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**YOUTH CULTURES AND IDENTITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA: A
STUDY OF WHITE YOUTH IN EAST LONDON**

BY

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ABSTRACT

In general, young whites in post-apartheid South Africa seem to face the challenge of being expected by their parents to construct their identities according to the traditional way the parents have lived. Yet, every young person would love to construct their identities in relation to social context prevailing at a time. Post-apartheid South African democracy has brought about changes among which is freedom of associations, as opposed to apartheid which emphasised separateness of races and cultures. This social change, that is, separateness of cultures to freedom of association, warrants new ways of living among the young ones. Using a qualitative approach, underpinned by the social identity theory, whiteness and culture change theory, this study examined how young whites in East London carve out their identities given the reality that political, social and cultural circumstances have changed in the last two decades. Respondents consisted of four male and four female participants. They responded to questions in semi-structured interviews and also observations were conducted. It was found out that though the young whites would love to construct their identities according to the contemporary social context, their parents' traditional values are reverently embraced and respected. The results also revealed that the young whites are caught up between two worlds, that of empathising with their parents' shameful past and the desire to move on to the new diaspora. To some extent, young white people feel that they are the victims in post-apartheid South Africa. To them the democracy of post-apartheid South Africa is reverse revenge where they feel that they are being punished for their parents' sins which they never committed. The study therefore concludes that the young white identity construction is influenced by their pride in family and white culture.

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation “Youth identities and cultures in Post-apartheid South Africa: a study of white youth in East London”, is my own work and has not been previously submitted to another University or for any other qualification.

THANDIWE BUBULU

JANUARY 2016

Signature:

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This study sought to examine identities of young white people residing in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. Most of these young people were born post 1994, after the democratically elected government; therefore they have no direct experience of apartheid. Considering that it is now two decades since South Africa has been emancipated from apartheid which was not only a system but also an ideology that separated cultures and races, and promoted white people as superior over other races (Jansen 2009:57). As I will show in literature, the identities of young people during apartheid were obviously embedded in the political context of the time and they were influenced to view themselves as a superior race.

After 1994 in South Africa, the ideology of democracy brought about change, for example freedom of association, equal rights, affirmative action, etc. The political landscape has now changed and this has obviously influenced how white young people perceive themselves and construct their identities. The aim of this study is to examine how young white people see themselves and what it means to be a white young person in the democratic South Africa. The study specifically examines how the white youth (born frees) and those who were very young when apartheid came to an end (the 19 – 25 years group), attach meaning and construct their identities in East London in post-apartheid South Africa now that the social context has changed due to the end of the apartheid regime, political changes and influence of globalisation. Therefore, I have examined the meaning of being a white youth (the children of the perpetrators of apartheid as Jansen (2009) puts it) in post-apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, this study shows the extent of positive and negative influence the informants received from their parents and how this has impacted on how they view themselves in the current democratic state. Theoretically, this study is located in the broader discussion on youth identities and youth cultures, with intention to better understand how young people see themselves in the globalised world

where they are no longer just local citizens but citizens of the world. In particular, this chapter foregrounds the study by providing the background, research problem, research questions, objectives, significance of the study and organisation of the study.

1.2 Background

South Africa is no different from the world in experiencing the demographic shifts from colonisation, migration and immigration (Meier and van Wyk 2012:19). In the last two decades there has been social change brought about by political changes, the abandoning of the apartheid policies and influence of globalisation resulting in the identity and culture change. Obviously, such changes have an impact in the development of youth cultures and identities. As already mentioned, South Africa has been emancipated from apartheid, a system that set apart cultures, emphasised separate development and difference. Through the Group Areas Act of 1950, it was determined where one lived according to his culture. Marriages between persons of different cultures were not allowed through The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949. The Immorality Act of 1950 stipulated that sexual relations with a person of a different culture are a criminal offence. Bantu Education was for the black culture. The Bantustan, the establishment of "homelands" sought to bring the ultimate vision of apartheid into being (Schutte 1995:39). Therefore, this implies that there was no interaction between cultures.

The political ideology has a strong influence in the formation of collective identification. During the apartheid era, there was dominance of power by the western culture. This dominant group claimed that their culture was pure and more superior to any other culture. "... the fear of losing the purity that was supposed to guarantee their superior position, the fear of cultural genocide through intermingling in these anxieties were always present" (Steyn 2001:25). By implication, therefore, there was no critical engagement between races and cultures. During the apartheid era, the western culture claimed dominance by ensuring supremacy, inequality and difference (McDonald 2006). To keep the purity of their supreme culture and to maintain control, the western culture emphasised difference where all the cultural groups were sent to their own racial areas (McDonald 2006; Jansen

2009). This manifested itself in the Group Areas Act, The Separate Amenities Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, and other policies denationalising Africans while nationalising the western culture. Mbembe (2008:12) indicates that “The introduction of the pass system, the institutionalisation of the cheap labour system, the exclusion from property ownership were tactics instrumental to the accumulation of wealth, land and power among the western culture on one hand, and the development of patterns of dispossessing among the ‘other’ on the other hand.” The apartheid system brought about changes among cultures; consequently, this resulted in political inequalities in education, socio-economy, housing, and transportation.

The apartheid system privileged and benefited young whites. For example, their schools were well resourced because they were well funded. Jansen (2009:75) explains that when investing in education, whites made sure that their children received education that would be beneficial to them and could be transmitted generationally. The academic content was designed to train the white child to be the master over the other racial groups. The school books emphasised that the white culture was better, pure and superior to other cultures (Jansen, 2009). The master narratives by Steyn (2001) revealed that the young whites in South Africa have always lived with the privilege of being white, thus making them believe that they were superior, civilised and set to bring about civilisation. But the social context has changed through political change, abolishing of apartheid laws and changes introduced by globalisation. It is against such a background that the researcher has endeavoured to examine what must be the contemporary identity construction of the young whites born in post-apartheid South Africa where democracy has brought tremendous changes to an extent of freedom of associations. How must the ‘born free’ young whites deal with sharing the same space in the neighbourhood, school, public transport and public facilities, with those whom they were told were children of terrorists and communists. In relation to these changes, one wonders how white youth handle the fact that white people were once privileged yet presently, they are not. What stories do their parents narrate to them? To what extent does such stories negatively or positively affect them? What is the meaning of being a youth in post-apartheid South Africa? Against

this background, the researcher examined the meaning of being a youth in post-apartheid South Africa particularly to the young whites living in East London.

1.3 Statement of the problem

All youth would want to construct their identities on experiences in relation to changing contexts. White South African youth have been raised such that they become aware that their culture is pure, better and superior than any other culture. Also, the parents, school media among others, have greatly influenced the young whites to maintain the status quo at all costs. However, there seems to be a problem in the encircling influences on the contemporary youth since there is a new cultural process, warranting new ways of living among the young ones. This study has endeavoured to look at the new cultural practises that will define the meaning of being 'a youth' in post-apartheid South Africa. Young whites are experiencing cultural insensitivity because of the way they have been brought up (Lemmer et al. 2006). White exclusiveness has been reinforced and the young whites have been encouraged to maintain it at all costs. For example, "schools and universities in post-apartheid South Africa are legally desegregated but socially segregated space" (Jansen 2009). With the changed school profile where 'other' cultures are accommodated, the new comers are assimilated into these institutions.

Literature indicates that there is little research that has been done to actually document, describe and depict the current youth culture and identity of white youth (children of the perpetrators of apartheid) in the post-apartheid South Africa (Jansen 2009). Although there have been studies in East London in 1964 (Watts and Agar-Hamilton 1964; Philip Mayer 1974) including the trilogy that Bank (2002, 2011) revisited, little has been researched on white youth identities in East London and more especially in the post-apartheid era. Yet, the social changes that emerged after apartheid influenced the development of youth cultures and identity. Presently, the factors that influenced social identity are different to those of the 'apartheid' era. For example, Sutherland (2011:8) notes "though we are the first generation who are 'free' to make up our minds about what to believe in a democratic context there is a strong influence of parents, schools, and

other socialising agents, with regards to post-apartheid identities”. Therefore, it is a problem for the white youth to be expected by their parents to behave and construct their identities according to the traditional way they (parents) have lived. The other motivation for this study is the fact that in general, young people are labelled as “uncultured”. The researcher has qualitatively journeyed into the lives of the young whites to examine how they carve out their identities in East London, given the reality that political, social and cultural circumstances have changed in the last two decades.

1.4 Research questions

This study is guided by the following research questions:

- What does it mean to be a young white person in post-apartheid South Africa?
- What are the challenges and privileges of being a young white person in the democratic South Africa?
- How do race, language, gender, education and social status influence youth identities?
- What are the wishes and aspirations of young white South Africans?

1.5 Objectives

The following are the objectives of this study:

- To examine the meaning of being a ‘youth’ in democratic and post-apartheid South Africa;
- To investigate how current white youth construct their youth identity and culture in East London; and
- To contribute by bringing forth understanding of changing youth identities in reference to white people.

1.6 Significance of the study

Since most of the youth were not yet born and therefore did not experience apartheid, the study might help to heal and reconcile the divided past of South Africa. It might also give

better understanding to parents to embrace current youth constructions and identities in post-apartheid South Africa, so as to adapt to changing contexts and cultural change. The study might provide a better understanding of the change of roles and identities of the current youth and reduce misconceptions, and bias that the current youth is uncultured. The study might be of value to all people such as principals, teachers, school counsellors, social workers, curriculum developers, policy makers, who deal with the youth, to acknowledge and not to take for granted the 'new' issues related to identity constructions. The study might be of help even to ethnographers.

1.7 Organisation of the study

This study will be arranged such that it has five chapters that will take the following structure:

Chapter 1: This chapter contains introduction and background of the study which includes general discussions on the problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions and significance of the study.

Chapter 2: This chapter consists of literature review, key concepts and theoretical framework adopted by this study.

Chapter 3: This chapter entails the discussion of the research methodology used in this study.

Chapter 4: The chapter is a presentation of findings and data analysis.

Chapter 5: The chapter entails the recommendations and conclusion of the study.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has fore-grounded the work of this research by providing introduction and background to the study. It also looked at the statement of the problem, research

questions, objectives, significance and organisation of the study. The main motivations for this study was to examine the meaning of being “youth”, thus constructing a youth identity and youth culture of white youth in East London two decades after the emancipation of apartheid in South Africa, specifically in relation to the changing context as introduced by globalisation, economic depression, political and cultural change. This research is an attempt to better understand how white youth specifically, carve out their culture in the context where most of their parents have never been and never thought to be, democratic post-apartheid South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETIC FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is an in-depth discussion of literature and theoretical framework underpinning this study. The main conversation is on the meaning of being a white young person in East London and how white youth construct their identities in post-apartheid South Africa. To some extent, this study has examined how youth identities have changed over time worldwide, in Africa as well as in post-apartheid South Africa. Various themes which are considered significant to the meaning of being a youth in post-apartheid democratic South Africa are discussed, including white youth identities in apartheid and post-apartheid democratic South Africa. Subsequent to literature review, the theoretical frameworks which underpins this study are discussed, namely, social identity, whiteness and theories of cultural change.

2.2 Studies on youth identities

There have been various studies done on youth cultures and identities focusing on various topics, such as general youth cultures and identities, various cultural paradigms in relation to culture change, societies in transition, economic and labour systems, political and government systems. Although approached from various fields, such studies have shown that youth from all races and cultures, urban and rural and at different times have been able to redefine and regroup themselves to make meaning of their daily changes and environment. One interesting study on youth in transitions is found in Nayak (2003) who begins by dissecting various perceptions on his own identity. He says that his parents saw him as Indian, his colleagues saw him as British but he sees himself as both Indian and British. Nayak's point is that his identity does not depend on how others define him but on how he sees himself in relation to his socio-political background.

Nayak's studies further explore youth realities from social, economic, political and cultural approaches and in this way he recognises contextual veracities such as crime, class, masculinity, multiculturalism, labour economy, meanings of urban and rural space. Nayak (2003) conducted an ethnographic study on how global change affected white youth in a small town of Tyneside in "White Highlands" in post-war Britain at the end of the twentieth century. He identified three cultural responses to "how diverse young people deal creatively with, and make meaning out of, the new diasporic margins in the new global state? - the localist, survivalist and globalist" (Nayak 2003). These three represent passing times, changing times and coming times which each demonstrate how places and communities are responding to change. Furthermore, Nayak (2003) argues that although the youth are labelled as 'deviant', Cohen and Hebdige (1987) argue that they are merely frustrated young people who are faced with "a socially constructed panic that said more about traditional Englishness than it did about young people in a divided closed society." Nayak (2003) suggests that youth should be understood looking at the fact that trends of globalisation are changing and moving forward, thereby influencing cultural ways of life. Nayak's (2003) cultural identities seem to be no different from South African youth caught between two worlds – that of trying to satisfy their parents' expectancy of living the traditional way their parents embrace and dealing with their making meaning out of the new order in which they are living. In South Africa, Steyn (2001) brings a picture of how the changes in South Africa's social and political structure are changing the white population's identity and sense of self.

In reference to youth studies in South Africa, Philip and Iona Mayer (1970) are some of the prominent anthropologists to produce earlier (1930 – 1960s) comprehensive accounts on Xhosa youth identities and associations. Other anthropologists are Hunter (1930), Hammond-Tooke (1956), Pauw (BA) (1960), Mafeje (1971), Lamla (1970) and Van der Viet (1974), who documented some aspects of rural and urban youth life and associations in their ethnographic work on various cultural dimensions of Xhosa people. Later, anthropologist such as Oconnel (1980), McAllister (1978), Beinart (1991), Deliwe (1992), Bank (urban youth) (1996) and Pauw (HC) (1994) built on various works on youth life both in urban and rural space produced by early anthropologists previously mentioned.

There have been studies done on black youth in transit; migrating from rural to urban areas in search of work, studies done on white youth wrestling with the dilemmas such as Afrikaner broederbond and military training. The historical documentations of young people reflected demographic veracity and policies that were enforced by apartheid. The democratic South Africa has caught up with forces of globalisation which are significantly influential in marking out a set of culture, identity and meaning aligned to concepts such as 'multi-culturism' 'universality' and 'cosmopolitanism'. Now, there has been a paradigm shift in the demographic landscape of South Africa. There is freedom of association and people can choose to live anywhere without infringing anyone's rights. This change therefore challenges one to look at the concept of culture more than just a localised or 'tribalised' reference but rather as a diverse and 'holistic' engagement. Such a diverse engagement includes imperatives such as identity, ideas, representation, social construction, context, 'positionality', difference and institutional 'embeddedness'.

2.3 Culture and identity as socially constructed categories

2.3.1 Culture as a socially constructed category

Globally, there are various racial groups. Our cultural background helps shape our identities Noel (2000:26). Each cultural way of life has developed within a culturally influenced set of histories, traditions and patterns that help shape the identities of people today. Different people cling together in unity through culture, a complex and multi-dimensional concept. Approaches to what culture is and what it does vary across disciplines. The present study conceptualises 'culture' as comprising various attributes which function as a dynamic system. Smith (2009:48) and Haarman (2007:117) describe some of these attributes as a build-up of images, customs, rites, artefacts, certain events, heroes, landscapes, values, symbols of dress, emblems, language. Noel (2000:3) defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". Therefore, culture is shared experiences, language, belief systems, traditions of certain

groups of people in a geographic area who set standards, norms and values that the group members are to live by for a harmonious living in society.

Culture is socially constructed by a group of people who come together upon what they consider good and valuable (Young 2000:3). Since it is socially constructed, it can change with time. It bears a character of not being static but dynamic. Hence, Haarman (2007:186) asserts that culture as a system has permeable boundaries and is susceptible to change over time. The good part about culture is that it gives a sense of belonging, togetherness and unity which brings peace and happiness to society so that people can respect and value each other. Many of the attributes that define people come from culture, immediate family, community, and through media and the schools (Noel 2000; Jansen 2009). Some of the aspects of people's cultural background that can affect their identities include family size and family structures, geographic location, size of community and socio-economic status (Noel 2000). The negative part is indicated by Young in Noel (2000:6) where he says "there is a danger of creating an "us" and "them" dichotomy.

This research attempts to establish what must be the contemporary identity constructions of white youth in East London in post-apartheid South Africa now that there is a changing political, social and cultural context. Therefore, this warranted this research to touch on the area of identity as a socially constructed entity before exploring white identities (centre of this research) in apartheid and post-apartheid South African era.

2.3.2 Identity as a socially constructed category

In many ways, identity is to provide structure for understanding "who" one is by supplying meaning and direction through commitments, values, goals and the sense of personal control. Identity is socially constructed, fluid and the product of human thinking, discourse and action. Historically, however, identity has been assumed to be a steady constant. Yet, any identity formation process entails continuous contestations and negotiations (Hall 1989; Scott and Marshall 2005). We constitute and invent ourselves through interactions with others. There is no identity without the other. Weeks (1990:88) explains

that “identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiate you from others.”

Also, identity is constructed and modified in relation to the individual’s social, cultural and historical context. In the process of identity construction through interactions with others previously held beliefs, knowledge, understandings and values become destabilised. As such, new social meanings are created, generating new social roles, which inherently disrupt previously held identities through exposure to a relatively more diverse peer group as well as through other agents (Willis 1990).

Furthermore it is acknowledged that all young people experience one aspect or another of the contemporary ‘social condition’ of youth. (Willis 1990:12) listed as:“ Unwilling economic dependence on parents and parental homes, uncertainty regarding future planning, powerlessness and lack of control over immediate circumstances of life, feelings of symbolic as well as material marginality to the main society, imposed institutional and ideological constructions of ‘youth’ which privilege certain readings and definitions of what young people do, feel or be.”

Walker (2005) has explored how change has unfolded across time in the lives of young whites of East London. The exploration was about how they have changed or stayed the same as the world has dramatically shifted around them, how they are formed by the past but also against it. Walker (2005:51) found out on researching on young whites that student identities were formed at the nexus of competing discourses of transformations, or preserving the apartheid past, of language, culture and colour. There is also limited social mixing. Also, social and economic conditions shape and influence friendships. Walker further found out that young whites’ lives are marked by race, racialised subjectivities and a past of racial separateness

The young whites claim that they are the first generation who are ‘free’ to make up their minds about what to believe in a democratic context, yet the schools, parents and experiences of the post-apartheid context significantly influence their attitudes and

identification. Different cultural knowledge is transmitted to the young ones by their parents through such socialisations as family, church, sport (rugby), schools, cultural networks and peers (Jansen 2009). Steyn (2001:22) asserts that social identity construction is influenced by the dominant group in power. Noel (2000:1) claims that geographic location, socio-economic status, religion and some factors of cultural background help people to construct their identities and pass along from generation to generation. The youth is socialised into the cultural patterns through, inter alia, families, schools, churches and sport (Noel 2000:1; Jansen 2009:71).

2.4 White identities in apartheid era

There have also been studies done on white youth wrestling with dilemmas as Afrikaaner bonderbond and military training. For example, Lambley (1980:198) observed that young whites have been brought up on values and perspectives of life that have always been expressed uniformly at every level of his society. He claims that at school from teachers and school books, at home from parents, church, from the media, television, radio, newspapers, magazines and the cinema, the values and the perspectives of life to the young people established and reinforced identity. Jansen (2009:71-80) discusses these levels as the encircling influences such as the family, church, sport, schools, cultural networks and agrees with Lambley that there is strong cultural cohesiveness binding white youth together. Jansen (2009:73) claims that almost every white boy plays rugby at some stage of his childhood and that rugby is “a powerful social circle in which identity is tied to achievement on the rugby field.”

2.4.1 Family

The first and tightest of these concentric circles surrounding the young child is the family, which is a tight and cohesive group with clear lines of authority. In orthodox South African culture, the family is structured such that the father is the head of the household – the director and the master. The woman has to assume the role of being obedient to her husband, and she is constituted as the emotional centre around which the socialisation of the white child proceeds. In drawing the relationship between parents and children in white families, Jansen (2009:71) explains that:

“The child is the subject to strict parental authority in which punishment to the body is required by scripture.” Parents, children and the community at large are on the same par regarding corporal punishment.

Also “boys and girls refer to any other (white) adult as Oom (Uncle) and Tannie (Auntie), a longstanding familial tradition extending into the present. Though there is strictness and firmness from the parents side, there is also strong love. The love and strong bond between parents and their children is displayed by the parents ‘ interest in all aspects of the child’s life. “

“Parents are with their children all the time, at sporting events, cultural festivals, youth camps, and church events...

Parents show up *en masse*, sometimes with grandparents, at university opening and closing ceremonies.”

The family is the primary site for transmission of first knowledge, the intimate or fairy-tale knowledge that lays the foundation for any future understandings of self, of community history.”Jansen(2009:72)

The home was not only a place in which children were taught by words; it was the sphere in which they gained crucial master knowledge about how to behave towards the black domestic worker, the black gardener, and the black passer-by (Jansen 2009:72). Jansen (2009:227) says, “Apartheid was a system designed to shield children from other kinds of

knowing.” There was no way that the young whites would know the pain, struggles and terror that the ‘other’ experienced. In defending apartheid, the parents controlled what their children could look at or hear through the mass media (radio, television, print and even cinema) and the state machinery (ministerial speeches, government). Furthermore, the disciplining knowledge by which the young whites had to abide strengthened the socialisation by keeping white youth from straying from received authority:

- It is a discipline that refers them to higher authority that knows better and to be trusted.
- It is the disciplining that carries the threat of recrimination for those who stray.
- It is also the discipline that comes through a rich mixture of body language and verbal reprimand that together signal approval and disapproval of specific social acts.
- It is the disciplining that prohibits young children from doing what young children do naturally: to play with any child irrespective of race or language.
- It is the disciplining that keeps students from asking questions about what they initially witness as unfair or unequal and learn quickly to swallow their words.
- It is the disciplining that teaches them the differential modes of communication with a white adult and a black adult and it teaches them the consequences of what happens if they dare cross the line to the other side.

White children were socialised in such a manner that accepting and obeying parents was an absolute norm and not upholding the parent’s teachings would be a traitor to them (Steyn 2001:64).

2.4.2 Church

The white churches were the prime and powerful instrument for transmitting apartheid politics and policies (Jansen 2009:73). By implication therefore, this means that what the young child heard from home were prayers about protecting the whites against black terrorists. The Dutch Reformed Church became the instrument to preach white superiority as a chosen and pure race. What the white youths experienced from an early stage at

Sunday Schools was a knowledge of a glorious past of struggle and achievement of white people against all odds. So, the white child bounces between the church and his family with the uniform knowledge tightening the stream of transmission, conveying positive values about white supremacy but also to institute negative threats against white disobedience. The worst example is that of Reverend Beyers Naude who was banned from the church for not supporting the mission of apartheid. The white child is aware of this sensitive issue and grew up fully knowing the consequences of deviating from the set standards.

2.4.3 Sport (Rugby)

Sport is more than a game and inextricably tied to identity and culture. Among white people, rugby became a powerful social circle in which white identity was tied to achievement on the rugby field. For the white Afrikaner, rugby became a sport which was of tremendous social and cultural significance (Jansen 2009:73). It was so significant that almost every Afrikaner boy played rugby at some stage of his childhood. According to Jansen (2009:74), "...rugby was a sport in which power, nationalism, and masculinity were projected and entrenched in Afrikanerdom." Like any other sport, travails and joys of losing and winning are experienced. It is the one social space in which the most intense racial conflicts can be observed. Even in the post-apartheid era when black sports administrators and politicians seek to cleave open the racial exclusivity of rugby, they run into a massive defence of all-white or white-dominant teams by white administrators and the white public. The white child hears stories of how great heroes of this game have won the enemies in the field and stories on the assault on this racial heritage and cultural identity. It is no coincidence, therefore, that angry songs such as "De la Rey" make their way forcefully into the repertoire of rugby songs sang lustily at places like Loftus (Jansen 2009:74). According to Jansen (2009:75), rugby was one sphere within which there was direct threat to racial dominance and exclusivity, and where any threat to this position was read as synonymous with all other historical threats to white minority culture, prestige and power.

2.4.4 Schools

All aspects of the schools – the teachers, administrators, curriculum and physical structure helped shape white students' identities (Noel 2000: 26). Prior to 1994, education in South Africa was designed according to the different cultural groups, for example, Indians, Coloureds, Whites and Blacks had different education systems. One of the ways in which white people maintained their supremacy was through education. The education system was another way to maintain white dominance, white supremacy, inequality and distinctiveness between black and white people (McDonald 2006; Mbembe 2008). In order to keep the purity of their supreme culture, white people ensured that the education system was different for each culture. Black culture, therefore received Bantu education, inferior to what the dominant group received. McDonald (2006) claims that this brought about inequalities and impacted negatively on racial relations between blacks and whites in education, socio-economy, housing, politics and culture. Therefore, white young people were regarded as more privileged and superior to others. Morrow and King (1998:239) call apartheid and its separate schooling system a set of “monocultural” schooling systems. This monocultural system brought about knowledge about racial purity and racial exclusiveness and the cultural homogeneity of the classroom. In summary, this monocultural system of schooling that the young whites were socialised into has some shortcomings listed by Morrow and King (1998:239) and Jansen (2009), Lemmer et al (2006), and Steyn (2003) who contend that it:

- Assumes superiority of own culture
- Breeds cultural arrogance and insensitivity
- Puts minority cultures at a disadvantage
- Does not awaken intellectual curiosity about other cultures
- Does not develop moral imagination through exposure to other life views
- Stunts people's critical capacities
- Traps people in one culture
- Blocks access to the modern world
- Limits people's ability to cope with change, uncertainty and diversity.

Since teachers, leaders, curriculum, textbooks were all-white, there was an extension of the ideology of sameness, particularly whiteness from the family, church, primary school, high school and at tertiary for the young whites (Vice 2010). Steyn (2001) claims that whiteness goes together with unearned, habitual and normative privilege. Furthermore, Jansen (2009) notes, "A multigenerational inequality gap was secured for decades if not centuries to come, as a result of this massive empowerment of whites at the expense of the black majority." The design of apartheid went well and benefitted young whites as pre-destined. (Mbembe 2008:12) explains that for centuries, whites in South Africa enjoyed unfair advantages and were able to control access to jobs and promotions while closing off blacks' access to training and education. This reinforcement of 'being with your own' obviously had an influence in the identity formation of the young white people. For example, their schools were well resourced because they were well funded. Jansen (2009:75) explains that whites invested in education which benefitted their children and could be transmitted generationally. The education was designed to train the white child to be the master over other cultures. School books had to emphasise that the white culture is better, pure and superior to other cultures (Jansen, 2009). The master narratives by (Steyn, 2001) reveal that the young whites in South Africa have always lived up with the privilege of being white and believed that their superiority meant they had to bring about civilisation to other cultures.

The formal and informal educational programmes in schools were not only responsible for transmitting knowledge to the young but also to shut out alternatives. This mission achieved for the white child comes from a white background where authority is not challenged. Racist ideology went unchallenged because dissenting voices were never heard (Jansen 2009:84). Noel (2000:26) lists the following three perspectives on why schools instil within their students the values, beliefs and expectations of the dominant society in which they live:

1. When students gain the knowledge, values, and beliefs of the dominant culture, then as they become adults, society will function more smoothly.
2. Cultural socialisation in the schools is a way to keep the dominant groups with the power.

3. To ensure that those who have little position or power remain within that social status.

Schools have been powerful socialising agents conveying powerful master symbols of apartheid ideology to one generation after another. For example, white children were exposed to a cadet programme called the militarisation of white South African schooling. “Once a week over 300,000 white South African youths would leave their school uniforms at home and attend classes in military browns. For an hour or more a week they will learn the basics of army drill, how to shoot and more advanced forms of ‘military preparedness Evans(1989: 283-297) cited in Jansen (2009:84)”. This served to educate and instil acceptance of national priorities of an increasingly militarised state (ibid).

Other activities included the veld schools, youth preparedness programs, civil defence exercises, school guidance programmes and the “emergency terrorist plan”. (ibid:85). At school, the young whites learn from the official curriculum, hidden curriculum and null curriculum about race and difference. Eisner (1994:97) points out that the main challenge with this type of transmitting knowledge was that it isolated young white people from the broader society and further placed them at a disadvantaged position.

The cultural knowledge of the past is transmitted to the young whites also through cultural networks, in the extra-curricular programme of the school. The cultural events include rituals and traditions. At these events, knowledge of the past was brought to the surface through poems, songs and drama (Jansen 2009:78). Young whites were encouraged to identify with their culture and identity and the essential knowledge of the past. Central to the broader curriculum of every Afrikaner school is Die Revue, an evening concert in which Afrikaans children present Afrikaans music, drama, poetry, and theatre as a fixed item on the annual school calendar. Also, a powerful transmission of knowledge of history, language, and culture is conveyed to the young whites (Jansen 2009:78).

2.4.5 Military organisation

It is reported that the young whites of the apartheid era, who are now parents of the post-apartheid young whites, received powerful socialisation, *inter alia*, through “militarisation of white South African schooling” (Conway 2008; Frankel 1984; Evans 1989; Jansen 2009). Jansen (2009:85) asserts that “if other circles of influence worked softly...this aggressive military approach to their socialisation sealed any chances of dissent.”

The then minister of defence, Erasmus, visualised a need for the establishment of military training with Physical Education as important component essential for the mental and physical preparedness of the white youth of South Africa, where the requirements for aspirant trainees were:

- Male South African citizens of white descent
- Between the ages of 17 and 22
- Unmarried
- Bilingual (English and Afrikaans)
- Medically fit
- Have passed at least Standard 7 (9th Grade) but preferably Matric (12th Grade) (Jooste and Erasmus: 122 – 123).

However, the Defence Act of 1957 and the start of the armed struggle stipulated that “Every person domiciled in S.A was made liable to undergo training as a school cadet between the ages of 17 and 65.”

It is reported that the intention was to attract young men who had left school but not yet commenced with vocation. Also, military service was a rite of passage that turned boys into men (Evans 1989; Conway 2008).

This military training was put into force and once a week the young whites would come to school in military browns to learn the basics of army drill, how to shoot and more advanced forms of ‘military preparedness’. “...This school cadet programme... [served] to mould the consciousness of white pupils and to educate them to accept the national priorities of an increasingly militarised state” (Evans 1989:283). In addition to the school cadet programme, other complementary activities ensured that a tight transmission of

knowledge was constantly impressed on the minds and hearts of white children; such as the veld schools, youth preparedness programs, civil defence exercises, school guidance programs, and the emergency terrorist plan (Evans 1989:283).

For example, these other complementary military programmes seem to also encompass girls. In the S.A. Journal of Military Studies (2000), it is learnt that although it was restricted to boys, girls were also encouraged to participate in drill teams on a voluntary basis, and all scholars underwent youth preparedness and other training programmes with a military flavour. Jansen (2009:85) explains what was instilled in the minds of these young whites through these programmes was for them to grow knowing black people as terrorists and communists and of white people as Christian and civilised. Such critical knowledge presented black people as a threat to the very existence of white people (Jansen 2009:85). Most white people hold the Defence Force in high esteem for its role in upholding the state in the face of internal revolution, in protecting the national frontiers against the apparent southwards march of international communities (Frankel 1984:132). By the 1980s, white men were obliged to serve an initial period of two years continuous service in the SADF. Seemingly, the chances of whites to be in contact and in fact to be in good terms with black people were cut off at all costs. Jansen (2009:85) confirms this when revealing the effects of this type of socialisation, that “the parents of these young whites have always gained knowledge of fear, the distrusts of difference, the defence of privilege, and the acceptance of military-type authoritarian discipline as normative in school and society.” This knowledge, therefore, having been transmitted to the current youth, implies that racial privilege has been taken for granted, as normal and to be defended generationally.

2.4.6 Peers

The final social circle that connected white youth together and conveys common knowledge of the past is the peer groups within which white children and adolescents assembled. According to Jansen (2009), no other social group in South Africa is racially exclusive and so rigidly maintained than among Afrikaner youth. In these all-white, all-

Afrikaans peer groups, a powerful set of social and historical stories, received knowledge, is shared and reinforced in an emotionally intense closed circle.

The rigid patterns of associations with all-white peers is often gendered, such that boys coalesce around male interests that reflect, reproduce, and reinforce the gender hierarchies of the family, the church, and the school. The all-white families, the all-white churches, the all-white schools, the all-white school sports, and the all-white festivals predictably reproduce all-white friendship circles in this white community.

The negative consequences are that the uniqueness of an identity development of an individual is ignored and individuals have no alternative but to conform to the same old traditional roles of boys and girls in society. For example, the adults (parents, dominees, cultural organisers, teachers), facilitate boys and girls about their ethnic-racial group and their favourable in-group attitudes. In this socialisation, boys are more likely than girls to receive messages regarding racial barriers (Jansen 2009:112). Even in their social networks, the young whites have been socialised into all-white friendship circles by their adults of whom they are bound to obey, one wonders how must they be dealing with integration of the democratic post-apartheid South Africa. This leads to the changing meaning of identities in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.5 The changing meaning of identities in post-apartheid South Africa

The South African youth is faced with a challenge to be expected by their parents and society to behave according to the expected and accepted way that is within and from their cultural backgrounds (Willis 1990). This seems to be a problem because the experiences of the two generations are different. Also, there ought to be understanding among the human nature that there are multiple ways of being (Noel 2000:20). The youth in general and white youth in particular claim that they have experienced the transition and upshots through their families, schools and communities. Jansen (2009:26,141) states that this "... created an environment close to hermetically sealed that kept the transmission line relatively uninterrupted and provided children with secure and intimate

knowledge of how things were and how they ought to remain”. That is the greatest challenge given the reality that things have changed socially, politically and culturally. Also, the youth would love to construct their identities in reaction to challenges presented by various contexts, including the context of globalisation, socio-political, cultural and above all the abandoning of the South Africa apartheid regime.

Through these policies, the apartheid system succeeded in compartmentalising cultural groups to their cultural areas, thereby depicting where to live, where to school, which type of employment is eligible to whom and to live in a master-servant relationship (Lemmer, Meier and van Wyk 2006; McDonald 2006; Jansen 2009). This resulted in economic, political, social and educational inequality among cultures. Also, cultures were not interfering and interacting with each other. Jansen (2009:226) explains “...artificial separation ensured that there were no opportunities to discover each other.” Therefore, there was lack of critical engagement between cultures before 1994 in South Africa.

Since independence, in South Africa there has been growth of movement of cultural groups from their separate areas to other areas. By implication, there has been a paradigm shift in the demographic landscape of South Africa. For example, in post-apartheid, democratic South Africa, there is desegregation, where people can choose to live anywhere without infringing on anyone’s rights (Lemmer et al. 2006). Also, there are multiracial schools allowing diverse cultures where multicultural education ought to be employed. Also there is freedom of association among cultures. There have been changes in the identity and culture of South Africans in the 20 years of democracy. Vice (2010) and Steyn (2001) claim that whiteness goes together with unearned, habitual, and normative privilege. Young whites are experiencing cultural insensitivity because of the way they have been brought up (Lemmer et al. 2006). White exclusiveness has been reinforced and the young whites are encouraged to maintain it at all costs. What must be the experiences of other countries that are experiencing the changing meaning of identities due to globalisation, change of cultural and political contexts as the South African context. Namibians have suffered the same racially and ethnically based legalised inequalities that also existed in South Africa (Crouch 2004). In the changing South Africa,

feelings of guilt, shame and confusion are the day-to-day concerns. Fear about the future is a dominant concern.

After 1994, in South Africa, there has been growth of movement of cultural groups from their separate cultural areas to the white areas. Now that South Africa is a democratic society, the discrimination has shifted a bit for now different cultures are able to live together. There are now no laws prohibiting associations of different cultures, instead, there is freedom of associations. Hence, the researcher was able to meet with the young whites at the municipality buses to and from school, neighbourhood areas and public spaces like youth clubs to examine what must be the contemporary identity constructions of young whites in post-apartheid democratic South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa, with its democracy, has brought significant changes in the country's political, social, economic and cultural life. The changes which were aimed at redressing the imbalances perpetuated by the Apartheid state included bodies and policies such as RDP, employment equity strategies such as affirmative action and BEE, inclusive education policies, improved access to health care facilities, improved infra-structure for all, reconciliation efforts between various racialised groups, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reframing of racial categories and so forth (Stevens et al. 2006; Mbembe 2008). Also, the policies which influenced identity constructions of the past regime have been abolished. This then warrants that new identities be negotiated, for both the individual and the broader community.

In the changing context, Soudien (2001:311) claims that it is important to examine how young people are thinking their way through these conundrums. Furthermore, the role of the school in these processes is of crucial importance for the new South Africa.

Kader Asmal has emphasised on building more institutional cultures that embrace language and cultural diversity among staff and students (White Paper 1997). "Principles of equity, redress, democratization, development, quality, effectiveness and efficiency, academic freedom and public accountability are not negotiable." Moguerane (2007) asserts that policies introduced after South Africa's democracy were based on a legal and

constitutional framework that promoted a democracy rooted in the ideals and principles of non-racism. Transformation policies encouraged reconciliation, reconstruction and development.

The tensions are experienced between their parents who have inherited apartheid spoils and atrocities from their parents and in turn to pass on to the innocent generation experiencing the dismantling. For example, the brother to the then former President F.W. de Klerk, published a book in which he laments the losses and assaults Afrikaners had to endure after 1994 and criticised young Afrikaners for devaluing their Afrikaner identities and denying the existence of an Afrikaner volk-a nation (De Klerk 2000:52). De Klerk (the brother to former President) and his peers was accused of traumatising their children to defend apartheid, for countless numbers of young Afrikaner men were sent to war to fight the enemies of apartheid regime and hundreds reportedly lost their lives in battle. Many feel the conflicts were a waste of resources and lives (De Klerk 2000:52).

In dealing with diverse cultural classes, schools adopted the assimilation approach, which claims that now that you have come to our area, your culture will be assimilated to ours and you adopt ours. According to Vally in Lemmer et al (2006:2) “the few schools in South Africa that pursued a policy of desegregated schooling prior to 1994 generally followed an assimilation approach where learners of the dominant group saw minority group pupils as the one who had to change and adapt to the school.” The student profile has changed in these multicultural schools and universities, in that there are more black learners coming to the then ‘white’ schools. There are no white learners accessing the then ‘black’ schools though; this is an area which warrants some research, given the fact that imbalances have been redressed.

Individuals are now able to inhabit the ‘same’ but largely choose to remain in their own subgroups. This is particularly evident in universities and at schools where students are exposed to one another and have contact but still identify with members of their own ethnicity or racial background and voluntarily segregate themselves. Although most whites claim to be free of racial bias they nevertheless sought to maintain their social

distance from people of colour (Mbembe 2008:8). Even where there is a gathering of black and white young people, distinct patterns of assembly will be observed.

Young whites are experiencing cultural insensitivity because of the way they have been brought up. White exclusiveness has been reinforced and the young whites are encouraged to maintain it at all costs. For example, schools and universities in post-apartheid South Africa were legally desegregated but socially segregated spaces (Jansen 2009). Afrikaners are always together and make sure that they do not compromise their Afrikaans language (Jason 2009; Christie and Collins 2009) at these schools and universities.

It is argued that white youth in particular cannot be blamed for racial discrimination committed long before they were born (Mbembe 2008:9). From what the young whites know of the past, white racism is not the cause of black poverty. Nor can it be held responsible any longer, they argue, for the troubling gaps in life chances between black Africans and their white compatriots. Due to the knowledge from their adults, young whites believe that racial disparities in South Africa today are as a result of misguided policies of a corrupt and incompetent black government or simply a manifestation of the moral failure of individual blacks—those who do not work hard enough, do not go to school, do not live an ethical life, and do not know how to steer clear of crime, corruption, and illness. (ibid). Overall, it has been learnt that things have changed in the democratic post-apartheid South Africa. However, the challenge is that few scholars and black ones to be specific ever took interest as to how must this change be accepted by the young innocent whites who are left with experiencing the dismantling of the white privilege of the apartheid era.

2.6 Theoretical framework

There are various theories that are relevant for issues related to identity constructions. Only three theories have been considered for this research namely, social identity theory, whiteness and culture change.

2.6.1 Social identity theory

One of the theories underpinning this study is the social identity theory. The theory was originally developed by Tajvel and Turner in 1979, to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination (Tajvel and Turner 1979). In the social identity theory, the individual's self-concept is derived from perceived membership of social groups (Hogg and Vaughan 2002). Thus, it is an individual-based perception of what defines the 'us' associated with any internalised group membership. It is a theory, therefore with a focus on how the social context affects intergroup relations (Tajvel 1978; Tajvel and Turner 1979; Hogg and Abrahams 1988; Turner et al. 1987). This implies that the social identity theorists introduced the concept of social identity to explain social group behaviour or youth behaviour.

This study sought to explore how white youth (social group) attach meaning and construct youth culture and identity in post-apartheid South Africa, since the identity and culture (social context) has changed due to political changes, the abandoning of the apartheid regime and influence of globalisation. The use of the social identity theory is therefore justifiable since it has implications on the way people deal with social and organisational change. Furthermore, the social identity theory asserts that individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem (Turner 1979). For example, the group identity describes what it is to be a group member as well as prescribing the kinds of attitudes, emotions and behaviours that are appropriate in a given context. This implies that the quest for positive distinctiveness means that the youth's sense of who they are is defined in terms of 'we' rather than 'I'. So the use of this theory is justifiable since it assumes that individuals or social youth groups are inherently motivated to achieve positive uniqueness- thus to have a positive self- concept or social identity (Tajvel and Turner 1979).

2.6.2 Whiteness

Whiteness is a racial category and can best be understood of as a range of cultural identities and practices, which are in many respects invisible, unnamed, natural and normative.(Vice 2010). Whiteness is often a somewhat dominant and normative space against which difference is measured and only exists in so far as other racialised identities exist, such as blackness (Steyn 2001). In this manner, whiteness is frequently seen as a centre from which the self and others are perceived and understood. For this reason white South Africans have always constructed their identities around whiteness. The construction has always depended on supremacy and enlightenment where the white culture was more superior and powerful than all other cultures.

Whiteness is a continual social hierarchy which grants differential access to economic and cultural capital. During apartheid, whiteness privilege status and supremacy was never questioned. On the other hand, darkness is often seen as the antithesis to whiteness; the black other is considered by many to be inferior and subordinate (Feason 1999; Freedman and Combs 2001; Stevens et al. 2006; Gasnet 2007; Mir and Watson 2000; Rasmusses 2001; Stevens et al. 2006).

After 1994, the centre is tipped and heralding to renegotiate their identities. A change in the flow of cultural information is one of the most defining aspects of the new South Africa (Steyn 2001:152), which led to her identifying five narratives which are:

- 1.“Still colonial after all these years” – original beliefs about whiteness are maintained to be true. It will take long for change to occur.
- 2.This should not happen to a white.” The feeling is that of reversal and victimisation. The new order is out to get the whites:
- 3.“Do not think white, it’s alright”-whiteness is regarded as integral to identity.” The whites in this category either retreat to cultural roots or look for practical ways to survive and maintain a white influence in the new South Africa.
- 4.“Whiter shade of white”- told by whites who are convinced that they are completely unracialised and protest personal innocence.
- 5.“Under African skies, or White, but not quite-whiteness” here support Africanising of the country either through manipulating their identities.Steyn (2001:152)

Blackness and whiteness are seen to have pervasive impact on society. As such, individuals and groups may come to accept and internalise these constructs in their personal capacities and are thus often unable to change or contest them. Thus, social categories such as race, blackness and whiteness, are often naturalised and viewed as being normative and often have the same necessity as laws which govern the natural world. Whiteness is now no longer fixed but a site of change and struggle. The characteristics of whiteness are heterogeneity, feeling of guilt, fear, and dislocation (Steyn 2001).

Overall, the whiteness theories unanimously perceive that the meaning of whiteness has indeed changed in recent times. Whites were certainly privileged in the South African apartheid era.

2.6.3 Culture change

This section will discuss culture as a changing phenomenon. Culture and identity change has not only taken place among white people but in general there has been change in various South African cultures. This study therefore relates to the broader discussion of culture as a changing phenomenon. Tomasselo (1999:512) asserts that culture is man-made and by implication is subject to modifications over time. For example, during the apartheid era in South Africa, there has been distinctness between black and white cultures because of separateness of cultures through legalised segregation. The white culture was the dominant, better, superior culture than all other cultures.

The apartheid system allowed no critical engagement between cultures. However, in the new democratic South Africa, people have more freedom to choose where they want to live.

Democracy has brought about and legalised desegregation. Vincent (2006:18) states that post 1994, South Africa has seen the emergence of a set of institutions for the protection of values of individual human rights, freedom of choice, diversity, tolerance, the rule of law and constitutional supremacy, a liberal political system. Democracy which is a political ideology has a strong influence in the formation of collective identity (Noe 2000). “Since perspective is formed on the basis of culture and social aspects of life, variations in life result in variations and alterations of the perceptual filter through which we view life (Vincent 2006:18). The desegregation which allows freedom of association warrants that individuals or groups begin to make modifications in relation to the prevailing contexts. Tomasselo (1999:512) claims that “individual and group inventions are mastered relatively faithfully by co-specifics, including younger generation, which enabled them to remain in their new improved form within the group until something better comes along”.

The culture change theories are of the view that culture is not static but dynamic. In relation to this study it is established that since any prevailing ideology at a given time influence patterns of associations, belief systems, and values for the formation of identities the young white generation ought to be given some space to decide and construct their identities. The ideology of democracy allows freedom to every South African citizen.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed literature from other theorists relevant to the topic: “White youth cultures and identities in post-apartheid South Africa: the case of East London”. The study examined how youth identities in general (that is all racial groups), specifically white youth have changed over time globally, in Africa and specifically East London in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The chapter also explored the theoretical framework underpinning the study which was social identity, whiteness and theories of culture.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a critical examination and applicability of qualitative research methodology using descriptive approach. Data gathering methods and process, ethical conduct, reliability and validity of data collected followed. Since the purpose of the study was to explore and examine the meaning of being a youth in East London, post-apartheid South Africa, a qualitative explorative, descriptive research design was seen appropriate and hence discussed. The study has embarked on an exploratory study from a qualitative approach, underpinned by the social identity theory, whiteness and culture change theories. Babbie and Mouton (2011) say that qualitative approach is a subjective approach used to describe life experiences and giving them meaning. Maree (2011) and Schumacher (2006) assert that the qualitative approach looks at the narrative of situations, relationships or people dealing with the description of human beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and emotions. Qualitative approach has helped the researcher to get detailed information from a specific culture of 'white youth in East London'.

The qualitative approach has enabled the researcher to examine, obtain and describe information from this specific culture, from their point of view, what meaning, and identity formation do they have with regards to youth cultures and identity in post-apartheid South Africa. The qualitative research method also involves observations; thus the researcher was able to observe the behaviour of the participants. The advantage of this kind of research method is that its purpose is to understand the meaning of the informants' world without judging them. A qualitative approach was a necessity given the topic of this study, to obtain as much detailed data as possible from a variety of sources and informants. The qualitative approach allowed participants to express themselves.

About the study area: East London is a town in Buffalo City, in Eastern Cape of South Africa. The researcher has chosen three suburbs; West Bank, Cambridge and Quigney. During the apartheid era these areas were meant for whites only, who claimed that their

culture was more superior to all other cultures It is now two decades since abolition of apartheid and its policies of segregation. Now, in these areas the social world has been changed since all other racial groups are welcomed in the same space as the whites. With such reality, the study sought to explore how do young whites deal with the reality of changing youth cultures and identity now that the social context has changed.

3.2 Research method: qualitative

This study used the qualitative research method, since qualitative research allows the researcher to study human behaviour from the insider's perspective. Maykut and Morehouse (1994:43) characterise qualitative research as having a broad and open-ended focus, allowing for important meanings to be discovered. The researcher saw it appropriate to apply qualitative approach since exploring the meaning of being a youth from young whites' perspective in the changing context of post-apartheid South Africa. Schram (2003) perceives qualitative research as a subjective approach used to describe life experiences and giving them meaning. Cresswell (2007:18) asserts that in qualitative research, "claims of knowledge are based upon constructed perspectives from multiple social and historical meanings of individual experiences." Hence, Leedy and Ormrod (2005:132) claim that qualitative approach is concerned with understanding of human beings through their description of experiences as lived and defined by the actors themselves. Also, the qualitative research reports findings in words, narrative and in literary style (Leedy and Ormrod 2005:96; Straus 2005:56).

Since qualitative research plays an important role in illuminating the meaning of the lived experiences (Grant 2008b:5), the researcher investigated identity formations of young whites of East London in post-apartheid South Africa through qualitative research. Babbie and Mouton (2004:134) assert that qualitative approach looks at the narrative and descriptive nature of situations, relationships or people, dealing with the description of human beliefs, attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and emotions. Then, the researcher investigated how the East London young whites carve out, think, act in making meaning out of the changing cultural social contexts.

The reasons or goal for using qualitative research is to explore a phenomenon that has not been studied before, and to try to understand any social phenomenon from the perspectives of the actors involved, rather than explaining it from the outside. Leedy and Ormrod (2005) base qualitative research on the premise that human beings are complex and dynamic.

The advantage of qualitative methods in exploratory research is that they allow the researcher the flexibility to probe initial participant responses-that is to ask why or how. This permits development of an informal relationship between the respondents and the researcher. The researcher has a responsibility of carefully listening to what the respondents are saying, engaging with them according to their individual personalities and styles. Another advantage is that use of open-ended questions and probing gives participants the opportunity to respond in their own words, rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses. Open-ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are meaningful and culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher and rich and explanatory in nature.

The qualitative approach was therefore appropriate for this study since the purpose was to get the detailed information from the participants. The young whites, for example could describe their experiences, aspirations and fears pertaining to changing cultures that influence the contemporary identity constructions of youth in post-apartheid South Africa without being judged by the researcher. In conclusion, Babbie and Mouton (2004:135) are of the opinion that qualitative approach is a valuable means of obtaining insight through establishing a comprehensive understanding of the research topic. Also, Maykut and Morehouse (1994:43) claim that the outcome of such a study is a deeper understanding of experience from the perspectives of the participants selected for the study. Therefore, due to the nature of the research phenomenon which required in-depth exploration of the meaning of being a youth in East London in post-apartheid South Africa, a qualitative approach was appropriate.

3.3 Research design: descriptive

A research design is a plan that is followed by the researcher on how he intends to carry the study. Hofstee (2006:108) says the research design means the way a researcher chooses to design a study, how the researcher went about coming to a conclusion about his or her thesis. Babbie and Mouton (2007:74) assert that a research design focuses on the end product, the intended type of study and the results aimed at. Exploratory approach was utilised in this study to explore unknown aspects of the lived experiences of young whites' identity constructions in East-London post-apartheid South Africa. Mouton (2001) acknowledges that to explore entails examination with the intention to find out more about the unknown situations. Babbie (2006) defines exploratory research as a research conducted to gain new sights, discover new ideas and or increase knowledge of the phenomena. As a result, the researcher selected the exploratory research to gain new insight and increase knowledge on meaning of being a youth in East London post-apartheid South Africa. Babbie and Mouton (2011:79) state that a large proportion of social research is conducted to explore a topic, or to provide a basic familiarity with the topic. According to Babbie and Mouton (2011:80), exploratory studies are most typically done for the following reasons:

- To satisfy the researchers curiosity and desire for better understanding
- To test feasibility of undertaking a more extensive study
- To develop methods to be employed in any subsequent study
- To explicate the central concepts and constructs of a study
- To determine priorities for future research
- To develop new hypothesis about an existing phenomenon.

An exploratory study was appropriate for this study; since the study looked at how young whites construct their identities post-apartheid South Africa. The advantage of using this research design is that it allowed the researcher to study broadly and generally through the use of open-ended questions. Below is an outline of the data collection methods.

3.4 Data collection

Using qualitative research, the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews with participants, telephone interviews and engaged in focus groups (Cresswell 2014). This study has adopted the face-to-face interviews which involved semi-structured and generally open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit views and opinions from the participants and identified stakeholders in the same area. Hofstee (2006:115) refers to this section as research methodology. He claims that it can be broken down into three major subsections; namely research instruments, data and analysis. Maren (2007:8) state that experiential descriptions can be obtained from others via interviews or observations, or literature. Hancock (1998:9) concurs with Maren (2007) that “qualitative approaches to data collection usually involve direct interaction with individuals on a one to one basis or in a group setting.” This means that the researcher has to meet with the interviewee face-to-face under any circumstance. According to Hancock (1998:9), the main qualitative methods of data collection are individual interviews, focus groups and observation. Hence, the researcher’s data collection methods included purposive sampling of the research participants and the research sites, interviews and observation. However, researchers utilise descriptions provided by others obtained through interviews and through written texts (Ehrich 2005:5). Hence, data collection process included piloting the study, reviewing literature related to the study and so forth.

3.4.1 Piloting

Since a preliminary study is mandatory in order to reach informed decisions regarding the most appropriate form of data collection (Stevens 2003:237); the researcher took a pilot study with two participants, two young white women. This pilot study was used in order to test the effectiveness of particular questions. Each of the two participants provided written reflections and face to face interviews.

Relevance of the pilot study could be summed up as providing the researcher with ideas, approaches and clues that may not have been foreseen. The research design and

research methods applicable for the study were chosen after piloting. In addition to improving data collection routines, the pilot study added knowledge that led to improved dissertation writing. For example, the pilot presented the researcher with an opportunity to practise bracketing. Wojnar and Kristen (2007:176) are of the opinion that bracketing may be accomplished by using field notes as a reflective diary to write down the investigator's observations, assumptions while simultaneously refraining from prematurely foreclosing on the researcher's hunches about the emerging concepts. Literature review from other studies was consulted.

3.4.2 Literature study

Literature from other contexts was considered as very important, so as the researcher to have a broader view of what other authors have to say about the topic. The reviewing of books and articles was done by the researcher for critical evaluation of the previous writing relevant to her study. Hofstee (2006:104) advises that researchers should be reading scholarly books, articles, dissertations and conference proceedings; and that is what the researcher has engaged with. The literature review consisted of international, African and South African literature that talk about youth cultures and identities. Through literature review the researcher could be able to establish how youth cultures and identities have changed due to political, socio-economic, cultural changes and globalisation. The researcher was able to observe what she has read through fieldwork.

3.4.3 Fieldwork

A qualitative approach as a method of data collection was utilised in this research. According to McMillan and Schumaker (2006:316), qualitative research warrants that the researcher goes to the field and makes direct contact with the respondents. It is the responsibility of the researcher to "venture into the worlds of others to learn about how they live, talk, and behave in order to understand the meanings that observed activities for those engaging in them" (Neuman 1994:330). It is through fieldwork that the researcher gains deep insight and better understanding of how participants feel, behave

and attach meaning to social issues in their environments. The researcher contacted the respondents in a variety of places including Christian youth clubs, University X and some in public transport in the three selected areas of East London. Sometimes, the researcher talked to the respondents individually where she would get a vast amount of information about how young whites carve out their identities in the changing cultural society. It is in the fieldwork where the researcher was able to observe even the minute tonal variations and some non-verbal cues from the respondents.

3.4.4 Sampling: purposive

Hancock (1998:3) states that data collection methods used in qualitative research are time consuming; consequently data is collected from smaller numbers of people. Sampling is the process of selecting people with whom to conduct research (Silverman 2005). A sample consists of the elements of a defined population (ibid). For Denscombe (2004:19), population refers to the entire group of persons who meet the criteria that the researcher is interested in studying. Inclusion criteria for the sample denote characteristics that must be possessed by the element to be included in the sample (Babbie 2006:367). Thus, in Babbie's (2006) understanding, the concept of sampling involves taking a portion of the population, making observations on this smaller group and then generalising the findings to the population. There are two kinds of sampling known as probability sampling and non-probability sampling. Berg (2004:233) states that probability sampling is based on the idea that people or events are chosen as the sample because the researcher has some notion of the probability that these will be a representative cross section of people in the whole population being studied. A sample size may refer to a number of persons, but also to the number of interviews and observations conducted. Since qualitative studies require use of relatively small numbers of samples, it was difficult for the researcher to choose the sample for the study on the basis of probability sampling. Non-probability sampling was chosen because it allows participants to narrate stories about their lived experiences (Leedy and Ormrod 2005).

Non-probability sampling takes place in different forms such as convenience sampling, snowballing and purposive sampling (Leedy and Ormrod 2006:145). Convenience sampling refers to the selection of subjects that can be easily accessible to the researcher (Silverman 2005). With snowballing, the sampling emerges through a process of reference from one person to the next (Cresswell 2008:18). In relation to purposive sampling, the researcher deliberately selects the specific people with similar characteristics as they are likely to produce the most valuable data (Denscombe 2004:15). Therefore, purposive sampling was appropriate for this study. Not only is purposive sampling a method that is applied when selecting a population with similar characteristics or particular qualities (Leedy and Ormrod 2005:149), but it also seeks information for rich cases for in-depth study. Furthermore it is used to ensure that certain types of individuals displaying certain attributes are included in the study (Berg 2004:32). Berg (2004:32) contends that purposive sampling allows the researcher to study a portion of the population rather than an entire population.

Although it would be ideal to investigate young whites of the entire population of young whites in East London, Strauss (2005) claims when a population is too large the researcher has no option but to draw a sample from the population to be studied. Hence, only eight participants were selected from the different areas of East London to represent that population. Denscombe (2004:146) recommends research participants of up to ten people. The inclusion criteria for this study were eight young whites from East London. Not only did the researcher sample the research participants but also the research sites. A research site is the physical location in which data collection takes place (Silverman 2005:43). This research study draws a sample from young whites in the specified areas.

Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to select the sample according to the nature of the research problem. The researcher wanted to get a better understanding of individuals' views on contemporary identity constructions. Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to choose a small sample from the population in order to have a deeper understanding of how young whites carve out and attach meaning to being youth in East London, in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.4.5 Interviews: semi-structured interviews

Scram (2003) describes an interview as a personal conversation through which information is obtained. Similarly, Silverman (2005:155) defines an interview as “a two person conversation initiated by the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining research relevant data focused on specified objectives.” Interviews allow the researcher to capture and describe complex activities that produce meanings (Babbie 2006). In a different note, Denscombe (2004:163) and Silverman (2005) maintain that interviews involve a set of assumptions and understanding about the situation which are not normally associated with a casual conversation. Common to these definitions of various authors on interviews is the notion that in an interview the participants provide the researcher with the information through conversation. Of importance is Scram (2003) observation that non-verbal behaviours and interview context can be noted by the researcher to become part of the data.

From Babbie’s (2006) viewpoint an interview can take many forms ranging from face-to-face interaction, telephone conversation and e-mail. Generally interviews can be classified into three major categories: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. Structured interviews involve tight control over the format of the questions and answers like a questionnaire (Denscombe 2004:166). Unlike questionnaires, a semi-structured interview is flexible with few leading questions and open-ended answers (Babbie and Mouton 2004). Yet, the unstructured interviews go further in the extent to which emphasis is placed on the interviewees’ thoughts (Cresswell 2007). The difference in these three types lie in the way the interviewer formats the questions.

The preferred exploratory interview of gathering information from participants was in-depth semi-structured interviews. Creswell (2007:185) claims that the idea behind qualitative research is to purposively select participants who will best help the researcher to understand the research questions. Since the research questions were directed to participant’s feelings and emotions, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about the theme in

question, the research question that guided the interviewing process was “what is the meaning of being a ‘youth’ in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. Since the researcher has been exploring how young whites construct their identities in relation to the changing cultures through political, cultural, socio-economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa, observations were also utilised in this research study.

3.4.6 Observations and personal experience as a researcher

Observations help reveal what could not be articulated in words. In other words, observations capture that which will not be willingly articulated (Wills 2007). Observations act as useful tools to gather information that cannot be necessarily gathered through their tools. There is participant and non-participant observation. Participant observations were used to gather information in this study. Babbie (1998:282) describes participant observation as a “a specific form of research in which the researcher participates as an actor in the events under study.” Babbie and Mouton 2001) assert that participant observation should be a lived experience. In other words, observations are crucial to make meaning of lived experiences. Nothing is taken for granted. As observed by Babbie and Mouton (2001), the importance of observations cannot be over exaggerated. Everything becomes important, be it the exterior physical signs, architecture, behaviour, attitudes, language and perceptions, among others. The context in which certain actions occur also becomes significant. Everything needs to be watched carefully and meanings generated out of such contexts.

In non-participant observations, the researcher observes subjects from a distance without interacting with them (Gobo 2008:5). This strategy is engaged by researchers who are not interested in gaining deeper understanding of the subject “social world and the symbolic sphere,” hence they do not interfere in their natural setting. However, participant observation has its own challenges as the group that is being observed might actually decide ‘to act up’, if they are aware of the researcher. That is why Bliss and Higson-Smith (2000:103) warn of the weakness of this data collection method by saying “people who feel that they are being observed may change their behaviour, become uneasy or stop

activities altogether.” They might engage in this behaviour in order to conceal certain information. In such contexts, there is a need for the researcher to utilise a variety of skills to obtain different information. In some situations, the researcher might conceal himself and participate in activities of the group if that does not trigger serious ethical considerations. In summary, Gobo (2008:13) makes an important observation that the participant observation methodology has the following features:

The researcher establishes a direct relationship with the social actors.

The researcher stays in their natural environment.

The researcher stays with the purpose of observing and describing their behaviour by interacting with them and participating in their everyday ceremonials and rituals and learning their code in order to understand the meaning of their actions.

3.4.6.1 Personal experience as a researcher

My role as a researcher was that of an outsider due to a different identity from the respondents, a black elderly lady. With the background of a racially polarised South Africa, I did not expect the fieldwork process to be of a plain sailing. The initial reactions of my respondents – that of being uncomfortable and avoiding this black woman interested in white youth revealed some rejections. These initial challenges of being dodged made me cautious and to re-strategise.

I targeted one young white that was so willing to share her experiences. She even prepared to organise her friend whom she claimed she is not a racist. Snowballing therefore proved to be useful.

My observation is that though South Africa is emancipated from the ideology of separateness the young black and white tolerated each other, trust had not fully developed.

3.5 Data analysis

Welman et al. (2005) note that “the data analysis is to identify the most important themes that highlight the interviewee’s answers.” Schumacher (2006) perceives data analysis as a mechanism for reducing and organising data to produce findings that require interpretation by the researcher. The researcher has used thematic approach to analyse data presented by the participants. Thematic approach looks at the emerging themes from the data collected (Leedy and Ormrod 2005).

Leedy and Ormrod(2005) further explain that the thematic analysis include preparing field notes and transcripts compiled during interviewing, taking into consideration the ‘whys’ ‘errs’, pauses, word emphases, mispronunciations, and incomplete sentences (ibid). In terms of the qualitative data analysis approach adopted in this study, knowledge is subjective and truth is context dependent, which can only be obtained after entry into participants’ reality.

The researcher endeavoured to make sense of the volumes of data collected by linking them to the main research question: ‘what is the meaning of being a youth in post-apartheid South Africa?’ and sub-questions. All oral words were transcribed into text. Every aspect of the data was coded by identifying themes within the interview questions. Leedy and Ormrod (2001) argue that no matter how one proceeds, the data analysis for a qualitative study is a complex and time-consuming process.

3.6 Limitations

Hofstee (2006:108) points out that “limitations are inherent in academic work.” One of the greatest challenges might be the crossing of the barrier line; namely, cross-racial studies where there may be insufficient information given pertaining to the sensitive topic. Also, as a novice researcher, more especially of researching respondents with a complete different identity from them, viz; culture and age, then the ability to search for deeper meaning may have been compromised. Another limitation may be that the respondents that I was looking for in one of the universities are a minority and do not reside in the University X campus. So, this implies that the broader picture of what the study was looking for may not be revealed, from this particular site. However, the findings are still worthwhile for some participants showed courage and eagerness to contribute by embracing change in the changing youth identities and cultures in post-apartheid South Africa.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Bliss and Higson-Smith (2000) refer to ethical considerations as the rights of the research participants with the emphasis of the process of persuading participants to co-operate. Furthermore, researchers ought to be aware and respect the fact that the participants have the right to refuse to participate. Welman et al. (2005) concur with these authors and assert that “subjects should take part freely based on informed consent.” With informed consent letters, Cresswell (2003:64) suggests that an informed consent letter should be produced which includes among others:

- The right to participate voluntarily and the right to withdraw anytime.
- Benefit right to ask questions and their privacy respected.
- Signatures of both the participants and the researcher agreeing to these provisions
- Gaining the permission of individuals in authority to provide access to study participants at research sites.

Also, for the sake of anonymity the researcher used pseudonyms for the research sites and respondents.

The researcher endeavoured to uphold almost all of these ethical considerations in her research (see appendices).

Access to research participants was sought through informed consent letters. The informed consent forms included a brief nature of the study, aims and purpose of the research. Participants were ensured of anonymity, confidentiality, privacy and protection from harm. Pseudonyms were used. The researcher targeted young whites who were available and willing to participate at their free will. These participants were made aware of their rights to withdraw from participating in the research study anytime they wish to. All University of Fort Hare ethical processes were followed. Ethical approval was granted by the University of Fort Hare and attached as appendix.

3.8 Conclusion

The chapter discussed the overall approach used and the reasons for the chosen research design. On exploring the meaning of being a young person in post-apartheid South Africa, exploratory qualitative approach has been chosen for this study. Data was collected in different phases using different data gathering methods. Limitations and ethical procedures were also considered. East London is a town in Buffalo City, in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The researcher has chosen three suburbs; West Bank, Cambridge and Quigney. During the apartheid Era, these areas were meant for whites only, who claimed that their culture was more superior to all other cultures. It is now two decades since abolition of apartheid and its policies of segregation. Now in these areas the social world has been changed since all other cultures are welcomed in the same space as the whites. The study sought to explore the young whites as to how do they deal with the reality of changing youth culture and identity now that the social context has changed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reflects on the data of the youth cultures and identities of young whites in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. The objectives of the study were to examine the meaning of being a 'youth' in democratic and post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, the aim was to investigate how current white youth construct their identities and culture in East London. Thirdly, it was to contribute by bringing forth understanding of changing youth identities in reference to white people. The results are discussed according to themes that were identified around the issues discussed in the literature review. This is all in connection with the research questions that guided this research study. It is structured such that it has two sections; section A which presents profiles of the respondents. The findings of the study established through thematic analysis, are dealt with in section B.

4.2 Section A: Profiles of the respondents

4.2.1 Ages of respondents

The respondents' ages ranged between the ages of 19 and 25 years of age. The study sought to examine the meaning of being a young white in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher chose to interview the young whites from this age bracket, who were born in the period when apartheid ended to shift to democracy of post-apartheid South-Africa. The researcher wanted to find out how must have these young whites who are 'born frees' constructed their identities in the new era where there is freedom of associations.

4.2.2 Gender of participants

Interestingly, there was a gender mix and balance in terms of the number of the respondents. There were four female participants and four male participants who expressed willingness to talk about their dealing with identity constructions in East London, post-apartheid South Africa. The researcher was interested in finding out how both male and female young whites were dealing with integration in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.3 Marital status

All participants were of single status. The researcher wanted to find out if the single young whites would opt for mixed marriages given the fact that democracy has abolished the Mixed Marriage Act in the post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.4 Educational qualifications

One male participant had a Grade 12 academic qualification. Yet, others had a tertiary qualification and in the process of obtaining a junior degree. Others were registered at various institutions studying on part-time basis. The researcher wanted to check how the young whites relate to other young people from different cultures and races.

4.2.5 Home language

Some of the participants spoke English as their home language. Few respondents were Afrikaans speakers at home. The researcher wanted to find out the how much influence from the parental background of clinging to the past since the literature review reveals that the Afrikaans speaking parents do have a negative influence on their children to strictly adhere to the familial upbringing.

4.2.6 Religion

The few Afrikaans-speaking participants were Dutch Reformed members. However, other members were of the Anglican Church. Few participants were of the Pentecostal Church and further claimed that they were born-again Christians.

4.3 Section B: Data presentation

Four females and four males in East London took part willingly in this qualitative exploratory study. Pseudonyms were allocated to the respondents in order to adhere to research ethical principles. Pseudonyms that are used are AM, BM, CM, DM, AF, BF, CF, DF consecutively.

The following major themes were considered in this second section of presentation and analysis of the findings:

- What does it mean to be a young white person in post-apartheid South Africa?
- How do young people in E.L. construct their identities in post-apartheid South Africa? Also, how much positive or negative influence the informants received from their parents and how such influence affects how they see themselves in the current democratic state?
- What are the challenges of a changing meaning of identities in democratic post-apartheid South Africa? For example, how do the white youth handle the fact that white people were once privileged and now are not?
- Also how must the 'born free' young whites be dealing with integration where those whom told to be children of terrorists and communists share the same space in neighbourhood, school and public facilities?

4.3.1 What does it mean to be a young white person in post-apartheid South Africa?

Most of the participants claim that in a changing world to be a 'youth' means living a life of constant adaptation. Society has to be ready to change along with it. However, some of the participants indicated that it is challenging because there are external influences who want to define terms as to how to live life yet they would love to experience life as presented to them. For example BM boldly said "It is so challenging because one would love to live an original simple life as it comes to you but there are parents who keep on reminding you that in their time things used to be like this and that and that life was so good." There is a challenge because some young people do not want to listen, claim to be young and energetic and they want to enjoy life to the fullest. One participant claimed that his parents are remote-controlling him and it is so boring. As a young person, one would love to explore things but what can one do when the father is a racist and one ought to do as he instructs and respect him. The parents put the blame on the dilution and mixing of cultures.

Some participants shared how they have sessions at their homes where their parents confront them to strictly adhere to the traditional values they give them and to take pride in being white. The participants confess that to be a young person in this era is confusing because they desire to intermingle with other young people they meet outside their homes but constantly reminded that they ought to be loyal to family, not to conform to the outside world. Also they choose not to betray their parents.

DM says "I think it is not a general thing it differs with individuals. Also the way you were brought up has an influence in determining what it means to be a young person in this changed society. Obviously one would stick to and follow the pattern of his parents and be a respectable child. To be a young person to me therefore is to stick with the values my parents have instilled within me so as to be successful in life and have fulfilled dreams. Our parents can never deceive us but the pressure from others can lead us nowhere though it can look glamorous and tempting."

4.3.2 How do young people in EL construct their identities in post-apartheid South Africa?

Some of the participants indicated that they construct their identities based on a global market. They acknowledge the fact that the world has become so interconnected that the formation of their identities aren't merely confined to influences from East London, such as their peers or parents. One of the participant asserted "With the introduction of globally interconnected technology our fashion sense can be influenced by people from America, what we eat can be influenced by trends from the Europe, and our ways of thinking can be influenced by those Asian mindsets to the East. In this way our identities are formed by a global market that is ever changing."

Most of the participants indicated that one has to know and respect who he or she is so as to respect others too. This includes even the way one dresses himself. For example, as ladies the way you dress yourself portrays who you are. They also indicated that in East London, there is freedom in the real sense of the word for they are not forced to belong to certain groups. For example, some young people enjoy their lives by going to pubs for drinks, while others go to church. It is important to be at peace with yourself and be at peace with others too.

Some participants acknowledge that sporting activities help them mould their lives during leisure time. One participant AM said "It is where we socialise and interact with a variety of diverse young people from different cultures and race and enjoy ourselves. We come to know who we are and where we come from when we mix here." Almost all the participants admitted that that is where they freely go along with other young people. Almost all the participants agreed that going to church and attending youth clubs to meet with young people from different backgrounds and cultures help them identify with them as young people. Almost all the participants admitted that they feel at ease with each other and the spirit under which they interact becomes so peaceably

4.3.3 What are some of the changes experienced by white young people in EL, compared to those of your parents?

Almost all of the participants indicated that one of the bigger experiences of change of today's youth is the amount of emphasis being put on getting a good education because of the status of global economy. They all agreed that if you do not get yourself some good education you will starve to death for as white youth they are now disadvantaged in post-apartheid South Africa. To this last point one of the participant AM responded "Think of how the youth of today has to study to attain the ideal job as opposed to the youth of yesteryear who could just enter an apprenticeship and be equally successful."

Some of the respondents also indicated that through frustration of scarcity of job opportunities some young whites are on drugs. Also, in connection with this, is how they as a youth are no longer competing for a job on a local or national scale but rather on an international scale. Almost all of the participants agreed that they are disadvantaged now in post-apartheid South Africa. They do not get bursaries to further their studies because of the Affirmation Action. One of them said that "In the past you would never see a white person begging in the street but today it is normal thing due to poverty that has escalated in the white community". One of them also said "The black people are the ones who get jobs first now, even if they are not qualified for them". One participant CM even confessed that his cousin works in a company owned by a black man, and, giggling, further said, "That's how tipped the centre is". Some said that their parents have every reason to be bitter because the democracy of the post-apartheid South Africa has stolen what they worked hard for.

The participants further share the stories their parents share with them of how life used to be in the olden days. It was a crime to be seen walking with someone of a different culture and race. One of the participants BF narrates "My mom says there were even some inscriptions that tell you "NON WHITES" and "WHITES ONLY" in some areas. She says that even though she would have loved to transport her helper to the bus station she would not because of the laws governing at the time. She says that she is happy that I get along with young ones from other cultures as long as we understand each other that

we won't change each other's belief system. In the past you would never see a black child playing together with a white child but today we sit next to each other in buses to and fro school, at school and in our neighbourhoods we get along with each other. Things have really changed"

One of the participants AF, said "We are also being confronted more and more by a different set of ideals that our parents never faced. An example of this is the importance of one losing one's virginity as opposed to keeping one's chastity. In addition, people have become more accepting of others who have diverged from the norm as in the case of homosexuality for instance. The rigidity that our parents experienced is not present as much anymore. There is teenage pregnancy, something our parents say was never there in their time."

All of the participants admitted that things have really changed but though they mix socially with young people from different cultural backgrounds they understand each other that they cannot always be together. One participant DM elaborated, "For example we do get along in the bus to and fro school, attend the same Christian youth club but we don't visit homes. I must have boundaries that's how my parents teach me"

4.3.4 How do they deal with integration?

Almost all of the participants responded that they have embraced this changing world they have been growing up in. This is partly because it is in their personality to desire freedom which is what is happening through globalisation and also because these changes are inevitable and fighting against them would be pointless as well as a waste of energy which they think could be spending on something more important or concrete, which will produce results. BM: "Like me, I think that most of today's youth, if not all, are embracing the changing of youth cultures and identities possibly because they are seeing the great benefits and opportunities that globalisation may have in store for them."

However, some of them indicated that though they do not have a problem with integrating with young people of other cultural groups, they are constantly warned by their parents not to cross boundaries.

DM: "I like the fact that we play together and school together but am cautioned not to have love relationships with them because we come from different cultural backgrounds so there will always be clashes."

Almost all of the participants agreed that they enjoy being with others from other cultures to respect and learn from them.

BF responded: "When it is cultural day at our school we learn a lot of interesting aspects from other cultures. The food, the way they sing and some dress code in certain occasions etc."

And CF: "It has taught me to embrace difference and respect people as human beings and sympathise with them. I am from a Christian family and it helps me to live by the Christian rule to love one another."

4.3.5 How should they interact with people of different cultures and races?

Almost all of the participants responded positively in that they need to be "Be sensitive toward cultures. It is important to treat the other people with respect. DM commented that "I always go back to the Golden Rules taught in the early years. To do to others as I would like them do to me. Besides, the other young people from other cultures have embraced the way we white people do things. For an example here at school the other cultures learn from our white teachers how we do things as white culture. We are all also taught to embrace difference and to be non-racists because of our rainbow nation."

Almost all of the participants said just enjoy their company. Teach yourself not to criticise other people's culture, instead treat them with decency they deserve.

However, one of the participants responded with a laughter and said “If you don’t want trouble just keep them at a distance”.

4.3.6 What are the challenges of a changing meaning of identities in democratic South Africa?

AM: “Well there aren’t many challenges concerning with living in a society with differential association of cultures and identities. When I am around cultures or races different from mine people are, instead, very friendly towards me in such a way that makes me feel comfortable and relaxed as if I am around my very own crowd”, said respondent A.

The other respondent BM who was together with AM argued the above statement in saying, “Even though the societal environment may be friendly and aims for equality amongst the different races, we find that, however, in the workplaces there is a domination of multicultural identities, mostly African”. At first, AM mentions that he was scared and felt like an outsider because of being part of the minority group (whites). He mentions that there are some disadvantages in working in a workplace that aims at recruiting mostly blacks, according to the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the Affirmative Action programmes, in which the companies aim to employ mostly the black race. By this, it proves that those in power of the ruling party express remorse towards what the past African generation had experienced and therefore, these BEE and Affirmative Action programmes are a source of rehabilitation. Even though it may be a positive achievement in line with the post-apartheid era, it does however, put some strain on the white race as to limiting the white youths from having employment opportunities that they deserve according to their skills and qualities. Instead, they are restrained and not taken into much consideration.

DF: I personally feel that the ruling party are somewhat biased and seem to not have moved on from the apartheid/ racist ways.

CF assumes that they may have not really moved on from the apartheid ways and aim for some sort of revenge, whereas, it is not the fault of the modern day youth, even though

their past generation was a part of it, he feels that it is not their concern and plus today's post-apartheid era aims to bring about harmony, peace and equality among the different races.

Almost all of the participants assumed that the majority of the ruling party have not really moved on the apartheid regime and they are not focusing on constructing a unified and equal rainbow nation. Therefore, this means that the question of what challenges are experienced now that we live in a democratic post-apartheid era, are debatable whether if they are negative or positive.

AF claims that the media is of negative influence to the young in general. "What the people in power portray in the TV is apartheid in reverse" You see when they politicise and bring negative comments about sport they are just dropping the standards and trying to arouse anger to the young black people. They want us to fight. These people are not genuine instead filthy otherwise those at ground level we get along with them instead they are also not satisfied with the way those in power do things."

One respondent BF commented, "One day I would want to raise my children over a clear conscience, a clean slate you know not on what my parents have experienced, I therefore would love us young people of different races to move on with our lives and not be influenced by what our parents have experienced."

4.3.7 What are the aspirations and future wishes of the young people for a democratic post-apartheid South Africa?

Almost all the participants stated that it would be much positive and empowering if the ruling classes promoted association, co-operation and unity among or within the different races. Without a unified rainbow nation, much conflict might be reborn, whereas, the present young generation should be trying to move away from that. Some of them said the following statements:

- Young people in the democratic post-apartheid era wish for peace and harmony among the different cultures; even though there are different associations, the youth should rather learn from each other's differences and build a broader nation with better and bigger opportunities for all, regardless of the different cultures and identities.
- Learning from each other's differences and creating the best out of them could open many brighter doors and opportunities for all South African citizens and would also encourage other nations as well.

What other young whites said was that they are getting along with their lives and enjoy being citizens of a rainbow nation. Also that they pity what their parents have experienced and that they have to leave with it but they (parents) must let go and let God heal everyone.

The other respondent said she is still not yet free to practise freedom of speech because she notices that every time white people open their mouths they are accused of being racists. So one rather keeps quiet and minds her own business as the scriptures say.

4.4 Case studies of some of the participants

AM is a 21-year-old English speaking white male. He stays with both parents in Beacon Bay, one of the suburbs in East London. He claims to be a born-again Christian because his parents have a Pentecostal Christianity background. He claims that he goes to church together with them because he does not want to disappoint them. His parents are firm and loving. AM is studying at University X in the city of East London. He commutes to and fro school either by bus or public taxis. He says he enjoys interacting with youth from other cultures.

AM finds life in East London so simple and 'cool'. He relates well with other young people of other cultures. He confides that he had an inter-racial relationship with a black male whom he met in a Christian club. "I am gay but my parents don't know, but if they can find

out I would be honest with them and tell the truth. I am just exploring life as a young person". "They are not as rigid as other parents. They allow me to get along and make choices but guide me along". "My parents are so silent about the present status quo of post-apartheid South Africa. They say they don't want to stress themselves about the politics of the country, for it is beyond any man's control. Only God knows why things are as they are."

"My parents always encourage me to concentrate in my studies so as to live a better future. I think they are satisfied with that. Here at varsity I get along with others in the lecture rooms as it has been since integration has been introduced in multi-racial schools. Life has always been like this. We have always met each other in the neighbourhood, same buses to and fro school and the youth Christian clubs. We young people of today understand each other."

AM seems to be embracing change in post-apartheid South Africa. He claims to be willing to be an agent of change. He further suggests that South African youth of all cultures and races must learn from the late former President of South Africa who hated the apartheid system that brought hatred among the South African citizens but loved all the peoples of the Rainbow nation.

Moreover South Africa as a country can benefit from the privileged skilled white citizens. Also since democracy has brought freedom of associations we can use the opportunity to learn from the diversity of cultures presented to us and appreciate each other.

CF is a 19-year-old Afrikaner female who is finishing matric. She stays with both parents at Sunny Ridge in West Bank, East London. "Life is so boring here in East London." She claims that she only enjoys her youth at school when she is with black girls. "I enjoy their noisiness and vibrancy you know". Her parents do not allow her to befriend black girls. However, the parents do not take her to school so she takes the opportunity to intermingle a lot with the 'other' at school. She says that her parents are remote controlling her life

extensively to an extent that she plans to further her studies to a faraway tertiary institution to enjoy her youth and explore life.

She says that her parents control even the way to dress herself. Whereas she claims to be fascinated by the way the black girls dress themselves. She says they dress carefree befitting the contemporary youth style. She describes the life she is living as “so artificial”. She confides that her father is a racist and instils such attitudes in her. She says that her father claims that interaction with blacks would contaminate the white values and standards. For example, he points at how they do not care about the environment, punctuality and moral values. About the last one, for example her father claims that blacks have a spirit of ingratitude to whites, for they are where they are because of the civilisation whites brought them. At home, she admits that she fakes being an ‘an angel’. “I do not question and confront him because of the culture that his word is final. Sometimes I feel that the bad stories about black people he narrates to me are so exaggerated so as to enforce hatred.”

“How I pray our parents could just let go of the past and allow us to enjoy the freedom that democracy has brought us. We are the born frees but ironically tied and tight up to a past we never experienced. If only we can give each other a chance to learn and embrace the rich diversity that the country we are born to has. We young people of all cultures and races are innocent but not allowed to enjoy such purity of life.”

DF has a deep cry for freedom, not from the ‘other’ but from the old generation of her race and culture who seem to be hung up in the past and want the contemporary youth to also be stuck in their past. She remarks that “It is frustrating!”

BM is a 25-year-old male working as a manager in his father’s company. His home language is Afrikaans. He claims to embrace integration but with caution. He trusts his parents and respects their way of thinking. He boldly confesses that they are racists and hate black people and that they advise him to keep a distance between them.

BM is of the view that identity construction should be of an individual not a collective issue. He claims that “though we are white we come from different backgrounds. For example I believe what my parents tell me and I choose not to betray them. The kind of attitude they have towards this whole democracy thing is justifiable. I am a victim of reverse discrimination through Affirmation Action. I went for an interview for a job where I feel I was the ideal candidate (skill and educational qualification) than my counter black candidate. But guess what she got the job yet we had a chat before the interviews, since I was checking for her proficiency on the advertised pre-requirements for the job. I do not think we deserve this revenge which is disguised as redistribution and equal opportunity.”

BM asserts that he strongly believes his parents’ stories about how they have always worked hard to gain their wealth. That the black people claim white people got the wealth through oppressing them by working for them is not true. Instead, their white parents have helped black parents to have something to eat and raise their children. Their parents have assisted the black communities with bringing forth trading, literacy, technology. The black South Africans are supposed to be grateful. The list is elongated to even the values that the whites have taught the black people for a decent living such as environmental preservation, cleanliness, punctuality.

He admits that he is bitter of how the changes are unfairly instituted. He further says that through the democracy of post-apartheid South Africa is meant for friendlier relationships with the other cultures, things seem to be worse than before. My father is right when he encourages me to associate with my own; as a result, my friends are my peers with whom I grew up. He says that even the black youths are not happy of how things are turning out. “For example why would they (people in power) want to stop Malema who is a representative of youth in this dispensation when he confronts mismanagement and maladministration?”

Furthermore, BM attributes the dissatisfaction by other young blacks to incompetent corrupt black government who do not set an example to the youth of the country. Also,

“what we see in the media of those involved in crimes against whites must be those who never took opportunity awarded by whites of apartheid to go to school for a better living.”

DF is a 20-year-old English speaking girl. She stays with her single mother in Cambridge West, East London. She claims she does not have a good relationship with her mother because she misunderstands her as rebellious, a shame and without a culture. The reason for such mislabelling is that she is dating a black young man. She claims to have met with her twenty-four-year-old boyfriend at high school. “He was a senior and excelled in the sports field and we fell in love for each other. He is now working and a very responsible person.” Asked if she would marry him she shyly responded that she would not. “I would not risk my children to be rejected by the white community, it’s OK with me I can handle it. I love him dearly and I have learnt a lot about the black culture that I would not have known have I not met with him.”

DF finds it difficult to understand why parents who lived in the apartheid era to be so biased and prejudiced and stubborn not to consider that this is another dispensation. She was happy and gladly welcome to participate in this research project because she feels that the more issues of this nature are brought forth the more people can be able to understand what “freedom” in post-apartheid South Africa means. For example, she even referred to an incident here in East London which was published in The Herald newspaper in 2005 about a white girl who came to her private school in braids. DF wishes that her mother would be like the mother of that girl. Although the girl was prohibited from mixing with her friends because of her unacceptable hairstyle, her mother supported her. She further noted that “The mother of that girl understood the changes that are brought about by politics which include changes of identities and cultures”. She further noted the parents of white people must come to terms with the reality that times have changes and whatever was applicable during apartheid is no longer acceptable.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented data reflecting the racial groups and identities of young whites in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. Findings were discussed according to the identified themes that resonated with the literature review.

Racial divisions are still clear with each racial group largely keeping to their own. Though democracy has brought about freedom of associations, trust had not fully developed.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study has sought to examine the meaning of being a white 'youth' in East London in post-apartheid South Africa. Social identity construction is influenced by the dominant group in power. For example, during the apartheid era, there was separateness of cultures through inter alia; a transmission line that reinforced patriarchy, rigid authoritarianism, extreme ethnocentrism, white pride, racial exclusion, out group rejection, and the naturalness of white rule and black subjugation (Jansen 2009).

Yet, post-apartheid South Africa with its democracy, in contrast to the harsh inequality which characterised South Africa's past has brought about the vision of nationhood and citizenship. This has been constructed around sentiments of equality, commonality and consensus (Stevens et al. 2006). The two worlds seem to be apart from each other. By implication, therefore, South African youth, regardless of their culture or ethnicity represent one of South Africa's major investments for the future. This study explored the white youth with regards to how they carve out their identities given the contemporary context of integration in South Africa. This study suggests that the post-apartheid South African youth in general and white South African youth in particular warrant research.

5.2 Restating the aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this study is to examine the meaning of being a 'youth, thus constructing a youth identity and youth culture of the young whites in East London two decades after the emancipation of apartheid in South Africa. The objectives are to examine the meaning of being a 'youth' in democratic and post-apartheid South Africa. The other objective is to investigate how current white youth construct their youth identity and culture in East London. Also, the objective is to contribute forth understanding of changing youth identities in reference to white people.

5.3 Literature in a nutshell

Literature indicates that all young people irrespective of whichever culture or race they come from would love to construct identities according to the prevailing context (globalisation, social, cultural, socio-economic and abandoning of apartheid regime) of their time (Willis 1990). For example, during the apartheid era in South Africa, where cultures were separated, each group lived apart from each other: separate schooling and neighbourhood with privileged dominant white group over oppressed subordinate black group.

Literature also reveals that during this period white South Africans have not only provided the young whites with the intimate knowledge of how things were and how they ought to remain but also blocked alternatives to interrupt the set way of living through influences of family, school, church and media. According to Jansen (2009:227), “the parents in defending apartheid controlled what their children could look at or hear through the mass media and the state machinery.”

5.4 Analysis of findings

The first point that one can take from findings of this study is that the white South African youth is faced with a challenge to live by traditional ways as expected by their parents and families. Such expectations are a problem because the experiences of the two generations seem different from each other. Even among white youth in East London, there were those who felt that they were misunderstood and mislabelled. For example, the 21-year-old English girl who has a dented relationship with her mother due to a relationship she has with a black boyfriend. This young lady DF further expressed concern about the white parent’s attitudes prejudices and biases that they need to be equipped to understand what the freedom in this dispensation means. DF is the young white girl in one of the case studies who even brought a 2005 Herald newspaper to point to the mother of a white girl implicated in the paper. On page 5 of the paper there was a strong debate

about a white young girl who was prohibited from mixing with her friends because her hairstyle (braids) which are associated with black people was unacceptable in her private school. What the parents and society ignore is that the identity and the culture have changed in the last decades due to political changes, the abandoning of the apartheid regime and influence of globalisation. DF was saying how she wished white parents could be like the mother in the paper who stood by her daughter in that rough period of rejection in her school.

This study also suggests that even in the 20 years of democracy, young whites in East London still reverently welcome and respect their parents' teachings and influence including their opinion on apartheid. Most of white parents negatively influenced their children against black people. This negative influence might have been done in the name of white pride and white culture but on the other side young people were negatively influenced to dislike black people. For an example in one of the case studies of this study, BM strongly believes in his parents who are racists and boldly admits that they are right when they say he must associate himself with white friends only. Consequently some of the white youth felt obliged to obey their parents even if they do not agree with them, some used words such as being loyal to parents and respecting parents which suggest that their obedience was due to them wanting to make their parents happy and do not want to betray them. For example, the 19-year-old girl, CF who claims to be remote-controlled by her parents who do not allow her to befriend herself with blacks. She claims that some of the stories are exaggerated in order to enforce hatred and she pretends to be an angel in their eyes not to betray them. This then points to the fact that some young whites empathise with the racist attitudes of their elders, but this empathy comes at a price, for the young whites feel they cannot betray their 'loved ones' yet this loyalty to family is fundamentally undermined by youth's desire to 'move on'. CF case study serves a good example here. She claims to be fascinated by the other black girls her age; the stylish way they dress up themselves and the carefree style of behaving as 'born free' indeed.

Many young whites seem to be almost unaware of how the legacy of apartheid continues to benefit them. There is therefore denial of white privilege. Many attribute their successes and achievements to hard work and innate ability. For example, a response from one young white “here we are from the same neighbourhood to same school and we apply for the same job, she gets the job because she has been disadvantaged in the past. Now I resort to building on my father’s business and one claims that it is because of the white privilege. Come on let’s be realistic, when will this end?”

There is a sense of victimisation and reverse revenge hear other young whites unanimously arguing that this BEE thing is frustrating, it looks like we are on the judgement seat answering for sins we never committed. What the young whites know from the past is that their parents have worked so hard and invested the best for their future. There is anger and bitterness for this democracy has come to rob and steal what their parents have invested for them. There is a sense of victimisation and reverse revenge. They feel that, that is the same as apartheid and is wrong given the fact that they never wronged anyone. They grew up in an era where all South African citizens must experience equality and non-racialism. For an example the case study of BM who admits to be angry and bitter of how changes are unfairly instituted. Furthermore, he claims to be a victim of reverse discrimination for he got information from his counter black candidate who did not meet the pre-requirements for a job he also applied for but got the job.

The mentality of supremacy instilled in the young minds is still prevalent. One respondent boldly said that standards are being lowered morally, economically and politically for the people in power are corrupt as we all see in the media. The excellence will only be established when power can be in white hands. Their culture and way of doing things is so pure and genuine. Also the example of BM who believes the story of his father that the black people have a spirit of ingratitude for they are supposed to be grateful that white people brought them civilisation through trade, environmental factors and education. “I don’t think it racism when maintaining the social distance from people of colour for we are trying to give each other space so that we don’t hurt each other’s feelings since

disagreements imply racism to each other". One young white responded when asked to make a general remark on how are they interacting with youth from other cultures. "This is how we were brought up" Nobody should force us to be together, that would be as bad as apartheid... its natural for people to be with their own"

The other point is that white youth are to some extent influenced by their interaction with youth from other races which they meet at Christian clubs, bars, buses and at the university. As a result most of them are now open to even have intimate relationships with other races, for example, in the case study of AM and DF who have inter-racial relationships with black men. AM is the 21-year-old gay man who met who met his black lover in the Christian youth club and fell in love with him. DF is the 21-year-old girl who fell in love with a black man whom she met at school.

Seemingly, white youth are caught in between two identities; the first is identity of white superior as suggested by their parent and the identity that comes with exposure to other races, cultures, globalisation and religion.

5.5 Conclusion

The study concludes that the young whites identity construction is influenced by their pride in family and the white culture. The empirical data seem to agree with what emerged from the literature. For example, Lambley (1980) and Jansen (2009) observed that young whites have been brought up on values and perspectives of life that have always been expressed uniformly at every level of his society. At home from parents, at school from teachers and school books, church, from the media: television, radio, newspapers, magazines and at cinema, the values and the perspectives of life to the young people established and reinforced identity. Therefore, the identities of apartheid were embedded in the political context of the time and influenced young whites to view themselves as superior race. Now that post-apartheid has brought change, freedom of association, equal rights, and affirmation action, all youth would want to construct their identities on experiences in relation to changing contexts. This study concludes based on the findings

of the young whites in East London in post-apartheid South Africa that these young whites are caught up between two worlds; that of empathising with their parent's shameful past and the desire to move on to the 'new diaspora'. Also this study concludes that the pace of transformation seems to be slow given the time – two decades since South Africa has been emancipated from apartheid.

In conclusion, coming to terms with a new multiracial and multi-ethnic democratic South Africa is a process that needs all the patience. For example, in schools in a multicultural society like South Africa, there is a need for the democratic post-apartheid education system to consider multiculturalism and a critical thinking approach to culture. After 1994, the desegregation process that came with democracy led to movement of cultural groups from their separate areas to other areas. This led to schools within these societies to be faced with "new comers" from diverse cultures.

Also, families and societies at large need to embrace diversities and adopt Nelson Mandela's attitude who stated that he hates the apartheid system that brought division and hatred among people.

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APPENDICES
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How old are you
2. Are you a male or female
3. Where do you live in East London?
4. For how long have you lived there?
5. In your experience how children of white people are differ from other culture and races?
6. What does it mean to be a 'youth' in a changing world?
7. How do young people in EL construct their identities in the democratic South Africa.?
8. What are the changes you are experiencing in E.L. as the young people of this generation compared to those of your parents.
9. How often do you interact with people of other races?
10. Do you have friend from other races?
11. If yes, how did you meet them?
12. If no, is there any specific reason for not having them
13. Do you date or have you ever dated a person from another race?
14. How do you deal with integration?
15. What are the challenges of a changing democratic South Africa?
16. What are your aspirations and future wishes as a young white person for the democratic South African?



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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: NTO011SBUB01

Project title: **Youth identities and cultures in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A study of white youth in East London.**

Nature of Project: Masters

Principal Researcher: Thandiwe Bubulu

Supervisor: Dr L Ntombana

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

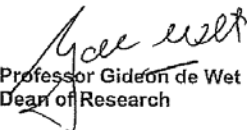
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely


Professor Gideon de Wet
Dean of Research

08 June 2016

