mother ‘gave her heart to Christ’ when she was 17 years old and subsequently started questioning the human rights violations around her, starting at home. The best depiction of my mother’s active questioning was when she, at the age of 17, asked my grandfather to schedule an appointment for her with the then Prime Minister, John Vorster. She arrived at his home only to make two humble requests to promote inclusivity: For him to consider also speaking in African languages when he makes public speeches and to also consider including African languages in the school curriculum as an optional subject.

My father is a ‘dominee’ (clergyman) and withdrew his support of the National Party when he was confronted with the lived experiences of South Africans of colour. As a Christian, he felt that he could no longer support such a regime. Shortly after, he started actively working with the Uniting Reformed Churches (the coloured version of the Dutch Reformed Church) in the Western Cape and in doing so, was consequently followed by the security police on a daily basis. My parents’ personal beliefs and actions certainly did not and still do not exempt them from carrying a bias towards South Africans of colour, of which they might not be aware. This simply means that they were able to acknowledge that apartheid was evil and that they were willing to take an active stand against it.

Whilst my Botha grandparents, my mother’s parents, were actively involved in very senior positions in the National Party during apartheid, my father’s parents fought the status quo. I have fond memories of my Rauch grandparents embracing the South African ‘rainbow nation’ in the most beautiful ways. One memory that will always stay with me is how they sat at my coloured, Muslim brother-in-law’s 30th birthday celebration, with their eyes closed and hands open to accept the Imam’s prayer. Afterwards, my 85-year-old grandmother smilingly said: “What a privilege to receive such a blessing.” They were exemplary South Africans that I am very proud to share a bloodline with. That being said, as white South Africans with the lived

experience of the entire apartheid era, they certainly carried a racial bias. But they were able to acknowledge it, and in doing so continuously took active steps in an attempt to address it.

Although I was raised in an Afrikaans, Christian environment, no religious or cultural norms and traditions were forced on me and I grew up in a world where critical thinking was encouraged. I say this, noting that I too carry a racial bias, of which I am mostly unaware and that as a white South African I must continue to actively work on identifying and addressing it. In so doing, I can strive to further stimulate critical thinking about my place in the world as a young, white Afrikaans speaking woman.

Through the experience of deep reflection that stemmed from conducting fieldwork for this study, I was confronted with the fact that, as white South Africans, we were taught to hierarchise based on race. It does not matter who you are, what your personal beliefs are and whether you see yourself as a racist. Even if this learned hierarchisation did not happen at home, we should acknowledge society taught us to do so. We should also be willing to unlearn this hierarchisation if we want to be active citizens.

As a white South African, who considers myself to be wholeheartedly committed to non-racialism, it was very difficult for me to realise that I carry a racial bias with me of which I was unaware. But more than it was difficult, it was important to acknowledge and accept that, as a white South African, I was taught to hierarchise on the basis of race and I must choose to unlearn this taught racial hierarchisation.

The more I engaged with the suppressed aspects of myself the more I realised that I cannot change who I am. I cannot escape the language that I dream and think in. I cannot change where I come from and what those that came before me did and what that represents in South Africa today. However, I can play an active role in attempting to right the wrongs of the past and ensuring that it is not repeated.

I take responsibility for and deeply regret the actions of those that came before me. I am equally grateful for my family, friends, loved ones and experiences that formed my worldview. I am committed to an authentic study on young, white Afrikaans speaking women, as I believe we have the potential and responsibility to actively contribute to building an inclusive South

African society. I will strive to make a real and meaningful impact on my journey with honesty and integrity.

3.10. Limitations of the research

Autoethnographic researchers invest emotionally in their writing and within the topic they are investigating. This personal investment may show up as subjectivity. This potential subjectivity is recognised as part of the autoethnographic process (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Reflexivity can also be considered as self-indulgent, narcissistic and tiresome. However, autoethnographic research has the potential to provide value to the writer as well as the audience, if the research displays integrity, resonance, coherence, authenticity and plausibility (Cunningham & Carmichael, 2018). Historical and emotional dimensions of research will typically be interlinked when conducting research for social change, in the sense of the biographical history of the researcher and the cultural setting in which some topics are likely to have emotional resonance (McLeod & Thomson, 2011b). The researcher is emotionally invested in her topic of study, as it is deeply personal to her. She was and still is aware of the potential limitations that this emotional investment might bring. However, she believes that she maintained enough self-awareness throughout the dissertation writing process that it prevented her emotions from inhibiting the quality of her research.

Although a group of 10 individuals is sufficient for an in-depth qualitative study, this group does not fully represent young, white Afrikaans speaking women. In addition, individuals who responded to the invitation to form part of the research project felt comfortable enough with the proposal. Those who were not comfortable, declined the invitation. The assumption can therefore be made that the findings are not entirely representative of the grouping that did not express interest in the research project. Therefore, it can be argued that the findings are not representative of all young, white Afrikaans speaking women.

Although all participants adhered to the requirements of the research project in terms of age, the ages were not as dispersed as initially planned for. The younger part of the age bracket has more limited representation, with the majority of the participants born in 1989. The findings might therefore not be entirely representative of the younger part of the identified age bracket of the project.

3.11. Research Ethics

Participation in this research project, for which ethical clearance from the University of Cape Town was obtained, was completely voluntary. Participants could decline altogether, or not participate in any questions they did not wish to answer. Participants' consent and permission was recorded in writing, by means of formally completing and signing the consent form. Please refer to Appendixes C and D. Participants were encouraged to contact the researcher if they had any questions about the dissertation throughout the three-month period. Every participant also received a copy of the formal dissertation proposal, so as to be fully aware of the researcher's intentions.

Participants' responses remained confidential and anonymous. The data collected through audio recordings during the interviews and focus group sessions were dealt with sensitively and were kept safe. Participants will be provided with a copy of this dissertation once completed. There were no known risks to participation beyond those encountered in everyday life.

4. Research findings

This chapter speaks to the research findings collected from the first and second round of interviews and focus group sessions with the 10 participants and has been divided accordingly. The chapter speaks to the themes that emerged while coding and organising the data.

The one-on-one interviews allowed for an in-depth, intensive interview, with room for introspection during the interview process. The focus group sessions allowed for enriching debates, with natural social pressures and dynamics influencing the process.

4.1 First intervention

The purpose of the first round of interviews and focus group sessions was for insight to be gained into the participants' understanding of the South African past, their position within society, white privilege, as well as of their cultural- and social identity. The first intervention served as an introduction to the objective of the research and ultimately as a foundation for the second and final intervention, as well as the period in between.

4.1.1 Afrikaner versus white Afrikaans self-identification

Many Afrikaans speaking white South Africans in democratic South Africa do not identify as Afrikaners anymore, due to the Afrikaner's post-apartheid reputation. This phenomenon concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) findings. The conversation around how one then chooses to identify at the first focus group session was one that quickly resulted in a debate around whether white Afrikaans speakers truly belong in democratic South Africa, as well as the participants' views on belonging. This debate was encouraged, as the conversation proved to be meaningful and authentic. Participants experienced conflict when confronted with this question, but it should, however, be noted that the respective positions on the matter range from a desperate longing to be accepted as authentically South African and African to feeling a strong connection to their European roots.

> Participant 2:
> If I must be 100% honest, I will say I still feel like a wanderer. And I think this is because with the break apart of apartheid we have now grown up with the new mentality. I just feel the bad side of it is it was mainly accompanied with guilt. So that guilt feeling still makes me feel like a wanderer. I won't say I'm from Africa. I'm from Europe. So, in South Africa I am a white

> Afrikaans speaking person. But, if you wake me up in the middle of the night, I won't tell you I'm African. Africa is for me the bigger continent where your Nigerians are, your Algerians, and all of them are mostly dark. The Europeans wanted to, you know, get land and colonise, but it wasn't successful. South Africa is the only place where it was successful. And we thrive here. And, it just feels to me I'm not African. I am South African, but like a white Afrikaans-speaking one who arrived here when Jan Van Riebeeck arrived, and we got stuck here in the South and never moved.
>
> Participant 5:
> I feel awkward. Because even though I feel at home here, one always hears in the media that they don't want you here. You're not welcome here, you're European, go back to Europe. So, that's the thing, should I stay here, or should I go back to my ancestors, as they tell me to? So, it is that identity crisis of, am I welcome here? Is this my homeland? Will I raise my children here or will I go back to my roots?
>
> Participant 3:
> But I also feel my roots are not European. Okay, it's European, but I don't feel like it. When I was there, it didn't feel like home to me. This feels like home to me, so I feel I belong here, but it's difficult, because other people don't feel that way and that is difficult. I feel I'm an African, but I feel I can't say it because I feel people don't see me like that. So, I feel people see, no, you're white and you're Afrikaans and that's all that you are. Although I feel like I was born here, I've lived here all my life, I choose to stay here, I want to raise my children here, but I feel other people and other cultures do not see me as African and as part of this country. It's like, you're here, but you are not from here. And that's pretty hard.

The participants were in agreement that the white Afrikaans speaking South Africans are undergoing an identity crisis in democratic South Africa and that this identity crisis is linked to feelings of shame about the apartheid history and a longing to break free from it. It is also connected to white Afrikaans speaking South Africans feeling that the public Afrikaner and/or Afrikaans public discourse is represented by ideological views that they cannot identify with. They therefore feel misrepresented in the broader South African society.

Participant 4:

I think we feel ashamed of what our people did in the past, but we also want to move forward, but we also do not know how to do it. If we say we just want to forget about it then it is not right either. So, I think, yes, there is a bit of an identity crisis.

Participant 6:

I must say I think we all have an identity crisis in the sense that everyone knows what has happened. Now you're so scared to say you know... I'm Afrikaans and... because then it's oh, you have done this. So, I think it is happening more and more, that people are suffering... about what happened. I think people are, you know, not knowing where they fit in anymore.

Participant 5:

It depends on the situation you are in, if you can say I'm an Afrikaner or not. I think in some cases you should be like "no, I'm South African". You can't say I'm an Afrikaner, because people are going to think "oh, okay, so you're a nationalist type of person", you know. So, you need to be careful where you are and who you are surrounded with, as if you have to shift your identity all the time to adapt to your situation or the people around you.

The research shows that the sentiment of the Afrikaner culture being under threat and attacked in contemporary South Africa does exist among certain participants. These participants identify as Afrikaners primarily. This sentiment seems to result in these individuals feeling validated to distance themselves from the rest of the South African society and only look after their own interest. It must be noted that a general understanding that Afrikaners look out for each other and protect each other does exist. This in turn validates these individuals' thinking that they must oppose any attack on or threat to the Afrikaner culture.

Participant 2:

If I can say one thing about our culture... it would be that we don't like change... we like what we know, because that is where we feel safe. Our cultural group can feel unsafe very quickly. We also feel threatened very quickly.

> Participant 8:
> It's a culture thing. You do it for each other, we are Afrikaners, so we help each other out. That's what it means to me. You know someone is looking out for you.

Although the fact that Afrikaners are understood to typically look out for and protect each other, a number of participants indicated that this should apply to all South Africans and that we should effectively stand up for and protect each other, irrespective of culture. These participants primarily identify as white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans.

A general Afrikaner shame does exist among participants, at varying levels. A desire to be dissociated from the stigma that exists about the Afrikaner was prevalent among participants. This stigma is connected to the apartheid past and being confronted with it results in an emotional response. An internal conflict of loving their culture, but also being almost too ashamed to admit it publicly does exist. The stigma is also worsened by certain white Afrikaans speaking South Africans that are perceived to still be stuck in the apartheid past by means of racist actions as well as actively separating themselves from other racial and cultural groups.

As per participant nine's excerpt below, many white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans do not want to be labelled as Afrikaners, due to the legacy of apartheid, and so rather choose to refer to themselves as white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans, which concurs with the findings in Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) Sitting Pretty, as discussed in section 2.2. of the literature review chapter.

> Participant 9:
> The word "Afrikaner"… there comes so much emotion with it. And it is almost as if it is removed from who we are. It's like this sticker on your head, it's like... you know, and it comes... its history. So, I am very proud of the fact that I am Afrikaans, but it is the word Afrikaner that immediately makes my spine pull tight. Because people usually say it with, it's not... there is usually an underlying aggression with it... so I started moving away from the Afrikaner.

Participant 7:
I'd love to get to a point where it is okay to be Afrikaans again. I would like to get to a point where it is okay to be white to be proud of being Afrikaans. Uhm, but I think we're still... we're a little bit far from there.

Participant 2:
Something that I do not approve of in my culture is just how, uhm, that fine line between disapproval and racism. It's very, too fine for me.

Participant 3:
There is definitely capacity for our culture to not live so separately. It's something that bothers me. There is still a great separation between us and other cultures.

In addition to a desire for disassociation, a deep-rooted shame of the Afrikaner history and the impact of apartheid on people of colour were noted among participants. The shame is also strongly connected to the fact that this impact is a result of the decisions made by generations before them, but these individuals are still strongly linked to them. Therefore, they carry the burden of guilt.

Participant 3:
Of what I know, which is not enough, I feel ashamed about what has happened. I feel it shouldn't have happened. I am confronted with the repercussions at my workplace, that still sit with people because of the past, so you are more confronted with how it still affects people's lives and by means of that process, it still influences my life.

Participant 4:
I feel ashamed because I, we are related to those people who made those decisions, so I feel bad about it, but I also feel that it is expected of us. It is sometimes forced on us to feel ashamed. But I do. I feel ashamed.

The fact that the participants' shame is strongly connected to the decisions made by generations before them, 'the sins of the forefathers' concept was introduced, which resulted in a frustration about societal expectations among some participants. A sense of 'I am tired of being made to feel guilty for the past' obtained.

> Participant 5:
> I think it's expected of me. I think people want you to be ashamed of what happened. About what your ancestors did.

> Participant 7:
> It will take a few more generations for South Africa to recover completely, so I also feel... I have at a certain time felt terribly sorry for everything my ancestors have done, but I can no longer be sorry about that... not all the time.

The findings reveal that the Afrikaans language is central to young, white Afrikaans speaking women's identity. It can be understood that the language almost underpins the culture, in many cases. It must, however, be noted that a fear of extinction of the language does exist, as found by Loubser (2014) as well.

> Participant 2:
> The thing I absolutely love about my culture is that we have an incredibly beautiful language. I'm really in love with our language. It's really a pity that it's just dying out.

> Participant 10:
> I am proud of the Afrikaans language. I don't know, there's a type of warmth about the language. Uhm, and I read a lot of Afrikaans and I support Afrikaans music. It is a way to connect with people. So, obviously I think it's dying out, systematically.

The research findings suggest that the Afrikaans language is strongly associated with South Africa's apartheid past. Despite this phenomenon and as per Loubser's (2014) findings, one of the issues that seemingly matters most to white Afrikaans speaking South Africans who identify as Afrikaners is the survival of the Afrikaans language. This survival is strongly

associated with the survival of the Afrikaner as a collective. Therefore, the perceived threat to Afrikaans language rights in contemporary South Africa makes this particular group feel most threatened.

4.1.2 'Lack' of understanding of the South African past

Every participant experienced a lack of confidence in her knowledge of the South African past before reading the prescribed books. This resulted in a lack of confidence in the ability to form an opinion about the past or a feeling of not being entitled to an opinion, as it might be misinformed. This feeling was met with either a desire to forget the past and to move forward or with a nostalgia about the past.

> Participant 1:
> I feel the past is in the past and we look forward. And, uh, by living positively we erase the tracks of the past with our positivity in whatever our occupation is. I believe in ploughing yourself into it and believing in what you believe. With a positive attitude you can be a proud South African at the end of the day.

> Participant 2:
> I think our culture in the old days was so beautiful. Like, you know grandmothers baking rusks and just the kind of love and warmth and softness the old 'tannies' (aunts) had. And the old 'ooms' (uncles) that time were so proud, and they had this depth and love and it is made very vulgar by the shadow of apartheid and it makes me very sad. But I also feel that is why apartheid has always been a difficult subject for me. I just feel we were never told the truth. I just feel there is a lack in South Africa of giving us a full picture of the past. But I love our culture and language very much.

The limited understanding of the South African past experienced among the participants was relevant for both the pre-apartheid and apartheid era. This limited understanding can be interpreted as a result of Steyn's (2012) 'ignorance contract', in which white South Africans were and still are being taught to form subjectivities that perpetuate the cycle of ignorance. This formative ignorance was noted among participants, as per the excerpt above.

4.1.3 Apartheid South Africa

The notable difference between the admittance of a lack of understanding of the pre-apartheid and apartheid era is that the latter is met with a strong sense of shame, whilst most participants felt indifferent about their lack of understanding of the South African colonial history.

The primary source of learning amongst all participants about apartheid was school. The information that has been shared in schools was experienced as limited, due to the fact that history is not a compulsory subject and therefore the learning experience is further limited to primary school. A sentiment of a lack of confidence in the sources of the information shared in schools was also prevalent during the initial focus group session.

> Participant 9:
> I always regret how little we have been told at school. We were at a camp and then we went to Robben Island and it shocked me. It really shook my world. Because I think it was the first time that I was exposed to how bad it was. I didn't realise it was that bad, but I was like 18. So, up until that point, I really just didn't have exposure to it.

> Participant 4:
> I won't say I have a good understanding of it. One is careful to say something, because I do not know if I always have the right facts and whether someone is going to say, but you do not know what you are talking about. My parents didn't speak about it in the house. So, what I know about it is what I learned at school. I recognise the names when you speak, but my insight about it is not great.

Participants have limited experience of their parents telling them about apartheid. Participants were either born shortly after or were between the ages of one and seven in 1994, when South Africa's first democratic election was held. Therefore, the apartheid history was primarily discussed within the participants' households by means of introducing the concept of diversity, but notably not speaking about or addressing the history of apartheid. The exception of one of the participants must be noted in this regard.

> Participant 1:
> My parents also didn't make a big deal of it, although they told me to make friends with other colours if you like. We're not going to have a problem with that and if you were to bring home a coloured boyfriend someday, we won't have a problem with that. And I was like, why are you saying this, it is not an issue for me because it has never been an issue for me. I learned about it in history at school.

The research findings reveal that the participants' limited understanding of the apartheid past and the subsequent internal struggle that they experience is most prevalent when they interact with all South Africans and are confronted with the consequences of apartheid. It should be noted that this resulted in disappointment and frustration towards entities and individuals who had the decision-making power about educating young people about apartheid, especially young, white people.

> Participant 5:
> The only other way we know about it is the consequences. This is when you look at how people are talking about what the consequences are and now, we are learning through conversations.

> Participant 7:
> It's shocking to me that one race felt that they are superior to another to such an extent that they could try to separate themselves entirely. I know there are many people who are now saying yes, most of the country's infrastructure was built during apartheid, blah, blah, blah... it doesn't matter what happened. It could have happened at any time. So, absolutely... it makes me sick.

The following question was posed to participants: Do you believe apartheid was a crime against humanity? A strong sense of guilt and shame was noted among participants in answering this question. All participants were convinced, except one who felt hesitant to label apartheid as a crime against humanity, due to her belief that the initial intention behind apartheid was not necessarily malicious.

Participant 2:

I would say apartheid became a crime against humanity, yes. But from the little knowledge I have of it, the origin was not malicious. But that's just how I understand it and I'm completely open to what really happened, to the truth, and not to one person's perspective of the truth. When our Voortrekkers had their first conflict with a black tribe who did not want to give up their land, which was Shaka Zulu's tribe, they were striving for peace, they were striving to let us share this piece of land. That can be your piece, this can be mine, but let's live in peace. And when they went for the peace treaty then they were killed and then the white people were now attacked and so, according to my knowledge, that is how it started. And then when, some or other, Verwoerd himself, I think, said come let's give them a part of the country where they can exist and prosper and have that part of the country for themselves. So, I believe the intention was not, we do not want you with us. The intention was, our cultures struggled to get along, we struggled to coexist in close proximity, so let's give you a place where you can flourish, and we'll continue in this place. And they gave them the Transkei, KwaZulu-Natal, tropical areas, which is very fertile. It's not as if they gave them the Karoo and said they should try to farm there. They gave them a fairly fertile area. And then from there, apartheid was like a flower that had to get water, but instead got wine and the thing just got messed up into something it shouldn't have been and then it started to become a case of 'we are superior to you'. You have to get permission to get a pass to actually move between us. And I feel that is terrible. What it has become, it has turned into something that is not fair. I will, I am careful to call it a crime against humanity, but also, I may not know enough. Perhaps there was really abuse, but the exposure I had was mostly peaceful and loving.

The fact that the participant in the excerpt above is 30-years-old, was five-years-old in 1994 and her exposure to knowledge about apartheid is of a predominantly "peaceful and loving" perspective necessitates a disruption of such a subjective position. This perspective proves that Steyn's (2012) 'ignorance contract' is intact in democratic South Africa. As a reminder, Steyn (2012) conceptualises the ignorance contract as "the tacit agreement to entertain ignorance, that lies at the heart of a society structured in racial hierarchy" (pp. 8). This perceived ignorance may result in limited introspection, which subsequently results in a lack of unprejudiced engagements with South Africans of colour. As found by Flynn (2015), the opposition to

introspection is also understood as a result of some white people being resistant to talking about white privilege, rationalising such resistance as fatigue.

4.1.4 Understandings of pre-apartheid history

The majority of participants had limited knowledge of pre-apartheid South Africa. Participants had a basic understanding of the general timeline of the most prominent events and happenings, which stemmed from informal learning, such as family members sharing stories or reading.

Of the three participants who were well informed of the South African colonial history, a noticeable emotional connection towards this era was felt by one of the participants. She felt cheated by the post-apartheid government for not having the opportunity to learn about this era in school. The other two participants' knowledge stemmed from an interest in South African history.

> Participant 2:
> After apartheid, I almost feel our schools became scared to teach us about the history of the Boers, because just now someone sees it and just now it is frowned upon, so I feel they were too scared.

The idea of the 'volksmoeder' is strongly associated with this period. Participants generally believe that she served her purpose at that time in Afrikaner history, but that she is no longer relevant. It should, however, be noted that although this concept is very far removed from the participants' frame of reference and that they claim to not relate or associate with it, they are living out the prescriptions of the 'volksmoeder' without realising it. They are abiding by an Afrikaner form of white heteropatriarchy without realising it stems from the 'volksmoeder' model. This phenomenon concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) finding in Sitting Pretty, where women also believe that the 'volksmoeder' is something irrelevant now.

> Participant 7:
> If I think of a Volksmoeder then I see that, uhm, that Monument in Paarl with the woman with a bonnet. It is someone who is that typical traditional, like the moral compass of a particular, not culture, but a community. I feel it is somebody who raises her children as righteous and raises them well and so

> on, but it is also a very old concept to me. It's almost no longer something that is relevant to me nowadays. Uhm, I feel at that time, with what the Afrikaans women have gone through to get the title Volksmoeder is not something we can really imagine these days. It's not something uhm, I mean if you think about how they walked barefoot over the Drakensberg and you know had to stay at home or be thrown in concentration camps when the men went to fight in the war... you know that type of stuff, and still try to get everyone together... that it is what it means to me, but I can't. I can hardly see anyone as a Volksmoeder nowadays.

The excerpt above fits in the 'volksmoeder' prescriptions of silence and service, as identified in Sitting Pretty (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). Therefore, the disidentification with the 'volksmoeder; is ironic, as the quotation encapsulates the 'volksmoeder'. This phenomenon concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) findings that although the 'volksmoeder' femininity has been challenged since 1994, it continues to impose itself on white, Afrikaans speaking women of all ages.

With the introduction of the conversation around white Afrikaans speaking women's identity in contemporary South Africa, a general submissiveness on their position within contemporary Afrikaner gender relations was acknowledged by participants. A minority of participants felt comfortable with this phenomenon and made the active decision to maintain their 'submissive position'. This very submissiveness equally fits the 'volksmoeder' prescriptions.

> Participant 2:
>
> If I have to be honest, I would say women are in a good place at this stage. I no longer see our overall identity as the homemaker, there are many women who prefer it. I think I'd rather focus on raising my kids because you have an opportunity to mould someone.
>
> We are the man's helper, but we are submissive. He makes the final decision, because I respect the fact that he is the man of the house, he is the leader and the priest of the house, the final decision must lie with him. I feel women are peacemakers, because that's how we were created, but with it the Lord gave

us authority, but it's a more silent authority. And I feel it's much stronger than a verbal authority.

4.1.5 Understandings of post-apartheid South Africa

The Afrikaner culture certainly was the bedrock of the shaping of identity of Afrikaner women in the past. Participants are of the view that this very identity is up for redefinition, due to the Afrikaner culture itself becoming more fluid, with various representations.

The traditional and historical mentality that 'the woman should know her place' and look after her husband and her children as her primary function does still exist among participants' parents' generation, as well as among the participants and their peers. It is certainly not considered a rule, but it should be noted that it does exist and that the contrary is frowned upon in such cases. This existence creates frustration and difficulty in redefining their identities and in optimally taking up their space in society.

> Participant 7:
> At the place where I worked previously, when I had to work late at night... especially the men were like... "shouldn't you go home?" Then I say no, I just have to finish this quickly. "But what about your husband?" Then, I'm like, my husband is going to be okay, he's okay. He knows where the grocery store is... there is food in the fridge. So, I feel there is… many times from the outside there are many expectations, especially [for] Afrikaans women. I mean, even in the complex where we live, there are many women who are at home looking after the children. I mean, I don't see such a problem with it... it's your choice, but there is still that trend that the woman... as soon as, at least there are kids, then you're at home and that's what you do.
>
> One of my husband's friends came to visit ... and he mocked me all the time and said, you know the women... you leave them in the kitchen and such things... And then he talked about a "career woman" a number of times… and then I decided like... I'm not even going to talk about a career woman anymore, because it's in itself very derogatory, because why should you put "career" in front of it? You don't call it a career man... Understand? Why should you? So yes, there has been a lot of introspection about how I approach it... I've already started that kind of stuff, even before I read the books, it's as

> if the books have only emphasised what I feel and... and how I... how I want to be and how I want my relationship and how I want to raise my kids, and behave at work and stuff.

The quote above represents the more resistant positionality that exists among young, white Afrikaans speaking women in post-apartheid South Africa. A clear distinction can be drawn between her position and the position of participant 2 in section 4.1.3 above.

A 'traditional' white Afrikaans woman in contemporary South Africa is still understood to 'know her place' in the household and in society. This woman is typically submissive, which may in some cases result in ignorance. The research findings suggest that this submissiveness has been engrained in participants, sometimes resulting in a lack of assertiveness or the confidence to make her opinion heard when it is not in agreement with the status quo. Again, this proves that the traditional position of white Afrikaans speaking women in contemporary South Africa still adheres to the prescriptions of the 'volksmoeder'.

> Participant 9:
> We are really who we are because of our culture. Even if you're ignorant, it's actually a part of this whole 'an Afrikaans white woman has to be in her place and head down'. I think specifically about that 'Affies' (Afrikaans Girls' High School), the emblem, you know with the bonnet? So submissive, and I think in a way by being ignorant, we're just going to go with that role, because it's so easy... we've benefited in so many ways without actively participating. Uhm, and it is sad and I think it is, this is something I realised and not necessarily thought of before. I've always thought no man, apartheid was our previous generations and you know we have the same colour, but I have nothing in common with them, but I'm a definite product of it. Uhm, so it was... yes, I think it was what I realised.
>
> I have family members who are incredibly paranoid about the future in South Africa and it, it breaks my spirit. But you know, I tend to shy away from causing conflict.

4.1.6 Privilege, comfort and distance

The research findings indicate that the daily life experience of the majority of white people in South Africa has not changed post-apartheid, irrespective of their personal views regarding the regime change. White South Africans still occupy a privileged position in society and one can go so far as to say that, in general, the life experiences white South Africans are able to enjoy are rather comfortable. This conclusion was reached by means of participants' references to their parents. This phenomenon is particularly relevant, as it has the potential to serve as an obstacle to realise reconciliation and to take responsibility among the participants' generation.

This comfort and privilege which exist among the participants' parents' generation can be understood to have resulted in a disconnect with the greater South African social fabric in some cases. Similarly, this also resulted in personal views being carried over from the apartheid era in some cases. This is prevalent in discriminating beliefs about South Africans of colour carried into democratic South Africa by this generation, which allows for a further disconnect with fully embracing democratic South Africa in its entirety and rather only embracing the immediate, unchanged environment.

> Participant 9
> I think my dad is the typical... he is now 60 and you know he had to fight on the border... he definitely has... he already knows by now he should not say such things in front of me, but he will definitely make comments that are very racist. But I know his heart is good and he really cares for all people, but it's just that inherent like ... and it has always made me very angry.
>
> Like, I think there are so many people who didn't pay any attention to the process of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission... and they just went on and South Africa changed a little, yes, but they still have their own beliefs and are still in their area. I think especially for whites, very few things have really changed. It would have been great if it was so different and wonderful after the whole process, but I think it wasn't.

Building on the foundation provided by their parents, two types of responses from the participants were noted: Those willing to disrupt and confront their privilege and those who prefer to remain within a protected, privilege space.

4.1.6.1 Protectors

The research findings reveal that some participants feel most comfortable remaining within the protected and privileged space, as showcased by their parents. This position is met with a fear of where the country is going and for their actual safety. Participants who responded in this manner also seem to carry a certain generalisation and a sense of underlying discrimination towards South Africans of colour. Participants who responded in this manner were perceived to not question this foundation provided by their parents, which further creates an obstacle in realising reconciliation and taking responsibility among their generation.

> Participant 2:
> I think what is not making the situation easier for people in small towns and especially in the highveld or inland, is that people in those areas feel more unsafe. That is one of the main reasons why we came to Cape Town. Safety. And when we got here, my husband and I were like 'everything is just different'. We felt so safe. And, it's not necessarily like a dome of security. We read the news and things happen here as it happens anywhere in the world, but there is a big difference in safety. Inland, if one goes to a shop where only whites go, it is because they feel safe there. It's not necessarily like, I don't want to stand in a row with a black person, because he's blowing down my neck, it's more a thing of, I feel safe and nothing will happen to me in that shop. But it's not 100% the reason ever. Like, I mean, I think there may be people that think they are better than them, but, I myself, that lived there, you will go shopping in certain areas because you know it's safe there or you believe you are safe there.

The quote above confirms that the participant remains in a very privileged space, given that Cape Town has the highest murder rate in South Africa, yet she refers to it as a "dome of security". This phenomenon speaks to neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalism, where Afrikaners withdraw into ethnic white suburban spaces (Van der Westhuizen, 2018), which is why she is less affected by Cape Town's high murder rate.

Participant 8:

Participant: I think some people will… it is bad, but some people will call a decent coloured or a decent black person, like someone you can see is sophisticated, they will refer to him in a crude manner. It feels like it comes from for example, the workers on the farm and people like that. It feels to me you should be called certain names because of what you do and what your title is. And then you get people who just refer to anyone using such crude words. To refer to coloureds and blacks as swear words, it seems to me that it definitely comes from the 'platteland'. I spent holidays or weekends with my grandfather and grandmother on the farm. You hear farmers and the people in the community refer to them as… using those words. Whereas, I think if you grow up in the city you have... it just feels to me, that to some extent that, because I have been here my whole life... it's terrible that people talk like that.

Researcher: So, if your grandparents talked like that, and you say you've always felt that you know it's wrong, do you think it was the same for your mother in that situation?

Participant: It is definitely more acceptable to my mom and dad because they grew up in that environment… But I can actually use my cousins as an example. They still stay on the farm, because my uncle inherited it. So, for example, my cousins are much younger. They speak in such a language and it is really sad, because it is okay for them too.

It is notable in the quote above that the respondent suggests that apartheid slurs are not appropriate for 'decent' black people but are acceptable to use for other 'less decent' black people. She is making this differentiation based on class, as she is arguing that one should not use the 'k-word' for a black lawyer but you can use it for a black farm worker, for example. She is therefore justifying the perpetuation of dehumanising apartheid words for people of colour. She is effectively justifying racism and attempts to hide behind the mask of class. She is the youngest participant taking part in the study, which means she was born post-apartheid. As per Loubser's (2014) findings, this phenomenon proves that some young, white Afrikaans speaking South Africans carry subjective knowledge of the South African past without challenging it, which is made evident by their worldview.

4.1.6.2 Disrupters

The alternative reaction noted among participants is the approach of actively addressing discrimination which still exists as a result of apartheid. While these participants still carry their historic privilege with them, they seem to have a more positive approach towards transformation, in which they strive to be actively involved.

> Participant 3:
> I just want to say something about what she said now that we were told when we were young, 'it's okay, you can be friends with any race, it does not matter'. It does not matter. I would hope we get to a point where we no longer have to say it. And we do not, not say it, because it's taboo and we don't want to talk about it, we don't say it because it's not an issue. And I think it's going to take a few generations. I think we're getting there. But it's just time and it's just new generations. There is definitely progress. I agree 100%, we must move on, but we can't just ignore what happened. Those two don't go together. I think many people think we can just stop talking about it, it has happened now, it's in the past, let's focus on the future. I think we should focus on the future, but what has happened plays such a big role in how we move forward, we can't ignore it. And I think a big part of the reason people still sit with so much pain and anger, is because it's such a difficult balance to acknowledge. To keep on acknowledging what happened and that it was problematic. One has to keep saying it, because it is still a reality for people, and we cannot pretend that it is no longer part of our lives. It's much better, but it's still there.

> Participant 6:
> Even if it takes me just standing at the braai, correcting everybody to say or you don't say that, then it might lead to the next and the next and the next. So, I'm not going to march with a poster or anything, but if it can just start with something small, it can make a big difference.

4.1.7 'Ordentlikheid' (respectability)

Christi van der Westhuizen (2017b) defines the identity of white Afrikaans women as 'ordentlik' (respectable) in her book, Sitting Pretty. All participants agreed with this definition and acknowledged that 'ordentlikheid' (respectability) has been embedded in their identity and

takes shape in their daily lives. The participants' levels of comfort and acceptance of 'ordentlikheid' differed.

As a white Afrikaans speaking woman, your level of 'ordentlikheid' is understood to be a result of how you were raised and was often identified by participants to be good manners. The notion that 'an 'ordentlike' woman knows how to carry herself in public' does certainly exist. In some cases, this notion extends to physical appearance as well as the appearance of your home.

> Participant 1:
> At the end of the day, I feel you become who your parents raised you to be. We always eat together at a table during dinner. The table is set, the food is in the middle, and we all dish for ourselves. Yes, and it's formal and stiff and everything, but I mean that's how we operate at home and then we're talking to each other. In my opinion that is 'ordentlikheid'. How are you going to operate if you eat at a restaurant in front of people? Will you start eating with your hands? Are you going to say 'please excuse my hand' at a braai when you eat a chop with your hand? That is how I see 'ordentlikheid'.
>
> Participant 3:
> I strongly identify with the 'ordentlikheid' thing, I feel I have to be 'ordentlik' and it was drilled in since I was a little girl.
>
> Participant 6:
> 'Ordentlikheid' is to have self-respect. I think for a woman especially. To have self-respect and I think like, I think 'ordentlikheid' in terms of your physical appearance... like what you look like. I think, I have to say the respect you show towards people. And I have to say I think in your everyday life, like your home and you know your home shouldn't... it should be neat, but you should be able to feel proud when someone just walks into your home unannounced. But I think as a whole... you should be proud of how you behave for your husband, with your husband. I also think of how you will... how you will look every day. Like getting older - how you take care of yourself. But I feel that if I'm still 'ordentlik' and I take care of myself and I, you know, eat properly with a knife and fork. Then I don't have to worry about what people think, but I can be proud of how I present myself to the world.

The research also revealed that participants agreed with Van der Westhuizen (2017b) that ‘ordentlikheid’ is also used to set Afrikaans whiteness apart from English whiteness in democratic South Africa.

4.2 The second intervention

The purpose of the second round of interviews and focus group sessions was to reflect on the reading experience and the shifting of paradigms that naturally followed this process. This included revisiting their position within society, white privilege, as well as their cultural and social identity. Ultimately, the participants were more open to exploring the potential of realising social innovation towards building an inclusive South African society.

4.2.1 Discovering the past

Antjie Krog’s (1998) book, Country of My Skull, takes the reader on a journey through South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, from her perspective as a white Afrikaans speaking woman. The experience of reading Antjie Krog’s (1998) Country of My Skull provided perspective and resulted in a deep personal connection and relatability for the participants. This reading experience served as the catalyst for the paradigm shift that occurred within every participant. The participants related to Krog’s (1998) internal struggle of being faced with the truth about apartheid from the perspective of the Afrikaner as the oppressor during this era, and so too ultimately acknowledged the societal challenges the country is still faced with as a result of it.

> Participant 5:
> Yes, it was definitely eye-opening. It's not something you... we were not raised to think about it. We didn't really grow up during apartheid... if you think about it... like our parents didn’t, so for you to actually go and read about it and find out what happened and everything... it... it's really... it... wow... Like why don't I know about this? It's your country, it's your people, it's your parents, it's your grandpa, your grandmother... but you don't know... Like, it was definitely a good exercise to educate myself about what happened and what's going on. And why things are as it is now. You can sit there, and you can complain and complain and complain, but you don't realise what these people went through. And what happened.

It must be noted that the quote above suggests that the participant still cannot say “black people”. “These people” could be understood as an othering term. It must further be noted that the way she poses her argument erases what white people did that actually caused what “these people” went through, which is perceived as disembodied.

The facts of the perpetration of apartheid are hidden beneath the surface of the apartheid narrative as being taught in the school curriculum. The actual perpetration of apartheid refers to the actual crimes against black people’s humanity, which is not part of the public narrative that the participants have been exposed to. The exposure to Country of My Skull facilitated an understanding among participants of the need for reconciliation that existed in the immediate post-apartheid era, as well as an understanding of the need for reconciliation that still exists. Despite this realisation, a number of participants were confronted with an internal emotional struggle of still longing to understand why the Afrikaner had implemented or allowed the apartheid regime.

> Participant 7:
> Participant: So, I have... okay I was not aware... I was genuinely not aware that it... that so many individuals were affected by racial hatred. I thought... if you think of the big stuff, you know. You know about the uhm, the big Soweto uprising, and you know about the... where was Youth Day again?
> Researcher: It was also in Soweto.
> Participant: I can't remember, but you know, like the big stuff.
> Researcher: Yes.
> Participant: You don't realise it was like a daily... people and children... and all that stuff. So, it was something big that I... didn’t realise. I thought about it a lot, but I still don't know how I feel... there is a very fine line between... should people be held personally accountable or did they just do what they felt was right at that stage? Like, because... it's war-crimes and so... you may shoot people, on your commander's command and really people were so brainwashed that they thought one race is better than another and… black people do not... they are just not worth as much as whites... it was quite, it was difficult for me and it was...
> Researcher: Difficult to accept.
> Participant: Yes, it was.

> Participant 9:
> I just mean the stories, it's really awful that we didn't do this in school history. Everyone is always going about the Second World War, but what happened here was really, really bad. It was really bad. I think everyone should read this book. It is such a big part of our history, but it is as if it was just pushed under the carpet, there was this Truth and Reconciliation Commission and everyone had a chance to say something and then it was just like, okay we're done now. That's, it's as if, I don't know... but think it's quite an important part that is just ignored.

This realisation was met with an understanding of the responsibility to acknowledge the wrongs of the past. A strong sense of empathy among participants was noted and met with the desire to form part of some sort of social transformation when reflecting on the Country of My Skull reading. The empathy noted was primarily directed towards South Africans of colour, but also towards Afrikaners who were able to seek forgiveness and acknowledge the 'blood on their hands'. This can be understood as a symbol of hope for the participants.

> Participant 1:
> I think the moment someone opens and actually says how he feels and what happened, then the person listening gets insight and then that person feels ashamed that he didn't know or understand, because it is so easy to condemn someone, and uhm, judge that person, but if you know the truth and understand what is really going on with that person, in his heart, then you will have more empathy and then you can treat him differently.

It must be noted that in the quote above the participant reflects on white people as moving from a position of judgment and condemnation of black people. This is particularly relevant as this judgement and condemnation was reflected as the unchallenged norm and creates an obstacle in the way of reconciliation and responsibility, if not challenged.

The defining difference between Krog's learnings during the time of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the participants' learnings as young adults in 2019, was that the participants felt ashamed, embarrassed and frustrated that they have only come to learn about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its work 25 years into democracy.

Participant 4:

I really had no insight into... the first time I heard about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was when you asked us if we know about it... And it was nice for to me to read it... I really didn't know that these things happened. And it was good to talk to my dad about it and then to find out, okay they actually knew this stuff, but they never told us. So, for me it was very important. I am happy I did it... and I am very grateful that I now have a better understanding of what happened and how we got to this point as a nation.

4.2.2 Ethnicity

Participants chose to self-identify based on ethnicity and not primarily based on race. This self-identification is based on a perceived distinction between Afrikaans and English-speaking white South Africans. The research findings suggest that this differentiation is still rooted in the tension and conflict that existed between the British and the Boers during the colonial, pre-apartheid era. A sense of English-speaking white South Africans looking down on Afrikaans speaking white South Africans was certainly felt among participants.

Various participants

Participant 4: I think there is certainly a cultural difference between Afrikaans and English.

Participant 5: Yes, they are much more liberal in a sense they don't have that... I suppose it's not really like that today anymore, but that 'role in the home' type of thing is also completely different. Things like faith is different for them... definitely not everyone... But, that kind of Afrikaans, you are rooted in God as a family type of thing... They are much more… all over the place. And the other thing for me is... I feel Afrikaans people are much prouder of their country and their people and their language and things like that than English people. Like, it's not that I feel they don't have an identity, but I feel... it's like she said... they have two passports. They are not only here. We are here. We have been here for generations. We will stay here. We will fight for our land, you know? English people are a bit more... not really that proud and they are kind of… I guess I'll go stay in the UK then...

Participant 4: That pride and that uhm, that pride for your country is not the same as what we have as Afrikaans people.

Participant 2: I think that's what divided us from the beginning. Because the Voortrekkers did not go because they were curious about the country, they trekked because they no longer wanted to be controlled by the British. But I think that difference already surfaced at that time.
Participant 5: Because they looked down on us. We were like the black people to them.
Participant 2: We were barbarian. They called us barbarians.
Researcher: Do you think that underlying tension still exists? Do you think this is actually still a thing or not really?
Participant 1: Yes, I think so. Yes. Because, for example, if you are in a conversation, you have to speak English... if you are with English speaking people.
Participant 5: Yes. They refuse to speak Afrikaans.

Participant 7:
Participant: I also think... maybe how we feel about English people might be how black and coloured people feel about us...
Researcher: Yes.
Participant: You know when... it's so terrible... you know when someone speaks English with an Afrikaans accent…
Researcher: Then you're stupid.
Participant: Then English people will be laughing at you ...
Researcher: Yes.
Participant: And it was always really terrible for me. Because the thing is you, are doing your best and so, my new thing I am doing now is... if someone who is English is laughing at them... then I say, oh I'm sorry... how many languages can you speak?

The quote above indicates that the participant felt ashamed in the face of white English-speaking South Africans. This reaction is aligned with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) position on white Afrikaans speaking South Africans still struggling with feelings of shame in relation to white English-speaking South Africans.

4.2.3 Racial discrimination

The research findings revealed that racial discrimination does exist within the participants' daily life experiences. It must be noted that this does not mean that the participants are involved in racial discrimination, but they are exposed to it. In some cases, however, participants were perceived to justify this discrimination when relevant to family or friends. Participants generally seemed to be oblivious to racial discrimination. This oblivion did not exist among all participants, however.

> Participant 2:
> I have seen in our circle of friends, how women are peacemakers between different cultures. Braais at our house usually do not go off well when the race topic comes up, because the girls are usually the ones to call it out and we have had many fiery conversations at braais, so much so that my friends no longer want to do it. I don't really have racist friends, I think my husband is very opinionated, but he gets a little influenced by what he sees. He has a very big loving heart, but he also has a passionate heart, but his passion coincides with his people and it also creates a little friction sometimes, because I just want him to have that open mind. I can understand where his passion lies, and I think it's fantastic. I admire it, but don't let it give you a narrow-minded view. Right now, around the braai, my opinion is, for the sake of peace, can we just stop finding problems with other races? Can we just start to relax about it? But when people start talking about history, it becomes difficult because I want to know I have my facts right. You know, I don't want to speculate.

Participants did carry a racial bias with them in individual cases. This racial bias resulted in a form of racial discrimination in one of the participants, hidden behind the mask of 'cultural differences'. Participants felt more comfortable to refer to other cultures as opposed to calling the racial group by its name, as it seems to be more acceptable to not be in agreement with another person's race than his or her culture.

> Participant 8:
> Researcher: And tell me, you mentioned couples. So, do you feel that an interracial couple is an awkward thing to you, or?

Participant: I personally won't do it, if I am honest... it will be... I cannot. I can never say never, but if I come home with… my parents won't think it's funny. Because I was raised in a traditional home where white and black was, and yes… So, I think it's just, I think there are many South African… Afrikaans girls who will give the same answer.

Researcher: If you see other people then?

Participant: No, that's not a problem for me, I just think I'm too strong on my own beliefs. I don't know, unless it is someone of a different colour, but they were also raised in an Afrikaans household, I don't know. But I just feel, up until now, my opinion is, like no, I don't think I can do it, no.

Researcher: And your parents, you say they are 'traditionally Afrikaans', does that mean they believe couples shouldn't be mixed race? Is it because they think white people are somehow superior to coloured, black and Indian people or just because they feel one shouldn't mix?

Participant: No, probably to some extent they feel… I don't know, I think the person. Like when I come home with a different colour. That person can be how high up in a job, it's just about it just being... I think it's a picture that was painted over the years... it's just not how it should be, I don't know. So that's why I think, for others it is fine, I don't care. You can do whatever you want. I just can't do it, because it's just what I'm accustomed to. Like the way I was raised, that seed that's in you, that was planted to say... no it doesn't work that way. And I found myself saying what I said in a conversation with my friends... "did you see that girl"... then they said like, "shame on you". And then I immediately thought it was weird that they were against me now, because they are also Afrikaans. But they were raised more 'anything goes'. So, I assume that if they come home with an Indian or whoever, they probably won't worry, because that's how they were raised. But I know, for example, that I wasn't raised that way. But as I say there is no right or wrong. It's just about the culture that is just a little different to me.

The quote above speaks to a person being reduced to a "different colour", which is understood as masked racism. A number of participants were aware of their 'lens of racial bias' and understood this to be a result of the world that they grew up in. This lens can be seen as an enabling tool to diversify and distinguish between races and to then ultimately subconsciously believe that you are superior. In some cases, participants were of the view that this bias should

be actively challenged on a daily basis and that the awareness thereof is the first step one should take in realising this opposition to racial bias.

> Participant 9:
> I think it's a Pieter-Dirk Uys quote... uhm, racism is like alcoholism. You can't say you're not a racist or an alcoholic, if you're one... all you can say is I wasn't one today. It's like being part of who you are. And that is so true. It is very strong in our culture. We were raised to differentiate. We see differences, that is... you know it as right and wrong and white and black and this is the right way to do things and I think that is not, I think it should be more active like... you cannot, we are all inherently actually, we see differences. And you need to focus more actively on not doing it

> Participant 9:
> Participant: It's so easy to say, "I'm not a racist", but actually we're all... it's so, we are so indoctrinated to differentiate... to distinguish... uhm, it's so ingrained in us to see differences and, if one has that realisation... that it is part of who I am, then it is about trying actively every day not to be that way. Until it's your norm, because I think it's naive to think you're not racist. I do not like the word racist because it implies that we are only distinguished by race...
> Researcher: More like discrimination.
> Participant: Yes. We all discriminate. Thank you, that is the word I was looking for. Uhm, and this has to be an active process and I think I really, I can honestly say I really tried hard to just pay attention to how I behave at work.

4.2.4 Reflection experience

Time for reflection and introspection on the reading experience was allowed for at the second focus group session and interviews. Every participant underwent a paradigm shift in regard to their own identity and place in society, as well as South African history.

Participants learned about aspects of South African history that they had not been exposed to before the reading experience. This new perspective resulted in introspection for all participants as well as a deepened sense of guilt about the past. This feeling of guilt was strengthened with

the deep realisation of how apartheid infiltrated all aspects of the South African societal fabric, as well as how it still affects many South Africans of colour today.

> Participant 6:
> The books were a big eye-opener for me. Very big, so I don't know how to put it, it made me feel more and more guilty.
>
> Participant 7:
> Participant: I have... I have to say I didn't realise... especially because I'm so... I was born at the end of apartheid, I didn't really realise there's so much... it's that overwhelming sense of guilt… it's pretty bad. It also made me think back in a few years… when I was in Amsterdam at Anne Frank's house... or that storage they stayed in. And then, uhm, there was someone, I can't, I don't even know who said it, I can't remember. It was just a small thing on the wall that said the reason people are so fascinated with Anne Frank's story is because... if you uhm, if you really have to open yourself up to the extent of genocide that happened there... you will not physically be able to handle it... so you focus on one person's story... and then... you kind of exclude the other, and that's what you focus on… And uhm, it's kind of like me, you don't really want to know what happened and who all suffered on both sides.
> Researcher: Do you think Nelson Mandela's story is the one highlighted post-apartheid like Anne Frank's?
> Participant: Yeah, well, there is... But, you kind focus on Hector Pieterson, for example, because he was the boy who was killed and held... you focus on it... like that's all that happened ... And you don't realise there's ... there are many more people with pain and suffering.

The reflection experience also resulted in disappointment in the school curriculum among participants. Participants felt disappointed that they did not have the opportunity to learn about what really happened in their country. A frustration with the lack of exposure to the historical legacy and the current socio-economic and political reality, related to South African history, existed among participants. Participants were of the view that this knowledge would have allowed for them to fulfil a more respectful and transformational role in their dealings with South Africans of colour. The participants were of the view that the lack of exposure to this information inhibited them in this regard.

> Participant 5:
> I felt angry... angry about it. Like, why are we not educated in it, why is it not part of our school education to know exactly what happened? Why do we learn about things on the other side of the world and Da Gama and such nonsense if we can learn about such things that are recent, that you can use in your interpersonal relationships and your everyday stuff ... you know? So, I was angry that I didn't know and that how I responded to situations was not appropriate because I wasn't educated in these things. If we bring it into our school system, kids can also understand the black friend sitting next to you woke up at 04h00 this morning to be here.

The quote above speaks to whiteness as hinging on wilful ignorance, as it can be argued that the education system alone cannot serve as enough reason for a lack of knowledge about the past. Steyn (2018) speaks to the construction of innocence as one of the ways in which white people have created distance between themselves and accountability for the past. Steyn (2018) argues that many white South Africans construct innocence by claiming that they were unaware of what happened during apartheid. The quote above concurs with Steyn's argument. The participant claims innocence, through being unaware and blames it on the limited school curriculum. Furthermore, the findings of this study reveal that claimed innocence, as perceived in the quote above, prevented participants from self-reflection on their position of privilege in democratic South Africa to some extent.

The reading experience provided a sense of tolerance and understanding towards South Africans of colour. Participants were able to form a better understanding of their lived experiences and context and this resulted in a much greater acknowledgement of the historical privilege they have been granted, due to the colour of their skin.

> Participant 10:
> It's scary, because I think I'm fairly informed, but I'm not as informed as I actually thought. And I also think I would almost suggest something like this for everyone to go through, because I think they will have more respect, if that makes sense. Because you are yes... I think... even if it is through this writing, we will have more tolerance for each other, because we have more of an understanding of each other's situations. For the other parties who are

> unemployed or who want farms or land. Uhm, so you can understand where it comes from. So, I will definitely say tolerance for me, as an individual.

The reading experience in its entirety resulted in a desire to share the learning experience with other white Afrikaans speaking South Africans who might also have limited knowledge or understanding of South African history as well as their own privileged position in contemporary South Africa, particularly in relation to South Africans of colour.

> Participant 2:
> It's not at all like me to participate in things... but I had this underlying desire to do something somewhere, because your conversations are around the fire or uhm, you know at home... between your friends and it doesn't get anywhere. And I thought I want to get involved in something... when I saw your invitation, I already felt like this, oh, there's something behind it, it speaks to me... so to me it was the seed that started something, because I would like to... this is a lifestyle I'm going to adopt. So, I'm going to make sure I'm informed. So, this is definitely, uhm... this whole setup is definitely the beginning of a different type of lifestyle.

> Participant 4:
> We are dealing with people out there, with new insight because of the book. So, it's also a ripple effect. I have talked to my mom now, I am talking to my sisters about the book I read and maybe I will lend it to my sisters so that they can have that insight too and then change how they interact with people so, yes... I think there is certainly space for a better understanding...

4.2.5 Participants' position in relation to South Africans of colour

The reading experience provided participants with significant perspective on people of colour in democratic South Africa. Some participants have come to understand that their interactions with and views of people of colour before the reading experience might have been grossly misinformed and even disrespectful, as per the excerpts below.

> Participant 1:
> I got a better perspective about the country and its people… and it was also nice, my understanding grew bigger and my perspective too. Uhm, but yes…

> I also tried to focus on… when I interact with other cultures … how I handle them. I have always treated them the same though, before the book and learning about the history, but my perception of them has changed a little.
>
> I sometimes thought that black people are not always educated and they think different from us as whites... just like for the first time I just got out my little bubble and started thinking and living differently… and to think there are those who actually are, uhm educated… and I don't know, my view has changed about that. Because one can think so quickly... they think otherwise... they live differently... and that's not right.
>
> Participant 4:
> Yes, I think it gave me more empathy. I remember having a patient for a while... last year, a coloured lady and she... we talked about politics and actually a nice conversation... you know, we always had nice chats, and then at one point I said you know, it's 20 years later... can't we just move on, and she was kind of offended by my comment. And then she said yes but that is the problem… And after this book I read, I could understand her point of view much better. I now understand why she said what she said. But, at that time, I was also unaware of all these things that had happened. So... I was wrong for making that comment, but now I have much more insight as to why she said it and the background it comes from. Because, it was an older woman. So, she went through a lot more than I had, for example.

The quote above suggests quite a distance from people of colour in the participant's life. Both participants above seem to form part of the neo-Afrikaner enclave nationalists grouping, as identified by Van der Westhuizen (2018), which maintains white areas in democratic South Africa.

> Participant 8:
> I've definitely been looking at myself and how I can behave a little bit differently every day and not be so judgemental or sometimes want to play the victim, because certain things have now happened. We had a higher standing in the past, you understand... we have to come down to earth a little more I would almost say.

> Participant 1:
> I also felt ashamed... I had an uneasiness in me that was not nice... You read this one piece and then the next morning you wake up to... you almost look at these people with different eyes... And at what happened... it gave me a better perspective on this and yes, it is just as bad to think that those people, the fear in which they had to live... to not even be able to sleep in peace... I would have been so scared… I'm so happy I didn't live then. But yes, it was pretty much… I was very ashamed.

The participant in the first quote above admits to judgement of people of colour. The othering language used by the second quote above came up regularly in engagement with participants. This very judgement and othering language can be understood as the participants holding a superior belief of themselves in relation to people of colour, which essentially perpetuates white supremacy.

As mentioned in the last quote above, the perspective gained through the reading experience instilled a sense of shame among participants. This shame emerged as a form of Afrikaner shame because of apartheid, as well as shame about the participants' previous interactions with people of colour.

> Participant 5:
> Yes, it made me re-evaluate how I responded to people and situations in the past. And it's that shame they talk about... it's real... it's really, that's real. And it's more real now.

4.2.6 Admittance of shame as a catalyst for transformation

Van der Westhuizen (2017b) speaks to the admittance of shame as the first step towards transformation in her book, Sitting Pretty. This theory was tested with the participants and they were generally in agreement.

> Participant 5:
> I think shame is a good starting point... it is you 'admitting there is an issue' or that there is a problem and then you can work from there.

With shame being accepted as the catalyst for transformation, some participants were of the view that substantive transformation will only be achieved if shame does not become a disabling factor. The research indicated that shame should be acknowledged, but the objective should be to move beyond the sense of shame. It should be noted that this drive to move forward was often accompanied by participants wanting to shift the shame to their parents' generation and those who typically felt cheated by the 'sins of their forefathers'.

> Participant 9:
> I think going forward, one should focus more on the positive of, 'we acknowledge what happened and we are aware of it' but how do we move forward? Because you just stop engaging because you feel ashamed and then you just don't want to. Where it really should be, okay we move away from it, let's see it more positively going forward. I think our parents' generation has to feel guilty and ashamed and deal with forgiving themselves, that might be more important to address. But in terms of our generation... we are just the product of this.

It should be noted that although participants were able to acknowledge their shame as a result of the insights gained through the reading experience, some strongly advised that the critical first step of shame acknowledgement among white Afrikaans speaking South Africans might prove to be a very challenging ideal. This sentiment was mainly directed toward their parents' generation. The sentiment toward their peers and generations to come was much more positive and some participants were of the view that moving forward might be possible, given the exposure they received.

> Participant 6:
> It's still hard. I think it's going to be hard for many people. Like my mother: "I feel bad, but what must I do?" That's what I think people's perspectives are, it will be very hard work to change people's perspectives...

> Participant 7:
> That kind of open emotional feeling is something our parents' generation may not yet have... because I have heard my parents or my in-laws talking about something, then I think it is such a white supremacist way of thinking... like

you really have to listen to what you say... so, yeah, I agree... that whole admittance to yourself is a way of transformation… and I also think .. depending on where you work and live, like here in Durbanville... I think it is a slow process.

4.2.7 The 'reconciliation gap'

The findings suggest that a 'reconciliation gap' exists in democratic South Africa. The level of responsibility that participants believe should be taken to address this perceived gap were diverse. Despite the fact that participants felt easily disempowered by the burden of the past and their ability to do anything about it, they were quick to realise that actively addressing any form of racial discrimination as and when it happens in their daily lives will have a meaningful impact and might address the 'reconciliation gap'. Irrespective of personal views on why the reconciliation gap exists and where the responsibility for it lies, all participants were in agreement that this would make a meaningful difference.

Participant 5:

Researcher: "Reconciliation will only take place the day whites also feel offended by racism instead of feeling sorry for blacks" (January Bardhill as cited in Krog, 1998, pg. 111) Is this a statement that you agree with?

Participant: I think it will happen if we start standing up for each other. And like call people out. Like the other day. I was at a traffic light and I was driving so I was waiting for the car to come from the front and I wanted to turn. Then someone came with a motorcycle and drove into me. But really softly... his brakes didn't work. And he works at the Engen in Wellington Street and he has now borrowed this bike so that he can get to work because the buses did not run. And his brakes didn't work, and he was like "oh my word"... and the guy who came from the front yelled at him... "are you fucking stupid"... and then I just looked at him like that. As in, was it now unnecessary for you to scream at him. You know. And then we stopped, and I told him "I am so sorry about that guy." Then he was like "It's nothing new"... you know? For me to be able to tell him... it's not normal for him to have reacted like that and I'm sorry about it and I can stand up for him and say listen... it happened now, but that guy was a... bad person, you know... Like to tell him I also feel ashamed about what that guy told you now.

The ‘reconciliation gap’ was found to be most notable in the everyday experiences of the past, as well as the effects thereof, which are still experienced daily by people of colour in democratic South Africa. The fact is that the outright majority of South Africans living in extreme poverty are people of colour and they were, and in some cases still are, embarrassed and humiliated on a daily basis and are dealing with the emotional consequences. The undeniable reality is that the effects of apartheid are still rife in the lives of too many people of colour, 25 years into democracy. By the second intervention, all participants were able to acknowledge this and were able to admit this phenomenon is unfair.

> Participant 7:
> Researcher: I don't think everyone really got closure, but I'm glad many people could… and I think obviously there are people who sat there and still didn't get closure, but at least people listened and respected their story.
> Participant: I agree with you… there might be someone who had to carry a passbook and that kind of stuff, they might not have experienced violence, but they still had to go through that… that’s terrible.

4.2.8 The ‘responsibility gap’

The research further revealed that the ‘reconciliation gap’ is a result of a ‘responsibility gap’ that exists mainly among white Afrikaans speaking South Africans. A consensus was reached among participants that this predicament exists as a result of previous generations not taking responsibility for their actions, namely for enforcing and/or supporting the apartheid regime. It should be noted that institutional and everyday racism did not stop in 1994. For that, white people of all generations must take responsibility.

The willingness to take responsibility and fill the proverbial gap differed among participants. Some participants were of the view that admitting responsibility will result in them being caught up in the web of guilt indefinitely, while other participants are more comfortable and willing to take responsibility. In fact, these participants are of the view that this is the only way that reconciliation will truly be realised in democratic South Africa.

> Participant 5:
> I think apartheid was evil, I'll admit that... but I'm not taking responsibility, because it's not my generation who did it... I think at that point, in that point of time... yes definitely. They had to say sorry... it's our fault. That's important.

> But for me to live the rest of my life and say, yes, it's my fault won't help me to integrate.

The quote above speaks to a deflection of responsibility onto the older generation so that the younger generation does not have to confront how they have benefited from the legacies of apartheid and the continuation of institutional and everyday racism after 1994. The following participants represent the group that is more willing to fill the 'responsibility gap'.

> Participant 9:
> That's exactly what should happen... whites should admit we were wrong. We did this. Uhm, this happened. It is certainly the largest part of our present-day history and we were the oppressor. Uhm, and I wondered about it, isn't that... all that is needed? Because I'm not... I'm not aware of or surrounded with people of my parents' generation who have ever said something like that. That ever acknowledged we were wrong. Uhm, it's like you know… yes but there is always the blame-shifting… no, but you know the politics. We voted for our party and they did it. But we all... we all were guilty of it. Yes, we acknowledge it.

> Participant 10:
> If we can make progress as a collective, I will say right… I take that responsibility. It's actually my ancestors, not me, but if it can bring so much peace and progress, it's fine for me to say. So, I think a lot of work is still needed... but I agree, I do not have an issue, it is not an issue for me. But you're going, you're probably going to have those tough Afrikaner people in our age group who were raised differently, who are going to say no… it's not my fault, I'm not going to accept responsibility for that. But I also think these are the people who are the most short-sighted, that we have to work on. But that can be difficult.

As mentioned by the participant in the excerpt above, many young, white Afrikaans speaking people will resort to shifting the blame by all means possible. This behaviour is understood to be a result of their background, such as how they were raised by their parents and what they were exposed to during their formative years. Affirmative action in all its forms is often used as an argument that allows for these kinds of individuals to shy away from taking responsibility, as they believe they are already disadvantaged enough by the law.

> Participant 2:
> I think we're never going to get to a place where we can say we've rectified it, because affirmative action is there and there is more friction than there ever was, so I don't think the disadvantaged races will ever feel that the, I feel there is nothing we can do to make them feel justified. We had affirmative action, we have BEE that still plays its part in what is already becoming questionable, because what is its role and its tangible evidence? And still they feel wronged. Now there's a new thing, now they want land back, so it's a new challenge we're going to have to face now. So, it feels like a new thing is coming up now that we have to pay for again, now we need to be apologetic again, so I don't feel we are going to get to a place where they feel it has been rectified.

In addition to white Afrikaans speaking South Africans being of the view that taking responsibility for the past is unfair and unreasonable on them, some still do not believe that apartheid was wrong. This belief prevents them from taking responsibility for it. Participants referred to experiences and individuals who have this belief.

> Participant 9:
> To really, really understand and realise reconciliation from that point of view one has to go through it yourself. But I don't think... hopefully we'll never regress into it again. I think reconciliation... the closest we can come to it is if one has remorse and shows it, and it was lacking in many of the whites ... Uhm, and I think to reconcile ... we are all human, like reconciliation will become a reality if one has that remorse. But for that remorse you must first be convinced that what you did was wrong. And not everyone thinks apartheid was wrong.

Although the respondents were, in some cases, hesitant to read Country of My Skull (Krog, 1998), the majority were able to acknowledge that a collective responsibility should be taken for apartheid and that much more can and should be done. The hesitance stemmed from deflecting the responsibility to the perceived responsible generation: their parents' generation.

4.2.9 Reimagining ‘ordentlikheid’ (respectability)

Participants agreed that there certainly is scope for reimagining and ultimately redefining ‘ordentlikheid’ (respectability) in democratic South Africa. The research findings revealed that the potential exists for ‘ordentlikheid’ to not only be limited to character traits such as good manners and respect, but to take that further and use it as a transformation tool in society.

> Participant 10:
> The Afrikaans woman is ‘ordentlik’, because she has known her place for years, because she did not have a choice, she had to. And I'm going to say she's still ‘ordentlik’, but she's a little more rebellious now... and she can stand her ground.

> Participant 4:
> And ‘ordentlikheid’... that guy that drove into her car. It was ‘ordentlik’ of her to say sorry for that guy's behaviour, but it was more than just being ‘ordentlik’ and sorry, sorry, sorry... you know. So, I think she stood up for that guy and said it's not right.

> Participant 7:
> Yes I definitely think so, because I think uhm… ‘ordentlikheid’ is like... it's proper and respectable and... and also speaks to the type of people you have to mix with and the kind of friends you need to have and things like that... and I think if you can reinterpret it to be more like... that ‘ordentlikheid’ actually means like humanity, then it can definitely bring about transformation...

4.2.10 White privilege

White privilege is perceived as a controversial concept, which is often met with a sensitive response from white people. This sensitivity resulted in defensiveness among participants, as well as ignorance in singular cases, such as the example in the excerpt below.

> Participant 2:
> I feel the white privilege label died with apartheid. Like, there are two sides to it. There is a socio-economic side and then there is the oppressed side. So, white privilege in the sense of black children were not really allowed in the white schools, they had to go to their own local school, which was completely sub-standard. How will you get somewhere if your standard of education

> wasn't adequate? A goal has been set to change it and I believe it has changed, because now get terribly rich people in other cultures. So, I feel white privilege in the sense of being oppressed, because all the good things were kept aside for us, died a deserving death when apartheid came to an end, but I feel the white privilege incorrectly labelled today is more based on finance. And then I feel it's not worth its label, because it's over. You get poor white people, you get black people who have a lot of money, their university fees are paid for. So, I think white privilege is an unfair label, because it is now more financially focused, but I do not deny that it existed. But I feel it has been successfully phased out.

The defensiveness that emerged when being confronted with the phenomenon that is white privilege was rooted in a perceived lack of monetary privilege. Some participants were of the view that they do not necessarily enjoy white privilege in its entirety, as they come from a less financially privileged background. The participants were of the view that they do not enjoy the financial freedom that is typically associated with white privilege, although they were able to acknowledge that they are treated differently because of their skin colour.

The research findings revealed an initial ignorance and, in some cases, a sense of denial around this phenomenon existed among participants. Van der Westhuizen (2017b) argues that the denial might be rooted in the denial of liability for present-day racism in South Africa. The research findings concur with Van der Westhuizen's (2017a) argument, as the sentiment of non-liability for racism in democratic South Africa certainly existed among participants.

Participants were able to acknowledge that white privilege in fact does exist when confronted with the lack of privilege South Africans of colour enjoy or by the realisation that some of the privileges that they enjoy are unearned and primarily based on their skin colour. The research findings showed that the ability to look beyond material and monetary privileges to also take the unearned social privileges into consideration is a critical part of the realisation process. This argument is based on the fact that people of colour do not regularly enjoy these social privileges and many white individuals only become aware of it when confronted with it. This is a critical aspect of white privilege to introduce, as the argument of 'black wealth' is often used as an argument for the extinction of white privilege, as per the excerpt by participant 2 above.

The phenomenon that is white privilege proved challenging to engage with within the South African context. The reason for this is that white people are in the outright minority, but evidently still seem to enjoy the outright majority of social and material privileges. Furthermore, the research findings revealed that participants were raised to differentiate by race and were subsequently taught to believe that whiteness is somehow superior. Therefore, what makes you different as a white person is also what makes you better. This belief of white superiority can be understood as having filtered through the social fabric and is still prevalent in democratic South Africa. Within this complexity lies the crux of the unfairness that resulted from the instilment of white privilege.

> Participant 9:
> I think that's the difference, as I think many whites will…. In Grassy Park where I worked, you can be the only white person and walk into a Spar or whatever and... you stand out like a sore thumb and then the same thing for a person of colour in Durbanville, for example. But I think the difference is… and that's what white privilege is and that's why it's so hard to understand ... you walk into a place where you stand out, but you don't feel inferior. I think that's what white privilege is ... that you never feel that you're inferior, where I think if you're not white and you walk into a place like Durbanville's Spar or wherever you go, you're not just standing out, but I think there is definitely a sense of inferiority and white privilege is the lack of it...

The confrontation with white privilege resulted in a sense of gratitude among participants that their unearned privilege made life much easier. As a result of introspection, the participants were able to realise that there are many challenges that people of colour faced and are still facing that they were exempted from, based on the colour of their skin. In some cases, this added to the already overwhelming sense of guilt that was prevalent among participants.

> Participant 10:
> It actually became worse for me. I just realised that I have even more privileges than I realised. So that's something, introspection... that I had. Yes, I can work a little harder. I have so many blessings. Yes... I think what stood out for me is the personal lessons I learned from the experience. I took it and said: "Yeah, well, I can sacrifice or do it a little bit more..."

The research shows that part of the reason why participants' parents' generation still struggle to acknowledge that they enjoy white privilege is the fact they have the lived experience of the apartheid regime. They experienced the comfort that it was associated with and they understand the protection of white privilege and white supremacy as the norm. Therefore, being confronted with democratic South Africa and the protection of the rights of all South Africans, and not only the rights of white South Africans, seems like an injustice to them. This delusion proves to be a barrier to honest engagement about white privilege among participants' parents' generation, as indicated in the excerpt below.

> Participant 2:
> Researcher: What do you mean when you say they feel they've lost the country?
> Participant: Um, I think if you would say... I think I mean they lost control… because that ideal life existed for them... but it was at the expense of another group... you know you went to sleep 100% in safety and peace. I remember when I was growing up, we didn't even close the front door. If you go to church then leave your door open no matter, you know you can ... you can come home at any time you don't need a key and the kids played in the street.

4.2.10.1 Potential of interrogating white privilege

Upon confrontation with white privilege the participants were engaged in the possibility of interrogating white privilege in an effort to ascertain if they believed that the status quo could be challenged. Overwhelmingly, the participants associated the addressing of racial discrimination with addressing white privilege. Therefore, the conclusion can be made that participants associate racial discrimination by whites as a form of protection of their privilege. Participants are of the view that by fellow whites addressing this phenomenon, it might result in a form of interrogation of white privilege.

> Participant 4:
> If I think of the story of the guy with the motorcycle crashing into you. I think by standing up for that guy and saying... I'm sorry about his behaviour, I think that's how one interrogates it... call it by name and say it is not right, this

> behaviour is not right. I doubt that he would have responded that way if it was a white guy. But I think one should address it and try to reduce it.

The example above refers to the incident referred to by participant 5 on page 84.

The majority of participants agreed that, ideally, white privilege should be interrogated. It should be noted, however, that several participants thought that this is an unrealistic ideal, as white people are so used to privilege that they perceive it as normal, and therefore these participants believe it is unrealistic for it to be broken down. This makes the recognition of white privilege challenging, which is understood as the first step towards interrogation. The fact that areas within South Africa still exist where white privilege is not only protected but understood as the norm, effectively means that it is actively being perpetuated.

> Participant 9:
> One still has to act and affect the generations to come, because if you do not, and you leave it to the passive process, will we not just go on as we are at the moment? So, an active process should be put in motion, because it won't be resolved quickly.
>
> To be able to interrogate white privilege, you need to be aware of it and to be aware of it you have to admit it is there. And this... it's really... it's a lot, it's a really tough, grey topic, because it's so easy to just say, no it's not there. To turn a blind eye. And how do you tackle it? It's so intertwined in our culture, it's so intertwined in our daily, I mean, walk into Durbanville… how do you tackle it in that area? Like, I guess the answer is probably like racial integration...

Sentiments that white people should actively work towards not protecting their unearned historical privilege, but to rather share it with individuals less privileged were noted among certain participants. This sharing of privileges can be by means of sharing resources, time or skills.

> Participant 7:
> Researcher: So, you're saying... using your privilege for something better, you can deconstruct your privilege?

> Participant: I think so, because the thing is… first of all ... it will take away... let's say you give your money... let's say you don't even give your time… but give your money, then it will be your money that you could have used for yourself... so that's number one. But the thing is, if you give your time and you sit down with someone whether you mentor someone or you help someone who really needs help... then you will have more insight into how... how the other half live... you know? As soon as you open yourself up to another person's suffering... then you realise how much you really don't need. Poverty will always exist, but I think one big thing about white privilege is the awareness of it as a thing and then trying to take action against it... and also... not exploiting people who are already struggling.

The quote above serves as an example of the humanisation of people of colour that was enabled by the introspection following the acknowledgment of shame.

4.2.10.2 'Black poverty'

The research findings serve as proof of Milazzo's (2017) finding that the reproduction of white privilege resulted in the exclusion of South Africans of colour from this very privilege.

> Participant 5:
> In the circles that I move it is always... black people work for the white people in their home, work in their gardens, they drive the bus, they drive the taxi, they stay in a shack, they... you know you give them your old bed... or carpet... that mindset.

As per the excerpt above, all participants agreed that black poverty is prevalent in South Africa and that it is a result of the unequal past. Participants also predominantly associated black people with poverty, with the exception of their work colleagues. Ironically, participants were able to acknowledge this linkage, but still cling to ignorance in relation to their knowledge about the apartheid past. This phenomenon once again proves that Steyn's (2012) 'ignorance contract' is intact in democratic South Africa.

The participants were questioned on the possibility that white privilege has anything to do with black poverty. Although this possibility was met with an emotional reaction from some participants who were perceived to have felt attacked by the question, all participants were able to make a connection between black poverty and white privilege. Participants who felt more comfortable to acknowledge this connection were able to acknowledge that this belief is rooted in the time that the settlers first settled in the Cape. These participants believe the link was further enforced with apartheid and that the effects thereof are still prevalent in contemporary South Africa.

> Participant 7:
> You have to go back very far... because I think you can hardly have one without having the other... I say you have to go back far, because if Jan van Riebeeck and everyone never arrived here, then Africa, at least South Africa would have been undisturbed... and they would not... there would not have been poverty, there would not really... I think urbanisation and all that well... people who had to move away from the rural areas to work in the city to bring money back for their family... I think the fact that western people like the Dutch, the British came here, it came with a lot of those countries' things... they came here and you know… built roads, took land and so on, so I think this put it all in motion for white privilege and for black poverty. I think... they're not mutually exclusive...

> Participant 9:
> There are still people who do not have the exposure to quality education or the opportunity to go to university, because they have been oppressed for years and years and years. Where whites have a huge advantage. The middle class absolutely thrived in the apartheid years and laid that foundation and it's very easy to you know, I think to get to a place where you have wealth. And now I'm referring to money... if you have that background. Because you have that education... you were in good schools, you could go to university. So yes, to some extent... I think it has to do with it.

Participants with exposure to people of colour at their place of work or socially have an understanding of the concept of ‘black tax’ and that it limits economic growth to some extent. Black tax is understood as the perceived responsibility of black professionals to provide

financial support to their extended family. These participants were able to acknowledge that this responsibility does not fall onto them and that black tax further perpetuates inequality between black and white South Africans.

> Participant 10:
> Researcher: Do you associate black people with poverty?
> Participant: Unfortunately, yes. There are rich black people,
> but there is definitely... yes, because if you are standing at a traffic light... it's mostly black people you're going to see. Black people still mostly live in squatter camps, and in the areas where we live... okay, now black families start to move in as well, but it's so little if you consider the size of the population. So, the economic progress is much slower. Yes, so unfortunately, I would say I associate black people with poverty. And, also, black tax is real.

The question was also met with significant defensiveness from a minority of the participants, primarily based on their understanding that black people have equal access to opportunities post-apartheid. The research findings revealed that this defensiveness stems from the fact that they perceived a blame shifting of the cause of black poverty onto them. A participant further attempted to dissociate her own privilege by the fact that black professionals do exist in contemporary South Africa and therefore her perceived conclusion is that white privilege cannot have anything to do with black poverty if there are black people who managed to uplift themselves from poverty.

> Participant 5:
> Researcher: Do you think white privilege has anything to do
> with black poverty? In other words, do you think white privilege is part of the reason for black poverty?
> Participant: In the past, yes. I think they were behind because
> they were forced out of their homelands and they didn't really have opportunities when they came to the cities. But I do not think today you can... they cannot come to me and say it's your fault that this is happening with me... I know, there is terrible unemployment and it is not necessarily your fault if you can’t get a job…

> Participant 2:
> I honestly can't say it's interlinked. It's mutually exclusive. It is… a nation, two nations trying to move forward, we had a prominence, but I can't see how it holds them back. Uhm, because things have changed in 1994 and effort has been made to move forward. And I don't say they don't use it, they do... because there are people like doctors in good positions and so on. But no... these are two nations moving forward... I don't feel one's progress is dampening another's' progress. I think we are trying to help where we can.

The quote above reflects the embedded racial thinking the participant has that she thinks of South Africa as two nations, 25 years post-apartheid and having been five years old in 1994. The participant's position concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2007) position that the emphasis that was placed on black South Africans having their own 'nations' during apartheid made the denial of discrimination among white people possible. This kind of thinking can be understood to most likely represent a portion of this participant's generation and it must be taken into consideration when implementing the innovation praxis model.

Following on from the question above, participants were asked if they believe that the interrogation of white privilege can bring black poverty to an end and if white South Africans therefor have a responsibility to attempt it. Since the interrogation of white privilege was already discussed and supported at this stage, this scenario was met with less sensitivity from participants. Consensus was achieved regarding the fact that too little is being done and that the interrogation of white privilege will bring about a decrease in black poverty. However, participants were sceptical about the feasibility of this ideal.

> Participant 9:
> Definitely, and I think too little is being done. White people in general have become very passive in improving the country. They complain or they just sit on their own heap and I'm also guilty of it, uhm... you know and you just go on with your daily life and you are happy in your corner and I think definitely there, there is a responsibility that people have to address poverty and you know, circumstances. But it doesn't even have to be something big. It can start

small. I've always had that view... start in your own environment... So, I think we definitely have a responsibility and I definitely think there's a role to play.

4.2.11 The potential of young, white Afrikaans speaking women

The research findings show that young, white Afrikaans speaking women are not in the same place their mothers were at their age. Although Afrikaner cultural expectations and pressures still exist, the adherence to it is no longer enforced.

> Participant 10:
> In the typical Afrikaans culture, women are like, ah I'm so sorry, I'll be humble. Men are a little more arrogant. And in today's world, it is a matter of she is working, and sometimes earns more money than her husband. I see it a lot. Really a lot. And she's free. And she believes that she is free.

The majority of participants have a keen interest in taking up an active role in society and taking up the responsibility of being more assertive about issues that matter and that will result in a more inclusive society, irrespective of their controversial nature. Most participants, at varying levels, want to be part of some sort of change to make South Africa more inclusive and not repeat the mistakes of their forefathers. Participants were perceived to want to make use of their own political agency to address societal issues that result in inequality and not simply 'know their place' and look the other way.

> Participant 9:
> Researcher: As Christi Van der Westhuizen (2017b) reminds us in her book, Sitting Pretty, Nelson Mandela extended an invitation to South Africans who identify as 'Afrikaner women', when he remembered Afrikaans poet, Ingrid Jonker in his inaugural State of the Nation address in 1994:
>
> > She was both a poet and a South African. She was both African and African. She was both an artist and a human being. In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted by death, she asserted the beauty of life.
>
> What does it look like to accept that invitation every day in your daily dealings with black people and, in general, people other than you?
> Participant: I tend to be fairly quiet about my opinions around race and lesbian relationships and, and, and… especially in environments where I don't

> necessarily know everyone, because usually I am the liberal one and I am surrounded with people who are very opinionated. And I think this invitation is like... it's a challenge. Like, open your mouth and think... Stand for, or talk about it... and you know, because in the end... people's opinions are often fluid and influential. And if those of us who are... have more acceptance for differences, do not open our mouths, how will change really happen and how are we going to make a difference? So far, our role has been very passive. And uhm, I also think one is almost inclined to form the opinions your husband has. And not stand up. Or many people... but I think, yes. I think the time is right for us to express ourselves more about what we stand for and what we believe in. And it's often difficult then to be the one who says listen, I don't think it's necessary to say it or do it. It's also about being okay with uhm... judgment, but also okay with people not agreeing with you and that they may shun you. But in the end, I think the most valuable thing you can do is to be honest about who you are, otherwise you sell your soul, you know? And I think that's what happened in the apartheid years... I'm sure... I refuse to believe there were no people who wondered if this was right or wrong.

The excerpt above acknowledges that the participant does not comfortably share her opinion on her acceptance of diversity, although she seemingly would. She also acknowledges the fact that the young, white Afrikaans speaking women of her generation are inclined to take on their husbands' opinion. These acknowledgements speak to the fact that, although she might not want it, she holds the same societal position her mother did when she was her age. This phenomenon proves that much more can and should be done to challenge the status quo. This excerpt is also relevant in the sense that it speaks to the appetite for the cultivation of political agency among young, white Afrikaans speaking women. An honest engagement with and acceptance of the self can be understood to stimulate political agency and has the potential to serve as a catalyst thereof.

4.2.12 Active citizenry through political agency

Upon concluding the final intervention, all participants agreed that active citizenry by engaging in political agency will positively contribute towards building an inclusive South African society. Participants were able to conclude that positive engagement in political agency can work towards the interrogation of white privilege. Given the exposure to this research project

and the subsequent perspective gained, some participants have gone as far as to describe this engagement as the responsibility of their generation.

> Participant 9:
> So, I think we definitely have a responsibility to play a role. We can't just sit back and fold our hands and you know, say this is it. I think that is why this topic is so incredibly cool, because I don't think we're always exposed to the possibility that we might be part of the change. But I definitely think there is a responsibility.

An understanding among participants that taking up the said responsibility necessitates the acknowledgement and addressing of the South African past and particularly that the apartheid crimes existed. This proves to be very challenging and uncomfortable among peers. It must be noted that some participants mentioned the possibility of their generation simply not engaging in challenging dialogue about the South African past.

> Participant 9:
> I think, to involve our generation will be terribly difficult. Because I think the easier option is to just stand back and not engage. But I definitely think there is a space for it. Uhm, yes, but I think the beginning will be to face the past head-on. Exposure to, you know, what happened. Uhm, I engaged with many people about Country of my Skull and uhm, and I really talked to many people about it, like... I'm reading this book now, and people don't want to talk about it. People do not want to engage, they are like yes, I do not know, maybe it is like being tired of talking about it, but I still think it is, it is the white guilt too... you do not want to hear what your ancestors and generations before you did. Uhm, because some of the people I spoke to are still in a very privileged position… so they don't want to rock the boat.

4.2.13 Everyday transformational work

The overall interactions with participants indicated that an honest acknowledgement of the injustice that forged the perceived 'normality' should be the next step. As found by Van der Westhuizen (2017b), and proven by this research, this acknowledgement has the potential to result in a sense of shame. Importantly, shame the potential to result in transformative action.

The participants' sentiments suggest that honest engagement with these emotions can result in a deeper self-awareness that can lead to transformation.

Participants were in agreement that one can use your political agency in everyday life to right the wrongs of the past and effectively not repeat them. One such way is to make an active decision to set an example of inclusivity for the next generation and carry this agency into future parenting.

> Participant 5:
> For me it is like... it feels like it's going to start at home. It's going to start with me, when I have children. You're not going to raise that child racist. You're going to tell them to refer to black people as aunty and uncle too. You know you're not going to do the whole thing of... you know, they work for us… or she works in the house and she calls me "Missies"... You know like the woman who works for us, she calls us by our names, we know her, and we talk. It's not like, you sit outside with your own special tin mug that stays in the back of the cupboard. You know it's so gross… It's like my mother's house, where the housekeeper is still drinking from a mug that's been put aside for her. That kind of stuff. So, for me it starts at home. How are we going to raise our children and talk to our children about such things? Teach them. I am angry with my parents for not teaching me this. But I also think they did not know enough to teach me... if we know enough and we can also teach our children... then you lay the foundation.

Another such way of using political agency in everyday life suggested by participants is to continuously interrogate white privilege and continue to address racial discrimination. It must be noted that these acts of discrimination are often executed by close family members or friends in intimate settings and it poses potential conflict for and opposition towards participants. However, participants did note that those intimate settings are often where meaningful change might occur. Participants are aware that, should they take up the responsibility mentioned above, it will stretch into their personal lives and daily interactions, despite the discomfort it may cause. It must also be noted that some participants had already been taking up this responsibility before engaging in the research project, and a renewed commitment towards said responsibility was instilled.

> Participant 6:
> My little bit that I can do is to... Like I said, it's easy between friends to still make a joke about something every now and then... but I'd rather be the one who gets up and say never do it again. It's wrong and it's 25 years later. Stop it now.

The research findings revealed that some participants lack confidence in the impact their political agency can make. A fear of opposition as well as what the effect of the opposition would be on their personal life was also noted. A belief among these participants that their personal contribution would not be relevant to society existed. Although these participants can acknowledge that political agency is required, they are not convinced that they can nor want to become active.

> Participant 1:
> The humiliation is going to be too much for me to put myself out there and... because I think I am personally going to get opposition from all sides. And I don't know if I'm up for it. I'd rather stay under the radar.

> Participant 5:
> I think we can try it on a small scale, but we don't actually have a big voice. Like, what can you start saying that will have a big impact? You know like Bouwer Bosch ... I'm not Bouwer Bosch[3], so what am I going to say... nobody is going to listen to me, who am I? So, I don't know, it's hard.

Participants agreed that much more can be done by their generation to stimulate an inclusive South African society and that political agency would be required. Participants were comfortable acknowledging the gap for meaningful and positive political agency. However, the subsequent conversation about how such a world might look proved to be more difficult. Overall, the main strategies suggested by participants were various forms of media engagements as well as dialogue.

[3] Bouwer Bosch is a South African public figure that apologised for apartheid and uses his public profile to work towards reconciliation in democratic South Africa.

> Participant 9:
> The media is a good platform and uhm, even politics you know. But like, the lack of role models of our generation is something to consider and I think there is definitely a space for those conversations. Uhm, but it's very difficult. But I think there is an answer. I just think the problem is that too few people have come to a point where they are brainstorming about it.

> Participant 2:
> I think there is a gap... and with time, progress will come, but it's not going to be enough progress. But if we make a conscious effort, it will be better. So, I think there is a gap for a conscious effort, but I feel there is a... there is an underlying momentum that will bring about improvement if you just leave it... but you want to do more, as we feel our parents could do more. Uhm, so I feel there is potential for our generation to do more.

The practicality of a potential society in which young, white Afrikaans speaking women take up a more politically active role in building an inclusive South African society will be discussed in the praxis model addendum of this research project (Addendum A).

> Participant 2:
> I think it's great to get active, and it will also break down your mindset about other races. Because people do not necessarily act out of experience, but racial classification.

Upon conclusion of the interviews and focus group sessions, the conclusion can be made that, as per the excerpt above, some white Afrikaans speaking South Africans still operate from a space of superiority and will benefit from exposure to the historical legacy and the current socio-economic and political reality related to the South African past. This may lead to an understanding of people who do not look or sound like them and who come from a different socio-economic background. The conclusion can be drawn that this experience will enable them to use their privilege more responsibly and to take up an active position in society, to ultimately work towards a South Africa that is inclusive to all her citizens. Upon completion of the interviews and focus group sessions, the research findings indicated that young, white

Afrikaans speaking women have a unique position to fulfil in South African society to realise this ideal.

5 Conclusion

The reading of the two prescribed books necessitated the confrontation with apartheid and colonialism and the subsequent socio-economic and political reality South Africa finds herself in. This resulted in a paradigm shift among the majority of participants, as their knowledge on the subject was limited. It can be argued that this confrontation, by means of engaging with the books, was the necessary first step to realising paradigm shifts among participants.

The legacy of apartheid and colonialism is still prevalent in democratic South Africa and the consequences thereof must be confronted. Many South Africans of colour's lives have not changed post-apartheid and many white South Africans simply went on with their lives as if nothing significant had happened. Although this might seem obvious, many white South Africans find the reality of black people's lives not substantially improving a very difficult one to acknowledge and therefore it must be highlighted.

This legacy becomes evident in the active protection and reproduction of white privilege and power in contemporary South Africa. The protection of white privilege still works as a norm and effectively remains unchallenged, 25 years into democracy. White South Africans interested in a more equal and inclusive society should actively work towards the interrogation of white privilege.

The first step towards the interrogation of white privilege is the acknowledgement of its existence. The field work process revealed that there is a portion of white South Africans who deny that they have white privilege. There is another portion who are able to acknowledge it but feel too guilty about it and subsequently become disabled by the feeling of guilt. This denial and guilt effectively hamper honest engagement with the historical legacy of apartheid and colonialism and the subsequent current socio-economic and political reality in South Africa, and therefore further protects white privilege. However, lastly, there is a portion of white South Africans who are able to acknowledge their unearned, historical privilege and engage in honest dialogue about it. The latter portion must be significantly increased for white privilege to be meaningfully interrogated. Furthermore, white South Africans with a keen interest in building an inclusive South African society should strive towards not only acknowledging and

confronting their historical, unearned privilege but also using it by applying political agency positively within society.

The protection of white privilege is directly linked to black poverty in democratic South Africa. This linkage effectively results in the exclusion of black South Africans from opportunities and the reservation thereof for white South Africans. It must be noted that this can certainly not be accepted as a rule across contemporary South Africa. However, as shown in the literature review and the research findings, the fact that the outright majority of poor South Africans are black and similarly the outright majority of wealthy South Africans are white, 25 years into democracy, proves that the protection of white privilege is linked to black poverty.

Racial discrimination is still prevalent in democratic South Africa. Although this discrimination might be perceived to a lesser extent or not at all in certain contexts, white South Africans who are interested in a more equal and inclusive society have a responsibility to actively confront this discrimination. While this may be challenging at times, the research clearly shows that it is non-negotiable for substantive transformation and paradigm shifting in contemporary South Africa.

Young, white Afrikaans speaking women generally do not have a good understanding of the apartheid history. Confrontation with this knowledge is unsettling but can result in a paradigm shift regarding injustices and crimes against South Africans of colour, the white South Africans' unearned privilege as a result of apartheid, as well as the consequences thereof that are still prevalent today. A confrontation with this historical legacy, as well as the socio-economic and political reality in democratic South Africa, is necessary in breaking the intergenerational cycle of history repeating itself.

This confrontation will most likely result in a sense of shame. This sense of shame is the first step towards transformation and must be authentically experienced for it to be realised. Although the natural association with shame is a negative one, it is important to note that this feeling is the necessary first step towards substantive transformation and an honest engagement

with the self. The transformation journey, however, certainly does not end there. The movement beyond the sense of shame towards a more active position within society is equally necessary. It must be noted that this is perceived as the more challenging part of the transformation journey. Effort should be put into what active citizenry in this regard would look like in society. Furthermore, active citizenry should move beyond an academic position and towards a societal movement. The initial emotion, which presents itself as shame, must be recognised (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b) to ultimately result in positive political agency.

5.1 'Reconciliation gap'

Transformation in South Africa is not possible without reconciliation. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has done significant and meaningful work towards the fostering of reconciliation in democratic South Africa, but a 'reconciliation gap' still exists. The majority of 'ordinary' South Africans of colour did not appear before the Commission but had endured the impact of daily discrimination and humiliation under the apartheid regime. In addition, their children still see and live with the consequences thereof. Equally, 'ordinary' white South Africans never took the responsibility for this impact. Therefore, this 'reconciliation gap' is a result of a 'responsibility gap' that exists among white South Africans in democratic South Africa.

5.2 'Responsibility gap'

The 'responsibility gap' was left by the participants' parents' generation. It is recommended that the participants' generation must address this gap and take responsibility for the actions of their parents to effectively effect reconciliation, which will hopefully prevent further cycles of intergenerational repetition. Appendix A, the innovation praxis model, speaks to how this might be possible.

Young, white Afrikaans speaking women have the unique opportunity to reimagine and effectively reinvent their 'ordentlike' (respectable) identity, from one of simply 'knowing her place' to one that reflects and enables humanity. Women who will respond to this opportunity would benefit from an alternative public Afrikaans voice, because the organisations such as 'Solidariteit' (Solidarity), which holds a far-right position, misrepresent these individuals. This public vacuum underscores the importance of young, white Afrikaans speaking women engaging in positive political agency, to ultimately change the public narrative.

5.2.1 White privilege and its potential interrogation

The research findings concur with Steyn's (2004) findings in that it proves that white privilege, as it is understood today was formed during the colonial, pre-apartheid era and that the postcolonial world we live in is shaped by it and functions around the comfort and advantage of white people. Furthermore, the research findings prove that in order to have an honest engagement about race in democratic South Africa, the implications of apartheid, as well as the perpetuation of the protection of white privilege, must be considered. This consideration should be accompanied by the necessary self-reflection and engagement with people of colour and South African history.

Notions of white guilt and white shame were prevalent among participants. This proved to be an inhibiting factor in an honest engagement about white privilege. It must be noted that when this inhibiting guilt and shame emerged for participants, they were able to acknowledge that it can, and to an extent has, resulted in ignorance as well as the reproduction and protection of white privilege. The research shows that white people should work through their own shame and reflect on their own racism in order to recognise the humanity of people of colour.

Ignorance about the existence, protection and perpetuation of white privilege can be attributed to the fact that the protection of white privilege is so embedded in society that it has become normal and acceptable over the centuries. As per Nayak's findings (2007), the research findings revealed that confrontation of said ignorance sits uncomfortably with white people as they have become so accustomed to privilege that they are often unable to see the inequality associated with it. The research findings also suggest that confrontation with ignorance around white privilege resulted in defensiveness among participants. This defensiveness has the potential to perpetuate the racial status quo (DiAngelo, 2018).

The research findings suggested that the interrogation of white privilege would be beneficial to humanity and effectively has the potential to realise a more equal society, as was also found by Moore (2018). Black poverty is understood to be connected to white privilege. Therefore, an attempt to interrogate white privilege effectively means an attempt to decrease black poverty.

In order to interrogate white privilege, white people must confront their privilege as a first step. Furthermore, the research suggests that among emotions, shame most presents opportunities for transformation, whilst unacknowledged shame hampers transformation.

The final step towards the interrogation of white privilege is understood as the taking up of the responsibility thereof, by actively working towards transformation. The research findings suggest that this final step effectively means the addressing of racial discrimination, the honest change of personal views towards people of colour and being assertive in confronting and effectively 'calling out' the protection of white privilege and the subsequent further discrimination against people of colour.

It must be noted that the process of acknowledgement, which serves as the potential catalyst for interrogation, requires confrontation with the historical legacy of apartheid and colonialism, as well as the current socio-economic and political reality, so as to make the previously unseen visible. In the case of the research project, the reading of the books served as the confrontation with this reality which effectively dislodged a particular worldview held by the participants.

5.2.2 Apartheid: A crime against humanity

The research findings presented one of the participants as not acknowledging apartheid as a crime against humanity at the initial intervention. Therefore, the assumption can be made that some white South Africans still deny that apartheid was a crime against humanity, even in democratic South Africa. The findings suggest that a confrontation with the historical legacy and the current socio-economic and political reality about the South African past makes this reality undeniable. This confrontation also serves to shine a light on the fact that the consequences of the apartheid past is still very much prevalent in democratic South Africa.

The research suggests that, upon acknowledging that apartheid was a crime against humanity, not all the participants were willing to take responsibility for the actions of generations that came before them. Some opposition in this regard was noted. This opposition stems from the fact that certain participants claimed innocence by means of not being adequately informed about the apartheid past, which again proves that Steyn's (2012) 'ignorance contract' is still intact, for the benefit of white South Africans, in democratic South Africa. This feeling also seems to result in a desire to 'move on and forget the past'.

The research revealed that racial discrimination does still exist in democratic South Africa. The findings suggest that a change in legislation did not necessarily result in a change in the views of white, Afrikaans speaking women in this case. As found by Gobodo-Madikizela (2014), it can also be understood that the psychological legacy of apartheid is still safeguarded in democratic South Africa. Although the findings suggest that some white, Afrikaans speaking South African women actively oppose this psychological legacy, its prevalence is still too high given that South Africa is 25 years into democracy.

Affirmative action, primarily in the form of Black Economic Empowerment, served as a justification for participants not wanting to take responsibility for either their privilege or the consequences of apartheid. This justification is rooted in these participants' belief that people of colour are benefitting more than white people in democratic South Africa. Upon engagement with employment statistics, said participants have come to realise that, as found by Steyn (2010), the diversity of the South African population remains an underutilised resource in the workplace. This reality is also evident when confronted with black poverty, especially in relation to protected white privilege in democratic South Africa.

5.2.3 White Afrikaans speaking women in contemporary South Africa

5.2.3.1 Ethnicity:

Participants self-identified based on their ethnicity as opposed to their race. Therefore, participants primarily identify as Afrikaans speaking and secondly as white. This identification seems to be embedded in an emotional connection. The research findings showed that this identification is based on a strong belief that a significant difference between white Afrikaans and white English speakers exists and that it is their very ethnicity that sets them apart from English speaking white South Africans.

The research findings prove that, as found by Gobodo-Madikizela (2014), many older white Afrikaans speaking South Africans still hold unprocessed hurt toward the English and that this has resulted in an intergenerational bias. The assumption can be made that this unprocessed hurt may at times result in white Afrikaans speaking individuals rejecting the concept of being considered privileged, due to the humiliation and suffering experienced under British rule. Furthermore, and in concurrence with Robus and Macleod's findings (2019), the conclusion

can be made that knowledge of the past assists in breaking these intergenerational cycles of repetition, in terms of unprocessed grief as well as the inability to acknowledge privilege.

The research suggests that ethnic identification occurred strongly in the case of the Afrikaner, as they considered themselves deprived and humiliated which resulted in actively protecting their privileges against those who do not enjoy them. Similarly, to Adam and Giliomee (1979), the findings revealed that discrimination and prejudice are inevitable consequences of protecting ethnic rights. These consequences are still rife among some white Afrikaans speaking individuals in contemporary South Africa.

5.2.3.2 The impact of history on white, Afrikaans speaking women's place in society

The research findings suggest that the end of apartheid and the subsequent birth of democratic South Africa has left participants with an identity crisis. As per Van der Westhuizen's (2018) findings, the said identity crisis is primarily understood to be rooted in the acknowledgement of a racist stigma associated with the term 'Afrikaner'. This stigma negatively affected the participants' confidence and their perceived 'right' to form an opinion and partake in constructive dialogue around the effects of the apartheid past in democratic South Africa, as well as the potential brainstorming of ways to address its consequences.

Participants carried limited knowledge, and in one instance rather subjective knowledge, of the past. In the case where the knowledge held by a participant was subjective, she attempted to justify the decisions taken by the pre-apartheid and apartheid government that ultimately resulted in segregation enforced by law. The research findings suggest that, if these views were not factually challenged, she might never have altered the way she understands and sees the world. Following on the lack of confidence among the participants mentioned above, the said limitation of knowledge among participants further limited their confidence. This limited knowledge also created frustration, and in some cases disappointment, in the post-apartheid government for not exposing them to 'what really happened'.

Upon further investigation, the conclusion can be drawn that participants' parents might justify their lack of informing their children about, and effectively addressing, the apartheid past in their households by seemingly embracing diversity and overemphasising that they will accept

it if they were to become friends with children of colour, for example. Therefore, the research findings suggest that participants' parents' generation used the perceived confrontation of diversity as a mask for not effectively confronting the consequences of the apartheid past.

5.2.3.3 Inward migration

The effects of the concept of inward migration among participants, as identified by Van der Westhuizen (2017b), was noted such as the acknowledgement that residents of Durbanville are predominantly white and Afrikaans and that the community is not as integrated as it should have been by the 25th anniversary of the South African democracy.

The majority of the participants spend most of their time in 'Afrikaans environments' with limited interaction with South Africans of colour. In some cases, this did not sit comfortably with participants.

5.2.3.4 The reimagining of young, white Afrikaans speaking women's identity:

The research findings concurred with Matthews' (2015) position that some white, Afrikaans speakers identify as African. These individuals carry an awareness that their identification as African may not be shared by all South Africans of colour. This awareness results in disappointment but is equally met with an understanding of and respect for the sensitivity that might exist for South Africans of colour. It must be noted that a participant strongly disagreed with this identification as African, but rather self-identified as European. The research findings suggest that this particular self-identification might be more common among individuals who strongly identify as Afrikaners, who are perceived to fight for the survival of the culture and language and who spend most of their time in 'Afrikaans environments'.

Participants found it challenging to break out of the proverbial 'mould' of the Afrikaner culture and a woman's place within it. The reimagining of white, Afrikaans women's identity seems to be challenging, but certainly not impossible. A number of participants indicated an appetite for the challenge, regardless. The challenging part of this redefinition is the cultural norms and stereotypes pertaining to women, which are engrained in Afrikaner culture and will have to be deliberately broken down.

The majority of participants were in agreement that organisations such as Solidarity and Afriforum are perceived to dominate the public narrative for white Afrikaans speaking people in contemporary South Africa, which concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2018) position. This posed a concern to most of the participants, as they are of the view that these organisations are perceived as 'far right' and not necessarily supportive of an inclusive South Africa, but that they were instead interested in protecting Afrikaner, and effectively white, rights. The reimaging of the 'ordentlike' identity of white, Afrikaans speaking women necessitates an alternative, inclusive and respectable 'public voice' to represent them.

5.2.4 Political agency

In concurrence with Van der Westhuizen (2017b), the research findings suggest that the engagement in positive and ethical political work can result in reimagining and redefining 'ordentlikheid' (respectability) in democratic South Africa, which will in turn have the potential to result in transformation. Participants agreed with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) position that in order to realise this ideal, white Afrikaans speaking women should adopt an active position of nonconformity to turn 'ordentlikheid' into an ethical position, aligned with values of humanisation. It should be noted that the said political work does not refer to party political work, but rather the positive application of political agency. Thus, the research suggests that the interrogation of historical, unearned privilege can cultivate positive political agency in relation to the South African democracy and subsequently build a more inclusive South African society.

5.3 Inclusive innovation praxis model

This particular Master's degree in Philosophy requires the formulation of an innovation praxis model as a practical tool to address the research problem. Therefore, this research project was undertaken as an intervention to facilitate an understanding of white privilege, and ultimately develop an inclusive innovation praxis model with the potential to cultivate positive political agency in relation to the South African democracy.

The innovation praxis model was formulated for South Africans interested in building an inclusive South African society and enables positive political agency in this regard. The innovation praxis model takes the form of an online platform, with the following functions with which users can interact for access to the following: Information about upcoming #CourageousConversations events, as well as links to recordings of previous events through its Podcast and YouTube channels; The #GiveChangeAChance initiative; In-person services and; Access to information about the interrogation of white privilege. Please see Appendix A.

The inclusive innovation praxis model was formulated in response the research findings. It serves as an opportunity to engage South Africans of all races on white privilege and how to move beyond its acknowledgment to positively influence society. The research finds that the acknowledgement of white privilege can have a disabling impact on white South Africans, due to white guilt. The research also finds a 'responsibility gap' that was left by the participants' parents' generation and suggest that it should be covered by the post-apartheid generation. The inclusive innovation praxis model therefore responds to both these findings by investigating the acknowledgement of white privilege and possible actions beyond such acknowledgement, as well as ways of addressing and removing the 'responsibility gap'.

5.4 Directions for further research

This dissertation is offered as a tool for young, white Afrikaans speaking women to play an active role in building an inclusive South African society. Further research following on this topic is recommended to test the 'responsibility gap' theory among white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans of this particular generation. It is also recommended that further research be carried out on the acknowledgement of privilege, the potential of moving beyond mere acknowledgement and the exploration of the positive use thereof in society with South Africans of all races.

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Appendix A

Inclusive innovation praxis model

Social innovation

Social innovation is defined as "a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, or just than existing solutions and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals" (Phills, Deiglmeier, & Miller, 2008, pg 39). Social innovation can therefore be accepted as the best construct for understanding and producing sustainable social change (Phills et al., 2008). Social innovation can therefore be utilised as a vehicle for positive political agency in relation to the South African democracy.

Social innovation is intimately involved in the social conditions in which it is produced. It calls for new paradigms and new theoretical perspectives to move forward, which will ultimately result in new social practices (Cajaiba-Santana, 2014). If individuals want to work towards inclusivity, white privilege is something which must be acknowledged and broken down (Molefi, 2017). Molefi's (2017) viewpoint corresponds with the research findings. The findings reveal that a certain proportion of white South African women, and particularly a proportion of white Afrikaans speaking South African women, seem to be defensive and in denial about their privilege. The deconstruction of white privilege, and consequently social identity, can serve as a precursor for possible social innovation.

The research findings also suggest that the acknowledgement of shame can result in transformation, which concurs with Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) findings in Sitting Pretty. Molefi (2017) uses the metaphor of a suitcase to explain the transformation process. She says that transformation is the process of consciously rerouting one's pathways in order to find new truths. The transformation process is both an internal and external one. At an internal level we must acknowledge that our brains have learned many untruths that we must now unlearn (Molefi, 2017). We must simultaneously be aware that these untruths continue to manifest externally in our interactions with others. We interact with others from the starting point of the

baggage that we carry (Molefi, 2017). Packed by our parents, schools, media and communities before we had a say, our baggage was filled with narratives and ideas of what 'normal' is. Without naming and acknowledging these narratives we cannot change them. Therefore, in order to realise substantive transformation, we need to be able to acknowledge that every one of us carries baggage which continues to be repacked (Molefi, 2017).

Contemporary white, Afrikaans speaking South Africans seem to underestimate the power of acknowledging the truth. This study moves from the position that racial inequalities can only be addressed if they are acknowledged in the first place. Therefore, individuals interested in contributing towards transformation must learn to recognise racial inequality.

Much inequality in South Africa is a result of the South African colonial and apartheid past. The research findings suggest that the different perspectives of this 'truth' which exists in contemporary South Africa proves to be a stumbling block to substantive transformation. With reference to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation surveys and Van der Westhuizen's (2017a) findings on it, the conclusion can then be made that the racial division in South Africa today has a lot to do with the fact that perceptions of the South African past differ among races.

Research undertaken for this project determined that substantive transformation, bringing about the necessary change to racial power relations, has not been realised in contemporary South Africa and it goes hand-in-hand with reconciliation. The research finds a 'reconciliation gap' in contemporary South Africa, which is argued to be the result of a 'responsibility gap'. The conclusion is that the generation before the respondents, i.e. their parents' generation, did not take up the collective responsibility for the crimes of the South African past and that this negligence resulted in the 'responsibility gap'. The research findings suggest that this gap should be filled by the participants' generation and this appendix will speak to the practical application thereof.

Vision

The purpose of this research project is to create a social innovation platform for individuals interested in building an inclusive South African society. The acknowledgement of white privilege results in a sense of shame and this can be a disabling factor when engaging in and with the broader South African social fabric. As per Van der Westhuizen's (2017b) findings, acknowledged shame can be the basis of change. Upon admittance of shame, real action can be taken whilst unacknowledged shame might manifest in ongoing racial discrimination, as indicated by Van der Westhuizen (2017b). Thus, the objective is to pursue further conversations with South Africans of all races on how to move beyond simply acknowledging your privilege, to applying it to positively influence society.

Practical implementation of the platform

The platform will take the form of an interactive website. Initially, it will cater for young, white Afrikaans speaking women, but the long-term objective is to cater for any South African interested in building an inclusive South African society and, in doing so, contribute towards filling the 'responsibility gap'.

The platform will provide:

- Online content.
- Invitations to events where interested individuals will have the opportunity to engage with other like-minded individuals.
- Opportunities for interested individuals to make a positive contribution towards a more equal society.
- Opportunities for personal development via life coaching; facilitator services will also be offered.
- 'Chat', 'ask' and 'feedback' functionality, which will allow for interactive engagement with individuals using the website.

The proposed website content:

- Podcast channel link

  A podcast is defined as "a digital audio file made available on the internet for downloading to a computer or mobile device, typically available as a series, new instalments of which can be received by subscribers automatically" (Google, 2019). The researcher will establish a #CourageousConversations podcast channel. As a first step, she will engage with white, Afrikaans speaking women interested in building an inclusive South African society and who are willing to acknowledge, confront and converse about their unearned historical privilege. As a second step, she will engage with South Africans of all races on how to move beyond simply acknowledging your privilege to applying it as a means to positively influence society. These conversations will be recorded and uploaded onto the said podcast channel as episodes.

- YouTube channel link

  YouTube is a video-sharing website. The researcher will create a #CourageousConversations YouTube channel. The YouTube videos will feature the same demographic of presenters as the podcast above, with the same steps. These conversations will be recorded and uploaded onto the said YouTube channel as episodes, which will be publicly available.

- #CourageousConversations events

  The researcher will host #CourageousConversations events. As a first step, the conversations will be hosted with white, Afrikaans speaking women interested in building an inclusive South African society and who are willing to acknowledge, confront and converse about their unearned historical privilege. As a second step, the conversations will be hosted with South Africans of all races on how to move beyond simply acknowledging your privilege to applying it to positively influence society.

- Thought and opinion pieces, as well as media articles

  The researcher will write thought and opinion pieces, which will be shared on the platform. The researcher will also share media articles aligned to the vision of the platform, on the platform.

- A link to in-person services offered, in the form of:
  - Facilitated sessions

    The researcher will facilitate sessions with individuals interested in building an inclusive South African society and confronting their historical unearned

privilege. This can be done with interested groups as well as within organisations. The researcher will have completed an accredited facilitator's course.

- Coaching sessions

  "One's personal journey of introspection and self-awareness, standing up for yourself and/or educating others, will always be complex and will challenge you to your very core if you engage in it honestly" (Molefi, 2017). The researcher will complete an accredited coaching course and will coach individuals interested in deepening their self-awareness and understanding, from a position of privilege in contemporary South Africa.

- The #GiveChangeAChance initiative

  The research findings presented a desire among participants to use their historical unearned privilege in a positive way and to contribute towards a more equal society. The researcher would like to connect individuals interested in using their privilege in a positive way with individuals who will benefit from it. The platform will allow individuals to sign up for the #GiveChangeAChance initiative and indicate what they would like to 'share'. The only criteria for what they would like to share will be that it must contribute to some form of social change. This can be include offering driving lessons or financial advice to a first-generation young professional. The researcher will gain access to sub-council structures in the City of Cape Town municipality to identify individuals that would benefit from such interactions and then make the connection between the two individuals.

- A link to other organisations

  The researcher will provide a link to other organisations that individuals engaging with the website might be interested in supporting with time or resources. These will be organisations which strive for a more equal society and organisations which confront any form of discrimination in society.

<u>Objectives of the initiative:</u>

- To enable individuals to move beyond simply acknowledging their historical, unearned privilege, to finding the language to speak about it and about ways of using their

privilege to positively influence society and, in doing so, make a lasting impact on society.

- To challenge the status quo and shift paradigms about race, inequality, historical injustice and discrimination.
- To provide a platform for like-minded individuals, aligned with the platform's vision, to network and engage.
- To enable positive political agency towards a more equal South African society. The platform would be useful to individuals who want to become politically active but do not know where to start and feel 'stuck'. The accessibility of the platform will also benefit individuals who are already politically active.

Action plan:

1. October 2019:
    - To submit dissertation
    - To finalise application for a PhD to build on this research
2. November 2019:
   To start building the website
3. January 2020:
   Coaching and facilitator courses to commence
4. February 2020
   To start with the PhD
5. April 2020:
   To start advertising events
6. July 2020:
   To start hosting events and recording conversations for the podcast and YouTube channels
7. August 2020:
   To go live with the website and start releasing episodes on a bi-weekly basis.
8. Moving forward
   The researcher will continue in this manner, whilst producing new content for the website, pursuing her PhD and completing her coaching and facilitator courses.
9. Long term

The researcher would like to write a book on her findings and the ‘responsibility gap’ in particular.

Appendix B

Questions: Interviews and focus group sessions

First round of interviews and first focus group session:

a) Are you proudly South African and why?
b) Do you consider yourself an active citizen and why?
c) Do you consider yourself an Afrikaner?
    a. If yes, what does that mean to you?
    b. If not, why?
d) What does the Afrikaans language and culture mean to you?
e) What do you think the role of an Afrikaner/Afrikaans speaking woman is within society and at home?
f) What does the word "volksmoeder" mean to you?
g) Do you think the "volksmoeder" still has a role to play in post-apartheid/democratic South Africa?
h) What does the word "ordentlikheid" (respectability) mean to you and do you consider yourself "ordentlik" (respectable)?
i) Do you think young Afrikaans speaking white women have a role to play in democratic South Africa and why?
j) Do you believe you have a good understanding of the apartheid past?
    a. If so, where does this knowledge come from?
k) Do you believe apartheid was a crime against humanity?
l) Are you ashamed of being an Afrikaner, given our apartheid history and what has been done "in your name"?
m) Do you believe Afrikaners are facing an identity crisis in post-apartheid or democratic South Africa?
n) Do you have a good understanding of the Voortrekkers, the South African War, and the history of Afrikaners in general?
    a. If so, where does this knowledge come from and do you believe it had an impact on your upbringing?

o) Do you believe we, as young white Afrikaans speaking women, should actively work towards correcting the wrongs of the past or should we simply forget about apartheid and colonialism and move on with our lives?

p) Do you believe you enjoy unearned privileges in your everyday life, that your fellow South Africans do not enjoy and why?

    a. Do you believe these privileges have anything to do with your skin colour and why?

<u>Second round of interviews and second focus group session:</u>

a) How would you describe the past 3 months and the journey of reading and reflecting?

b) Did the process leave you introspective at times? How did that feel?

Country of my Skull

c) Did you gain new knowledge that you were not aware of before? How did that make you feel?

d) Do you think South Africa needed a commission to determine the truth about the past and to try to bring about reconciliation?

e) Did the experience leave you ashamed of your language, culture and history at times?

f) Do you think an acknowledgement of your shame can be the catalyst for transformation in your relation to black people, as well as our country's social challenges in general?

g) Do you think there is room for our generation to understand the South African story better and in so doing, start writing a new story for the next generation? What does such a world look like?

h) "Reconciliation will only take place the day whites also feel offended by racism, instead of feeling sorry for blacks" (January Bardhill as cited in Krog, 1998, pg. 111). Do you agree with this statement? What does such a world look like and do you think it is actually possible? If so, how?

i) “If you cut yourself off from the process, you will wake up in a foreign country – a country that you don’t know and will never understand” (as cited in Krog, 1998, pg. 131) Can you see this happening with white, Afrikaans speaking individuals in South Africa? How do you feel about that?

j) “Reconciliation will only be possible if whites say: Apartheid was evil, and we will be responsible for it. Resisting it was justified – even if excesses occurred within this framework. Mbeki says that if this acknowledgement is not forthcoming, reconciliation is no longer on the agenda” (Mbeki, as cited in Krog, 1998 pg. 58). Do you agree with this statement? What does a world without this reconciliation look like?

Sitting pretty

k) In the light of reading this book, do you think you are privileged as a white woman?

l) Do you think white privilege should be interrogated? If so, what does the position of white, Afrikaans speaking women look like within such a world?

m) Do you associate black people with poverty? If so, why? If not, why not?

n) Do you think white privilege is related to black poverty, in other words that white privilege is the reason for black poverty?

o) Do you think the conscious counteraction of white privilege can bring black poverty to an end?

p) Do you think there is a difference between Afrikaans- and English speaking white South Africans, especially women? If so, how would you describe the change?

    a. In light of the above, do you self-identify on the basis of race or ethnicity?

q) Do you think the active interrogation of historic, unearned privilege can result in positive political agency? What does this process of interrogation look like?

r) Can emotion, applied to do political work, result in transformation in South Africa to reimagine “ordentlikheid”? In other words, do you think being aware

of the damage racism does and actually feeling bad about it can result in an active change in behaviour on a day-to-day basis towards black people?

s) Van der Westhuizen (2017) reminds us that Nelson Mandela extended an invitation to South Africans who identify as "Afrikaner women", when he remembered Afrikaans poet, Ingrid Jonker in his inaugural "State of the Nation" address in 1994:

> She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being. In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted by death, she asserted the beauty of life […] She instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child.

What does it look like to accept this invitation on a daily basis in your daily interaction with black people and people who are generally different than you?

Appendix C

Interview consent form

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN INCLUSIVE INNOVATION

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM:

Participant name: .....

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Lidia Rauch as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MPhil Degree at the Graduate School of Business. I understand that the research is designed to gather information about Building an inclusive South African society: The position of young, white, Afrikaans speaking women and that I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed for this research.

Background and purpose of the research

The research project will be on the young, white Afrikaans speaking woman's unique position in building an inclusive South African society. Globally, whiteness is historically linked to privilege. McIntosh (1995) conceptualizes white privilege as the bundle of unearned resources carried in an "invisible weightless knapsack", a recognized identity or social position that has a symbolic authority or privilege to it. Apartheid was about creating differential life opportunities, where white South Africans, especially white men, were systematically advantaged. Unfortunately, this hierarchical legacy is still deeply entrenched in the South African social fabric and institutions (Steyn, 2004).

Historically, Afrikaner identity was produced by Afrikaner nationalism, centred on themes of religious, racial, and cultural purity, superiority, calling, and autonomy against British oppression. The end of apartheid has left Afrikaners with an overwhelming existential crisis (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The term "Afrikaner" has become almost synonymous with racism in the eyes of the world and will most likely remain tainted due to the human rights abuses committed by the apartheid regime in the name of the Afrikaner (Blaser, 2007 Loubser, 2014). Van der Westhuizen (2017) identifies the key term in which the

Afrikaner identity is recreated in democratic South Africa as “ordentlikheid” (decency). Ordentlikheid serves as a moral script to recover the ethnic whiteness of the Afrikaner, or to hold on to the privileges of whiteness by including Afrikaner identity in global Anglo whiteness (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

The role of “volksmoeders” was given to Afrikaner women to give guidance to the young Afrikaner women who had relocated from the rural areas to work in the urban areas at the start of the twentieth century. This role of volksmoeder was created from idealised images of Afrikaner women, drawn from the ideals of Voortrekker women, and from the suffering of Boer women in the concentration camps (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). Men represented the political and economic agency of the “volk” in Afrikaner nationalism, while women were the keepers of tradition and of the moral and spiritual mission (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). The volksmoeder was used historically both for and against women’s active political participation in the public sphere. Despite some resistance, the imaginary of ethnoracial femininity continues to impose compulsory hetero-motherhood in democratic South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). This research project moves from the theoretical vantage point of whiteness studies, as part of Critical Race Theory.

This research project will follow a mixed methods qualitative research approach. The focus of this particular Master’s degree in Philosophy is to research an inclusive innovation and develop a praxis model. The focus of this study will be aimed at the cultivation of political agency towards the dismantlement of white privilege. The research design of this research project will take the form of an ethnographic study, with autoethnographic elements. An empirical study will be undertaken, using Steve Edwards’ (2001) approach to phenomenological research as an intervention to facilitate an understanding of white privilege, and ultimately develop an inclusive praxis.

Ethics approval

Ethical consent for the study has been approved by the *UCT Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee*.

Participation and confidentiality

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, that I will not be compensated and that I may withdraw at any time.

The interviews will take a maximum of 120 minutes to complete and will be audio recorded.

I understand that I will not be identified by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

Consent

I consent to participate in the interview, based on the terms outlined above and subject to the following additional condition of my own (if any).

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Signed by interviewee **Date**

....

Signed by Student **Date**

Appendix D

Focus group consent form

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN INCLUSIVE INNOVATION

FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM:

Participant name: .....

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Lidia Rauch as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MPhil Degree at the Graduate School of Business. I understand that the research is designed to gather information about Building an inclusive South African society: The position of young, white, Afrikaans speaking women and that I will be one of approximately 10 people being interviewed for this research.

Background and purpose of the research

The research project will be on the young, white Afrikaans speaking woman's unique position in building an inclusive South African society. Globally, whiteness is historically linked to privilege. McIntosh (1995) conceptualizes white privilege as the bundle of unearned resources carried in an "invisible weightless knapsack", a recognized identity or social position that has a symbolic authority or privilege to it. Apartheid was about creating differential life opportunities, where white South Africans, especially white men, were systematically advantaged. Unfortunately, this hierarchical legacy is still deeply entrenched in the South African social fabric and institutions (Steyn, 2004).

Historically, Afrikaner identity was produced by Afrikaner nationalism, centred on themes of religious, racial, and cultural purity, superiority, calling, and autonomy against British oppression. The end of apartheid has left Afrikaners with an overwhelming existential crisis (Verwey & Quayle, 2012). The term "Afrikaner" has become almost synonymous with racism in the eyes of the world and will most likely remain tainted due to the human rights abuses committed by the apartheid regime in the name of the Afrikaner (Blaser,

2007 Loubser, 2014). Van der Westhuizen (2017) identifies the key term in which the Afrikaner identity is recreated in democratic South Africa as “ordentlikheid” (decency). Ordentlikheid serves as a moral script to recover the ethnic whiteness of the Afrikaner, or to hold on to the privileges of whiteness by including Afrikaner identity in global Anglo whiteness (Van der Westhuizen, 2017).

The role of “volksmoeders” was given to Afrikaner women to give guidance to the young Afrikaner women who had relocated from the rural areas to work in the urban areas at the start of the twentieth century. This role of volksmoeder was created from idealised images of Afrikaner women, drawn from the ideals of Voortrekker women, and from the suffering of Boer women in the concentration camps (Griessel & Kotzé, 2010). Men represented the political and economic agency of the “volk” in Afrikaner nationalism, while women were the keepers of tradition and of the moral and spiritual mission (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). The volksmoeder was used historically both for and against women’s active political participation in the public sphere. Despite some resistance, the imaginary of ethnoracial femininity continues to impose compulsory hetero-motherhood in democratic South Africa (Van der Westhuizen, 2017b). This research project moves from the theoretical vantage point of whiteness studies, as part of Critical Race Theory.

This research project will follow a mixed methods qualitative research approach. The focus of this particular Master’s degree in Philosophy is to research an inclusive innovation and develop a praxis model. The focus of this study will be aimed at the cultivation of political agency towards the dismantlement of white privilege. The research design of this research project will take the form of an ethnographic study, with autoethnographic elements. An empirical study will be undertaken, using Steve Edwards’ (2001) approach to phenomenological research as an intervention to facilitate an understanding of white privilege, and ultimately develop an inclusive praxis.

Ethics approval

Ethical consent for the study has been approved by the *UCT Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee.*

Participation and confidentiality

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, that I will not be compensated and that I may withdraw at any time.

Both focus group sessions will take approximately 120 - 150 minutes to complete and will be audio recorded.

I understand that I will not be identified by name in any reports using information obtained from this focus group and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

Consent

I consent to participate in the focus group sessions, based on the terms outlined above and subject to the following additional condition of my own (if any).

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Signed by interviewee **Date**

....

Signed by Student **Date**