

**Beyond Belonging? White settler entitlement and the dynamics of nativeness,  
autochthony and nostalgia in South Africa**

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### Declaration

I, *Sibusiso Maseko*, declare that this thesis, titled “**Beyond Belonging? White settler entitlement and the dynamics of nativeness, autochthony and nostalgia in South Africa**” is my own work.

It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the field of Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

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02 December 2022

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Kevin Durrheim (Supervisor)

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Date

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### **Thesis Summary and Overview**

White settlers continue to impose themselves as owners of contemporary settler colonies (Veracini, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Their imposition not only translates into making settler colonies their permanent homelands, but also engenders deep sense of entitlement to them (Veracini, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Despite the transition from an era of outright colonial rule to modern-day liberal democracies, colonial based asymmetries of power between White settlers and Indigenous groups remain resolute. Commonly, these asymmetries of power present as race-based hierarchies that shape the political, social and economic landscape of these societies. Hence, White settlers' entitlement claims to contemporary settler colonies are central to the continuing problem of racial inequality because they rationalise, maintain and even reproduce their enjoyment of historical privileges. While Indigenous groups, who are the victims of settler colonial conquest, continue to exist on the margins of these societies (Veracini, 1999; 2008; Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

The social psychology of intergroup relations has hardly paid attention to how White settlers continue to exercise dominance over contemporary settler colonies by advancing entitlement claims. In this thesis, I attempt to address this gap in literature by examining how White nativeness, White settler autochthony beliefs and White settler nostalgia, reinforce race-based hierarchies. Mainly, I argue that White settlers' enduring sense of entitlement to settler colonies reinforces race-based hierarchies through the construction of a White native status and the mobilisation of White settler autochthony beliefs and nostalgia.

My primary aim in this thesis is to show how White settlers' psychological entitlement to settler colonial territory, reinforces preference for race-based hierarchies. To do this, I first undertake a theoretical examination of how White settlers construct and assert nativeness to settler colonies. Second, I undertake an empirical examination that investigates

how psychological expressions of entitlement to settler colonies, through White settler autochthony and White settler nostalgia reinforce race-based hierarchies. In my theoretical examination, I argue that White settlers have constructed themselves as de facto natives by mobilising settler mythologies. And their assertion of a de facto White native status enables the mobilising of White settler autochthony and White settler nostalgia. This is because autochthony beliefs are a powerful set of ethical and moral ideals that award rightful ownership of a territory based on first arrival and investment of time and labour. While collective nostalgia is a deep yearning for a place and time in the history of the group (Wildschut et al., 2014). Autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia are psychological orientations are typically used by native groups express entitlement to territory. Hence, in my empirical examination, I argue that autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia are expressions of psychological entitlement to territory that White settlers use to reinforce race-based hierarchies, because they help them justify racial asymmetries and reflect their assertion of a de facto White native status.

In chapter 1 of this thesis, I examine how White settlers construct and assert nativeness to settler colonies. My discussion focuses how White South Africans have drawn on colonial narratives to mobilise settler mythologies that grant them a de facto native status in South Africa. I conclude this discussion by arguing that White settlers' deep sense of nativeness to the settler colonies like South Africa enables the employment of White settler autochthony and the experience White settler nostalgia. Chapter 2, elaborates on this link (between nativeness, autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia) by introducing autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia as constructs that are employed by social groups to garner political power over territories. Drawing from various disciplines in the social

sciences, I conclude that autochthony beliefs and nostalgia, when applied to White settlers in settler colonies instantiate White settler autochthony and White settler nostalgia.

Chapters 3 and 4 constitute the empirical sections of the thesis. In chapter 3, I test the proposition that autochthony beliefs reinforce race-based hierarchies when they recycle colonial narratives that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies. In two cross sectional studies, I examine this relationship by testing the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies via autochthony beliefs. My findings indicated that when White settlers mobilising autochthony claims that cast them as first inhabitants, investors and owners, is crucial to whether they support or oppose race-based hierarchies. In chapter 4, I argued that White settler nostalgia reinforces support for race-based hierarchies. This is because I contended that White settler nostalgia is a collective emotion that reflects White settlers' construction of South Africa as colonial home. To test this proposition I examined the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia. In addition, I expected that White settler nostalgia, and autochthony beliefs, would mediate the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies. To test these propositions, I conducted two cross sectional studies. My findings indicated that White settler nostalgia consistently mediates the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies. Importantly, this indirect effect indicated that White settler nostalgia bolsters support race-based hierarchies. In addition, results indicated that White South African identification leads to support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers in South Africa as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by reflecting on the key findings and their implications social psychological literature and intergroup relations in contemporary settler colonies. I also



the highlight the limitations of what I set out to do in this thesis, by recommending potential gaps that future studies can address.

### **Definition of terms**

**White Settlers:** In this thesis, White settlers describes a social group originating from Western Europe, that settled permanently in settler colonies through settler colonial conquest. They reside in contemporary settler colonies and continue occupy a dominant economic, social and political position at the expense of Indigenous groups (Veracini, 1999).

**Colonisation:** Colonisation describes a system of violent oppression enacted against Indigenous groups. It is characterised by genocide, land dispossession and the marginalisation of Indigenous groups culturally, socially and politically (Veracini, 1999).

**Contemporary Settler Colonies:** Modern settler colonies that have formally ended colonisation as a system of government and have by and large implemented liberal democracies that espouse egalitarian values (Reddy, 2016).

**White South Africans<sup>1</sup>:** Refers to White settlers who identify as South African and are mainly from Dutch and English Heritage. They currently distinguish themselves as Afrikaans and English speaking White South Africans (Giliomee, 2012).

**Black South Africans:** South Africans who are mainly of San, Khoi and Bantu heritage and are today referred to as African and Coloured South Africans (Mellet, 2020).

**Indigenous Groups:** Indigenous groups in this thesis describes groups that are first peoples of a settler colony and in the context of South Africa are mainly of San, Khoi and Bantu origin who are currently referred to as African or Coloured (Mellet, 2020).

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<sup>1</sup> I focus on English and Afrikaner speaking South Africans as the main White settler groups because they have historically played a central role in shaping the politics of White settlement in South Africa (see Duckitt and Mphuthing, (1998), for an analysis that conceptualized White South Africans being mainly from English and Afrikaner heritage).

## Contents

Declaration.....	2
Thesis Summary and Overview.....	6
Definition of terms.....	10
Introduction.....	13
Rationale.....	15
 Chapter 1: How do White settlers become native? Exploring settler mythologies as a basis for psychological entitlement to territory in a contemporary settler colony	19
Introduction.....	20
Settler colonisation a unique form of colonial conquest.....	22
White settlers as distinct subjects.....	23
A brief historical account of White Settlement in South Africa.....	25
Settler mythology and the construction of White settler nativeness.....	27
White settler mythologies in South Africa.....	29
The continuity of settler mythologies in South Africa.....	35
Recycling settler mythologies to secure post-apartheid White settler nativeness.....	38
Conclusion.....	44
 Chapter 2: Foregrounding White settler autochthony and nostalgia as expressions of entitlement to contemporary settler colonies	46
Introduction.....	47
Conceptualising Autochthony.....	48
Illustrating the function of autochthony in modern liberal democracies.....	49
Autochthony in settler colonies: A case for White settler autochthony.....	52
From nostalgia to White settler nostalgia.....	53
Making a case for White settler nostalgia.....	55
Conclusion.....	57
 Chapter 3: Autochthony beliefs in whose favour? Investigating the malleability of autochthony beliefs amongst White settlers in South Africa	58
Abstract.....	59
Introduction.....	60
The Divergent Outcomes of Autochthony Beliefs.....	63
Social Identities and the Malleability of Autochthony Beliefs.....	65
Summary and Overview of Hypothesis.....	66
The Research Context.....	67
Study 1.....	69
Procedure and Sample.....	71
Measures.....	72
Measurement model.....	73
Preliminary Analysis.....	74
Hypotheses Testing.....	75
Preliminary Discussion.....	79
Study 2.....	81
Procedure and Sample.....	84
Measures.....	84

Preliminary Analysis.....	87
Hypotheses Testing.....	88
Preliminary Discussion.....	96
General Discussion.....	98
Limitations and Future Directions.....	100
Conclusion.....	101
 Chapter 4: Yearning for the colonial home in the past: How White settler nostalgia maintains support for race-based hierarchies and shapes related autochthony beliefs	 102
Abstract.....	103
Introduction.....	104
Conceptualising White settler nostalgia.....	106
White settler identities as a basis for White settler nostalgia.....	108
The consequences of collective nostalgia for intergroup relations.....	110
Summary and Overview of Hypothesis.....	112
Study 1.....	114
Procedure and Sample.....	116
Measures.....	117
Measurement model.....	118
Preliminary Analysis.....	119
Hypotheses Testing.....	120
Preliminary Discussion.....	127
Study 2.....	128
Procedure and Sample.....	130
Measures.....	130
Measurement model.....	131
Preliminary Analysis.....	132
Hypotheses Testing.....	133
Preliminary Discussion.....	139
General Discussion.....	140
Limitations and Future Directions.....	142
Conclusion.....	143
 Chapter 5 General Discussion and Conclusion	 144
Purpose and Findings.....	145
Contribution and Implications of this thesis.....	147
Limitation and future directions.....	150
Conclusion.....	152
References.....	154
Appendices.....	167

### Introduction

*“Ringing out from our blue heavens,  
From our deep seas breaking round;  
Over everlasting mountains,  
Where the echoing crags resound;  
From our plains where creaking wagons  
Cut their trails into the earth,  
Calls the spirit of our country  
Of the land that gave us birth.  
At thy call we shall not falter,  
Firm and steadfast we shall stand,  
at thy will to live or perish,  
O South Africa, dear land”.*

*“In our body and our spirit,  
In our inmost heart held fast;  
In the promise of our future,  
And the glory of our past;  
In our will, our work, our striving,  
From the cradle to the grave –  
There's no land that shares our loving,  
And no bond that can enslave.  
Thou hast borne us and we know thee.....*

The excerpt above is taken from “*Die Stem*” (The Call of South Africa) a poem turned hymn that is central to the identity of Afrikaans speaking South Africans (Afrikaners) because it expresses their deep bond with the settler colony of South Africa. This hymn was composed during the colonial era and was the only song that formed part of the national anthem during the Apartheid era. Presently “Die Stem” still forms part of South Africa’s revised post-apartheid national anthem continues to draw a lot of controversy, because for Black South Africans it is a painful reminder of oppression under colonial and apartheid rule. On the other hand, for White South Africans who are Afrikaans speaking it is the source of pride because it symbolises the endurance of their identity in a settler colony.

“Die Stem” can be interpreted as one of many illustrations of White South Africans’ sense of entitlement to South Africa. This is because it captures White South Africans sentiments of originating from the territory itself and a deep yearning for a colonial home that they created in this settler colony. For example, in line seven of the first verse of this hymn, the declaration is made that South Africa is “our country”. While line eight captures a similar claim, with the declaration being made that the land “gave birth” to us (the Afrikaners). The deep emotional connection with the land is further emphasised in line seven of the second verse, with a proclamation being made that the land is a cherished and loved entity. The sentiment of being one with the land is also combined with the rhetoric of a glorious past, expressed in line four of the second verse, which potentially evokes feelings of a yearning for the colonial home in the past. White settler portraits of entitlement, captured in cultural works such as “Die Stem”, not only reflect an assertion of nativeness but also the co-opting of autochthonous claims and collective nostalgia that is typically shown by Native groups who entitled to their native territory (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015).

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how White settler entitlement to contemporary settler colonies reinforces race-based hierarchies. Drawing from the South

African case, I argue that White settlers in South Africa construct and assert nativeness to South Africa in order to bolster their entitlement claims. Building on their de facto White native status, I further argue that White settlers employ entitlement related psychological orientations that are synonymous with native groups. As such, they mobilise autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia to reinforce race-based hierarchies in contemporary settler colonies.

### **Rationale**

Social psychological studies have largely examined the problem of social groups feeling entitled to territory from the vantage point of the immigration crisis in Western Europe (Mols & Jetten, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015; Reyna, 2022). Drawing from these contexts, they are concerned with the implications of autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia for Native majorities, who are responding to the settlement of Immigrant groups in their national territories (Mols & Jetten, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015; Reyna, 2022). In these contexts, Native majorities are often threatened by the presence of Immigrants groups, despite Immigrants groups being in the numerical minority, having very little political power, being marginalised socially and have significantly less economic resources. What ensues in these contexts are problems around superdiversity, multiculturalism and the rise of right-wing political groups and ideologies (Mols & Jetten, 2015; Smeekes, 2021). For example, Native majorities are often concerned about how the presence of Immigrant groups dilutes and even threatens the existence of cultural identity (Smeekes et al., 2015). What recent social psychological studies have demonstrated is that these political issues primarily boil down to problems of nativeness, ownership and entitlement to national territories by Native majorities (see Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Hasbún et al, 2019). Other scholars have interpreted these conflicts as stemming from the rise of White nationalism. That is, they reflect a

resurgence in desire to dominate national territories by White ethno-national majorities (Hartzell, 2018; Reyna, 2022).

Native majorities from Western nations that have a long history of mobilising various forms of White nationalism to justify usurpation of territories. Perhaps the most significant of these undertakings has been the conquering of the colonies and establishing themselves as a dominant and permanent part of these polities as White settlers (Veracini, 2011). For example in settler colonies like Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America, White settlers who originate from Great Britain, continue to occupy a dominant position and draw on similar set of entitlement claims to national territories like their counterparts in Western societies (see Reyna, 2022). Despite their deep historical links with Western nations, social psychological research has hardly paid attention to how White settlers continue to maintain dominance of contemporary settler colonies by fashioning a similar set of entitlements claims like their European counterparts (see van Zyl-Herman, 2018). The present thesis seeks to address this gap in knowledge, by accounting for how social groups that usurp a territory and its people can over time come to fashion entitlement claims to the territory, that are equal or greater than those of Indigenous groups.

Existing social psychological research provides an invaluable starting point for understanding the consequences of group-level entitlement to territory amongst Native majorities and Immigrants. They have provided useful insights that show that Native majorities in modern day liberal democracies react negatively to the presence of Immigrants groups (see Martinovic and Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015; Hasbún et al., 2019). However, they do so in socio-political contexts where historical narratives and beliefs of who are the first inhabitants, who made the territory prosper, who belongs and who has historical rights to a national territory are hardly contested and are not the source controversy (see also Brylka et al., 2015). Thus, asymmetries in power between Native majorities and Immigrant



groups are considered just and acceptable, because Native majorities are rightful owners of these national territories. We are yet to examine the consequences of entitlement to territory in a socio-political context where entitlement claims are fiercely contested between social groups that were initially outsiders, but became locals, through the appropriation of national territory and its people (see Chapman & Benson, 2015). For instance, the longstanding Israeli and Palestine conflict is a prime example of a context where entitlement claims are contested between groups that offer competing entitlement claims to territory. In particular, each group claims primo-occupancy based on competing narratives of history (Chapman & Benson, 2015). This instance demonstrates beliefs concerning the primo-occupancy to territory are certainly not cast in stone and are by product of the socio-political context (see Chapman & Benson, 2015).

Settler colonies offer unique insights in this regard because they have what would be “Immigrant groups” that became dominant White settlers through settler colonial conquest (Mamdani, 1998). White settlers in contemporary settler colonies are an insurgent group whose presence is material, salient and permanent (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Their continued dominance over contemporary settler colonies is founded on the construction of settler identities that are distinct from those formed in the empire in European identities (Matthews, 2011; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). For example, White settler groups across settler colonies identify as Pakeha, Rhodesians, Afrikaners, White South Africans etc. indicating that they have abandoned identities that reflect their origins in Europe (Boehmer, 2011). White settler identities produce a positionality that affords White settlers the privilege of calling contemporary settler colonies home thus shaping their entitlement claims.

In light of the fact that our understanding of group level entitlement claims to territory is limited to contexts where there is little to no contestation over entitlement, this thesis sets out to fulfil two objectives. First, to examine how White settlers construct and assert

themselves as de facto natives by employing settler mythologies. Second, to examine the consequences of White settlers co-opt autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia on race-based hierarchies.

## **Chapter 1**

**How do White settlers become native? Exploring settler mythologies as a basis for psychological entitlement to territory in a contemporary settler colony**

## Introduction

Native groups have a primordial sense of belonging to a territory because they believe that their ancestors were the first inhabitants since time immemorial (Geschiere, 2011). Given their ancestral links, they see their identity as rooted in the territory - engendering a deeper connection with it. Native groups thus have a deeper sense of belonging and permanence to territory and their rootedness forms the basis for their undisputed entitlement claims. For example, in South Africa, some sections of the coloured community claim common ancestry with the Khoi and San, this informs their calls to see the restoration of their historical rights, as first peoples, and owners of land (see Veracini & Verbuyst, 2020). Social groups that are native draw on their ties with first inhabitants to claim nativeness. An important outcome of this is assuming ownership of territory and enjoy ownership related entitlements like being the dominant social groups (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). This demonstrates how native status is of paramount importance for social groups because it grants them legitimate economic, social and political advantage relative to non-native groups.

Given the privileges that come with being native, White settlers in settler colonies, have asserted themselves as natives to secure legitimate privileges. Gressier (2014) provides a fitting illustration of how White settlers have justified their entitlement to contemporary settler colonies to the extent that they see themselves native. Gressier (2014) argued that White settlers in Botswana, based on their prolonged stay in Botswana and their intimate knowledge of the terrain they can make autochthonous claims to Botswana. Autochthonous claims are characteristic of native groups because they indicate a quality of belonging that is exclusive to first inhabitants. In this way, White settlers in Botswana assert themselves natives. Similarly, Matthews (2015) alludes to how White South Africans have claimed to be Africans after the fall of apartheid. Importantly, White settler claims to being African, she argued, undermine efforts at achieving racial equality in contemporary settler colonies like

South Africa (Matthews, 2015). This implies that if White South Africans can qualify themselves as Africans, they inadvertently negate their European identity, obfuscate Indigenous claims to nativeness and grant themselves *de facto* native status in South Africa.

These assertions (Gressier, 2014; Matthews, 2015), draw our attention to the central question of this chapter, which is concerned with how White settlers, a dominant non-native group, can construct a sense of nativeness to a territory that they are not native to? History does not afford White settlers legitimate claims to having precolonial ancestral ties nor does it narrate them as having a primordial claims to settler colonies (Boehmer, 2011). Yet, scholars have alluded to how White settlers in settler colonies have constructed native status through settler colonial conquest and continued occupation of settler colonies (Veracini, 1999; Pillay, 2004, Wolfe, 2006). The issue at hand here is how is it possible that history can declare White settlers as non-natives yet in the social, political and economic life of contemporary settler colonies, they can assert and conduct themselves as natives (Rifkin, 2013). To address this issue, I argue that the descendants of White settlers employed settler mythologies to justify settler colonial conquest and to construct themselves as natives (see Rifkin, 2013; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Furthermore, I argue that these settler mythologies still shape contemporary expressions of White settler nativeness.

To contextualise my main argument, I will first distinguish settler colonies as polities that are peculiar. Second, I will give a brief historical account of White settlement in South Africa. Following these discussion, I will attempt to demonstrate how settler mythologies construct White South Africans as natives historically and in the present.

### **Settler colonisation a unique form of colonial conquest**

Colonial conquest is characterised by settlers taking possession of and exerting control over a territory and its people (Veracini, 1999). This act of invasion culminates in settlers establishing own sovereignty on territory that is otherwise foreign (Veracini, 1999). To justify invasion and sovereignty, settlers award themselves native status to justify and entrench asymmetries of power between themselves and Indigenous (Wolfe, 2006).

History tells us that there are differences in how the colonies and Indigenous Groups were colonised (Johnston & Lawson, 2007). Johnston and Lawson (2007) state that the structure and duration of colonial conquest is what distinguishes different modes of colonisation. Colonial regimes implement a form of control where colonial administrators take instruction from the metropole or operate independently (Johnston and Lawson, 2007). When control of the colony is contingent upon receiving instructions from the metropole, then franchise colonisation is in place. Whereas settler colonisation is established when settler colonisers act independently of the metropole. In other words, when settler colonisation is been established, settler colonisers exercise their sovereignty independent of the colonial empire. For example, settler colonisation resulted in the formation of modern day sovereign settler states like South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. These settler states were once British colonies that now operate independently from the British metropole. Moreton-Robinson (2015) refers to these type of nation states as “White settler possessives” because they are settler nation states that are characterised by the enactment of White settler autonomy. Crucially, they are also characterised by White settlers who appropriated land from Indigenous Groups through frontier wars, depopulated them and imposed a permanent Western legal systems (Mamdani, 1998, Hughes, 2010, Moreton-Robinson, 2015; Bhandar, 2016). Another distinctive feature of settler colonies is the duration of occupation that the colonial system is in place. Unlike franchise colonisation, whereby White settlers take control

of the settler colony for a brief period and subsequently return to the metropole. Settler colonies are characterised by a permanent colonial system of governance and White settler occupation (Mamdani, 1998; Wolfe, 2006; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Put differently, White settlers occupy the settler colony permanently and oversee systems of government - informed by the legacy of colonisation (Johnston & Lawson, 2000).

In light of this, settler colonisation is a mode of domination that maintains White settler permanence in contemporary settler colonies (Veracini, 1999). It affords White settlers the opportunity to construct a native status because they are a permanent part of settler colonies, given that they are nation states (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). In the sections that follow, I will discuss how settler colonisation constructed White settlers as a group that is distinct from White non-settlers and immigrants. Following this discussion, I will give a brief historical account of White settlement in South Africa.

### **White settlers as distinct subjects**

White settlers have made the settler colony their permanent home and this is a by-product settler colonisation (Veracini, 1999; Wolfe, 2006). This makes White settlers a unique social group because they are distinct from non-settlers but do not meet the criteria of immigrants.

Scholars have distinguished between how White settlers and non-settlers have orientated themselves towards the colony. They argue that White settlers prior to leaving the metropole imagined that the settler colony was a territory that was going to be discovered, thus implying that it had no Indigenous peoples that predate them (Ridge, 1987; Veracini, 2011). Ridge (1987) illustrated this orientation by making reference to how the English, prior to their settlement in South Africa, imagined a place that was bountiful and uninhabited - akin to a Biblical promised land. Veracini (1999) elaborated on the peculiarities of White

settlement by alluding to kinds of narratives that they mobilise. He points out that White settlers employed narratives that conflated the metropole with the settler colony. This conflation, Veracini (1999) goes on to argue, is a consequence of White settlers imagining that the colony would be their newfound home prior to settlement. In other words, White settlers came to the settler colony with the expectations of establishing a new home on unoccupied territory. In addition, Veracini (1999) states that White-settlers construct linear narratives. In their narratives, White settlers leave the metropole for the colony, engage in violent colonial conquest against Indigenous inhabitants and subsequently make the colony their home. Interestingly, Veracini (1999; 2008) states that White settler groups undertook violent colonial conquest, against Indigenous inhabitants, to maintain the fantasy of an unoccupied colonial territory. On the other hand, White non-settlers employed cyclic narratives which often began with voyages that led to the “discovery” of the colony, followed by violent colonial conquest of Indigenous groups to extract resources from the settler colony and return a home to home to the metropole (Veracini, 1999). Even though White non-settlers may have initiated a temporary stay in the colony, they eventually returned home to the metropole, whereas White settlers stayed with the objective of establishing permanent home (see Craig, 1987, p. 256).

White settlers are also distinct from Immigrants. Commonly, Immigrants move to a foreign country to live alongside Indigenous and assimilate to their norms, customs and cultural values (see Veracini, 1999; Verkuyten, Sierksma & Thijs, 2015). Furthermore, immigrants possess relatively less economic, political and cultural resources than Indigenous Groups and this is justifiable because they are not native. All things equal, one would have expected White settlers to follow this mode of relating to Indigenous groups. Instead, White settlers settled on foreign territory and colonised Indigenous Groups to the extent that they were able to replace them with themselves (Wolfe, 2006; Veracini 2008; Wysote & Morton,



2019). The act of replacing Indigenous Groups with themselves suggests that White settlers do not consider themselves Immigrants but as natives of the settler colonies (Veracini, 1999; Wolfe, 2006). Consequently, White settlers enjoy greater social, economic and political privileges in settler colonies relative to Indigenous Groups, because they never saw themselves as immigrants in the first place. This how White settlers' orientation towards the settler colony set the tone for their assertion of native status.

### **A brief historical account of White Settlement in South Africa**

South Africa has the largest population of White-European settlers in Africa, comprised mainly of settlers of Dutch and British/English descent (Chege, 1997). In 1652, the first wave of White-European settlers landed in the Cape colony. They were mainly Dutch settlers who were workers employed by the Dutch East India Company (Giliomee, 2003). This group of White settlers came to be known as the Free Burgers and were under the leadership of Jan Van Riebeeck (Giliomee, 2003). Jan Van Riebeeck was given instructions by the Dutch East India Company to establish a settlement that would provide fresh produce for the company's refreshment station (Giliomee, 2003). As such, the Free Burgers would become farmers in service of the Dutch East India Company's refreshment station. The Free Burgers did not make enough money from their farming activities and had a tenuous relationship with Indigenous groups (the Khoikhoi) and the Dutch East India Company (Giliomee, 2003). The conflict between the Free Burgers and Indigenous Groups was over land and livestock. Whereas their conflict with the Dutch East India Company was over the company's remuneration over their produce and the trade restrictions that the company had imposed on them (Giliomee, 2003). As a response to their challenges Giliomee (2003) reports that the Free Burgers petitioned the Dutch East India Company to provide them with more support and not oppress them as they were the "defenders of the land", against Indigenous Groups. Eventually, the Free Burgers

fought numerous wars with Indigenous Groups over land and livestock (see Giliomee, 2003; Mellet, 2020). Between 1835 and 1845, the Free Burgers moved towards the eastern interior of South Africa, leaving the Cape Colony, which had an established colonial government. This movement towards the eastern interior of South Africa is now known as the Great Trek. A combination of factors that led to the movement of the Free Burgers towards the eastern interior of South Africa. Davenport (1977) reports that the British taking control of the Cape was one of these reasons. They abolished slavery and this was against the Calvinist traditions of the Free Burgers who wanted to keep slaves to work their land (Davenport, 1977). The Great Trek is significant because it forged the identity of White Afrikaner South Africans (see Du Toit, 1983). That is, it enabled the Free Burgers to form an identity that is distinct from the one that they initially formed in Dutch metropole. Today, the Free Burgers have evolved into a White ethnic racial group known as the Afrikaners (Giliomee, 2003).

The British took control of the Cape Colony in 1806 after having defeated the Dutch East India Company in the year 1795, in what is known as the Battle of Muizenburg (Van Niekerk, 2005). Davenport (1977) reports that after taking control of the Cape Colony the largest contingent of British settlers only settled in what today is known as the Eastern Cape Province in 1820. This was the largest contingent of British settlers in Africa and they originated from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland (Davenport, 1977). This group was comprised of individuals who came from wealthy backgrounds; others were artisans and farmers (Davenport, 1977). Crais (1991) reports that British settlers fought frontier wars with amaXhosa and conquered amaZulu in Natal in 1844 (Laband, 2020).

This historical account provides an overview of the circumstances that inform White settlement in South Africa. It however does not account for how White South Africans have interpreted this history in a manner that grants them native status. The sections that follow discuss this.

### **Settler mythology and the construction of White settler nativeness**

Mythologies are self-evident truths that do not need evidence to be accepted (Ridge, 1987). They are a form of wishful thinking or fantasy that recreate a glorious past in the social group's history (see Delmont, 1993). Delmont (1993) refers to the Afrikaner's Great Trek, as an instance where mythology was used to recreate a glorious past. In this case, the story of Great Trek is framed as a triumph over adversity that fortifies Afrikaner identity in South Africa. However, in order for the Great Trek to attain mythical status, it is imbued with fantasy and altered narratives of the past. This reflects White settler tendencies to narrate the past based on their wishes. Moreton-Robinson (2016) also alluded to how White Australians recreate a glorious past when they construct Australia as a territory that belongs to White Australians. She mentions that in their rendition of the past, they construct themselves as pioneers, who triumphed over adversity and eventually founded Australia (Moreton-Robinson, 2016).

Both instances are indicative of how White settlers engage in myth making to reconstruct a past that is their favour. In this case, myths not only do the work of legitimising a particular idea but they also produce, sustain, and "naturalise" the social reality (Crais, 1991). When applied to settler colonies, settler myths sustain the idea that White settlers have a legitimate place in settler colonies, because they do the work of casting them as natives. They have the power to maintain race-based hierarchies by making asymmetrical power relations between White settlers and Indigenous Groups acceptable based on how White settlers legitimise their place in settler colonies (see Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). To illustrate the power of mythologies in societies that are organised hierarchically, Thompson (1985) points to the work of Plato. In Thompson's (1985) account, Plato advocated for nobility to tell a "royal lie" in order to appease subordinate groups in an aristocratic society. This act of appeasement, Plato argued, would lead to harmony, as subordinate groups would see no need

to undo prevailing hierarchies. This demonstrates the use of mythologies to make asymmetrical configurations of power between groups acceptable.

Consequently, I define settler mythologies as a set of elaborate reconstructions of history, which are a reflection of settlers' fantasies and disavowal (Ridge, 1987; Delmont, 1993; Veracini, 1999). Their primary function is to grant White settlers their native status in settler colonies to the extent that they undermine efforts at undoing race-based hierarchies. Settler mythologies form part of the everyday practices of White settlers (Rifkin, 2013). In other words, settler mythologies become normative, unquestionable and form part of the mundane social practices in settler colonies (Rifkin, 2013). Wysote and Morton's (2019) notion of settler tautologies provides a useful illustration of how settler mythologies function. They defined settler tautologies as "...things that seem true by the very nature of their repetition and logical irrefutability under settler colonialism..." (Wysote & Morton, 2019, p. 2). From their conceptualisation, one could conclude that settler mythologies are not an objective recollection of settler colonial history, but are a repetition of settler colonial narratives that only become true because they are constantly being recycled. In addition, settler mythologies can be thought of as elaborate embellishments about settler colonial history. The notion of disavowal becomes useful when trying to understand how elaborate embellishments about settler colonial history function. Veracini (2008) argues that disavowal in the context of settler colony; functions as a form of denial of the founding violence targeted at Indigenous groups by White settlers (see also Dladla, 2020). It upholds the image of the colony as a fantasy and Promised Land (Ridge, 1987; Veracini, 2008). Furthermore, Veracini (2008) argues that disavowal is a defence mechanism that White settlers use when confronted with the guilt of their founding violence. Disavowal, he argues, lessens settler guilt, making the transition from settler to native feasible (Veracini, 2008). In this way, we could think of disavowal as foundational to settler mythologies because settlers seek to

maintain the narrative and the representation of settler colonial conquest as an innocent discovery. That is, White settlers seek to preserve the notion of settlement as a peaceful expedition that led to the innocent discovery of the Indigene and the settler colony (see also Tuck and Yang, 2011). In addition, disavowal informs the view that settler mythologies fall outside of the realms of reality because they are based on fantasy and wishful thinking. This makes settler mythologies self-evident “truths” that are difficult to dispute or “facts” that are not amenable to interrogation (Thompson, 1985). It is in this way that disavowal makes settler mythologies possible.

## **White settler mythologies in South Africa**

### ***Empty land mythology***

The empty land mythology, also known as the vacant land theory is foundational to White settler’s construction of nativeness. Boisen (2017) in her examination of the moral justifications of settler colonisation alludes to how White settlers in South Africa employed the empty land mythology to justify land dispossession. This mythology describes how White settlers justified land dispossession in settler colonies based on the premise that land was “unoccupied” by Indigenous groups when they landed.

Scholars have indicated how this depiction of the settler colony may be a reflection of White settler subjectivities. Johnston and Lawson (2000, p.364) allude to how the empty land myth is a projection. In other words, White settlers had to represent landscapes in settler colonies as vast, untamed and wild to strengthen their case for White settlers who originate from the land. Crais (1991) shared similar sentiments, when examining White settlers in South Africa. He suggested that land dispossession in South Africa represented White settlers’ (British settlers in this case) unconscious desire to tame the “wild African landscape” - transforming it to look like landscapes in the colonial empire. At the same time,

their desire to tame the “wild African landscape”, he stated was indicative of viewpoint that Indigenous African groups ought to be civilised into the norms, values, customs of the colonial empire (Crais, 1991). Crais (1991) elaborates on the inner workings of the empty land mythology - proposing that the construction of “emptiness” or “vacantness” is in the literal geographical sense and in a figurative sense. In the literal geographical sense, White-European settlers experienced the land as open and free of any inhabitants. Whereas in the figurative sense it was the emptying of indigenous groups of their humanity or constructing them a sub-human. For vacantness to be constructed in the literal geographical sense there had to be a reconstruction and distortion of the history of settlement (for extended discussion see Pillay, 2004). Whereas in the case of vacantness in the figurative sense, Indigenous African groups were framed as primitive, backward and sub-human - hence the need to civilise them. Other scholars even go onto stress that the notion of vacantness, when colonial conquest taking place, extended to Indigenous groups not being seen human but as non-beings (see Fanon, 2008). The construction of indigenous groups as sub-human or not human led to the conclusion that they could not occupy land or be in ownership of land (Fanon, 2008). In this case, the empty land mythology simultaneously constructs territory and its Indigenous Groups as entities that are “vacant” and in need of civilising.

White settlers began to construct a sense of nativeness to the colony based on the rationale that land was seen as territory that belonged to “no one”. It stands to reason that this notion of “no man’s land” may led to White settlements seeing themselves as primo-occupants [Pillay, 2004;Boisen, 2017;]. Thus legitimate ownership territory in the settler colony was fitting. Terra nullius is the legal concept that describes land belonging to “no one”. It is a is the natural law of ownership, which states that land that is “unoccupied” becomes the property of those who first occupy it (Boisen, 2017). The empty land mythology was fortified by the legal principle of terra nullius. According to this legal principle

Indigenous groups had failed to exercise their natural rights to owing land because territory was unoccupied (Boisen, 2017). It could be reasoned that White settlers in South Africa used terra nullius as a legal principle together with the empty land mythology to assert native status. This ultimately led to legitimate possession and ownership of territory based on being the first to occupy territory that was deemed vacant (Boisen, 2017).

### ***Bantu migration mythology***

Complementing the empty land mythology is the Bantu<sup>2</sup> migration mythology. This mythology contends that Bantu speaking groups came to South Africa (from the northern parts of Africa) around the same time as the Afrikaners and English speaking South Africans (Crais, 1991; Pillay, 2004). Furthermore, the myth suggests that Bantu speaking South Africans, subsequent to their settlement, acquired territory through colonial conquest (Crais, 1991; Oliver & Oliver, 2017). Recently Laband (2020) provided a description of the Bantu migration mythology, stating

“Of all the people living in South Africa today, only the San are considered autochthonous - that is still living in the same region as their ancestors when they evolved into modern humans aeons ago. Everyone else involved in this story were settlers, people who came later, whether migrating from further north in Africa like the Khoikhoi and Southern Nguni-speakers, or arriving by sea from Europe like the Portuguese, Dutch, French, British and Germans, or Madagascar, the East Indies and elsewhere in Africa if they slaves”. (Laband, 2020, p.3)

This mythology is drawn from influential work of George McCall Theal (1910), the Canadian born colonial historian of the Cape Colony (Visser, 2004). George McCall Theal is

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<sup>2</sup> The Bantu or Nguni are a group indigenous to South Africa and form part of the Indigenous African groups. These groups form a distinct group from the San and Khoi (Ehret, C., & Ehret, C. 1998). They are currently referred to as Black South Africans and are in the numerical majority relative to Coloured, Indian and White South Africans.

reported to have been a pro-Afrikaner and English historian who viewed Indigenous Groups as subordinate to White South Africans (Visser, 2004). Theal (1910) claimed that the “Bushmen” were the original inhabitants of South Africa but were driven to the dessert and the mountains of the Cape by the Hottentots (KhoiKhoi) and later by the Bantu (Indigenous Black South Africans). According to this version of history, the Khoikhoi and later the Bantu conquered the “Bushmen”, in what Theal (1910) refers to as “barbaric warfare”. This reconstruction of history, suggests that the Bantu were not originally from South Africa and settled around the same time as White settlers in South Africa (Pillay, 2004). Pillay (2004) suggests that this mythological work constructs South Africa as a place where no one really belongs because the original first inhabitants (the San) cease to exist as a cultural, social and political group. By making this assertion, Theal (1910) positions other Indigenous Groups (the Bantu and Khoi Khoi) in the same way as White settlers (see Laband, 2020).

Veracini (1999) notes that this type of settler mythological work is quite common amongst White settlers in settler colonies. He states that it makes Indigenous Groups nomads and gives White settlers the space to construct and negotiate a native status. In what ways does it do this? First, it positions Indigenous Groups as immigrants with entitlements to territory in South Africa that are equal or lesser to that of White settlers (see Thompson, 1985, p.70; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). In this way, the supposed “late arrival” or “simultaneous arrival” other Indigenous Groups is equated to the settler colonial conquest of White settlers. This could be taken to mean that if the other Indigenous Groups (Bantu and Khoikhoi) can claim to be autochthons, White settlers can also do same because the circumstance of their settlement are similar. Second, framing Indigenous groups as nomads undermines their indigeneity and makes settler colonial conquest as a natural or inevitable occurrence. That is, the occupation of territory is naturalised by the reasoning that if the other Indigenous Groups (Bantu and



Khoikhoi) conquered the San <sup>3</sup> then it was inevitable that White settlers would do the same (see Oliver & Oliver, 2017). This makes White settlers' dispossessing Indigenous Groups of territory in South Africa benign and justified because it equates White settler colonial conquest supposed Indigenous Groups migration (Bantu and Khoi).

The assertion that Indigenous groups were nomads who also settled in South Africa corroborates the empty land mythology. It is premised on the idea that land in South Africa was vacant because some Indigenous groups only settled in South Africa later or around the same time as White settlers (Pillay, 2004). In other words, by making the claim that South Africa was a vacant territory, White settlers disavow the violent displacement of Indigenous groups and position them as migrants in their homeland (Crais, 1991; Pillay, 2004). This kind of mythological work enables White settlers to claim equal entitlements to settler colonies because they see themselves as de facto natives.

### *Israelite mythology*

Another mythology employed by White settlers in South Africa is the Israelite myth. The Israelite myth also known as the myth of the "chosen people" suggests that God biblically sanctioned the settlement of White-Europeans in colonies like South Africa (Ridge, 1987). Du Toit (1983) alludes to two key concepts that underpin the Israelite myth. The first is the notion of election, which suggests that God elected White settlers as His "chosen people" who have a covenant with Him. The second underpinning concept is predestination. Which suggests that it was God's divine Will to have his "chosen people" settle in South Africa.

Drawn from the Old Testament and from the Calvinist school of Christianity this myth found resonance with White Afrikaner South Africans (Du Toit, 1983). In the

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<sup>3</sup> The San in this line of thinking are thought to be "real" original inhabitants of Southern Africa.

construction of this mythology, the Afrikaners equate themselves to the Israelites of the Old Testament - as a people that God has chosen (Du Toit, 1983). The notion of being predestined when interpreted in relation to the scriptures suggests that it was God's will or plan for White Afrikaner South Africans to find themselves in Africa. On the other hand, Indigenous groups, in their interpretation of this scripture, as seen as representing the Sons of Ham who were condemned to slavery as "...perpetual hewers of wood and drawers of water..." (Du Toit, 1983, p. 927). White Afrikaner South Africans used this mythology to justify their entitlement to territory in South Africa and their dominance of Indigenous groups.

This justification makes it God's divine plan to have White settlers occupying territory in settler colonies like South Africa. Drawing from this historical narrative it is unlikely that White settlers would consider themselves Immigrants because their settlement in and dominance of South Africa was sanctioned and predestined by God. This interpretation of the Bible, in another lineage of thought that makes it possible for White settlers to make their place in settler colonies legitimate and subsequently award themselves native status.

White settlers in South Africa constructed and employed the empty land mythology, the Bantu migration mythology and the Israelite mythology to construct and fortify as sense of being native to South Africa. In other words, settler mythologies aided White settlers in justifying their place in South Africa to the extent that they saw themselves as original inhabitants. Looked at together, these mythologies make White settlers native by constructing a coherent set of narratives. These narratives are undergird claims that there was no one when we came here, there is no one to lay claim to land, the land was is undeveloped and God elected us as custodians of this land. The combination of these narratives as I have argued make White settlers experience themselves as political subjects that originate from South Africa.

### **The continuity of settler mythologies in South Africa**

Settler colonies, like South Africa, have transitioned from colonial rule to modern day liberal democracies. As such, it could be reasoned that the aforementioned settler mythologies are historically located forms legitimising these oppressive regimes. However, whether contemporary settler colonies have undone the vestiges of colonial rule is a contentious matter even though they may have embraced liberal-democratic ideals (Veracini, 1999; Wolfe, 2006; Reddy, 2015; Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

In this section, I discuss the continuities of settler mythologies by contextualising them in South Africa's settler colonial present. I draw on settler colonial theory to make the point that White settlers' sense of nativeness to South Africa is buttressed by the continuities of settler colonisation. Subsequently, I examine White South African's reactions to land restitution to illustrate how they continue to recycle settler mythologies to maintain White settler nativeness.

Settler colonial theory argues settler colonisation is not a once off historical event but an enduring political structure that continues to shape contemporary settler colonies, even though they may have adopted egalitarian ideals (Wolfe, 2006). It states that one of the reasons for this is the permanent settlement of White settlers and the displacement of Indigenous Groups from their native territories and their continued marginalisation (Wolfe, 2006). Bateman and Pilkington (2017) corroborate these propositions stating that settler colonisation is a resilient political order that continues into the present day "post-colonial" settler colony. In other words, even though settler colonies may have transition into modern day liberal democracies, settler colonial theory argues that the settler colonial order remains entrenched through political, economic and social structures (see also Nkurumah, 1965). Drawing from the tenants of settler colonial theory, it stands to reason that

contemporary settler colonies have the potential to secure White settlers legitimate entitlements and a native status.

Moreton-Robinson (2015) points to the establishment of modern day nation-states on settler colonial territory as initiatives that consolidate White settler entitlement as legitimate. She argues that the adoption of liberal-democratic principles in these polities secures White settlers' sense of ownership, instead of affording Indigenous Groups restorative justice and equality. In her words, these settler nation-states constitute a "White possessive" that rationalises White settlers' entitlement and ownership of settler colonies (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 12). In this way, settler nation-states are part of a set of "possessive logics" or ways of thinking about settler nation-states that rationalise them colonies as White possessions (Moreton-Robinson, 2015, p. 12). In this way, settler nation-states are able to legitimise White settlers' sense of possession of settler colonies in a way that is taken for granted, normalised, in social and political discourse. Examining the case of South Africa, Reddy (2015) provides a fitting illustration of Moreton- Robinson's (2015) propositions about settler nation-states. Reddy (2015) contended that South Africa's liberal democracy is still undergird by a settler colonial system of governance, even though colonial rule and apartheid have formally ended. He elucidates, stating that South Africa's liberal democracy continues to privilege White South Africans at the expense of Black South Africans, because Black South Africans continue to be seen as subhuman. The inability of South Africa's liberal-democracy to recognise Black South Africans as humans, with requisite privileges, is attributed to the continuity of settler colonisation. In other words, South Africa's liberal-democracy does not (and did not) anticipate how Black South Africans being historically seen as subhuman would continue into the present and maintain racial oppression. In Reddy's (2015) view, the values and ideals articulated in South Africa's post-apartheid liberal democracy do not necessarily translate into liberal-democratic freedoms for Black South Africans but are a means to secure

White South Africans' legitimacy in South Africa. Settler colonialism in contemporary settler colonies is also maintained through political initiatives that attempt to foster interracial reconciliation and harmony. Using South Africa as an exemplar, Boehmer (2011) proposed that adoption of racial diversity, together with a superordinate national identity (identifying non-racially as South Africans), inadvertently legitimised White South Africans' place in South Africa. Boehmer (2011) argued that leading political figures like Nelson Mandela, used symbols such as sporting events and the national anthem to award White South Africans native status, this was in an effort to realise a non-racial South Africa. The view that contemporary settler colonies secure privileges for White settlers at the expense of Indigenous Groups was also articulated by Mamdani (1998), who argued that Black South Africans granted an inferior set of rights because they are governed by customary law, while White South Africans are afforded superior rights through civic law (see Mamdani 1998). This differentiation between White settlers and Black Indigenous groups is at the core of how contemporary settler colonial states.

Contemporary settler colonies that have adopted liberal-democratic values are not immune to maintaining settler colonial modes of domination (Veracini, 1999; Moreton-Robinson, 2015). Hence it plausible that White settlers' sense of entitlement to them, maintains their native status at the expense of Indigenous Groups. Furthermore, the endurance of White settler nativeness continues to shape asymmetrical relations between White settlers and Indigenous Groups in contemporary settler colonies.

The aforementioned scholars argue for the continuity of settler colonisation at macro-political level i.e. at the level of the formation of a nation state. However, they fall short of articulating how the establishment of contemporary settler colonies translates into White settler nativeness. Hence, in the section that follows I attempt to demonstrate how White

settlers recycle the aforementioned “historically located” settler mythologies to maintain their native status. I draw on two illustrations concerning land restitution to make this point.

### **Recycling settler mythologies to secure post-apartheid White settler nativeness**

Contemporary settler colonies that have adopted liberal-democratic ideals are not only characterised by the maintenance of settler colonisation at a macro-political level. For example, by granting of White settlers civil rights (Mamdani, 1998). They are also characterised by continuing expressions of White settler nativeness. Rifkin (2013) deconstructed how White settlers in the United States of America continue to express entitlement to it, and how this is normalised and taken for granted. Rifkin’s (2013) proposed that “settler common sense” describes the everyday, mundane ways in which White settlers in the United States of America continue to occupy the settler colony as a group that legitimately belongs to it. Rifkin (2013) shows us that White settler nativeness is an enduring part of contemporary settler colonies that have adopted liberal-democracies.

The notion that White settlers continue to claim nativeness in ways that have become normative Rifkin (2013), suggests that settler mythologies are not just historically located constructions of nativeness but form part of prevailing the discourses in contemporary settler colonies. As such, I reason that White settlers continue to recycle settler mythologies to secure their place as natives. They do this to buttress their entitlement and ownership to settler colonies. Given that settler mythologies are elaborate reconstructions of history that are continuously recycled (Ridge, 1987; Delmont, 1993; Veracini, 1999). They are not be mere recollections of the history of White settlement, but are powerful storylines that are recycled to award White South Africans de facto native status. In this way, they form powerful narratives that are passed down from one generation to another (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). Meaning settler mythologies form part of White settler groups’ collective memory - to

the extent that they are drawn upon as a resource for the contestation of power and dominance with Indigenous Groups (Bruyneel, 2021).

To illustrate how settler mythologies continue to be recycled by White settlers to secure nativeness I examine how two prominent organisations in the White South African community have responded to land reform and restitution in South Africa. Land reform and restitution is a contentious topic in South Africa because of the country's history of land dispossession, which has resulted in the majority of land being owned by White South Africans (South African Government, 2018). Crucially, White South African responses to land reform and restitution are indicative of how they continue to secure their nativeness in the face of social changes that threaten their entitlement and ownership to land in South Africa. I will draw excerpts from the Democratic Alliance's policy document on land reform and from Afriforum's report on land reform titled, *Expropriation without Compensation: A disaster in waiting*.

The Democratic Alliance is the second largest political party in South Africa and constitutes the official opposition in South Africa's parliament. It is a political party that mainly represents the interests of English speaking South Africans (Southern, 2011) and its constituency is comprised of mainly White South Africans. The Democratic Alliance published a policy document in 2013, that sought to articulate their position on land reform and restitution in South Africa. Afriforum is a prominent organisation that represents the interests of White Afrikaner South Africans. The document that I refer to is a report that the organisation published in response to land restitution in South Africa. Their response is specifically targeted at a particular form of land restitution, where there was a proposition to undertake land restitution without compensating the owners.

### ***Recycling Settler Disavowals***

Afriforum's report asserts that land restitution in South Africa is based on a flawed perception of history (Afriforum, 2019). In this case, Afriforum sees efforts at undoing racial injustices as premised on a distorted history. This counter claim speaks to how White settlers continue to contest versions of history in order to manufacture and recycle settler mythologies. Reconstructions of history, which are reflected in disavowals, are foundational to the continued employment of settler mythologies (Ridge, 1987; Delmont, 1993; Veracini, 1999). I have drawn excerpts from the Democratic Alliance and Afriforum to demonstrate how disavowal forms the foundation for settler mythologies to be maintained and recycled. Excerpt 1 is taken from the introductory section of the Democratic Alliance's policy document on land reform. In this section, the Democratic Alliance expresses a general support for land reform and restitution but this is qualified by the condition that it promotes economic inclusion. However, they make the following notable statement.

*Excerpt 1: "In rural economies South Africa's history of racial dispossession has left the country with skewed patterns of ownership that excludes the majority of South Africans from land assets and inclusion in rural economies" Page 3.*

In the excerpt, there is acknowledgment that land distribution is not equitable and is foregrounded by South Africa's history of racial inequality. However, the phrase "majority of South Africans" underscores who the main victims of land dispossession were and who they currently are. Furthermore, the statement implies that land dispossession was as an act of settler colonial conquest that was restricted to rural areas. The lack of overt articulation and downplaying how Black South Africans have been affected by settler colonial conquest reflects the inner workings of settler myth making in post-apartheid South Africa. This



statement demonstrates settler disavowal of colonial conquest, typical of how White settlers practice myth making (Veracini, 2008; Dladla, 2020). Straker (2004) describes disavowal as the psychological act of knowing one thing to be true yet choosing to believe another. The Democratic Alliance's statement suggests conscious knowledge of how land dispossession took place, who it affected and how endemic it was, yet in their policy position a clear articulation of the historical circumstances and its outcomes are not made known. One could reason that the statement foregrounds settler myth making because it understates land dispossession to make room for a coherent set of settler mythologies.

Afriforum's response to land reform and restitution also reflects an explicit disavowal of the violence of land dispossession and this is illustrated in Excerpt 2.

*Excerpt 2: "Two comments should however be made regarding the obtaining of land through conquest. The first is that it was a common practice among black tribes at the time. The second is that obtaining of land through conquest was not that common among white people who settled in South Africa" p.5*

In this excerpt, the violence of land dispossession is disavowed explicitly. The claim is made that White people who settled in South Africa did not normally obtain land through conquest but instead violent conquest was a characteristic generally displayed by Indigenous Groups. The explicit denial of the violence of land dispossession and the counter claim that Indigenous Groups were perpetrators of violence conquest corroborates evidence that perpetrator groups often downplay violent acts of their ancestors to not deal with the moral threats (Licata et al., 2018; Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). What is striking about Afriforum's statement is that their disavowal takes blame away from White settlers and apports it to Indigenous Groups. This type of myth making reflects Veracini's (2008) view that White

settlers project their fantasies onto the settler colonies to avoid feelings of guilt associated with violent land dispossession (see also Dladla, 2020). Furthermore, the claim that Indigenous Groups also partook in land dispossession relates to how aspects of the Bantu-migration mythology are being recycled. That is, in making the claim that Indigenous Groups also appropriated land from each other, White settlers are absolved and land dispossession is normalised (see Oliver & Oliver, 2017).

### ***Recycling the Empty land mythology.***

Building on the disavowal of land dispossession, both organisations recycle the empty land mythology in their documents. Excerpt 2 and 3 are drawn from the Democratic Alliance's policy document, while excerpt 4 is taken from the Afriforum's land report.

*Excerpt 3: "As land and land-use is intricately tied to food production and food security, policies that affect land ownership and land use must prioritise the need to ensure the continued supply of food at prices that are affordable to ordinary South Africans" (Page 3).*

*Excerpt 4: "The emotion attached to land and the symbolic importance of land ownership in inter-group relationships contributes to the complexity of the land debate. To achieve successful reform, it is, however, imperative that we look beyond the emotion and make it our goal to provide practical solutions on how we can broaden the ownership of productive assets in the rural economy in a sustainable way, build inclusive rural economies that lift people out of poverty and empower South Africans through property ownership where they need it."*

The Democratic Alliance's policy position draws on the settler colonial logic that land has to be put to economic and productive use. This way of thinking about land in settler colonies related to old tropes where "vacant", "undeveloped land" was seen by early White settlers as land was not occupied by Indigenous groups (Allsobrook & Biosen, 2017). The

recycling of this settler mythology implies that land ought to be put to productive use and that land that is not productive is underdeveloped and may even constitute a “no man’s land”. In the context of contemporary settler colonies, it implies that land reform is contingent on Indigenous Groups making productive use of the land. This framing of land reform/restoration discussion draws on the vacant land mythology in the following ways. It suggests that redistributing land back to Black South Africans needs to be paired with development so that the land is put to productive use. This view on land in settler colonies is not new because White settlers during the colonial era saw uncultivated land as vacant, thus it should be held by them on behalf of Indigenous Groups who are yet to become civilised (Allsobrook & Biosen 2017). This form of legitimising land dispossession is referred to as trusteeship. It positions Indigenous Groups as people that are not yet developed enough to make the land productive (Allsobrook & Biosen, 2017). In this way, the Democratic Alliances’ framing of land restitution as an undertaking that needs to ensure poverty alleviation and economic prosperity implies that they Indigenous Inhabitants who are meant have land returned back to them need to be “educated” first or given “skills” first.

Excerpt 5, taken from Afriforum’s land report and makes explicit claims regarding the vacancy of the land.

*Excerpt 5: “The truth is that white owned land was acquired in three different ways, namely occupation of empty land, acquiring of land through negotiation and conquest” p.5*

Afriforum’s claims position White settlers as an innocent group that acquired land through just means (see Tuck and Yang, 2012). By claiming that land was empty or it was obtained through negotiation they recreate a peaceful colonial past that not only disavows settler

colonial violence, but secures White South Africans' place as natives who legitimately belong (Veracini, 2008). Furthermore, the legitimacy of land restitution is undermined by the employment of the empty land mythology because it casts a doubt on whether racial injustices caused by colonisation and apartheid should be undone.

Settler mythologies are not just historically located forms of myth making they also function in present day settler colonies to aid White settlers in securing their nativeness. They reconstruct colonial history in this manner makes native status possible themselves. The Democratic Alliances policy document and Afriforum's report on land restitution provide a fitting illustration of how historically located settler mythologies can be employed by White settlers to secure their belonging as natives who are also entitled to South Africa. Settler mythologies make White settlers' entitlement to settler colonies normal and taken for granted. That is to say, if land that is occupied and owned by White settlers was territory that was not occupied by anyone and was negotiated for, then White settler nativesness is just and measures that seek to take land away from White settler are unjust.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I argued that White settlers in South Africa have asserted themselves as natives through the employment of settler mythologies. To substantiate my claim, I detailed how the empty land mythology, the Bantu-migration mythology and the Israelite mythology as historical and contemporary forms of myth making - construct, assert and award White settlers native status. Effectively these myths form coherent narratives that position Whites as legitimate inhabitants who are de fact natives. Settler mythologies manufacturer a deep connection between White settlers and territory in the settler colony, to the extent that they are able to call it home and claim native status. They secure White

settlers' entitlement to and ownership of contemporary settler colonies like South Africa. Furthermore, White settlers employ settler mythologies to justify their dominance on the grounds that they also deserve entitlement rights that are fit for natives. This has tangible outcomes for how economic, social and political privileges are apportioned between White settlers and Indigenous Groups in contemporary settler colonies. That is to say, if White settlers conceive of themselves as natives, they will oppose initiatives that seek to address racial injustices like land restitution.

Nativeness has a lot in common with autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia. Natives are people that are primordial to a territory, thus they are seen as qualified to enjoy superior privileges. As such they typically employ autochthony beliefs, that is, they articulate their primordial status by claiming to be the first inhabitants who made the territory prosper, when second comers (or perceived intruders) challenge their dominance (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2017). Furthermore, when natives are threatened by the presence of second comers or intruders they experience a deep yearning for a time in the past when their home i.e. the native territory was not disrupted (Smeekes, 2015). Thus, the assertion of nativeness by White settlers suggests that they can also co-opt autochthony beliefs and the experience collective nostalgia in order to express entitlement claims to contemporary settler colonies. When White settlers are unsettled by efforts that seek to undo race-based hierarchies, autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia become psychological orientations that are used re-establish their position of dominance. In the second chapter of this thesis I introduce autochthony and nostalgia as constructs that are employed by social groups to garner political power over territories and I subsequently make the case for why they are co-opted by White settlers as White settler autochthony and White settler nostalgia

## **Chapter 2**

### **Foregrounding White settler autochthony and nostalgia as expressions of entitlement to contemporary settler colonies**

## Introduction

Entitlement claims to settler colonies are expressed through White settler autochthony and nostalgia because they reflect the beliefs that White settlers hold and their emotional ties (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh, 2000; Alida, 2017). White settler autochthony puts forwards powerful justifications that defend White settlers' rights to call the settler colony home. Similarly, White settler nostalgia evokes strong emotions related towards the maintenance and restoration of the settler colony as a colonial home located in the colonial past (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh, 2000; Boym, 2007). Both are shaped by history, social identities and the kinds of socio-political changes that are taking place.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, to introduce autochthony and nostalgia as political constructs that enable groups to use territory as a tool to contest political power. In particular, I attempt to demonstrate that autochthony and nostalgia enable social groups, in different context, to exercise political power because they help them articulate their entitlements to a territory. Second, given that White settlers assert themselves as *de facto* natives in contemporary settler colonies, I build on this formative knowledge and make the argument autochthony and nostalgia are co-opted by White settlers to express entitlement claims to settler colonies. In others words, White settlers are able to claim historical rights because they have constructed mythologies that qualify them as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies (Ceuppens & Geshiere, 2005; Gressier, 2014). Consequently, when social groups that are considered outsiders, intrude, White settler's sense of being at home evokes a sense of longing for the colonial past. The dynamics we propose, paradoxically, result in the continued oppression of Indigenous groups, who strangely, are relegated to intruders and even later comers in their native land (Pillay, 2004).

To fulfil the objectives of this chapter, I will discuss the historical roots of autochthony and examine how autochthony gets taken up by social groups in the African, European and

settler colonial context. Subsequently, I will discuss how nostalgia became a construct that social groups use to negotiate, maintain and assert political power.

### **Conceptualising Autochthony**

As alluded to in chapter 1, White settlers have historically constructed settler mythologies, which imply that they predate the arrival of Indigenous groups. This because land was empty when they settled and their labour and time is evidence of this, as they made the settler colony prosper (see Boisen, 2016). That is to say, White settlers brought development to settler colonies in the form of technology, infrastructure, education etc. The construction of settler mythologies in manner, thus positions White settlers in the history of settler colonies as first inhabitants, who have made the settler colony prosper - this not only reflects the assertion of a de facto native status, but also a sense that they are autochthons (Gressier, 2014).

Autochthony is the belief that the first inhabitants of a territory are more entitled to it by virtue being first comers who have invested time and labour to make the territory prosper (Geschiere, 2011; Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). Social groups have consistently co-opted autochthony to articulate how their social identities to articulate a superior quality of belonging to a territory (Geschiere, 2011). They refer to connections with their ancestors (who are first peoples) and make claims that the territory shaped who they are, in others words it is a core part of their social identity. Garbutt (2006, p. 5) alludes to the complementary relation between social identity and territory in autochthony claims, stating that autochthony reflects “a territory belonging to a people and people belonging to a territory”. Some autochthonous claims go further than claiming that a territory shapes their social identity - by asserting that they are a by-product of the territory itself. For instance, in Greek antiquity, Athenians asserted that they were “sprung from the earth” and this made



them superior to Immigrants who recently arrived in Athens (Ceuppens & Geshiere, 2005). The sentiment that one's group is "sprung from the earth" or "is one with the land" suggests that there are social groups that are organaries to a territory while others are foreign to it.

Political leaders, political parties, civil rights groups, ethnic and nation groups have through the course of history regularly employed autochthonous claims to fight for their historical rights, to garner and maintain political power and to even justify violence against intruders (see Geschiere, 2011; Smeekes, Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2015; Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017). In the sections that follow I detail how social groups in varying contexts have done this.

### **Illustrating the function of autochthony in modern liberal democracies**

Even though belonging and entitlement in modern day liberal-democracies <sup>4</sup>should ideally accrue based on citizenship and not ancestral links, social groups continue to mobilise autochthonous claims to secure political advantage (Geschiere, 2009). Native groups in these polities regularly declare themselves as first peoples who ought to be given superior privileges, when faced with perceived intruders (Geschiere, 2009). I draw on the political context in Cameroon and Western Europe to illustrate how Native groups in these liberal-democracies use autochthonous claims as a way to secure political, social and cultural dominance.

The political context in Cameroon is characterised by a recently established liberal-democracy. The establishment of this form of governance was that it would undermine ethnic identification and perhaps quell ethnic conflict (Geschiere, 2009). However, the election of mayors in some regions was characterised by the call for locals (natives of that region and

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<sup>4</sup> I note that modern liberal democracies even though they promote egalitarian values they do not always fulfill this ideal when implemented in political setting like South Africa and can in fact reinforce race-based hierarchies (see Reddy, 2016 for a detailed discussion).

ethnicity) to take up these leadership roles. In Western Europe discourses around autochthony centre around the influx Immigrant groups who have disrupted relatively homogenous national identities (Geshiere, 2009). Given that nations in Western Europe have, what would be considered, mature liberal democracies (Reddy, 2016); the arrival of Immigrants ideally should have led to their acceptance into these societies without any contestation (see Hasbún López et al. 2019).

The adoption of democratic ideals in post-colonial African states, like Cameroon, should have ideally ensured that citizens enjoy equal rights and access to the country's resources (Ceuppens & Geshiere, 2005). Despite the adoption of liberal democratic ideals, social groups in some of these polities continued to distinguish between who is a "local" and who is an "immigrant" - thus entrenching asymmetrical power relations (Mamdani, 1998; Ceuppens & Geshiere, 2005). When social groups conceive of territories in this manner, territories cease to belong everyone within a nation-state, but constitute ethnic territories where some social groups are considered "outsiders" or "late comers" who do not deserve equal status because they are not "local". For example, during elections in Cameroon, voters were asked to go back home, to their ancestral lands and vote. This message served to urge voters not to allow "outsiders" to rule over their ancestral territory (Geshiere, 2009). This example illustrates how social groups use autochthony to secure their political dominance by ensuring that only those who are born in an ethno-provincial territory or have blood ties ascend to political leadership. Co-opting autochthony in this manner undermines political contestation that should ideally be based on delivering services to voters.

In addition, it rejects any notions of a modern day liberal democratic nation that espouses a common national identity and points to how "strangers" or "outsiders" are constructed within a national territory. As such, the use of autochthonous discourses, in order to keep "outsiders" from dominating territory that belongs to the ethnic group is often at the

core of ethnic violence in African countries that have adopted liberal-democratic ideals (see Mamdani, 1998; Ceuppens & Geshiere, 2005). Globalisation has led to the mass migration of Immigrant groups to countries in Western Europe. Societies that were relatively homogenous have had to contend with diverse cultures from across the world -creating a sense that Native groups were under threat (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Geshiere & Nymnjoh, 2000). To re-establish national boundaries and a sense of national identity in this context, Native majorities have responded by mobilising autochthony beliefs to secure entitlements to their national territory (see Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015). At the same time, this has largely led to negative attitudes towards Immigrant groups and the rejection of multiculturalism as an ideal (Hasbún et al., 2019).

Despite being drawn from distinct political contexts, both instances point to how ethnic and national constructions of identity, when founded on autochthony, can create fertile conditions for excluding non-natives (see Zenker, 2011). In other words, it is the descendants of first inhabitants who can be included into the national or ethnic identity, rather than late comers, who over time have developed a connection with the territory (Brylka et al., 2015). For example, it suggests that one does not become French by simply being born in France or by living there for long, but one is French by having ancestry that originates from the territory of France (see Zenker, 2011). Crucially, conceiving of ethnic and national identities in this way ensures that entitlements rights and related privileges are enjoyed exclusively by autochthons. Native majorities and ethnic groups' mobilisation of autochthony beliefs to secure political dominance represents an instance where their claim to be the descendants of first inhabitants is fiercely contested and questionable. Hence, a question that begs is how do White settlers, who have asserted themselves as de facto natives to settlers colonies mobilise autochthony beliefs under precarious conditions ?

**Autochthony in settler colonies: A case for White settler autochthony**

White settlers asserting themselves as de facto natives to settler colonies has given them the leeway to advance autochthonous claims. In fact, White settlers draw on settler mythologies to manufacture autochthony claims that secure their entitlement to settler colonies. For instance, the empty land mythology is congruent with autochthony claims that White settlers mobilise. This is because the empty land mythology rationalises their claims to being first inhabitants because land was unoccupied and subsequently their labour made it prosper (Boisen, 2016). In contemporary settler colonies, White settlers continue to advance autochthonous claims to secure entitlement and ownership of these societies.

Gressier (2008; 2014) illustrated how White settlers make autochthony beliefs relevant to themselves to secure entitlements. Gressier (2008; 2014) argued that White Batswana have transcended the settler title and have become indigenes of Botswana. This is because White Batswana's have developed strong emotional and spiritual bond with the land and have a deep intimate knowledge of it, due to their prolonged period of settlement. Gressier (2008; 2014) refers to experiential autochthony as a depoliticised version of autochthony that is benign and does not have political ramifications as one that would be fitting for White settlers in Botswana. Similar sentiments have been shared by sections of the White South African community, who insist on being considered Africans, rather than being referred to as White because they feel this undermines their sense of Africanhood (see Matthews, 2015). Notably, both White settler groups in Botswana and South Africa seek recognition as autochthons. That is, they want to be recognised as being just as African or as indigenous as the Indigenous people. Their sentiments undermine the history of settler colonial conquest that facilitated the conditions that led to White settlers claiming autochthony in the first place. Burnett (2019) argues that White settler claims to being autochthonous are inherently political and serve to reinforce the dominance of White settlers. This was illustrated by the

discursive practices of White South Africans who were part of the anti-fracking movement in South Africa's Karoo. From Burnett's (2019) analysis, White South Africans discursively positioned themselves as defenders of the Karoo and who should ultimately have say on what should happen to it. Whereas the majority Black government, who were considering a gas project in the Karoo were seen as intruders. This study demonstrates that even through what might seem like a noble cause, such as environmental activism, White settlers are able to position themselves as autochthons who have authority and entitlements over territory is the settler colony (see also Hughes, 2010).

White settlers are able to express their entitlement to settler colonies as lands that they share a deep emotional bond with and have historical rights to through the employment of settler autochthony beliefs. In the section that follows, examine nostalgia as an instantiation of White settler entitlement.

### **From nostalgia to White settler nostalgia**

The transition from a colonial regime to a modern liberal democratic order has challenged and disrupted White dominance in contemporary settler colonies (Lorcin, 2013). This socio-political occurrence foregrounds feelings of nostalgia for the colonial home in the colonial past amongst White settlers (Lorcin, 2013). Colonial conquest was considered, and is probably still is considered, as a triumph of European civilisation because it brought civilisation and development to the colonies (see Licata et al., 2018). Hence, White settlers who have witnessed, first hand, the change from a colonial regime to a liberal democracy yearn for their colonial home in the colonial past (Lorcin, 2013; Rash, 2018). White settlers who have permanently settled in contemporary settler colonies experience a form of nostalgia characterised by yearning for the colonial home in the colonial past (Lorcin, 2013).

Nostalgia is a complex historical and social emotion that has long fascinated scholars in the social sciences (Boym 2001; 2007). It was initially described as a medical disorder, which affected soldiers who left home for war and as a depressive disorder that is caused by a deep and painful longing for a return home (Boym, 2007; Boym 2008). Various remedies were proposed to treat this form of nostalgia, such as opium, leeches or a retreat to the Alps - but notably a return home was thought to be the best remedy (Boym, 2007; Boym 2008). Contemporary descriptions have abandoned the idea of nostalgia being a medical or psychological disorder, characterising it as an ambivalent social and collective emotion that helps individuals and social groups feel connected to each other - thus enhancing their sense of belonging to the group (Sedikides & Wildschut, 2018). At the same time, nostalgia has been characterised as a collective emotion that has utility for social groups that are contesting political, social and economic dominance (see Smeekes, 2014). According to this viewpoint, nostalgia in the collective sense can be co-opted to for political expediency because social groups can use it as a rallying point to either return home or restore home to what it was in the past. Particularly when faced with radical socio-political change (Boym, 2001; 2007; Mols & Jetten, 2014; Smeekes, 2015).

People have a deep emotional attachment to a territory that they experience as home reflect (Davis, 1979; Boym 2007; Smeekes, 2015). Dislocation, detachment or displacement from home can be experienced literally and symbolically. Meaning social groups can be physically removed from their territory or they can experience their territory differently because of the presence of intruders. Understood in this way, nostalgia is not only a negative emotion that creates a painful yearning to return home but it can also be yearning to symbolically restore the essence of home to what it was in the past (Boym, 2007; Boym, 2008). The power of nostalgia lies in the fact that it evokes strong emotions that inspire

political action to make things right, to bring back order, by recapturing this imagined configuration of a home in the past.

The symbolic version of nostalgia has been examined extensively between native majorities and Immigrants in Western Europe. In this context, the experience of nostalgia reflects a threatened national identities and the re-emergence of right wing ideologies like White nationalism (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Reyna, 2022). Crucially, unlike the more traditional understandings nostalgia as literal displacement from a homeland, these studies examine a nostalgia that is characterised by native majorities who are occupy their homeland but feel the way in which their national territories were organised has been disrupted by the presence of immigrants. Mols and Jetten (2014) demonstrated that when this is case, nostalgia becomes rallying point for right-wing political leaders to mobilise national identities and ideology and garner votes for right-wing political parties (see also Smeekes et al., 2021). Put differently, Native majorities were able to take concrete political actions to recapture a lost national territory that they were still living in. However, in this case the national territory had lost its sense of homeliness because of the presence of intruders in the form of immigrants. What this also demonstrates is that even though they were still at home, they were able to experience nostalgia, which shaped their ideological positions and social identities.

### **Making a case for White settler nostalgia**

Settler nostalgia is a version of nostalgia that is characterised by as yearning for a place in the colonial past and a sense of being disconnected from the colonial era (Lorcin, 2013). Just like autochthony claims, it is characterised by reconstructions and fabrications of history that characterise settler mythologies (Lorcin, 2013). In other words, White settlers embellish colonial history and reconstruct everyday, mundane, lived experiences from the colonial past to make this a glorious era relative to the present (Bruyneel, 2021). This means that settler

nostalgia is fundamentally shaped by how White settlers continue to remember the colonial past (Bruyneel, 2021). In addition, White settlers project collective memories onto territories, places and spaces that they have come to own through settler colonial conquest (Brown, 2010), making them territories that hold deep emotional and historical significance.

Socio-political changes in contemporary settler colonies have seen White settlers express nostalgia for the colonial past in varied ways, with the goal of securing their positions of dominance and to exercise entitlements claims. Drawing from South Africa's contemporary settler colonial context, Gobodo- Madikizela (2012) explored how White settlers in South Africa present narratives that deny the violence and oppression of the colonial past, in an effort to avoid feelings of collective guilt. In her analysis, White settlers manoeuvring themselves out of a position of being culpable for atrocities of colonisation formed the bedrock for the experience and performance of settler nostalgia (Gobodo - Madikizela, 2012). In this instance, we could reason that settler nostalgia was used to the manage threat to the identity of the group by downplaying colonial violence. White settlers not only use nostalgia to escape culpability for the past but to use it to reassert their identity. Drawing on the South African context, van der Waal & Robins (2011) demonstrated how Afrikaans speaking White South Africans used nostalgia to reassert their identity. They did this by reviving "*De La Rey*" a popular Afrikaans song that was sung in honour of the Anglo-Boer War hero, Colonel De la Rey. Reviving the song, symbolised Afrikaners' sense of disillusionment with the post-apartheid regime (under Black majority rule) and the hope that their group would overcome the challenges that they face in post-apartheid South Africa (.van der Waal and Robins, 2011) Unsurprisingly, the apartheid regime's obsession with the racialised allocation of territory also provides fertile group for the experience of nostalgia. This is because for White settlers territories have become congruent with racial identity. Dixon and Durrheim (2004) interrogated the politics of place and territory in post-apartheid



South Africa when they examined the discursive practices of White South Africans in relation to how a beach, as a former “White’s only place” had become a multiracial space . Using rhetoric analysis, they found the following discourses. The first discourse is that the beach represented a place where White South Africans could “*get away from it all*”. However, the construction of the beach as a territory where white racial identity can be performed by “*getting away from it all*” was being disrupted by the by the presence of Black South Africans , who are deemed as not belonging to this particular territory. This disruption is captured by the discourse “*you can’t just relax on the beach*”. This suggests that what was a territory for the performance of White South African identity is now a place that is anxiety provoking.

### **Conclusion**

My aim in this chapter was to show that social groups use autochthony and nostalgia to gain and maintain dominance of territories that they feel they are entitled to. Related to this, I also sought to show that White settlers uncannily co-opt, autochthony and nostalgia, to express dissatisfaction with socio-political changes in liberal democracies - particularly those that challenge their sense entitlement, and ownership of settler colonies.

We lack a systematic understanding of how autochthony and nostalgia function in contemporary settler colonies. Given that, White settlers see themselves as de facto natives who can co-opt autochthony and nostalgia to claim settler colonies as territories that are an inherent part of who they are. Our empirical understanding of how this affects efforts at achieving racial justice is limited. In chapter 3 and 4, I will address this gap by conducting a series of empirical investigations that will shed light on how White settlers employing autochthony and nostalgia is of consequence for race-based hierarchies.

### **Chapter 3**

**Autochthony beliefs in whose favour? Investigating the malleability of autochthony beliefs  
amongst White settlers in South Africa**

### Abstract

Recent findings in social psychology indicate that autochthony beliefs in settler colonies have contrasting effects on support for race-based hierarchies when employed by White settlers. I propose that these contrasting effects are a function of social identity processes that shape different versions of autochthony beliefs, which in-turn lead to divergent outcomes for race-based hierarchies. In other words, the social group that White settlers implicate when employing autochthony beliefs (i.e. the referent group) and the strength of in-group identification are central to how they configure autochthony beliefs. I conducted two studies to test this proposition. In the first study (N = 248), I primarily made White settlers the reference group of autochthony beliefs. I did this by presenting participants with autochthony beliefs that implicate White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies. In the second study (N = 807), I presented a social policy that seeks to undo race-based hierarchies (support for land restitution) to make the Indigenous group the referent group of autochthony beliefs. Results provided some evidence to support my proposition. That is, when White settlers were the referent group, autochthony beliefs led to support for race-based hierarchies. However, when the Indigenous Group was the referent group, autochthony beliefs led support for undoing race-based hierarchies. These findings signal early empirical evidence that suggests that autochthony beliefs are malleable and are contingent upon the social identity that is referenced and its related history of settlement in a territory.

Key words: White Settlers, Autochthony Beliefs, White South African Identification, Race-Based Hierarchies.

## Introduction

Autochthony beliefs capture the principle that the first inhabitants of a territory are more entitled to it because they were the first occupants who invested time and labour to make it prosper (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017). They function as ideologies that enable social groups to rationalise entitlements to territory because they provide a moral and ethical basis for enjoying superior privileges on a territory. The majority of research in the social sciences conceptualises autochthony beliefs as a set of ideologies employed by Native groups who are responding to the presence of perceived intruders i.e. second comers (see Geschiere, 2011). Consequently, autochthony beliefs are often at the core of intergroup conflict between Native groups and groups that are as second comers i.e. Immigrants (Geschiere, 2011; Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). The reason for this conflict is that Native groups feel a deeper primordial connection with the territory that their ancestors settled on first and made prosper (Geschiere, 2011; Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). In other words, autochthony beliefs enable Native groups to claim legitimate entitlement to and ownership over their territories.

In contemporary settler colonies claims over who was first to occupy territory and invest in it are less straightforward and are highly contested. Centuries of settler colonial conquest and the subsequent permanent stay of White settlers has meant that they also feel a deep connection with the settler colony to the extent that they make autochthonous claims (Gressier, 2014). This means that in settler colonies autochthony beliefs are subject to varying interpretations. On the one hand, they can be used to articulate the injustices of settler colonial conquest, by making claims that Indigenous Groups are first inhabitants who invested time and labour into making settler societies prosper (Macoun & Strakosch, 2013). This articulation of autochthony beliefs acknowledges that Indigenous Groups are victims of settler colonial conquest and justifies the implementation of reparative measures that undo

these historical injustices. On the other hand, autochthony beliefs can secure the interests of White settlers. That is to say, they can be mobilised to fashion claims that White settlers settled on vacant land that they eventually developed into prosperous territory (Crais, 1991; Boisen, 2017; Allsobrook & Boisen, 2017). This version of colonial history, presents an interpretation of autochthony beliefs that not only casts White settlers as de facto first inhabitants and primary investors in settler colonies, but also secures their entitlements and related privileges. These varied articulations of autochthony beliefs are not only pivotal for how White settlers and Indigenous Groups navigate the historical injustices of colonisation, but they point to how autochthony beliefs are potentially malleable in this context. Our paper examines how the malleability of autochthony beliefs has contrasting effects on race-based hierarchies amongst White settlers in South Africa.

Despite the inclination that autochthony beliefs are malleable in other socio-political contexts. The majority of research has been conducted amongst native majorities, who are responding to the presence of immigrant groups in Western Europe. In this context, findings consistently indicate that autochthony beliefs drive intergroup conflict (see Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015; Hasbún López et al. 2019). Social psychological research has only recently begun to explore what the endorsement of autochthony beliefs by White settlers might mean for intergroup relations in settler societies (see Selvanathan et al. 2020; Nooitgedagt et al. 2021a; Nooitgedagt, et al. 2021b; Nooitgedagt, et al. 2021c). Unlike the native majority - immigrant context, research has found that in contemporary settler colonies autochthony beliefs have contrasting consequences for out-groups. For instance, some studies indicate that autochthony beliefs drive opposition to racial equality (see Selvanathan et al. 2020), whereas others indicate that they drive support for it (Nooitgedagt et al. 2021a). Despite the knowledge that ideologies are a by-product of the peculiarities of a socio-political context (see Knowles et al. 2009), our understanding of what informs the

divergent consequences of autochthony beliefs in contemporary settler colonies is limited. To our knowledge, no study has examined why autochthony beliefs yield divergent outcomes when employed by White settlers. This chapter seeks to make a unique contribution by examining the factors that contribute to the malleability of autochthony beliefs. I do this by investigating how the referent group and in-group identification shape autochthony beliefs to either promote or undo race-based hierarchies in contemporary settler colonies.

Understanding the malleability of autochthony beliefs has the potential to show us that these are ideologies can be relevant to other social group other than native groups. That is to say, dominant outsiders in the form of White settlers can apply autochthony beliefs to either promote or undo intergroup conflict with indigenous groups.

To test this proposition, I conducted two cross-sectional studies amongst White South African participants. In the first study, I examined the mediating function of autochthony beliefs between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies. In this study, the in-group (White settlers) were the referent group of autochthony beliefs. I hypothesised that when the in-group was the referent group that strong White South African identification would lead to the endorsement of autochthony beliefs, which in turn would reinforce support for race-based hierarchies. In the second study, I examined the mediation function of autochthony beliefs on the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies. In contrast to the first study, I hypothesised that weak White South African identification would lead to the endorsement of autochthony beliefs, which would in turn lead to support for land restitution. I proposed this hypothesis because the out-group (Indigenous group) was the referent group of autochthony beliefs in this instance and given that I made explicit reference to Indigenous Peoples as beneficiaries of land restitution, I expected autochthony beliefs to be applied in their favour. Additionally, I examined the moderation function of the perception of White settler

ownership. I hypothesised that positive relationship between autochthony beliefs and support for land restitution would be strong amongst White settlers who see their in-group as owning less of the settler colony.

### **The Divergent Outcomes of Autochthony Beliefs**

In socio-political contexts where historical narratives are not highly contested, questions regarding who was there first, and who invested time and labour are not subject to counterclaims and contestation. Native majorities can, without any counterclaims, employ autochthony beliefs to justify superior rights and exclusive control over territory at the expense of second comers i.e. immigrants (Geschiere, 2011; Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013). Studies conducted in the context immigration, in Western Europe, have consistently demonstrated the aversive effects of autochthony beliefs when endorsed by native majorities (see Hasbún López et al., 2019). They indicate that autochthony beliefs consistently lead to anti-immigrant sentiments like generalised prejudice, opposition to their enjoyment of equal cultural rights and restricting their rights to engage in collective action (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015; Hasbún López et al., 2019). The tendency to take a conflictual stance towards immigrants is so ingrained in native majorities that even children within this group exhibit a negative attitude towards immigrants when they employ autochthony beliefs (see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2019). The consistent hostility that native majorities show towards immigrants is unsurprising because they consider themselves rightful owners of their respective national territories. This is because they enjoy the status of being the descendants of first inhabitants, who invested time and labour into making their respective national territories prosper (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017).

However, in contemporary settler colonies the consequences of autochthony beliefs when employed by dominant outsiders, like White settlers, are not so straightforward. Studies have

indicated that autochthony beliefs can foster negative and positive relations between White settlers and Indigenous Groups (see Selvanathan, Lickel & Jetten, 2020; Nooitgedagt et al 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al. 2021b). Recent findings indicate that autochthony beliefs predict support for reparative measures that benefit Indigenous Groups in Australia and South Africa (see Nooitgedagt et al 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al. 2021b). Furthermore, in the Australian sample, autochthony beliefs predicted collective guilt and shame amongst White settlers - implying that White settlers can experience remorse for the colonial past and mobilise autochthony beliefs to have a positive impact on efforts to undo race-based hierarchies in settler societies (Nooitgedagt et al 2021a). Yet, Selvanathan, Lickel and Jetten (2020) demonstrated that autochthony beliefs could also bolster support for race-based hierarchies amongst White settlers. They established that White settlers who believed that their ancestors were founders of the United States of America and Australia opposed collective action measures initiated by subordinate groups. Similarly, Nooitgedagt et al. (2021b) found less support for measures that promote racial equality in South Africa and Australia amongst White settlers who believed that their ancestors invested time and labour into developing these settler societies. These studies show that White settlers justified their opposition to Indigenous Groups achieving racial equality based on the historical narrative that their ancestors are de facto first inhabitants, founders and investors in these respective settler societies.

These mixed findings indicate that White settlers can employ different versions of autochthony beliefs with contrasting consequences for intergroup relations. That is, either they frame their ancestors as first inhabitants who found the settler colony vacant and developed it or they frame Indigenous Groups as first inhabitants and investors in settler societies. In our view, moulding autochthony beliefs in varied ways is function of the social



group that White settlers have in mind when the autochthonous claims are made and the extent to which they identify with the in-group.

### **Social Identities and the Malleability of Autochthony Beliefs**

Social groups mould ideologies based on the socio-political circumstances that they find themselves in and in accordance with their political goals (Knowles et al., 2009). For example, Knowles et al. (2009) demonstrated that White Americans, who would normally support race-based hierarchies by rejecting colour-blind ideology, were in support of the ideology when they perceived that their in-group was under threat. This finding provides a useful starting point for understanding that ideologies, in the same socio-political context, can take on different meanings based on the interests of the group. I reason that this also applies to autochthony beliefs in settler colonies.

Autochthony beliefs gain legitimacy largely based on the historical narratives that inform them. Studies amongst perpetrator groups, like White settlers, indicate that the framing of historical narratives is a by-product of social identity processes (Licata and Klein, 2010). In other words, White settlers' representation of colonial history has a lot to do with securing in-group needs. For instance, studies that have examined historical atrocities like colonisation have consistently shown that the descendants of perpetrator groups, like White settlers, frame the past in ways that undermine the impact of the atrocities committed by their ancestors to prevent threats to their social identity (Leach et al., 2013; Licata et al., 2018; Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019). For example, Licata and Klein (2010) demonstrated that strong in-group identification amongst older generation Belgians predicted a representation of Belgium's colonisation of the Democratic Republic of Congo as positive. This is because they saw the colonisation of the Democratic Republic of Congo as having contributed to its development. This study exemplifies how historical atrocities, like colonisation, can be reframed to either position the in-group in a positive or negative light. In addition, the framing of colonisation in

the minds of White settlers has a lot to do with which group they implicate when a version of autochthony beliefs is employed, and the extent to which they are committed to the in-group.

Drawing from representation of colonial history, social identities can either frame beliefs like autochthony to the benefit of the in-group and the disadvantage the out-group. The social identity approach is useful because it can account for how the process of shaping ideologies is undertaken. It stipulates that when people see themselves as part of a social group, they are likely to act in that in-group's best interest because they are motivated to see their in-group positively (Tajfel, 1974). In addition, the inclination to favour the in-group is more likely when people are committed to or when they feel close the in-group i.e. when they have strong in-group identification (Tajfel, 1974). As such, the extent to which people think and act in accordance with their social identities suggests that they will construction versions of autochthony beliefs that favour their in-group, particularly when they have strong feelings of commitment and closeness to the in-group. Levin et al., (1998) demonstrated that strong in-group attachments predicted support for ideologies that maintain group-based hierarchies amongst dominant groups. This early finding is not surprising as it shows that social groups, can when they identify strongly with the in-group, utilise ideologies to its benefit.

### **Summary and Overview of Hypothesis**

Autochthony beliefs have contrasting outcomes on intergroup relations when employed by White settlers in settler colonies (see Selvanathan et al. 2020;Nooitgedagt et al 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al. 2021b). This is contrary to findings amongst native majorities in Western Europe, where autochthony beliefs consistently lead to negative out-group outcomes (see Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013; Hasbún López et al. 2019). I propose that the variability of autochthony beliefs amongst White settlers is contingent upon social identity processes. White settlers employ a version of autochthony beliefs that implicates either their in-group or

the out-group (Indigenous group). Furthermore, the extent to which they have strong feelings of commitment and closeness to the in-group determines their endorsement of particular version of autochthony beliefs.

Specifically, I expect that when the in-group is the referent group, White settlers who are strong identifiers will endorse a version of autochthony beliefs that casts their in-group as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies. This configuration of autochthony beliefs will in turn lead to opposition to undoing race-based hierarchies (Hypothesis 1). I reason that White settlers will employ autochthony beliefs in this manner, particularly when they identify strongly with their in-group, to secure their entitlements rights to settler colonies to and to demonstrate ownership (Selvanathan et al., 2020).

Nooitgedagt et al. (2021a) demonstrated that collective guilt and shame were positively related to the endorsement of autochthony beliefs. Their findings show that White settlers can configure autochthony beliefs in the Indigenous group's favour (out-group), particularly when they acknowledge past wrongdoings like colonisation. Following this line of thinking, I expected that when the outgroup is the referent group that weak identification with the White settler group would lead to autochthony beliefs that cast the Indigenous group (out-group) as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies. Crucially, I expect this relationship to configure autochthony beliefs that will lead to support for racial equality (Hypothesis 2).

### **The Research Context**

Ideologies have played a central role in justifying colonial and apartheid rule in settler colonies like South Africa. Since the first White settlements in 1652, White South Africans, who are the descendants of Dutch and British settlers (Giliomee, 2003; Van Niekerk, 2005), systematically acquired economic, social and cultural resources at the expense of Indigenous Groups (Black South Africans). To secure their racial advantages, White South Africans

established colonisation and apartheid as systems of government that undertook state sanctioned violence and established laws that disempowered Black South Africans (Reddy, 2016).

Autochthony beliefs have been used as ideological tools to justify racial oppression at various points of South Africa's history (Boisen, 2017; Afriforum, 2019). Similar to other settler colonies, White settlers in South Africa constructed autochthonous claims that land was empty when their ancestors first settled, thus making them de facto first inhabitants (see Crais, 1991; Boisen, 2017). In addition, they constructed related claims that White settlers invested time and labour that has made South Africa prosper (Allsobrook & Boisen, 2017).

At the same time, Whites South Africans can use autochthony beliefs to foster racial reconciliation and reparative justice (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b). This is because in 1994, South Africa ushered in a liberal-democratic government that formally ended colonial-apartheid laws and guaranteed Black South Africans equal rights. In order to undo centuries of racial oppression, South Africa's democratically elected government initiated social policies that would undo the racial injustices and through various socio-political initiatives encouraged an acceptance of racial difference and reconciliation. For example, the notion of a Rainbow nation, the construction of new national symbols such as racially diverse anthem and a flag that reflected the diversity of races and cultures are regarded as political acts that sought to foster racial equality and reconciliation (see Bornman, 2006). These events have the potential to mobilise autochthony beliefs in favour of Black South Africans. That is to say, in a post-apartheid South Africa it is possible for White South Africans to utilise autochthony beliefs that recognise Black South African as victims of colonisation and apartheid and recognize them as first inhabitants who invested in South Africa. It is with this backdrop in mind that the present study examines the malleability autochthony beliefs.

### Study 1

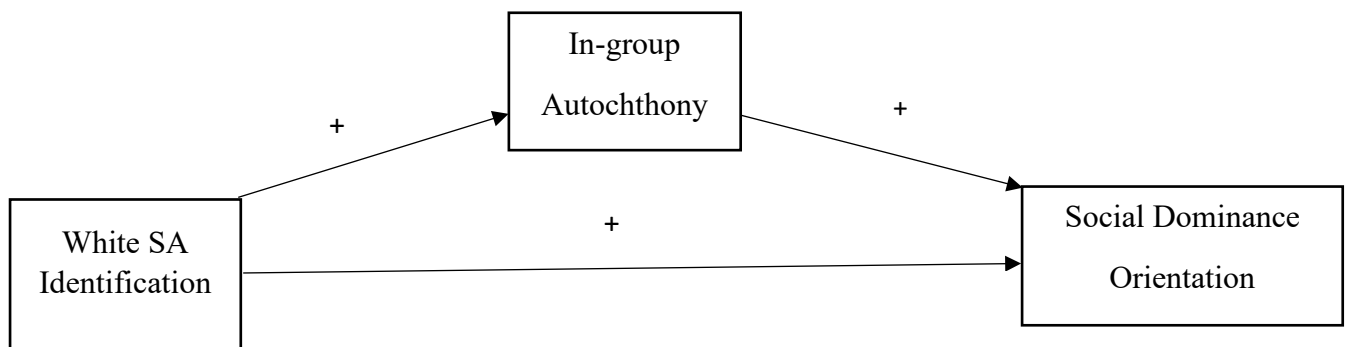
To examine the malleability of autochthony beliefs amongst White settlers who permanently reside in contemporary settler colonies. In the first study, I sought to determine whether in-group autochthony beliefs that would maintain support for race-based hierarchies (see Selvanathan et al. 2020). As a secondary objective, I sought determine whether general autochthony beliefs, which are often employed by White settlers in favour of Indigenous groups, weaken support for race-based hierarchies (see Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b).

To fulfil these objectives, I tested two related hypotheses using distinct theoretical models. The first model tested the mediation function of in-group autochthony on the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies. Similarly, the second model tested the mediation function of general autochthony beliefs on the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies.

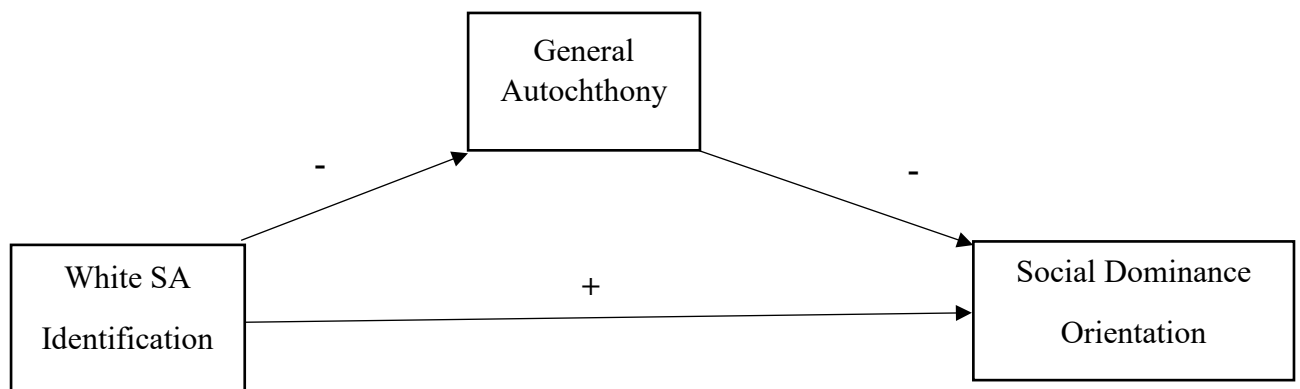
I expected that strong commitment to the White settler identification to lead to the endorsement of in-group autochthony, and subsequently for in-group autochthony to reinforce support for race-based hierarchies (Hypothesis 1a). In the first model (see Figure 1), I expected strong White South African identification to lead to high social dominance orientation. This is because White South Africans who are committed to the in-group are more likely to show favour towards it and oppose the equality because it may threaten their interests i.e. equality may be perceived as undermining their enjoyment of economic, social and political resources (Morrison et al., 2009). Importantly, I expected this relationship to occur via in-group autochthony. That is, White South African identification would also be related to the endorsement of in-group autochthony beliefs that express favour towards White South Africans as first inhabitants, investors and owners of South Africa. In turn, the endorsement of in-group autochthony beliefs would bolster support for race-based hierarchies

because in-group autochthony beliefs rationalise White South African being dominant because they cast themselves as first inhabitants, investors and owners. Hence, in-group autochthony would lead to high social dominance orientation.

Studies in settler colonies have consistently shown that White settlers apply autochthony beliefs in favour of Indigenous groups, when they are presented without direct reference to a social group, but as a general ethical principle that ought to be adhered to (see Nooitegedagt et al. 2021a; Nooitegedagt et al. 2021b; Nooitegedagt et al. 2021c). In line with this evidence, I expect weak White South African identification to lead to the endorsement of general autochthony beliefs. Given that general autochthony beliefs are often applied with the Indigenous group as the referent group, I expected general autochthony beliefs to lead to support for racial equality (Hypothesis 2). Hence, in the second model (see Figure 2) I expected that White South African identification will be negatively related to general autochthony beliefs. This because this because White South Africans who show a weak commitment to the in-group are more likely to endorse autochthony beliefs that favour Indigenous groups. Given that general autochthony beliefs are often applied in favour of Indigenous groups, I also expected that endorsement of general autochthony beliefs to lead to low social dominance orientation. In line with established evidence, I expected White South Africa identification to be positively related to social dominance orientation.



**Figure 1.** Proposed indirect effect of White South African identification and social dominance orientation via in-group autochthony beliefs.



**Figure 2.** Proposed indirect effect of White South African identification and social dominance orientation via general autochthony beliefs.

### Procedure and Sample

I invited 9322 White South African students from a South African university to participate in the online survey via email. From this invitation, 248 white South African students participated in the study. The average age of the sample was 33.38 years old and 113 males and 135 females participated in the study. I excluded participants who indicated that they were not South African from the analysis. The University ethics committee granted the study ethics clearance (REF #: 2017\_URERC\_004\_FA) and its research permission

subcommittee granted permission for the student population to partake in the study (REF #: 2017\_RPSC\_39).

## Measures

*White South African identification* was measured using adapted in-group identification items developed by Doosje, Ellemers and Spears (1995). Participants were asked to respond to the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. 1. *I identify with other with white South Africans.* 2. *I see myself as a white South African* 3. *I am glad to be a white South African* 4. *I feel strong ties with white South Africans*

I measured *autochthony beliefs* using two scales. The first scale accounted for in-group focused autochthony (adapted from Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). The following statements were presented “*South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first*” and “*South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it*” ( $r = .81$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The second scale considered the general endorsement of autochthony (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). Participants responded to the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly Agree. (1) *The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers;* (2) *Every country belongs to its original inhabitants* (3) *The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game* (4) *We were here first.*

I measured preference for race-based hierarchies using the *social dominance orientation* using the SDO<sup>16</sup> scale developed by Pratto et al. (1994). Items in this scale considered the extent to which participant preferred group based hierarchies. Participants were presented with sixteen items from the SDO<sup>16</sup> scale (see Appendix A for sixteen items).



### Measurement model

Autochthony beliefs were measured using two different measures. One measure captured a version of autochthony beliefs that made reference to White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of the settler colony (in-group autochthony) and the other made reference to the general principles of autochthony (general autochthony) without reference to a social group. I expected that a three-factor model (in-group identification, in-group autochthony and general autochthony) would yield a better model fit than two-factor model that combined in-group autochthony and general autochthony into a single construct.

To test the two distinct models I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis using Amos version 27. I first entered a three-factor solution in the confirmatory factor analysis model to test whether the three-factor model was significant. The independent variables, White South African identification, in-group autochthony and general autochthony were entered as latent variables (see appendix C for graphic representation). The observed variables were fixed to 1 to provide a measurement scale for the latent factor and the latent variables were correlated (see appendix C). In addition, I specified the maximum likelihood model and to account for missing data I specified estimated means and intercepts. Results indicated a good model fit,  $\chi^2(32) = 83,898$ ;  $p < 0.001$ . CFI = .957; TLI = .926; RMSEA = .081.

Subsequently, I entered a two-factor solution in the confirmatory factor analysis model to test whether the two-factor model was significant. In this model in-group autochthony and general autochthony were entered as single construct and White South African identification was entered another (see appendix D). I followed the same methods as the three-factor model that was tested. Results indicated a poor model fit,  $\chi^2(34) = 328,682$ ;  $p < 0.001$ . CFI = .756; TLI = .605; RMSEA = .187. Given that three-factor solution yielded a better fit, I proceed with the analysis and treated White South African identification, in-group autochthony and general autochthony as independent constructs.

**Table 1:** Confirmatory factor analysis Goodness of Fit Indices Study 1 (N = 248)

		$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	RMSEA	CFI	TLI
1	Three-factor solution	83,898	(32)	.001	.081	.957	.926
2	Two-factor solution	328,682	(34)	.001	.187	.756	.605

### Preliminary Analysis

The inter-correlation matrix (see table 3) indicated a statistically significant correlation between White South African identification and the endorsement of in-group autochthony beliefs ( $r = .24$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .75$ ). However, the relationship between White South African identification and general autochthony was not statistically significant ( $r = -.02$ ;  $p > .05$ ,  $d = .06$ ). In addition, White South African identification was positively correlated with social dominance orientation ( $r = .26$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .79$ ). General autochthony was positively correlated with social dominance orientation and this relationship was statistically significant ( $r = .27$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .27$ ), and in-group autochthony was positively correlated with social dominance orientation ( $r = .45$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .12$ ).

**Table 2.** Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach Alphas (N = 248)

	1	2	3	4
Mean	3.86	1.97	1.74	1.70
Standard Deviation	.747	.819	.851	.587
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	5	4	5	4
$\alpha$	.79	.86	.81	.89

**Table 3.** Intercorrelations between variables

1. White South African Identification	-	-.02	.24**	.26**
2. General Autochthony		-	.47**	.27**
3. In-group Autochthony			-	.45**
4. Social Dominance Orientation				-

Note: \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Note: In-group autochthony Cronbach alpha value is a Pearson's correlation between two items

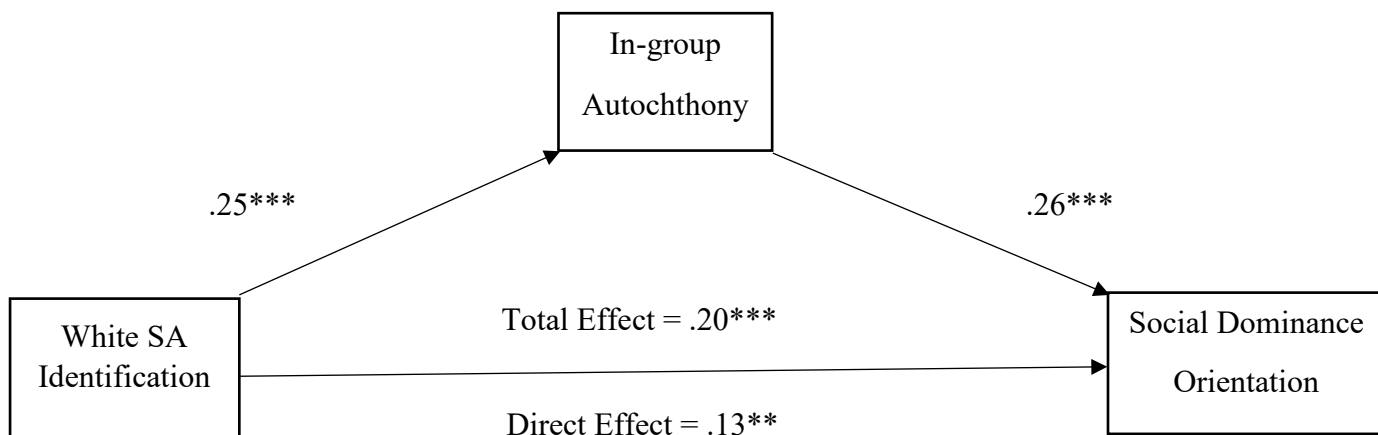
## Hypotheses Testing

**Mediation Analysis:** In the first model, I expected strong White South African identification to lead to the endorsement of in-group autochthony beliefs and they would in turn predict high social dominance orientation (Hypothesis 1). To test this assumption I used the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014) and I entered model number four, which tests for mediation. I specified 5000 bootstrap samples.

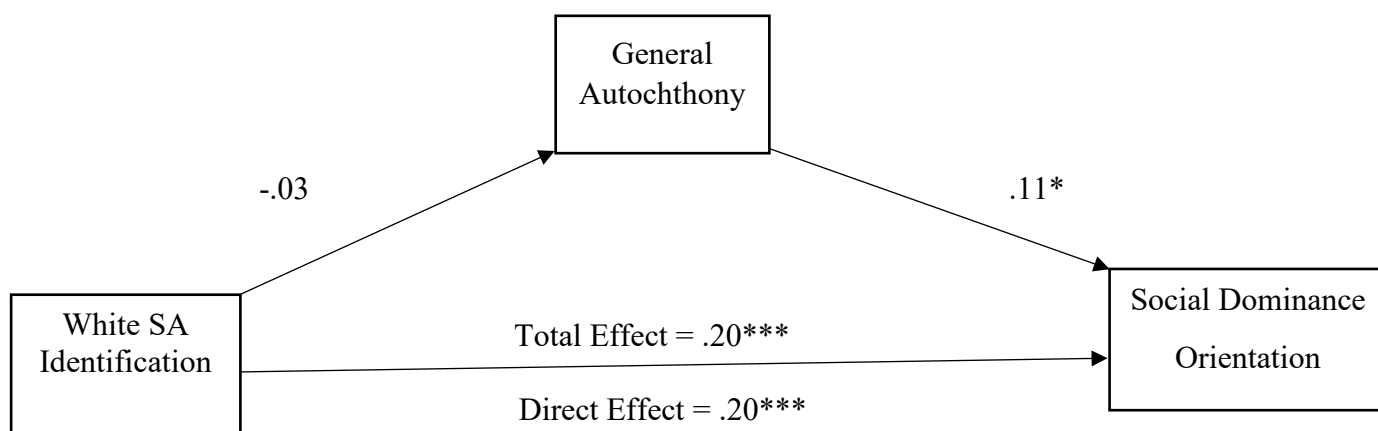
In the first model (see figure 3), White South African identification was entered as the independent variable, social dominance orientation as the dependent variable and in-group autochthony as the mediator variable. White South African identification had a significant positive effect on in-group autochthony ( $B = .2505$ ;  $SE = 0.0691$ ;  $p = .0004$ ) and the model was significant  $R^2 = .0509$ ,  $F(1.245) = 13.1451$ ,  $p = .0004$ . The direct effect of White South African identification ( $B = .1360$ ,  $SE = 0.0465$ ,  $p = .0037$ ) and in-group autochthony ( $B = .2612$ ,  $SE = 0.0418$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) on social dominance orientation was positive and the model was statistically significant  $R^2 = .1942$ ,  $F(2.244) = 29.3947$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The total effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation was positive and statistically significant ( $B = .2015$ ,  $SE = 0.0466$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was significant  $R^2 = .0655$ ,  $F(1.245) = 17.1627$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via in-group autochthony was statistically significant ( $B = .0654$ ,  $SE = .0250$  [CI .0224; .1207]). This indicates that White South African identification had indirect effect on social dominance orientation via in-group autochthony, with the effect of in-group autochthony on social dominance orientation being positive (see Table 4). This finding supports the first hypothesis.

In the second model (see figure 4), I examined the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via general autochthony. In this model, I entered White South African identification as the independent variable, social

dominance orientation as the dependent variable and general autochthony as the mediator variable. The effect of White South African identification on general autochthony was not significant ( $B = -.0302$ ;  $SE = 0.0704$ ;  $p = .6678$ ) and the model was not statistically significant,  $R^2 = .0008$ ,  $F(1.245) = .1847$ ,  $p = .6678$ . White South African identification had a positive direct effect on social dominance orientation ( $B = .2048$ ,  $SE = .0481$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and general autochthony had a statistically significant positive effect on social dominance orientation ( $B = .1101$ ,  $SE = .0447$ ,  $p = .0123$ ) - this combined model was statistically significant  $R^2 = .0892$ ,  $F(2.244) = 11.948$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The total effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation was positive and statistically significant ( $B = .2015$ ,  $SE = 0.0486$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was statistically significant  $R^2 = .0655$ ,  $F(1.745) = 17.162$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The indirect effect was not statistically significant ( $B = .0033$ ,  $SE = .0088$  [CI -.0222; .0141]). This indicates that in White South African identification did not have an indirect effect on social dominance via general autochthony.



**Figure 3.** Results indicating the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via in-group autochthony. \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .



**Figure 4.** Results indicating the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via general autochthony. \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table 4.** Mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies via In-Group Autochthony (N = 247)

	<b>In-Autochthony</b>				<b>Social Dominance Orientation</b>			
	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification	.2505	.0691	3.6256	.0004				
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.1360	.0465	2.9288	.0037
In-group Autochthony					.2612	.0418	6.2424	.0000
<i>Total Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.2015	.0486	4.1428	.0000
<i>Indirect Effect</i>								
In-group Autochthony					<b>B</b>	<b>Boot SE</b>	<b>Boot LLCI</b>	<b>Boot ULCI</b>
					.0654	.0250	.0224	.1207

**Table 5.** Mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies (N = 247) via General Autochthony

	<b>General Autochthony</b>				<b>Social Dominance Orientation</b>			
	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification	-.0302	.0704	-.4297	.6678				
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.2048	.0481	4.2555	.0000
General Autochthony					.1101	.0437	2.5216	.0123
<i>Total Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.2015	.0486	4,1428	.0000
<i>Indirect Effect</i>								
General Autochthony					<b>B</b>	<b>Boot SE</b>	<b>Boot LLCI</b>	<b>Boot ULCI</b>
					-.0033	.0088	-.0222	.0141

## **Preliminary Discussion**

The first study set out to examine the contrasting consequences of autochthony beliefs, on race-based hierarchies when they reference in-group and out-group. Specifically, I sought to determine whether autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies (in-group autochthony beliefs) would intervene between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies - to the extent that they reinforce preference racial inequality. Related to this, I also investigated whether general autochthony beliefs weakened support for race-based hierarchies by examining their mediation function on the relationship between White South Africa identification and support for race-based hierarchies.

Results indicated support for the first hypothesis. In-group autochthony beliefs mediated the relationship between White South African identification and social dominance orientation, to the extent that in-group autochthony led to the preference for race-based hierarchies. These findings show that when White settlers mobilise autochthony narratives that cast them as first inhabitants, investors and owners of contemporary settler colonies that undermine the realization of racial equality, particularly when they are committed to the in-group.

However, the second hypothesis was not supported because my findings indicated that general autochthony beliefs reinforced support for race-based hierarchies implying that White settlers did not apply general autochthony beliefs with the Indigenous group as the referent group. This finding could be attributed to the fact that dependent variable (social dominance orientation) referenced group-based equality in general without mentioning the social group that equality is to be realized with (Schmitt et al., 2003).

The second study shifts attention to primarily examining what the consequence of autochthony beliefs when the Indigenous group is the referent group. Unlike the second

model in study 1, in the second study I include a measure that directly refers to the Indigenous groups as beneficiaries of measures that promote racial equality. In addition, the second study expands to consider two differing aspects of autochthony beliefs namely the principle of primo-occupancy and investment and the extent to which perceptions of White settler ownership have a conditional effect.



## Study 2

In the second study, my primary aim was to examine whether the Indigenous group being the referent group shapes a version of autochthony beliefs that weaken support for race-based hierarchies. To make the Indigenous group the referent group, I replaced the generic social dominance orientation measure with a measure that accounted for the extent to which White South Africans support land restitution that benefits Black South Africans. Furthermore, in the second study, I expanded my investigation to examine different aspects of autochthony beliefs separately. Namely, belief in the principle that the first inhabitants of a territory are more entitled to it (the principle of primo-occupancy). And the belief that investors (the principle of investment) are more entitled to territory because that put in labour and time to make the settler colony prosper (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017). I ask whether the belief that Indigenous groups are first inhabitants of settler colonies (principle of primo-occupancy) and investors (principle of investment) in settler colonies weakens support for the maintenance of race-based hierarchies (Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017). My secondary aim in this study was to examine whether the perception that the White settler group owns the settler colony (White settler ownership) weakens the positive effect of the principle of primo-occupancy and investment on measures that promote racial equality.

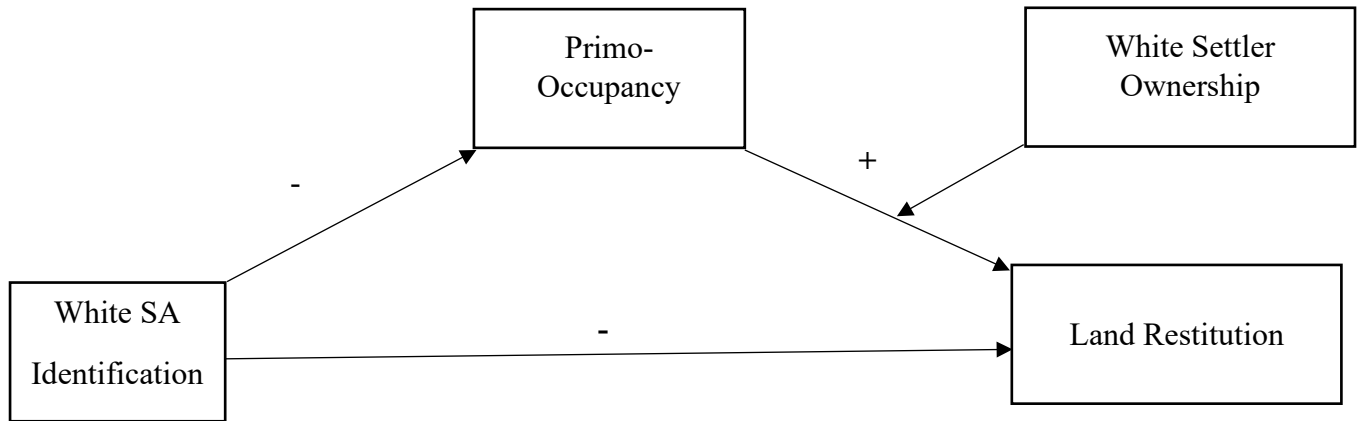
Overall, I hypothesised that White South African identification will predict support for land restitution via autochthony beliefs that make the Indigenous Peoples the referent group (Hypothesis 2). In particular, I expected stronger White South African identification to predict lower endorsement of primo-occupancy beliefs that cast Indigenous groups as the first inhabitants of settler colonies. In relation to this assumption, I also expected primo-occupancy beliefs to reinforce support for land restitution (Hypothesis 2a). Similarly, I expected strong White South African identification to lower the endorsement of investment beliefs that favour the Indigenous group. In turn, I expected investment beliefs to

reinforce support land restitution (Hypothesis 2b). Related to hypotheses 2a and 2b, I also expected the effect of primo-occupancy and investment beliefs, respectively, on support for land restitution to be stronger amongst White settlers who perceived their in-group as owning less of the settler colony (Hypothesis 2c).

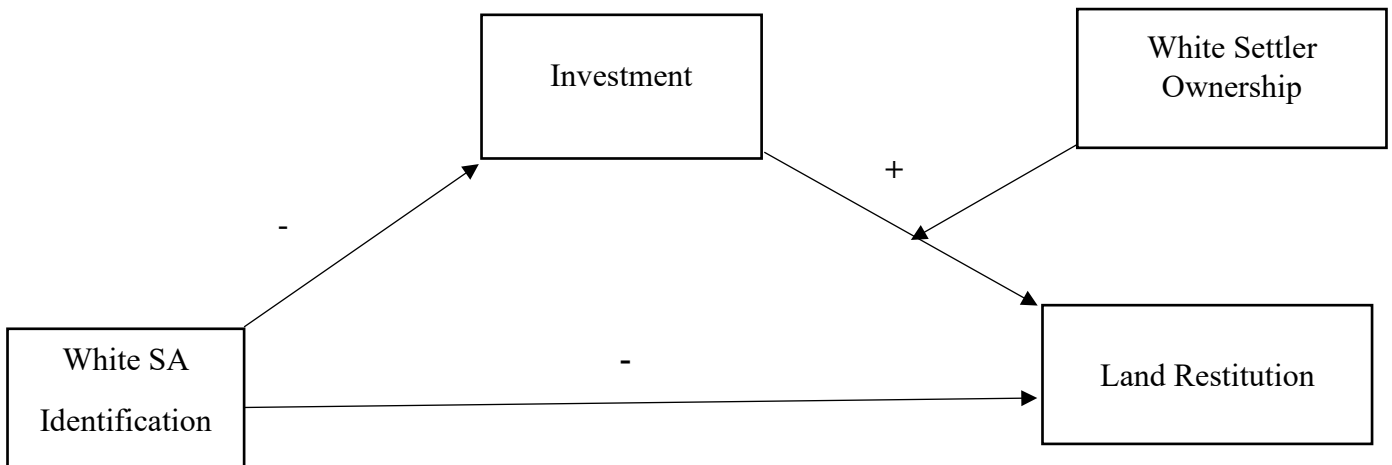
### **Overview of proposed models**

I proposed two theoretical models to test these hypotheses. In the first model, I expected strong White South African identification to have a negative effect on support for land restitution. This is because a strong commitment to the in-group is likely to drive down support for land restitution because giving back land to the Indigenous group, may cast the in-group in a negative light and threaten its interests (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a). At the same time, I expected White South African identification to have a negative effect on the principle of primo-occupancy. This because when the principle of primo-occupancy is endorsed with Black South Africans as the referent group, White South Africans are more likely to exhibit weak identification with in-group. This may indicate an acknowledgement or concession that Indigenous groups are rightful owners by virtue of being first to arrive (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a). White settlers seeing the Indigenous group as primo-occupants rationalizes why land that was appropriated through colonial conquest should be returned to them. Following this line of thinking, I expect that an endorsement of the principle of primo-occupancy that acknowledges Black South Africans as first inhabitants in South Africa, will in-turn bolster support for land restitution. Last, I expected the effect of primo-occupancy on support for land restitution to be stronger amongst White South Africans who perceived low ownership of South Africa, in contrast to those who perceive greater White South African ownership. The second model depicts a similar set of expectations except in this model I replaced the principle of primo-occupancy with the principle of investment that captures the ideal that the

social group that invested time and labour to make the settler colony prosper is more entitled to it.



**Figure 5.** Proposed moderated-mediation model depicting the indirect effect of in-group identification on support for land restitution via the principle of primo-occupancy, (b) at the level of the moderator White settler ownership



**Figure 6.** Proposed moderated-mediation model depicting (a) the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution via the principle of investment (b) at the level of the moderator White settler ownership.

## Procedure and Sample

White South African students (30 000 undergraduate students and 522 Doctoral students) from a South African university were invited to participate in the online survey via email. The University's Information and Technology department sent the email invite on my behalf. Students who consented to participating in the study were provided with a link to the survey platform. From this invitation, 807 White South African students participated in the study. The average age of the sample was 29.98 years old and 574 females and 216 males participated in the study. Twelve participants indicated that their gender as other.

Participants who indicated that they were not South African were excluded from the analysis.

The University ethics committee granted the study ethics clearance. The University ethics committee granted the study ethics clearance (REF #: 2017\_URERC\_004\_FA) the research permission subcommittee granted permission for the student population to partake in the study (REF #: 2017\_RPSC\_39).

## Measures

*White South African Identification* was measured using the same scales that were utilized in the first study. That is participants were asked to respond to the following statements; .1. *I identify with other with white South Africans.* 2. *I see myself as a white South African* 3. *I am glad to be a white South African* 4. *I feel strong ties with white South Africans* The only difference was that participants in this study were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree to the aforementioned statements on a scale ranging from (1) completely disagree to (7) completely agree.

To account for the different aspects of autochthony beliefs I measured the *principle of primo-occupancy* and the *principle of investment* using two different measures developed by Martinović and Verkuyten (2013). For the *principle of primo-occupancy* participants responded to the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) completely disagree to (7) completely agree. (1) *Every territory belongs primarily to its first inhabitants* (2) *Those who arrived first in a territory can be considered to own it more* (3) *'We were here first' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory*. Statements that accounted for the *principle of investment* read as follows. (1) *A territory primarily belongs to the people who made it prosper* (2) *The ones who developed the territory can be seen as its rightful owners* (3) *'We made the territory into what it is today' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory*. Participants were asked to respond to aforementioned statements on a scale ranging from (1) completely disagree to (7) completely agree.

To account for support for race-based hierarchies I measured support for land restitution. Participants were asked to respond the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) completely disagree to (7) completely agree. The statements read as follows, (1) *Redistributing land back to Black South Africans* (2) *Land should be given back to Black South Africans*.

### **Measurement model**

Due to more recent theorization (see Verkuyten & Martinović, 2017; Nooitgedagt et al., 2022), I expected that autochthony beliefs would reflect distinct aspects that rationalize entitlement to territory and award ownership of it. Namely, I expected autochthony beliefs to reflect two distinct dimensions. The belief that the first inhabitants of a territory are more entitled to it because they were there first and the belief that those who invest time and labour into making a territory prosper would be distinct constructs. In addition, I expected the

perception that White settlers own the settler colony and White South African identification to represent distinct dimensions.

I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis using Amos version 27. This was to determine whether White South African identification, the principle of primo-occupancy, the principle of investment and White settler ownership were unique constructs. I entered a four-factor model where White South African identification, the principle of primo-occupancy, the principle of investment and White settler ownership were entered as latent variables. The observed variables were fixed to 1 to provide a measurement scale for the latent factor and the latent variables were correlated (see Appendix F). In addition, I specified the maximum likelihood model and to account for missing data I specified estimated means and intercepts. Results indicated a good model fit,  $\chi^2(59) = 160.563$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ; CFI = .975, TLI = .961, RMSEA = .046. I tested an alternative three-factor model, where I entered White South African identification; White settler ownership and the principle of primo-occupancy and investment were combined into a single construct. I used the same method of analysis as I did for the four-factor model. The three-factor model indicated a poor model fit,  $\chi^2(62) = 1677, 483$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ; CFI = .599, TLI = .411, RMSEA = .180. Given that the four-factor model yielded the best fit, I proceeded with it for the rest of the analysis.

**Table 6.** Confirmatory factor analysis Goodness of Fit Indices Study 2 (N =807)

		$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	<b>p</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>
1	Four Factor Solution	160.563	59	.0000	.046	.975	.961
2	Three Factor Solution	1677, 483	62	.0000	.180	.599	.411

## Preliminary Analysis

The inter-correlation matrix (see table 8) indicated a significant correlation between White South African identification and primo-occupancy beliefs ( $r = .10$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = 1.3$ ) and the principle of investment ( $r = .22$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .04$ ). In addition, White South African identification had a significant but weak correlation with support for land restitution ( $r = -.09$ ;  $p < .05$ ,  $d = 1.5$ ). The relationship between beliefs in the principle of primo-occupancy and investment beliefs was significant ( $r = .23$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .72$ ). The perception of White settler ownership was significantly correlated with the principle of primo-occupancy ( $r = .10$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = .95$ ) and investment ( $r = .17$ ;  $p < .01$ ,  $d = 0.19$ ).

**Table 7.** Means, Standard Deviations, Cronbach Alphas and Correlations (N = 807)

	1	2	3	4	5
Mean	4.65	2.89	4.05	2.55	4.37
Standard Deviation	1.10	1.51	1.68	1.56	1.59
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	6	7	7	7	7
$\alpha$	.78	.84	.90	.76	.73

**Table 8. Intercorrelations between variables**

1. White SA Identification	-	.10**	.22**	-.09*	.13**
2. Principle of Primo-Occupancy		-	.23**	.36**	.10**
3. Principle of Investment			-	-.11**	.17**
4. Land Restitution				-	.01
5. White Settler Ownership					-

Note: \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Support for land restitution's Cronbach alpha value in Table 7 is a Pearson's correlation between two items

## Hypothesis Testing

*Mediation function of primo-occupancy beliefs and moderation function of White settler ownership:* To test the hypotheses 2a and 2c, I used the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014). I selected model number fourteen from the process SPSS PROCESS macro and specified 5000 bootstrapped samples. Mean centering was specified for all variables that were products. Model number fourteen in the SPSS PROCESS macro tests for moderated-mediation. In the model, I entered White South African identification as the independent variable, the principle of primo-occupancy as the mediator variable, support for land restitution as the dependent variable and perception of White settler ownership as the moderator variable (see Figure 5 page 82 for a graphic representation).

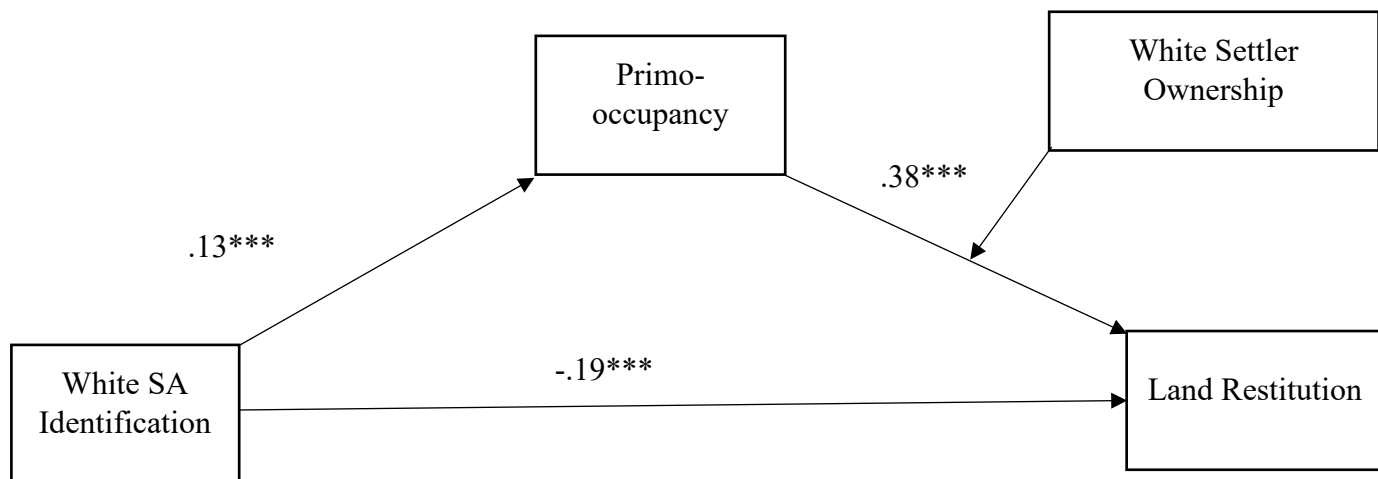
White South African identification had a significant positive effect on the principle of primo-occupancy ( $B = .1379$ ;  $SE = .0516$ ;  $p = .0042$ ) and the model was significant,  $R^2 = .0103$ ,  $F(1.684) = 17.162$ ,  $p = .0077$ . The direct effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution was statistically significant ( $B = -.1960$ ,  $SE = .0508$ ,  $p = .0001$ ). The principle of primo-occupancy had a statistically significant positive effect on support for land restitution ( $B = .3855$ ,  $SE = .0374$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). The perception of White settler ownership did not have a statistically significant effect on support for land restitution ( $B = .0003$ ,  $SE = .0365$ ,  $p = .9939$ ). However the interaction term between White settler ownership and the principle of primo-occupancy was statistically significant ( $B = .0766$ ,  $SE = .0237$ ,  $p = .0013$ ). This indicates that the extent to which White settlers perceive their in-group as owners of the settler colony, has an effect on the strength and direction of the principle of primo-occupancy on support for land restitution. The overall model was significant  $R^2 = .0103$ ,  $F(1.681) = 10.2828$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The test for highest order interactions indicates that interaction term between White settler ownership and the principle of primo-



occupancy was significant  $R^2 = .0103$ ,  $F(4.681) = 10.4093$ ,  $p = .0013$ . Crucially, the unstandardized simple slopes analysis indicated that when the perception of White settler ownership is low (at 1 standard deviation below the mean - 1.5759), the principle of primo-occupancy had a stronger positive effect of on support for land restitution ( $B = .5062$ ,  $SE = .0688$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). However, when the perception of White settler ownership is high (at 1 SD above the mean 1.5759), the principle of primo-occupancy had a weaker positive effect of on support for land restitution ( $B = .2648$ ,  $SE = .0589$ ,  $p = .0000$ ).

The index of moderated-mediation was significant ( $B = -.0106$ ;  $BootSE = .0054$  [ $BootCI -.0221$ ;  $-.0015$ ]). This indicates that indirect effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution via the principle of primo-occupancy was stronger or weaker depending on the extent that White settlers perceived themselves as owners. That is, the conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership was stronger at 1 standard deviation below the mean ( $B = .0698$ ;  $BootSE = .0261$  [ $BootCI .0189$ ;  $.1219$ ]) and weaker at 1 standard deviation above the mean ( $B = .0365$ ;  $BootSE = .0163$  [ $BootCI .0085$ ;  $.0720$ ]).

These results provide support for my expectations. That is, they confirm that White South African identification has an indirect effect on support for land restitution via the principle of primo-occupancy. Crucially, as expected findings indicate that the endorsement of primo-occupancy beliefs reinforces support for land restitution and this positive effect is stronger amongst White South Africans who perceive their in-group as owning less of the settler colony.



**Figure 5.** Results of a moderated-mediation model with the indirect effect of White South Africa identification on support for land restitution via the principle of primo-occupancy conditional on White settler ownership (Study 2, N = 682). Note: \*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

**Table 9.** Unstandardized Regression coefficients for the effects of White South Africa identification and principle of primo-occupancy on support for land restitution. (N = 682).

	Principle of primo-occupancy				Support for land restitution			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
<i>Direct effect</i>								
White South African Identification	.1379	.0516	2.672	.0042				
Models summary for the dependent variable	$R^2 = .0103, F(1.684) = 17.162, p = .0077$							
<i>Direct effect</i>								
White South African Identification					-.1960	.0508	-3.860	.0001
Principle of primo-occupancy					.3855	.0374	10.302	.0000
White settler ownership					.0003	.0365	.0077	.9939
Principle of primo-occupancy x White settler ownership					.0766	.0237	-3.226	.0013
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .0103, F(1.681) = 10.2828, p = .0000$			

**Table 10.** Conditional effects of the principle of primo-occupancy on support for land restitution at different levels of White settler ownership

<i>White settler ownership</i>								
1 SD below the mean (-1.5759)					.5062	.0688	9.1367	.0000
Mean (.0000)					.3855	.0374	10.302	.0000
1 SD below the mean (1.5759)					.2648	.0503	5.2637	.0000

**Table 11.** Index of moderated-mediation for the conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership

	B	BootSE	Boot95% C1	Upper
White settler ownership	-.0106	.0054	-.0222	-.0015

**Table 12.** Conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership ( White SA identification - Primo-occupancy - support for land restitution)

<i>White settler ownership</i>				
1 SD below the mean (-1.5759)	.0698	.0261	.0189	.1219
Mean (.0000)	.0532	.0200	.0146	.0930
1 SD below the mean (1.5759)	.0365	.0163	.0085	.0720

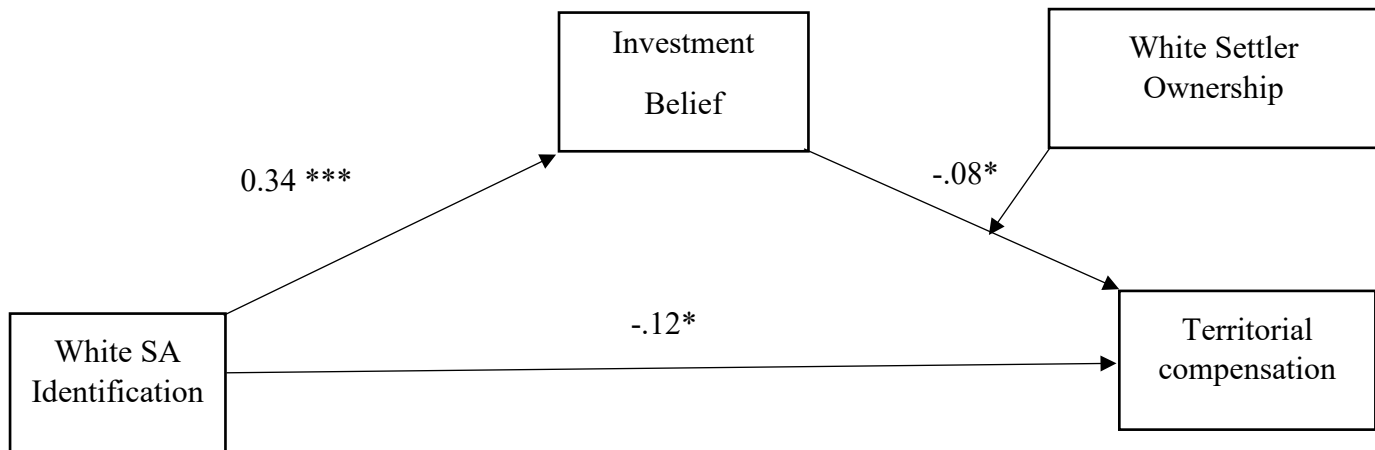
***Mediation function of the principle of investment and moderation function of White settler ownership:*** I replicated the aforementioned model using the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014), except in this case the principle of investment was entered as the mediator variable (see Figure 6, page 82). I hypothesised that strong White South African identification would lead to low endorsement of the principle of investment, which in turn would lead support for land restitution (Hypothesis 2b). This is because investment beliefs would be endorsed with Indigenous group as the referent group, that is seen as having contributed labour and time into making the settler colony prosper. In addition, I also hypothesised that perception of lower White settler ownership will strengthen the relationship between investment beliefs and support for land restitution (Hypothesis 2c).

Contrary to our expectation, White South African identification had a significant positive effect on belief in the principle of investment ( $B = .3429$ ;  $SE = .0562$ ;  $p = .0000$ ), and the model was significant  $R^2 = .0517$ ,  $F(1,684) = 37.295$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The direct effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution was negative and statistically significant ( $B = -.1241$ ,  $SE = .0553$ ,  $p = .0252$ ). Contrary to expectations, belief in the principle of investment had a significant negative effect on support for land restitution ( $B = -.0825$ ,  $SE = .0369$ ,  $p = .0259$ ). White settler ownership did not have a significant effect on support for land restitution ( $B = .0636$ ,  $SE = .0388$ ,  $p = .1018$ ). The interaction between White settler ownership and investment belief was significant ( $B = -.0541$ ,  $SE = .0219$ ,  $p = .0135$ ). The unstandardized simple slopes indicated that White settlers who perceive low ownership of the settler colony (at 1 standard deviation below the mean - 1.5759), investment beliefs did not have a significant effect on support for land restitution ( $B = .0028$ ,  $SE = .0519$ ,  $p = .9567$ ). However, amongst White settlers who perceived greater ownership of the settler colony (at 1 standard deviation above the mean; 1.5759), investment beliefs had a significant

negative effect on support for land restitution ( $B = -.1678$ ,  $SE = .0491$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). Indicating that the endorsement of investment beliefs led to opposition to land restitution.

The index of moderated-mediation was significant ( $B = -.0186$ ;  $BootSE = .0083$  [ $BootCI$ -.0362; -.0032]). Importantly, the conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership was significant and stronger at one standard deviation above the mean ( $B = -.0575$ ;  $BootSE = .0200$  [ $BootCI$  -.1005; -.0228]) and not statistically significant at 1 standard deviation below the mean ( $B = .0010$ ;  $BootSE = .0187$  [ $BootCI$  -.0364; .0382]).

Results did not provide support for the proposed expectations. Even though White South African identification does have an indirect effect on support for land restitution via investment beliefs, amongst White settler who perceive greater ownership of the settler colony - the proposed paths were not in line with my expectations. Although they confirm the overarching expectation that White South African identification will have an indirect effect on support for land restitution via the investment beliefs. Contrary to expectations, White South African identification led to endorsement of Investment beliefs and led to opposition to land restitution.



**Figure 7.** Results of a moderated-mediation model with the indirect effect of in-group identification on support for territorial compensation via the principle of investment contingent on White settler ownership (Study 2, N = 682). Note: (c) \*p < .05. \*\*p < .01. \*\*\*p < .001.

**Table 13.** Unstandardized Regression coefficients for the effects of White South Africa identification and principle of investment on support for land restitution. (N = 682).

	Principle of investment				Support for land restitution			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
<i>Direct effect</i>								
White South African Identification	.3429	.0562	6,106	.0000				
Models summary for the dependent variable	$R^2 = .0517, F(1.684) = 37.294, p = .0000$							
<i>Direct effect</i>								
White South African Identification					-.1241	.0553	-2.243	.0252
Principle of investment					-.0825	.0369	-2.232	.0259
White settler ownership					.0636	.0388	1.638	.1018
Principle of investment x White settler ownership					-.0541	.0219	-2.476	.0135
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .0292, F(4.681) = 5.1167, p = .0005$			

**Table 14.** Conditional effects of the principle of investment on support for land restitution at different levels of White settler ownership

<i>White settler ownership</i>								
1 SD below the mean (-1.5759)					.0028	.0519	.9567	.9567
Mean (.0000)					-.0825	.0369	-2.232	.0259
1 SD below the mean (1.5759)					-.1678	.0491	-3,416	.0007

**Table 15.** Index of moderated-mediation for the conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership

	B	BootSE	Boot95% C1	Upper
White settler ownership	-.0186	.0083	-.0362	-.0032

**Table 16.** Conditional indirect effect of White settler ownership ( White SA identification - Investment- support for land restitution)

<i>White settler ownership</i>				
1 SD below the mean (-1.5759)	.0698	.0261	.0189	.1219
Mean (.0000)	.0532	.0200	.0146	.0930
1 SD below the mean (1.5759)	.0365	.0163	.0085	.0720

## **Preliminary Discussion**

In this study, I mainly tested the hypotheses that autochthony beliefs being employed with the Indigenous group as the referent group strengthens support for support for land restitution. Related to this, I also tested the hypotheses that the perception of lesser ownership of settler colonies by White settlers strengthens the effect of autochthony beliefs on support for land restitution. I tested two theoretical models that each captured a distinct dimension of autochthony beliefs namely the principle of primo-occupancy and principle of investment.

Results from the first model indicated that White South African identification has an indirect effect on support land restitution via the principle of primo-occupancy and with primo-occupancy beliefs reinforced support for land restitution as hypothesized. This suggests that primo-occupancy beliefs were endorsed with Black South Africans as the referent group, hence the show of out-group favour by White settlers. This was corroborated by the effect of primo-occupancy beliefs on support for land restitution being stronger amongst White settlers who perceived the in-group as owning less of the settler colony. However, contrary to expectations White South African identification had a positive effect on primo-occupancy beliefs, suggesting that a strong commitment to the in-group led to an endorsement of the ideal that the first inhabitants of a territory are more entitled to it. In addition, primo-occupancy beliefs mediating the relationship between White South African identification and support for land restitution was contingent upon the degree of White settler ownership (it was stronger when White settler ownership was less).

Results from the second model indicated that the indirect effect of White South African on support for land restitution via investment beliefs was significant amongst White settlers who perceived the in-group as owners of the settler colony. Contrary to what was hypothesised, White South African identification was positively related to the endorsement of investment beliefs and in turn, investment beliefs were negatively related to support for land



restitution. Unlike primo-occupancy beliefs, this suggests that White settlers mobilise investment beliefs mainly with the in-group as the referent group. This is corroborated by the finding that investment beliefs led to opposition to land restitution amongst White settlers who see the in-group as owners of the settler colony.

Overall, findings from the first model suggest that when White settlers perceive the settler colony as an entity that they do not have historical rights to, they are more likely to support measures that reduce race-based hierarchies.

### General Discussion

Our research examined the malleability of autochthony beliefs. Our objective was to understand what informs the variability of autochthony beliefs and their contrasting effects race-based hierarchies amongst White settlers. I argued that social identity processes shape autochthony beliefs to implicate either the in-group or out-group i.e. the referent groups. In addition, I argued that social identity processes rely on the strength of in-group identification to predict whether certain versions of autochthony are endorsed. Overall, my expectations were partially supported

In the first study, my findings indicated that in-group autochthony beliefs mediated the relationship between in-group identification and preference for groups-based hierarchies. Crucially, in-group autochthony beliefs predicted support for groups-based hierarchies. Yet general autochthony did not have a mediation effect on this relationship. This suggests that the referent group and the strength of in-group identification shape autochthony beliefs. Our finding is corroborated by evidence that in settler societies White settlers can shape ideologies to ensure that they maintain hierarchical relations between themselves and Indigenous Groups (Sibley & Osborne 2016). Furthermore, our findings are in line with evidence that autochthony beliefs generally predict negative intergroup outcomes when employed by native majorities (see Hasbún López et al., 2019).

In the second study, I examined whether making the out-group (Indigenous group) the target group would influence autochthony beliefs to predict support for racial equality (Hypothesis 2). In line with our expectation, when I made the Indigenous group salient, belief in the principle of primo-occupancy mediated the relationship between in-group identification and support for hierarchy attenuating racial policies. Importantly, endorsement of the principle of primo-occupancy predicted opposition to race-based hierarchies. However, contrary to our expectation in-group identification and the principle of primo-occupancy had

a positive relationship. Our findings corroborate recent evidence that autochthony beliefs foster harmonious relations between White settlers and Indigenous Groups (Nooitgedagt et al. 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021c). However the present study adds to these established findings by showing that the principle of primo-occupancy has consequences for group-based equality based on the target group that White settlers reference. In other words, it matters whether the principle of primo-occupancy is endorsed with White settlers or Indigenous Groups in mind. Contrary to recent evidence, our findings indicated that the principle of investment in territory did not have a significant mediation effect on the relationship between in-group identification and support for race-based hierarches (see Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021c). This could be because the application of investment beliefs to Indigenous groups is seen as irrelevant. In other words, it is possible that White settlers reject the presentation of the principle of investment in relation to Indigenous Groups.

Overall, our findings point to the malleability of autochthony beliefs amongst White settlers in settler societies. I found that indeed the consequences of autochthony beliefs are dependent on the target group that White settlers reference. I speculate that White settlers referencing the in-group is congruent with a version of autochthony beliefs that qualifies them as de facto first inhabitants, who have invested time and labour into making the settler society prosper. Whereas when White settlers referenced the out-group (Indigenous Groups), they construct a version of autochthony beliefs that is pro-racial equality, by acknowledging Indigenous Groups as first inhabitants and primary investors in settler societies.

Taken together, our studies extend on previous research by demonstrating how the malleability of beliefs that express entitlement to territory can shape present day efforts at achieving racial equality in settler societies. Furthermore, they give us insights into how

White settlers can simultaneously be in support of and against race-based hierarchies based on the target group that they reference when applying autochthony beliefs.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Even though our research findings suggest the malleability of autochthony beliefs may be crucial in explaining support or opposition to race-based hierarchies. I contend there still much to discover about how autochthony beliefs function in contested territories like settler societies. For example, our research did not consider White settlers' representation of colonial history might determine the content of autochthony beliefs (see Licata et al., 2018). Future studies ought to consider how the content of autochthony beliefs is perhaps a consequence of how colonial history is represented. In addition, future studies also need to consider the extent to which colonial tropes such as the belief the Indigenous Groups were uncivilized and subhuman is related to beliefs that White settlers are de facto first inhabitants and primary investors. In other words, to what extent are autochthony beliefs a continuation of crude racial colonial tropes and to what extent do they reflect contemporary views of White settlers. Furthermore, given that contemporary settler colonies like South Africa have adopted liberal-democratic values, it makes sense that the dynamics of common national identity may also be relevant. That is, identification with the common national identity, which drives intergroup cooperation, may have accounted for autochthony beliefs driving opposition to race-based hierarchies (see Brylka et al. 2015). Future studies could examine how identification with being a White settler and identification the common national identity may shape the consequences of autochthony beliefs in varied ways.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, existing knowledge has shown that autochthony beliefs consistently drive anti-egalitarian sentiments amongst Native majorities. However, amongst White settlers studies indicate that autochthony beliefs can either promote or undermine equality. This study sought to make a contribution by examining the underlying factors that inform the divergent consequences of autochthony beliefs amongst White settlers. I demonstrated that autochthony beliefs are a function of the social group that they are applied to. I have contributed to this knowledge base by showing that White settlers configure and mobilise different aspects of autochthony beliefs to fit their historical narratives and beliefs systems regarding who are the first inhabitants, investors and owners of contemporary settler colonies.

## **Chapter 4**

**Yearning for the colonial home in the past: How White settler nostalgia maintains support for race-based hierarchies and shapes related autochthony beliefs**

### **Abstract**

Collective nostalgia in Western societies consistently leads to conflict between native majorities and immigrant groups because native majorities yearn for a national home located in the past. The present chapter sought to extend our understanding by examining the intergroup consequences of White settler nostalgia in a settler colonial context. To do this, I examined the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia. In addition, I examined the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs concurrently. Results from two cross sectional studies indicate that White settler nostalgia consistently mediates the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies - to the extent that White settler nostalgia is related to support for racial inequality. However, the sequential mediation effect of White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs on the relationship between White South African identification and support for race-based hierarchies was only significant when autochthony beliefs favored White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies. Our findings point to the significance of White settler nostalgia as a collective emotion that central to how White settlers express entitlement to settler colony to ensure that they maintain their dominant position.

**Key Words:** White settler nostalgia, autochthony beliefs, race-based hierarchies, White South African identification.

## Introduction

The rise of white nationalism and related anti-immigrant sentiments in Western societies has seen a resurgence in social and political psychologists attempting to understand how macro-political events, like immigration, evoke feelings of nostalgia amongst native majorities (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Reyna, 2022). This is because Native majorities have shown us that a seemingly benign socio-historical emotion, such as nostalgia, can be mobilised to defend national territories and identities (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al. 2015; Smeekes et al. 2021). The renewed interest in nostalgia as a psychological construct that can be co-opted by Native majorities to maintain dominance over a territory raises a similar set of questions about White settlers who permanently reside in contemporary settler colonies (Reyna, 2022).

Even though settler colonies have transitioned from colonial rule to liberal democracies decades ago, social psychologists have paid little attention to whether White settlers who permanently reside in settler colonies experience collective nostalgia for the colonial home, located in the colonial past (see Reyna 2022 for exception). Given that settler colonial conquest was an act of annexing land and establishing a permanent home away from home (Veracini, 2011) .It stands to reason that a transition from a colonial regime characterised by outright dominance to a liberal-democracy that espouses egalitarian values, has left White settlers nostalgic for their colonial home in the colonial past (Rasch, 2018). In this chapter, I draw on the South African case to examine White settlers' (White South Africans) experience of collective nostalgia and the consequences this has for undoing race-based hierarchies.

Social psychological research has consistently demonstrated the aversive effects of collective nostalgia for relations between Native majorities and Immigrants groups in Western societies. These studies point to how Native majorities who are strongly committed



to protecting their national identities and territories, react negatively to the presence of Immigrant groups when they experience collective nostalgia i.e. national nostalgia in this case (Smeeke 2015; Smeeke et al., 2015; Smeeke et al., 2021). These studies have demonstrated that nostalgia is not just a benign individual emotion, but a group relevant emotion that has implications for the contestation of territory between social groups (Wildschut et al., 2014). Social psychologists have hardly offered a systematic understanding of collective nostalgia beyond purview of the contemporary immigration crisis in Western societies (for exception see Martinović et al., 2017). Notably, in these contexts Native majorities and Immigrant groups, in some instances, have no longstanding history of conflict prior to the arrival of Immigrants. For instance, the arrival Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands is not predated by a long history of conflict with Dutch natives. Hence, our understanding of collective nostalgia is restricted to contexts where Native majorities see Immigrants as intruders who cannot be incorporated into the national in-group and cannot claim entitlements to their national territories.

Contemporary settler colonies offer a fascinating backdrop for understanding the consequences of collective nostalgia. This is because White settlers established a permanent home on land already occupied by Indigenous Inhabitants, despite not being native. In addition to establishing a permanent home on foreign land, White settlers were outright dominants who exercised exclusive ownership and control over the territory and its Indigenous Inhabitants. However, under modern liberal democracies their dominance has been challenged because liberal democracies espouse egalitarian values and often undertake measures to realise equality. The unique circumstances that White settlers find themselves in raise interesting points of enquiry, as far as collective nostalgia is concerned. They prompt us to ask whether the construction of a permanent colonial home has consequences for how White settlers orientate themselves towards the colonial past and the post-colonial present.

They also prompt us to ask whether the experience of nostalgia for the colonial past has consequences for realising equality between White settlers and Indigenous Groups.

After a lengthy period of colonisation and apartheid, collective nostalgia could be seen as a lynchpin for the realisation of racial justice in contemporary settler colonies like South Africa. Collective nostalgia can either encourage White South Africans to remember the colonial past as a glorious time, thus emboldening efforts at reestablishing the colonial home and maintaining the racial status quo. On the other hand, collective nostalgia has the potential to foster reconciliation and reparative action when the colonial past is seen as an unpleasant time or a regretful era in the history of White South Africans. In this chapter I investigate how White settlers' experience of a version of collective nostalgia, that I refer to as White settler nostalgia, has a bearing on race-based hierarchies between White settlers and Indigenous Inhabitants. Mainly, I expected strong White South African identification to evoke feelings of White settler nostalgia and for these feelings to reinforce support for maintaining race-based hierarchies. Related to this, I also expected the experience of White settler nostalgia to underpin the endorsement of autochthony beliefs that cast the in-group as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies.

### **Conceptualising White settler nostalgia**

The establishment of liberal democracies in settler colonies like South Africa saw the repealing of oppressive colonial laws that restricted the freedoms of Indigenous Groups. This change in the political system meant that White South Africans for the first time in their history were under Black majority rule, had Black political leaders and saw the inclusion of Black South Africans in educational institutions, professions, neighborhoods and public spaces that were exclusively designated to White South Africans. These socio-political changes were so drastic that they challenged the configuration of White South African

society and the privileges they enjoyed under colonial and apartheid rule - making their dominant position precarious (de la Sablonnière et al., 2013). In addition, they cast doubts on whether White South Africans even belonged in South Africa (see Matthews, 2011).

In order to maintain their sense of entitlement and to secure their position as dominant settlers, White South Africans have formed counter movements. For example, some sections of the White South African community have established Whites only towns like Orania and have recently been lobbying for an independent Western Cape under the banner of the Cape Advocacy group (Veracini, 2011; Cape Independence Advocacy Group n.d.). These counter movements have been formed as a reaction to the perceived racial persecution of White South Africans face in post-apartheid South Africa and the anarchy under African National Congress's Black majority rule. In addition to forming these counter movements, White South African's disillusionment with socio-political change could be reflective of a deep yearning for the restoration of a White settler colonial home, set the colonial and apartheid past.

Similar to Native majorities in Western nations, White settlers could also use collective nostalgia to undermine measures that have been undertaken to realise social change. They could do this comparing the colonial past to the liberal democratic present and conclude that life was more pleasant in the colonial past (see also Reyna et al., 2021). I refer to this version of collective nostalgia as White settler nostalgia. White settler nostalgia is a longing for a place and time in the colonial past - when White settlers were out rightly dominant in what was a secure colonial home. White settler nostalgia not only has the potential to evoke a deep yearning for a return to the colonial past but can also lead to White settlers taking concrete actions towards restoring and even maintain aspects of this colonial past (Mols & Jetten, 2014; Wildschut et al., 2014; Smeekes, 2015; Reyna et al., 2021).

**White settler identities as a basis for White settler nostalgia**

White settlers integrating the group into their psychological life forms the basis for their experience of White settler nostalgia (Smith et al., 2007; Mackie et al., 2009).

Intergroup emotion theory posits that people, who think of themselves as members of a social group and show strong commitment to it, are able to experience emotions on the group's behalf, even across different generations (Smith et al., 2007;). This is because the ability to see oneself as part of a group makes it possible for you feel invested in the fate of the group and subsequently commit to acting in the group's best interests (Smith et al., 2007).

The theoretical tenants of collective emotions extend to nostalgia (see Wildschut et al., 2014; Smeekes, 2015). Wildschut et al. (2014) demonstrated that merely prompting people to think of a group relevant event that one feels nostalgic about leads to a positive evaluation of the in-group, resulting in a willingness to sacrifice time and effort for its benefit. Their findings confirm that seeing the group as part of oneself, makes it possible to feel nostalgic about its past and to subsequently care about its wellbeing, to the extent that you ensure that its interests protected. Drawing from this formative knowledge Whites settlers who integrate settler identities to form a part of who they are and are strongly committed to these social identities are more likely to experience nostalgia for the colonial past on behalf their group (Wildschut et al., 2014).

Collective nostalgia is used to buffer the effects of social change because groups use it to preserve their social identity (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). They do this by ensuring that the group remains distinct entity to retain a sense of identity continuity. The primary goal of ensuring that the groups remains a distinct entity is to provide the psychological security that the group will continue to exist well into the future (Sani et al., 2007). Hence social groups that experience collective nostalgia because of socio-political changes are likely to engage in

cultural performances to ensure that their customs, traditions and beliefs are maintained (Sani et al., 2007). In addition, they offer coherent and compelling narratives that articulate the group's origins, its present day circumstances and how these affect the group's future (Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Smeekes et al., 2018). The tendency for social groups to make attempts to secure themselves when faced with social changes could also be extended to White settlers who reside in settler colonies. For example, studies have demonstrated that White settlers in the United States of America shared a common view that traditional American values should be upheld when they were confronted with immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds (Reyna et al., 2021). In this instance, White settler took measures to differentiate themselves from Immigrants groups who saw as a threat to their group. Similarly, Afrikaans speaking White South Africans offer compelling narratives of how significant historical events like the "Great Trek" represent a glorious time in colonial past and how the present is bleak and if they do not take the necessary action the group will cease to exist (Mols & Jetten, 2014). This primarily happens when they are faced with perceived existential threats, like the implementation of measures that grant Black South Africans greater equality (van Zyl-Herman, 2018). In this instance, collective nostalgia is adaptive and beneficial for White settlers because it ensures that group retains its essence and remains distinct.

Our knowledge of how social identities relate to the experience of collective nostalgia to ensure members of a group act in its best interest can be extended to how White settlers frame colonial history in relation present day socio-political changes. Social psychological studies have shown that White settlers, who are highly committed to their in-group, frame the colonial past in a manner that favours their in-group (Sibley & Osborne, 2016; Licata et al., 2018). For example, Sibley & Osborne (2016) demonstrated that White settlers in Australia see the colonial past as not having a bearing on the circumstances of Indigenous group in the present. This implies that colonisation was benign and of no consequence to the present. One

way of interpreting this study is that White settlers see the colonial past as not having a bearing on the present because they want to view their group in positive light. What it might also mean is that members of the White settler group may reframe past wrongdoings positively and even outright deny that the in-group was culpable for mass atrocities like colonisation, particularly when they strongly identify as White settlers (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Broadly, for how White settler nostalgia is co-opted, it means that even though the colonial past may be widely regarded as a time of violent oppression that should not happen again, White settlers may yearn for a return to it. This is because they have framed this era as a glorious time in the history of the group. In this way, how history is reckoned with is a function of social identities and this shapes the experience of White settler nostalgia.

Collective nostalgia ensuring that White settlers protect their interests, retain a sense of “who they are” constitutes in-group favour that benefits their group (Wildschut et al., 2014). But what does this mean for the out-groups? Particularly, out-groups that are seen as responsible for the socio-political changes that White settlers are confronted with? The section that follows will address these pertinent questions.

### **The consequences of collective nostalgia for intergroup relations**

Existing social psychological research consistently points to the aversive effects of collective nostalgia on relations between Native groups and Immigrant groups. Drawing from immigration context in Western Europe, research indicates that Dutch natives who are highly committed to their national identity and who conceive of the Netherlands as a home that reflects this identity, were more prone to longing for the Netherlands of the past and in turn show more prejudice towards various Immigrant groups (Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2015;). Collective nostalgia in this context not only led Dutch native’s prejudice towards Immigrants but also drove to support for the restriction of cultural rights amongst Muslim

immigrants and the rejection of a common national identity that would include Immigrant groups (Smeeke et al., 2015). This is corroborated by evidence that Native groups are even willing to take collective action towards ensuring that the national territory is restored (see Cheung et al., 2017). These findings point to how collective nostalgia reflects a desire to restore the national home into what it was in the past. Put differently, Native groups assert their belonging and entitlement to national territory because they feel presence of intruders has changed the configuration of their national home and altered the meaning it has for the group. For example, Brexit sentiments could also be because Britain no longer feels like the Britain of old for British Natives. In addition, they show that collective nostalgia is not only about longing for a home in the past but is an emotional reaction to Immigrant groups that alter a particular conception of how the national home should be (see Nijs, 2021; Reyna, 2022). Importantly, the negative consequences of collective nostalgia seem to carry over to Immigrant groups who are displaced from their national territories. However, in this political context it reflects a desire to return to home and a strong commitment to the in-group. This was demonstrated in the in the Netherlands, where the experience longing for their long lost homeland amongst Moroccans and Turkish immigrants reflected a stronger commitment to the ethnic in-group and less support for unity with Dutch natives (Smeeke & Jetten, 2019).

Our current understanding of collective nostalgia amongst Native majorities and Immigrant groups provides an invaluable starting point for investigating the consequences of White settler nostalgia for race-based hierarchies in contemporary settler colonies. However, this knowledge does not account for unique position that White settlers, who currently reside in settler colonies, find themselves in. White settlers neither qualify to be called Natives or Immigrants. Instead, they can be thought of as Immigrants who uncannily became de facto natives and through settler colonial conquest secured their dominance of settler colonies (Veracini, 2008). Hence, our knowledge of White settlers and their experience of nostalgia

for the colonial home is scant. Reyna et al. (2022) conducted perhaps the only social psychological study that examined the function of collective nostalgia amongst White settlers. Similar to Native majorities in Western Europe, their findings indicated that collective nostalgia for a United States America of the past, when Whites Americans dominated American culture and their status was not challenged, drove negative attitudes towards Immigrant groups (Reyna et al., 2022). Notably, White settlers in America did not direct their nostalgic reverie to their original home in the Europe, instead they yearned for particular configuration of their settler colonial home in the past (i.e. an idealistic version of how their America was in the past) similar to Native majorities in Western Europe (Smeekes, 2015).

### **Summary and Overview of Hypothesis**

National nostalgia, in Western societies, has contributed to Immigrant groups being marginalised by Native majorities because their presence threatens their identity and territory (Smeekes et al., 2021). Drawing from this formative evidence, I contend that collective nostalgia can be co-opted by White settlers, as White settler nostalgia, to marginalise Indigenous groups through support for the maintenance race-based hierarchies. This is because when White settler nostalgia is mobilised it has the potential to they shift attention away from the legitimacy of why social change is being enacted or sought after in the first place (Sibley & Osborne, 2016), to a glorification of the past, in a way that makes social change seem unfair (Reyna, 2022). This is more likely when White settlers are deeply committed to their social identities (Wildschut et al., 2014).

With this in mind I propose the following hypotheses. I propose that extent to which White settlers are committed to their in-group will evoke the experience of White settler nostalgia. White settler nostalgia will in turn lead to support for race-based hierarchies



(Hypothesis 1). In other words, I expected White settler identification to have an indirect effect on support for race-based hierarchies. This is because White settler groups have transitioned from an era of outright dominance characterised by colonial rule to a liberal democracy. This transition sets up White settlers who have a strong commitment to their group, to experience a collective nostalgia that glorifies the colonial past to the extent that it can undermine efforts at realising racial equality with Indigenous Groups.

Given that White settlers can reframe the colonial past as a time that was positive (Sibley & Osborne, 2016), this makes it possible for them to cast themselves as first inhabitants, who are primary investors and owners of settler colonies (see Selvanathan et al. 2020). This also makes it possible for them to White settlers to feel nostalgic for the settler colony as a colonial home that they are entitled to (i.e. a time when they were outright owners of the settler colony as a territory that represented home). I expected the relationship between White settler identification and support for race-based hierarchies to be partially accounted for by White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony beliefs. This is because White settler nostalgia would reinforce versions of autochthony that cast the White settler as first inhabitants, primary investors and owners of settler colonies. Therefore, I hypothesised that strong identification with the White settler group will evoke the experience of White settler nostalgia, which would in-turn be related to the endorsement of in-group autochthony beliefs. To complete this link, I expected in-group autochthony beliefs to bolster support for the maintenance of race-based hierarchies (Hypothesis 2).

### Study 1

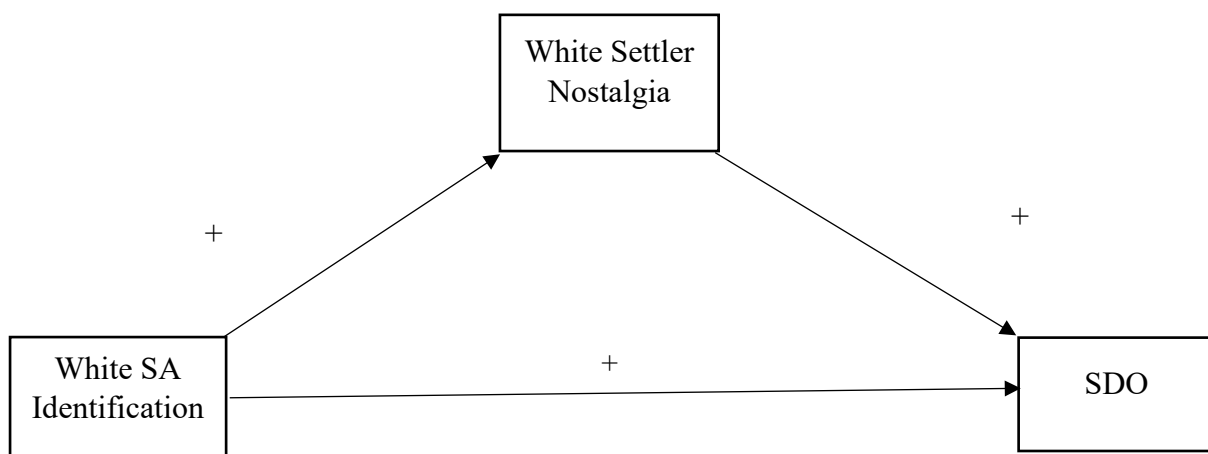
The purpose of the first study is to examine how White settler nostalgia drives the maintenance of race-based hierarchies amongst White South Africans. In particular, my aim was to determine whether White South African identification predicts support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia. Additionally, I sought to determine whether White South African identification has an indirect effect on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony concurrently.

Social identities in conjunction collective nostalgia promote an idealised version of the in-group's past and instil a sense of dissatisfaction with present-day socio-political changes (Wildschut et al, 2014; Smeekes, 2015). In light of this, I expected strong White South African identification to lead to preference for race-based hierarchies (high social dominance orientation) via White settler nostalgia (Hypothesis 1) (see Figure 1). I reason that White South Africans who are committed to their social identity are likely to experience nostalgia for the colonial past on the in-group's behalf because they consider it a glorious time group's era (Wildschut et al, 2014; Reyna, 2022). This will provide a basis for rejecting measures that seek to realise equality with Black South Africans.

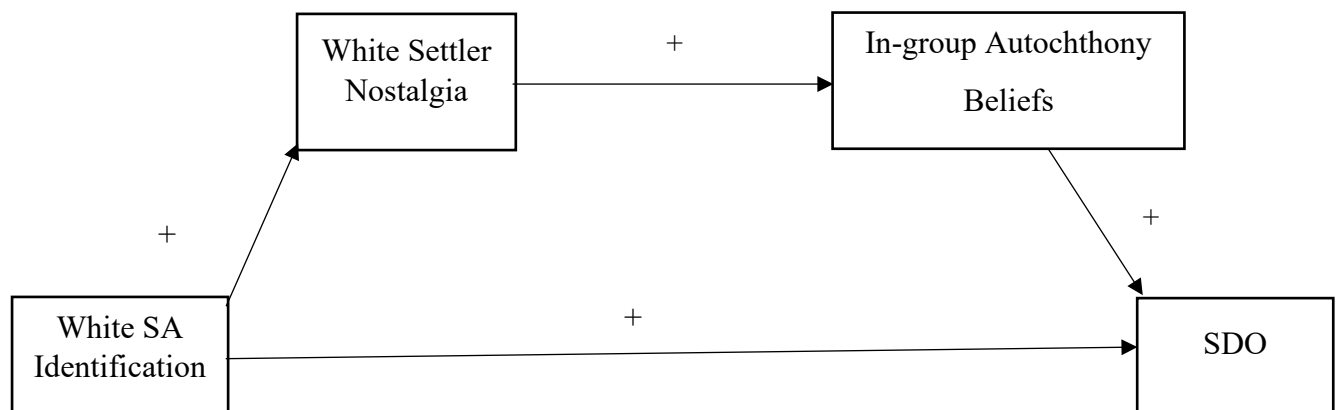
Given that White settler nostalgia also reflects a longing for uncontaminated home in the colonial past (Reyna, 2022), it stands to reason that it could underpin autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, primary investors and owners of settler colonies (Smeekes et al., 2015). Therefore, White settler nostalgia could shape a version of autochthony that reflects White settlers' entitlement claims to settler colonies. Consequently, I hypothesised that White South African identification will reinforce preference for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony beliefs simultaneously (Hypothesis 2). In particular, I expected White South African identification to evoke the experience of White settler nostalgia, which would in turn lead to the endorsement of in-

group autochthony beliefs. To complete this sequence of relations, I expected in-group autochthony beliefs to reinforce support for race-based hierarchies by increasing social dominance orientation (see Figure 2).

I tested three theoretical models. The first model tested the first hypothesis. That White South African identification will lead to high social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia. In particular, I expected White settler nostalgia to lead to high social dominance orientation. In the second model, I tested the hypothesis 2, which proposed the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony beliefs simultaneously. I then tested an alternative their model were general autochthony beliefs were entered as the second mediator in place of in-group autochthony beliefs. This was to determine whether general autochthony beliefs together with White settler nostalgia also mediated the relationship between White South African Identification and social dominance orientation.



**Figure 1.** Proposed mediation model where White South African identification has a positive relationship with social dominance orientation (SDO) via White settler nostalgia



**Figure 2.** Proposed sequential mediation model where White South African identification has a positive relationship with social dominance orientation (SDO) via White settler nostalgia and in-autochthony beliefs.

### Procedure and Sample

I invited 9322 White South African students from the University of South Africa were invited to participate in an online survey via their student email. The email contained information pertaining to the objectives of the study, voluntary participation and withdrawal, anonymity in participation and the how finding from the survey will be used. Students who chose to participate in the study were prompted to follow the link to the online survey. From this invitation, 248 White South African students participated in the study. The average age of the sample was 33.38 years old and 113 males and 135 females participated in the study. I excluded participants who indicated that they were not South African. The University ethics committee granted the study ethics clearance (REF #: 2017\_URERC\_004\_FA) and its research permission subcommittee granted permission for the student population to partake in the study (REF #: 2017\_RPSC\_39).

## Measures

*White South African Identification* was measured using items developed by Doosje, Ellemers and Spears (1995) were utilised to account for the strength of identification with being a White South African. Participants were presented with the following items, (1) *I identify with other with white South Africans* (2) *I see myself as a white South African* (3) *I am glad to be a white South African* and (4) *I feel strong ties with white South Africans*. Participants were asked to respond to these statements on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree.

*White Settler Nostalgia* was measured using three items developed by Smeekes (2014) and Smeekes et al., (2015). Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. the following statements were presented, *I long for the way white South African society was* (2) *I long for the way white South African people used to be* (3) *I long for the way the white South African landscape (i.e. surroundings) looked like*.

*Autochthony beliefs* using two scales. The first scale accounted for in-group focused autochthony (adapted from Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). The following statements were presented “*South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first*” and “*South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it*” ( $r = .81$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The second scale considered the general endorsement of autochthony (Martinović & Verkuyten, 2013). Participants responded to the following statements on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly Agree. (1) *The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers*; (2) *Every country belongs to its original inhabitants* (3) *The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game* (4) *We were here first*.

I measured *preference for race-based hierarchies* using the SDO<sup>16</sup> scale developed by Pratto et al., (1994). Items in this scale considered the extent to which participant preferred group based hierarchies. Participants were presented with sixteen items from the SDO<sup>16</sup> scale (see Appendix A) and were asked to respond to statements on a scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (5) strongly Agree

I controlled for *perceived collective continuity* using twelve items developed by Sani et al. (2007). These items capture the extent to which participants are of the view that their group is temporally enduring. Participants had to indicate the extent to they agree on a scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree (see Appendix B).

### **Measurement model**

I expected the independent variable and mediators to capture four distinct factors, namely White South African identification, White settler nostalgia, in-group autochthony beliefs and general autochthony beliefs. However, theoretically in-group autochthony beliefs and general autochthony beliefs could capture single dimension. Hence, I also tested a three factor model, where White South African identification, White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony and general autochthony were combined into a single construct.

I tested a four factor model and three factor model conducting a confirmatory factor analysis using Amos version 27. I first tested a four-factor model where White South African identification, White settler nostalgia, in-group autochthony beliefs and general autochthony beliefs were entered as separate constructs (see appendix I for graphic representation). The observed variables were fixed to 1 to provide a measurement scale for the latent factor and the latent variables were correlated (see appendix I). In addition, I specified the maximum likelihood model and to account for missing data I specified estimated means and intercepts. The following fit indices were considered; the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker Lewis

index (TLI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Results indicated a good model fit for the four factor model,  $\chi^2(60) = 142,768$ ;  $p < 0.001$ , CFI = .948; TLI = .922; RMSEA = .075. I tested a three-factor solution were White South African identification, White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs (in-group autochthony and general autochthony) were entered as unique constructs (see appendix K). Results indicated a poor model fit,  $\chi^2(63) = 418,842$ ;  $p < 0.001$ , CFI = .778; TLI = .679; RMSEA = .151. I proceeded with my analysis by treating the independent variables as four unique constructs.

**Table 1:** Confirmatory factor analysis Goodness of Fit Indices Study 1 (N = 248)

		$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	<b>p</b>	<b>RMSEA</b>	<b>CFI</b>	<b>TLI</b>
1	Four Factor Solution	142,768	(60)	.001	.075	.948	.922
2	Three-factor solution	418,842	(63)	.001	.151	.778	.679

### Preliminary Analysis

Results from our intercorrelation matrix (see Table 1) indicated that in-group identification had a positive significant relationship with White settler nostalgia ( $r = .29$ ,  $p < .01$ ). White settler nostalgia had a significant positive relationship with social dominance orientation ( $p = .46$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and in-group identification had a significant positive relationship with social dominance orientation ( $p = .25$ ,  $p < .01$ ). In addition, I conducted a one sample t-test for our sample and compared the mean for White settler nostalgia ( $M = 2.39$ ,  $SD = 0.99$ ,  $n = 248$ ) with the scale center of 3. Results indicated that our sample scored significantly below the scale center of three  $t(247) = -9.668$ ,  $p < .001$ , suggesting that some participants on average experienced low levels of White settler nostalgia.

**Table 2.** Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach Alphas (N = 248)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mean	3.86	2.39	1.74	1.97	1.64	3.22
Standard Deviation	.747	.998	.851	.819	.713	.534
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	2
Maximum	5	5	5	4	3.75	5
$\alpha$	.79	.82	.81	.86	.89	.81

**Table 3.** Intercorrelations between variables

1. White South African Identification	-	.29**	.24**	-.02	.25**	.29**
2. White settler nostalgia		-	.47**	.24**	.46**	.30**
3. In-group Autochthony			-	.47**	.40**	.22**
4. General Autochthony				-	.14*	.06
5. Social Dominance Orientation					-	.13*
6. Perceived Collective Continuity						-

Note: \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

### Hypothesis Testing

**Mediation function of White settler nostalgia:** To test hypothesis 1, I used the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014). I entered model number 4, which tests for simple mediation, from the process macro. I specified 5000 bootstrap samples. In the first model, White South African identification was entered as the independent variable and social dominance orientation was entered as the dependent variable. White settler nostalgia was entered as the mediator variable.

White South African identification had a significant positive effect on White settler nostalgia ( $B = .3699$ ;  $SE = .0812$ ;  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was significant,  $R^2 = .0780$ ,  $F(1.245) = 20.731$ ,  $p = .0000$

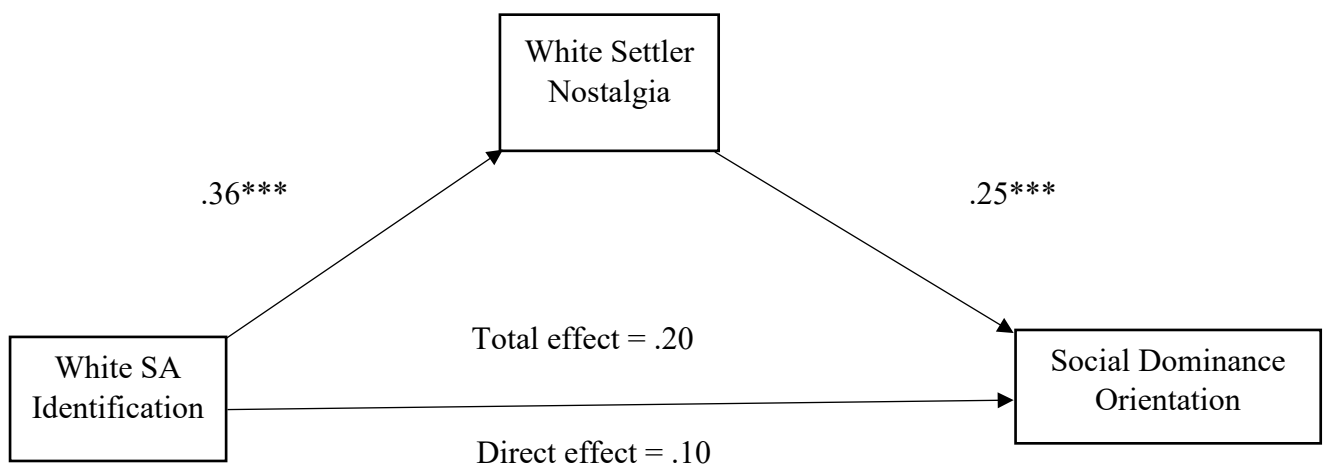
The direct effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation was positive and statistically significant ( $B = .1069$ ,  $SE = .0459$ ,  $p = .0206$ ). In turn, White settler nostalgia had a statistically significant positive effect on social dominance orientation ( $B = .2557$ ,  $SE = .0347$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was significant,  $R^2 = .2359$ ,  $F(2.244) = 37.6637$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The total effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation was positive and statistically significant ( $B = .2015$ ,  $SE = .0486$ ,  $p =$



.0000) and the model was significant  $R^2 = .0655$ ,  $F(1.245) = 17.1627$ ,  $p = .0000$ . The indirect effect was statistically significant ( $B = .0946$ ,  $BootSE = .0251$  [ $BootCI .0491; .1479$ ]).

This indicates that White South African identification had indirect effect on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia, thus confirming the first hypothesis that White settler nostalgia would act as a conduit for reinforcing support for race-based hierarchies (see Figure 3 and Table 4).

This suggests that White South African participants who are highly committed to their White South African identity, experience a longing for the colonial and apartheid era that bolsters their support for maintaining race-based hierarchies. Given that White settler nostalgia not only reflects a longing for the colonial past but a colonial home located in this past, I tested at second model were I entered in-group autochthony beliefs as the second mediator and a third comparative model were I entered general autochthony as the second mediator.



**Figure 3.** Results indicating the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia. \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table 4.** Mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia (N = 247)

	<b>White Settler nostalgia</b>				<b>Social Dominance Orientation</b>			
	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>p</b>
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification	.3699	.0812	4.553	.0000				
Models summary for the mediator variable	$R^2 = .0780, F(1.245) = 20.731, p = .0000$							
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.1069	.0459	2.329	.0206
White Settler nostalgia					.2557	.0347	7.377	.0000
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .2359, F(2.244) = 37.6637, p = .0000$			
<i>Total Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.2015	.0486	4.1428	.0000
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .0655, F(1.245) = 17.1627, p = .0000$			
<i>Indirect Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					<b>B</b>	<b>Boot SE</b>	<b>Boot LLCI</b>	<b>Boot ULCI</b>
					.0946	.0251	.0491	.1479

*Sequential mediation effect of White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs:* To test hypothesis 2, I used the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014). I entered model number 6, which tests for simple mediation, from the process macro. I specified 5000 bootstrap samples. In the second model, White South African identification was entered as the independent variable and social dominance orientation was entered as the dependent variable. White settler nostalgia was entered as the first mediator variable and in-group autochthony was entered as the second. Perceived collective continuity was entered as the control variable.

Results indicated that White South African identification has a significant positive relationship with White settler nostalgia ( $B = .2883$ ,  $SE = .0828$ ,  $p = .0006$ ). With the control variable perceived collective continuity also having a significant positive effect on White settler nostalgia ( $B = .4130$ ,  $SE = .1182$ ,  $p = .0006$ ). The model was significant,  $R^2 = .1220$ ,  $F(2.243) = 16.8811$ ,  $p = .0000$ . White South African identification did not have a significant positive effect on in-group autochthony ( $B = .1121$ ,  $SE = .0673$ ,  $p = .0969$ ). However, White settler nostalgia had a significant positive effect on in-group autochthony ( $B = .3421$ ,  $SE = .0508$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). Perceived collective continuity also did not have significant positive effect on in-group autochthony ( $B = .0551$ ,  $SE = .0960$ ,  $p = .5666$ ). The model was significant,  $R^2 = .2125$ ,  $F(3.242) = 21.746$ ,  $p = .0000$ .

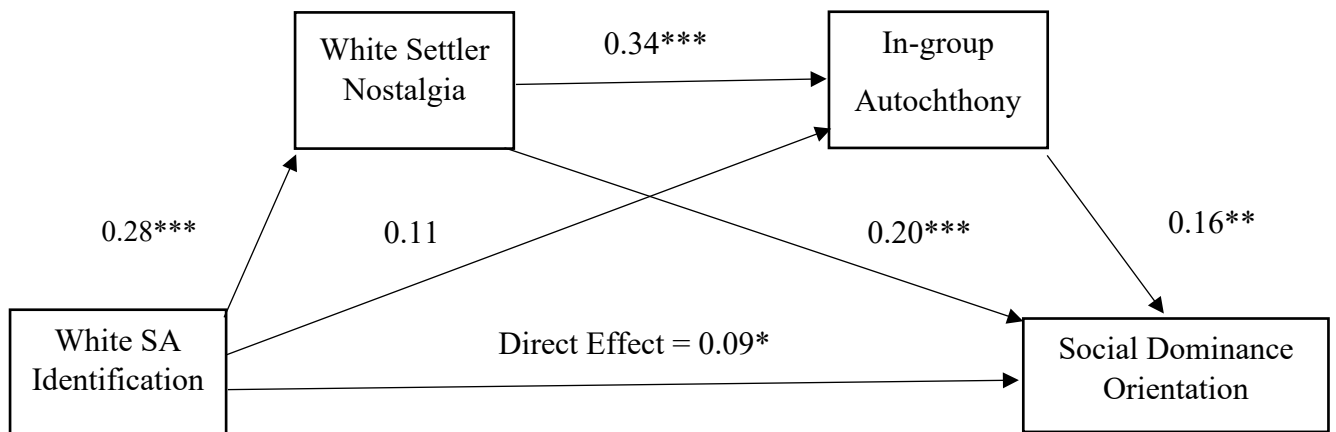
The direct effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation was statistically significant ( $B = .0921$ ,  $SE = .0462$ ,  $p = .0474$ ). White settler nostalgia also had a positive significant relationship with social dominance orientation ( $B = .2012$ ,  $SE = .0378$ ,  $p = .0000$ ) and so did in-group autochthony beliefs ( $B = .1650$ ,  $SE = .0439$ ,  $p = .0002$ ). Perceived collective continuity did not have a significant relationship with social dominance orientation ( $B = -.0333$ ,  $SE = .0656$ ,  $p = .6124$ )

Importantly, White South African identification had a significant indirect effect on social dominance orientation and via White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony ( $B =$

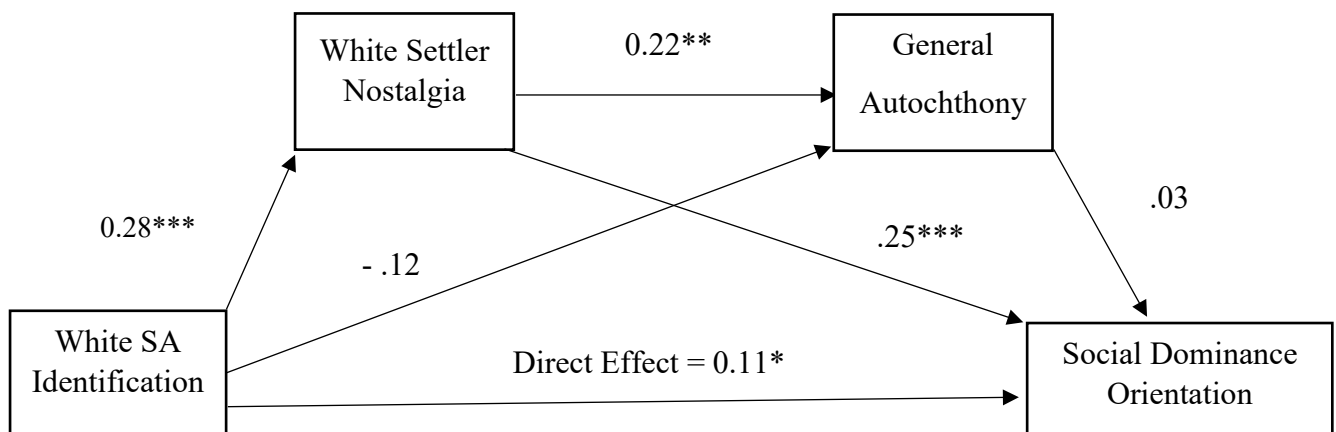
.0163, SE = .0079 [CI .0040; .0344]). This confirms our second hypothesis, suggesting that White South African identification reinforces support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia and related in-group autochthony beliefs (see Table 5).

Given that in-group autochthony beliefs and general autochthony beliefs capture distinct dimension of autochthony. I tested an additional theoretical model were general autochthony beliefs replaced in-group autochthony beliefs. This was done determine whether the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation occurs only via White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers first inhabitants, investors and owners, or this indirect effect can occur with autochthony beliefs that do not reference a social group.

Hence, the third model was similar to the second model (see Figure 2) except in this case general autochthony was the second mediator variable. I interpreted the sequential mediation function of White settler nostalgia and general autochthony. White settler nostalgia had a significant positive effect on general autochthony beliefs ( $B = .2271$ ;  $SE = .0549$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). Interestingly, general autochthony was not significantly related to social dominance orientation [ $B = .0322$ ;  $SE = .7702$ ,  $p = .4419$ ]. Importantly, White settler nostalgia and general autochthony beliefs did not yield a significant mediation effect on the relationship between in-group identification and social dominance orientation ( $B = .0021$ ,  $SE = .0033$  [CI  $-.0036$ ;  $.0100$ ]).



**Figure 4.** Unstandardized regression co-efficients from a sequential mediation model, with the effect of White settler nostalgia on In-group autochthony beliefs. Note: The analysis controlled for perceived collective continuity \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .



**Figure 5.** Unstandardized regression co-efficients from a sequential mediation model, with the effect of White settler nostalgia on General Autochthony Beliefs. Note: The analysis controlled for perceived collective continuity. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

**Table 5.** Sequential mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on social dominance orientation via White settler nostalgia and in-group autochthony (N = 247).

	White settler nostalgia				In-group Autochthony				Social Dominance Orientation			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
White South African Identification	.288	.082	3.47	.0006								
Perceived Collective Continuity	.4130	.118	3.49	.0006								
Models summary for the mediator 1	$R^2 = .1220, F(2.243) = 16.88, p = .0000$											
White South African Identification					.112	.067	1.66	.0969				
White Settler nostalgia					.342	.050	6.72	.0000				
Perceived Collective Continuity					.055	.096	.573	.5666				
Models summary for mediator 2					$R^2 = .2125, F(3.242) = 21.7, p = .0000$							
White South African Identification									.092	.046	1.99	.0474
White Settler nostalgia									.201	.037	5.31	.0000
In-group autochthony									.165	.043	3.75	.0002
Perceived Collective Continuity									-.033	.065	-.507	.6124
Models summary dependent variable									$R^2 = .2776, F(4.241) = 23.15, p = .0000$			
<i>Indirect Effect</i>									<b>B</b>	<b>Boot</b>	<b>Boot</b>	<b>Boot</b>
										<b>SE</b>	<b>LLCI</b>	<b>ULCI</b>
White South African Identification									.016	.0079	.0040	.0344

## **Preliminary Discussion**

In the first study, I established that high White South African identification is related to the experience of White settler nostalgia. Importantly, I also established that White settler nostalgia is related to preference for the maintenance of race-based hierarchies. These findings suggest that a sense of being strongly committed to the White settler group leads to opposition to racial equality through the experience of nostalgia for the colonial past. Furthermore, our findings imply that White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners of settler colonies work in tandem to explain support for race-based hierarchies. This is because they simultaneously mediated the relationship between White South African identification and social dominance orientation.

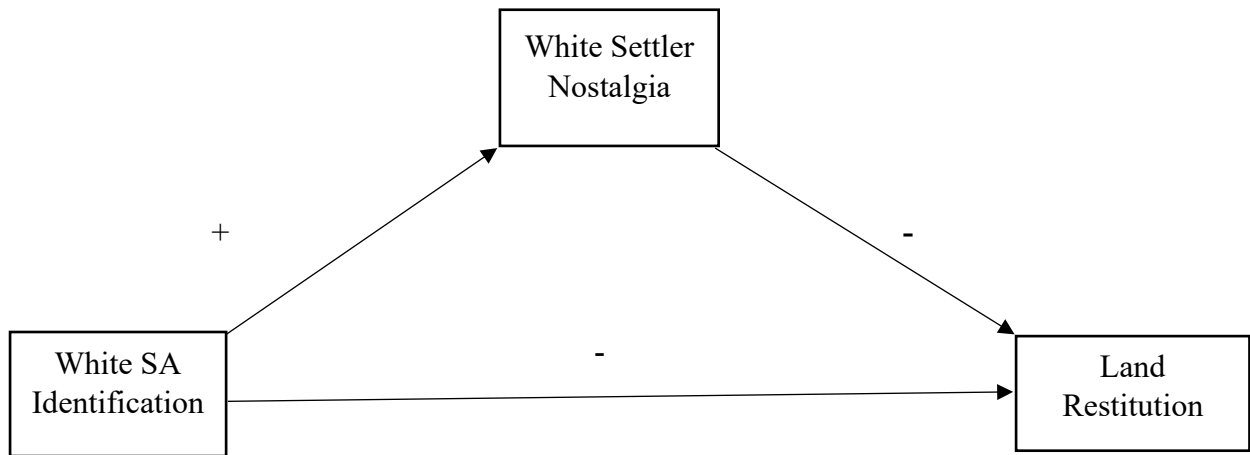
Our findings point to how a deep yearning for the colonial past and entitlement to settler colonies as territories explain the relationship between identification with the White settler group and support for race-based hierarchies. Our measure of in-group autochthony beliefs captured various aspects of autochthony beliefs. The second study will hone in on whether White settlers perceive the settler colony as colonial home by measuring the extent to which they see their in-group as owners.

## Study 2

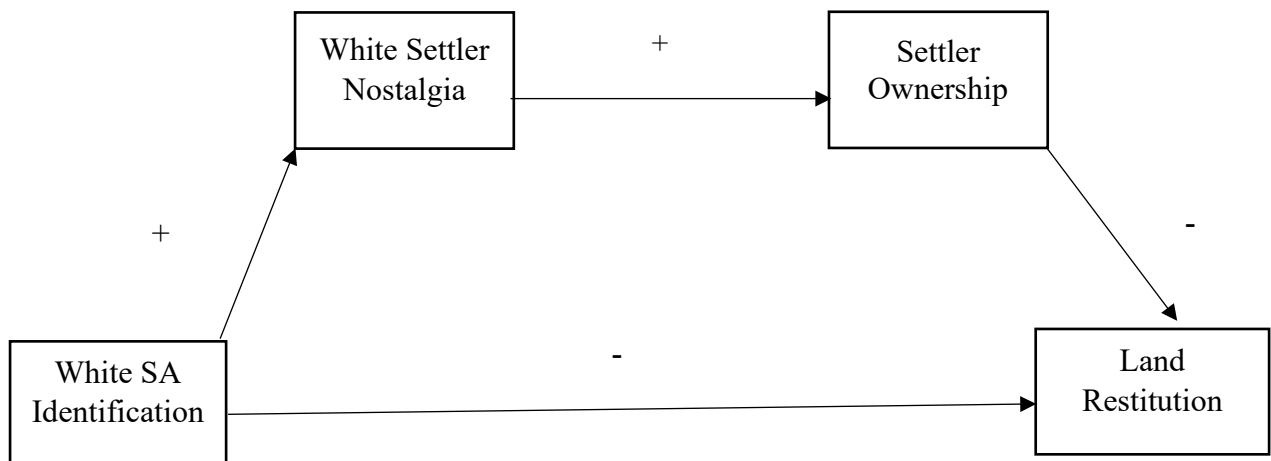
The second study was replication of the first study. However, in this study I measured support for race-based hierarchies directly by accounting for attitudes towards land restitution that favours Black South Africans. In addition, instead of measuring autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants and investors, making them entitled to settler colonies. I measured direct perceptions of White settler ownership, which captures a sense that White settlers see South Africa as an entity that belongs to their group and is their home.

Similar to the first study, I expected White settler nostalgia to reinforce race-based hierarchies by mediating the relationship between White South African identification and support for land restitution i.e. giving back the land to Black South Africans. That is, White South African identification will evoke the experience of White settler nostalgia, which in turn will lead to weak support for land restitution (Hypothesis 1). In addition, I expected that White settler nostalgia and the perception of White settler ownership to sequentially mediate the relationship between White South African identification and support for land restitution. Specifically, I expected White South African identification to be positive related to the experience of White settler nostalgia that in turn will be related to the perception that White settlers own more of South Africa (High White settler ownership). To complete these proposed relationships, I expected high White settler ownership to lead to weak support for land restitution (Hypothesis 2) (see Figure 7).





**Figure 6.** Proposed mediation model where White South African identification has a negative relationship with support land restitution via White settler nostalgia.



**Figure 7.** Proposed sequential mediation model where White settler nostalgia White settler nostalgia mediate the relationship between White South African identification (and support for land restitution).

## Procedure and Sample

White South African students (30 000 undergraduate students and 522 Doctoral students) from a South African university to participate in the online survey via email. The University's IT department sent the email on my behalf. Students who consented to participating in the study were provided with a link to the survey platform. From this invitation, 807 White South African students participated in the study. The average age of the sample was 29.98 years old and 574 females and 216 males participated in the study. Twelve participants indicated that their gender as other. I excluded participants who indicated that they were not South African. The University ethics committee granted the study ethics clearance (REF #: 2017\_URERC\_004\_FA) and its research permission subcommittee granted permission for the student population to partake in the study (REF #: 2017\_RPSC\_39).

## Measures

*White South African Identification* and *White settler nostalgia* were measured using the same scales that were utilized in the first study. The only difference was that participants in the second study were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree to statements on a scale ranging from (1) Completely Disagree to (7) completely Agree.

To measure support for race-based hierarchies I measured attitudes towards land restitution using two items. The statements read as follows, (1) *Redistributing land back to Black South Africans* (2) *Land should be given back to Black South Africans*. Participants were asked to respond to these statements on a scale ranging from (1) completely disagree to (7) completely agree.

The third scale accounted for *perceptions of White settler ownership*. Participants were asked to respond to the following statements, (1) *In your opinion, how much does South*

*Africa belong to White South Africans, (2) To what extent do you consider White South Africans the rightful owner of South Africa? (3) How strongly would you say White South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?* Participants were asked to respond to these statements on a scale ranging from (1) not at all to (7) very much.

The perception of Black South African ownership, adapted from Martinović and Verkuyten (2013), was included as a covariate. (1) *In your opinion, how much does South Africa belong to Black South Africans (2) To what extent do you consider Black South Africans the rightful owners of South Africa? (3) How strongly would you say that Black South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?* Participants were asked to respond to these statements on a scale ranging from (1) not at all to (7) very much.

### **Measurement model**

I expected White South African identification, White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership to constitute three distinct constructs. Therefore, I tested a three-factor model by conducting a confirmatory factor analysis using Amos version 27. I also tested an alternative two factor model where the mediators, White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership, were combined into a two-factor model. I first tested a three-factor model where White South African identification, White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership were entered as three factors (see Appendix P). The observed variables were fixed to 1 to provide a measurement scale for the latent factor and the latent variables were correlated (see Appendix P). In addition, I specified the maximum likelihood model and to account for missing data I specified estimated means and intercepts. The following fit indices were considered; the comparative fit index (CFI), the Tucker Lewis index (TLI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). Results indicated a good model fit  $\chi^2 (32) = 95,068; p < 0.001$ . CFI = .969; TLI = .947; RMSEA = .049. In addition, I tested two-factor solution using the same

method. Except in this case I White South African identification and a combined construct of White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership. Results indicated a poor model fit  $\chi^2$  (34) = 849,999;  $p < 0.001$ . CFI = .969; TLI = .947; RMSEA = .171. I proceeded with the analysis with the independent variable and mediators as three separate variables.

**Table 6:** Confirmatory factor analysis Goodness of Fit Indices Study 2 (N = 807)

		$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	p	RMSEA	CFI	TLI
1	Three Factor Solution	95,068	(32)	.001	.049	.969	.947
2	Two-factor solution	849,999	(34)	.001	.173	.600	.354

### Preliminary Analysis

The intercorrelation matrix indicated that in-group identification had a positive and statistically significant relationship with White settler nostalgia ( $r = .26$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The relationship between in-group identification and support for land restitution was negative and statistically significant ( $r = -.09$ ;  $p < .05$ ). White settler nostalgia had a statistically significant negative correlation with support for territorial compensation ( $r = -.32$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Similar to study 1, I conducted a one sample t-test and compared the mean for White settler nostalgia ( $M = 2.74$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ,  $n = 785$ ) with the scale center of 3.5. Results indicated that they scored significantly below the scale center of 3.5  $t(247) = -15.095$ ,  $p < .001$ , suggesting that some participants experienced low White settler nostalgia.

**Table 7.** Means, Standard Deviations and Cronbach Alphas (N =807)

	1	2	5	4	5
Mean	4.65	2.74	4.37	2.55	4.44
Standard Deviation	1.10	1.39	1.59	1.56	1.58
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	6	6	7	7	7
$\alpha$	.78	.76	.73	.83	.73

**Table 8: Intercorrelations between variables**

1. White South African Identification	-	.26**	.13**	-.09*	.08*
2. White Settler Nostalgia		-	.01	-.32**	-.09**
3. White settler ownership			-	.10	.88**
4. Support for land restitution				-	.15**
5. Black South African ownership					-

### Hypothesis Testing

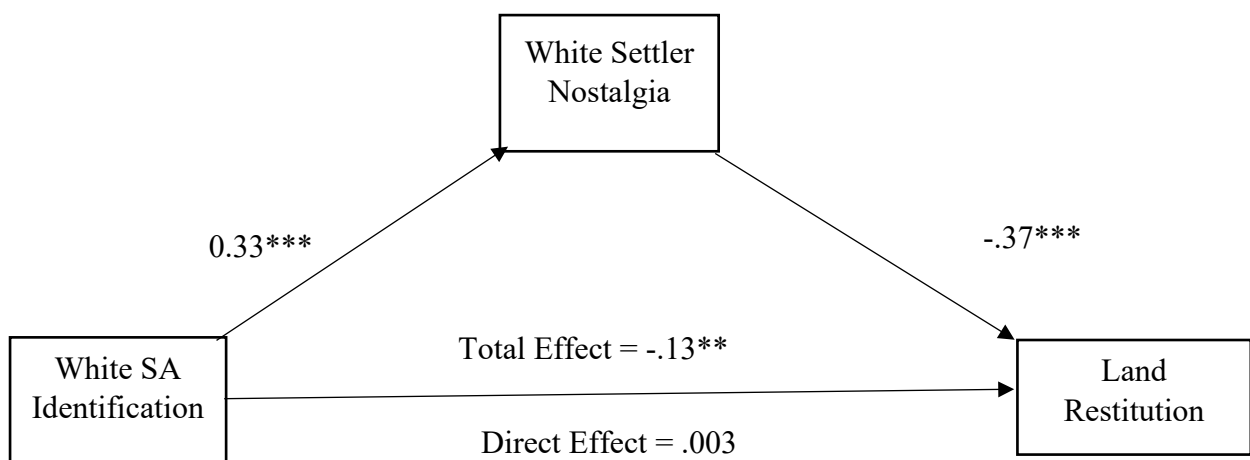
**Mediation Function of White settler nostalgia:** To test hypothesis 1, I used same method as the first study. However, in this study support for land restitution was entered as the dependent variable. Using the SPSS PROCESS macro, I entered model number 4 that tests for a mediation effect.

White South African identification had a significant positive effect on the experience of White settler nostalgia ( $B = 0.33$ ;  $SE = .0462$ ;  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was significant ( $R^2 = .0718$ ,  $F(1.678) = 52.450$ ,  $p = .0000$ ). The direct effect of White South African identification on support for to land restitution was not statistically significant ( $B = -.003$ ;  $SE = .0535$ ;  $p = .9545$ ). Whereas White settler nostalgia had a significant negative effect on support for land restitution ( $B = -.3796$ ;  $SE = .0429$ ;  $p = .0000$ ) and the model was significant,  $R^2 = .1113$ ,  $F(2.677) = 42.400$ ,  $p = .0000$ .

The total effect model indicated that the effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution was negative and statistically significant ( $B = -.1300$ ;  $SE = .0544$ ;  $p = .0171$ ) and the overall model was significant,  $R^2 = .0084$ ,  $F(1.678) = 5.711$ ,  $p = .0000$ . Crucially, the indirect effect of White South African identification on support land

restitution via White settler nostalgia was significant ( $B = -.1269$ ;  $BootSE = .0222$  [ $BootCI - .1746$ ;  $-.0858$ ]).

These findings provided support for the first hypothesis. White South African identification had an indirect effect on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia. Crucially, White settler nostalgia weakened support for land restitution indicating that it reinforces support for race-based hierarchies.



**Figure 8.** Results indicating the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia. \* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table 10.** Mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia (N = 680)

	White Settler nostalgia				Support for land restitution			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification	.3344	.0462	7.24	.0000				
Models summary for the mediator variable	$R^2 = .0718, F(1.678) = 52.450, p = .0000$							
<i>Direct Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					.0331	.0535	-.0571	.9545
White Settler nostalgia					-.3796	.0429	-8.856	.0000
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .1113, F(2.677) = 42.400, p = .0000$			
<i>Total Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					-.1300	.0289	.0544	.0171
Models summary for the dependent variable					$R^2 = .0084, F(1.678) = 5.711, p = .0000$			
<i>Indirect Effect</i>								
White South African Identification					<b>B</b>	<b>Boot SE</b>	<b>Boot LLCI</b>	<b>Boot</b>
					-.1260	.0222	-.1746	-.0858

***Mediation Function of White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership:*** To test hypothesis 2, I used the SPSS PROCESS macro by Hayes and Preacher (2014). I entered model number 6, which tests for sequential mediation, from the process macro. I specified 5000 bootstrap samples. White South African identification was entered as the independent variable, while support for land restitution was entered as the dependent variable. White settler nostalgia was entered as the first mediator and White settler ownership was entered as the second mediator variable (see figure 7). The perception of Black South African ownership and participant age were entered as covariates.

Results indicated that White South African identification had a significant positive effect on the experience of White settler nostalgia ( $B = 0.34$ ;  $SE = .0463$ ;  $p = .0000$ ). Our control variable perception of Black South African ownership have a significant negative effect on White settler nostalgia ( $B = -.09$ ;  $SE = .0325$ ;  $p = .0028$ ), whereas age did not have significant effect on White settler nostalgia ( $B = -.001$ ;  $SE = .0047$ ;  $p = .8290$ ) and the model was significant,  $R^2 = .0839$ ,  $F(3.672) = 20.50$ ,  $p = .0000$ .

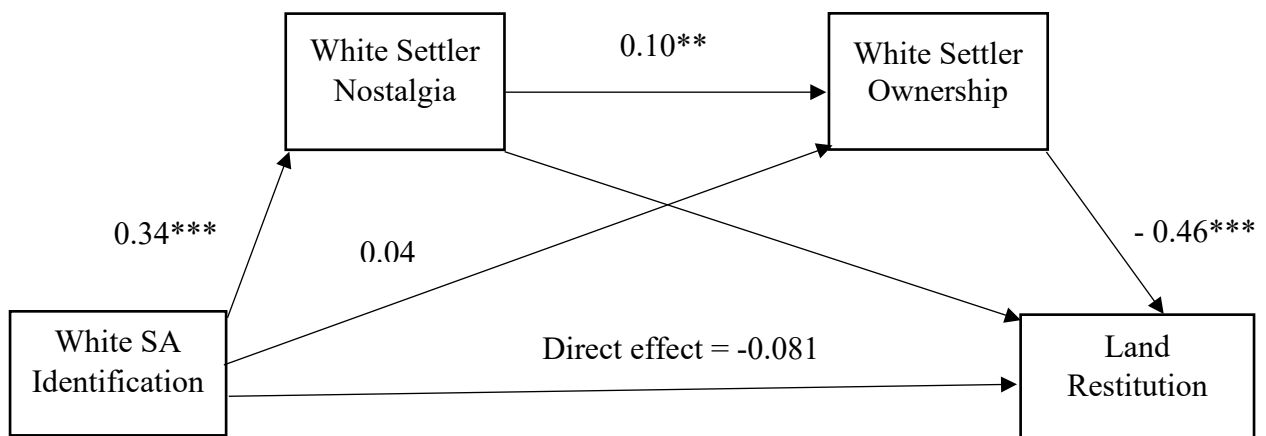
White South African identification did not have significant effect on White settler ownership ( $B = .0425$ ;  $SE = .0231$ ;  $p = .0665$ ). However, White settler nostalgia had a significant positive effect on perception of White settler ownership ( $B = .10$ ;  $SE = .0185$ ;  $p = .0000$ ). Meaning White South African participants who yearned for the colonial past saw their in-group as having a greater ownership of South African. Interestingly, the covariate, perception of Black South African ownership had a significant positive effect on perception of White settler ownership and this relationship was strong ( $B = .91$ ;  $SE = .0157$ ;  $p = .0000$ ). The model was significant,  $R^2 = .0839$ ,  $F(3.672) = 20.50$ ,  $p = .0000$ .

White South African identification did not have a significant direct effect on support for land restitution. ( $B = .008$ ;  $SE = .0519$ ;  $p = .8755$ ). White settler nostalgia ( $B = -.3082$ ;  $SE = .0424$ ;  $p = .0000$ ) and White settler ownership ( $B = -.4699$ ;  $SE = .0866$ ;  $p = .0000$ ) had



significant negative effect on support for land restitution. On the contrary, Black South African ownership had significant positive effect on support for land restitution (( $B = .5793$ ;  $SE = .0866$ ;  $p = .0000$ ). The model was significant,  $R^2 = .1879$ ,  $F(5.670) = 30.99$ ,  $p = .0000$ .

In line with hypothesis 2, White South African identification had a significant negative effect on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership ( $B = -.0166$ ;  $SE = .0052$  [CI  $- .0281$ ;  $-.0075$ ]). This indicates that both White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership mediate the relationship between White South African identification and support for land restitution.



**Figure 9.** Results of a proposed sequential mediation model of the indirect effect of White South African identification on opposition to land restitution via White settler nostalgia and perception of White settler ownership. Note: The analysis controlled for perceived Black South African ownership and age. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

**Table 11.** Sequential mediation model for the indirect effect of White South African identification on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia and White settler ownership (N = 676)

	White settler nostalgia				White Settler Ownership				Support for land restitution			
	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p	B	SE	t	p
White South African Identification	.346	.046	7.46	.0000								
Black South African ownership	-.097	.032	3.00	.0028								
Age	.001	.004	.216	.8290								
Model summary for the mediator 1	$R^2 = .0839, F(3.672) = 20.50, p = .0000$											
White South African Identification					.042	.023	1.83	.0665				
White Settler nostalgia					.102	.018	5.52	.0000				
Black South African ownership					.913	.015	58.34	.0000				
Age					-.002	.003	-1.07	.2815				
Models summary for the mediator 2					$R^2 = .8392, F(4.671) = 875.2, p = .0000$							
White South African Identification									.008	.051	.156	.8755
White Settler nostalgia									-.308	.042	-7.27	.0000
White Settler ownership									-.469	.086	-5.42	.0000
Black South African ownership									.579	.086	6.69	.0000
Age									.017	.005	3.45	.0006
Model summary dependent variable									$R^2 = .1879, F(5.670) = 30.99, p =$			
<i>Indirect Effect</i>									<b>B</b>	<b>Boot SE</b>	<b>Boot LLCI</b>	<b>Boot ULCI</b>
White South African Identification									.016	.0052	-.0281	-.0075

## **Preliminary Discussion**

Building on the first study, in study 2 I demonstrated that White South African identification had an indirect effect on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia. Notably, in this mediation effect White settler nostalgia weakened support for land restitution. Additionally, I demonstrated that White South African identification has an indirect effect on support for land restitution via White settler nostalgia and perception of White settler ownership sequentially.

Consistent with findings from the first study. These findings again suggest that White settler nostalgia plays a crucial role in explaining how White settlers' sense of entitlement to the settler colony and their framing of the colonial past in relation to present-day changes can undermine the realising of racial equality. However, my findings also show that White settlers awarding ownership of South Africa to Black South Africans (Indigenous groups) seems to lower White settler nostalgia and heighten support for measures that undo race-based hierarchies.

### General Discussion

This chapter examined the consequences of White settler nostalgia and related autochthony beliefs on race-based hierarchies. Drawing on the South African context, I proposed that White settler nostalgia is a conduit for White settler identities to reinforce the maintenance of race-based hierarchies. Relation to this, I also proposed that White settler nostalgia works with autochthony beliefs to reinforce race-based hierarchies. I tested this assumption by showing that White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that favour White settlers, act as a conduit for relationship between White settler identification and support for race-based hierarchies.

Our findings indicate that White settler nostalgia indeed reinforces support for race-based hierarchies. This is because the theoretical models tested in study 1 and 2, White settler identification consistently predicted support for race-based hierarchies via White settler nostalgia. This finding corroborates recent findings by Reyna et al. (2022) which show that White settler nostalgia is related to anti-egalitarian sentiments, as it reinforced anti-immigrant attitudes amongst White settlers in the United States of America. This pattern is similar because White settlers in South Africa and the United States of America have established settler colonies as permanent homes that they have entitlements to. In addition, it fortifies the idea that White settlers invest in nostalgia, for the colonial home in the colonial past, to avoid feeling guilty or shameful for being associated with the atrocities of the colonial era (see Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a). The present study contributes to current literature by showing that the aversive effects collective nostalgia are not limited to Native majorities who are relatively secure in their entitlement claims. That is to say, it demonstrates that collective nostalgia can be extended to social groups that have precarious entitlement claims because they are not native, but over time have created a new home on foreign territory. Related to this, this study is probably one of the firsts to show that the experience of White settler nostalgia, amongst

White settlers, can drive anti-egalitarian sentiments that target Indigenous groups (for similar conclusions see Sibley & Osborne, 2016). This is in contrast to Reyna et al. (2021) who established that White settler nostalgia. Amongst White settlers in the United States of America, is related to negative attitudes towards Immigrants groups. Crucially, and perhaps most concerning, is that our findings show that White settlers co-opt collective nostalgia in much the same way as Native majorities in Western Europe (see Smeekes, 2015; Smeekes et al., 2021). Meaning White settlers in this study, in all likelihood draw on the recent colonial past (i.e. the recent Apartheid past) to reinforce the belief that South Africa is their permanent home.

Moreover, our findings also point to the fact that White settler nostalgia can work together with versions of autochthony beliefs to bolster support for race-based hierarchies. I draw this conclusion because White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs mediated the relationship between White settler identification and support for race-based hierarchies. That is they acted as conduits for reinforcing race-based hierarchies when White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, who are investors and rightful owners. This finding in line with earlier findings amongst Native majorities that show that national nostalgia is related to the endorsement of autochthony beliefs, which in turn were related to support for Immigrants having their rights restricted (Smeekes et al., 2015). The present study builds on these insights by showing that White settler nostalgia does also reinforce autochthony beliefs beyond the Native majority and Immigrant intergroup setting. In fact, what it does show is that this collective nostalgia and autochthony beliefs are applicable to social groups that have conquered a territory and asserted themselves at natives.

I found two general patterns were the relationship between White settler nostalgia, autochthony beliefs and opposition to race based hierarchies were not in line with our

expectations. This occurred when autochthony beliefs did not refer to a specific social group. In other words, when measures did not award the status of who the first inhabitants, investors and rightful owners are in a territory. The relationship between autochthony beliefs and support for race-based hierarchies was either not significant or it was significant but White settlers were in support of racial equality. In the case where generic autochthony beliefs undo race-based hierarchies, they most likely reflect White settlers' perception that Indigenous groups are first inhabitants, who are investors - thus they see them as deserving of an equal stake in settler colonies (Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a, Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b, c). At the same time, it could be indicative of White settlers being remorseful about the colonial past and acknowledging the historical rights of Indigenous groups may be a way of compensating for its atrocities. For example, Nooitgedagt et al. (2021a) demonstrated this amongst White settlers in Chile, when they established that collective guilt and shame were related to support for autochthony beliefs and subsequent support for reparative measures.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Although White settler nostalgia is a by-product of a strong commitment to the White settler group and related (re)construction of colonial history in the in-group's favour (Wildschut et al., 2014) - objective of knowledge of colonial history may also shape White settler nostalgia. For example, research has shown that poor knowledge of how African Americans were oppressed in the United States of America was related to low perception of systematic racism (Nelson et al., 2013). Follow up studies could consider the extent that knowledge of the colonial past shapes White settler nostalgia and its related intergroup outcomes.

In addition, recent studies have proposed that collective nostalgia needs to be accounted for in a more precise manner, this because White settlers yearning for the past does

not explicitly tell us what they yearn for specifically (Wohl et al., 2020). Future studies could examine what exactly is being longed for or idealised in the colonial past and whether these aspects of the past uniformly predict support for race-based hierarchies.

## **Conclusion**

Efforts that have been undertaken in settler colonies to realise racial equality between White settlers and Indigenous groups, seem to evoke a yearning for the colonial home, set in the colonial past. This finding has serious implications for prospects of undoing the injustices of settler colonial conquest that continue to affect Indigenous groups. They suggest that in some instances, White settler nostalgia and autochthony beliefs that cast White settlers as first inhabitants, investors and owners can combine to produce a “powerful cocktail” that can undermine the achievement of racial equality in the present (see Burnett, 2019, on how White settler power, Whiteness and maintain dominance of land in South Africa).

**Chapter 5:**

**General Discussion and Conclusion**



## **Purpose and Findings**

The significance of entitlement to territory in intergroup relations has been the subject of much study by social scientists yet this area of research has been underscored in social psychology intergroup relations. Wolfe (2003) contended that most ethnic conflicts, when analysed closely, are disagreements over territory and even went on to state that intractable intergroup conflicts are less about identity and more about entitlement to territory. More recently, social psychologists have made a timely contribution to address this gap in our knowledge by examining the entitlement claims of Native majorities from Western nations (see Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2013; Smeekes et al., 2015). Throughout this thesis, I endeavoured to contribute to this area of study by showing how the entitlement claims that White settlers mobilise maintain race-based hierarchies in contemporary settler colonies. As they assert nativeness and co-opt autochthony beliefs and white settler nostalgia. My intention with this investigation was to broaden our theoretical insights by explaining how social groups that annex national territory can come to express entitlement claims that are equal or greater to those of Indigenous groups. In addition, I thought that my investigation would be of interest because it relates to the resurgent theme of White nationalism (Hartzell, 2018; Reyna, 2022). Given that, White settlers in most contemporary settler colonies originate from European nations that undertook settler colonial conquest and are at present confronted with an immigration crisis. I figured that understanding the extent to which White settlers (located in contemporary settler colonies) and White Native majorities (located in Western Europe and the United States of America) are distinct or similar in their reactions to perceived insurgence would be generative. Particularly, because they share similar historical and political roots and have often formed coalitions in the domination of colonies. Hence, this thesis set out to examine White settlers' entitlement to contemporary settler colonies as territories that they assert nativeness to, make autochthonous claims to and are nostalgic

about. In particular, I sought to determine how the assertion of a White native status and related employment of settler autochthony and nostalgia maintain race-based hierarchies in a contemporary settler colony like South Africa.

Three key findings underlie this thesis. First, by way of argument, in Chapter 1, I demonstrated how White settlers in South Africa have become de facto natives through their construction and employment of settler mythologies. The empty land mythology, the Bantu migration myth and the Israelite myth form a coherent narrative and worldview that makes it possible for White settlers to construct and assert de facto White nativeness. Uncannily, settler mythologies endure as modes of expressing entitlement and ownership of settler colonies, despite widespread condemnation of the colonial era (Du Toit, 1983; Crais, 1991; Biosen, 2017; Allsobrook & Biosen, 2017). Second, I conducted two empirical studies to test whether autochthonous beliefs, when employed by White settlers, do indeed reinforce support for race-based hierarchies. My findings showed that when White settlers applied versions of autochthony that promote the belief that they are first inhabitants, investors and therefore rightful owners of settler colonies, support for race-based hierarchies was reinforced. However, when group neutral autochthony beliefs were presented, White settlers seemed to favour Indigenous groups in the awarding of entitlement claims and this was related to opposition towards race-based hierarchies (Nooitgedagt et al, 2021b). Third, I also examined the assumption that White settler nostalgia would reinforce support for race-based hierarchies. Our findings showed that White settler nostalgia consistently reinforces support for race-based hierarchies and that they even bolster autochthony beliefs which in-turn are related to support for maintaining race-based hierarchies.

Overall, these findings culminate in a deeper understanding of how White settlers construct, assert and position themselves as a social group that can claim a large of the settler colony as theirs (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). In particular, they show how de facto nativeness makes it psychologically possible for White settlers to co-opt autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia to maintain dominance like Native majorities in Western nations (Veracini, 2008; Selvanathan et al., 2020). However, our main finding only holds when White settlers apply autochthony beliefs in a manner that casts their in-group as first inhabitants, investors and owners of contemporary settler colonies. When neutral autochthony beliefs are presented White settlers consistently support effort that promote racial equality (see also Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021c).

### **Contribution and Implications of this thesis**

Overall, this thesis contributes to the social psychology of intergroup relations. It does this by showing that foreign groups that appropriate territory can eventually see themselves as native, to the extent that they mobilise autochthony claims and collective nostalgia to maintain dominance. It traces the historical circumstances that led to the settlement of foreign groups, and attempts to show how their entitlement claims act as an obstacle for realising justice for Indigenous groups (see. Selvanathan et al., 2020; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021a; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021b; Nooitgedagt et al., 2021c; Reyna et al., 2022). White settlers readily illustrate this contribution. Their entitlement to contemporary settler colonies and its consequences for race-based hierarchies is foregrounded by persistent settler mythologies that reconstruct their role in colonial conquest as benign, normative and even beneficial to the settler colony and its inhabitants (see, Delmont, 1993; Allsobrook & Boisen, 2017). Hence, settler mythologies complement the mobilisation of autochthony beliefs and nostalgia by

White settlers because together they contribute to the maintenance of race-based hierarchies that are seen as legitimate.

Broadly, findings from this thesis complement studies that have been conducted on in other settler colonies. For instance, Sibley and Osborne (2016) showed how race-based hierarchies are reinforced by the belief that colonisation is of no consequence to the life chances of Indigenous groups in the present (historical negation) and beliefs that Indigenous people's culture is not relevant the today's modern societies. This thesis is distinct because it shows us that White settlers reconstruct history to make entitlement claims that ensure that their group maintains race-based hierarchies. In addition, our findings cohere with consistent evidence that White settlers and their counterparts in Western nations that undertook colonial conquest experience low levels of guilt for the atrocities of colonial conquest (Leach et al., 2013; Dumont & Waldzus, 2014).

As alluded to, examining White settler's entitlement to contemporary settler colonies is analogous to investigations that examine how Native majorities (White Europeans and American) react to Immigrants. This thesis contributes by showing that indeed White settler's entitlement claims when expressed through autochthony beliefs and collective nostalgia have a similar consequences for intergroup relations in contemporary settler colonies in much the same way as they do in Western nations. This could be because White settlers and White Europeans draw on a similar set of beliefs that are captured by White nationalism, owing to their shared histories of settler colonial conquest (see Reyna et al., 2022). Except in this thesis, White settlers' entitlement claims undermined efforts at realising equality for Indigenous groups who are not Immigrants.

Furthermore, this thesis adds to existing literature in South Africa on how White South Africans are responding to how micro spaces, like beaches, that were racially segregated during apartheid becoming racially integrated (see Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Durrheim &

Dixon, 2001; Dixon & Durrheim, 2004;). It extends this existing research by showing us that White South African's sense of entitlement to formerly racially segregated micro spaces could be rooted in a deep sense of nativeness to South Africa that is driven by White settler autochthony beliefs and the experience of White settler nostalgia.

Overall, our findings indicate that the prospects for achieving racial justice for Indigenous groups in contemporary settler colonies are grim. However, there are alternative interpretations of how White settler entitlement to settler colonies may be indicative of intergroup co-operation. This is because White settlers' entitlement may reflect shared sense of ownership and belonging to settler colonies that includes Indigenous groups i.e. Black South Africans. Brylka et al. (2015) showed that Russian immigrants, who permanently reside in Finland, saw themselves as owners of Finland and this was related to common group identity that included Finnish natives. This is even more likely in South Africa because deliberate made efforts to construct a unitary South African identity, which accommodates all racial and ethnic groups (Bornman, 2006). Looked at in this way, White South African's sense of entitlement to South Africa may be an expression of the stake that has been apportioned to them through various political institutions and prominent political actors. For instance, Boehmer (2011) argued that South Africa's first democratically elected president, Nelson Mandela, deliberately inaugurated White South Africans (in particular the Afrikaners) as natives through various symbolic representations, such as including the Afrikaner national anthem, *Die Stem*, in the post-apartheid national anthem.

However, as evidenced in this thesis White settler entitlement to contemporary settler colonies can undermine efforts at achieving racial justice. This is because they make it possible to White settlers to fashion claims that cast them as first inhabitants, primary investors and nostalgic de facto natives. Hence, their opposition to the overarching principle

of equality and measures that seek to realise equality because they see themselves as people that can exercise entitlement rights. Furthermore, they make it possible for White settlers to exercise ownership of public places that were formerly Whites only places during colonisation and apartheid (Dixon, & Durrheim, 2004).

### **Limitation and Future directions**

In chapter 2 of this thesis, I alluded to how White settlers in South Africa constitute two distinct ethnic groups that arrived at two different periods (Chege, 1997). Although the distinction between the two groups is alluded to in the first chapter in the empirical sections of this study (chapter 3 and 4), I did not examine Afrikaner and English speaking White South Africans as two distinct ethnic groups. Understanding White South Africans as two distinct settler identities' raises interesting questions for understanding White settler's entitlement to it. It has the potential to give us insights into the distinct forms of entitlement that White settlers express to contemporary settler colonies. That is, within the White South African identity, there is the likelihood that are various sub-groups, organised as opinion-based groups that are advocacy groups with a shared opinions, ideologies, values and political agendas. Unlike people who just identify as White South Africans, members of these opinion-based groups are more likely to express explicit entitlement claims and the desire to engage in political protest to protect the interests of White settlers (Bliuc et al., 2007). Furthermore, given that my sample mainly drew from White South African university students, chapters 3 and 4, pose a limitation because they cannot be fully extrapolated to the general White South African population. Drawing samples from the general White South African population has the potential to give us better insights into how cohorts that lived during the colonial and apartheid era fashion entitlement claims to South Africa and whether their entitlement claims differ from the younger generation. Moreover, other intersecting

identities, which I did not address in this thesis, could yield richer insights into White settler entitlement in South Africa. For example, if gender and class are examined further they could help us better understand how White settler entitlement functions in relation gender and class (Cole, 2009).

Even though White South Africans constitute one the largest populations of permanent White settlers on the African continent. Their entitlement claims take place in context were Indigenous groups (Black South Africans) constitute the numerical majority and form a Black Majority Government. This may have implications for how White settlers construct entitlement claims because Black South Africans' numerical dominance may pose realistic threat to their claims to owing territory. For instance the South African Government is about to pass a legislation that would make it permissible for land that was appropriated during the colonial and apartheid era to be returned without compensating White owners (South African Government, 2018). Future studies examining this aspect of White entitlement to settler territory could yield rich insights into the dynamics of threatening White settlers' sense of territorial ownership (see also Nijs et al. 2021).

In South Africa, land restitution debates often draw on claims that Khoi and San are the authentic first peoples and in line with the Bantu migration mythology; the suggestion is made that Black South Africans cannot claim entitlements to land (Laband, 2020)). Often White South Africans who are responding to how they make these claims when faced with the Black majority's demands for land restitution (see Burnett, 2019). Recent work in the social psychology has argued that studies need incorporate analysis that examines intergroup contexts where the dynamics of power are contested by more than two groups (Kerr et al, 2016). This analytical framework could help us understand the dynamics of entitlement claims between White, Coloured and Black South Africans. Particularly, they could help us

understand how the negation of one racial group's entitlement claims can be used to reassert another's.

Last, my empirical findings in this thesis have the following limitations. First throughout my empirical investigation, I used a cross-section design that has limitation in so far as causal links can be made between variables. In addition, the in-group autochthony measure (utilised in chapter 3) captured three distinct aspects of autochthony beliefs - beliefs in the principle of primo-occupancy, investment and perception that White settlers are owners of the settler colony. Items in this measure compromised the discriminant validity of autochthony beliefs because it was not clear which aspect of these ideologies were of consequence to race-based hierarchies. Fortunately, recent studies have addressed the limitation of this in-group autochthony measure, as they created individual measures that distinguishing between the different aspects of autochthony (see Verkuyten & Martinovic 2017).

Second, even though I demonstrated that autochthony beliefs are a function of the social group that White settlers refer to and the narratives that they think are relevant to them, my studies did not account for why the primo-occupancy beliefs led to support for undoing race-based hierarchies and investment beliefs to maintain them. Future studies could examine how and why White settlers refer to the in-group or out-group when certain autochthony beliefs are mobilised.

## **Conclusion**

Having sustained the argument that race-based hierarchies in contemporary settler colonies are maintained by White settlers' entitlement that is the by-product of a de facto native status, autochthony beliefs and White settler nostalgia. From these propositions and their related evidence, I draw the following conclusions.



White settlers are a by-product of the history of social colonial conquest. Their permanence in settler colonies goes beyond social identity, attachment and belonging. They experience a deeper, visceral sense of being formed by the settler colony itself. This assertion challenges us to go beyond the conception of White settlers as a racial identity that is merely attached to foreign territory. Instead, it calls us to deconstruct the deeper meanings of their positionality as a dominant settler group. Harris (1993) and Moreton-Robinson (2015) in earnest, have begun this work, as they have proposed an understanding of White settlers as a racial category that is legally constituted by the ownership of property (land and people as slaves) and being in possession of settler colonies.

At the same time, given the history of settler colonial conquest and its injustices, White settler entitlement to settler colonies raises serious ethical and moral questions. How can a social group that has a history of committing large-scale atrocities come to lay legitimate claim to a territory that is not theirs? Moreover, what are ramifications of these entitlement claims for the realisation of social justice for Indigenous groups? This thesis provides some answers to these questions by showing how and to what extent White settler entitlements to settler colonies can undermine the realisation of territorial and social justice for Indigenous groups.

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## Appendices

### Measures

#### Appendix A - Social Dominance Orientation

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (5) Strongly Agree (Data collection phase 1).

Scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (7) (Data collection phase 2).

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems
6. It is probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. We should do what we can to equalise conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No one group should dominate in society

#### Appendix B - Perceived Collective Continuity

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Scale ranging from (1) Strongly Disagree to (5) Strongly Agree.

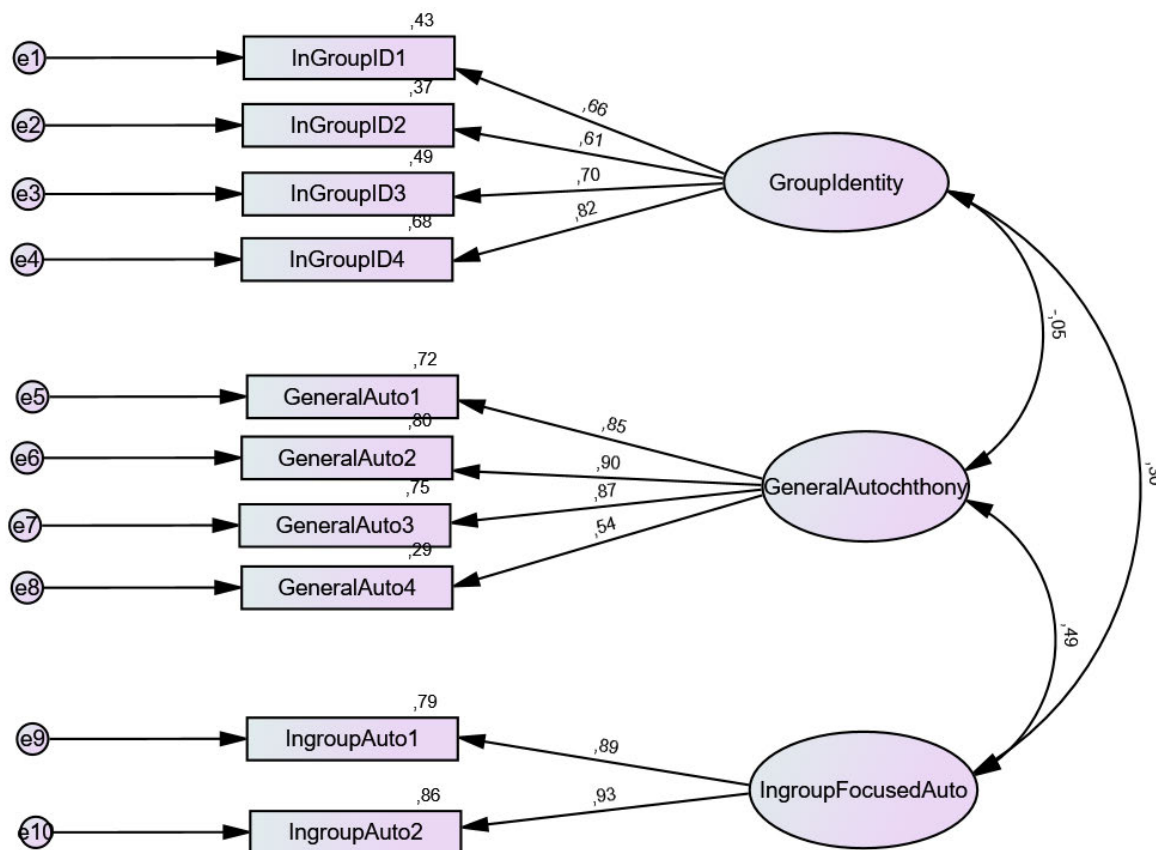
1. White South Africans have passed on their traditions across different generations
2. White South African history is a sequence of interconnected events
3. Shared values, beliefs and attitudes of white South Africans have endurance across times
4. Major phases in white South African history are linked to one another

5. There is no connection between past, present, and future events in white South African history
6. White South Africans will always be characterised by specific traditions and beliefs
7. There is a causal link between different events in white South African history
8. White South Africa has preserved its traditions and customs throughout history
9. The main events in white South African history are part of an 'unbroken stream
10. White South Africans have maintained their values across time
11. There is no continuity between different ages in white South African history
12. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups



**Graphs and Tables**

Appendix C- Chapter 3, Study 1. Three Factor Solution with standardised estimates

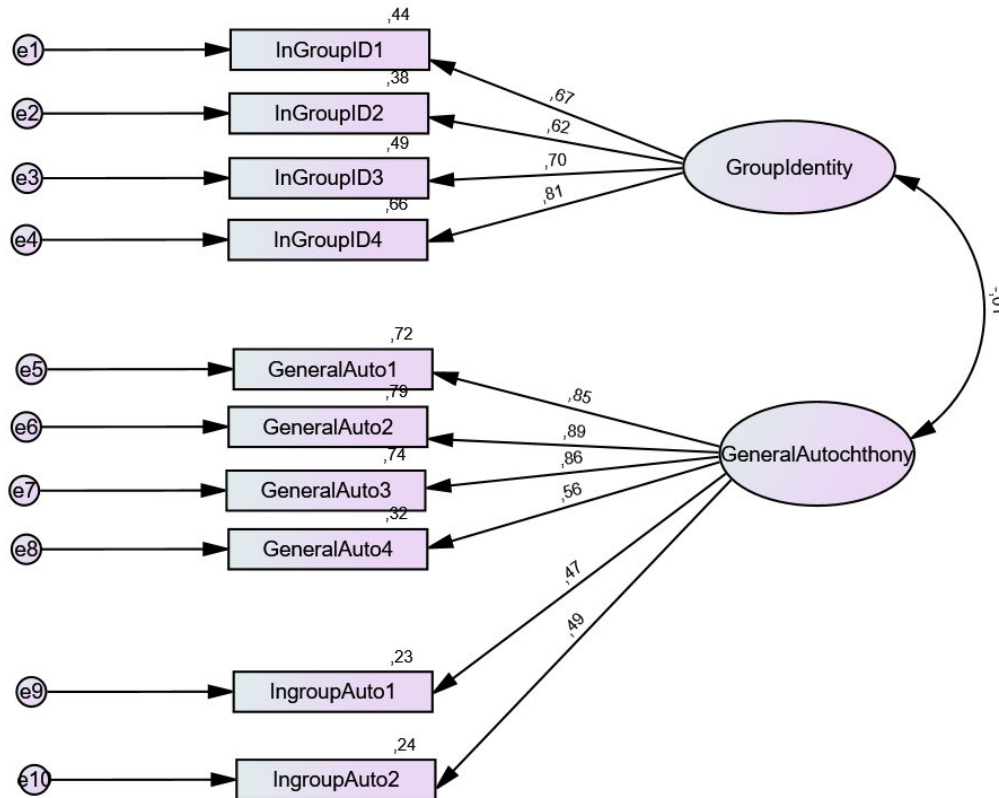


Appendix D - Chapter 3, Study 1. Standardised Regression Weights for a Three Factor Solution

Table 1. Depicting Standardised Estimates for a Three Factor Solution		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.657
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.611
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.701
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.824
	General Autochthony	
1	<i>The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers</i>	.851
2	<i>Every country belongs to its original inhabitants</i>	.897
3	<i>The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game</i>	.868
4	<i>We were here first</i>	.542
	In-group Focused Autochthony	

1	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first</i>	.888
2	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it</i>	.928

Appendix E - Chapter 3, Study 1. Two Factor Solution with standardised estimates

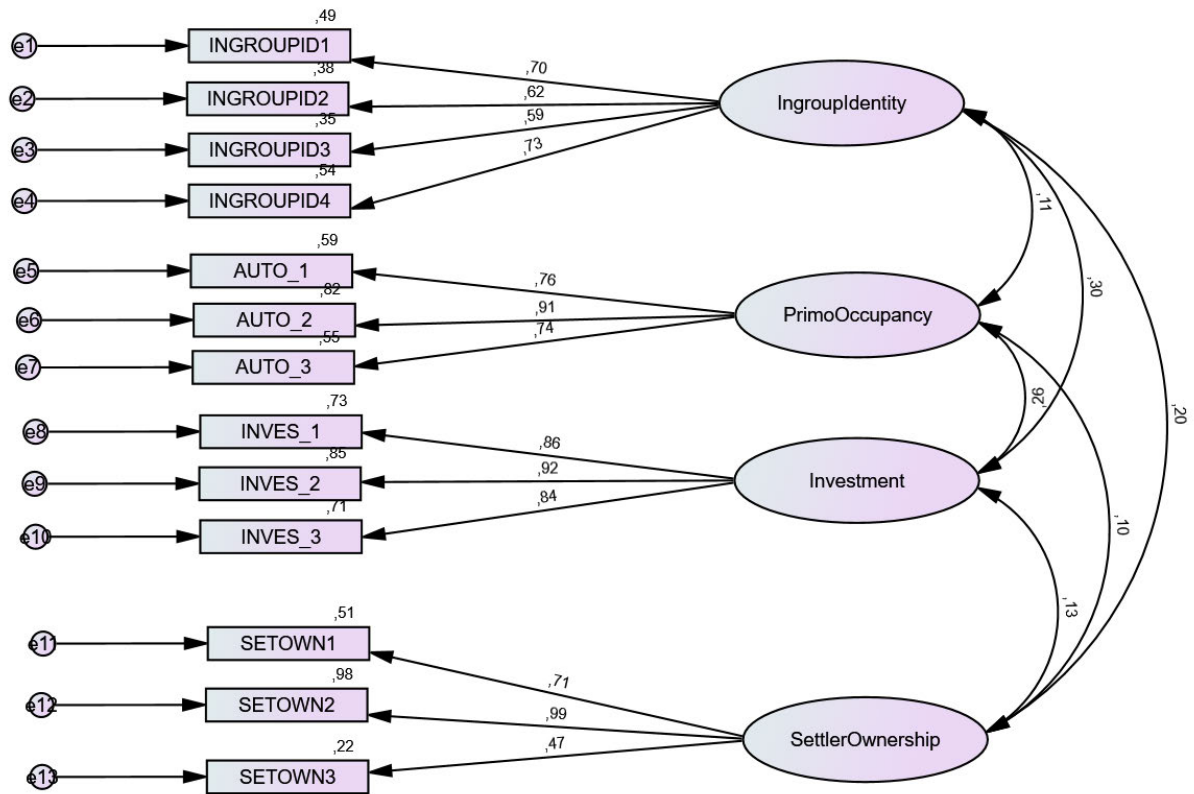


Appendix E - Chapter 3, Study 1. Standardised Regression Weights for a Two Factor Solution

Table 2 Depicting Standardised Estimates for a Two Factor Solution		Standardised Estimates
White South African Identification		
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.666
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.617
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.701
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.814
General Autochthony		
1	<i>The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers</i>	.849
2	<i>Every country belongs to its original inhabitants</i>	.888
3	<i>The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game</i>	.863

4	<i>We were here first</i>	.562
5	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first</i>	.474
6	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it</i>	.495

Appendix F- Chapter 3, Study 2. Four Factor Solution with standardised estimates

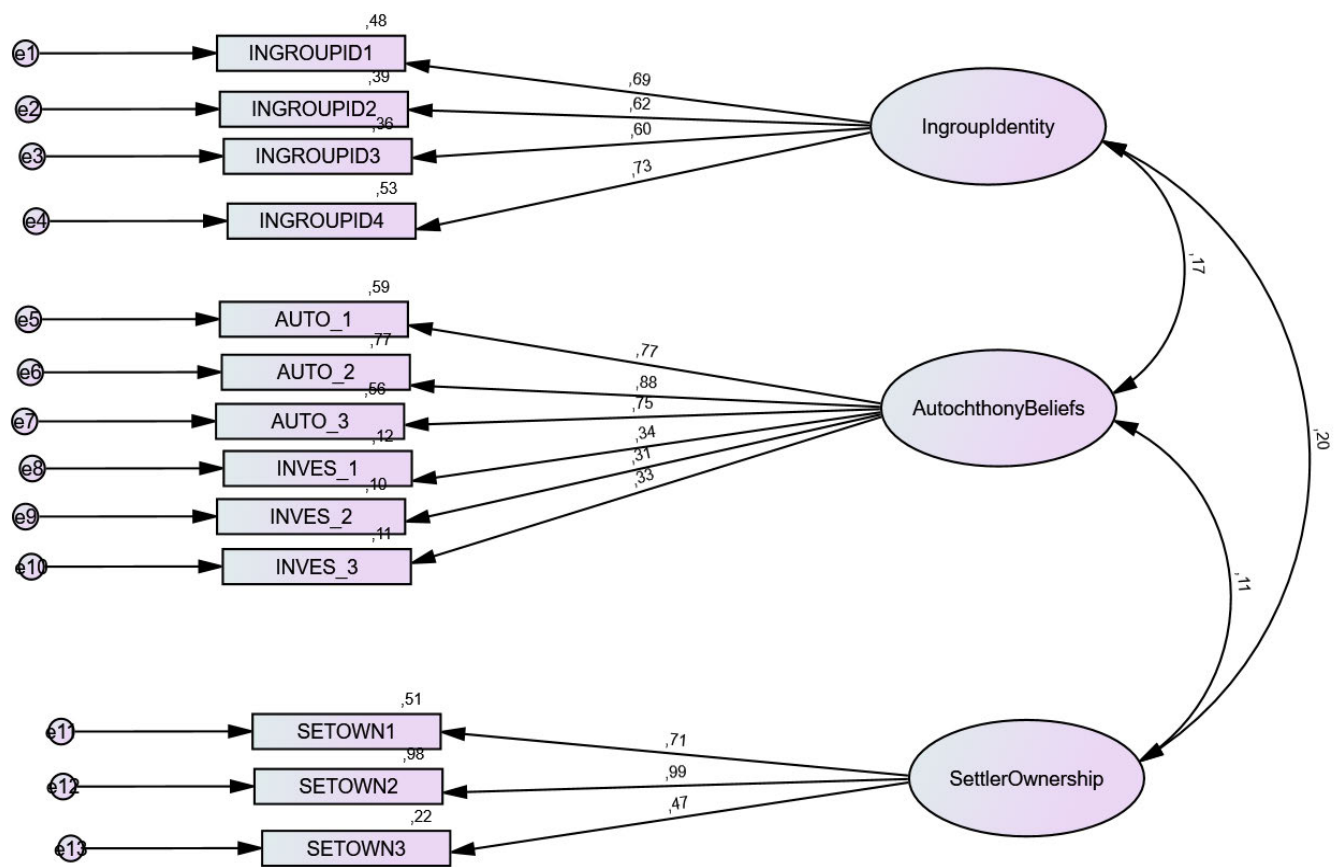


## Appendix G - Chapter 3, Study 2. Standardised Regression Weights for a Four Factor

## Solution

Table 3. Depicting Standardised Estimates for a Four Factor Solution		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.697
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.618
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.590
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.734
	Principle of Primo-Occupancy	
1	<i>Every territory belongs primarily to its first inhabitants</i>	.765
2	<i>Those who arrived first in a territory can be considered to own it more</i>	.908
3	<i>'We were here first' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory</i>	.745
	Principle of Investment	
1	<i>A territory primarily belongs to the people who made it prosper</i>	.856
2	<i>The ones who developed the territory can be seen as its rightful owners</i>	.922
3	<i>'We made the territory into what it is today' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory</i>	.844
	White settler ownership	
1	<i>In your opinion, how much does South Africa belong to White South Africans</i>	.711
2	<i>To what extent do you consider White South Africans the rightful owner of South Africa?</i>	.990
3	<i>How strongly would you say that White South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?</i>	.467

Appendix H- Chapter 3, Study 2. Three Factor Solution with standardised estimates

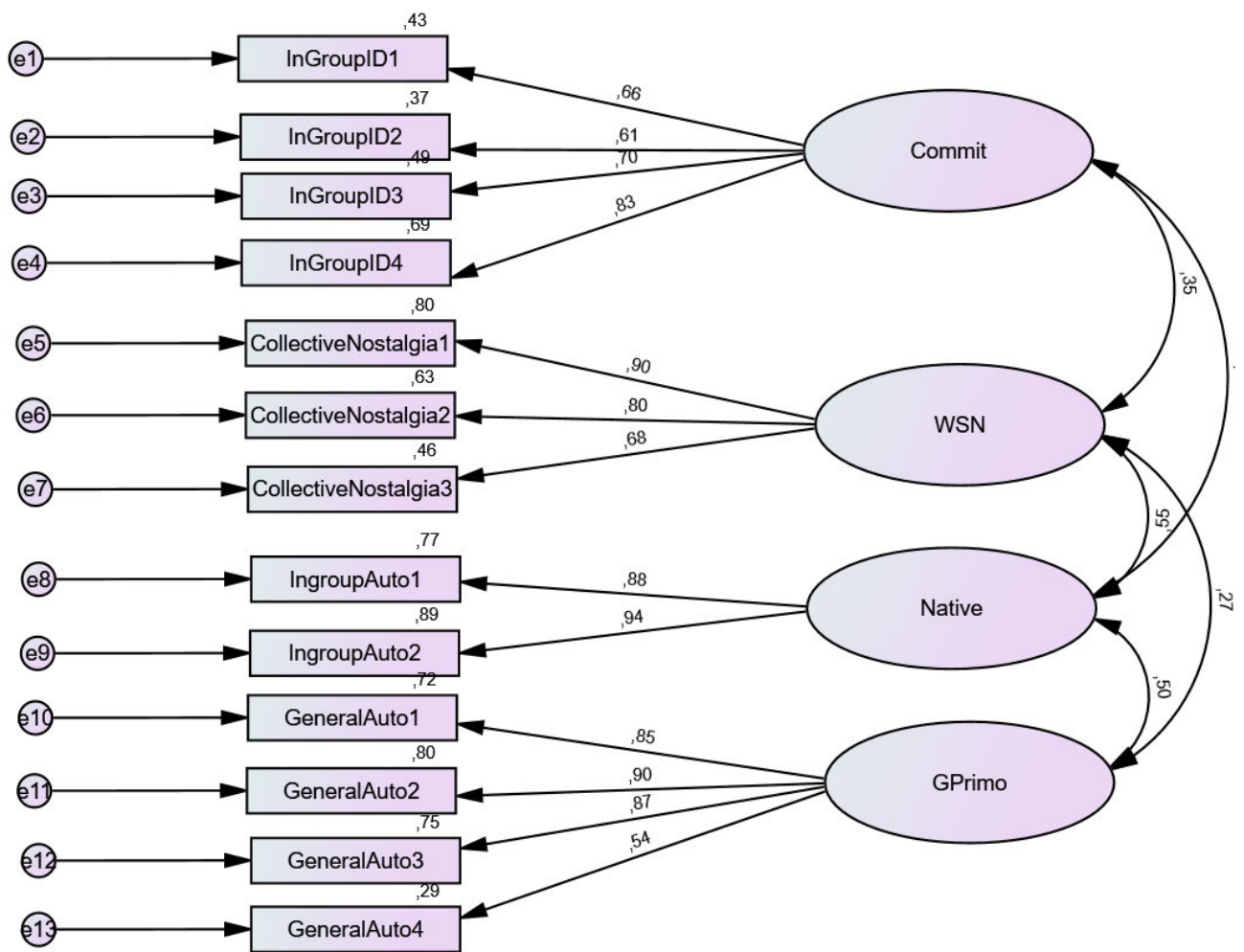


Appendix I - Chapter 3, Study 2. Standardised Regression Weights for a Three Factor Solution

		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.697
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.618
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.590
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.734
	Autochthony Beliefs	
1	<i>Every territory belongs primarily to its first inhabitants</i>	.769
2	<i>Those who arrived first in a territory can be considered to own it more</i>	.876
3	<i>'We were here first' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory</i>	.745
4	<i>A territory primarily belongs to the people who made it prosper</i>	.343

5	<i>The ones who developed the territory can be seen as its rightful owners</i>	.311
6	<i>'We made the territory into what it is today' is a good argument for determining who owns the territory</i>	.327
	White settler ownership	
1	<i>In your opinion, how much does South Africa belong to White South Africans</i>	.711
2	<i>To what extent do you consider White South Africans the rightful owner of South Africa?</i>	.990
3	<i>How strongly would you say that White South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?</i>	.467

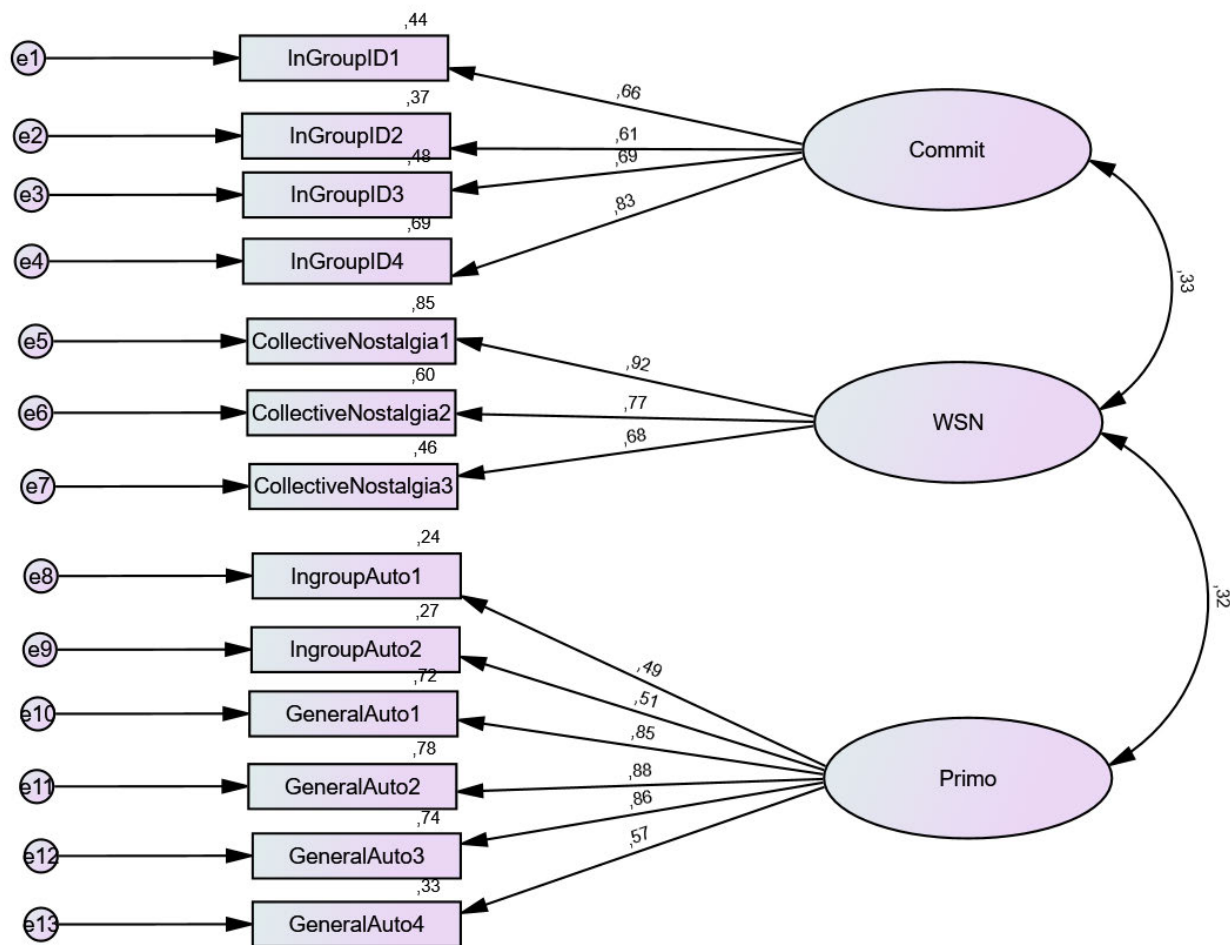
Appendix K- Chapter 4, Study 1. Four Factor Solution with standardised estimates



## Appendix L- Chapter 4, Study 1. Standardised Regression Weights for a Four Factor Solution

Table 5 Depicting Standardised Estimates for a Four Factor Solution		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.656
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.607
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.697
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.831
	White Settler Nostalgia	
1	<i>I long for the way white South African society was</i>	.896
2	<i>I long for the way white South African people used to be</i>	.796
3	<i>I long for the way white South African landscape (i.e. surroundings) looked like</i>	.681
	In-group autochthony beliefs	
1	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first</i>	.876
2	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it</i>	.942
	General Autochthony Beliefs	
1	<i>The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers</i>	.851
2	<i>Every country belongs to its original inhabitants</i>	.897
3	<i>The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game</i>	.867
4	<i>We were here first</i>	.543

Appendix M- Chapter 4, Study 1. Three Factor Solution with standardised estimates



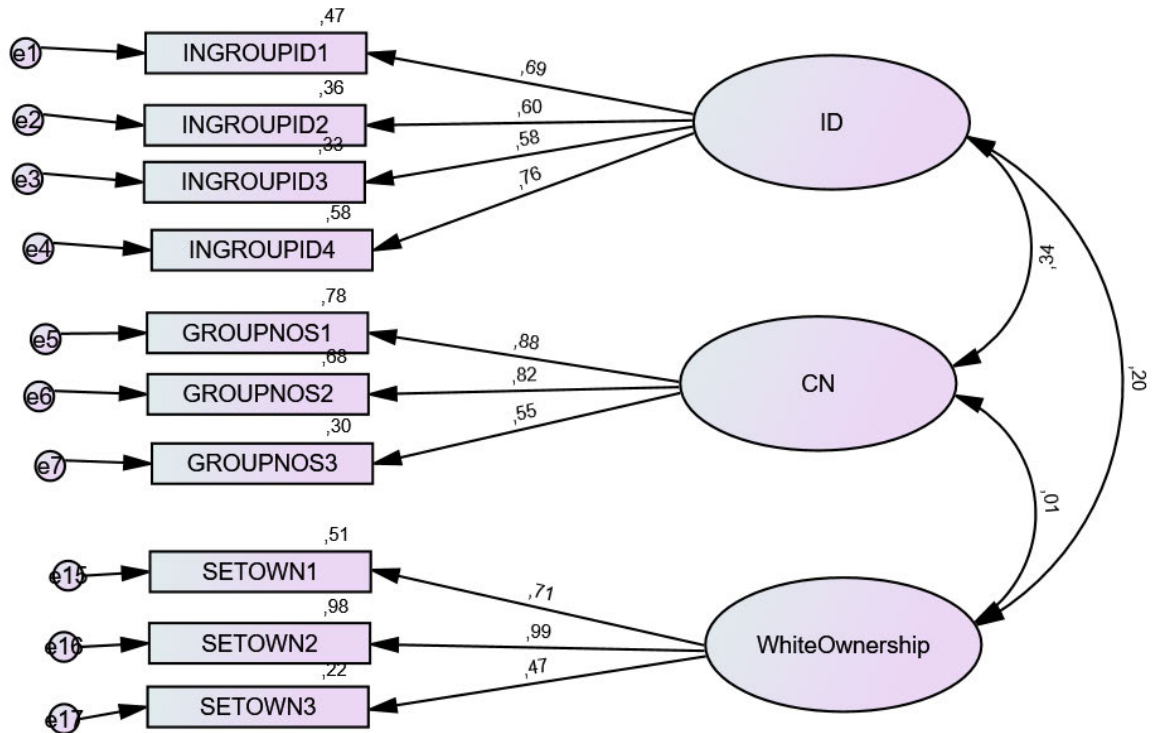
Appendix N- Chapter 4, Study 1. Standardised Regression Weights for a Three Factor Solution

		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.664
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.607
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.693
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.830
	White Settler Nostalgia	
1	<i>I long for the way white South African society was</i>	.920
2	<i>I long for the way white South African people used to be</i>	.772
3	<i>I long for the way white South African landscape (i.e. surroundings) looked like</i>	.676



	Autochthony Beliefs	
1	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans were here first</i>	.490
2	<i>South Africa belongs more to white South Africans than to Black South Africans, because white South Africans built it</i>	.515
1	<i>The original inhabitants of a country are more entitled than newcomers</i>	.849
2	<i>Every country belongs to its original inhabitants</i>	.885
3	<i>The original inhabitants of a country have the most right to define the rules of the game</i>	.857
4	<i>We were here first</i>	.574

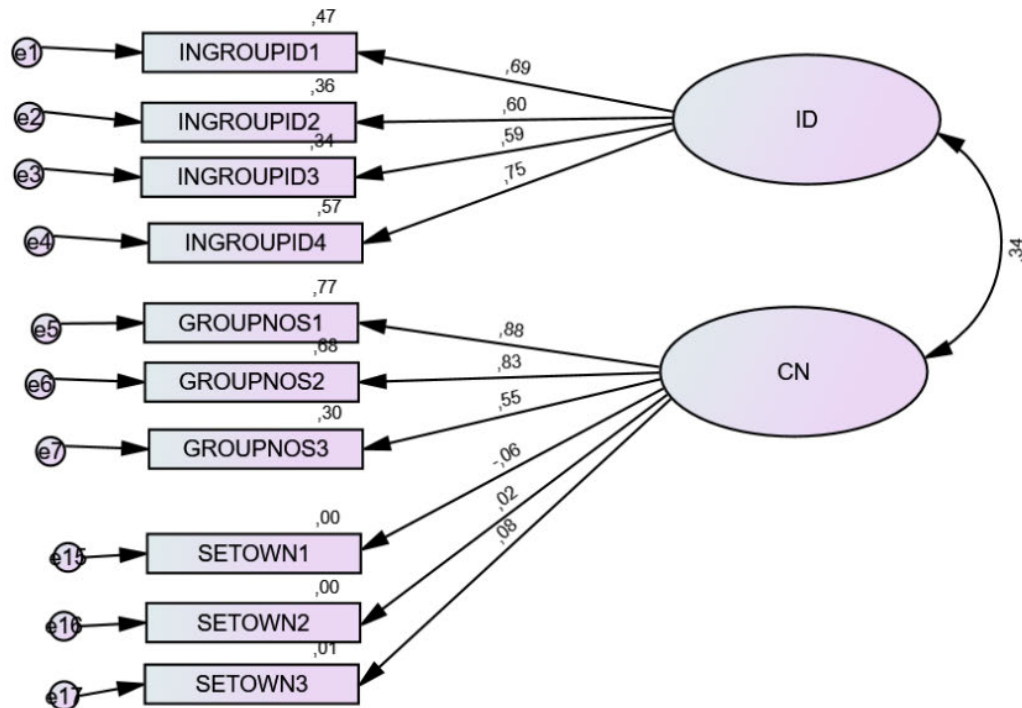
Appendix P- Chapter 4, Study 2. Three Factor Solution with standardised estimates



## Appendix Q- Chapter 4, Study 2. Standardised Regression Weights for a Three Factor Solution

		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.687
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.598
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.577
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.760
	White Settler Nostalgia	
1	<i>I long for the way white South African society was</i>	.882
2	<i>I long for the way white South African people used to be</i>	.824
3	<i>I long for the way white South African landscape (i.e. surroundings) looked like</i>	.550
	White settler ownership	
1	<i>In your opinion, how much does South Africa belong to White South Africans</i>	.711
2	<i>To what extent do you consider White South Africans the rightful owner of South Africa?</i>	.990
3	<i>How strongly would you say that White South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?</i>	.466

Appendix R- Chapter 4, Study 2. Two Factor Solution with standardised estimates



Appendix S- Chapter 4, Study 2. Standardised Regression Weights for a Two Factor Solution

		Standardised Estimates
	White South African Identification	
1	<i>I identify with other with white South Africans</i>	.687
2	<i>I see myself as a white South African</i>	.603
3	<i>I am glad to be a white South African</i>	.586
4	<i>I feel strong ties with white South Africans</i>	.755
	White Settler Nostalgia and White settler ownership Combined	
1	<i>I long for the way white South African society was</i>	.880
2	<i>I long for the way white South African people used to be</i>	.827
3	<i>I long for the way white South African landscape (i.e. surroundings) looked like</i>	.549
4	<i>In your opinion, how much does South Africa belong to White South Africans</i>	-.060
5	<i>To what extent do you consider White South Africans the rightful owner of South Africa?</i>	.021
6	<i>How strongly would you say that White South Africans have the right to claim South Africa more for themselves?</i>	.082