WHITENESS RE-ALIGNED: NARRATIVES OF WHITE RESIDENTS FROM MUNSIEVILLE, KRUGERSDORP

Nonkululeko Mabaso

A Research Report submitted to the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by coursework and research

Johannesburg, 2017

Abstract

This research project is concerned with meanings of whiteness that are produced at its margins (the margins of whiteness). I challenge the dominant thesis of Whiteness Studies which theorises about whiteness as a social construct that is homogeneous and monolithic. Instead, I suggest that whiteness is best conceptualised as a structure. To this end I highlight the experiences of white people who do not embody the hegemonic and normalised form of whiteness. My primary method is an ethnography of white residents of the informal settlement in Munsieville, Krugersdorp. The participants in my study live in an area that is predominantly occupied by black people, most of whom are economically and socially better-off. Along with ethnographic observations, I used interviews to collect data. These were useful for providing a glimpse of the participants' life histories. Most of them 'inherited' their poverty from their parents, the generation of 'poor whites' who lived under the colonial and apartheid eras. Historically, the participants were direct beneficiaries of the apartheid policies that were meant to assist 'poor white' people. This history shapes their feelings of nostalgia for the 'good old days' and of vulnerability in post-1994 South Africa. These feelings influenced their attachment to apartheid conceptions of blackness and whiteness and their irrational fear of black people (the *swart gevaar*). Alongside this attachment and fear, my study shows that the residents of Munsieville have developed an 'ambivalent intimacy' with the black people in their neighbourhood which has resulted in the formation of a different kind of whiteness. This re-aligned whiteness is a result of the articulation of their race and class position.

Key Words: Whiteness, 'Poor Whites', Blackness, Structure and Articulation.

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own original work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts (Sociology) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been previously submitted for publication or examination.

Name: Nonkululeko Mabaso

Signature:

March 2017

Acknowledgements

To my two supervisors, Prof. Edward Webster and Prof. Zimitri Erasmus, thank you very much for believing in my academic abilities, and for the great support and direction you offered me along the way. I am grateful to have worked with you.

I was privileged to be an intern for the Hidden Voices project at SWOP (Society, Work and Development Institute). Many thanks to Prof. Webster and Karin Pampalis for an enriching learning experience, intellectual stimulation, exposure, and growth.

To Mr. Lesejane, senior humanities librarian, and Prof. Shireen Ally thank you for helping me to get hold of the relevant literature when I did not know where to start looking. To Dr. Sonwabile Mnwana, who offered advice and support when it was much needed, thank you, Sir. I am forever indebted to Jonathan Paoili for interpreting for me during field work, I deeply appreciate your assistance.

To my dear friends and colleagues, from within and outside Wits University, who on various occasions became a source of comfort, encouragement, inspiration, and laughter. You know yourselves. Thank you.

To my wonderful family. My lovely mother Busisiwe Elizabeth Nkonyane, Thank you for trusting me and supporting me. My brothers and sister, thank you for making my world more joyful and brighter. This work is dedicated to my late grandmother Phumzile Joyce Mabaso, who identified and nurtured the intellectual in me from a very young age. She remains my greatest inspiration.

Above everything and everyone, I want to thank the Almighty Yahweh, my heavenly Father, and Lord of my saviour Jesus Christ. The knowledge of your unfailing love, grace, mercies, and goodness is an anchor for my soul.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps paradoxically, this research on whiteness and its hegemonic politics was spurred by my interest in studying the experiences of black students in higher education institutions. I attended lectures and seminars on the meanings of blackness in relation to a variety of social ills ranging from service delivery protests, unemployment, precariousness, HIV/AIDS, violence, to the mining industry. The bulk of these seminars were presented by researchers and academics who were white and from upper-middle-class backgrounds. A scholar from Oxford University presented on the experiences of unemployment among black township males. I was taken aback by how all the white academics in the room responded with absolute fascination at the findings of the study. My black colleagues and I were not impressed at all because the findings were part of the everyday experiences of black people's lives with which we were familiar.

The main reason why I objected to this particular presentation and others of its kind is because of the politics of knowledge manifested in these seminars. Some of the components of this politics are the predominant pattern that black people are data and white scholars theorise this data; the North-South knowledge/power relationship; the repetition of such studies without any material effect on the lives of participants, as well as the anthropological gaze of these studies. This is what urged my interest in studying white people, to reverse the colonial gaze.

All of these events occurred amid a wave of rising popularity of decolonial thought at the University of the Witwatersrand, as part of the discourse of decolonising and transforming higher education institutions in South Africa. After much contemplation about these issues, I realised that there was a lot that I did not know about white people who live lives that are common to the documented 'black misfortunes' that form the research topics for so many studies in the social sciences. So out of pure curiosity, I embarked on a process of conducting research on the Internet, hoping to find ethnographic literature about the poor, the homeless or any form of 'disempowered whites' and the events of their daily lives. The shortage of

Literature on whiteness and the newness of the field of Whiteness Studies in the country contributed to my interest in this research. The choice of participants was encouraged by the fact that in my informal research, I found that the majority of literature on whiteness was concerned with interrogating white privilege and power while only a small fraction paid sufficient attention to the experiences of white people whose lives deviate from this norm. This study does not seek to treat white poverty as an anomaly or to treat it as a special kind of poverty. It is an attempt to do the opposite, to normalise the fact of white poverty by speaking about it.

The purpose of this study is to make a contribution to Whiteness Studies by exploring the experience of whiteness from the point of view of 'poor white' people who live in Krugersdorp, Munsieville, in a racially diverse informal settlement called Pango Camp. I wish to provide an account of ways these residents of Munsieville construct their social positioning in South African society generally, and within Munsieville in particular. In this regard, I am interested in the ways these residents work with the ideas of 'whiteness' and 'blackness'.

During colonialism and apartheid, most white people were put in a position of economic, legal and socio-cultural privilege. As a result, the hegemony of whiteness was produced and many of the current generation of whites inherited economic resources and symbolic capital which automatically placed them at the top of South Africa's long-established racialised social hierarchy. Therefore, in Whiteness Studies there tends to be an implicit assumption that white people generally inhabit a position of privilege. However, Hyslop (2003) and Lange (2003) indicate that the experiences of some 'poor white' people serve to remind one of heterogeneity of whiteness which emanates from, among other things, class, cultural and political differences.

Several factors render interesting the stories of the 'poor white' residents of Munsieville. First, this group of roughly three hundred residents were forcibly removed from Coronation Park in December 2014. They were given the choice of relocating either to Pango Camp in Munsieville, which contains black residents or to Kleinvallei, which is an exclusively Afrikaner farm that is privately owned by a self-proclaimed Afrikaner nationalist. About one

hundred and twenty of these people settled in Munsieville, while one hundred and fifty chose to settle in Kleinvallei. I am interested in the reasons for this choice of residence. More specifically, I am interested in the ways in which meanings of race, class, and location shaped these choices.

It is my hope that this study will make a contribution to the study of whiteness in South Africa. The structural framework as explicated by Bona-Silva (1997) and Lewis (2004) is the most useful theoretical framework, in addition to the traditional Whiteness Studies. While Whiteness Studies tends to characterise whiteness as power conferred by racial ideology (McIntosh, 1988; Steyn, 2005), the structural framework treats the ideological and material aspects of whiteness as separate, yet inextricably linked. In addition, the theory of articulation as developed by Stuart Hall helps one to understand how different forms of whiteness are produced. Therefore, the combination of these approaches provides a perspective that reveals intricacies and nuances, particularly regarding the whiteness of 'poor whites'. The theory of articulation will also be used to explain how whiteness, poverty, and culture are articulated, as well as the ways in which this configuration produces a kind of whiteness that is specific to this context, and which does not align with predominant conceptions, ideas and practices of hegemonic whiteness as theorised in the literature of Whiteness Studies.

Chapter One
A Brief History of 'Poor Whiteness'

The Margins of Whiteness: A Brief History

In the field of Whiteness Studies, whiteness is often reduced to a singular meaning and a singular experience which is related to supremacy, power, and privilege. However, that is merely the hegemonic meaning and the dominant experience of whiteness. This study is concerned with the meanings of whiteness that circulate at its margins – that is, among white people who are poor. This distinction between dominant and marginal meanings and experiences of whiteness suggests that whiteness is heterogeneous and cannot be treated as monolithic. One way to enter a discussion on meanings of whiteness at its margins is, to begin with the ways in which official and scientific or scholarly discourse constructed people who occupied the margins of whiteness. To this end, I examine the discourse of two commissions set up to investigate poverty among white people during colonial and apartheid South Africa: the Transvaal Indigency Commission (1906–1908) and the Carnegie Commission (1929–1932). These commission reports reveal the meaning ascribed to the existence and living conditions of white South Africans who were poor. Furthermore, I demonstrate the ways in which the apartheid government drew on the theories and knowledge that was dispersed through these two commissions to establish a racist social system.

Poverty among white South Africans is not a post-1994 phenomenon, research by various social scientists shows that such poverty existed under the colonial and apartheid governments. The prevalence of poverty among white people began to peak in the eighteenth century, particularly among rural dwellers in the Cape of Good Hope. However, it was not until the early twentieth century that it became recognised by white minority governments as a nation-wide social problem. It was during this time that the terms 'poor white-ism' and 'poor whites' were coined in relation to the South African context (Illife, 1987; Lange, 2003; Bottomley, 2012). The concept of poor white-ism is inextricably tied to the dominant conception of whiteness and to white supremacy. Hence a comprehensive understanding of these dominant constructions in South Africa is necessary.

Dubow (1995) shows how, in the late nineteenth century, the conceptualisation of whiteness in the social, cultural and political spheres was influenced by pseudo-scientific Social Darwinist theories. According to Social Darwinism, there exists in nature a predetermined biological hierarchy which separates mankind into distinct races. The basic assumption was that there is an inherent system of inequality which determines the fate of all humanity. Society was likened to the animal kingdom where the natural law of 'the survival of the fittest' ruled (SAHO, 2011). Europeans considered themselves to be the superior race. However, Dubow (1995: 129) illustrates that in the South African context, this knowledge was used to delineate and emphasise racial distinctions between British and Afrikaner whites. The British white people considered themselves to be superior to the Afrikaners (Moodie; 1975; Dubow, 1995).

Dubow (1995: 120) contends that the emergence of the eugenics movement provided momentum for Social Darwinism as it used evolutionary biological sciences to legitimate the practice of racism. Therefore, it is no coincidence that eugenics and other race sciences became prevalent during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, at the height of colonial and imperial expansion (Dubow, 1995: 2). The proponents of eugenics believed that social life was biologically predetermined – that is, people possessed inherent characteristics, physical traits, moral standards, intellectual capacity, social status, cultural practices and belief systems by virtue of their membership of a particular racial group (Dubow, 1995: 132–135; Naicker, 2012: 210). They also condemned racial mixing between black people and white people because of fears that this would threaten the racial purity of whites, and that the white race, who were considered to be biologically superior, would be in danger of degenerating (Dubow, 1995: 168). This purportedly scientific and scholarly knowledge was used to justify colonial and apartheid racist policies which influenced Afrikaner nationalist discourse. It also permeated common-sense knowledge and influenced the meanings that people attached to difference and racial categorisation.

The Transvaal Indigency Commission (1906–1908)

Transvaal was one of South Africa's four self-governing colonies; its Prime Minister was Louis Botha and the Colonial Secretary was Jan Smuts (Lange, 2003: 136). The region encompassed the following cities: Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Messina, Nelspruit, and Pietersburg. According to the 1904 Census, the population demographics were as follows: Of the total population of more 1.2 million people, 73.79 per cent were classified black, 23.40 per cent white, 1.90 per cent coloured and 0.89 per cent Asians (Garson, 1996).

Botha and Smuts were proponents of Het Volk (the People's Union), an Afrikaner nationalist party which, according to Garson (1996: 101), restored the supremacy of the Boers in the Transvaal. The leaders were greatly concerned about the plight of the 'poor white' constituency. Hence, the 'poor whites' had hopes that their circumstances would improve when Botha and Smuts rose to power. However, during the same year that the party came to power (1907), mass civil unrest arose in the region: there was a massive mine workers' strike which lasted for two months. The miners were exclusively white and predominantly British and were demanding higher wages. In response, the Het Volk government, in conjunction with the mine owners, suppressed the strike by sending British troops to beat the striking miners (Lange, 2003: 137). The mine owners also sent employment notices to poor Afrikaners with the help of the government, and they were hired instantly to replace the striking British workers. The wages remained the same (Callinicos, 2014: 127).

In the same year (1907), both English and Afrikaner citizens marched from Johannesburg to Pretoria, which was the capital city of the Transvaal, in order to submit a petition to Jan Smuts, demanding employment opportunities. The colonial secretary did not offer the workers much more than work in the Pietersburg railway line where they were to earn three shillings per day and a bag of maize meal, to which the people responded with repugnance (Bottomley, 2012).

The two scenarios above provide a vivid image of the economic state of the Transvaal. Lange (2003: 31) shows that during this period there was a major economic recession in the region which was related to the mining industry. The price of gold was fixed internationally, but the

costs of production were ever-increasing, which affected the ability of the mining industry to maximise profits without pinching the workers. This exacerbated the already dire social conditions.

Bottomley (2003: 30) describes the region as having developed some of the worst slum areas in the world. The poor could not afford to live in racially segregated areas, so they dwelt in the cities in racially diverse slums, without proper housing. In these areas, intermarriage was a norm, and it was not unusual to find a white woman employed by an Asian who owned a laundry. Most people made a living by participating in illicit activities. It is also apparent that there was an unofficial hierarchy among the population of whites. Afrikaner people constituted the majority of 'poor whites'; this is mainly because they had experienced a series of disastrous events including the Anglo-Boer war (1899–1902), which left many Afrikaner families destitute and landless. Most of these families migrated to Johannesburg in hopes of finding work in the mines (Callinicos, 2014: 142).

These conditions caused a major moral panic among the ruling class, which resulted in the formation of the Transvaal Indigency Commission. The findings of the Commission highlighted some key issues about the possible cause of poverty among white people. Firstly, the Commission, as a result of the influence of Social Darwinism, created a typology of the poor which distinguished between the urban poor and the rural poor. Poverty was believed to have originated in the rural areas and transmitted to the cities through migration.

Furthermore, the people were classified into two groups: the deserving poor and the undeserving poor. The latter were described by the Commission as not being "…competent enough to do skilled or semi-skilled labour and were unable to find work because of native competition" (Lange, 2003: 145). This included those who were seen as lazy, criminal and disabled. The former group was described as "not yet in actual want, and had fallen behind in the march to civilisation, and were in danger of becoming poor at the slightest setback" (Bottomley, 2012: 44).

There are a few points worth highlighting here. First, it is clear that even 'poor whites' were treated with disdain. This is based on the manner in which poverty was conceptualised in the

report. It is clear that it was understood to be a social problem for which individuals were responsible. As Lange (2003: 145) puts it, "the Transvaal Indigency Commission conceived poverty both as a symptom of a sick society and a sickness in itself, which therefore needed cure and prevention". Second, the existence of cheap black labour in the mines was blamed for the plight of 'poor whites'. This competition in the labour market was presented as an economic explanation for white poverty. In addition to this, the Commission used the theory of 'aristocratic retaliation' between white and black people to explain the unwillingness of 'poor white' people to acquire skills which would assist them in the labour market. The theory proposed that close relations with black people were said to be responsible for the 'moral degeneration' of 'poor whites' (Lange, 2012: 146).

The recommendations of the Commission primarily aim at elevating 'poor white' people from their class position. It advised the government to implement policies which would ensure the improvement of rural economic and agricultural development in order to block the influx of rural indigents into the urban areas (Lange, 2003: 149). The Commission also proposed 'curing' the poor via moral and economic regeneration programmes such as free and compulsory elementary education, charity relief projects and moving them to segregated areas in order to prevent racial mixing. Furthermore, it urged the government to create employment opportunities for 'poor whites'. As a result, mines employed many unskilled white people who were given superior positions and work that was less physically demanding. Their wages were higher than those of blacks, even though most of them had to be trained by black workers (Lange, 2003; Bottomley, 2012; Callinicos, 2014).

The Carnegie Commission (1929–1932)

The Carnegie Corporation funded two commissions to research white people's poverty in South Africa – the first one from 1929 until 1932, and the second one from 1982 to 1997. Here I focus on the first commission because of its particular focus on 'poor white-ism' (Carnegie Corporation, 2004). The first commission commenced nearly two decades prior to the official institutionalisation of the apartheid system in South Africa. It has been seen by many as functioning to propagate Afrikaner Nationalism, mainly because the majority of the

commissioners were nationalists themselves. This study is considered to be one of the most significant influences to the logic and ideology of the apartheid system (Carnegie Commission, 2004; Willoughby-Herard, 2007; Bottomley, 2012).

It is crucial to be aware of the socio-political and economic events which preceded and necessitated the Commission in order to understand its outcomes and the events that resulted from it. The decade of the 1920s was generally a turbulent time for the country in all spheres. Growth in the economic sector (especially in mining) plummeted. This led the Chamber of Mines in 1921 to announce the implementation of several reforms which included: decreasing the wages of well-paid workers, reorganising underground labour in order to cut costs, and terminating the 1918 Status Quo Agreement (which gave preference to white workers over blacks). As a consequence, over 2 000 white workers were retrenched. The following year saw the infamous Rand Revolt; the massive white mine workers' strike which resulted in the death of 153 people at the hands of the army, which received orders from Prime Minister Jan Smuts to suppress the strike (Lange, 2003: 143; Callinicos, 2014: 137–138).

This economic instability produced a ripple effect which spilled over into the political arena. There was a growing distrust of the government from the margins as well as some members of the ruling class. The Prime Minister was accused of treating 'poor white' people with contempt because their numbers were increasing and not much was being done to assist them. He was also accused of colluding with mine owners because he appeared to represent the interests of the ruling class over the workers (Callinicos, 2014: 138). Therefore, it came as no shock when Smut's South African Party lost to the Pact Government, which was made up of a coalition between the mainly English Labour Party and the Afrikaner National Party. The Pact Government's election campaign strategy was built upon mobilising white mine workers, to whom they promised a better life. The party propagated the agenda of Afrikaner Christian Nationalism under the leadership of JBM Hertzog, whose reign lasted for three terms (Bottomley, 2012: 99).

The fulfilment of political speeches which bore countless promises for the white poor meant that, after its election, the Hertzog government introduced several policies which created drastic shifts in the social sphere and which was to the enormous detriment of black people.

For instance, the first move that the government made was to establish the Department of Labour in 1924, which was instituted to look after the interests of white workers in the Union. Furthermore, in 1926 the Mines and Works Act was introduced, which stipulated that Asians and Africans were to be denied all work which required certification; instead, it should be reserved for white people (Bottomley, 2012: 99; Callinicos, 2014: 139). This was after the government had already introduced the 'Civilised Labour Policy' of 1924 which ensured that white men would be guaranteed hiring preference and better wages from prospective employers. However, as Willoughby-Herard (2015: 30) shows in her work, the kind of labour that 'poor whites' received was not necessarily 'civilised'; instead they merely received more low-wage work. The last instance of a major social shift came when the new government enacted a law in 1928 which forbade intermarriage between black people and white people (Bottomley, 2012: 101).

1929 is not only the year in which the Commission began its research. It is also the year in which the Great Depression that affected the whole world began. This exacerbated the deterioration of the already fragile social and economic state of the country. South African academics, members of the clergy, and political and welfare activists travelled throughout the country interviewing families of 'poor white' people (Carnegie Commission (2004: 5). Some of the data was gathered through second-hand sources such as statistics from organisations that worked with 'poor whites', as well as state and health officials (Willoughby-Heard, 2015: 25). There are discrepancies in the statistics of 'poor white' people in the country at the time. Although in the Commission's report 'poor whites' are defined as "impoverished Europeans of rural origin" Iliffe (1987: 117), the concept was operationalised inconsistently. The Commission report, which comprised five volumes, states that there were roughly three hundred thousand 'poor white' people in the country, most of whom resided in the countryside (Carnegie Commission, 2004: 5). The commissioners reported some interesting findings: 'poor white' families had an average of four children, making their poverty to be generationally transmitted; most of these families were also landless; commissioners were shocked by the lifestyles that 'poor whites' led and by their alleged lack of intelligence (Iliffe, 1987: 119; Bottomley, 2012; 110–114). The report also commented on their alleged laziness and unwillingness to accept low-wage manual labour because it was considered to be 'Ka**ir work' (Willoughby-Herard 2015: 31).

The Commission suggested that racial mixing with black people was partly to blame for these circumstances. Hence some of their recommendations stated that "…racially segregated high-quality housing and non-skilled employment in urban areas could alleviate the misery of 'poor whites'" (Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 31). The Commission also provided an environmentalist argument in order to explain the persistence of poverty among white people; in particular they claimed that the transition into capitalism and industrialisation had detrimental effects on the 'poor whites' which negatively affected their political, social and economic lives (Bottomley, 2012: 114; Willoughby-Herard, 2015: 31). The vocabulary used by the Commission reveals to the reader that it implicitly referred to the eugenic reasoning regarding the manner in which the white race was perceived. The poverty and suffering of black people was regarded as being deserved because of their apparent innate inferiority, whereas the poverty of white people was blamed on external factors. In other words, the natural superiority of the white man was considered to surpass his class status.

Apartheid Poverty

This history of 'poor whiteism' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was included to demonstrate the impact of the development of intellectual and scientific racism in the history of racialisaiton in South Africa. To a great extent theories of innate racial difference and hierarchy, had a direct influence on the state's ideology, which informed its social, political, and economic policies. Dubow (2015) shows that this period was the heyday of race science and that this knowledge resurfaced in the 1960s as it was used as a political tool by the nationalist government to reinforce its political rule and to legitimise apartheid discourse which reached its most successful peak between the early 1950s and 1960s.

Scholars who have investigated the phenomenon of 'poor whiteism' commonly agree that the early 1950s and the 1960s constitute the most successful era for the apartheid state (Hyslop, 2003, Du Plessis, 2004, Dubow, 2015 and Teppo, 2004). The social order was constructed around ideas of white supremacy, racial and cultural difference, and the rehabilitation of

‘poor whites’. This is no more evident than in the socio-economic policies enacted by the nationalist government during this period. For instance, Teppo (2004: 165-1967) discusses how the state legalised control over the citizen’s spatial location and movement as well as their bodies through the Immorality Act (1950) which criminalised inter-racial sexual relationships. Furthermore, the Group Areas Act (1950) which imposed spatial segregation between people of different racial groups, and the Population Registration Act of (1950) which enforced racial classification of all citizens into one of four broad categories: white, black, coloured and Indian. These laws were passed with the aim of preserving strict racial boundaries; ‘poor white people’ remained at the centre of these efforts because the majority lived in racially diverse slum areas, the largest of which was Johannesburg at the time. The nationalist government used ethnic mobilisation (of mainly Afrikaner speaking ‘poor whites’) for political control.

Further, the state adopted welfarist socio-economic policies which were mainly aimed at rehabilitating ‘poor whites’ and at uplifting them from their economic status. For instance, Parnell’s (1987) study shows that state council housing schemes between 1922 and 1955 (in Johannesburg) were key instruments used by the government for two reasons. First, to implement racial segregation by constructing suburbs around the area to exclusively house ‘poor white’ people. Secondly, the purpose of these segregated areas was to ‘rehabilitate’ the former slum dweller and to socialise them into meanings of ‘proper whiteness’. They were given access to housing, schooling, employment opportunities, and social grants among other things (Hyslop, 2003).

Due to these social changes many ‘poor whites' ascended from poor working class status to middle-class status (Hyslop: 2003 and Du Plessis, 2004). However, the global rise of neo-liberal economic ideologies the 1970s-1980s eventually led the adoption of right wing fiscal and economic policies by the apartheid state. Teppo (2004) through her case study of Epping Garden/ Ruyterwatch Village in Cape Town (which was a government funded housing project) demonstrates this shift from welfarism to neoliberalism. The first generation of those who were "successfully" rehabilitated eventually left Epping/Ruyterwacht and moved to more affluent areas (Teppo, 2004: 169). The rise of neoliberalism, economic decline, coupled with the collapse of the apartheid state between the late 1970s and the early 1990s

left the second wave of ‘poor whites’ in the area destitute (Teppo, 2004). As Hyslop (2003: 299) put it:

> Thus the 1980s and 1990s saw the return of the 'poor whites'. Declining South African economic competitiveness, the low gold price, and the erosion of segregation in the labour market meant that white unemployment returned, and it hit the less skilled most heavily. As marketisation and weakening of segregation changed state social policies, the extent and quality of state support for poor whites declined. The real value of disability pensions, unemployment benefits and other kinds of state support fell. By the end of the decade, white beggars were a common sight on the streets of the Rand.

This chapter partly explains how and why the apartheid state failed in its attempt to completely eradicate poverty among white people. It also shows the intricate relationship between academic theories, state ideology and society’s lived reality by demonstrating the influence of race science (eugenics and Social Darwinism) on colonial and apartheid white supremacist and ethnic ideology, as well as how this influenced the state’s political, social and economic policies.

Chapter Two
Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this literature review is to offer a brief background into the dominant academic arguments, debates and contributions by scholars of whiteness, not only in South Africa but the world over. This background offers a stable foundation for this study, which mainly aims to explore the ways in which 'poor white' people make meaning of the idea of 'race' in general, of their 'whiteness' in particular, and of the 'blackness' of their neighbours. This chapter will be segmented into four interrelated sub-discussions, consisting of a literature review and the theoretical framework of this study. First, the most prevalent and influential Western studies in the field of Critical Whiteness Studies will be discussed in order to highlight the thesis of 'Whiteness as Hegemony' that is pervasive in the field of Whiteness Studies. Some critique will be raised against this thesis, including the fact that the genealogy of Whiteness Studies omits the massive contributions of African scholars, and that this thesis essentialises an homogenised whiteness.

This will lead to the second sub-discussion that delves into Whiteness Studies from the South African perspective. A number of works by different scholars will be cited to demonstrate that South African scholars have had a lot to offer by treating whiteness as heterogeneous and studying whiteness from different angles, such as white identity/subjectivity, white privilege, and whiteness and poverty. In addition, the thesis that whiteness in South Africa is visible both to those who are internal and external to it will be examined, the argument being that whiteness is only partially visible to white people. Subsequently, it will be argued that white power/privilege is studied more accurately when it is treated as a phenomenon that is relative to social location and can vary depending on the context

The third sub-discussion will elaborate on a theoretical framework that allows for the analysis of whiteness as a structure that consists of both ideological/symbolic and material components/benefits for white people. Furthermore, the theory of articulation will be fused with the first theory in order to explain how the articulation of whiteness and working-class status works to produce a form of whiteness that is distinct from the hegemonic form of

whiteness. Here, the argument is that these theoretical frameworks will supplement the traditional Whiteness Studies in regard to this study.

The chapter will be concluded with a final sub-discussion that will explain the academic contribution which this study aims to make by filling a gap in the literature of Whiteness Studies in South Africa. In my view, this thesis shows that the 'poor white' people of Pango Camp are an important social group that can be used to demonstrate that meanings of whiteness and white privilege/power change with time, context and social location; moreover, these meanings have become more intricate, contradictory and contested. In some ways, this study shows that 'poor white' people represent an atypical form of whiteness that is normally not theorised about in the literature of Whiteness Studies.

Hegemonic Whiteness

Whiteness Studies is an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that is constituted by a myriad of works by various scholars who study the nature and manifestations of institutionalised white privilege in society (Kolchin, 2002). This institutionalised privilege is a legacy from the history of slavery, colonialism and, in the case of South Africa, apartheid, where privilege and access to resources and socio-economic status was racially ascribed. Below are examples of some of the most important contributions made by scholars who were studying the nature of whiteness in North America. The predominant characterisation of whiteness in this literature is that it is hegemonic, invisible, colourless, unseen and unmarked. It is seen as a hidden referent against which all other 'races' are measured as forms of deviance (Ahmed, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Wale and Foster, 2007; Hook, 2011). Lewis (2004) refers to this as the thesis of Hegemonic Whiteness. Therefore, it has been argued, predominantly in North American literature, that the primary objective of Whiteness Studies is to examine, colour-in and uncover whiteness, as well as to subvert the power of whiteness (Nakayama and Krizek, 1995; Steyn, 2005).

The works of Dyer (1997), Frankenberg (1993), and McIntosh et al. (1988) are three examples of research that exist under the banner of Whiteness Studies; they also happen to be

the most cited by scholars of Whiteness Studies. It is generally accepted that the first work that emerged from the field of is Richard Dyer's (1997) book titled *White*. In the book, Dyer (1997) offers a critical analysis of the ways in which whiteness was portrayed in Western visual culture; his focus was on photography, cinema, television, and advertising. He argued that Western media culture represents white masculinity and femininity as an ideal which others can aspire to. This is also evidenced by the relationship between race (whiteness) and missionary Christianity during colonialism. This study left many academics feeling intrigued and prompted more research regarding whiteness.

Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) book *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness* has been accorded a similar status of importance because it is generally considered to have made an enormous contribution to the field of Whiteness Studies by including a feminist perspective (Steyn, 2004; Wale and Foster, 2007; Nakayama and Krizek, 1995). Frankenberg (1993) analyses the intersection between race, gender, sexuality and class by exploring the lived experiences of white women in the United States of America. Moreover, the study attempts to reveal how whiteness in a racialised society has observable effects on the women's experiences of their gender, sexuality, and class. It also examines how the women interacted with their racialised social environment and how they constructed their thoughts and perceptions of the racialised Other. Frankenberg (1993) argues that whiteness is not a biological category, but is a dynamic social construct, a hegemonic ideology that has been embodied and varyingly experienced by social actors.

In a similar vein, in her widely cited personal account of whiteness, Peggy McIntosh notes her awakening to the myriad of unearned privileges which are accorded to herself and most white people in North America by virtue of their racial identity. She argues that the social system is designed in a manner that is meant to complement the lives of white people; hence many of them are not conscious or mindful of their privileged possession (McIntosh et al., 1988). In sum, according to these scholars, whiteness is an all-encompassing phenomenon which invades people's lives and determines their experiences of everyday life. Steyn offers a good description of this body of literature:

> An important stream of studies, therefore, has exposed the extent to which the racial order imperceptibly functions around the comfort, convenience, affirmation,

> solidarity, psychological well-being, advantage, and advancement of whites, and that despite the way in which white people experience their social space as culturally neutral and individually determined, whiteness has definite cultural content ,characterized by assumptions, belief systems, value structures and institutional and discursive options that frame white people's self-understanding (Steyn, 2004: 144).

There is no question about the significant contributions made by the aforementioned scholars into the field of Whiteness Studies, for they accurately managed to capture the ways in which whiteness maintains its hegemonic position over both those who inhabit it and those who are external to it. However, I am not content with the manner in which the genealogy of Whiteness Studies has been mapped in literature; the large majority of accounts such as Steyn (2004), Green, Sonn, and Matsebula (2007) and Stevens (2007) do not include the influential contributions made by African scholars.

Hook (2011) and Ahmed (2004) also challenge the view that Whiteness Studies emerged as a field following the prominence of Dyer (1997) and Frankenberg (1993), For instance, in his article 'Retrieving Biko: A Black Consciousness Critique of Whiteness', Hook (2011) states that Steve Biko's (1978) Black Consciousness critique of white liberalism is one of the contributions that have been neglected in genealogies of Critical Whiteness Studies. He further adopts a method developed by Edward Said called the contrapuntal method, which refers to "a juxtaposing device where by the writings of a past figure can be critically harnessed, travelling across temporal and ideological boundaries to interrogate the present" (Hook, 2011: 20). He uses this method to prove that Biko's (1978) critique of white liberalism in the 1970s is still relevant, in regards to criticising contemporary white anti-racism (Hook, 2011). In addition to Biko (1978), many more post-colonial scholars such as Frantz Fanon (1967) can be counted among those whose contribution to scholarship analysed and theorised the hegemony of whiteness, especially its oppressive effects on blackness. This is so, even though their methods of analysis were predominantly inverse, in that they illustrated the dominance of whiteness by critically analysing its institutionalised oppression over blackness.

It is true that the contributions made by Dyer (1997), Frankenberg (1993) and McIntosh et al. (1988) are of paramount importance and therefore seminal in the field of Whiteness Studies. However, a general critique has been expressed by scholars such as Ahmed (2004) and Hook

(2011) towards the broader scholarship on Whiteness Studies. The first critique is put succinctly by Ahmed (2004: 1): "…But of course, whiteness is only invisible for those who inhabit it. For those who don't, it is hard not to see whiteness; it even seems everywhere. Seeing whiteness is about living its effects…." Moreover, she observes that most Whiteness Studies research such as Dyer's (1997), and Frankenberg's (1993) do not do much to challenge white racism, and white privilege; instead they reify whiteness.

Dyer (1997), Frankenberg (1993) and McIntosh et al. (1988) characterise whiteness as a hegemonic racial ideology that is "[a set of] central schemas in racial structures [that] serve as collective ways of understanding our lives and of how we fit into social relations..." (Lewis, 2004: 632). Whiteness as an ideology influences how white people make meaning of their social existence and racial 'Others'. One of the means by which it is constantly disseminated and legitimised is through key social institutions and its reproduction in the sphere of everyday life. This is how the status quo of white supremacy and privilege is maintained and naturalised.

The first point of criticism that can be raised here is that these scholars make very little mention of the colonial history of whiteness. In the same way, through their over-emphasis of the social and symbolic capital of whiteness, to a large extent, they do not pay sufficient attention to its economic capital and resources. These two variables are treated as if they are not related. This also speaks to the erasure of historical facts which led to the hegemony of whiteness. As Lewis (2004: 630) puts it, the history of racialisation (and therefore the hegemony of whiteness) is the history of domination through various systems such as slavery, imperialism, and apartheid. Hence, this study includes a historical analysis of how whiteness was constructed in South Africa, as well as how 'poor whites' were understood in the past. This will help with mapping the continuities and discontinuities that exist between past and contemporary perspectives.

Secondly, Lewis (2004) and Bona-Silva (1997) contend that while this framework is helpful, it does not suffice. Even though the authors correctly capture the power that is accorded to whiteness, they are faced with the danger of essentialising it and portraying it as homogeneous by failing to explain the nuances within whiteness and why certain forms of

whiteness are considered to be standard, dominant and legitimate over others. The analysis of whiteness as a hegemonic ideology would not be able to explain the reason behind social and economic inequalities among white people during the colonial and apartheid era (as discussed in Chapter 1) as well as in contemporary South Africa (as will be discussed later in Chapter 5). The scholarship of Whiteness Studies in the South African context is diverse and multidisciplinary, therefore it offers a variety of perspectives from which the hegemony of whiteness can be studied.

Whiteness Studies in South Africa

White identity/subjectivity

In the South African context, it is widely accepted that the pioneering study in Whiteness Studies is Melissa Steyn's (2001) *Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used to Be: White Identity in a Changing South Africa.* It focuses on how white people construct and adapt their white identities, in a context where they have lost a degree of power in the social and political spheres, which are dominated by black people in post-apartheid South Africa. She argues that there are five dominant narratives or adapting strategies expressed by the participants of her study. The first two are based on the Eurocentric belief in white superiority and the belief that in post-apartheid South Africa white people are victims of 'reverse racism'. The third narrative consists of those individuals who believe in liberalism and democratic plurality. The fourth group includes those who opt for colour blindness. And finally, there are those who try to reinvent their subjectivities beyond whiteness (Steyn, 2001).

Other similarly significant studies by Steyn include her 2004 material which looks into the ways in which Afrikaners construct their identities while adjusting to the post-apartheid era. She examines several discourses that Afrikaners use to resist transformation in the country, which she calls 'white talk'. Matthews (2011) also studied the anxieties that white people (especially the youth and anti-racists) face in the process of constructing their identities in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as assimilating a comprehension of what it means to be

African and to embody those meanings in a context where their skin colour is considered to be ‘un-African’. This reveals the persistence of colonial and apartheid logic, where white people were categorised as ‘Europeans’. This influenced the manner in which white people and people of other races understood their identity, as something that lacks an ‘African essence’. Hence the methods used by privileged white people to mitigate this include involvement in anti-racist struggles (Matthews, 2011).

Furthermore, Hudson (2012) also theorises about the subjectivity of white people by studying the manner in which blackness is portrayed in the comical satire of white South African artists such as Zapiro; this humour mainly intends to mock and shame the country’s political leaders. Hudson (2012) argues that the conscious understanding of whiteness vis-à-vis blackness is influenced by the colonial unconscious. This means that the colonial logic of supposed white superiority vis-à-vis black inferiority has infiltrated the minds of the current generation and influenced their beliefs and behaviour. Hence the unconscious of most white people essentially remains a racist unconscious. This means that embedded within the white subject, is the propensity towards being racist, which has to be unlearned.

The concept of the colonial unconscious is particularly important for this study for explaining the anxieties expressed by white people when it comes to constructing their identities and understanding their subjectivities in the current era. This is because the concept allows one to treat the present as a consequence of the past – present attitudes as being partly informed by the past. This study will attempt to follow suit by displaying the relationship between the participants’ current understandings of race and how race was perceived in the past.

The thesis of white visibility

The work of prominent South African philosopher Samantha Vice (2010), titled: ‘How do I Live in this Strange Place?’, offers a good illustration for the conundrums encountered by white people in the process of locating themselves and their identities in a country where the private lives of white people have been politicised. She notes that the social and political divisions in the country are mainly due to stark economic inequalities, as a result of which most white people continue to occupy a position of privilege. She describes whiteness as "a

social location of structural privilege…" (Vice, 2010: 325). She believes that white people are the problem and that they have a moral responsibility to 'rehabilitate' themselves in addition to maintaining 'silence' and embracing feelings of shame about their habitual privilege (Vice, 2010: 329). de Vos (2011) critiqued Vice's (2010) assumption, stating that she suggested a self-centred approach of renouncing white privilege from within is problematic because it does nothing to contribute to the alleviation of racially distributed socio-economic inequalities. It is not enough for white people to merely adopt a non-racialist stance while maintaining their position of power and privilege because whiteness is essentially a structural problem.

This debate can be used to de demonstrate Bona-Silva's (1997) theory of race as structure, according to which it could be argued that whiteness is constituted by two dimensions – the symbolic (ideological and cultural) and the material (economic privilege). This means that it not enough for society to address the ideological and symbolic aspect of whiteness and white supremacy without addressing the material benefits associated with it and the history of their acquisition. The reason for the persistence of white privilege is because people believe that it is sufficient to denounce white ideology without denouncing white privilege.

Steyn's work has offered meaningful insights into the South African case of race relations and Whiteness Studies because she is one of a few scholars who have made genuine attempts to study whiteness in a manner that is specifically suited to the South African context. Hence she argues against the thesis of 'white invisibility' because of the country's history of apartheid, which marked white people as being innately different. Whiteness in this context cannot be considered to be invisible, as white people are aware of their whiteness (Steyn, 2007).

I am of the opinion that the works of Vice (2010) and de Vos (2011) slightly contradict Steyn's (2007) thesis of the visibility of whiteness in South Africa. Vice (2010) holds that many white people in the country are aware of their racial identity, as well as the place accorded to them in the racial hierarchy. Yet I argue that they are not cognisant of the full extent of this privilege. de Vos (2011) suggests that reforms are needed in order to correct the wrongs of the past which include personal acts of injustice by white people. To quote him:

> "Do we live meaningful lives in which we demonstrate – through words and deeds – that we are aware of our own privileged position and do we act in ways that can be seen to help to address the effects of past and ongoing injustice in which we might be directly or indirectly implicated?" (de Vos, 2011: 6).

The suggestions that they put forward are helpful, even though they do very little to challenge the structures of institutionalised white privilege. They are making suggestions from a position of power, which essentially prescribes transition to another form of power, not the complete denunciation of privilege and the redistribution of resources which would lead to radical structural transformation. Kruger (2016), echoes similar sentiments, in response to Styen's (2005) thesis of the visibility of whiteness in the South African context, by emphasising the importance of viewing whiteness as multifaceted. Even though white people in South Africa may be somewhat aware of their socially ascribed identity, they may not necessarily be aware of the extent of the privileges that are accorded to them as a result of this identity. This shows that it is not enough to use blanket terms when studying race because there are internal contradictions even within whiteness.

White privilege

The second way in which whiteness has been studied in South Africa is in relation to privilege, which mostly refers to access to economic resources. This has been the primary source of the social privilege experienced by most white people. Wale and Foster (2007) argue that even post- apartheid, the majority of white people continue to benefit from the deeply entrenched race and class system of privilege. They highlight the sort of everyday discourses which wealthy white people in South Africa use to interpret the plight of black poverty. These authors argue that these discourses – that is, how wealthy white people in their daily lives view themselves in relation to black people – have functioned to maintain the ideology of white privilege.

There are several such discourses. Firstly, defending white privilege by denying the ways in which whites were implicated in the apartheid system, as well as how the benefits that were given to them, made a great contribution to how their lives are structured in the present.

Secondly, de-legitimising black power: in the eyes of most white people, the political arena represents a space where black South Africans have gained power. Therefore, most white people respond by emphasising the alleged incompetence and vices in addition to adopting an attitude of being apolitical. Lastly, they advocate for individualism; this mainly refers to their employment of the liberal discourse of non-racialism in order to give a solution to the problems of racial inequality and poverty in the country. They fail to draw the connection between the privilege of white people, and the poverty of black people. Instead, they have a tendency to individualise social issues of this nature while exaggerating their good deeds in trying to make the world a better place, for example by 'saving' poor black people from their poverty (Wale and Foster, 2007).

Another study which illustrates the continued economic privilege of the majority of white people is by Ballard (2004), who discusses some of the strategies that well-off white people use to maintain their sense of comfort – that is, maintaining the status quo of privilege and distance from racial Others in the post-apartheid context where legal segregation no longer exists. These strategies include: assimilation (an attempt to reform the Other to adhere to the existing 'white norms and values'); emigration and semigration (the first refers to maintaining racial boundaries and moving to a different space in order to avoid the Other, while the latter refers to remaining within the space but moving to an affluent area in order to limit contact with racial Others). The economic privilege of most white people expands the possibilities for their life chances and access to good opportunities.

Mbembe (2015) offers a different perspective for Whiteness Studies, by delving into a discussion about the connection between the inherited judicial system and present-day white privilege. He argues that institutionalised legal white privilege (which he considers to be synonymous with 'white racism') was not utterly dismantled. Instead, it dressed itself up differently in order to fit into the ideals of the current constitutional era which is based on the foundation of racial equality. One of the ways through which 'white racism' has dressed itself differently is by concealing overt racism with covert racism through resistant responses towards policies of redress which seeks to correct the present-day racial inequalities that were inherited from the apartheid system, such as Affirmative Action. The policies essentially

challenge white supremacy by seeking to introduce institutional reforms and transformation; hence most white people continue to view them as a threat (Mbembe, 2015: 5).

This is related to Ahmed's (2007) 'Theory of Habits' which suggests that social spaces are shaped by the bodies that inhabit them. She argues that the majority of institutions in society are inherently in opposition to those who are 'non- whites', meaning not only those who do not look white but also to those who deviate from institutionalised white norms. This is how institutions develop 'white institutional culture' which automatically places those who do not conform to its arrangements at a disadvantage (Ahmed, 2007: 156). Part of the reason why there has been such insignificant transformation of key social institutions such as universities in South Africa is because they essentially remain 'pro-white'.

I mentioned the diverse ways in which white privilege has expressed itself in order to demonstrate that the power and privilege of whiteness are not monolithic and that it is not centralised to a specific sphere. The studies mentioned above focus on different yet related areas in which white people in the country are able to wield their power, and therefore maintain the structure of whiteness. Not every white person has access to the kind of power discussed above, so it could be argued that only those who do embody the hegemonic form of whiteness have access to such power.

The section above challenges the sentiments by some scholars such as Steyn (2007) who argue that since white people constitute a racial minority in South Africa with little or no political representation, they are rendered powerless:

> "The power relations that supported the old social identities have been profoundly troubled. White South Africans cannot assume the same privileges, with such ease, when state power is overtly committed to breaking down racial privilege" (Steyn 2007: 422).

Even though Steyn's (2007) observation is accurate to a certain extent, dividing power and privilege dichotomously –that is between two extremities of their: powerful/privileged or powerless/underprivileged – is a flawed method which in my view could be remedied by understanding power as relative to one's social location. 'Poor white' people will not be conceptualised as being either absolutely powerful or absolutely powerless; instead, their

power will be measured based on the privileges to which they have access by virtue of their location within Munsieville. This speaks to how whiteness and class are articulated in this particular context.

Whiteness and Poverty

Lastly, another important branch of Whiteness Studies in the country is related to the study of 'poor white' people. As mentioned above, whiteness scholars have been widely criticised for carrying the implicit assumption that whiteness is homogeneous (Lewis, 2004). However, it is my view that the study of 'poor white' people presents an opportunity to look into a distinct and complex form of whiteness, one that does not adhere to the hegemonic form of whiteness. Whiteness scholars such as Parnell (1987), Du Plessis (20004), Teppo (2004) Hyslop (2003), Lange (2003) and Bottomley (2012) are among some of those who critiqued the conception of whiteness as unified. As a counter-response, they studied whiteness as a heterogeneous field, where intricacies are brought into the picture by how white people who belong to different ethnic and class groups experience their whiteness in distinct manners.

Moreover, these scholars showed that the material benefits of the apartheid system were not equally spread out among all white people. For instance, Hyslop's (2003) article "The White Poor at the End of Apartheid: The Collapse of the Myth of Afrikaner Community" contains case studies and interviews conducted by Hyslop and his colleagues in poor white areas. The participants were mainly Afrikaners. The study also contains records of their life experiences, grievances, and perceptions of black people in the late 1990s prior to the collapse of the apartheid state. It also shows how class differences among white Afrikaners was a source of disunity even though these people were classified under the same racial and ethnic group and adhered to the same political ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism.

The recent research studies conducted by Sibanda (2012) and Kruger (2016) demonstrate that poverty among white people is gradually becoming a widespread phenomenon.

> "The reality of their existence now has turned into a sore scar that continues to inflict the white body. Shameful and painful as this condition is, it draws little sympathy, with the blame always turned around to point at the poor" (Sibanda, 2012: 88).

This illustrates how 'poor white' people are held in low regard by well-off white people. This is because they are thought to be a deviation from the 'norm' of whiteness, and the hegemonic form of whiteness, which is fundamentally associated with power and privilege.

The studies also show how 'poor white' people realise that they inhabit a rather specific social location and social position which exists in the nowhere-land between whiteness and blackness because of the incongruence between the meaning of their socially ascribed race and class status. Yet these people continue to aspire towards embodying, portraying and speaking 'white' – that is, adhering to the hegemonic form of whiteness – in order to assert their 'lost power' (Sibanda, 2012; Kruger, 2016). The results of this study, however, will show that not all 'poor white' people necessarily aspire towards hegemonic whiteness (that is, whiteness that is associated with upper/middle-class lifestyle). The residents of Munsieville have found an alternative strategy of constructing a varying form of whiteness that is not necessarily mainstream or popular. This point will be elaborated upon more in Chapter Eight.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

Whiteness as Structure and Articulation

For this study, I adopt a theoretical approach that allows me to study whiteness from the perspective of the poor. I believe that the structural theoretical framework has much to offer. Bona-Silva (1997) offers an alternative perspective to studying race – not as something that is merely a feature in society but as a structure. He begins by criticising the different theories of race which have been put forward by various schools of thought (such as the thesis of whiteness as a hegemonic ideology discussed above); they view race as a static and baseless ideology or as a mere social construction. In their stead, he advances an alternative structural theoretical framework which is based on the notion of 'racialised social systems'. It refers to societies in which political, economic, ideological and social apparatuses are somewhat structured by the placement of people into racial groups. Also embedded in this social system is a racial hierarchy which allocates members varying and unequal status to different racial groups (Bona-Silva, 1997). According to this conception, race in simultaneously an autonomous structure and dependent on other structures in society.

Based on Bona-Silva's (1997) notion of racialised social systems, it could be argued that in the South African case the colonial era provided economic motivations and an ideological foundation upon which the apartheid system was fully established as a racialised social system. This means that the construction of whiteness as intrinsically superior did not only rely on social and cultural domination but was deliberately perpetuated through the means of various social structures and institutions. For instance, legal, industrial and political institutions in the country were structured in such a way that they prioritised the well-being of white people. These processes constitute the country's historical process of racialisation. The history of how this manifested was discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two of this report.

It is clear that the South African historical process of racialisation had two facets: the ideological and the structural. The ideology of whiteness as hegemony is inextricably tied to its institutionalisation into society's structures. This is how race/whiteness moved from being

a mere social construct to being a structure that is dependent on other structures for its existence. Therefore, it is important for studies of whiteness in South Africa to consider the relationship between the past and the present, in terms of its structure and ideology.

It is also important to consider the relationship between whiteness and blackness because the two are mutually constitutive structures. In this study, structure is defined according to the Saussurean (1974) theorisation as it was developed by Althusser (1970). Hudson (1994: 282) defines a structure as a dynamic system constituted by interdependent elements which only acquire their individual meaning by their relation or co-existence in the structure. Thus, they have differential relationship because they are mainly defined by their difference from one another. The same could be argued for whiteness and blackness. Hence, part of understanding how the white participants of this study construct their racial identities will involve exploring the meanings that they attach to the blackness of their neighbours.

Bona-Silva's (1997) theory has proven to be useful for the purpose of this study. Lewis (2004) does a good job of elaborating on the relevance of Bona-Silva's theoretical framework to Whiteness Studies using the conception of structure produced by Sewell (1992). Sewell conceptualised structure as something that intrinsically has a dual nature, containing both the material and symbolic dimensions. With regards to whiteness, the symbolic dimensions would, for instance, refer to the ideology of white supremacy, culture and the social capital which is related to having a white skin. The material dimension would refer to the fact that in South Africa most white people occupy a higher socio-economic status. Since whiteness is constituted by cultural schema and resources, analysis of whiteness which treats the two dimensions as separate does an incomplete job (Lewis, 2004). This study will show through the case of the 'poor white' residents of Munsieville that the symbolic and material elements of their whiteness are configured in a way which produces a different kind of whiteness that varies from the hegemonic form.

The theory of the structure of race does not offer sufficient conceptual tools for explaining the process by which structures evolve and acquire different meanings based on their social and historical context. Hence I turned to the theory of 'articulation', which was developed by scholars such as Stuart Hall, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau (Slack, 2010). The theory

was developed as part of the critique against the classical Marxist framework in the 1970s, primarily the tendency of its proponents to produce explanations of social issues which were based on essentialism and economic reductionism. Economic reductionism maintains that economic relations are responsible for and determine the trajectory of society (Slack, 2010: 129). However, the theory of articulation sought to explain society differently. For instance, in his critique of the classical Marxist perspectives on cultural studies, Hall argues, similarly to Althusser (1970) (in his theorisation of social structures), that social formations have a complex character, in that they are "articulated unities rather than simple totalities" (De Luca, 1999: 334). De Luca (1999: 335) defines articulation as "any practice establishing a relationship among elements such that their identity is modified…." This relationship among articulated elements can also be described as differences that are in complex unity (Slack, 2010: 136).

For example, as discussed above, the structure of whiteness is two-dimensional – since it contains symbolic and material capital, it can be said that these two elements are in a relationship of difference and complex unity. Moreover, Hall claimed:

> "By the term 'articulation', I mean a connection or link which is not necessarily given in all cases, as a law or a fact of life, but which requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, which has to be positively sustained by specific processes, which is not 'eternal' but has to be constantly renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to the old linkages being dissolved and new connections – re-articulations – being forged" (Hall, 1985: 113–114, footnote two).

This is to say that the manner in which relations of articulation are configured is not always given; instead, they are contingent on the socio-political, economic and cultural context in which they occur. They also depend on historical context. This means that there is always a process of de-articulation and/or re-articulation (Slack, 2010), depending on the context and in response to changes in social dynamics.

Using both theories –: race as structure, and the theory of articulation – I will argue that whiteness should be treated as a structure that is in a differential relationship with other structures in society, such as blackness. Furthermore, it is composed of two facets: symbolic (social) and material capital. In addition, the theory of articulation will be used to illustrate

that the symbolic and material capital of whiteness are articulated, that their articulation is contingent on their context, and that they take different forms based on the class status of different white people. This means whiteness and class are articulated and that this relationship influences how white people from different socio-economic class groups experience their whiteness. This conception of whiteness makes it possible to theorise about whiteness as something that is heterogeneous, mutable, contingent, contradictory, contested and under constant negotiation.

The theory of articulation has assisted in showing that where there is an articulation of race and class, white people of different socio-economic classes experience their whiteness in different ways. I contend that this is also applicable to the realm of white power. White power is not monolithic or homogeneous but it varies according to how the articulation of race and class, as well as symbolic and material capital, are configured in a particular context. For instance, one can expect a different configuration of these elements in the lived realities of wealthy white people as opposed to the residents of Munsieville. Therefore, these groups have access to different levels of power in relation to their racial identity. Sewell (1992) states that social structures have power, among other things. The power of a structure is measured according to the material resources which the particular structure mobilises (Lewis, 2004). Based on this understanding it can be argued that whiteness as a structure predominantly contains power. However ‘poor white’ people have little power to wield. Because they do not have a significant amount of material resources, they gain less from the symbolic and material capital that is associated with whiteness. Thus they embody a different form of whiteness, the kind that is not hegemonic.

Identifying the Gap

The studies of ‘poor white' people provide the rationale for my study because they demonstrate a phenomenon which I think has not been fully explored in the current literature of Whiteness Studies in South Africa. This refers to the fact that ‘poor white’ people in South Africa represent and personify a different form of whiteness which emerges from a long history of the articulation of whiteness with working-class life. They are not in a position of

power and privilege that is normally associated with whiteness because they do not benefit much materially. Yet, as Lewis (2004: 629) argues, "Whites in all social locations are relatively privileged compared to similarly located racial groups. While their access to cultural [and material] capital varies, all whites have access to the symbolic capital of whiteness."

Therefore, 'poor whites' still have access to some degree of social/racial capital which earns them benefits and opportunities which most poor black people may never attain. For instance, when the Mogale City Municipality initially threatened to forcefully remove the residents of Pango Camp from Coronation Park they received a lot of attention from the media. Images of 'poor white' children and the elderly were used as a tool for mobilising public sympathy. Various organisations such as the South African Family Relief Project (sarfppsa.org, 2016), which is solely concerned with alleviating poverty among white people, offered them legal and other assistance. These efforts were not extended to the communities of poor black people who live in the same area and faced the same predicament. This is because the poverty of white people is still treated as an anomaly, whereas it has been normalised in the case of black people. More evidence to this effect will be provided in Chapter Six.

It is also my view that studying the 'whiteness of 'poor whites' will allow for the re-examination of the meaning of whiteness in South Africa, I suggest that a structural approach as discussed by Bona-Silva (1996) and Lewis (2004) has much to offer in this regard. In addition, the theory of articulation will help to illustrate how whiteness articulates with working-class status, and how this configuration produces a different form of whiteness. The second contribution that this study will make is a methodological one, by reversing the colonial gaze. It is evident from the citations above that Whiteness Studies in South Africa is dominated by white scholars. It is a rare occurrence for someone like me, an emerging middle-class black female scholar, to conduct a study on 'poor white' people.

Scholars such as Ratele (2012) have rightly expressed concern that the study of whiteness only serves to put whiteness in the centre and to empower it. While acknowledging that this is a valid concern, I take a similar stance as Ahmed (2007), who states that this is a necessary evil because whiteness was at the centre and it was gaining currency before it came under the

scrutiny of Whiteness Studies. It is possible to study whiteness without essentialising, empowering, naturalising and reifying it, and this is what my study aims to accomplish.

Chapter Three
Methodology and Reflexivity

Munsieville

Krugersdorp was founded in 1887 by Martinus Pretorius and named after Paul Kruger. It was founded as a mining town of gold, asbestos, and magnesium, among other minerals. Munsieville, a black African township, was subsequently established in 1911, according to ordinance 58 of 1903 of the Krugersdorp municipality. It was called 'the native location'. From the early 1930s, the area was named after Mr. James Munsie, the white chief sanitary inspector (medical officer) of Krugersdorp (Mogale City, 2009). It was a generally poor area which was largely inhabited by mine labourers and their families (both black and white). Initially, the crowded slum was home to black and white people, but the state later enforced segregation, moving the 'poor white people' to the more suburban part of Krugersdorp (Proctor, 1986).

In 2016, the picture of Munsieville is still rather bleak. Most of the residents are black, living in poverty, many without access to proper housing. It is fair to assume that the architects of apartheid would not have been able to foresee the existence of a squatter camp (Pango Camp) in the twenty-first century that is home to both black and white residents. In my tour of the town, I created a map that divides the area into three sections: where black people live in houses, some of which were RDP houses. Secondly, those black people who live in an informal settlement that is located on the east side of the town. Thirdly, the informal settlement that is now home to both black and white people. The 'poor white' people moved to Munsieville in July 2015 after being evicted from Coronation Park (a public leisure park) by their local municipality, Mogale City. There were three hundred 'poor white' people in the informal settlement in Coronation Park, one hundred and twenty went to stay in Munsieville and one hundred and fifty of whom moved to an exclusively Afrikaans development called

Kleinvallei in Krugersdorp where people of other races are prohibited (Fourie, 2015; Serumula, 2015).

Those who chose to relocate to Munsieville named their new settlement after a former African National Congress' Umkhonto we Sizwe military training camp in Angola, Pango Camp (SABC, 2016) (see Image 1). The leader of the camp confirmed this but did not elaborate on the reason that motivated this decision. Pango Camp is situated at the brow of Munsieville, between houses owned by black people and beautiful mountains where, interestingly, some of the residents occasionally go hiking and abseiling (see Image 2). According to the camp leaders, Hugo and Irene Van Niekerk, there are approximately one hundred and twenty white people living in the camp. But over the course of the field work, the numbers increased because some people were evicted from Kleinvallei and sought shelter in Pango Camp. I counted roughly fifty-five shacks, most of which were medium-sized and had more than one room. I was informed that they were built by the municipality following a court order. Most of the residents had managed to acquire more building material to extend their shacks. There are a variety of structures including three double-story wooden shacks, two caravans, single-story wooden sheds, and numerous shacks made of corrugated iron sheets. The structures are neatly aligned, forming six streets which are divided into blocks A to F (see Image 3).

Image 1: The board is the first thing that one sees when entering the camp.


Image 2: The image shows the mountains where some of the residents go hiking. One of them runs an abseiling business.

Image 3 shows how the blocks in the camp are organised. This is block E.

In a lot of ways, this area is an improvement for the people of Pango Camp because, in Coronation Park, which was a public leisure park, they lived in tents. They reported that some lives were lost in the Park when dead trees fell on top of people's tents. Now they are officially registered to receive RDP houses, as evidenced by the colourful writing of stand numbers outside each of the shacks. When walking around the camp one is bound to come across white people in threadbare clothing, and a few children running around barefoot as they play their games. Their poverty is plain to see, and this is mainly because most of them are either unemployed or they work at low-skill and low-income jobs. For some families, government social grants are the sole source of income. The average income of the residents in the camp is estimated at two thousand five hundred and two Rands (R2502). The adult residents in the camp are between the ages of twenty-six and sixty-five, the average age being forty-eight

At first glance, the environment seems calm, with most of the people sitting outside their shacks, either minding their own business in pensive solitude or chatting in loud conversations with neighbours and friends in Afrikaans. The most noticeable feature in the camp is the abundance of dogs; almost every yard has one, with each one barking ferociously at the sight of a stranger. But their owners reprimand them when they become too aggressive.

Each street or block has a communal tap; at least two communal mobile toilets and a communal water heater constructed out of a donkey geyser (see Image 4). Also, the camp has a tuck shop that is privately owned by the family of the camp leader, and from time to time one can see the residents walking to and from the shop, either to buy with cash or on credit. The majority of the residents rely on candlelight and paraffin or gas for power, while others have managed to illegally obtain an electric connection, for which they all pay a standard fee of R400 per month. I was told that they draw the electrical connection from one of the black-owned houses in Munsieville.

Image 4: A donkey geyser.

The most salient feature of the camp is that there is an invisible border between the shacks of the black people and the white people (see Image 5). (I will elaborate on this in Chapter six.). However, there is an exception of about three black people who have been integrated into the community of Pango Camp; all of them are involved in intimate relationships with white people from the camp. The couples all met in Munsieville. Two of the relationships are heterosexual and the other one is a homosexual relationship. Most of the facts I collected about the daily lives of the people in the camp, as well as the social dynamics therein took time to gather and to comprehend because the participants were the primary source of information, so I had to earn their trust as well as their permission to intrude into their social space before they would divulge certain details.

Image 5: This image is of the ‘invisible border’, the street that separates the shacks of the black people in the camp from those owned by the white people.

Methodology

The most suitable methodology for this research is qualitative because the data required is qualitative in nature, aiming to explore the perceptions and experiences of the participants. Greenstein, Roberts, and Sitas (2003: 49) define qualitative research as "…a broad approach in social research that is based upon the need to understand human and social interaction from the perspective of insiders and the participants in the interaction". This method by definition is advantageous for this study because this research seeks to capture the understanding of whiteness from the perspective of ‘poor white’ people. Another advantage of this method is that is has a naturalistic element, which allows the researcher to observe behaviours as they occur in their natural setting. Moreover, while interacting with the participants, the researcher is able to pick up nonverbal cues which would not occur if quantitative methods are used.

Three kinds of methods were used for collecting data for the study: ethnography, semi-structured interviews, and the life histories method.

The participants of the study were selected from Pango Camp’s population of white adult residents, both males, and females. The reason why I specifically chose this area is that I

anticipated that there may be lower levels of racial antagonism since the area is racially diverse and the residents have been subject to a lot of visits from the media – for instance, Africa Check (2013) and IOL (Serumula, 2015). Based on this, I made the assumption that the residents would be fairly welcoming to strangers who come into their neighbourhood and that they would not be too reluctant to open up about their experiences and views.

Gaining initial access to the field was more challenging than I had expected. Plan A for gaining access to the camp entailed making contact with a charity organisation called the South African Family Relief Project and developing a relationship with them. Their work involves building houses and making donations to informal settlements inhabited by 'poor white' people, their biggest projects being in Coronation Park and Pango Camp. I had hoped for a partnership which would eventually lead me to the camp leader. After making contact with the organisation, I was informed that the camp leader was now responsible for running operations in the camp and I was given his contact details.

All my initial attempts to get hold of the camp leader proved in vain. After over a month, I turned to my supervisor, who was more than willing to establish contact on my behalf. This gave me access to the camp leader, a white Afrikaner male, the gatekeeper of the camp. I was introduced to the camp leader and his family as a student from the University of the Witwatersrand who would be helping the Professor to conduct his research in the area, regarding growing levels of inequality in the country. Furthermore, upon the request of the leader, we agreed to conduct a household survey in the area. This was meant to provide them with the demographic records of the residents so that he could distribute the information to the charity organisations that assist them, and they, in turn, would help the residents to find employment opportunities. We made an agreement not to compromise the personal information of the residents-. In exchange, we were allowed to conduct our study and to interview the residents.

Subsequent to jumping over this hurdle, I was faced with another challenge – the barriers between the participants and myself. Firstly, there was the problem of language. Virtually everyone in the camp used Afrikaans as their first language, which I have very limited knowledge of. Secondly, my race: upon my first visit it was clear as daylight that the media

reports had exaggerated the level of racial integration in the area. This made me uncertain about how the residents would receive me. Thirdly: my female body: after some consideration, I decided that it would not be safe for me to wander the streets of Munsieville, which was a strange town to me, all alone. The answer to all these three concerns was to get an interpreter, another white Afrikaner male, who ended up being Jonathan Paoli.

The first step for collecting data was through 'short-term ethnography'. Alder and Alder (2003: 42) define ethnography as "…observing social activities as an outsider, observing while participating in the activities and conducting intensive interviews". Ethnographies are essential because they provide the researcher with the opportunity to get good insights into the ordinary lives of the participants, and to establish trust and rapport with them while participating in their activities and conducting interviews (Alder and Alder, 2003). The ethnography was short-term because of time constraints. Nonetheless, observing the participants and the camps did not come to a halt once the duration of the ethnography ended, but it was a continuous process which lasted for as long as I was present in the field, which was from 14 July 2016 until 17 November 2016. The visits to the camp were intermittent; there were a total of twelve.

Since I was a stranger to the area, merely observing the people would have proven obtrusive and may have attracted hostile reactions. Hence the time of conducting household surveys was simultaneously used for conducting the ethnography. With Jonathan's help, I went from house to house, and where I was welcomed, I took the time to learn about the people, their lives, their homes and families, their history, and their interpretation of their circumstances. This process proved helpful for establishing relationships with the residents. Furthermore, the ethnography was helpful in that, through the process, I got a sense of the social dynamics and rules, which allowed me to adopt the appropriate approach when interacting with the participants. The data that was collected from this process was written down in a notebook, and I later used it in addition to the information from the household survey questionnaires to formulate the interview questions. In the end, the survey was conducted in thirty-two households.

Utilising this network I had developed through ethnography, I asked those who were willing to participate in the interview process for their contact details. No one declined. When the time came for the interviews, the climate had changed: the majority of residents seemed disinterested without apparent reason. I approached the few who were still cooperating and interviewed them in their homes.

The non-probability snowballing sampling technique also came in handy. Neuman (2006: 233) defines snowball sampling as "a non-random sample, especially used by qualitative researchers, in which a researcher begins with one [or a few cases] and then based on the information of the interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases and repeats the process again and again". This strategy was very helpful. There were cases where I relied on approaching people who were sitting in groups, and after one was interviewed, they would make a recommendation to a friend. In some instances, being accepted by a single member of a clique automatically opened the doors for the others to be willing to participate. The opposite was also true, and detrimental.

I made my intentions and my position as a student clear from the word go. This deterred some residents, particularly because they initially thought that I was a government official who had come to inspect the area in order to offer them assistance. In the end, I managed to get a total of eighteen interviews.

Greenstein et al. (2003: 56) state that semi-structured- interviews "…involve a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered, but there is more flexibility around the sequence in which they are asked, and the interviewer will allow the respondent to speak more broadly about the topics being discussed". The interview differs from an ordinary conversation, in that the researcher makes arrangements with the participants in advance by explaining the aims of the research and getting informed consent from the participants prior to the interviews. This is the logic that I applied in planning and executing the interviews. The interviews were crucial because they allowed to me to get first-hand access to the subjective interpretations of the 'poor white' people of Pango Camp, not only about their personal experiences but also about their perceptions about their own whiteness and the blackness of their neighbours. The interview themes and questions were designed in such a

way that they allowed me to gather insight into the participants' life histories, their political attitudes, their racial attitudes, how they portray themselves, and their account of their state of poverty. All the interviews were conducted in the participants' respective homes.

The third and final method that was utilised for this study is the life history method. According to Greenstein et al. (2003: 67), this method involves collecting a full-length account of a person's life based on their personal recollection with the aim of capturing the individual's subjective reality. The accounts were collected through semi-structured interviews and conversations during the ethnography stage (in the process of administering the surveys).

This research is not only interested in comprehending the subjectivities of the 'poor white' residents in a vacuum, that is solely based on their present, but of equal interest was the participants' life stories, and how their past influenced their perception of the world they live in. As Goodson and Sikes (2001) argue, life histories are useful for providing evidence and clarity about how people negotiate their identities, experiences, their social roles, society's rules, and their social existence. Furthermore, this method is suitable for documenting the confusions, ambiguities, and contradictions that characterise the everyday lives of the participants (Greenstein et al., 2003). I requested the participants to share their life stories in order for me to record their life histories. I was able to collect a total a total of six life histories from those participants who were willing to narrate their life stories in great detail.

Reflexivity

Hsiung (2010: 1) defines reflexivity as:

> …the process of examining both oneself as the researcher [the research process], and the research relationship. Self-searching involves examining one's 'conceptual baggage', one's assumptions and preconceptions, and how these affect research decisions…."

The process of reflecting on my subjective and objective positioning as a researcher was very critical for this study. This is because, as I mentioned in the Introduction, my interest in studying whiteness was informed by what was initially an emotional reaction to some of the research practices of white scholars in the social sciences, which later developed into a sense of curiosity about the issue of white poverty, as well as the underdevelopment of Whiteness Studies in the country.

Considering the history of racial division, and present-day racial tensions in South Africa, I went into this study with some preconceptions and expectations (which were largely informed by hearsay, stereotypes and media reports about 'poor white' people) about the shape and form of the research relationships that I would develop with the participants, as well as their responses to the request of a young black scholar to peer into their private lives.

In order to prevent my personal feelings from distorting the research process, I followed the guidelines by Finlay and Gough (2008: 37), who state that the purpose of a reflexive chapter is to not only allow the researcher to reflect on the subjective thoughts and feelings that they experienced during the process of conducting research. The process of constantly writing subjective reflections about each journey of the research process was vital for me in this project because it was important for me to filter these emotions and address them to avoid interference with the research process.

Even though I had done as much research as possible about Munsieville and the residents of Pango Camp, I was still apprehensive about conducting the field work because at that time (Mid- Late 2016) the country had seen an escalation of racial tensions displayed mostly on social media, so I did not know what to expect. I can only wonder how the process of field

work would have played out had I, a black researcher, gone alone into the camp. A lot of factors make me doubt that the process would have been as successful if I did not have a white male interpreter, and if I had not been introduced to the camp leader as a research assistant to one of my supervisors.

The language barrier is not the only source of doubt, but certain events happened during my times in the camp that made me realise that one of the main reasons why my presence was deemed acceptable was because I was in the company of one of the residents 'own kind'. For instance, on three separate occasions, I was almost attacked by a pack of dogs while walking on the streets; it got to a point where I had to hide behind Jonathan for protection, especially when the owners were out of sight. After the first incident, I thought that this was pure coincidence but I began to notice that most of the dogs barked ferociously at the sight of any black person. The words of a friend were confirmed in those moments: "The dog is a reflection of its master."

The second issue had to do with how most of the participants related to me, as opposed to my interpreter. Particularly, the participants who preferred to speak in Afrikaans. They had a tendency of treating me as if I was an extension of Jonathan, and on several occasions, I had to convince them that I was also 'educated' and that I was from an urban area, not a homestead in the rural areas. It was difficult for them to imagine that Jonathan and I could be living similar lives. Therefore, most of the questions they directed to me were more about my personal life. The same participants also, on various occasions, said offensive things in Afrikaans because they thought that I could not understand. However, they would switch to English when the interview came to the questions that concerned race and politics to openly reassure me that they were not racist.

Such moments, required from me as a researcher to develop a relationship of trust with my interpreter, as they would not have been possible without me yielding a degree of power on to him. This dynamic also surfaced when it came to the transcriptions of the interviews that were conducted in Afrikaans without code switching, all of them were transcribed by Jonathan. This presented some challenges, my initial desire was to have the interviews transcribed verbatim, however, this was not possible because the grammar and syntax

structure of English and Afrikaans are distinct. This is another point where I had to trust my interpreter to provide the best possible interpretation of the interviews, in a way that they were close to the original language. The biggest lesson that I learned here is that a lot of meaning is lost in interpretation. For instance, it was difficult to capture certain Afrikaner concepts in the English language. This feeds into the debates English as a language of power, and the need to decolonise the language of research and research methods.

These are some of the challenges that I encountered during the research process, but through the process they made me wonder if all white scholars face the same predicaments when they conduct research in black communities.

This process also prompted me to question the way I think about conventional research ethics and methods. I felt that I had exploited the participants because they received nothing in exchange for sharing parts of their lives and time with me. Yet I stand to gain a lot from documenting their stories. Existing social science research methods require researchers to distance themselves from the participants in order to remain objective. However, along the way researchers find themselves having to separate the data that they are getting from the participants, from their real lived experiences to avoid blurring the lines of the research relationship. This is a form of exploitation, especially when it comes to dealing with vulnerable groups in society. There is a need for social scientists to re-think questions around research practice and epistemology, especially as it related to ethics and the development of decolonial knowledge.

Chapter Four
‘White Ka**irs’: Rejected by Hegemonic Whiteness

“They call us white ka**irs; they are not allowed to come near us.”

The quote above is from an interview with one of the Pango Camp leaders in response to the question of how white people who are wealthy treat them. Many of the participants expressed similar sentiments. While their donors – for instance, those from the South African Family Relief Project and from Woolworths – are generally white people, the participants mentioned that only a fraction of white people treat them like decent human beings. The level of disdain with which these people were treated by other white people confirms Sibanda’s view:

> *The reality of their existence now has turned into a sore scar that continues to inflict the white [marginal] body. Shameful and painful as this condition is, it draws little sympathy, with the blame always turned around to point at the poor* (Sibanda, 2012: 88).

The majority of white people (and society in general) consider ‘poor white’ people to be an anomaly, a deviation from the hegemonic form of whiteness; therefore, their condition is stigmatised (Sibanda, 2012). Hence the ‘poor white’ people who reside in Pango Camp were labelled as ‘white ka**irs’ because they represent a form of whiteness that is closely related to blackness as the face of poverty and because they have less in common with hegemonic depictions of whiteness.

The most significant example of how the residents of Pango Camp were rejected and mistreated by fellow whites is the case of Kleinvallei. I was told that the camp in Kleinvallei was owned by Sunette Bridges, a prominent proponent of Afrikaner Nationalism in South Africa today. She is an Afrikaans musician and an activist for the interests of Afrikaner people, and participates in activities that promote the preservation of she believes to be ‘the heritage of the Afrikaner people’. These include leading a protest to prevent the destruction of the statue of Paul Kruger, a former apartheid patriarch, in Pretoria (Michtley, 2015). Furthermore, she founded the Boervrouliga (Boer Women’s League) which is a right-wing

Afrikaner women's movement (CBB. org, 2016). The Kleinvallei website (Kleinvallei.com, 2016) provides very limited information. Therefore I had to rely on the narratives given by the participants. There was consistency in all the stories of the participants, so I consider them to be largely accurate. Kleinvallei is a piece of land in Krugersdorp that belongs to Sunette Bridges. It was initially home to over one hundred people, most of who now live in Munsieville. It was designated by the owner as being exclusively for 'poor white' people. This is mainly because the owner, Ms. Bridges, and her colleagues believe in racial purity and segregation. It could be argued that Kleinvallei was originally designed to be a 'rehabilitation camp' which was created with the aim of not only 'preserving' the whiteness of its residents but improving their lives so that they could live like 'proper whites' – that is, those who embody the hegemonic form of whiteness. This kind of segregation is reminiscent of one of the commission recommendations discussed in the first chapter. This practice was also implemented during the apartheid era.

The people from Kleinvallei lived in tents, but there were plans to build houses for them at a later stage. Many requirements had to be met by those who were allowed to live there. They had to be married, and willing to quit their jobs in order to be employed as workers in the camp. The participants reported that they were not compensated for their labour and that they had to pay rent at two hundred Rands per month. They paid for food and clothing by the points which they received from working in the camp. Finally, they were not allowed to maintain contact with the outside world. The people felt that they were being exploited, so they left to move into Munsieville. One informant told me:

> *Yes, that was pretty much it. They said we have to pay for food and every month we grant money from SASSA [South African Social Security Agency] to pay for food and stuff. It was R400 a month: R200 for food and R200 for rent.... they made plenty of promises but never delivered on them would get a salary, but no salaries were ever received. Most people used their* (Interview, Michelle).

I went into the Pango Camp with the assumption that the people who had moved into Kleinvallei did it because they were influenced by nationalist ideology. However, I discovered that this was not the primary reasoning behind their decision. Their reasons were more pragmatic, Kleinvallei held a promise for a better life for their families, especially for people with young children. For instance, Michelle said:

> *Well, it was a matter of what they promised us, a place for our children to live, but none of those promises were delivered* (Interview, Michelle).

Michelle is a 27-year-old woman who lives in the camp, in a three-roomed shack with her fiancé (a panel beater) and three sons. She is currently unemployed. Before moving to Kleinvallei with her fiancé and children, she lived in Coronation Park with her mother. The family moved many years ago from Newlands in Johannesburg to Coronation Park because her mother was hiding from her abusive stepfather; their family fell apart after her mother lost her job as a manager in a telesales company, and this led to the loss of their house. She met her fiancé in Coronation Park where they moved in together and started a family. They decided to move into Kleinvallei because they were hoping for better opportunities for their children, a good home, and a good school. However, they moved to Munsieville after realising that the Kleinvallei dream was smokes and mirrors.

This story was similar to Victoria's. She is a 30-year-old mother of three, who is also unemployed. She shared her two-roomed shack with her three children, husband and another couple with their two children. Their friends were staying with them temporarily because they were still looking for a place to stay after being evicted from Kleinvallei. Both families were evicted after the husbands had stopped working in the camp in order to get paid employment elsewhere.

The camp leaders also mentioned that in the past, the people were also mistreated by right-wing nationalist political organisations such as Afri-Forum. Hence, it came as no surprise when I was told that the people did not support these political parties, at least not openly. In fact, I saw more images of Nelson Mandela in some of the residents' houses than orthodox Afrikaner political leaders. This can be considered to be ironic because only one of the participants said that they had voted for the African National Congress in the 1994 presidential election. Even though virtually all the participants claimed to be supporters of the Democratic Alliance (DA), most of them expressed disappointment with the DA because the party failed to deliver on their promises after the people had voted for them in the national and municipal elections. This partly explains why so many of them choose to remain

politically inactive. They support the DA in principle, yet they do not vote anymore. For instance:

> *I was DA all the way. In those days it was the National Party and then it became the Democratic Party which is obviously the DA... so now, I'm DA, I'm not a Boer.... I did not vote in the recent election even though I worked in the election for friends of mine ... but nothing, I don't want a part of it*. (Interview, Gerald).

Gerald and a few other participants felt it was necessary for them to mention the connection between their ethnic identity and their political affiliation. By clarifying that he was not a 'Boer', Gerald was distancing himself from the National Party, which was the political party that was responsible for the construction and institutionalisation of the apartheid system. I interpreted this as his attempt to portray himself as a liberal individual who did not support the oppression of black people under apartheid.

> *To be honest, a black person would rather help you than a white person. It does not matter how rich a black person is, when you are on the side of the road, they will help you much more than a white person helping you* (Interview, Victoria).

These white people have been outrightly rejected by "whiteness" – that is, by those whites who embody the hegemonic form of whiteness. Because of the manner in which their whiteness is articulated with their socio-economic class status, they were not considered to be bona fide white people; hence they were referred to as 'white ka**irs'. This means that those who labelled them as such considered themselves to be 'authentic whites'. Even though they bear a supposedly superior physical appearance, in accordance with the ideology of white supremacy, they have been rejected by other whites because they do not meet the social and economic standards for hegemonic whiteness. This dynamic is not new. Scholars such as Willoughby-Herard have shown: At issue in the 'poor white' study [the Carnegie Commission] was the struggle over whether 'poor whites' should be considered white and thereby receive all the legal, social, and political benefits of white privilege considering their otherness and divergence from standards associated with whites (Willoughby-Herard (2007: 491).It is evident that when whiteness is articulated with marginality, the meanings of dominance, privilege, and power take on different forms. I believe that this is one of the nuances which have largely gone undiscussed by scholars of whiteness, who tend to use blanket approaches and concepts when theorising about whiteness and white privilege.

It is on this basis that I argue that the 'poor white' people of Pango Camp occupy a distinct subject position. Rejected by other white people, they live in the margins of whiteness because their socio-economic status prevents them from embodying the hegemonic form of whiteness. In spite of the colour of their skins, they have more in common with poor black people. On the one hand, they have poor black neighbours who in most ways are on the same level as themselves economically. And then on the other hand, just across the road, they have black neighbours who live in houses and who in a lot of ways are materially better off than they are.

Some of the residents also mentioned that the black people in the area hold higher moral standards than most of the white people in their own camp. They used this language more when they were condemning those among them (the white people) who had been breaking into others' houses and stealing their property. For instance, Hans had this to say:

> *Yes, there were problems when we first got here – so much theft, yoh! But it's the white people and we know who the thieves are. Me, I can point them for you* (Interview, Hans).

This act of highlighting the virtues of black people and comparing them with vices among their own white people can be seen as an indication that they are beginning to be aware of some of the contradictions within the ideology of white superiority. White people who are at the margins have more opportunities to question racial stereotypes because they live so close to black people

In keeping with the structural analysis of whiteness as a structure containing both power and depth – that is, material resources and taken-for-granted-ness (Sewell, 1992), respectively – I would argue that 'poor white' people generally have lower levels of power associated with their whiteness due to their economic status. Furthermore, they are placed in a social position which has propelled them to question the idea that white people are innately superior to black people (that is, the depth of white superiority). This is because they live in close proximity to black people and witness that the ways in which black people conduct their lives challenge the stereotypes attached to blackness. Therefore, not only are the lives of these 'poor white' people in contradiction to the ideology of white supremacy, because they do not conform to

the hegemonic form of whiteness, but they also live their daily lives with the awareness of these contradictions. Moreover, they live within these contradictions and their subjectivities are constantly being de-articulated and re-articulated in this process.

Chapter Five

A Second Generation of 'Poor Whites'

"My parents always made sure that we never went to bed on an empty stomach."

One of the most important interview questions that the participants were asked was related to them mapping out an image of their childhood, as well as their life's journey which led them to their current condition. The quotation above was mentioned by all of the participants to denote that they came from a background of poverty. Out of all the people interviewed, only one person came from a middle-class background; his parents were prominent business owners in the telecommunications industry. He lost his entire inheritance while battling with a drug addiction for over two decades. The rest of the participants were raised by working-class parents. The occupations of their fathers ranged from security guards, mechanics, farmers, factory workers, construction workers and panel beaters. Most of their mothers were housewives. It is also interesting to note that most of the companies which employed their parents were state-owned entities such as ESKOM and TELKOM. Furthermore, most of these people were raised during the apartheid era, in areas that were designated by the apartheid government specifically for housing 'poor white' people. Therefore, most of the participants were direct beneficiaries of some of the apartheid policies that were discussed in the first chapter...

> *Let me tell you, my parents always made sure that we had food in the house. We lived poor... I mean in Newlands... Newlands is like the Bronx; it was rough.* (Interview, Hans).

> *I grew up in Durban… Woodlands, Montclair, you name it, I know it ... my father and mother always made sure that we never went to bed hungry. I had good parents.... my dad worked for the railway. He was an inspector. My mother was a housewife* (Interview, Gert).

The life story of Hans, a 55-year-old white male, is an archetype of some of the most tragic backgrounds of the residents of Pango Camp. He was raised by working-class parents; his father was a panel beater and his mother worked occasionally at various companies as a clerk. He was raised in Newlands in Johannesburg, a whites-only area, yet he attended a whites-only government boarding school in Germiston in the East Rand. Although he could not

remember the exact name of his former high school, he recalled that it was an 'academy', which supposedly meant that his Grade ten was equivalent to a matric qualification. Part of the reason why he could not complete his high school education was because he felt pressure to support his family financially. Since he was a good horse rider, he decided to become a professional jockey, which was a lucrative career venture. However, his career was cut short after he got divorced from his wife after four months of marriage and was swallowed into a life of gambling and debt. After his downfall, he joined the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the 1980s and worked as a soldier, he mainly stationed in township areas. He later became homeless and lived on the streets around the country. He begged, and also consumed and sold drugs. (He refrained from explaining the circumstances that led to his exiting the SADF.) He estimated that his journey as a homeless person lasted for about fifteen to twenty years. After this, he moved to Coronation Park and eventually to Pango Camp where he has been living for two years.

The second type of background among the people of Pango Camp is exemplified by Gert's life story. Gert is a 65-year-old pensioner who lives with his ailing wife. He was born and grew up in Woodlands in Durban, a whites-only area at the time, where he also spent most of his early adult years. His father, a former railway inspector, was the sole household breadwinner, and his mother was a housewife. He attended whites-only government schools in Durban until Grade ten. Afterwards, he took a hand at various career paths which included joining his father as a railway inspector and working as a bricklayer for a government construction company; he also became a carpenter and a welder. After his first divorce, he decided to move to Johannesburg, where he initially worked underground in the mines. When this did not work out well, he eventually worked as a security guard for various security companies, until he was forced into retirement.

Gert was born in 1951 and Hans in 1961, both of their family homes were in areas that provided by the apartheid housing schemes. Their parents emerged from a background of poverty and were low-skilled labourers. Further, they both attended public schooling. The scholars, whose literature is discussed in the first Chapter (Teppo, 2004, Hyslop, 2000 and Du Plessis, 2004) all agree that the early 1950s and the 1960s constituted the most successful era for the apartheid state. Teppo (2004: 165) refers from those who benefited from state

support during the 1950s, as the first wave of beneficiaries. Therefore, based on the literature and the estimated time of birth for Gert and Hans, it can be assumed that their parents were among the first wave beneficiaries. The literature misses an important point, that even though 'poor white people' received great benefits from the state, many even in those conducive conditions were still trapped in poverty. For instance: Historical literature shows that low-skilled or unskilled workers like Gert's father, who worked as a railway inspector, were paid meagre wages by the state even though they were white; hence most of them continued to live in poverty (Willoughby-Herard, 2015).

The participants inherited their poverty from their parents. This exemplifies what du Toit (2005: 2) refers to as structural poverty; this is the kind of poverty that lasts for long periods of time – sometimes even for a person's entire life span, and transgenerational – and it is mostly sustained by structural conditions rather than by the individual. It is a result of unemployment (or employment whose income is below the poverty line), vulnerability and unequal social power relations. Part of the reason why Gert and Hans (and other participants) could not transcend out of poverty during the apartheid period is because of the decline of the apartheid state as described by Hyslop (2000: 299) that started in the 1980s.

As it was discussed in Chapter One, for the apartheid government 'poor white' people were a key constituency for mobilising political power and promoting the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism (Hyslop, 2003 and Bottomley, 2012). The National Party sought to construct a single national identity –the Volk- which was premised on the ideology of white supremacy. Hence one of the key functions of segregated 'poor white' suburbs was to 'rehabilitate' them, in order for them to assimilate this identity, which often as Kruger (2016) demonstrates, translated into the embodiment the lifestyle, and mannerisms of a middle-class white person. Teppo (2004:165- 200) in her study of Epping Garden Village, includes instances of the practical measures that were taken to 'rehabilitate' the poor whites in the area in the 1950s. Social workers were deployed into the area to come up with strategies for curbing the widespread culture of alcoholism, a programme called 'Uplifting Free Time' was started. One of their initiatives was a boxing club, to rehabilitate male adolescents. The social workers also ran projects to "uplift the taste and manners" (Teppo, 2004: 183) of the residents, this involved inspecting the homes of residents and the women to ensure

cleanliness was maintained. These are just some examples of the attempts that were made to instil a culture of whiteness among ‘poor white people'.

Teppo (2004) shows the ‘rehabilitation’ projects failed to a large extent because almost all of those ‘poor whites’ who’s lives improved owing to the opportunities given to them, left the poor white areas and moved to middle-class suburbs. Hyslop’s (2000) correctly argues that the 1980s and 1990s saw increasing evidence of fragmentation in the subjectivities of the *Volk* because many of them ceased to subscribe by the nationalist ideology. I argue that the findings on Teppo (2004)'s study and in my research suggest that the articulation of race, class, and ethnicity – that is, the articulation of whiteness, poverty and Afrikaner identity – has always produced a different form of white subjectivity. One that exists at the margins of whiteness, in the contradiction of the inferiority of their class position and their alleged biological superiority.

This information is important for the present study because the participants living in Pango Camp are between the ages of twenty-eight and sixty-five (the average age is: forty-eight) this means that most of them were either adults or teenagers during the aforementioned era. As expected, they were either directly or indirectly affected by the events of the time. It can be expected that this influenced the manner in which they conceive of their place in the world as ‘poor white' people. For instance:

> *I was born in 1977 and 1994 was my last year in high school in Cape Town, so nothing has changed* (Interview, Gerald).

> *In 1986, I was working as a soldier in Soweto. I can tell you what happened; I saw it with my own two eyes... I got to learn how black people are like... I know the whole of Soweto* (Interview, Hans).

Hans was referring to what he considered to be the violent nature of black people, and this was informed by his witness of the anti-apartheid struggle. Part of my view about the contradictory nature of the subject position of these ‘poor white’ people includes the argument that even though these contradictions are more pronounced in post-1994 South Africa, their conception can be traced back to the apartheid period. Part of the reason why these contradictions have become more conspicuous is because, under the post-1994 state,

‘poor white’ people are no longer sheltered. That is, they no longer have the privilege of being legally segregated from poor people who were classified into other racial groups. Thus there are continuities and differences between the manner in which ‘poor whites’ constructed their identities under apartheid and post-1994. Hence the subjectivity that arises from these ‘poor whites’ deviates from hegemonic whiteness, and the *Volk* identity. Their identities contain components of both, yet there is evidence of the emergence of an embryonic form of whiteness which exists along the margins and is informed by their interaction with Volk identity, hegemonic whiteness, and blackness. This will be demonstrated in greater detail at a later stage (in Chapter Seven).

It could also be argued that apartheid as a racialised social system (Bona-Silva, 1997) not only created two kinds of subject position – that is, blackness and whiteness – but the process was much more intricate. ‘Poor white' people have always inhabited the contradictions and gray areas between the two. They were classified as being white yet they were still barred from accessing most of the privileges that well-off white people had access to. Hence not only are the subject positions of these ‘poor white’ people contradictory, but they are also complex. This can be expected to be reflected in the manner in which they construct their identities.

The precarious position that ‘poor white’ people occupied under apartheid was mainly due to major political instability. However, currently, the precarity of the ‘poor white’ people of Pango Camp is mainly due to their economic status. Most of them either work at low-income jobs, are informally employed or are unemployed. The unemployed predominantly rely on government grants, which vary from the disability grant (one thousand five hundred and ten Rands- R1510), old age pension (R1500- one thousand five hundred Rands) and the child support grant (R300-three hundred Rands) (Gov.za, 2016). Some households receive more than one kind of grant. The residents also receive regular donations (at least twice a week) from retail companies such as Woolworths, Pick n Pay and private donors. The donations come in the form of either food or clothing and, on rare occasions, they include furniture or building material. These donations play a central role in alleviating the burden of living expenses for the residents, especially those who have large families.

The findings from the survey that was conducted for this study also showed that most of the residents spend their entire income on buying groceries:

> *I buy my own food, my own groceries. I have a person living here who helps me with the costs of food. We're six people here; two men help with the money, the grant for my one child, and [my husband's] disability [grant]; and we live on that. I just bought my meat for the month, and if there isn't enough, then we live on bread and eggs. Or we eat sandwiches, but we eat, we eat. But you can ask anyone whether I take anything from the donations of Woolworths. Yes, fruit, I will take fruit; I'm entitled to take something, because [my husband] can only eat fruit, because of his diabetes* (Interview, Maria).

Maria is a woman in her fifties (she did not mention her exact age) who is also from a poor background, raised by her parents in Newlands, Johannesburg. Her father was a mechanic and her mother a housewife. She lives with her husband, their children, and grandchildren in the largest shack in the camp, consisting of five or six rooms including a dining room, bathroom, and lounge area. She and her husband are both unemployed because they decided to dedicate their lives to running an organisation which raises donations for the residents of the camp. The family runs a small tuck-shop business that sells basic food to the residents, and on top of that, they receive two social grants. It was clear to see that their living situation was much better than people like Gert, who mentioned that even though he and his wife received a joint pension of R3000 (three thousand Rands) per month, all of it goes to her medical expenses and their groceries. Life was even more difficult for the unemployed like Hans, whose main source of income comes from collecting and recycling scrap materials and doing odd jobs for the people in the camp. Based on the information that the participants provided during the survey, the estimated total (combined) annual household income for the thirty-two participating households is seventy eight thousand four hundred and seventy Rands (R78 470). This means that the estimated average income in the camp is two thousand five hundred and two Rands (R2472. However, there is also a large income gap between the highest earning and the lowest earning people in the camp.

I observed on one of the days when Woolworth's delivered some donations to the camp, the white people in the camp stood in the front and were given food, while the black people were made to stand at the back by the camp leaders. They received what was left over from the handouts, which was not enough for all of them. Some of them returned home empty-handed.

I raise this to illustrate the point that even at their most poor state, ‘poor white' people have access to many other privileges which poor people of other races in their position are deprived of (Lewis, 2004). In this context, the articulation of race and class for the black people in this camp means something completely different to how the two are articulated for the white people.

Two points can be taken from this observation. First, it reveals that white skins of these ‘poor white’ people are still to a great extent a source of social capital for them because they received the attention of white corporations who lend a helping hand to alleviate their plight. In addition to this, they have access to charity organisations such as the South African Family Relief Project which are exclusively concerned with meeting the needs of ‘poor white’ people. The poor black people who live in the camp do not have access to these privileges because their networks do not command the same level of power. Second, even though these people may not have direct access to power because they are materially deprived, they can still wield some power which they receive by means of their access to a large network of people who are well resourced. Hence I argue for a conception of the operation of power and privilege of whiteness that takes its complexity and contradictions into account. They simultaneously occupy a position of power and privilege as well as powerlessness and lack of privilege. The same can be argued for the benefits received through the social capital of their skin colour.

Chapter Six

Racist Fantasies and Neo *Swart Gevaar*: The Elements of Psychopathology and Anxiety over the Loss of Privilege.

"Before we came here, they told us that the blacks were going to attack us."

The perceptions that the residents of Pango Camp held about black people were to a great extent informed by colonial/apartheid stereotypes about black people. Even though I was informed that they had lived with several black people in their Coronation Park camp, it was obvious that many of them, prior to moving to Munsieville, had either kept their relations with black people at a superficial level or they had marginal contact with black people. Many of them explained why they were taken aback when they learned that black people are nothing like the terrible myths and stereotypes that they had been fed from childhood. For instance:

> *I heard there [at Coronation Park], there were rumours that the black people just walked in sit by your table and eat your food. We were still in Coronation Park when we heard this; nothing would be safe. Yet when we came here, it was completely different from what we had expected* (Interview, Danie).

> *I have to admit, at first I was afraid of moving in here [Pango Camp]. Another reason, when I first moved to Kleinvallei, there were stories that we heard. 'They are going to rape you and kill you and kill your children.' Those kind of rumours. I was afraid for my children, so I went to a place that I thought would be safer for my kids. But those rumours were just stories, not true at all* (Interview, Michelle).

This can be considered to be an example of the white colonial unconscious that Hudson (2012) theorises about. These false stories about black people are based on colonial constructions of blackness as essentially morally depraved, criminal and inferior. Based on this fallacy, some of the participants in my study made important life decisions, particularly about where they were going to move with their families from Coronation Park. This is another example of how race, even as an intangible social construct, can have real effects on how people conduct their daily lives. I argue that the majority of misconceptions that are held not only by these white people from Pango Camp but by other white people in general result

from an unconscious projection. Psychoanalytical theories of race such as the one provided by Miller and Josephs (2009) have shown that most white people who hold racist attitudes project their unconscious sense of guilt, danger, shame and fear onto black people in order to relieve internal tensions and contradictions. Hence, in a psychological struggle to reconcile the reality of one's privileged position as a white person and the oppression of black people, they develop racist fantasies about black people (Miller and Josephs, 2009). A good example of the kind of unconscious projection were some dreams that Hans told me he had; the details of the dream also reveal some features of his colonial unconscious.

> *Like last night I dreamt that a robber, a black man, was stabbing me bra… yeah, the other night also … there was about eight blacks in groups of two (on different sides) and two of them they grabbed me with knobkerries, they pull me across the road… and I know that road, I almost got robbed there with a gun when I was much younger…then I woke up. Then I was relieved that I'm not going to be killed* [laughs] (Interview, Hans).

It is worth mentioning that Hans and many other men in Pango Camp were soldiers in the army during the apartheid era. Hans was stationed in Soweto in the 1970s and 1980s, at the height of political upheaval in the country. He shared some stories of the violent missions in which he participated, some of which included shooting at and arresting black protesters. Yet in this dream and his entire interview, he was constantly, characterising black people as violent and dangerous. This is in spite of the fact that over the nearly two years that these 'poor white' people have been living in Munsieville, they have had countless experiences and interactions that provided sufficient evidence to dispute their fears of and misconceptions about black people. For instance, when they first moved into the camp, they did not have access to water, so they relied on their black neighbours for water. Secondly, the electricity that they are currently using is acquired through illegal connections which they get from their black neighbours. As Maria, Altus, and Gert put it:

> *There are no disadvantages. You know, when we first moved in here, I'll never forget, it rained that day we were evicted from the Park by the Red Ants. And the black people brought the people food, and they brought bed linen and beds even for the people, to stay warm and to have a bed on which to sleep, and that I will always remember on the part of the black people here. They didn't swear and chase them away, they brought their beds and gave it to our people, and they tried to help the people. I have a lot of respect for them* (Interview, Maria).

> *They [the black people] were welcoming. They told us that we could come and get water. They helped with the food, with moving in beds and other materials for the place* (Interview, Altus).

> *I was very sceptic to come here, to put it that way. I was nervous to come here. But the blacks are alright man, they are friendly. My neighbour across from here he's a black guy. He's a friendly guy and the one further up* (Interview, Gert).

The narratives from the interviews suggest that the majority of the relationships between black and white people in this community remained at a superficial level. Even though there is ample contact between the two groups of people, the white residents have displayed low levels of being integrated into Munsieville. This could be due partly to the fact that, at the time when field work was conducted, the majority of the residents had only been living in Munsieville for about two years. However, the interactions still partly contradict the prediction of the contact hypothesis. The proponents of this hypothesis contend that "given optimal conditions, contact between antagonistic social groups will reduce prejudice and consequently improve intergroup relations" (Erasmus, 2010: 388). From what I gathered through the interviews, it seemed that this stemmed from the desire to maintain distance, which is also fused with a desire to get to know the Other. Pango Camp is supposed to be racially diverse; however, there is an invisible fence between the black section and the white section of the camp that only a few cross over. One of the interview questions sought to understand if the participants actually have developed close relations beyond the contact level with their black neighbours. Their responses were astounding:

> *Definitely, they are good people. They don't bother me, I don't bother them...* (Interview, Altus).

> *Jah, see, I don't interfere with them, they don't interfere with me. I don't make mischief with them, they don't cause trouble here... so we spend most of our time at home* (Interview, Gert).

> *Yes, yeah we do have black friends. Mpho and a few old mamas and so on* (Interview, Victoria).

I am of the view that part of what informs the reluctance of these 'poor whites' to get integrated into the community and to form close relations with their black neighbours is a deep and unconscious sense of guilt, vulnerability, fear and suspicion which had its roots in

the history of our country. It can be said they are projecting their colonial unconscious onto their black neighbours. For instance, Altus said:

> *Look, what we might have done to them, during the old days… they don't want to forgive us, and they can't take it out on us now, it's not our fault. Because I have a lot of friends, and they're black. More black friends than white. They understand me, they know how I talk to them, and I treat them properly (or with dignity). They call me 'Oom Altus'* (Uncle Altus). *The black people call me Oom Altus* (Interview, Altus).

Furthermore, the contradictory perceptions which these white people have about their black neighbours, as well as their ambivalence when it comes to developing intimate relationships with their black neighbours can also be interpreted as a reflection of their contradictory subject and social positionality. I endorse the psychological interpretations of racial behaviours because they offer some insights into the mental processes which influence people's reasoning concerning racial difference. However, I believe that such an analysis would be incomplete without the consideration of the influence of social and political dynamics (that is, structural dynamics) on how people make sense of the world they live in. Hence I argue that the manifestation of these racist fantasies, as well as the colonial unconscious of these 'poor white' people, are partly rooted in the apartheid phenomenon of the *swart gevaar*.

"These days it's hard for the white man; you can't find jobs."

Seekings (2007: 328) defines the *swart gevaar* as "the mix of demographic, political, sexual, social and economic threats posed by African people". The idea that black people invariably pose a persistent threat to the welfare of white people reached its peak under the Pact Government in the 1920s, which was led by JMB Hertzog. Concerns were raised because prior to this period labour and social segregation laws were not stringent, and as a result, most urban black people were more privileged than the majority of rural 'poor white' people. Secondly, levels of racial mixing had increased. These issues threw many Afrikaner nationalists, Hertzog included, into a state of deep panic, as it was considered to be a danger to the civilisation of the white people (Seekings, 2007; Bottomley, 2012). It is clear that the

idea of the *swart gevaar* was inextricably related to the existence of 'poor white' people at the time. In fact, many policy reforms, such as the civilised labour policy (discussed in Chapter One) were introduced as a response to and in order to alleviate the alleged *swart gevaar* (Seekings, 2007).

I argue that a new form of *swart gevaar* displayed itself during my interactions with the 'poor white' people of Pango Camp. When I asked the participants to reflect on how they understand their political, social and economic position in South Africa today, especially in relation to the black government, their responses were invariably accompanied by deep sense of vulnerability, which also revealed itself through their body language and facial expressions. For instance:

> *It's very difficult for the white man because they have foreigners coming in. Me as a white man, I won't work for R250 which is wrong, and that man comes from another country and he is prepared to work for R50 a day. So they pay him R50 a day and he steals R80, so at the end of the day he has R120. But I'm happy the way I am. But this country is going down. How many companies are closing? SABC … ISCOR … big companies that used to give work to hundreds of thousands of people…. Farmers today, you can't farm… you can't open up a company…. Your life is in danger….basically, if you walk in town with a big wallet and flash it in town, they are going to rob you… I read in the paper – I don't know, what would you say? – is it* [the country] *better now?* (Interview, Hans).

> *Life was good there* [in Durban]... *now you can't go because the Nigerians and Indians have taken over the place. That's in the town side, but if you go out of town, you can live there. You don't see many Indians and Negroes there. But out of town like Margate and Spruit and those places.... and I would talk about Isipingo, but yoh! That place is bad... the Negroes and coloureds, yoh!–* (Interview, Gert).

> *You know, I've never gotten into an engagement with them [the government], but the few spaces I have come into contact with, to be honest, they don't want to help you immediately, you have to wait. The hospitals are bad, Home Affairs, everything [The bureaucracy and government employees] has a lot of sarcasm, I don't know why ... the country has fallen. Okay, fair enough, there are more advantages for the majority of the people but there is no work for anyone. There is nothing, what can you do?* (Interview, Henrik).

The quotes above are general examples of the kinds of sentiments that were expressed by all the participants in response to the question of how they feel as a white person in the 'new South Africa'. All the participants were direct beneficiaries of the apartheid state policies

introduced in response to the *swart gevaar*. It is evident that their views were basically symbolic of them lamenting their loss of privilege. There is a sense of nostalgia for the times when white people lived in segregated areas, had little competition in the labour market and got first preference where public services were concerned. This form of nostalgia is similar to what Dlamini (2009: 125) defines as 'native nostalgia', which refers to "a longing for a lost home set in a politically problematic space and time". Even though he wrote this with black people in mind, I believe that it is also relevant in this case of 'poor whites'.

Under the apartheid government, policies of employment placed these 'poor white' people at an advantage; regardless of their level of education, they could attain lower-skilled employment opportunities (Willoughby-Herard, 2015). Hence, they resent current redress policies such as affirmative action and black economic empowerment. Many of the participants claimed the government now provides employment for under-qualified black people because of their race. Under-qualified was always described as "someone who does not even have a matric". This was constantly mentioned even though, as I discovered through the household surveys, out of all people who participated only a mere four had studied up to matric level, and one had completed a higher education qualification (a degree in engineering); the majority had only studied up to Grade ten. Therefore, I argue that this particular accusation is not based on fact but on their perception, which is partly influenced by the logic of the *swart gevaar* which is founded upon a deep sense of white vulnerability and victimhood.

Another baseless allegation which seemed to constitute a common misconception among the participants was the assumption that the reason for government inefficiency in terms of service delivery as well as the depreciation of the country's economic state is on account of a massive population increase. For instance:

> *Yeah, you know what? Obviously, the standard of living was cheaper, inflation down, so you could buy way more with the money that you had. For example, bread in those days was 85c. Now it's R14! Ha ha. But, you have to take into account, the population has vastly increased, the whole 'operating system' has changed. I wouldn't call it an upgrade, I don't know what it is, but things are messed up, the software is completely broken. You understand? No phone can work if all these apps are open simultaneously, and there's no memory card and there's nothing you can really do; you might as well jump on it. But not all people think like other people. But like they*

> *say, majority rules, so here we are, it's like that. I wouldn't say it's reverse apartheid or anything because we do have a choice* (Interview, Frikkie).

While it is true that the population of the country has been increasing, and that the increasing number of service delivery protests witnessed nation-wide can be taken as an indication that the government system has many flaws, the participants exaggerated the statistics in order to suit their explanations. They negated the fact that the reason why the apartheid system was effective in serving their needs as white citizens was because it was purposely designed to prioritise their advancement at the cost of black people.

This section provides evidence to show that the sense of vulnerability and anxiety is more prevalent among white people of lower social class because of their precarious position in society. Upper-middle-class white people, who by virtue of their social position embody the hegemonic form of whiteness, have the privilege of escaping these feelings most of the time because, as scholars such as Mbembe (2015) and Ahmed (2007) have shown, they still benefit from institutionalised whiteness. As Ballard (2004) and Lemanski (2004) have shown, upper-middle-class white people use the strategy of 'semigrating' which consists of moving into fortified enclaves, where they can more easily limit and control contact with racial Others. Lemanski (2004: 105) contends that this new form of *swart gevaar* is usually masked with reasons of fearing crime. The 'poor whites', however, have no option but to face their fear of black people on a daily basis.

Chapter Seven

Whiteness Re-aligned: The Emergence of an Ambivalent Intimacy

"Munsieville is better than Coronation; because the municipality put us here, No one can remove me."

The chapters above provide grounds to suggest that the adjustment process of the 'poor white' residents of Pango Camp has been fraught with feelings of anxiety, resentment, and fear, mainly emanating from the loss of white privilege that was associated with the apartheid system. The interviews showed that the participants have encountered many unfortunate events. At the same time, the data suggests that two sources of disappointment rank the highest for the majority: the loss of white privilege, and the contempt of well-off white people. As many studies have shown, 'poor white' people tend to receive very little or no sympathy from upper-middle-class white people (Hyslop, 2003; Sibanda, 2012; Willoughby-Herard, 2015). Sibanda (2012: 89), in her study of a community of 'poor white' people in the Eastern Cape, has further argued that the disdain with which 'poor white' people are treated is not only limited to intra-racial prejudice, but even the black people in that particular area mistreat those 'poor whites'. The reason for the mistreatment is normally because people think that the poverty of these people was self-inflicted (Sibanda, 2012).

The results of the present study deviate from those of Sibanda (2012) in that, as discussed above, the black people of Munsievlle treated the residents of Pango Camp with kindness upon their arrival. It did not end there – they currently live peacefully with one another. I had a few random conversations with some of the residents of better-off sections of Munsieville about the 'poor white' people. The conversations were held with different people – passers-by on the street, the local shopkeeper, and some people during the local taxi rides to town. The residents all basically sang the same tune. Most recounted their first impressions when the white people arrived and described some of their daily encounters with them. The general sentiments that were expressed were shock, sympathy and minimal ridicule. The ridicule was mostly expressed with regards to those who travel around the township to sell everything they manage to get their hands on and those who travel with their dogs everywhere they go.

I got a sense that there was mutual courtesy between the black people and the white people, in spite of private feelings of wariness. For this reason, I believe that the 'poor white' people of Pango Camp face lower degrees of alienation compared to white people in other parts of the country, particularly those who were featured in the studies by Hyslop (2003), Kruger (2015) and Sibanda (2012). Nonetheless, as was discussed above, there are no clear signs of integration between the black and white residents. There mostly seems to be a sense of ambivalence, a combination of closeness and distance that characterises the majority their interactions, and how they talk about one another.

I anticipate that the social distance between these two groups will follow a pattern of gradual yet constant reduction as time goes by. This is because I have observed that the residents of Pango Camp have developed an unlikely strategy for mitigating the contradictions of their social position. I do not claim to know if this is a conscious or an unconscious process. Scholars of white poverty such as Kruger (2016), Bottomley (2012) and Sibanda (2012) have shown similar results regarding well-adjusted 'poor white' people living in informal settlements. Invariably, the studies show that 'poor white' people tend to segregate themselves from black people; they also aspire towards emulating lives that conform to the hegemonic form of whiteness – that is, the lives of upper-middle-class white people. For instance: Kruger (2016: 55) discusses two of the strategies used by the 'poor white' residents of King Edward Park (in a different area in Krugersdorp) to adhere to the ideology of whiteness. Firstly, in the language they used to describe their poverty and informal settlement, they frequently used words that distinguished their circumstances from the poor blacks who also live in informal settlements. They continue to boast about the fact of their white skins, regardless of their social and class position. In addition, they constructed their homes (this is a reference to the physical structure including their furniture, as well as the norms and values of their homes) in a way that mirrors normative "good white homes" (Kruger, 2016: 51-55). These white people blatantly refuse to have anything in common with poor black people; thus, they adopt what they consider to be "white-like lifestyles" in order to appeal to well-off white people.

One can see the consistency with the discourse of rehabilitating and preserving whiteness that was prevalent during the Transvaal Indigency Commission, as well as the Carnegie Commission (discussed in Chapter Two). This is the same reasoning that influenced the apartheid state to enact laws and policies which sought to enforce degrees of social distance between white people and people who were classified into other racial groups. Hence the residents of King Edward Park and other 'poor whites' believe that separating themselves from black people socially and in every other way possible is an act of conservation, to protect their whiteness, especially if they continue to conform to so-called white norms and values. For these reasons, most white squatters still maintain that squatter camps are anti-white spaces because they are predominantly associated with black people (Kruger, 2016).

Having read a myriad of ethnographic studies about 'poor white' people prior to conducting field work and interacting with the participants, I expected the people of Pango Camp to have similar reactions and attitudes. However, this expectation was invalidated from the very first day that I started conducting the household surveys in the camp. For one thing, only a small fraction – less than a handful of the participants – did not invite me into their homes. All who welcomed me offered their seats, beds or some paint cans to sit on in the process of the interviews. I took this as an indication that they were not ashamed of the state of their homes because they were willing to welcome strangers to have full view of their most intimate living situations. Most of them boasted about how they had developed, designed and painted their homes. For instance, Danie, a 62-year-old former schoolteacher, and his 40-year-old wife live in a beautiful wooden cabin which he nicely decorated with a variety of plants and wall shrubs. He used the farming and building skills that he acquired growing up on his father's farm to improve his home. He and Hans had this to say about their homes:

> *Look at my place. I built a nice veranda which provides constant shade, in the style of a farm house… I live nicely here, I don't regret moving here. There by Coronation, I was staying in a tent. A three-room tent. Now I live in a wooden house*– (Interview, Danie).

> *They moved us here by law. I'm a happy man. Look at what I built in eight months; I built a lot. I got people here with me, they got power. But I haven't got a light in my room. I've got my dogs. I'm happy. I'm building up. There I'm building myself a stove [pointing to what looks like a firewood oven under construction, outside] where you can bake. I am going to build a bathroom as well…. I want to make a little garden, put netting on top of the roof. Build up the wall… When you come here next year in*

> *December, it will be a lekker place. I am going to build a nice pool place where you can buy drinks and chill* [reference to a typical township tavern or pub] (Interview, Hans).

It is clear that the majority of the residents were proud of their homes, even though only a handful of shacks in the whole camp seemed, in my assessment, to meet the standards for being healthy, suitable and hygienic enough for human inhabitation (see Image 6).

Image 6: This image provides an example of the informal dwellings in Pango Camp.

Further evidence which proved that these residents did not immediately aspire to live in ‘white spaces' was their response to two interview questions: "What would you like the government to do for you?” “What are your hopes for the future?” Most responded to the first question by saying that they would like the government to provide them with more building materials, like wood and corrugated iron, so that they could improve their current homes. Those who had young children also mentioned that they would like the government to increase the amount of the child support grant. With regards to the second question, each and every one of the participants was shocked by this question; their body language changed as if a dark cloud of gloom descended above their heads. Most of the younger participants said that they looked forward to receiving their RDP houses, and hopefully to living a life where

they could provide for their families. The older participants, particularly the pensioners, responded with indifference because they anticipated death anytime.

I mentioned all the contents of the discussion above to show that the 'poor white' residents of Pango Camp, unlike those in other studies (Sibanda, 2012; Kruger, 2016) are moving into a mental space where they have made peace with their social position. I took their desire to build better homes in their current locations as a tacit indication that they foresee that they will remain in Pango Camp for a long time. This does not mean that there were no sentiments of discontentment among them; in fact, they expressed several grievances as discussed in Chapter Six. However, I observed that there are certain features of the predominant lifestyles of these residents that confirm that since moving in with their black neighbours, they have been compelled by their poverty to develop various strategies to assimilate themselves into the broader culture of Munsieville, although at a minimal level. My argument is that these strategies form part of their endeavour to deal with the loss of privilege, the rejection that they have received from well-off white people, as well as the contradictions in their identities.

Most of the 'poor white' residents of Pango Camp have incorporated into their lives some of the ways of life which are usually associated with black people in their area. Three examples emerged from my study. First, I had an informal conversation with the local shopkeeper, from whom I bought lunch every time I went to Munsieville. She informed me that the white people from Pango Camp come to her store to buy groceries, and most of them have taken to buying some "black foods" such as kota (which is a township delicacy, a version of bunny chow) and *amagwinya* (fat cakes). On numerous occasions, I saw the residents buying fruit, vegetables and what the people of Munsieville call nqina dust (braaied chicken feet, another township delicacy) from the local hawkers. The camp leaders are running their own tuck shop but some of the residents prefer to buy from the local shops because they argued that the prices in their camp tuck shop are inflated; also they rely on it more for credit purchases.

Some of the residents, mostly males, who participated in the study were open about their drinking habits. All of them buy their alcohol from the local taverns. Two claimed that they prefer to drink in the privacy of their homes. Others claimed that they frequent the local taverns, where they drink and play pool with the black men from Munsieville. Most of the

men also admitted to liking *umqombothi* (African sorghum beer) which they buy from a local vendor at a cheap rate. On two separate occasions, I got the opportunity to witness first-hand two groups of men drinking the beverage during our interview session in their homes.

With regards to what they wear, most of the residents receive their clothing from the donations from Woolworths. However, many of them complained that the clothes are not enough, especially for the male children. So most of the people supplement by buying second-hand clothing from an auction ground in town. I drove past the auction a couple of times and could see that the clothes were generally sold by black women, one of whom lived in the camp. Most of the buyers were also black women. I have also taken many taxi rides with 'poor white' people from all over Krugersdorp who got off at the auction, among other places in town. Furthermore, some of the residents also sell some of the clothing they receive through donations, as well as other goods, to the black women from Munsieville. I witnessed this a couple of times. I also observed during the taxi rides that all the white people who were using taxis seemed to have been acquainted with taxi decorum.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that when the residents first moved to Munsieville, there was only one interracial couple, an elderly white man, and an elderly black woman, whose images I saw in a few online articles. Unfortunately, I was told by the gentleman's niece that they have both passed away. However, in the time that I spent in the camp, I noticed that three members of the camp are in intimate relationships with black people which they met when they arrived at Munsieville. Two of those black people live in the camp with their partners.

When I decided to look beyond just what the participants had to say, and started merging their speech with their actions, it became clear that there is a complex and peculiar web of relationships between the white people and the black people in the camp. This relationship resembles what Jacob Dlamini (2015: 8) refers to in his recent book *Askari* as 'unwanted intimacy' that was generated between black people and white people during the apartheid era. This notion was derived from Njabulo Ndebele's (2013: xi) concept of 'fatal intimacy'; he used this concept to describe the nature of the interaction among people of different races in post- apartheid South Africa. He argued that these interactions are analogous to the reckless

movement of the tongue when one has a toothache. The tongue, despite one's efforts to control its movements, will occasionally bump against the aching tooth, which increases the pain and discomfort. However, after this has occurred repeatedly, a sense of pleasure is derived from the experience, so eventually the two feelings are fused (Ndebele, 2013: ix).

This analogy partly describes the kind of intimate relationship that the residents of Pango Camp are developing with the people of Munsieville. However, I term the intimacy that occurs in this context as an 'ambivalent intimacy'. This is because, as it was discussed in Chapters Five and Six the white residents were ambivalent and confused about their relationships with black people because they expressed contradictory views at times. Nonetheless, they have incorporated into their daily lives some elements of the 'black lifestyle' in Munsieville. This points to the emergence of shared experiences that are generating new cultural forms for the white people in the camp.

This means that it becomes necessary to move beyond a dichotomous analysis of blackness and whiteness. The geographical closeness, as well as the similarity in the class position of the black and white residents in Pango Camp and Munsieville at large generated an ambivalent intimacy. Furthermore, the 'poor whites' were compelled by their poverty to assimilate into the predominant lifestyle in Munsieville by adjusting their tastes in food, alcoholic beverages, mode of transportation and clothing. An ambivalent intimacy emerged from the unwanted intimacy. This further confirms the argument by Said (2012: xxv) that, in contexts where people from diverse backgrounds occupy the same territory, not only do their histories become intertwined, but cultural exchange also happens. This is supported by Sewell's (1999: 52-55) description of cultures as being contradictory, loosely integrated, contested and weakly bounded. It also explains how and why these white people ended up incorporating some aspects of the culture of Munsieville into their lives. However, it does not help one to understand why this process has been largely one-sided because, according to my observation, none of the black people from Munsieville seem to have adopted aspects of the white people's culture.

Many scholars such as Ahmed (2007), Erasmus (2010) and Ballard (2004) have correctly argued that in most cases where there is social contact between white people and people of

other races, the racial Others have to put in more effort by assimilating into whiteness. This is because in most societies whiteness remains in a hegemonic position, and most institutions still prioritise the norms, values, and culture of whiteness, to which people of other races have to adhere. Erasmus and de Wet (2003), in their research about the nature of the relationships between black and white students at the University of Cape Town, found that the process of assimilation placed a burden of responsibility on the black students to perform most of what Erasmus (2010: 392) refers to as "race work".

Munsieville, as this section has shown, is a rather different case. The white people of Pango Camp are predominantly surrounded by black people who are materially better off than they are. In addition, they are demographically outnumbered. These and other factors mean that the white people in this context occupy a lower level of power socially, and this means that they have had to put in more "race work" (Erasmus, 2010: 392) in order to be accepted into the community by the people of Munsieville.

They also had to learn about (and they are still in the process of learning about) some of the community's norms and values. For instance, they had to learn, as the shopkeeper told me, "not to bring their dogs into the store when they come to buy". They had to learn not only about the art of taxi signing, but also taxi etiquette, which in Munsieville, I noticed, is very different from any other township I have ever been to, but the few white people I had the opportunity of observing during taxi rides seemed to have gotten the hang of things. Lastly, as I mentioned in Chapter Six, the participants revealed that there are thieves in their camp who have been responsible for several thefts. However, the same criminals, I was told, know better than to steal from black people in the community. This is because the white people also had to learn that the community of Munsieville has systems in place to discipline alleged troublemakers, which includes but is not limited to mob justice.

I believe that these dynamics further alter the kind of whiteness which the participants of this study embody. The ways in which their whiteness, poverty, and culture are articulated is context-specific. Different configurations of whiteness are produced depending on context; an example of this is the distinct ways in which the adjustment processes of the Pango Camp residents and the people from King Edward Park (Kruger, 2016), as well as those from Port

Elizabeth (Sibanda, 2012), played out. This further challenges the tendency of some scholars of whiteness to homogenise the experiences of white people. Furthermore, this provides evidence that whiteness as a structure (Bona-Silva, 1997; Lewis, 2004) is heterogeneous, contested, contains contradictions and is constantly mutating. The findings of this study that point to the ambivalent intimacy between the black and white residents as well as their emerging shared experiences are evidence that the white people in this context are gradually assimilating to the Munsieville way of life. This shows that the power and supremacy associated with whiteness is not monolithic or always the same, but is relative to context.

CONCLUSION:

This research explores whiteness as narrated by those at its margins. Its rationale emerges from the shortage of literature on the diversity of whiteness, despite a large body of work in the field of Whiteness Studies. Even though some scholars such as Hyslop (2003), Sibanda (2012) and Kruger (2016) have studied white poverty, research on the dimensions and forms of whiteness that are not necessarily associated with supremacy is very minimal. There tends to be an implicit assumption in most literature on whiteness that is a homogeneous and monolithic phenomenon.

I have demonstrated that Whiteness Studies focuses predominantly on the history of white supremacy, whiteness as a social construct and a hegemonic ideology. This literature tends to treat the economic, institutional, social and ideological aspects of whiteness as separate. Most of it does not capture the relationship between the colonial and apartheid history of white supremacy, and it focuses on whiteness as a social construct and less on its internal structure and differentiation. This study attempts to address these lacunae by drawing on the narratives of white people who live in the margins of whiteness.

Following a brief review of some important literature in the field of Whiteness Studies, I suggested a conception of race as structure conjoined with the theory of articulation as key tools for this study. The structural framework views race – whiteness in this context – as a two-dimensional structure, constituted by symbolic and material capital (Bon-Silva, 1997; Lewis, 2004). It is also differentially related to other structures in society such as blackness. This theory of articulation explains that whiteness relies on class, culture and particular contestations of blackness in order to maintain its position of dominance. The theory further explains the ways in which I demonstrated that the 'poor white' residents of Pango Camp in Munsieville experienced a different form of whiteness due to the specific configuration of their race and class, as well as its changing articulation. This shows that whiteness is not a stable racial formation (Slack, 2010).

I selected the residents of Pango Camp because, unlike most 'poor white' people that have been featured studies (Hyslop, 2003; Sibanda, 2015; Kruger, 2016), when the residents were

presented with a choice of either moving into an exclusively 'white camp' or to a camp where they would live among black people, they chose the latter option. I explored the ways in which they make sense and meaning of their whiteness considering their socio-economic status, the reasons for their choice and the ways in which they constructed their black neighbours.

The study shows that these white people came from poor backgrounds, they form a second generation of 'poor whites' who have always been at the margins of whiteness. This means that they do not fit into the category of 'conventional whites' that are the subjects of most literature about whiteness because they do not embody the hegemonic form of whiteness that is mostly associated with upper-middle-class economic status. Their location on the margins meant that the participants were not only mistreated but also discriminated against by more privileged white people, who labelled them as 'white ka**irs'. This labelling reflects the articulation of their whiteness with their economic status, rendering them 'un-whitely' because of the association of blackness with poverty.

This specific articulation of race and class not only altered their whiteness but it also lessened its degree of power and privilege. Nevertheless, I show that the participants continue to benefit from the social and material capital of whiteness through their access to networks that are well resourced. This manifests in their ability to get donations from organisations devoted solely to helping 'poor white' people. This is a privilege that most black people, including the black residents of Munsieville, do not have, which confirms the argument by Lewis (2004: 629) that "whites in all social locations are relatively privileged compared to similarly located racial groups". Moreover, this finding implies that methodologically it is important that research on whiteness is more sensitive to context.

Most of the participants were direct beneficiaries of the apartheid state policies that were implemented to alleviate white poverty. Hence when apartheid ideas about the superiority of the *Volk* as well as its attempts at preserving whiteness (Hyslop, 2003) collapsed, they were hit the hardest. The findings also show that prior to settling in Munsieville most of the participants had never interacted with black people so closely. Most were still informed by the apartheid idea of the *swart gevaar*, which is a deep and irrational fear that black people

are a threat to the well-being of whites. Hence, some of them projected their racist fantasies and internal feelings of fear and vulnerability onto black people. In the midst of these feelings of hostility, the participants' narratives suggest that they have started to question some of these misconceptions about black people. They have also been propelled by their poverty to incorporate some aspects of the black culture of the people of Munsieville into their everyday lives.

The 'poor white' people from Pango Camp are located on the margins of whiteness, where they are in close contact with black people and forms of blackness. Thus, they deviate from the normalised and hegemonic form of whiteness. In many ways, most of their ideas about race are still informed by apartheid ideas, hence most of them seem ambivalent about developing close relations with black people and assimilating the ways of the black people from Munsieviile. However, there is some indication in their practices that they are gradually incorporating some aspects of the culture of Munsieville. Therefore, their case differs from the case studies of other 'poor white' people in the country (Hyslop, 2003; Sibanda, 2012; Kruger, 2016). This study has shown that within whiteness there are contradictions and contestations. Thus, white people cannot be theorised about as if they were homogeneous groups.

References

Alder, P. A. and Alder, P. (2003) "The promise and pitfalls of going into the field." *Contexts* 2, no. 2 -41-47.

Africa Check (2013) *Do 400,000 whites live in squatter camps in South Africa? No.*

https://africacheck.org/reports/do-400-000-whites-live-in-squatter-camps-in-south-africa-the-answer-is-no/ [accessed: 06/03/2016].

Ahmed, S. (2004). *Declarations of Whiteness: the Non- Performativity of Antiracism* [online]. Borderlands 3 (2). Available from: http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol3no2_2004/.ahmed_declarations.htm [Accessed 4 March 2016].

Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of Whiteness. *Feminist theory*, 8(2), pp.149-168.Althusser, L. 1970. Reading Capital. London: New Left Books.

Ballard, R. (2004). Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: 'white' people's strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa. In N. Distiller & M. Steyn (Eds.). *Under construction. 'Race' and identity in South Africa today* (pp. 51 – 66). Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann

Biko, S.B. (1978). *I write what I like*. London: Bowerdean.

Bona-Silva, E. (1997). ''Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation.'' *American Sociological Review,* 62:465–480.Bottomley, E.J., (2012). Poor White. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Callinicos, L. (2014). Gold and Workers: A People's History of South Africa. Khanya Publishing: Johannesburg.

Carnegie Corporation of New York (2004). *Carnegie Corporation in South Africa: A Difficult Past Leads to a Commitment to Change.* on https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/f3/54/f354cbf9-f86c-4681-8573-c697418ee786/ccny_cresults_2004_southafrica.pdf. [Accessed on 25 October 2016]

Clarke, J. (2015). Stuart Hall and the theory and practice of articulation. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, *36*(2), pp.275-286.

De Saussure, F. (1974).*Course in General Linguistics.* Fontana.

De Luca, K. (1999). Articulation theory: A discursive grounding for rhetorical practice. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, *32*(4), pp.334-348.

de Vos, P. (2011) *"On the Impossibility of Renouncing Power: Whiteness and Full Citizenship Under the South African Constitution"*. Talk delivered at workshop held at Wits University in September 2011.

Dlamini, J. (2009). *Native nostalgia*. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Dlamini, J., (2015). *Askari: a story of collaboration and betrayal in the anti-apartheid struggle*. Jacana Media

Dubow, S. (1995) *Scientific racism in modern South Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Dubow, S. (2015). Racial Irredentism, Ethnogenesis, and White Supremacy in High-Apartheid South Africa. *Kronos*, *41*(1), pp.236-264.

Du Plessis, I.(2004) . "Living in 'Jan Bom': Making and Imagining Lives after Apartheid in a Council Housing Scheme in Johannesburg." *Current Sociology* 52 (5): 879–908.

du Toit, A. (2015). *Chronic and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Challenges for Action and Research* Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper No. 56. Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1753656 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1753656 [Accessed October 2016]

Dyer, R. (1997). *White.* London: Routledge.

Erasmus, Z. (2010). Contact theory: Too timid for race and racism. *Journal of Social Issues*. *66*(2), pp.387-400.

Erasmus, Z and De Wet, J. (2003). *Not naming race: some medical students' perceptions and experiences of race and racism at the Health Sciences faculty of the University of Cape Town*. The university of Cape Town.

Fanon. F. (1967). *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. New York: Grove, 1991.

Finlay, L. and Gough, B. eds. (2008). *Reflexivity: A practical guide for researchers in health and social sciences*. John Wiley & Sons.

Fourie, C. (2015). *White squatters happy in Munsieville*.

http://krugersdorpnews.co.za/269506/white-squatters-happy-in-munsieville/ [accessed: 21 May 2016].

Frankenberg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: the social construction of whiteness.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Garson, N.G. (1996). Botha-Smuts Party in the Transvaal, 1904- 1911. *The Historical Journal* Vol. 9 No. 1. Pp. 101-132. Cambridge University Press.

Green, M.J., Sonn, C.C., and Matsebula, J., (2007). Reviewing whiteness: Theory, research, and possibilities. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *37*(3), pp.389-419.

Goodson, I.F. and Sikes, P.J. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives*. Open University Press.

The government of South Africa (RSA) (2016) Social Benefits. http://www.gov.za/services/services-residents/social-benefits [Acccessed: November 2016]

Greenstein, R., Roberts, B. and Sitas, A. (2003). 'Qualitative Research Methodology' in Greenstein, R. (Ed).*Research Methods Manual.* Unpublished.

Hall, S. (1985). Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-structuralist debates. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *2*(2), pp.91-114.

Hook, D. (2011). Retrieving Biko: A black consciousness critique of whiteness. *African Identities*, *9*(01), pp.19-32.

Hudson, P. A. (1994). Structure, Subject, and Essence: From the Marxism of Louis Althusser to the Post-Marxism of Ernesto Laclau. In N. Romm and M. Arakinsky. *Social Theory.* Johannesburg: Heinemann. Pp. 242- 284.

Hudson, Peter. (2012) "The state and the colonial unconscious." In *Social Dynamics* 39, no. 2 (2013): 263-277.

Hsuing, (2010).*Lives and legacies: a guide to qualitative interviewing*. http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~pchsiung/LAL/reflexivity[Accessed: 20 December 2016]

Hyslop, J. (2000) 'Why did Apartheid's Supporters Capitulate? "Whiteness", Class and Consumption in Urban South Africa, 1985–1995', *Society in Transition* 31(1): 36–43.

Hyslop, J. (2003). The White poor at the end of Apartheid: the collapse of the myth of Afrikaner Community. *Itinerario*, *27*(3-4), pp.226-242.

Iliffe, J. (1987). *The African Poor: A History.*African Series 58.Cambridge University Press.

Kleinvallei (2016) http://www.kleinvallei.com/about-us/ [Accessed: August 2016]

Kolchin, P. (2002). Whiteness Studies: The new history of race in America. *The Journal of American History*, *89*(1), pp.154-173.

Kruger, C. (2016). (Dis) Empowered Whiteness: Un-Whitely Spaces and the Production of the Good White Home. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, *39* (1), pp.46-57.

Lange, L. (2003). White Poor and Angry: White Working Class Families in Johannesburg. Ashgate: USA.

Lemanski, C. (2004). A new apartheid? The spatial implications of fear of crime in Cape Town, South Africa. *Environment and Urbanization*, *16* (2) , pp.101-112.

Lewis, A. E. (2004). "What Group?" Studying Whiteness and Whiteness I the Era of "Colour Blindness". In *Social Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 623- 646. American Sociological Association.

Matthews, S. (2011). Becoming African: Debating Post-Apartheid White South African Identities. *African Identities*, *9*(01), pp.1-17.

Mbembe, A. (2015) *Apartheid Futures and the Limits of Racial Reconciliation. on*

http://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/documents/Mbembe%20-%202015%20-%20Public%20Positions%20-%20Apartheid%20Futures.pdf. [Accessed: June 2016]

McIntosh, P. (1988). *A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women's Studies*. Working Paper 189, Centre for Research on Women, Wellesley College.

Miller, A.E. and Josephs, L. (2009).Whiteness as pathological narcissism.*Contemporary Psychoanalysis*, *45*(1), pp.93-119.

Michtley, A. (2015). Sunette Bridges to oppose removal of Kruger statue. On https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/357884/sunette-bridges-to-oppose-removal-of-paul-kruger-statue/ [Accessed: July 2017]

Mogale City, (2009) *The Municipal Area in Context.* http://www.mogalecity.gov.za/content/pdfs/idp/idp1314_annexure3_municipal_pg32-56.pdf [accessed: 29 May 2016]

Moodie, T.D. (1975). The rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, apartheid, and the Afrikaner civil religion (No. 11). University of California Press.

Naicker, L. (2012), The Role of Eugenics and Religion in the Construction of Race in South Africa. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*. Vol. 38(2), pp. 209-220.

Nakayama, T. K. and Krizek, R. L. (1995). Whiteness: A strategic rhetoric. *Quarterly Journal of Speech, 81(3),* 291-310.

Ndebele 2013

Neuman, W., L. (2006) 'Qaulitative and QantiatativeReserch Designs' in *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (6th Ed.).* Boston: Pearson and Ally and Bacon.

Parnell, S. M. (1987) 'Council Housing Provision for Whites in Johannesburg: 1920–1955', unpublished MA thesis, University of the Witwatersrand.

Proctor, M.P. (1986). Local and central state control of black settlement in Munsieville, Krugersdorp. *GeoJournal*, *12*(2), pp.167-172.

Ratele, K. (2012). Make Indigenes Unconscious of Whiteness: A response to Green, Sonn, and Matsebula. *South African journal of psychology*, *37*(3), pp.431-436.

Said, E.W. (2012).*Culture and imperialism*. Vintage.

Seekings, J. (2007). 'Not a single white person should be allowed to go under': swartgevaar and the origins of South Africa's welfare state, 1924–1929. *The Journal of African History*, *48*(03), pp.375-394.

Serumula, R. (2015) *Black, white squatters living in harmony.*

http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/black-white-squatters-living-in-harmony-1808635 [Accessed: 03 March 2016].

Sewell Jr, W.H. (1992). A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, *98*(1), pp.1-29.

Sewell Jr, W.H. (2005). The concept (s) of culture. In Spiegel, G.M. ed., 2005. *Practicing history: new directions in historical writing after the linguistic turn*. Pp. 76-95 Routledge.

Sibanda, O. (2012). 'Social pain and social death': poor white stigma in post-apartheid South Africa, a case of West Bank in East London. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, *35*(3-4), pp.81-90.

Slack, J.D. (2010).The theory and method of articulation in cultural studies. In Kuan-Hsing, C, and Morley, D. eds. *Stuart Hall: Critical dialogues in cultural studies*. Pp. 112- 127. Routledge, 2006.

South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) (2016) Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Collection. Available online at http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/glossary/anc_camps.htm?tab=victims [Accessed 15 November 2016]

South African History Online (SAHO) (2011). *Impact of pseudo-scientific racism and Social Darwinism on the 19th and 20th Centuries*. http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/pseudo-scientific-racism-and-social-darwinism-grade-11 [Accessed: 25 September 2016]

South African Family Relief Project (SAFRP) (2016). http://www.safrpsa.org/ [Accessed: June 2016]

Stevens, G. (2007). Tactical Teversal or Re-centring Whiteness? A response to Green, Sonn, and Matsebula. *South African journal of psychology*, *37*(3), pp.425-430.

Steyn., M. E. (2001). "*Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used to Be": White Identity in a Changing South Africa.* University of New York Press.

Steyn., M. E. (2004) Rehabilitating a Whiteness Disgraced: Afrikaner white talk in post-apartheid South Africa. *Communication Quarterly*, 52:2, 143-169, DOI: 10.1080/01463370409370187.

Steyn, M. (2005). White talk": White South Africans and the Management of Diasporic Whiteness. *Postcolonial whiteness: A critical reader on race and empire*, pp.119-35.

Steyn, M. (2007). As the Postcolonial Moment Deepens: A response to Green, Sonn, and Matsebula. *South African journal of psychology*, *37* (3), pp.420-424.

Teppo, A.B. (2004). *The Making of a Good White: A Historical Ethnography of the Rehabilitation of Poor Whites in a Suburb of Cape Town.* Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Vice, S. (2010). How do I Live in this Strange Place?. *Journal of Social Philosophy*, *41*(3), pp.323-342.

Wale, K, and Foster, D. (2007). Investing in Discourses of Poverty and Development: How White Wealthy South Africans Mobilise Meaning to Maintain Privilege, *South African Review of Sociology*, 38:1, 45-69, DOI: 10.1080/21528586.2007.10419166.

Willoughby-Herard, T. (2007). South Africa's poor whites and Whiteness Studies: Afrikaner ethnicity, scientific racism, and white misery. *New Political Science*, 29(4), pp.479-500.

Willoughby-Herard, T. (2015). *Waste of a White Skin: The Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability*. University of California Press.