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### The 25th Anniversary of South African Democracy: Exploring Perspectives of 10 Stellenbosch Residents on Patriotism and National Pride

John Mitchell  
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The 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of South African Democracy:  
Exploring Perspectives of 10 Stellenbosch Residents on  
Patriotism and National Pride

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### **Abstract**

*The purpose of this study is to evaluate the prevalence and qualities of a South African patriotism in Stellenbosch. 25 years after the transition to democracy and an election in 2019, this study aims to develop a sense of national pride using a small sample size. The major question is how is that pride expressed? Is it using rhetoric from the post-1994 ANC nation-building projects? Or have those efforts lost salience in people's lives?*

*To conduct this research, I used mainly a 'vox pop' style interview, meaning participants were chosen randomly to answer a short, 5-6 question survey about national pride. Structured interviews with planned meeting times were also conducted, where participants answered the same set of questions.*

*The findings of this research were insightful in four main regards. The first was the reference to post-1994 ANC rhetoric, which was invoked and spanned demographic lines but was not overwhelmingly present. The second was the unanimous feelings of uncertainty about the future of the country. The third was the stable definition of 'patriotism' offered by participants. Finally, the complexities of coloured identity in South Africa that were alluded to in interviews with coloured participants.*

**KEY WORDS:** Patriotism, South Africa, National Pride, Stellenbosch, 1994 ANC, Nationalism, Nation-State

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## Introduction

In May of 2019, general elections will be held in South Africa. In the buildup to the elections, held on May 8<sup>th</sup>, many South Africans will likely be reflecting on the current status of their lives and their country. Patience, hopes, frustrations and loyalty will tug at the consciousness of voters who have seen the same party in power since 1994 (Alfroy, 2019). Now, 25 years after that historic transition from apartheid to democracy, from white minority rule by the National Party (NP) to black majority rule by the African National Congress (ANC), what is the collective feeling of South Africans? While these sentiments will be somewhat measured at ballot boxes in early May 2019, I aim to dig a little deeper.

The main objective of this research is to attempt to document the feelings of a small sample of South Africans in Stellenbosch about their sense of patriotism. Some questions I had entering this research, inspired by the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of formal apartheid and a national election year, were: 25 years after the feelings of a ‘new South Africa’ were established (Villa Vincenio, 2008), are people proud to be South African today? What is it that makes them proud or not? Are the general feelings about the country, its past, present and future, still based heavily on the rhetoric of 1994? Or have the projects of the ANC post-1994, which sought to build a new over-arching South African identity, faded in the memories of the country’s people (Peberdy, 2001)? To measure these sentiments, I conducted a series of short interviews (between 5 and 6 set questions) in Stellenbosch with 10 participants. Using their responses, I

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aimed to develop a rudimentary outline of the themes (or lack thereof) espoused, mainly whether or not there seems to be a connection to post-1994 ANC rhetoric.

This paper is split into six main sections: Introduction and Background, Literature Review, Methodology and Ethics, Research Findings, Analysis, and the Conclusion. The first is to introduce and frame the research question. The second uses academic literature to contextualize the themes I discuss in the paper. The third outlines the methodological and ethical frameworks used to gather and compile both the research and subsequent analysis. The fourth outlines my findings in an organized format. The fifth provides analysis around trends and themes in my findings and outlines my interpretations while attempting to avoid over-generalized assumptions from the data. Finally, the conclusion contains a summarization of the data collected, how it ties into the literature discussed and recommendations for future work in this area.

This research is in no way a conclusive outlook on the current status of patriotism in South Africa. Instead, using the time and resources available, it serves as a starting point for more research to be done. In the few weeks set aside for research, I travelled to Stellenbosch 4 times, spending between 5 and 6 hours either interviewing or looking for willing participants. Many interviewees touched upon themes discussed in my literature review and other common themes mentioned throughout this program.

### **Nation-Building in the 1990s**

On April 27<sup>th</sup>, 1994, the first democratic elections were held in South Africa. 19 million votes were cast, marking the end of the official apartheid era, and the four-year long negotiation process between the ruling National Party

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(NP) and the opposition parties, mainly the African National Congress (ANC). Heralded as one of the crowning achievements for democracy across the globe, the beginning of a post-apartheid South Africa would be equal parts hopeful and challenging (Leander, 2017). Reconciliation and repatriation for centuries of wrongdoing were pressing issues, as was the hope of unifying a fractured people (Baines, 1998). The ANC, cast as a political party as well as symbolic voice of liberation for many, was tasked with these challenges. Outright revolution had been avoided, a victory in the eyes of many. However, the responsibility to both heal and define a new ‘nation’ fell squarely in the laps of the ANC (Baines, 1998). In this section, I will explore the political and symbolic decisions made by the ANC post-1994 to re-define what it meant to be South African.

One of the first actions taken by the new ANC government was addressing the ‘problem’ of immigration. Sally Perberdy (2001) asserts that immigration became a main pillar of the ANC government as a means of defining the new ‘nation’. She writes, “The process of selection conveys powerful ideas about the self-image of the destination state, race, national identity,” (Peberdy, 2001, p. 16). In defining who is *not* a part of this new nation, it becomes easier to define who is. The ANC used the Alien Controls Act, a 1991 law, as the primary tool for re-constructing immigration regulations. In doing so, the process of applying for a work visa became both more expensive and strict. Increased fees were implemented across the board, but were significantly higher for applications coming from other African countries. Thresholds for acceptance were also raised, and rates of arrests and detentions for illegal immigrants increased as well. While the immigration laws were revamped, the government also rolled out three



different amnesty waves during the period of 1996 and 2000. The groups these waves mostly applied to were contracted mineworkers from Mozambique and Zimbabwe. These amnesty waves seem odd, but Peberdy (2001) argues that these waves were deliberately aimed to keep foreign labor in the country, an economic exception to the new immigration directives. These new political regulations for who is and is not qualified to stay in South Africa, marked a new development by the ANC which, “clearly defined spatial identity and sense of territorial integrity, and that this, in turn, has been shaped by notions of nation building and national identity,” (Peberdy, 2001 p. 23). In other words, one of the ways the ANC sought to re-define the ‘new South African’ identity was to root it firmly in the state territorial boundaries, thereby excluding those not within the boundaries.

Among the specific policy decisions made by the ANC post-1994 were the equally as important symbolic choices. In an attempt to crystallize aspects of a new, over-arching South African identity, the state unveiled a number of new national symbols. The first introduction to the new symbols was the new national flag, flown for the first time on election day in 1994. The flag, an assortment of green, black, gold, red, blue and white, converges into a ‘V’ formation that flows into one bold horizontal line. In many ways, this can be seen as a symbolic gesture of harmony in a heterogeneous society, with many smaller identities flowing into a new South African one (Bornman, 2006). Apart from the flag, the ANC government also decided to change the national anthem. At first, the government decided on two anthems. One, a Xhosa hymn written in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the other an Afrikaner piece from the early 1900s. Later in 1996, the

two songs were combined, yet another symbolic decision to promote inclusivity, unity and a shared sense of being ‘South African’ more than anything else (Bornman, 2006). This message of inclusivity was best embodied by Desmond Tutu’s (anti-apartheid activist and chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) phrase, ‘Rainbow Nation’. Meant to project images of peaceful diversity and a celebration of cultural differences, the term ‘Rainbow Nation’ became the tag line of what post-1994 South Africa aimed to be as a re-imagined people and country (Bornman, 2006).

While the government offered symbols of a new collective consciousness in the 1990s, perhaps the biggest changes came in the most fundamental laws of the country. In the apartheid system, political rights were distributed along strictly racial lines, delegating those deemed ‘black’, ‘coloured’, ‘Asian’ or ‘non-white’ generally to a class beneath citizenship. That is why, in May of 1996, the Constitutional Assembly instituted the new Constitution of South Africa. Including a comprehensive list of new human and individual rights afforded to South Africans, the Constitution and its Bill of Rights are commonly referred to as one of the most progressive in the world (Baines, 1998). The document includes protections of cultural practices and religious beliefs, as well as 11 official national languages. The Constitution is perhaps the most concrete example of the ANC’s vision of a new South African identity. Providing assured rights and protections, the new Constitution tied the government to the people of South Africa in a way it never was before. This relationship became the foundation of the new nation-building process. The state, and more specifically the ANC, would be the architects and the leaders of the new South African

‘nation’. In doing so, the government emphasized the importance of the state in citizens’ lives, while portraying the cultural and historical differences between groups as an important part of the new and inclusive South African identity (Baines, 1998).

As this idea of what it meant to be a South African post-1994 took shape, symbols like the ‘Rainbow Nation’ and the new Constitution were just a few of the projects the ANC undertook in its attempt to re-define the identity of the nation. Hope of a new beginning dominated the social and political rhetoric, painting the picture of a unified South Africa that was turning its back on its ugly past (Villa Vicencio, 2008). However, as the novelty and reality of that time gets further away, it is important to investigate what is left of those sentiments and what has completely changed. This is the purpose of my research. As an election approaches, in the 25<sup>th</sup> year since the ANC took power from the apartheid government, do those early nation-building projects have any salience in the collective consciousness of South Africans today? And if not, then what has taken their place, if anything at all?

### **Why Stellenbosch?**

The decision to conduct my research in Stellenbosch was both a practical and academic one. Having stayed in Stellenbosch with a family in Ida’s Valley for a short period, I had had previous informal discussions about South African patriotism with my host family. That week’s classes were also heavily focused on the history of the university and the town. By the time I had left, I decided I wanted to know more about the town, its history and its people. Stellenbosch is

also an hour or so train ride away from Cape Town, the home base of SIT Cape Town (School for International Training).

### **A Complex Legacy**

Stellenbosch, part of the Northern suburbs of greater Cape Town, is the second oldest Dutch colonial town after Cape Town proper. The town was originally established by Dutch settler Simon van der Stel. The name *Stellenbosch* roughly translates to ‘Stel’s Bush’ in Dutch. However, it was not until the early 1900s that Stellenbosch became more than just another colonial imposition in South Africa. In 1918, what was once called Victoria College became Stellenbosch University under the 1916 University Act of South Africa (Nolundi, 2018).

It was not long after its formal establishment that Stellenbosch University (SU) as an institution began building the reputation it holds today. SU is commonly thought of as an important, if not the most important, source of the apartheid regime and Afrikaner identity (Moradi, 2010). The university played a vital role in the perpetuation and formalization of Afrikaans as an academic language, with classes being offered only in Afrikaans. Integral minds of the Afrikaner movement and apartheid system attended and/or taught at the university. In fact, every Prime Minister of South Africa from 1919 to 1978 were once students at SU (Nolundi, 2018). This includes names such as D.F. Malan and JG Strijdom. Espousing deep Afrikaner and Christian conservative values, the university became the epi-center for cementing apartheid. The apartheid system itself was solidified in the Sociology Department of the university. One leader in that movement was H.F. Verwoerd, professor of Sociology. Verwoerd

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would later go on to become Prime Minister in the 1950s and the man responsible for many of the heavily segregated apartheid laws that defined the era such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act (Moradi, 2010). In fact, the Group Areas Act would be used as the legal backing for the university to forcibly remove coloured and black communities next to the school in order to make room for new SU buildings (Nolundi, 2018).

The criticism of the university has only intensified in recent decades. In the 1970s, the school tried to ‘diversify’, admitting small numbers of non-white students. However, disagreements and unrest arose in rejection of the Afrikaans-only classes. The university has struggled, or deliberately resisted some would argue, to provide a more inclusive atmosphere for non-white students (Moradi, 2010). These tensions still exist today, embodied in the ‘Open Stellenbosch’ movement in 2015. Students and staff (mostly non-white) protested to try and bring attention to the language difficulties at the university, the legacy of colonialism and racism of the university, and the experiences of non-white students (Nolundi, 2018).

Stellenbosch University and the town itself seem to be in many ways microcosms of the issues in South Africa today. Dealing with the legacy of apartheid, colonialism and the present conditions brought by those eras are undoubtedly complex issues. Within this one town, the disparities of wealth and the differences of perception are starkly evident from block to block. It is because of this complicated past and present that my research is situated in Stellenbosch. Did post-1994 notions of ‘Rainbow Nation’ and a ‘new South Africa’ ever permeate Stellenbosch and its people? Do those notions still exist

for some? What is it people of Stellenbosch think of when asked about South Africa? Pride, hope, disappoint, or even nostalgia?

### **Literature Review**

Patriotism and nationalism, relatively speaking, are new social and political phenomena. While people have grouped themselves around any number of commonalities for millennia, the ideological and contextual boundaries of nationalism and patriotism are products of larger social and historical trends dating back a few hundred years (Roeder, 2007). In framing questions about South African patriotism as it exists today, it is important to first explore the roots of these sentiments. Why is it that large group loyalties most commonly center around ideas of a 'nation' and/or a 'state'? From where do ideas of 'nations' originate? This paper look to engage with theories of the conditions that fostered the 'nation-state' as we understand it today, how this lead to the complex group loyalty concepts of patriotism and nationalism and what they mean, and how they apply to the South African state.

### **The Nation-State**

Both 'nations' and 'states' are considered the 'modern' template for political organization today. For example, some people from the U.S. consider themselves patriotic. This identity subscription is rooted in the idea that the people and the state are in a reciprocal relationship. The culture, values and norms of the 'nation-state' are reinforced and re-produced by both parties simultaneously to formulate a homogenized notion of what is and is *not* American. This formula is present all over the world (Muller, 2008).

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International systems such as liberalism, sovereignty and capitalism constantly solidify the idea of the 'nation-state' as the template for international participation (James, 2006). How did such a powerful idea take shape? What were the conditions that led to such adherence to its principles by most of the world? The genesis story of the 'nation-state' is a very contested topic, with theories ranging from political scientists to sociologists. The following section is not meant to provide an argument for the most convincing theory, but to outline commonalities in order to generate a basic outline of the historical and social context that led to the formation of the 'nation-state'.

Prior to the nation-state, the political organizations that dominated much of the globe were empires and city-states. Both were often heterogeneous groups of people including different religions, languages, ethnicities, etc. There was little in common between a subject of the empire on one end with a subject on the other end. However, as contestations of land and resources between powers in Western Europe grew, the paradigm began to shift (Roeder, 2007). This competition and the increased demand for new modes of warfare are often attributed as the beginnings of the nation-state. Unlike expansive empires or smaller city-states, a state that fostered loyal relationships with its people could become more efficient not only militarily, but economically. Roeder suggests that nation-states, "represented an optimal mix of an expanded resource base and intense popular loyalty that is necessary for modern warfare," (Roeder, 2007 p. 344). In other words, an army of loyal soldiers of conviction rather than mercenaries or poorly trained slaves meant greater military might. Along with war-making, Roeder (2007) argues that economic efficiency played a part in the

shift from empires to nation-states. If states could be homogenous culturally, he argues, then more uniform policies aimed at mobilizing and training civilians could be implemented. Harnessing and distributing resources for a largely homogenous group with a deep sense of loyalty to a state is far easier than dealing with an expansive, heterogeneous group. Roeder writes on this point, “Their governments have less need for either costly schemes to compensate or wasteful duplication of bureaucracies to administer distinct cultural communities,” (Roeder 2007, p. 346). If states could assimilate the civilians into an identifiable homogenized group, then mobilizing both warfare and economic resources would be more uniform and efficient (Roeder, 2007).

Similarly, some theorists attribute the advent of the nation-state to the advent of heavy industrialization along with increased competition for land, resources and loyalty. Older agrarian political organizations were structured at more local levels, including work specializations, kin, language and social ranking. Sub-cultures clearly defined individuals’ roles in relation to each other and existing power structures that had little to do with the state. However, as industry and warfare became more commonplace, societal organization began to change. Industry, and later capitalism, operated (at least in theory) with the notion that social and economic mobility was possible. Heavily specialized and organized sub-sections of society were slowly brought into an undefined era in which roles between people and the state were unclear. An entirely new system in which relationship and status were re-defined became incredibly important to compete with advances in a changing society. In this period of flux, the state stepped in to fill the void (Gellner, 1983). In need of a new social system that

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fostered a deeper relationship between the people and the state, notions of mutual loyalty were established. The foundations of this loyalty were embedded in ideas of homogeneity, in sharing a particular set of boundaries, both physically and culturally. To create one shared cultural boundary, the state became the primary driver in the reinforcement of the nation-state, or in Gellner's words, "The state, inevitably, is charged with the maintenance and supervision of an enormous social infrastructure," (Gellner, 1983 p. 63). Through mechanisms such as the education system, the state was slowly able to homogenize aspects of life such as language and culture. By creating this new system of organization, the state controlled much of the conceptualizations of identity and culture. This, Gellner makes sure to point out, did not eliminate the use of culture to differentiate class and status among civilians. In fact, cultures incompatible with the new state-sponsored one were heavily pressured to assimilate, or face societal exclusion. These projects by the state to homogenize became the basis for nation-states as understood today (Gellner, 1983).

Paul James, an Australian professor of globalization expands on the abstract nature of nation-states. He writes, "The contemporary nation as an abstract community of strangers stretched across state administered abstracted territory, is both projected globally and calls back upon the embodied subjectivities of more traditional forms of community, including traditional 'ethnic' community," (James, 2006 p. 372). In other words, ideas of nationhood and its relationship to the state are new forms of older community-building. On a larger scale, nations build loyalty and identity with each other in ways similar to 'ethnic communities' and communities within empires. As stated earlier, these

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new and increasingly abstract communities were products of social and political trends of the time. This particular mode of political organization solidified itself in the twentieth century, with advances in capitalism and the dissolution of the three empires of World War I (The Hapsburg Empire, Romanov Empire and the Ottoman Empire). James writes that the prevalence of these new organizations was reinforced, “through the same abstracting modes of practice: capitalist production, print communication, commodity exchange, bureaucratic organization and rationalized analytic enquiry,” (James, 2006 p. 370). In other words, as societies and economic markets inched towards what is now called ‘globalization’, notions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ were forming (James, 2006). Of course, the conditions that set Western Europe on this path were unique to that place and time. As the competition in the West grew outwards and colonialism reached most corners of the globe, the loyalty to not only a particular ‘nation-state’, but to the very concept of the nation-state would change the international arena forever (Gellner, 1983).

### **Loyalty: Nationalism, Ethnic Nationalism and Patriotism**

In the expansive literature on the nation-state (generally outlined above as a relationship between the state, its territory and the people built on communal cultural traits), the main component for its establishment and perpetuation relied heavily on group loyalty. Loyalty became paramount as the concept of what was considered the nation became more abstract. As James (2006) noted, loyalty to the nation grew out of earlier sets of communities that had relied on communal trust and identity. Loyalty once placed in groups based on status, language, or

kinship was broadened to entire groups of people within a territory ruled by the state. This, as mentioned earlier, was in response to external pressures for social cohesion. As loyalty to the nation-state grew more prevalent in the twentieth century, ideas about what that loyalty looks like, how it is defined and acted, and to whom it is afforded began to diverge. These particular kinds of group loyalty are commonly called ‘nationalism’ or ‘patriotism’. Daniel Druckman (1994), a sociologist, explains that deep levels of attachment at their core influence both collective and individual behavior. The main pillars of defining a group identity are establishing an in-group by ‘othering’ an out-group and negotiating the in-group’s collective norms and behaviors. Many have argued that this process, especially the ‘othering’ process, has led to serious social and political damage on the world stage today (Druckman, 1994). This has led some to wonder if nationalism and patriotism can exist without ‘othering’? And why, then, has nationalism and the nation-state remained so salient in the international system?

Druckman (1994) argues that nationalism and patriotism remain so powerful because they are attached to a perceived homeland, the goal of bettering the country, notions of identity and belonging and templates for normative behavior. These all provide clear means through which individuals can identify and orient themselves in a particular space, time and group. Druckman also points out that, “people see the nation as providing them and their progeny with security and safety as well as status and prestige in return for their loyalty and commitment,” (Druckman, 1994 p. 45). These perceived benefits are in many ways aspirational. Creating a group, with relationships built on a sense of comradeship and reciprocity, provides the in-group members the agency to define

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their own self-image. While these characteristics do not seem inherently violent or exclusionary, the process of defining who is part of the in-group and who is not often leads to the establishment of stereotypes and ‘othering’ that is usually negatively viewed. On stereotypes, he writes, “Stereotypes represent widespread agreement among the members of a particular group about the nature of a specific image,” (Druckman, 1994 p. 50). Differentiating oneself and one’s group from others simultaneously eliminates certain individuals from the in-group while molding the in-groups image as distinctly unlike anyone else. In doing so, certain aspects of individual identity are emphasized or marginalized based on the established criteria of the nation they meet (Druckman, 1994).

If nationalism and patriotism evoke similar claims of identity and belonging, what differentiates them? Nationalism is considered an intense personal commitment to the perceived nation that is rooted primarily in hostility towards the ‘other’. Patriotism, meanwhile, is understood as the more positive embodiment of national pride. It shares the same sense of personal commitment and loyalty to the nation while focusing much less on the ‘other’ (Druckman, 1994). The important questions that remains is whether or not one can be patriotic without solid understanding of an ‘other’. One argument is that one’s proclivity for patriotism or nationalism depends on two factors: personality and the perceived security and strength of the group’s identity. Nonetheless, it seems that the creation of the ‘other’ seems central to both notions (Druckman, 1994). Perhaps, nationalism is better understood as the notion that more emphasizes in-group and out-group differences as the main identifiers of the group, while

patriotism chooses to focus more on the pride in established norms and behaviors within the in-group, but does not deny ‘othering’ as a component.

With the basic assumptions of patriotism and nationalism in place, it is important to make one more clarifying point. Nationalism, especially in the way Druckman interprets it, is centered mainly around a connection to the state, referred to by many as ‘civic nationalism’. This means that notions of nationalism and identity almost always align with the established group in a particular political boundary. This notion of identity encompasses all within that territory, regardless of race or class, at least in theory. However, as Jerry Muller, professor of History points out, nations are not always defined by physical boundaries. He writes, “The core of the ethnonationalist idea is that nations are defined by a shared heritage, which usually includes a common language, a common faith, and a common ancestry,” (Muller, 2008 p. 20). Here, Muller is making a crucial distinction between ‘civic nationalism’ and ‘ethnic nationalism’. He argues that the West commonly makes the assumption that nationalisms align with existing state borders. This is a case of Western myopia, which fails to account for the global history of places sometimes called ‘Third World’ or the ‘East’. Territorial creation in many places around the world was dictated by the West with less consideration of existing group identities and more focus on economically exploitative measures. The reality is that many borders across the globe do not reflect any real local connection for some people (Muller, 2008). Take for example, that the number of Tswana people in South Africa outnumber those in Botswana. Muller’s point, therefore, is that nationalisms in places besides the West do not always fit into the mold of civic nationalism. Instead,

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ethnic nationalism asserts that certain nations existed before states were established and ought to have their own state. Examples of this include the nineteenth century Zionist movement, and many groups that arose out of World War I from the former three empires, like present-day Turkey and Greece (Royde-Smith and Showalter, 2019). Muller asserts that civic nationalism became so prevalent in Western Europe because the political and ethnolinguistic boundaries of territories already loosely coincided with each other. Higher concentration of ethnic homogeneity made aligning nations with an already established territory much more likely. This, he claims, was simply not the case elsewhere in the world, where group loyalties stemmed primarily from ethnic groups (Muller, 2008).

### **South Africa: Early Nationalism in the Afrikaner**

South Africa as a recognized state in the international arena has had a long and complicated history. Prior to the 1500s, Khoi and San peoples occupied much of the Western part of the country, while the Zulus and other Bantu-speaking groups (descendants of those who migrated from central Africa) were situated in the center and the eastern parts. With different conditions around land and resources than that of Western Europe, political organizations centered mostly around ethnicity and language. As Europe began looking outwards for trading opportunities, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in present-day South Africa. Seen as a vital half-way point in the sea-trade route from Europe to Asia, the Portuguese utilized the Western coast for decades before its decline in the mid-1500s. The presence of Europe, however, did

not decrease. The late 1500s saw both Dutch and English navigators frequenting the coast and trading with the Khoi people. The now infamous date in South Africa is 1652, when the Dutch East India Company officially established a refreshment station at what was called Table Bay (present-day Cape Town). Europe's first settlement in South Africa led to friction between indigenous people and the settlers. Slavery and marginalization of both indigenous groups and peoples of Indonesia, Malaysia, Madagascar and other places imported for labor became the early foundations for centuries of subjugation, white domination and exploitation (Sahoboss, 2017).

### *The Afrikaner*

The Union of South Africa, reached in 1910 by the English and the Dutch (no power in the decision was given to the indigenous people of the land), created the first official 'state' on the land in the Western sense (Tinashe, 2017). The two European colonizers continuously challenged each other for the status as *the* superior white class in the country. Meanwhile, Africans remained marginalized. That is why, in 1912, leaders of the black resistance formed an organization now known as the African National Congress (ANC). As notions of national loyalty and group identity took hold around the globe in the twentieth century, similar trends occurred in South Africa. Most influential, considering its horrific consequences for decades later, was the construction of the Afrikaner cultural identity between the 1930s and 1940s. Since the country became a member of the British commonwealth after the union of 1910, the white ruling class at the time was the British. Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers who claimed the

South African tip as their homeland, grew to resent the presence of the British. As rapid industrialization and urbanization began to take place in the South African metropolises, poorer whites found it increasingly difficult to find secure jobs. These fears and sentiments became the foundation on which D.F. Malan, an Afrikaner politician, started his campaign (Visser, 2005). Referring back to Muller's (2008) point on ethnic nationality, the birth of the Afrikaner identity contained the major tenets of an 'ethnic nation': the shared language being Afrikaans, the shared heritage being Dutch settlers of South Africa, and the shared faith being the Dutch Christian church. This new community provided poor urban Afrikaners a vibrant sense of identity and belonging. There was a homeland that they perceived belonged to them but was stolen by the British, clear goals of promoting Afrikaner control of the country, and the ethos of Dutch Christian and conservative values (Druckman, 1994). This sense of deep reciprocity, prestige and security manifested itself in the establishment of churches and schools as well as trade unions (Visser, 2005). This new identity also contained the aspect of 'othering' discussed previously (Druckman, 1994). While the Afrikaner clearly rested on the beliefs of complete white superiority, the main 'other' in the process of forming the Afrikaner identity was the British. Seen as not truly white Africans, the British were perceived to be an imperial power (the irony here is evident). These characteristics combined with the 'othering' of non-whites and the British became the beginnings of the Afrikaner identity, the National Party (NP) and the apartheid system (Visser, 2005). This movement, occurring not long after the official unification of a single South African country, became the first nationalistic movement in the country. Unlike



a civic nationalism that surrounded its identity in relation to the state, the Afrikaner movement mirrored Muller's (1994) definition of ethnic nationalism.

The ideas of nationalism, patriotism and ethnic nationalism are oriented in global trends towards the political organization of the nation-state that originated centuries ago. It is in this context that pursuits of identity formation are often shaped. Whether it is a shared territory and a direct relationship between the 'nation' and the 'state', or collective characteristics such as religion, ancestry and language; the trend of creating national identity coherence seems to operate with the intention of establishing a nation-state as the model of national representation in the global arena (James, 2006). Although the Afrikaner movement shaped much of South Africa's twentieth century, it would become the 'other' in the historic opposition movement that would bring the ANC to power in 1994.

### **Methodology and Ethics**

The methodology of this research is centered mainly on 'vox pop' interviews. In doing so, the aim was to randomly select participants in the Stellenbosch area to explore the prevalence and qualities of a South African patriotic identity. I spent 4 separate days in Stellenbosch, walking the areas around Dorp Street and through SU campus for somewhere between 5 and 6 hours at a time. The boundaries of my data collection consisted of speaking with consenting adults over the age of 18, citizens of South Africa and English speakers. I originally planned to speak to 20-30 participants who were required to sign two identical consent forms, one for their safekeeping and one for mine. I recorded the audio of our conversation on my phone and offered to send them a

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copy of that recording. Participants' anonymity was protected, as their names are not listed anywhere in this report and appear on the consent forms and in the audio files. Consent forms are kept by SIT and audio files will be deleted after submission of this report. Along with privacy and protection of rights, the nature of a 'vox pop' interview allows participants to leave the situation at any time which guarantees, as much as possible, the protection of any rights; intellectual, physical or behavioral. My interviewees were offered snacks and/or coffee after the interview was completed.

Finding willing participants on the streets of Stellenbosch proved to be difficult. People were often in a hurry, unwilling to read or sign a consent form, and became especially disinterested when asked if the audio of our conversation could be recorded. The limitations of getting to Stellenbosch via train (which took an average of 2 hours one way), as well as the challenges of randomizing participants, shifted my goal from 20-30 interviews down to 10. I also moved to contact various homestay families through the Stellenbosch homestay coordinator. All my interviews, therefore, are not completely randomized as 'vox pop' interviews are, but are curated in some way through the SIT Stellenbosch homestay network. This meant the inclusion of structured interviews (using the same set of questions) with arranged meeting times into my data collection as well. Despite these realities, the responses and backgrounds of my participants varied, and were in no way a homogenized group.

While using the Stellenbosch homestay network, the integral part of my research method remained largely intact. This included the goal to speak with

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South African citizens living in Stellenbosch presently, with different perceptions and different backgrounds (whether that be culturally, socio-economically or both). The mode of compensation remained the same, as I arranged to meet participants anywhere in Stellenbosch that best suited them. Coffee or snacks were offered to all participants.

The set of questions used in this research is as follows: What is your name? Where are you from? What is you and your family's heritage? What does 'patriotism' mean to you? Are you proud to be South African? Why or why not? These were the questions asked of all participants in that order. In 9 of the 10 interviews, I included the question 'What does the future of South Africa look like to you? Why?' to try and measure the attitudes about the country's direction. This was included upon reflection of my first interview as a way to further grasp individual's perceptions of their country and their pride.

The strength of the 'vox pop' style interview is to gather the largest sample size possible. In that way, trends or differences would be easier to identify and analyze. For this specific project, the 'vox pop' methodology proved challenging, with many potential participants off-put by a consent form and audio recording. This drastically shrunk my sample size. Had I known this, my methodology would likely have been changed to longer interviews with more open-ended discussion. Perhaps even reaching out to local politicians to measure their perceptions (and rhetoric) against citizens' responses could have been interesting, considering it is an election year. However, the smaller sample size does not render this data completely insufficient. My analysis will contain a

caveat that ensures this is in no way representative of all Stellenbosch residents, but it instead allowed me to discuss (even if briefly) with 10 different people from 10 different backgrounds. The rather strict set of questions also allowed for direct comparison of responses, and as I found during my work, can be rather open-ended nonetheless. Using the same, survey-style questions can also provide insight into things that are *not* mentioned in peoples' responses. Upon reflection, a 'vox pop' style could have been more effective for this project had I found more participants. However, the smaller sample size does not negate the responses and perceptions of the 10 participants in this study.

### **Ethics**

The impact of my positionality on my research, perceptions and participants is a point that necessitates discussion. To orient myself in this research while acknowledging my effects on it, I found the work of Racine (2011) on the postcolonial feminist lens to be effective. This section, therefore, will articulate Racine's (2011) interpretation of the postcolonial feminist lens, why I attempted to invoke it throughout this project, and what insight it provided when thinking about my analysis and how it was framed.

For Racine (2011), Western research in fields like anthropology has historically operated under the illusion of pure objectivity. In other words, researchers typically framed their work as something unbiased and uninformed by individual circumstance or perspective. The postcolonial feminist lens seeks to deconstruct that assumption by considering the cultural and historical conditions of people and spaces, most importantly those connected to a colonial

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past. In using this method, the hope is to conduct research that shifts the Western paradigm away from a method of hierarchy and power. Research, Racine (2011) notes, is mostly incomplete if class, gender, race and history are ignored by the researcher and how it effects themselves and others. She writes, “As such, in using postcolonial approaches, researchers make visible the exclusionary effects of race and class,” (Racine, 2011 p. 18). Postcolonial frameworks are not uniform and universal theories, however. Rather, they are best understood as a set of reflective assumptions meant to ensure knowledge exchanges do not minimalize the voices of previously colonized peoples.

According to Racine (2011), the feminist part of this framework comes from a mode of thought developed in the 1990s. A trend in feminist academia, sometimes entitled ‘third-wave feminism’, calls to include the intersectionality of people’s identity in research. This mode of thinking aims to avoid over-generalized assumptions about a group of people without acknowledging differences. For example, one could not speak generally about the lived experiences of men in the U.S. without discussing the different experiences of non-white men, non-heterosexual men, etc. Racine writes that these frameworks, “unpack the cultural, historical, social and economic factors that intersect to shape different oppressive contexts,” (Racine, 2011 p. 18). Together, these lenses reject the notion that identities are ahistorical or monolithic. For Racine (2011), the consideration of context (whether it be cultural, historical, etc.) and complexities is a researcher’s responsibility.

The application of the postcolonial feminist lens frames this project in a relational context. Because of this, the aim of this project is explicitly stated as engaging with 10 different perspectives of people in Stellenbosch about their notions of a South African patriotism. It is not, therefore, a definitive conclusion about notions and qualities of a patriotic identity for all South Africans. In speaking to a small sample size of Stellenbosch residents, it is important to contextualize their space (specifically Stellenbosch and its history) and acknowledge their complex identities as contributing factors to their perceptions. However, it is more important to avoid contributing specific answers to certain aspects of a participant's identity, as that would be complete speculation. Another responsibility of this research, which I aimed to complete in the previous section, is to discuss and acknowledge the history of patriotism and nationalism as historical phenomena, as well as the significance of 1994 on South Africa as a country and a people.

Demarcating the scope of this project, contextualizing answers and avoiding reductive conclusions about groups are all important features of the postcolonial feminist lens. An equally important facet of ethical research is to address and contend with my role and positionality as an American researcher. This is what Gayatri Spivak, as outlined in Kapoor (2004), calls 'hyper self-reflexivity'. In essence, hyper self-reflexivity is doing the work of postcolonial feminisms when contextualizing one's self. This means acknowledging the historical relationship between Western researchers and what are sometimes referred to as 'Third World' areas (Kapoor, 2004). Spivak (in Kapoor, 2004) notes the complexity of this process, which asks researchers to accept the

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complicit role they play in the very systems that postcolonial thought tries to address. This mode of reflection looks to point out the power dynamics at play in Western research of the 'Third World'. This includes questions about who is representing whom, for whom are they being represented, and why one is being represented by another. Much like the postcolonial feminist lens, this is not a uniform theory. Instead, it is a call for constant and consistent reflection on the asymmetrical power structure being held. Spivak (in Kapoor, 2004) notes the power the Western intellectual class has on disseminating knowledge about people from the 'Third World'. Historically, the power the Western intellectual class (which I acknowledge I am a part of) has ensured that in many ways the 'Third World' is spoken for, not speaking for themselves (Kapoor, 2004).

A common critique is often levelled at Spivak's (in Kapoor, 2004) notion of hyper self-reflexivity. The critique goes that although this practice emphasizes so poignantly the need to focus the discussion in academia around those historically silenced, hyper self-reflexivity continues the trend of a Western or Eurocentric mindset. This is not an entirely unfair argument, in my opinion. However, her focus to consistently acknowledge one's self is a valuable practice to incorporate.

Creating a final copy of this project, in which I offer interpretations (no matter how tentatively I do so), made me feel highly unqualified. Keeping Spivak's (in Kapoor, 2004) points in mind, my positionality as a white, American male researcher made my work seem part of existing power structures, and in some way exploitative. Because of this, I felt the 'vox pop' would help alleviate

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the issues around who would participate, by randomizing the process. If I could minimize the curation of participants down to the odds of being in the same place at the same time, the potential for a certain identity to be favored in my research would be lessened. While the use of the Stellenbosch homestay network complicated this intention slightly, it was a pragmatic decision I felt had to be made. However, I am not using the ‘vox pop’ methodology to claim my work as completely objective, legitimate or unproblematic. My being here conducting research is in some way still perpetuating that power structure. That coupled with my very limited interviewing experience, problematizes this work.

However, it is my intention that with the frameworks of Racine (2011) and Spivak (in Kapoor, 2004), I have at the very least acknowledged my positionality in conducting this research, and have done so in a way that does not disempower the participants nor espouses over-simplified conclusions about the people of Stellenbosch as a whole.

### **Research Findings**

This section is dedicated to presenting the findings of 10 interview participants in Stellenbosch. The subsequent paragraph will be for analysis of the findings. The impetus of this study was to evaluate the salience of a South African patriotism and its qualities for residents of Stellenbosch in the weeks ahead of the 2019 general elections and in the 25<sup>th</sup> year since the 1994 transition to democracy. The context of this research revolves around the relevance of the ANC’s post-1994 nation-building projects in people’s perceptions of patriotism. In other words, should participants of this study respond positively to the

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question ‘Are you proud to be South African?’, does the reasoning behind that answer mirror the rhetoric of the ANC in the few years after 1994?

Interview 1 was conducted outside a coffee shop in Stellenbosch. The participant was an older white woman. Originally born in Pretoria, she has since moved to Stellenbosch and started a family. She and her husband are both of German descent, and she identifies herself and her family as ‘German-speaking South Africans’. In fact, after answering the questions about her familial heritage, she concluded her thought saying, “But we are all very much South African,” (Interview 1, personal communication, 2019). She framed ‘patriotism’ as having love and pride in your country and wanting to defend it. When asked if she was proud to be South African and why, she responded affirmatively. In her reasoning, she described both the land and the people as ‘beautiful’. She also said she took pride in the diversity of the people in the country. She also noted her belief that God was “looking after this country when I think of how our transition went,” (Interview 1, pers. comm., 2019). In regards to the future of the country, she said she felt afraid that people would look the country because of the current economic situation.

Interview 2 took place outside the same coffee shop. This participant was an 18-year-old white woman. She was born in Durban, but has lived in Stellenbosch for most of her life. Her grandparents were English and German, and her family speaks both Afrikaans and English. For her, ‘patriotism’ was taking pride in your country. When asked about her South African patriotism and pride, she told me she was “fake proud. So I’m proud if we’re all watching a

rugby game,” (Interview 2, pers. comm., 2019). She also expressed how beautiful the country was, and the amazing people living here. She feels disappointed by what she read in the newspapers because she feels this country has a lot of potential. She is optimistic for the future, partly because she must be as a citizen she said, but more work to improve the country needs to be done.

Interview 3 was also conducted near the same coffee shop. This participant was a middle-aged black man. He explained that he was originally born in the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo), but moved to South Africa 13 years ago. He explained his heritage to be Swahili. When asked about ‘patriotism’, he described it as having pride in your country, what it stands for and its values. Although being a South African citizen, he said he feels like, “a foreigner in a foreign land,” (Interview 3, pers. comm., 2019). This he attributes to feeling unwelcomed by both the government and the people. He described not getting certain advantages for many years because he was a refugee. He did say he was proud to be in this country and be part of South Africa because he has learned English, learned a new culture and new skills, but he acknowledged the challenges he has had to face and continues to face.

Interview 4 was conducted just off Dorp Street. He is a middle-aged Xhosa black man, who came from the Eastern Cape over 5 years ago to work in Stellenbosch. He told me he came to the Western Cape because it was very hard to find a job in the Eastern Cape. He was unfamiliar with the term ‘patriotism’, but he told me he is very proud to be a South African. He said he believed that South Africa helps everyone whether you are white or black. He described South

Africa as a 'peace land', and consistently brought up the notion of freedom. He said he was very proud of the freedom achieved by the country.

Interview 5 was again near the same coffee shop as the previous interviews. This participant was a white middle-aged woman who grew up in Zimbabwe. Her grandparents were born in South Africa and she noted that she thinks her family stretches back to the French Huguenots. She said she has been here in South Africa for 12 years and is now a citizen living in Stellenbosch. When I asked her if she considered herself to be South African, she said her home is Zimbabwe but she does consider herself to be South African because she is a citizen of the country. For her, 'patriotism' means somebody that takes pride in their country. She responded with a hesitant 'yes' when asked if she was proud to be South African. She said she hesitated because "I'm from Zim so I can see what happened there is happening here," (Interview 5, pers. comm., 2019). When asked to elaborate on that point, she referred to "the farms being taken over", (Interview 5, pers. comm., 2019). I asked her to name a positive thing for which she was proud of South Africa. Her response included the beauty of the country and the kindness of the people. She did not expand further than that. She told me her outlook on the future of the country is not good. Because of the farm situation she mentioned earlier, she feels like she is going to have to move again, but she stressed that she will not move overseas because "I'm African," (Interview 5, pers. comm., 2019).

Those first 5 interviews were not in chronological order, but rather put first because those were the extent of my 'vox pop' style interviews. By that I

mean that those were the people randomly asked to participate. The following 5 interviews are connections made through the Stellenbosch homestay network, all of whom live in Ida's Valley.

Interview 6 was conducted with an older coloured man in his home in Ida's Valley. He said he has lived in Stellenbosch his entire life, and his parents and grandparents all lived in Stellenbosch. He is unsure of the heritage of his family beyond that, but thinks his last name is a Dutch name. He was unfamiliar with the term 'patriotism' but did say he is very proud to be South African. When answering the 'why' part of the question, he described 3 main reasons for his South African pride. He was proud of the language Afrikaans, which he highlighted as being an important part of being coloured. He also referred to the cultures and food in the country as being unique. He expressed a sense of worry about the future of the country. "Politics is killing us. If they can take politics out of the equation than I think we can be the number 1 country in the world," (Interview 6, pers. comm., 2019). While he said the country has a lot of issues, he is still hopeful for change.

Interview 7 was also conducted in the home of an older, coloured woman from Ida's Valley. Much like the previous interviewee, she only knew her heritage to exist in Stellenbosch and was unsure about her ancestry before that. She expressed hesitancy when asked whether or not she was proud to be South African. She said, "We are proud but we are not 100% proud. There is still the culture of whites, blacks and coloureds," (Interview 7, pers. comm., 2019). The positive aspects of her pride are the beauty of the country and its kind people.

However, she described the negatives from a coloured perspective, saying “I think the coloureds are mostly in the middle,” (Interview 7, pers. comm., 2019). According to her, most of the opportunities in the country either go to white or black, leaving the coloureds out of the equation. In thinking about the future, she said it is not looking good. The current government (being the ANC), which she thinks will win again in May, are “more trouble for the coloureds,” (Interview 7, pers. comm., 2019).

Interview 8 was with a coloured man in his late 20s. Like the previous interviewees, he was unsure about his ancestry any further back than his great grandparents, who lived in Stellenbosch. His family has been here for a long time, he pointed out. He was not familiar with the term ‘patriotism’. He responded ‘yes’ to my question ‘Are you proud to be South African?’. He said he is proud “For what our previous president did and for everyone to live in freedom,” (Interview 8, pers. comm., 2019). In a clarifying point, the previous president he referred to was Mr. Nelson Mandela. He expressed his feelings about the future in economic terms. He said the future did not look good because prices keep rising but salaries are staying the same for most people in the country.

The 9<sup>th</sup> interview of this research was conducted with another older, coloured woman from Ida’s Valley. For her, the heritage of her family stretched back to Stellenbosch. She was unsure of her ancestry before that point. She was also not familiar with the term ‘patriotism’. She said she was proud to be South African. Her response to ‘Why?’ was “It’s a beautiful country, it’s a beautiful place, South Africa is beautiful,” (Interview 9, pers. comm., 2019). I asked her

whether or not she was proud of the people in South Africa as well. She hesitated before saying rather quietly, “I’m a coloured, and I feel like a coloured,” (Interview 9, pers. comm., 2019). The future, according to this woman, does not look great. She, like the previous interviewee, framed it in economic terms, saying the prices seem to always be increasing but the salaries never do. She also did not feel hopeful about the upcoming elections, saying she did not think anything in the country would change.

My final interview, the 10<sup>th</sup> one conducted, was with a coloured woman likely in her mid-30s. Continuing with the trend of the coloured interviews I had, she was unsure about her family’s heritage before Stellenbosch. She knew her great grandparents lived in Stellenbosch, but that is as far back as she knows. She said she was very proud to be South African, mainly for its cultural diversity. She mentioned the number of official languages in the country as being an indicator of the country’s diverse identities. She said there were differences in cultures, especially along racial lines, but she did caveat that by saying, “We don’t label people according to their color,” (Interview 10, pers. comm., 2019). She was also unfamiliar with the term ‘patriotism’. She was unsure of what the future holds for the country. She expressed that she prefers to take it day-by-day. Like some other interviewee responses, she framed it in economic terms, saying while “I can provide for myself,” (Interview 10, pers. comm., 2019), there still needs to be change.

## **Analysis**

In looking at the data of 10 Stellenbosch participants, themes around the post-1994 ANC rhetoric, 'patriotism' definitions, the complexities of coloured identity and feelings about the future arose. While these were the main trends I noticed and chose to focus on, I also look to acknowledge findings that I had not expected and do not fit any particular linear trend.

### **The ANC's Place in National Pride**

While this project is an overall evaluation of national pride and its qualities, the main question was if the ANC's rhetoric from post-1994 was the main ingredient of the patriotic narrative today. Seeing as much of the nation-building projects referred to earlier are now 20 or so years old, it seemed logical that the ANC and its message would present itself more so in older participants rather than younger ones. The findings seem to imply that the ANC's 1994 projects do have some salience in individuals' lives today. However, reference to the ANC did not seem to follow any demographic pattern such as race or age specifically. For instance, reference to the ANC's work as the main point of pride was made by two young participants, both no older than thirty. Interview 8, a young coloured man, expressed pride saying he was proud, "For what our previous president did and for everyone to live in freedom," (Interview 8, pers. comm., 2019). This was the only reference made to Mr. Mandela from the participants. Interview 10, a young coloured woman, also called on the work of the ANC as an example of her patriotism. She referred to the diversity of the country and the Constitution, specifically the inclusion of 11 official languages.

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Rhetoric of the ANC was also a part of some older participants' responses. Interview 1 is an older, white, German-speaking woman living in Stellenbosch. She talked about the country's diversity as well as the transition (meaning 1994) and what she believed to be divine oversight of that occasion. Interview 4, a middle-aged, Xhosa man from the Eastern Cape also talked about diversity, even labelling the country a "peace land" for all people (Interview 4, pers. comm., 2019). Interestingly, references to the ANC and its nation-building work post-1994 are made by participants, although they do not seem to be an overwhelming presence for all participants. It is also interesting to note that reference to that era's rhetoric was not reserved to one demographic group interviewed. Mention of the ANC and its hopeful message did not translate to positive responses about the future, however, as all participants seemed weary of declaring the future optimistic.

### **Looking Towards the Future**

The question about feelings of the future were asked of 9 out of 10 of my participants. It was included after my first interview upon reflection of how to further evaluate participants' current attitudes. Interestingly, all participants responded 'yes' to the question 'Are you proud to be South African?'. Some participant's reasons for why 'yes' alluded to the ANC and some did not. However, no participants expressed outright hope for the future. Many either described a sense of dread, disappointment, or a hesitant optimism. All participants expressed a need for change. Interview 6 even went as far as to say, "Politics is killing us," (Interview 6, pers. comm., 2019). Two participants



responded in economic terms, saying prices in the country have continued to increase while wages remain the same. Interview 1 pointed out a similar issue, saying she was afraid people would begin to leave the country because of high prices and low wages. Perhaps the most interesting response came from interview 2. A young, white, Afrikaans-speaking woman, Interview 2 provided some insight into the connection of national pride and perceptions of the future. She explained that she was “fake proud” (Interview 2, pers. comm., 2019). She elaborated, saying if a national sports team was playing, she would claim pride and membership of the country. However, when asked directly about her feelings for the country’s future, she equivocated. The country has a lot of potential, she noted, but felt it had not yet utilized it to the extent it should. This optimism, she succinctly noted, likely comes from a desire to *want* to be hopeful about your home. This one statement necessitates further discussion about the perceived responsibilities and ideals that patriotism and national pride demand that cannot be covered in this section alone. However, it is an interesting point to make that all participants said they were proud of their country but none responded as overly hopeful for the future, a possible disconnect between the 1990s South African pride narrative and the realities of today.

### **Patriotism: What does it mean?**

So, what does ‘patriotism’ mean for these 10 Stellenbosch residents? Interestingly, those who were familiar with and offered a personal definition of ‘patriotism’, framed it in similar terms as Druckman (1994). Many responded that it meant being proud of one’s country. Interview 3 framed it as being proud

in the values of one's country and for what it stands. These responses defined 'patriotism' as a positive feeling of loyalty to one's country. This is in line with Druckman's (1994) differentiation of 'patriotism' and 'nationalism'. One participant, Interview 1, added an interesting layer to her response. She included notions of protecting and defending one's country. This was the only reference to a relational definition of 'patriotism'. In other words, 'patriotism' can be understood, according to Interview 1, as protecting one's country from others who challenge it or threaten it. In order for there to be a challenger, there must be an 'other'. This was the only response that seemed to call on bits of 'nationalism' in their understanding of 'patriotism'. For most participants, however, 'patriotism' seemed to have a common meaning.

### **Coloured Identity**

One of the most concrete and compelling trends found in my data, were the perceptions held by people from the coloured community. Coloured participants made up the majority of my interviewees, perhaps the reason why identifiable trends in their responses were easier to spot. The trend was most prominent in the discussions with the 3 older coloured participants more so than the younger ones. The trend, expanded upon greatly by Adhikari (2005), is the complexity of the modern coloured identity in South Africa. As many social and economic residue of the apartheid regime remains for most coloured people, the boundaries of their identity are blurred (Adhikari, 2005). Interview 6, when asked about why he was proud to be South African, said he was proud of his language, his culture and his food. In doing so, he seemed to focus on a pride of

his particular identity and a shared experience around that identity rather than a connection to South Africa broadly. He then explained that politics was the reason South Africa was not what he thought it could be. In other words, the state was holding the country back and was therefore not a point of pride for him. What he was proud of seemed to be a culture, or a 'nation' as described earlier that was built despite the state. This is a completely different narrative than the one of the ANC in 1994 (meaning the attempts for *civic nationalism*), and of the other participants in this study. Interview 7 mirrored some of these sentiments. She felt the country has continued to marginalize the coloured people, with most opportunities going to whites or blacks. She even expressed dread about an ANC victory in May, saying the party meant "more trouble for us coloureds," (Interview 7, pers. comm., 2019). The third of the older coloured participants I spoke with had similar feelings. She initially responded that the country was a beautiful place. I asked her how she felt about the people of the country specifically and whether or not membership of this group was a point of pride. In an emotional response, she said "I'm a coloured and I feel like a coloured," (Interview 9, pers. comm., 2019). This was one of the most interesting trends pulled from my data. It seems that the older coloured participants share a feeling that ideas of a 'Rainbow Nation' or a 'new South Africa' have not come to fruition and they are still left in the ambiguous role between white and black. This sentiment, according to Mohamed Adhikari (2005), is the manifestation of the coloured community's sense of identity and belonging. This is not to say all older, coloured people in Stellenbosch or in South Africa feel the same as these 3

participants. I am claiming that is only a trend confined to this group of participants.

### **Reflecting On My Positionality**

It is important to note that this is in no way representative of a certain mode of thinking for all Stellenbosch residents or South African citizens (Racine, 2011). It is also important to point out that my being American is likely to have affected the ways in which participants talked to me. As an outsider asking people to articulate whether or not they have pride in their country and why could be interpreted as invasive and even judgmental. For example, using Interview 1 who explained ‘patriotism’ as a desire to defend and protect one’s country, people might have been more inclined to say they are proud of being South African because an American was asking. I do also wonder if my being a white American man factored into who was willing to participate and who was not. While I did struggle in my ‘vox pop’ portion of the data collection to find willing participants, it is possible that being a white man made some people more or less inclined to talk to me.

### **Conclusion**

In this research project, I aimed to gain insight into the prevalence and qualities of a South African patriotism in Stellenbosch. The purpose of this research was not to reach a definitive conclusion on South African patriotism broadly speaking, as I only conducted 10 interviews with Stellenbosch residents. Instead, using mostly a ‘vox pop’ style interview technique, the purpose of this

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research was to explore the responses of 10 individuals to a set of 5-6 questions regarding their opinions about what ‘patriotism’ means and if they are proud to be South African and why. Prior to my data collection, the main questions surrounding this research were: 25 years since the 1994 transition to democracy, are people proud to be South African? What is it that makes them proud or not proud? Are the feelings about the country, its past, present and future, framed with the help of the post-1994 ANC nation-building rhetoric? If so, which notions remain powerful in people’s minds? If not then what, if anything, has replace those ideas? After conducting my research, little was found to say for these 10 participants, post-1994 rhetoric is overwhelmingly prevalent. Yes, individuals (across demographic lines) did reference notions of that rhetoric, such as mention of Mandela and the official languages in the Constitution as a marker of cultural diversity. However, all participants expressed uncertainty about the future, and some even spoke negatively about the current state of the country. This seems to indicate some lack of connection to the hopeful rhetoric of the 1990s. Other responses about why they were proud to be South African included the beauty of the country, the kindness of the people or the cultural uniqueness of particular groups, seemingly without reference to post-1994 vernacular.

Notions of patriotism for those who responded to the question were all fairly similar and touched upon notions espoused by Druckman (1994) and his definition of the phenomena. These include pride in one’s country, what its values seem to be and protection of the group. Perhaps what I found to be the most interesting theme in the data collected was the underlying complexities of the coloured identity in South Africa. These complexities were much in line with  
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Adhikari's (2005) findings on the coloured community in South Africa, which includes among other things the feeling of being neither white enough nor black enough.

In line with the ethical frameworks provided by Racine (2011) and Spivak (in Kapoor, 2004), this is by no means a comprehensive analysis of patriotism in Stellenbosch. More work ought to be done to further contextualize this phenomena in a South African focus. This means further exploration of recent years and events in the country and how they could affect someone's perception of the country and their pride in it. In doing so, one must address and accept the responsibility of 'representing' a group without disenfranchising certain members of that group. For more research in this area, much bigger sample sizes would provide more breadth for analysis and trends. Questions like 'When are you proudest to be South African?', 'When was the last instance you felt very proud to be South African?' and 'When are you least proud/not proud to be South African?' would all provide more insight into the complexity of patriotism.

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## Appendix

### Interview Questions:

- What is your name?
- Where are you from?
- What is your heritage?
- What does the word 'patriotism' mean to you?
- Are you proud to be South African? Why or why not?
- What does the future of the country look like to you? Why?