AN ANALYSIS OF THE VIEWS OF NEWSPAPER READERS REGARDING SELECTED INCIDENTS OF INTERGROUP CONTROVERSY IN POSTAPARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

by

BABALWA SIBANGO

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

Communication Science

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR E Bornman

CO-SUPERVISOR: Dr JBJ Reid

June 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that **AN ANALYSIS OF THE VIEWS OF NEWSPAPER READERS REGARDING SELECTED INCIDENTS OF INTERGROUP CONTROVERSY IN POSTAPARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

STUDENT NUMBER: 46143866

B Sibango	Date
…………………………………….	…………………………………………

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank following people who made this journey possible:

Professor Elirea Bornman for her insightful, constructive comments and contribution to this study. Many thanks for the articles, book chapters you shared and for the recommendation letters which won me the funding for the study. May God richly bless you.

Co-Supervisor Dr Julie Reid for her constructive feedback, encouragement and contribution to this study. Thank you for the suggested readings, I am truly grateful. May God bless you.

The department of Communication Science, College of Human Sciences together with the research department for funding for this study and allowing me time out of office.

Library specialist, Mr Dawie Malan for helping me navigate the SA media database and e-resources. May God bless you.

The language specialist, Mrs Moya Joubert, for translating the Afrikaans letters into English and for editing this dissertation. A million thanks, May God bless you.

The statisticians, Mrs Suwisa Muchengetwa and Mr Hennie Gerber for statistical analysis and helping me to understand the basics about stats. A special appreciation to Mr Gerber for analysing my data at short notice, a million thanks. May God bless you.

A million thanks to Carina Barnard who helped with the formatting and layout of the dissertation. May God bless you.

Colleagues and fellow students and scholars who encouraged me and read my drafts. A special thanks to Dr Sabihah Moola for your encouragement and reading most of my drafts, I am so thankful. May God richly bless you. A note of thanks to Tafadzwa Pfumojena for reading some of the drafts, for your encouragement and for standing in for me while I was away. May God bless you. To Mr Khuze Skhosana for reading the drafts of my proposal, many thanks, Lindelwa Nonjaduka for sharing your notes and books, Oluwatoyin Ezebuike, for your encouragement and prayers and many others May God bless you all.

To my Father, Mr M Sibango for always encouraging me and my late mother, Noxolo Sibango, I know you would celebrate with me. To my sisters, brothers and cousins, who kept me going and for your encouragement, thank you.. To My brother Simphiwe Sibango for being a statistician on standby, many thanks. May God bless all of you.

To God be the glory

SUMMARY

This study investigated the nature of opinions and attitudes expressed in letters to South African newspapers regarding selected incidents of interracial controversy, namely the Botes (2010) and Forum for Black Journalists (FBJ) (2008) incidents. A qualitative and quantitative content analysis of these letters was conducted to gauge the attitudes that writers displayed towards members of their cultural group (ingroup) and members of other cultural groups (outgroups). The results of the qualitative analysis indicated that individuals in a racial group have different perspectives of in- and outgroup members. The results of the quantitative analysis, however, showed that the majority of writers tend to display positive attitudes towards ingroup members and negative attitudes towards out groups. The dominance of positive attitudes towards ingroups and negative attitudes towards outgroups can be attributed to myths and discourses circulating in postapartheid South Africa and the current social climate in general. The study concluded that although individuals’ attitudes may differ from the stark negative attitudes displayed towards outgroups during the apartheid era, negative attitudes towards outgroups persist.

Key terms

Cultural groups, ingroups, outgroups, myths, discourses, postapartheid, South Africa.

CONTENTS PAGE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

SUMMARY iv

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES xi

1 BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE STUDY 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.2 Aims of the study 3

1.3 The selected incidents of interracial controversy 4

1.4 Research questions 5

1.5 Theoretical foundations of the study 6

1.5.1 Cultural identity theory **6**

1.5.2 Group position theory **6**

1.5.3 Social dominance theory **7**

1.6 Methodology 8

1.7 Chapter outline 8

2 THEORISING IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS 10

2.1 Introduction 10

2.2 Cultural identity theory 11

2.2.1 Defining identity **11**

2.2.2 Social identities **13**

2.2.3 Cultural identities **14**

2.2.4 Personal identities **15**

2.2.5 The intersectional approach to identity **16**

2.2.6 The process of identification 18

2.2.7 Negotiation of identity 19

2.3 The role of discourse and narratives in the formation of identity 20

2.3.1 Construction of cultural identities 21

2.3.2 Discourse on an African Renaissance and Africanisation 24

2.3.3 Construction of identities at the individual level 26

2.4 Implications of identification processes for intergroup relations 26

2.5 Critique of cultural identity theory 30

2.6 Summary 31

3 THEORIES ON INTERGROUP DYNAMICS AND INEQUALITIES 33

3.1 Introduction 33

3.2 Group position theory 33

3.2.1 Definitional processes 35

3.2.2 The role of the media in defining groups 36

3.2.3 Media framing 37

3.2.4 Social media: the “new” outlet for overt racism 41

3.2.5 Feelings of dominant groups 40

3.2.6 Feelings of subordinate groups 44

3.2.7 Critique of group position theory 45

3.3 Social dominance theory 46

3.3.1 The role of myths in group relations 46

3.3.2 Social dominance orientation 49

3.3.3 Behavioural repertoires 50

3.3.4 Critique of social dominance theory 51

3.4 Summary 52

4 THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 53

4.1 Introduction 53

4.2 Racial relations in postapartheid South Africa 53

4.2.1 Interracial incidents in the business/corporate sector **56**

4.2.2 The race card **59**

4.2.3 Interracial interactions **60**

4.2.4 Intergroup attitudes **62**

4.2.5 Discourses on the state of the South African nation **65**

4.3 Postapartheid blackness 67

4.3.1 Authentic blackness **69**

4.3.2 Coconutiness **70**

4.3.3 Postapartheid experiences of racism against blacks **71**

4.4 Postapartheid whiteness 74

4.4.1 Redefinition of whiteness **77**

4.4.2 White guilt **79**

4.4.3 Poor whites **80**

4.4.4 Postapartheid (reverse) racism 80

4.5 Postapartheid Indianness 81

4.6 Postapartheid colouredness 84

4.8 Inter- and intragroup inequalities 86

4.9 South Africa today 89

4.1 Summary 90

5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 92

5.1 Introduction 92

5.2 Research questions 92

5.3 Research design 93

5.3.1 Qualitative methodology 93

5.3.2 Quantitative methodology 94

5.4 Defining the population 94

5.4.1 Characteristics of the population 95

5.4.2 Data collection and sampling procedure 96

5.4.3 Units of analysis 97

5.5 Data analysis 97

5.5.1 Thematic analysis 97

5.5.2 Discourse-historical analysis 99

5.5.3 Quantitative analysis 101

5.6 Trustworthiness of the study 102

5.6.1 Dependability 103

5.6.2 Results: Intracoder consistency 104

5.7 Ethical issues 104

5.8 Critical evaluation of the study 105

5.8.1 Limitations 105

5.8.2 Strengths 105

5.9 Summary 106

6 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY 107

6.1 Introduction 107

6.2 The Annelie Botes incident 108

6.2.1 Themes identified for the black stratum 108

6.2.2 Themes identified for the white stratum 114

6.2.3 Themes identified in the coloured/Indian stratum 120

6.3 The FBJ incident 120

6.3.1 Themes identified in the black stratum 120

6.3.2 Themes identified in the white stratum 127

6.3.3 Themes identified in the coloured/Indian stratum 132

6.4 Identities displayed 137

6.4.1 The Annelie Botes incident 137

6.4.2 The FBJ incident 142

6.5 Results of the quantitative analysis 146

6.5.1 Descriptive analysis of themes across racial groups 148

6.5.2 Descriptive analysis of themes across media groups 149

6.6 Summary 150

7 INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS 151

7.1 Introduction 151

7.2 Attitudes that cultural groups display towards in- and outgroups 151

7.2.1 Attitudes displayed by blacks towards in- and outgroups 152

7.2.2 Feelings of victimhood and alienation 152

7.2.3 Feelings of superiority 153

7.2.4 Various kinds of blackness 154

7.3 Attitudes displayed by whites towards the in- and outgroups 157

7.3.1 Perceptions of reverse racism 157

7.3.2 Self-stigmatisation 159

7.3.3 Various kinds of whiteness 160

7.3.4 Feelings of dominant groups 161

7.3.5 Awareness of privilege 163

7.4 Attitudes of Indians/coloureds towards the in- and outgroups 165

7.5 Racism displayed and the reasons advanced 167

7.6 Identities displayed 170

7.6.1 *Multiple identities* 173

7.6.2 *Salience hierarchy* 173

***7.6.3 Consequences of the processes of identification* 175**

***7.6.4 Emotional and attitudinal consequences* 178**

7.7 The role of context in intergroup attitudes 179

***7.7.1 The role of myths and discourses in intergroup attitudes* 180**

***7.7.2 Dominant myths and discourses* 181**

***7.7.3 Counter-myths* 183**

7.8 Summary 185

8 CONCLUSIONS 186

8.1 Introduction 186

8.2 Atttitudes displayed towards in- and outgroups 186

8.3 Identities displayed 190

8.4 Limitations of the study 193

8.5 Suggestions for further research 193

***8.5.1 An analysis of a wider range of incidents* 193**

***8.5.2 An analysis of social media discourses* 194**

***8.5.3 An analysis of media coverage of incidents of racial controversy* 194**

8.6 Concluding statements 194

LIST OF SOURCES 196

LISTS OF FIGURES AND TABLES PAGE

FIGURES

Figure 6.1: Bar chart of distribution of themes across racial groups 148
Figure 6.2: Bar chart of distribution of themes across media groups 149

TABLES

Table 5.1: Implications of linguistic devices used to name groups 100
Table 5.2: Criteria used to judge the quality of the study 103
Table 6.1: Distribution of themes from the Annelie Botes and FBJ incidents 146
Table 6.2: Distribution of themes for both incidents 147
Table 6.3: Distribution of themes for each media group 150

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Twenty-two years into its democracy, South Africa is still grappling with the legacy of the colonial and apartheid regimes, which impact on the lives of and relations between different racial and/or cultural groups. Under the apartheid government, individuals were grouped and classified into white, Indian, coloured and black racial groups (Ramsamy 2007:478). Groups were further divided into ethnic groups (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:411). Among whites, English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites were the two recognised ethnic groups. Among blacks, there were nine recognised ethnic groups, namely Zulu, Sotho, Pedi, Venda, Shangaan, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele and Tswana. Although there are ethnic groups among Indians and coloureds, these have not been recognised by the state (Ganesh 2010:26).

These racial and ethnic groups were furthermore segregated geographically. Certain residential areas and/or cities were allocated to various racial and/or ethnic groups (Soudien 2007:2). Economic distribution was also skewed, with whites at the top, coloureds and Indians in the intermediary position and blacks at the bottom. Although intragroup inequalities existed within each group, intergroup inequalities were more pronounced.

In addition, relations between these racial or ethnic groups were marked by tension. For example, ethnic tension existed between English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites and also among the black ethnic groups. Tension also existed among Indian ethnic groups such as Tamils and Hindi (Ganesh 2010:26). Racial tensions also existed between blacks and whites, blacks and Indians, and between coloureds and blacks. Indians and coloureds occupied the intermediary positions and were sometimes perceived as unpatriotic by blacks (Ramsamy 2007:479).

Some Indians and coloureds, however, identified as black and were part of the anti-apartheid movements and thus maintained good relations with blacks (Erasmus

2001:18). Similarly, some whites opposed apartheid, mostly English-speaking and some Afrikaans-speaking whites (Dlamini 2014:9). Some individuals, however, were "double agents" as they were involved in both the anti-apartheid and pro-apartheid camps (Von Holdt, Langa, Molapo, Mogapi, Ngubeni, Dlamini & Kirsten 2011:128). Moreover, the involvement of coloureds, Indians, whites and blacks in the pro- and anti-apartheid camps resulted in intragroup tensions. Von Holdt et al state that some individuals were thus perceived as "the enemy within" by ingroup members.

Although intraethnic and intraracial tensions existed, interracial and/or interethnic tensions were more pronounced. Research indicates that during apartheid, the majority of blacks held negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking whites and vice versa (Bornman 2011:734; Duckitt, Callaghan & Wagner 2005:633). Blacks, however, displayed more favourable attitudes towards English-speaking whites. English-speaking whites also displayed more favourable attitudes towards blacks. As previously noted, some coloureds and Indians identified as black and thus held favourable attitudes towards blacks (Erasmus 2000:12). Some Indians and coloureds however, held negative attitudes towards blacks.

Recent studies reveal that there have been attitude changes among some individuals (Bornman 2011:735; Finchilescu & Tredoux 2009:178). Some studies show that the attitudes of some Afrikaans-speaking whites towards blacks, Indians and coloureds have become more positive (Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Clack & Eaton 2010:1; Wale 2014:3). Similarly, some blacks, coloureds and Indians also display more favourable attitudes towards whites. Positive changes have mostly been noted among individuals in urban areas. Extended contact between individuals from different racial or cultural groups may thus account for positive changes in the attitudes of individuals living in these areas (Bornman 2011:729; Wale 2014:3).

In some cases, however, the more positive attitudes displayed by whites may be unreciprocated by blacks (Bornman 2011:729). This is mostly attributed to the fact that there has been a greater focus on the need of whites to change their attitudes towards blacks, while little attention has been paid to the attitudes of blacks towards whites (Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, Phillips & Denney 2012:12).

Studies on intergroup attitudes tend to yield different results. Some studies show that negative intergroup attitudes persist, while some reveal attitude changes in some individuals (Steyn & Foster 2008:30; Kriel 2010:26; Pattman 2010:195; Wilmot & Naidoo 2011:31; Puttick 2011:3). Furthermore, some studies indicate that individual attitudes may sometimes fluctuate and be negative in some instances while positive in others (Holborn 2010:18; Wale 2014:3). Some individuals may also display negative attitudes towards ingroup members (Hughey 2012:219; Hook 2011:19). Intergroup attitudes can therefore be said to be in a state of flux.

Although the black, white, Indian and coloured racial groups or identities are understood as social or apartheid constructions, such racial labels are still used today (Soudien 2012:3; Ramsamy 2007:478). Some individuals may embrace racial identities, while others may reject them. Research shows that some individuals embrace racial identities as part of who they are and identify themselves as black, white or Indian (Gibson & Gouws 2000:279; Bornman 2010:730). Other individuals may, however create other categories or use a national identity instead of a racial or ethnic identity (Walker 2005:42; Hammett 2010:247). Studies show that once individuals identify with a social or racial group, they may display negative attitudes towards members of other racial groups (Chen & Collier 2012:44; Soudien 2008:194). Some individuals, however, may display negative attitudes towards ingroup members. Some individuals may thus generalise negative or positive attibutes to the entire racial (in-/out-) group.

Interracial attitudes and tensions in postapartheid South Africa also tend to be expressed in response to incidents of interracial controversy such as “racist tweets” or controversial statements made by individuals. Such responses tend to reveal individuals’ attitudes towards “others”. An analysis of such responses may thus reveal the extent of racial harmony or disharmony and/or whether racial divisions are still salient.

1.2 Aims of the study

In light of the continuities and/or fluidity of intergroup attitudes (and relations) noted in the literature (see section 1.1), the current study sought to investigate the nature of opinions and attitudes that readers of newspapers display towards ingroup members and outgroups in letters to the editor about selected incidents of interracial controversy. Ingroup members refer to the members of a cultural group to which the individual belongs (Tajfel 1974:66). Outgroups refer to the cultural groups to which the individual does not belong. This study focused on selected incidents of interracial controversy in postapartheid South Africa, namely the Annelie Botes and Forum for Black Journalists incidents (see details in section 1.3). The aim of the study was to analyse the viewpoints of newspaper readers on these incidents. It also sought to determine which identities were displayed in these letters and the consequences of the processes of identification.

1.3 The selected incidents of interracial controversy

As mentioned earlier, the study focused on two incidents of intergroup controversy in postapartheid South Africa, namely the Annelie Botes and Forum for Black Journalists (FBJ) incidents[1]. The first incident pertains to the statements made by Annelie Botes, an Afrikaans novelist, in an interview with *Rapport*, after she had won a literary award for her novel in November 2010. As part of the interview questions, she was asked to name people she did not like, and her answer was – black people. She further mentioned that she would invite an Indian or coloured man for coffee, but would feel threatened by a black man. She mentioned crime as the cause of her fear of blacks and the reason why she did not like them.

The second incident concerns occurrences at a meeting of the FBJ, an organisation representing the interests of black journalists. In February 2008, the FBJ held a meeting with Jacob Zuma, who was vice-president at the time. White journalists who attended the meeting were asked to leave as it was said that the forum was only for blacks. An Indian and a coloured journalist were also derogatively referred to as *coconuts* by one of the black journalists after they had left with the white journalists in condemnation of the incident. The term “coconut” is defined as “someone who aspires to be white while denying their blackness” (Tromp & SAPA 2008:1). The white journalists and the Indian and coloured journalists who were called coconuts lodged a complaint against the FBJ[2] with the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). The SAHRC concluded that race alone cannot determine whether a person is included or excluded in an organisation, but values and like-mindedness should be criteria for inclusion or exclusion (SAHRC 2008:13).

---

[1] While these incidents may seem dated, they were recent at the inception on the study in 2011. Moreover, they are not very different from recent racist tweets/social media statements that pervaded the media in 2016. They both reflect discourses of white and black racism that are common in postapartheid South Africa (see section 4.9).

Both these incidents received significant media attention and diverse views were shared on different media platforms. Some individuals supported the FBJ while others saw the FBJ actions as discriminatory. Similarly, Annelie Botes also had supporters as well as individuals who saw her utterances as racist. The current study focused on letters to the editor or press regarding these incidents.

1.4 Research questions

The study investigated the following research questions:

What is the nature of the opinions and attitudes expressed in letters to South African newspapers regarding the two incidents in question?

Subquestions

- What attitudes do members of various racial groups display towards ingroup members and members of other groups (outgroups) in these letters?
- Do people who write to the newspapers about the two incidents display racism in the letters, and if so, what are the reasons advanced?
- Which identities are displayed in the letters to the press about the two incidents and what are the consequences of the process of identification thus expressed?

---

[2] It is also worth noting that some black journalist did not support the FBJ, this is also evident in the statements of some of the black writers in the current study (see section 6.3.1). A study by Daniels (2016:3) where black journalists were interviewed shows that there were numerous black journalists who did not support the FBJ. They saw it as an ANC's attempt to manipulate race for political reasons. They saw the FBJ as falling into the ANC's attempts to create a "sweetheart press" (2016:5).

1.5 Theoretical foundations of the study

The study was based on cultural identity theory, group position theory and social dominance theory, which are briefly elucidated below.

1.5.1 Cultural identity theory

Cultural identity theory focuses on how identities are created and negotiated in communication or discourse and the underlying processes of identification (Collier 2009:348). The theory posits that identities are communicated through avowal (the way an individual describes his or her group identity) and ascription. Ascription refers to how an individual is defined by others, on the one hand, and how an individual describes "others" (outgroups), on the other (Chen & Collier 2012:45). Collier also posits that once individuals identify with a specific group, they tend to be favourably biased towards ingroup members and negatively biased towards outgroups.

Cultural identity theory further acknowledges the role of structural factors such as history or discourses on individuals' attitudes. According to Collier and Chen (2012:45), personal narratives may complement or contradict master narratives (dominant discourses) about cultural and/or racial groups. This means that individual attitudes may sometimes be linked to discourses or myths circulating in a given society. In this study, cultural identity theory serves as the basis for analysing the attitudes that individuals display towards ingroup members and outgroups. The theory also forms the foundation for examining processes of identification.

1.5.2 Group position theory

Group position theory examines the feelings of individuals towards outgroups in societies marked by a hierarchical racial order. Blumer (1958:1) postulates that feelings of racial prejudice emanate from a sense of group position. Blumer states that feelings of prejudice are a group-to-group feeling and not just a feeling of certain individuals. The author also posits that feelings of prejudice are usually found in dominant groups. Feelings of prejudice may further lead to negative descriptions of subordinate groups. The theory previously looked at the feelings of the dominant group, but has now been expanded to look at the feelings of subordinate groups as well.

Bobo (1999:10) argues that feelings of racial alienation are likely to be found among subordinate groups and emanate from a sense of group position and the historical experiences of a group. Furthermore, feelings of alienation may result in negative attitudes or negative descriptions of dominant groups. Although there are no clear-cut lines of who the subordinate or dominant groups in the current South Africa are, previously marginalised groups are more likely to feel marginalised and perceive the previously dominant groups as “dominant others” (Wale 2014:36). Some members from previously dominant groups may also feel marginalised in the new dispensation by policies such as affirmative action (Steyn 2004:148). The theory forms the basis for examining attitudes (particularly racism) expressed by members of various racial groups towards outgroups, and the reasons for such attitudes.

1.5.3 Social dominance theory

Social dominance theory posits that there is a link between individual attitudes, behaviour and the social environment (Pratto, Sidanius & Levin 2006:271). Prato et al also posit that behaviours and attitudes may serve to maintain or disrupt the status quo (inequalities or intergroup tensions). The theory also focuses on how intergroup inequalities are legitimised or de/legitimised through myths. Myths may serve to legitimise or delegetimise hierarchies and/or naturalise or denaturalise the social order (Sheridan-Rabideau 2001:445; Pratto 2009:786; Reid 2011:55). In this study the theory forms the basis for examining stereotypical descriptions of outgroups (or ingroups) and the justification of such stereotypes or racism towards other cultural groups.

The above theories served as the basis for analysing and explaining the results of the analysis of letters to the editor about the two incidents mentioned. All three theories emphasise intergroup attitudes and therefore served as a basis for explaining the attitudes displayed towards ingroup and outgroup members in these letters. Cultural identity theory also focuses on the processes of identification and was therefore used to explain the identities displayed and the consequences of process of identification.

1.6 Methodology

Qualitative and quantitative content analyses were employed to investigate the research questions. Qualitative content analysis was conducted first in order to identify themes emerging from the data. Letters responding to each incident were analysed separately. There were 34 letters relating to the Annelie Botes incident which were all analysed. For the FBJ incident, there were 88 letters. A sample of 40 letters was selected using stratified random sampling. This was done to ensure that all racial groups were represented in the sample. Letters were read first in order to find out how writers identified themselves. They were then grouped according to the identities expressed in the letters and a sample was randomly selected from each stratum using computer software called *Randomizer.*

Quantitative content analysis was used to analyse the frequency of themes identified in the qualitative phase of the study. The frequency of themes was counted using descriptive statistical methods.

1.7 Chapter outline

The current dissertation consists of eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two discusses the theorisation of identity and intergroup relations. Definition of identity is discussed from various approaches such as the critical or interpretive approaches. Cultural identity theory and its tenets are also explained. Chapter three discusses theories on intergroup dynamics and inequalities with specific focus on group position theory and social dominance theory. These two theories emphasise intergroup inequalities and other dynamics of intergroup relations. Chapter four focuses on the current situation in South Africa with regard to intergroup relations. Relations between and within the four South African racial groups, namely black[3], white, coloured and Indian are discussed in more detail. Chapter five presents a discussion of the research methodology used in the study. Data collection, sampling and data analysis methods are explained. In chapter six, the qualitative and quantitative results of the study are presented, followed by a discussion or interpretation of the findings in chapter seven. Chapter eight concludes the study and makes suggestions for further research.

---

[3] While some individuals use the word “African”, some individuals and the majority of writers in the current study used the term “black”. As discussed in section 4.2.5 the issue of who is an “African” in South Africa is still debatable. Some individuals question whether an African identity is based on race, legal citisenship, and/or being born in South Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:410).

CHAPTER 2

THEORISING IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

2.1 Introduction

The current study analyses the views of newspaper readers on selected incidents of intergroup controversy in postapartheid South Africa. Identity is thus a core concept in the study, including attitudes or views following from identity and identity positions (or perceived positions) in a hierarchical society.

Identity remains an important concept in studies on intergroup relations because identity-based tensions remain common in contemporary societies. Although identity is mainly viewed as a social construction, it has consequences for intergroup relations. Discourses relating to identity, for example, may determine how an individual is treated in a hierarchical society (Meijl 2010:63; Wetherell 2010:15). Discourses tend to position groups in unequal positions which means some social groups may be held in high esteem, while some are devalued (Chen & Collier 2012:45). Moreover, individuals have multiple identities such as national, racial, ethnic and/or cultural identities as well as professional or gender identities. Some of these identities may be valued, while others may be devalued. Consequently, individuals may find themselves occupying contradictory positions, that is, being privileged and advantaged at the same time. Recent studies thus point to the need to go beyond ingroup – outgroup or privileged – marginalised binaries and instead embrace the complexities of the current era (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach 2008:379; Levine-Rasky 2011:240). This chapter explicates some of these complexities.

The current chapter discusses the cultural identity theory and its key tenets which include the concept of identity, the process of identification, negotiation of identity, the role of discourses and narratives on identity and the implications of identity for intergroup relations. The discussion includes a review of literature on identity in attempt to show various perspectives on the concept.Page 33 – last line

2.2 Cultural identity theory

The concept of "cultural identity" was developed in the late 1980s, with Mary Jane Collier as one of the main theorists (Collier & Thompson 1988:100; Collier 1998:20; Collier 2005:335; Collier 2009:288; Chen & Collier 2012:45). The theory combines interpretive and critical paradigms in theorising identity, intergroup attitudes and relations. Cultural identity theory initially focused on how individuals negotiate identities, but has recently incorporated the role of context in the negotiation of identities (Collier & Thompson 1988:100; Collier 2005:336; Chen & Collier 2012:45).

Cultural identity theory primarily focuses on the role of discourses in the formation of identity. Collier (2009:288) maintains that discourses may privilege certain groups and marginalise others. This is normally done through positive descriptions of certain groups and negative descriptions of others. Individuals also play a role in the construction of their own identities through the description of who one is or through personal narratives. Moreover, individuals tend to integrate macro discourses (master narratives) in the description or construction of the self.

Similar to cultural identities, cultural group norms, values or rituals are also regarded as discursively constructed and thus not fixed or "natural" (Collier 2009:291). The theory focuses mainly on identity, the process of identification, negotiation of identity, the role of discourses in the formation of identity as well as the implications of identity for intergroup relations. These key tenets of cultural identity theory are discussed in the sections below.

2.2.1 Defining identity

The word identity originates from the Latin term, *idem et idem*, which means the "same and the same" (Wetherell 2010:5; Bornman [sa]). Identity originally referred to sameness, that is, sharing particular traits with ingroup members. The concept identity was thus birthed out of a notion that individuals who belong to a specific group share physical and/or psychological characteristics (or are the same) (Meijl 2010:63).

The view of identity as stable and "shared", however, has been contested in recent years. Interpretive scholars, for example, point out that individuals may not identify with a group to which they are assigned and/or could identify with another group.

(Collier & Thompson 1988:100; Chen & Collier 2012:45). Some individuals may also create their own categories.

Some authors, however, argue that there are limits to choices as individuals are born into categories based on physical traits (Martin, Nakayama, Van Rheede Van Oudtshoorn & Schutte 2013:160; Wetherell 2010:16). For example, individuals have little choice over which category they belong to, especially the categories based on race. Moreover, although individuals may create new categories, these may not be formally recognised.

Identity is furthermore conceived as fluid, fragmented, incoherent, incomplete and/or ever-changing (Meijl 2010:63; Wetherell 2010:15). This is because identities, specifically the meanings attached to them, may change over time, meaning that they are redefined as time passes.

Some authors, however, argue that there may also be enduring aspects relating to identity, such as beliefs and rituals that may persist over time (Frosh 2010:29; Wetherell 2010:16). Athough the flexibility or fragmentation of identity is acknowledged, Wetherell (2010:16) warns that fluidity or "fragmentation could be taken too far", ignoring persistence or repetition of identity aspects such as beliefs or rituals.

Moreover, there may be differences in how identity is conceived in popular culture and academic discourse. While there are individuals who uderstand identities as fluid in popular[4] culture,this view does not seem to be popular. Castillo (2010:379) posits that although the constructivist perspective on identity has gained popularity in academic debates, it has gained little attention in the political arena.

Tomaselli (1992:61) attributes the perception of culture as "real" in popular culture to academic discourses. The view of culture as "real" has been a dominant scholarly view for decades. Tomaselli postulates in this regard that "once elitist discourses legitimised by the academy enter the popular imagination, it is very difficult to dislodge them" (1992:61). Academic discourses thus contribute to the perception of culture as "real".

---

[4] There were also a few individuals in the current study who highlighted the fluid nature of identity. The majority of writers, however, referred to African and Western culture as opposites. Some writers, for instance, stated that there was a need for "African journalism" (see section 7.2.1 and 7.3.4)

Despite the clashing views on the concept of identity, there is consensus among various scholars that individuals in societies are grouped on the basis of perceived similarities. Individuals thus belong to certain groups that are based on particular physical traits, beliefs, values or norms. Another point of agreement among various scholars is that identity is conflictive. Conflicts or tensions among groups are attributed to the fact that various racial or cultural groups have different value systems or beliefs (positivist paradigm) or are marked by inequalities (critical perspective) (Kim 2007:239).

Identities are also multiple. Individuals belong to more than one social category such as religion, class, profession or (dis)ability (Nakayama et al 2013:160). Individuals therefore usually focus on the identity(ies) that is/are important or evoked in a given context (Collier 2009:296; Chen & Collier 2012:45). Some researchers further distinguish between social and personal identities (Tajfel 1981:255; Dube 2010:129).

2.2.2 Social identities

Social identities are group-based identities relating to shared membership in a group or shared social location (Reicher, Spears & Haslam 2010:47). Group members who belong to the same identity category are usually referred to as ingroup members, while members of other groups are referred to as outgroups. Mohanty (2010:531) asserts that social identities are based on "borders and bodies" or inclusion and exclusion. Thus individuals who belong to a specific group or category need to possess certain traits, qualities or beliefs that match the group's criteria for belonging.

The concept of social identity was popularised by Henry Tajfel's social identity theory. Tajfel (1978:69) defines social identity as "a part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group(s) together with emotional significance attached to that membership". Tajfel thus believes that awareness of belonging to a group may yield various emotional or attitudinal consequences (see section 2.4).

As previously discussed, identities are multiple – there is a wide range of categories that individuals belong to, such as cultural, gender, class or professional identities. The current study mainly focused on cultural identities.

2.2.3 Cultural identities

Similar to a social identity, cultural identity is a social category that is based on shared social location, values or common ancestry and includes concepts such as national, racial or ethnic identities (Kim 2007:239; Bornman [sa]). Cultural identity is also conceived as a social construction (Chen & Collier 2012:47). Bornman points out that cultural identity has a twofold interpretation. The first view focuses on shared practices, values, a common history and ancestry. Culture in this view is understood as discoverable; an individual, for example, may go to a country of origin to find his or her "roots". Emphasis is on shared elements such as language, values and norms. Individuals belonging to other cultural groups are usually considered to be different or outsiders. Certain forms of behaviour, values or norms are thus understood as exclusive, that is, belonging only to a particular cultural group (Hammack 2008:229). Cultural identities are also based on borders and boundaries which spur an "'us-against-them' or 'us and them' stance" (Kim 2007:250). Cultural groups are usually perceived as different and often as competitors, which may lead to intergroup tensions.

The second view of cultural identity acknowledges the fact that culture is not fixed, but changeable (Bornman [sa]). In other words, culture may change as a result of changes in a social system. Recent studies on cultural identity, for instance, tend to focus on how culture is (re)formed through social forces such as history, economic distribution or discourses (Collier 2009:286; Castillo 2010:380). This view is mostly dominant among critical scholars.

Critical scholars, however, have been criticised for the tendency to overlook individual differences and treat cultural identity as an ascription-based and non-negotiable category (Kim 2007:249; Hammack 2008:240). According to Prins (2006:281), critical scholars tend to treat identity as constructed by the "powers that be" ignoring the role of social actors or individuals. Nevertheless, some theories such as cultural identity theory merge both critical and interpretive paradigms, highlighting the role of individual actors as well as the structural constraints impacting on individuals (Collier 2009:303; Kim 2007:249). The current study focused predominantly on micro discourses (letters to the editor) as one of the key shapers of cultural identities.

Another interpretation of cultural identity views it as an unnecessary and imprisoning construction that can be dismissed (Kannen 2008:157). Norms and values associated with identities are perceived as limiting, constraining and creating uniformity among diverse individuals (Ehlers 2008:333; D'Andrea 2006:96). According to Hammond (1999:5), the idea that identity is a central and significant issue is not obvious. This means that since identities and categories are socially constructed, they can also be socially deconstructed (Millar 2012:796).

Conversely, Brewer (1999:187) posits that group categorisation fulfils a basic human need for inclusion into a larger group and differentiation from other groups. Brewer asserts that individuals have a need to belong to groups and also a need to be different from others. In other words, identity or identification may be a basic human need.

2.2.4 Personal identities

Personal identity refers to characteristics or values that are unique to the individual, and not shared with a group to which the individual belongs (Nakayama et al 2013:160). Personal identity is related to concepts such as "individual", "ego", "subjectivity", "character", "personality" or "role" (Bornman [sa]). Personal identity is also based on perceived differences; an individual differentiates between that "which is me" and that which is "not me" (Franchi & Swart 2003:153). Personal identity thus focuses on differences between an individual and ingroup members, and the comparison may also extend to individuals in other social groups (Tajfel 1981:254).

Furthermore, the social groups to which the individual belongs tend to become part of the self-concept. In attempting to define the self, individuals tend to incorporate terms that link them to social groups and terms that are specific to the individual such as physical or psychological attributes (Franchi & Swart 2003:153). Tajfel (1978:255) concurs that a "social identity is a subset of the self-concept that can be switched on under certain conditions". In some contexts (such as inter-or intragroup contexts) an individual may act as an individual or act as a member of a group in others.

Personal identities, like social identities, are perceived as fluid and ever-changing (Wetherell 2010:4). Various changes in an individual's life, such as a change of profession or becoming a parent, are some of the events that may change how an individual perceives or lives his or her life (Bornman [sa]). Meijl (2010:76) adds that tensions exist not only between or within groups but also within selves (individuals). Such tensions may be caused by external changes. Franchi and Swart (2003:160) assert that macro or political changes may impact on self-understanding. Personal identities are thus formed through an interaction with the outside world and inner processes (Bornman [sa]). Tajfel (1981:255) adds that the self is “not purely individual or asocial”, and that individuals’ behaviour and attitudes are influenced by their social environment. Individuals are therefore shaped by norms or social environment and, in turn, influence or shape societal norms (Franchi & Swart 2003:157).

Although personal identity is conceived as fluid, there are also consistencies or persistent features in a personal identity such as ideas or values that an individual is not willing to part ways with. Bornman [sa] notes that there are aspects of a person that may remain the same despite changing times or roles (such as being a child, adult or parent). Personal identities are therefore conceived as containing “repressed ideas producing stable ways of being that are resistant to change” and at the same time are fluid or changeable (Frosh 2010:29). As previously noted, individuals are members of multiple social groups which may complicate their position in a hierarchical social system. A concept that tries to capture the complexities of having multiple identities is intersectionality.

2.2.5 The intersectional approach to identity

The intersectional approach to identity stresses the fact that individuals may occupy contradictory positions or may experience multiple oppressions (or privileges) on the basis of race, gender, sexuality or class. This is because identities are not neutral; some are valued while others are devalued (Anthias 2013:131). Consequently, there are many “isms” that an individual may encounter, such as racism, classism, sexism or heterosexism (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach 2008:379). Although intersectionality is an old approach, it has been mainly used in feminist studies, based on the recognition that the experiences of women differ on the basis of race, class, sexuality and other categories of difference (Levine-Rasky 2011:240). According to Anthias (2013:127), intersectionality is a “sensitising concept for addressing complexities of social relations”. Thus, it is not merely aimed at showing multiple levels of oppression, but embraces the complexities of a lived reality (Levine-Rasky 2011:240).

Approaches that focus on a single category tend to overlook hierarchies within groups and the contradictory position an individual may occupy, such as being privileged and disadvantaged simultaneously (Purdie-Vaughns *&* Eibach 2008:379). Hancock (2007:68) agrees that an exclusive focus on one category (such as race or culture) may overlook other categories of difference such as class, religion, sexuality or physical (dis)ability that may produce inequalities. Furthermore, power (privilege) is believed to be situational or contextual (Prins 2006:278; Anthias 2013:132) . For example, an individual may be privileged in one context and oppressed in another.

A focus on intracategory differences, however, does not ignore intercategorical differences. Rather, what it does, is pay attention to the dangers of treating groups as homogeneous or having similar experiences in a social system. Martín-Alcoff (2010:153) posits that a focus on “common group interests” may oppress individuals who might be inaccurately spoken for. She notes that “not only are groups unreal, they are dangerous too”, and this especially applies where “group interests” do not serve all members of a group. Groups have varying voices or perspectives and certain voices may be overlooked. Although group identities may be usable in dealing with intergroup hierarchies, intragroup hierarchies and complexities may also need to be acknowledged (Levine-Rasky 2011:240).

The intersectional approach, however, has received criticism for offering an endless list of categories that the individual can identify with, without clarifying which identity categories are more important than others in various contexts (Anthias 2013:128). Anthias maintains that certain identities such as cultural or racial identities may be considered as more important because they are not changeable (at least in others’ eyes). However, some social categories, such as professional or class identities may be changeable or are not always visible. The intersectional approach nonetheless, does sensitise researchers to the complexities of categories and was deemed useful in this study to analyse expressions of multiple identities by writers of various cultural groups in letters to the editor.

2.2.6 The process of identification

Identification is a process that entails individuals fashioning themselves on the basis of a group perceived as similar to themselves (Hall 1996:20; Meijl 2010:72). When people identify with a cultural group, they tend to "learn" practices or customs and values of that cultural group (Martin, Nakayama, Van Rheede Van Oudtshoorn & Schutte 2013:31). Identification is thus an expression of social conformity at the "most mundane and fundamental levels" (Chen & Pan 2002:160). According to Chen and Pan, when individuals identify with a cultural group, they may mimic what is expected of a person belonging to that culture under specific circumstances (such as weddings or funerals). Gibson and Gouws (2000:280) concur that identification may "provoke emphasis on behavioral and attitudinal conformity". Chen and Pan further state that expressions of displeasure towards individuals who do not conform to "culturally appropriate" behaviour also demonstrate cultural identification. In addition, identification is a product of socialisation but may also be a product of choice. Some individuals, for instance, may choose not to identify with a given cultural group.

The process of identification is also a boundary-marking project as it entails denoting where an individual belongs to or does not belong (fit in) (Christensen 2009:22). Moreover, levels of identification vary from individual to individual. Some individuals may strongly identify with an ingroup whereas others' level of identification may be low (Collier 2005:301; Chen & Collier 2012:44). Some individuals may also choose to disidentify with a particular group (Kannen 2008:150).

Identification furthermore includes not only identifying as, but also identifying with. An individual, for instance, may identify with discourses (or challenges) surrounding a specific social group owing to perceived commonalities with the group at a given point in time (Thompson 2004:43). She, for example, notes that certain women in her study identified with gay men, specifically the challenges faced by gay men such as heterosexism. Similarly, Elam and Elam (2010:196) indicate that in postapartheid South Africa, some coloureds and Indians may identify with the white's "victim minority stance" and by implication, identify with whites.

Moreover, identifying with other social groups shows that boundaries may be permeable. Kim (2013:639) notes that the notion of ingroup or outgroup is "blurred and changed" in culturally diverse contexts. Thus "identities evolve in the direction of greater complexity beyond the lines of conventional group categories" (Kim 2013:639). As will be discussed in section 2.4, the ingroup-outgroup binary tends to omit some complexities in intergroup relations (Fujimoto 2002:4). It seems therefore that borders among groups, similar to identities, are also not fixed.

Identification as or with a social group is also not fixed. Over time, an individual may choose to disidentify with a group (Kannen 2008:150). According to Collier (2005:301), identification is also contextual. Structural forces such as politics play a role in whether a person identifies strongly or to a lesser extent with a group. Collier notes that individuals may identify strongly with an ingroup in intercultural contexts or when a cultural or racial topic is discussed. For example, one respondent in Collier's study identified herself as "too black" when she was told that she was different from (better than) other blacks by a white acquaintance.

There are, however, constraints on identification, particularly in terms of cultural or racial identities. Thompson (2004:33) posits that individuals identify with available identities or categories and, although they may want to use a different name for a particular category, it will not be recognised. Phoenix (2010:309) notes, for instance, that even though the famous golfer, Tiger Woods, identified himself as a Cabalasian (Caucasian, black and Asian mixture), he is still referred to as black.

Skin colour or language may thus determine how an individual is identified by others. Kannen (2008:156) insists that individuals are identified before they identify themselves as possessing certain traits such as skin colour and (curly or blonde) hair denotes belonging or nonbelonging to a certain group. Hence, although individuals may not identify with an ingroup, "dis-identification will not be exterior" as physical attributes play a role in identification by others(2008:156).

2.2.7 Negotiation of identity

Chen and Collier (2012:45) describe the processes through which identities are negotiated in a particular context as "avowal, ascription and salience". Avowal refers to how an individual describes himself or herself to others – it is a description of "who I am" to others (Fong 2004:22). Ascription refers to how an individual is defined by others, on the one hand, and how an individual describes others (outgroups) on the other (Chen & Collier 2012:45). Salience refers to the relevance of a particular identity in a given context. For example, a particular identity such as class or gender identity may be more salient in some contexts and less salient in other contexts (Chen & Collier 2012:450; Martin et al 2013:160). Although individuals have multiple identities, they tend to focus or emphasise certain identities over others in various contexts. Individuals may also avow multiple identities at the same time (Collier 2005:301). Collier, for example, analysed how individuals identify themselves and others in intergroup contexts and discovered that they expressed multiple identities such as race, ethnicity, profession and class.

Some researchers, however, argue that there is a salience hierarchy, that is, identities that are salient across contexts (Anderson & Matheny 2004:15; Mckinnon & Heise 2010:124; Stets & Serpe 2013:33). Mckinnon and Heise argue that some identities may be omnipresent and may limit the use of other identities. Furthermore, there are factors that may encourage enactment of certain identities over others. Some identities, for instance, are valued, while others are stigmatised. An individual may therefore choose to constantly focus on an identity that is valued or has benefits.

2.3 The role of discourse and narratives in the formation of identity

Discourse (narratives) plays an enormous role in the construction, reconstruction or maintenance of identities. Discourses can be classified into macro and micro discourses. Macro discourses (master narratives) refer to the discourses of elite groups such as politicians, professors, media practitioners, business leaders and other discourses that reach the public sphere (Bamberg 2010:1; Van Dijk 1993:3). Micro discourses, by contrast, refer to discourses of individuals such as conversations or personal narratives that do not always reach the public sphere (Bamberg 2010:1). Owing to the existence of macro and micro discourses, various methods of discourse analysis tend to focus on either macro or micro discourses, or both (Benwell & Stokoe 2010:84). A focus on macro discourses tends to ignore the role of individuals in the process of identity construction (Martín-Alcoff 2010:160). Micro discourse analyses, however, may ignore the role of structural forces impacting on individual discourses (Benwell & Stokoe 2010:83). Analysing both macro and micro discourses may thus be more beneficial since it acknowledges the role of both discourses, although it has its own flaws. Despite the selective focus on macro or micro discourses by researchers, there is consensus, however, that both play a major role in the construction of identities and intergroup relations (Walker 2005:43; Clarke 2008:510; Schachter 2010:1; Benwell & Stokoe 2010:87).

The discursive approach to identity views identities or social categories as products of discourses that "speak them" into being (Kannen 2008:150; Collier 2009:387). It is believed that discourses not only describe or reflect identities, but also construct them (Benwell & Stokoe 2010:83). According to Wood (2010:259), public platforms such as the media should not be seen as merely representing identities, but also as playing a role in constructing them. Wood adds that studies on media representation tend to treat identities as whole entities which the media can add to or subtract from. Media discourses can therefore be said to construct identities instead of merely representing them.

2.3.1 Construction of cultural identities

Discourses may naturalise stereotypes, norms and other myths about social groups. This is because certain discourses such as scientific discourses tend to be perceived as trustworthy and may become the "official knowledge" in many societies (Van Dijk 1993:3). Scientific discourses and texts taught at schools also have a huge impact on what people come to learn, know or believe about cultural or racial groups. Studies show, for instance, that scientific discourses produced during the colonial era tended to reiterate the already prevailing belief of white superiority and black inferiority and provided "proof" for it (Van Dijk 1989; Perrin & Anderson 2013:96). Perrin and Anderson point out that scientists "proved what was already assumed" about cultural groups (2013:96).

Similarly, texts produced during the apartheid era in South Africa portrayed the superiority of white bodies and the inferiority of brown or black bodies (Soudien 2007:440). Individuals were assigned to various groups or categories, namely the black, white, Indian and coloured categories depending on skin colour. These categories are still widely recognised today. Positive characteristics were mostly assigned to whites, while negative characteristics were assigned to other groups

(Soudien 2008:211; Kriel 2010:26). In addition, most texts such as scientific, media, religious and business texts produced similar characterisations of groups. Consequently, the repeated production of texts (discourses) has led to wide acceptance of cultures and cultural norms as “natural” or “truths”.

Racial categories are believed to be discursively constructed (Elam & Elam 2010:190; Frosh 2010:33). According to Frosh, physical similarities are used to imagine internal similarities in construction of racial categories. Individuals belonging to a racial category are therefore homogenised, that is, perceived as having similarities (Kim 2012:898). The “taming” or homogenising process begins once groups are categorised, by ostracising those who do not adhere to group norms (Kim 2012:898). Kim explains that individuals are “tamed” through the creation of categories such as “abnormal” or “unruly” to encourage compliance to a set of group standards and norms.

Taming, however, is not a one-way process; individuals may also regulate their behaviour as they internalise the norms or rituals associated with their identity or reject them (Reicher et al 2010:59). According to Reicher et al, analysing identity from a social identity perspective provides cues to understanding “how large numbers of people can act in coherent and meaningful ways, by reference to shared group norms, values and understandings rather than idiosyncratic beliefs”.

Racial or cultural identities are therefore understood as products of past (and current) discourses that tend to associate dominant groups with positive traits and subordinate groups with negative traits (Soudien 2008:211; Kriel 2010:26). A focus on past discourses is thus often driven by the fact that current discourses tend to resemble or complement older discourses about groups. A large body of research shows that individuals tend to integrate or refashion older discourses in the description of cultural groups (Steyn & Foster 2008:30; Kriel 2010:26; Pattman 2010:195; Wilmot & Naidoo 2010:1; Puttick 2011:3; Schönfeldt-Aultman 2014:19).

Some studies, however, show that individuals from previously dominant groups may describe themselves negatively and may be described negatively by others (Perry 2007:389; Hook 2011:27; Case 2012:80). Hughey (2012:220) reveals that white antiracist groups tend to be characterised by guilt or shame-inducing discourses. Individuals belonging to these groups may therefore stigmatise ingroup members (whites). Previously dominant groups may also be described negatively by other groups as they are associated with an oppressive or unjust lineage (Perry 2007:389; Anagnostopoulos, Everett & Carey 2013:176).

Some studies reveal that there is an emergence of new discourses (such as Rainbow Nation discourses) and shifts in the way individuals talk about identities (Hammett 2010:247; Puttick 2011:3). Individuals, for example, may adopt discourses that oppose apartheid's binary construction of racial identities and construct inclusive categories such as "South African" instead of the black, white or Indian categories (Walker 2005:42; Hammett 2010:247).

Apartheid discourses thus exist alongside anti or postapartheid discourses and other discourses (Mohanty 2010:537; Puttick 2011:3). As the current study analyses views expressed in letters to the editor, discourses that align with or contradict both apartheid and current master narratives such as the Rainbow Nation or African Renaissance discourses can be expected. Hammack (2008:233), for instance, notes that in a globalised world, individuals are exposed to both global and local discourses. As a result, they may align themselves with not only local but also global macro discourses.

Beside discourses, there is also a performative element to identity in that individuals tend to perform or act according to the rules and regulations (norms) of their social group. Performativity is a concept coined by Butler (1990:15) to explain the role of performances such as ways of dressing, behaving or mannerisms in the construction of gender identities. According to Butler (1990:33) "identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' said to be its results".

The performativity concept also explains the role of performing and adhering to a set of group norms in the construction of cultural or racial identities (Veninga2009:111). Ehlers (2006:150) maintains that individuals may be policed by other members of their racial group to perform or live according to the rules and regulations of their group. According to Ehlers, individuals may be scorned for not "acting black" or "acting white". A study by Bhana and Pattman (2010:379) reported, for example, that a number of school (teenage) girls cited parents and peers as some of the people who police their behaviour. For instance, parents may stipulate who a child can or cannot take as a life partner.

Consequently, individuals may regulate their behaviour to comply with a set of group norms. Reay (2010:284) asserts that there is an implicit tendency to behave in ways expected of “people like us”. Discourses thus serve as behaviour scripts for cultural groups (Veninga 2009:111). Individuals, however, may also disrupt the behaviour scripts of their social groups by “not acting black or white”.

Repeated performances may make identity appear “real”. Expressions tend to appear as innate mannerisms of an individual or a social group (Ehlers 2008:342). Elam and Elam (2010:192) argue that performativity is not just a reflection of an identity but “has a complex social context”. Discourses may therefore serve as cues to the kind of behaviour acceptable in a given context. Discourses such as “Rainbowism” (discussed in chapter 4) or an African Renaissance may, for instance, serve as cues to the kind of behaviour that is acceptable in postapartheid South Africa.

2.3.2 Discourse on an African Renaissance and Africanisation

Discourses on an African Renaissance and Africanisation have received paramount attention in postapartheid South Africa, as is the case with many countries that were colonised (Castillo 2010:380). Such discourses, however, have been criticised for their tendency to re-essentialise Africa and black cultures (Mngadi 1997:17; Wasserman 2005:81; Kanemasu 2013:75). African Renaissance discourses tend to reinscribe the racial binaries that are a product of apartheid and colonial discourses (Said 1993:226; Surez-Krabbe 2012:349).

Furthermore, African Renaissance discourses tend to homogenise black ethnic or cultural groups in that certain group beliefs, norms or values are assumed to be shared by all members of a cultural group. Leaders, for example, tend to speak on behalf of an entire continent and may pass off their perspectives as an “African perspective” (Nel 2012:460). Tomaselli (1992:61) concurs that terms such as “the people” are misleading in that they tend to assume homogeneity and hide ideological schisms among previously oppressed groups.

Another criticism of the African Renaissance discourses stems from the fact that they tend to ignore the role of colonial discourses in the formation of an African identity (Mngadi 1997:22). Castillo (2010:388) argues that a focus on returning to “roots”, specifically aligning indigenous groups with a rural or “simple” life, ignores forces that kept indigenous people out of metropolitan areas. According to Lawrence (2010:510), that there is a need for theories that explain the lives of indigenous groups in contemporary societies instead of focusing on how they lived in the past.

Concepts such as “constructed identities”, by contrast, may be considered as offensive by leaders of indigenous movements (Castillo 2010:385). Castillo notes that indigenous leaders tend to treat identities as “self-contained ahistorical essences” that are unchangeable or can be discovered (2010:385). Some researchers, however, argue that constructivist theories tend to “flatten” out different views by “treating indigenous epistemologies as if they did not exist” (Lawrence 2010:509; Mohanty 2010:534). Lawrence (2010:510) adds that concepts such as the “imaginary past” may ignore complex histories that are currently being reclaimed.

An area of consensus among researchers, however, is that there are inequalities among indigenous groups such as economic and gender inequalities (Castillo 2010:391; Mngadi 1997:17; Lawrence 2010:509). Castillo (2010:394) posits, for instance, that a selection of certain features as representative of groups, reveals hidden powers in the construction of culture. Indigenous male leaders, for example, may select features of culture that are beneficial to them (such as the maintenance of gender hierarchies) and oppressive to some members of the group. Moreover, indigenous discourses do not address issues such as lack of access to good schools and poverty among many indigenous groups (Castillo 2010:391; Lawrence 2010:514).

Dube (2010:137) suggests that there is a need to study the formation of indigenous cultures instead of how they are presented in the public sphere. She maintains that constant vigilance against negative representation in the media is an “already known mode of scholarly knowledge and political criticism”. Dube comments that indigenous and postcolonial theorists would contribute greatly to scholarly knowledge by exploring how indigenous cultures are formed. Hence an analysis of the role of past and present discourses in the formation of African cultures might be more beneficial. Since the current study analyses texts (letters to the editor) from all racial or cultural groups in South Africa, it will provide a glimpse of how black cultural identities are (re)constructed in the present era.

2.3.3 Construction of identities at the individual level

Similar to cultural identities, the “self” is believed to be socially constructed. According to Drewery (2012:305), the notion of an autonomous self is flawed. Individuals usually link master and group narratives in the description of the self. Some individuals, however, may resist master or group narratives (Collier 2009:296). Sorrels (2012:193) posits that myths or master narratives about cultural groups exist because of individuals who believe and perform them. Ehlers (2008:337) concurs that once individuals are discursively marked as black or white, it may instill forms of “self-awareness” and they may fashion themselves in a manner that corresponds with their discursive designation.

Conversely, individuals are also active agents in the creation of the “self” in that they choose which parts of macro discourses to integrate and which parts to discard. Hallway (2010:230) states in this regard that the “self is not simply a product of social forces or of autonomous minds”. Individuals thus participate in their production (Freeman 2010:116; Kraus 2006:105).

2.4 Implications of identification processes for intergroup relations

Categorisation of individuals into social groups has considerable consequences for intergroup relations. Once individuals have been categorised into a particular group, they tend to be biased against outgroups (Collier 2009:338; Woodak 2009:1). Studies show that groups may compete even without implicit or explicit competition (Reicher et al 2010:46, Bornman [sa]). According to Bornman (2010:153), the mere act of dividing people into groups is enough to create divisions or tensions among the groups. Bornman adds that the mere awareness of membership in a group may give rise to “various forms of social behaviour, the most obvious of which are attempts to place the in-group in a better position than the relevant out-groups” (2010:153).

Interactions among groups thus tend to be characterised by ingroup glorification and outgroup denigration (Kim 2007:250; Collier 2009:347). Individuals may also prioritise ingroup needs or concerns ahead of those of other groups (Schönfeldt-Aultman 2014:34). Moreover, when evaluating social problems, groups are likely to point to the “other” as the source of the problem. Hancock (2007:71) adds that “linguistic association of one group with little or no power can help facilitate the ongoing episodic cycle of intergroup conflict". Perceptions of one group as powerful and the other(s) as powerless may thus serve to further entrench already existing group borders or boundaries.

Conceptions of individuals as group members also mean that conflict between individuals from different groups is likely to be perceived as an intergroup conflict. Perpetration by an individual is thus depersonalised and applied to the whole outgroup. That means the outgroup may be perceived as a "source of evil and the ingroup, the victimised collective" (Millar 2012:725).

Intergroup relations, however, may also be characterised by outgroup glorification. Tajfel (1981:210) argues that ingroup favouritism is not a universal (permanent) feature in intergroup relations; groups may sometimes show outgroup favouritism. Fujimoto (2002:11) notes, for example, that Japanese may admire "white-others" because of discourses in Japan about whites. However, other groups in Japan such as Chinese, Koreans or African Americans may receive negative treatment. Circulating discourses about the groups may thus impact on how members of a particular group will be perceived and treated. To illustrate, Fujimoto (2002:20) points out that the Japanese media and politicians built a strong relationship with the United States of America (USA) after World War II, where they not only imported American goods, but imported the American racial ideology as well. That means Japanese may view racial identities as naturally hierarchical; with whites at the top (followed by Japanese) and other groups at the bottom. In a racial hierarchy – individuals positioned as "in-between" such as Indians and coloureds in South Africa – may relate differently to the individuals above (whites) and those below (blacks). According to Fujimoto (2002:13), the "role of hegemony in privileging or marginalising certain differences needs to be acknowledged".

Fujimoto (2002:13) further argues that the "ingroup-outgroup" binary does not capture all the complexities of intergroup relations. Variance in treatment of groups and the fact that there may also be "internal others" within groups may be overlooked. Fujimoto (2012:18) reports, for example, that there are "internal others" in the Japanese group based on a caste system that renders some Japanese groups as lower class based on perceived "genetic inferiority" and impurity. The term "coconuts" serves as a South

African example as it refers to “internal others” among blacks. The term “coconut” refers to blacks who are usually wealthy or perceived to be “black on the outside and white on the inside” (Pattman 2010:965). Pattman reports that a university in Durban had a residence named “coconut village” where black middle class and whites lived.

However, individuals from differing cultural groups may also unite because of perceived similarities such as class or political orientation (Soudien, 2004:6) Reay (2010:286) relates that in her study, students united on the basis of class differences. Some students were stigmatised on the basis of being “spoiled brats” or “nerds” despite their cultural identity. Thus, interactions between groups may not always be negative, but are usually a site where stereotypes are reproduced (Moss & Faux 2006:26; Atkinson, Rosati, Berg, Meier & White 2013:177). Pattman and Bhana (2010:379), for example, found that white girls at a multiracial school in Durban defined African men as having naturally “nice bodies”. White men, however, were perceived as having to go to gym for hours to acquire “nice bodies”. In some cases, marginalised groups may be commodified. Kim (2012:665) reveals that in some countries migrants may be positively described as “contributing to the economy”, because they are easily exploitable in work environments.

Soudien (2008:194) agrees that good relations among groups may not necessarily translate to a breakdown of ideologies, stereotypes or inequalities. In some cases, good relations may lead to an illusion of equality among groups and may divert the focus away from inequalities (Dixon et al 2010:1). Chen and Collier (2012:58) argue that respect is not enough to break down the reproduction of stereotypes or inequalities among groups.

It can be concluded that the categorisation of individuals has considerable consequences not only for identity formation, but also for intergroup relations. Although intergroup relations may sometimes be positive, the very conception of individuals as belonging to groups may create fertile ground for intergroup tensions (Bornman 2010:153). Prins (2006:278) notes that although current identity theories are anti-essentialist, they have not yet adopted an anticategorical stance. Thus individuals tend to be viewed as permanent members of various cultural or social groups.

Emotional and attitudinal consequences

Social identities have emotional and attitudinal consequences (Bornman 2004:155; Wetherell 2010:4; Martín-Alcoff 2010:145). Meanings attached to categories can determine how an individual will be treated by members of other social groups (Collier & Chen 2012:46). For instance, if a person belongs to a category associated with negative traits, he or she may be discriminated against. Circulating discourses about social groups may have consequences for how individuals are treated and how they treat members of other cultural groups.

A social environment may thus affect individuals' attitudes towards ingroup members as well as outgroups. Martín-Alcoff (2010:145) observes that when using structural theories to analyse intergroup attitudes, attitudes "begin to look like end-products of a large and complex process of social construction". Attitudes and behavioural disposition towards members of other groups are therefore said to be largely impacted by contextual factors such as the situated evaluation of the ingroup, outgroups and relations between groups (Reicher et al 2010:57). Wodak and Reisigl (2008:153) assert that a social identity such as a national or cultural identity can be regarded as a "sort of habitus",

> that is to say as *a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes*, (a) *of related emotional attitudes* intersubjectively shared within a specific group of persons; (b) as well as *of similar behavioural dispositions*; (c) all of which are internalized through 'national' socialization [emphasis in the original].

Emotional attitudes towards in and outgroups can thus be regarded as a "habitus", which is a way of thinking, feeling or acting acquired through socialisation (Fleming 2002:1). Emotional or behavioural dispositions such as a tendency towards ingroup solidarity and readiness to exclude and debase relevant outgroups may thus be considered as habitual (Wodak & Reisigl 2008:153).

Attitudes and behavioral dispositions, however, are not simply a product of social forces. Individuals play a role in accepting or rejecting attitudes towards ingroups and members of other groups (Martín-Alcoff 2010:160). Furthermore, attitudes may change as the social environment changes or when individuals encounter new experiences, education or training (Pollman 2016:4). Bourdieu (2005:45) notes in this regard that habitus (emotional or attitudinal disposition) “is not a fate, not a destiny”.

Social identities may also influence how an individual judges events (Martín-Alcoff 2016). This is because certain experiences are attached to particular social groups. Individuals therefore do not judge events from a position of neutrality, but their judgement tends to be influenced by past experiences. Martín-Alcoff uses Hans Gadamer’s concept of the “hermeunetic horizon” to illustrate how a social identity such as race or gender may influence an individual assessment of an event. She defines the horizon as a “substantive, perspectival location from which an individual looks at the world”. Martín-Alcoff asserts that certain identities are associated with certain framing assumptions determining what is foregrounded or overlooked. Individuals, however, may not share the same horizons but “significant and repeated experiences as well as a profound relationship to certain historical events” (Martín-Alcoff 2010:60). The concept of hermeneutic horizon thus explains why individuals belonging to different cultural or racial groups draw different conclusions from the same event or why some social groups pay more attention to certain events than others. Martín-Alcoff thus shows that there is a relationship between an individual’s experiences and “snap judgements”. For example, an incident considered racist by some groups, may be viewed as something else by other groups. Individuals’ experiences may therefore influence perception.

Individuals’ horizons are open and dynamic. That means their horizons are not fixed but may change with time as they encounter new experiences. It can thus be concluded that social identities may influence individuals’ emotional attitudes and assessment of (political) events.

2.5 Critique of cultural identity theory

As its strength, cultural identity theory merges both interpretive and critical paradigms in the analysis of identity and intergroup relations. Cultural identity theory acknowledges intragroup hierarchies and differing perspectives within groups. The theory further explains the processes by which individuals come to be members of groups such as the processes of identification and negotiation of identity.

The theory does not, however, offer a detailed discussion of intragroup hierarchies or differences. Cultural identity theory tends to focus on the dominant-nondominant group binary that overlooks intragroup nuances. Studies show that individuals are members of multiple dominant and subordinate groups based on categories such as class, gender, sexuality, race or culture (Anthias 2013:131). Similarly, a focus on a salient identity may ignore how multiple identities such as gender, class or ethnicity may be salient at the same time. Moreover, cultural identity theory does not acknowledge salience hierarchy – that is, identities that may be salient across various contexts.

An additional strength of cultural identity theory lies in the fact that it explains the role of discourses in identity formation and intergroup relations. Discourses have implications for how identities are formed and how individuals are perceived and treated. The current study analysed views of newspaper readers from various cultural groups in South Africa and the researcher therefore expected to find differences in the views expressed to the editor. The researcher also expected to find similarities across groups.

2.6 Summary

Identity is mostly perceived as an "elusive" concept (Wetherell 2010:3). There are, however some commonalities in definitions of identity, in particular social identities. Various studies discussed in this chapter show that social identities are based on commonalities, such as sharing a common history or a social location in a social hierarchy (Collier 2009:296; Bornman 2010:237; Mohanty 2010:537; Dube 2010:138). Social identities are also characterised by boundaries that declare who are insiders and outsiders in a category or group. Moreover, social identities have behavioural, emotional or attitudinal consequences.

Studies of social identity also acknowledge intragroup differences. Individuals belonging to the same group may differ in terms of views, beliefs or class. As illuminated by the intersectional approach, a group approach may overlook "within-group" hierarchies and nuances. Dube (2010:140), for instance, notes that a shared history or experiences do not mean individuals share the same interpretation of that history. Intergroup inequalities and tensions, however, also exist. Hence theories that account for both inter and intragroup dynamics such as cultural identity theory are useful. The next chapter discusses identity-based inequalities and theories that emphasise intergroup inequalities.

CHAPTER 3

THEORIES ON INTERGROUP DYNAMICS AND INEQUALITIES

3.1 Introduction

Group-based inequalities are an important area of study as they contribute to intergroup tensions and other intergroup dynamics. While the previous chapter showed the role of identity on intergroup dynamics, group-based inequalities equally contribute to such dynamics. The focus of this chapter is therefore on theories of intergroup inequalities and dynamics.

Along with the group-based inequalities, however, there are rising intragroup inequalities in South Africa noted among all racial groups. Intragroup hierarchies are especially pronounced among the previously oppressed groups. Intergroup inequalities as well as intragroup tensions are thus important as they seem to characterise contemporary societies (Erasmus 2011:245; Schutte & Singiswa 2013:4).

This chapter also discusses theories that explain how intergroup hierarchies are constructed and maintained, the role of discourses and myths, and the role of media and other public communication platforms in maintaining or disrupting inter (and intra) group inequalities. The discussion also include a review of literature on group-based inequalities to illuminate claims of the theories that are contested and complemented by recent studies.

3.2 Group position theory

Group position theory was developed by Herbert Blumer (1958) to explain the processes involved in establishing a hierarchical racial order. Blumer (1958:1) posits that a sense of group position arises when the spokespersons (such as political leaders) of dominant groups define themselves and others. The spokespersons of dominant groups usually form an image of themselves or their group (usually positive) and of other groups (usually negative) (Blumer 1958:1). These images (mental or visual) tend to be dominant in society and also tend to become common widely held knowledge of racial groups. Moreover, the spokespersons of the dominant group tend to set standards for determining who (and what) is normal and who (and what) is regarded as alien (Blumer 1956:140).

The theory initially focused on the attitudes of the dominant groups towards subordinate groups and was later extended by Bobo and Hutchings (1996) to incorporate the feelings or attitudes of the subordinate groups towards dominant groups. The theory distinguishes an attitude of prejudice in dominant groups and feelings of alienation in subordinate groups. Furthermore, group position theory focuses on the role of macro or structural factors in the formation of individual attitudes.

Blumer (1958:1) and Bobo and Hutchings (1996:951) posit that an attitude of prejudice and feelings of alienation cannot be attributed solely to the psychological make-up of individuals, but emanates from larger structural factors. Prejudice therefore represents a group-to-group attitude. Blumer (1965:322) argues that communication problems among individuals occur because they meet not as individuals, but as members of their respective groups. The theory, however, acknowledges variations in individual behaviour and attitudes. According to Blumer, individuals of the same group may hold different attitudes towards outgroups. Having differing attitudes, however, may not change the fact that the whole group occupies a higher or lower social position in a given society (Blumer 1958:3).

Dominant groups in the current study refer to historically advantaged groups (whites), while subordinate groups refer to historically disadvantaged groups (Indians, coloureds and blacks). The issue of dominance and subordination, however, is not clear-cut in postapartheid South Africa (Puttick 2011:3). Blacks, for instance, have political power and are the majority, while whites have economic dominance. Dominant-subordinate positions are also based on other identities such as class or gender identities and are discussed in greater detail as the chapter proceeds.

The key tenets of group position theory are definitional processes, that is how groups are defined and the role of the media in spreading beliefs about groups and attitudes that groups hold towards each other. In the sections that follow, the main tenets of the theory are discussed.

3.2.1 Definitional processes

As previously discussed, the spokespersons of dominant groups tend to define themselves positively and members of other groups negatively and such definitions tend to become widespread. Perry (2007:379) notes in this regard that by the late 16th century, the process of collective definition of what constitutes humanity was rolled out. The "great chain of being" was created and white men were defined as the "highest order of earthly beings" and were placed at the helm of the hierarchy. Although the category "white" was inclusive of men and women deemed white, men occupied a top position because of hierarchical gender relations. Such definitions were used to justify the oppression of subordinate groups and may still be used to explain current inequalities among groups.

Recently, some studies have shown that groups may be (re)defined using "colonial legacy" discourses, while others show that there are changes in how groups are defined (Soudien 2007:101; Steyn 2010:18; Perry 2007:387). Soudien argues that because of the hierarchic legacy, individuals may intentionally or unintentionally articulate the superiority-inferiority ideology in new and acceptable ways. Studies thus reveal that groups may be defined using past discourses that still define groups using binaries of good-bad or moral-immoral (Radhakrishnan 2005:262; Steyn & Foster 2008:25; Lacy 2010:20).

Other studies, however, indicate that the narrative cohesion of "good" that characterised whiteness in past decades has been unsettled (Perry 2007:387; McIntosh 2012:194). Whites in multiracial schools, for instance, may be confronted by anger from students of colour who do not see anything "good" about being white (Perry 2007:387). Further, some studies show that whites may also self-stigmatise themselves as racist and beneficiaries of an unjust era or relations (Hughey 2012:219; Hook 2011:19; Steyn 2007:420). Thus individuals from dominant groups may define themselves negatively (as racist or beneficiaries of unjust systems) and define other groups positively (as nonracist victims of unjust systems). A number of studies reveal that negative self-definitions and positive other-definitions are common in white antiracist groups or among whites who seek to raise awareness of their privileged position (Stoudt, Fox & Fine 2012:178; Stewart et al, 2012:13; Hughey 2012:219).

Conversely, some studies show that there has been little change in how subordinate groups (re)define themselves (Henry & Bankston 2001:1034; Merino & Tileaga 2011:86; Kanemasu 2013:71). Henry and Bankston assert that some previously colonised groups' self-definitions have not "significantly altered the content and structures of images" used in the colonial era (2010:1034). Instead, older stereotypes are integrated to maintain a sense of a coherent group identity. For example, images of bushes, individuals walking bare-footed or bare-chested that characterised images of Africa and Africans during the colonial era are still used today. What has changed, however, is the attitude towards such images. Individuals may now be called to be "proud of the cultural heritage" they were once ashamed of (Department of Arts and Culture 2013:1). Similarly, those who were surrounded by positive stereotypes such as "model minorities" (Asians) may incorporate such stereotypes when they (re)define themselves (Inkelas 2003:632; Radhakrishnan 2005:262).

As a consequence, there are no iron-clad definitions of who is good or bad in the current era as a variety of group definitions and redefinitions struggle for media attention. The media, however, may favour certain discourses (definitions) over others.

3.2.2 The role of the media in defining groups

Blumer (1958:1) notes that the media, along with other forms of public communication, play a key role in disseminating views of the spokespersons of racial groups. Information spread through the media tends to be far-reaching – hence the concern with media content in most societies. The media have, for instance, received attention because of their relations with past colonial governments. In the past, the media served as a government propaganda tool and disseminated stereotypes about people of "colour" (Van Dijk 1989:216). In the new South Africa, the media have also been the centre of current government or civil society attention. Complaints against the media have been lodged from bodies such as the Black Accountants Association for being "racist" and for disseminating stereotypes about blacks (South African Human Rights Commission 2000:3). Van Dijk (1989:205) postulates that journalists' deep-held stereotypes may "bias" their accounts of ethnic events and thus stereotypes maybe reproduced. Van Dijk adds that stereotypes may be reproduced despite critical feedback from readers or viewers.

Furthermore, alternative views or counter-stereotypes may receive little or no media coverage. In certain instances, information or individuals that contradict ethnic stereotypes may be treated as exceptions (Ramasubrarnanian 2007:249; Kriel 2010:101). Concerns with media content are therefore mostly concerns about the way the media present or frame information, more especially information about social groups. Media frames may futhermore influence how individual frame events or sociopolitical issues (Scheufele & Iyengar 2008:8). The viewers of writers in the current study may therefore be influenced by how the selected incidents were framed in news media.

3.2.3 Media framing

Media framing is linked to the (re)production of stereotypes, myths and counter-myths about groups and their relations (Reid 2011:45). According to Entman (2008:391), framing involves "selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation". Framing is also linked to bias as it involves selecting some aspects of "a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicate text" (Scheufele 1993:107). Hence some aspects of an event or some views may be given maximum attention, while others receive less.

Several studies indicate that media frames tend to reflect the views of powerful groups such as the government, the business community or media professionals (Lavie-Dinur, Karniel & Azran 2013:4; Entman 2007:164). This is caused by a number of factors, such as the elite enjoying more or easier access to the media. Brinson and Stohl (2012:273) maintain that the media tend to overly rely on the "framework of interpretation" offered by government officials, experts and other elite groups. The way elite groups frame events may therefore be similar to how the media frames those events. Brinson and Stohl (2012:273) report, for example, that the media coverage of terrorist incidents in London was similar to the manner in which the former British Minister Gordon Brown and former American president George Bush framed terrorism. Some media companies thus relied on Brown's interpretation of terrorist events, while others relied on Bush's interpretation.

Similarly, in incidents involving social groups, Tollefson (2014:14) points out that it is usually the "powerful actors [politicians] who access media resources to establish symbolic unity among diverse groups". The elite may, for example, proclaim unity among groups, and such views may be taken to be the voice of the majority. This tendency was observed in proclamations of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation by politicians (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:409). The media thus relied on the voices of the elite in its portrayal of South Africa as a Rainbow Nation in the early 1990s.

By the same token, the elite may also establish symbolic enmity among groups. Feree (2010:193) reports, for instance, that the Democratic Alliance (DA), a South African political party, was framed as a “white party” serving “white interests” by media companies relying on the African National Congress’s (ANC) comments about the DA. According to Feree (2010:194), some South Africans may thus perceive the DA as a “white party” leading to racialised patterns of voting that are still characteristic of postapartheid voting behaviour.

However, alternative media, such as social media, may challenge the views of elite groups and offer different frames for interpretation. A study by Cissel (2012:75), for example, revealed that the mainstream media focused on the protestors’ violence when covering protests in the USA. By contrast, alternative media, concentrated on police brutality and violent acts on peaceful protestors. Thus different media companies may lean on different sides of a political conflict (Entman 2003:208). In South Africa, for instance, studies indicate that the way in which the Afrikaans and English media frame events tends to differ (Steyn 2004:156; Wasserman 2010:30). Although crime is one of the major problems in South Africa, the Afrikaans media tend to cast crime as targeting whites (Steyn 2004:156; Wasserman 2010:30). According to Wasserman the Afrikaans media tend to “create an image of an onslaught against Afrikaners”, and the image created is that of blacks killing whites.

Furthermore the media tend to frame events in favour of deeply entrenched or culturally shared values and myths such as capitalism or patriarchy (Lavie-Dinur et al 2013:4; Tollefson 2014:14). According to Lavie-Dinur et al (2013:4), “there is a connection between myths reiterated in society and how a story is covered in the media”. Dominant myths thus tend to become dominant media frames. By way of illustration, Lavie-Dinur et al analysed how incidents involving female terrorists were covered in Europe and Israel. They discovered that the majority of newspapers in both countries relied on gender stereotypes when writing about female terrorists. Most newspapers focused on the relationship and family situations of women. For example, one women offender was described as having committed crime “for the sake of love”, while another offender was described as a frustrated violent “spinster”, who committed crime because of her unmarried status. Women’s ideological and political motives for committing crime were downplayed. Lavie-Dinur et al maintain that the media do not usually pay attention to the family or relationship status of male terrorists, thereby implying that males are “naturally” prone to political crimes.

Media framing also includes labelling or judging events. According to Entman (2008:391), framing performs some of these functions such as to “define problems, specify causes, convey moral assessments, and endorse remedies”. Thus media texts may define who or what is the cause of a problem and with what consequences (Entman 2008:391). Tollefson’s (2014:12) analysis of framing of medium of instruction policies in education reveals, for instance, that most news articles described teachers as the cause of poor education. Other factors such as the role of political leaders in education were ignored.

Moreover, what makes framing an important area of study is that it may influence the attitudes of readers towards social or political issues (Louw 2009:46; Scheufele & Iyengar 2008:8). Scheufele and Iyengar (2008:1) maintain that the manner in which a given piece of information is framed in the media may influence individuals’ attitudes towards political issues. Louw (2009:48) posits in this regard that news may shape public opinion and the “effect might be stronger on issues a reader has not experienced”. The images readers have about foreign countries, for example, are sometimes taken from the media (Dell’Orto, Dong, Moore & Schneeweis 2012:246). A person may thus hold negative or positive views about a country he or she has never visited. Scheufele and Iyengar (2008:1) concur that “attitudes towards events are not a function of longstanding political predisposition, but depend on the frames encountered by the receiver”. Frames that an individual encounters may further complement or contradict one another. However, certain frames tend to be dominant over others. That means the media may consistently frame certain events or people negatively or positively over a long period of time.

Conversely, some researchers caution against viewing individuals as passive recipients of media messages (Scheufele 1999:111; Reddy, Moletsane & Masilela 2011:8). Reddy et al’s study on attitudes towards affirmative action, for instance, reveals that individuals may bring their own biases to media texts. Consequently, their attitudes may remain unchanged regardless of the media frames they encounter. Reddy et al argue that information is “absorbed through a filter of pre-existing assumptions” about issues (2011:6). The already existing image in the individual’s mind may therefore determine whether or not a media frame changes the individual’s attitudes on issues.

While research shows that the media tend to rely on shared cultural values or myths, the fact that individuals have different values also needs to be considered (Cissel 2012:75). Individuals may therefore frame events in ways that complement or contradict media frames. Furthermore, the rise of social media in recent years has created a space where individuals can share their views on issues with a wider audience.

3.2.4 Social media: the “new” outlet for overt racism

Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy and Silvestre (2011:241) define social media as media that “employ mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms via which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content”. Social media thus allows for interaction and is a space where individuals can be creators instead of consumers of (media) information. Indeed, social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube allow for more freedom, anonymity and more interaction than traditional media such as newspapers or television (Caldwell 2013:502). Although social media allow for interaction among individuals across the globe, it also brings its own set of problems especially for interracial relations.

According to Gilroy (2012:381), "‘digitalia’ present acts of racist commentary and violence from new angles". YouTube, hate groups on Facebook and “racist tweeting” are becoming common problems. Caldwell (2013:502) states that the social media have become a space of “overt racisms and criticisms”. Furthermore, discourses in the social media may be similar to other discourses in the political and media spheres. The difference, however, may be the overt way in which stereotypes are presented and the frequent use of insults and name-calling in social media (Gilroy 2012:380;

Caldwell 2013:501). Thus, although the dawn of social media has brought the promise of more intercultural interactions and understanding, it seems to have brought its own problems for intercultural relations.

On the positive side, however, social media platforms allow for the dissemination of alternative frames or views that are not presented in mainstream media. Social media have also had positive use in some instances. Some communities, for instance, have Facebook pages dedicated to exposing crime or coming up with “residents-only initiatives” (Solomon 2012). Atkinson, Berg, Meier and White (2013:171) report, for instance, that a middle-class community in the USA assisted a neighbouring poor community and contributed to building community gardens after engaging in an interracial, interclass social site. Although this study does not analyse comments in the social media, they share similar characteristics with letters to the editor. They both offer space for individuals to share their views publicly and to respond to one another.

What makes media discourses worthy of scholarly attention is that they have implications for how individuals interpret events and may impact on individual discourse or frames as previously discussed. Similarly, individual discourses such as online commentary or letters to the editor have consequences for social structures and cannot be dismissed as having limited consequences (Walker 2005:43; Steyn 2004:144). As noted by Blumer (1958:1), media discourses contribute to the attitudes or feelings that individuals have towards members of other social groups.

3.2.5 Feelings of dominant groups

According to Blumer (1958:3), the feelings of dominant groups are usually similar to discourses circulating in the media about who groups are and where they ought to be in the hierarchy. He lists the following four feelings associated with racial prejudice in dominant groups: feelings of superiority; a fear that the subordinate racial group is threatening or will threaten the position of the dominant group; a feeling that that the subordinate is intrinsically different and alien; and a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage. These feelings are discussed together with other feelings of dominant groups noted in recent studies.

Feeling of superiority, victimage and guilt

Whereas Blumer (1958:1) mostly noted feelings of superiority in dominant groups, recent studies, reveal that dominant groups may also hold feelings of victimage and guilt (Lacy 2010:205; Steyn 2010:23; Hughey 2012:219). Lacy maintains that that the discourse (feelings) of white superiority still exists along with other discourses of white victimage, innocence and suffering. Hughey (2012:220) agrees that whiteness is marked by claiming a victimised status as well as a superior one. Texts or talk about affirmative action policies tend to (re)produce the superior status of whites as well as their victim status. For example, individuals may claim that affirmative action and quota systems at schools disadvantage “competent”, “skilled” people or students with good grades (Inkelas 2003:632; Steyn & Foster 2008:30).

Some studies, however, show that whites may stigmatise themselves as essentially racists (Hook 2011:26; Hughey 2012:222). According to Hughey, members of white antiracist groups tend to embrace a stigmatised identity and tend to focus on confession of “bad deeds” and purging their hearts and minds of racism. Such activities, however, may not always translate to political action because the focus may be on rebranding whiteness in antiracist circles.

Some studies also emphasise intrawhite hierarchies and differences based on class, gender or political orientation (Jansen 2009:50; Hughey & Bryd 2013:972). Hughey and Bryd argue that structural theories of race tend to treat whites as a homogeneous group. Micro theories, however, may treat whites as heterogeneous or scattered individuals ignoring what holds the group together. They posit that “whiteness may be re-conceived as neither a one-dimensional category of privilege nor as a disconnected mass of actors as different perspectives might think”. Thus whites may differ but may also share some similarities.

A feeling that the subordinate group is intrinsically different and alien

Blumer (1958:139) claims that feelings of racial difference are achieved through magnifying differences between groups. According to him, there is a “colour line” among groups that place them in different places and “outlines respective modes of conduct towards each other” (1958:139). He adds that the colour line is flexible and adapts to new conditions. Thus, even if segregationist laws are abolished, a person may move from a rural area to the city, but to a low position characterised by poor housing and infrastructure.

Differences that are political in nature may also be culturalised (Lentin 2012:4). According to Lentin, the culturalisation of politics refers to the use of a cultural frame instead of socioeconomic frames such as exploitation, inequality and injustices to argue, analyse or theorise. Hence the celebration of “diversity” or “multiculturalism” as emphasised in the current era may ignore inequalities (Kim 2012:657; Gilroy 2012:380). Soudien (2004:96) concurs that the “so-called respect for cultures” does not challenge their hierarchical structure.

Proprietary claim to certain privileges and advantages

According to Blumer (1958:3), dominant groups may feel entitled to certain areas of privilege such as good schools or hospitals. Although laws that deemed certain areas as “whites only” have been abolished, Soudien (2008:175) holds that the spatial structure of apartheid has not changed significantly. Townships, for example, are still areas where the majority of blacks live and suburbs are where the majority of whites live. Moreover, in mixed areas such as universities or areas of entertainment, individuals may self-segregate (Finchilescu & Tredoux 2010:223).

Fear that the subordinate racial group is threatening or will threaten the position of the dominant group

Blumer (1958:4) posits that dominant groups may face a threat of losing their high-class status (economic and or political power). Moreover, threats are based not only on tangible material interests, but also on “intangible socio-emotional experiences” (Perry 2007:377). Perry explains that threats are felt not only to one’s economic and political status but also to one’s self-hood. Thus structural changes not only threaten individuals’ economic position, but also their sense of self. Perry notes, for instance, that threats to the narrative cohesion of “good” that whiteness was based upon may also threaten an individual’s sense of self.

Individuals may voice these threats in various ways. They may, for instance, voice threats by constructing a dystopian image of the future or may cite crime or policies such as affirmative action as threats to white wealth and safety (Lacy 2010:33; Steyn 2010:18). Baldwin (2012:172) adds that fear of the future may influence one’s attitude and invoke perceptions of threat, especially when one sees a bleak future.

3.2.6 Feelings of subordinate groups

Bobo and Hutchings (1996:951) postulate that subordinate groups tend to experience feelings of racial alienation. They attribute these feelings to historical experiences as well as the current social and economic position of the subordinate groups. Moreover, the degree to which feelings of alienation and institutionalised disadvantage are experienced will not be the same for all groups. Groups who feel more disadvantaged may hold stronger feelings of alienation. Research shows, for instance, that Asians and Hispanics do not feel the same way as blacks towards whites (Bobo & Zubrinsky 1996:884; Collier 2012:240).

It is believed that Asians mostly received better treatment than blacks, which may explain their fair attitudes towards whites (Inkelas 2003:633; Collier 2012:240). Asians are, for instance, surrounded by positive stereotypes in comparison with the stereotypes relating to blacks. However, this is not the case for all Asians as there are intraracial hierarchies within and among Asian groups (Inkelas 2003:633). Indians and coloureds in apartheid South Africa also received better treatment and resources compared to blacks and may hold favourable attitudes towards whites (Soudien 2007:440; Duncan 2003:151). However, some Indians and coloureds chose to identify as black in unity with blacks against apartheid (Hammett 2010:247).

Blacks, however, occupied the lowest rung of the racial ladder during apartheid. Research shows that in the postapartheid dispensation, blacks may feel disadvantaged by apartheid legacy stereotypes and their current economic position (Erasmus & De Wet 2003:18; Schutte & Singiswa 2013:1). Although blacks have political and majority power, the majority of blacks are still poor. Policies meant to lessen interracial inequalities tend to benefit the black middle class (Erasmus

2010:395; Whitehead 2013:6). Erasmus suggests that changing the focus of such policies from race to class may benefit the majority of poor blacks.

Poor (uneducated or unemployed) blacks may also feel alienated by the black middle class and black government officials. A study by Schutte and Singiswa (2013:1) reveals that poor blacks may feel alienated or even oppressed by the black middle class and by the state and its mechanisms (such as police brutality towards those who protest against poor services or complete lack of services in informal settlements). Currently, blacks in South Africa are marked by heterogeneity or hierarchies and also held together by a category (black) and shared history of racial oppression.

3.2.7 Critique of group position theory

Perry (2007:375) states that the strength of group position theory lies in synthesising macro and micro models of race relations, that is linking individual feelings and attitudes to structural factors. The theory also acknowledges intragroup differences,but does not discuss these differences in depth. The theory ignores other intersections of race such as class or gender that may place a member of a dominant group in subordinate positions within his or her group, albeit in a position still higher than the subordinate group. The extension of the theory to include the feelings of dominant groups also acknowledges differences and varied levels of subordination. The theory does not, however, provide a detailed discussion of intragroup differences and hierarchies among and within the subordinate groups.

The theory has further been criticised for not explaining the processes of identifying with one group and how group identity is formed (Blaylock 2009:2). The theory is also criticised for limiting prejudice to negative feelings about other groups. According to Blaylock (2009), prejudice may also include a “powerful commitment to a preferred group position”. The theory, nonetheless, does demonstrate how intergroup hierarchies are created. The theory forms the basis for examining attitudes expressed by dominant groups towards subordinate groups, and vice versa.

3.3 Social dominance theory

Social dominance theory was developed by Sidanius and Pratto (1993) to explain how group-based hierarchies are sustained over long periods of time. Social dominance theory, like other group-based theories such as group position theory, posits that there is a strong link between individual beliefs and behaviours, on the one hand, and institutional and group practices, on the other. The theory also shows how inequalities are legitimated and justified through legitimising myths that seek to naturalise inequalities (Pratto 2009:782; Pratto et al 2006:271). Legitimising myths can be defined as myths that justify discrimination against subordinate groups. These myths can be used to justify gender-based, ethnic-based and/or class-based inequalities. Legitimising myths normally appear in social discourses and make inequality-enhancing practices seem natural, justified and necessary (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, Betram & Malle 1994:741). Moreover, there are also delegitimising or counter-myths that seek to disrupt inequalities (Pratto & Stewart 2011:23; Reid 2012:45).

Other factors that contribute to the maintenance of inequalities are an attitudinal orientation known as social dominance orientation and differences in the behavioural repertoires of cultural groups. According to Pratto (2009:784), a social dominance orientation can be high or low. A high social dominance orientation is associated with holding hierarchy-enhancing beliefs, while a low social dominance orientation is associated with holding hierarchy-attenuating beliefs. Differences in the behavioural repertoires of groups may also serve to reinforce inequalities. The roles played by each of the three factors, myths, social dominance orientation and the behavioural repertoires of cultural groups, are discussed in the sections below.

3.3.1 The role of myths in group relations

Schöpflin (1997:205) defines myths as a "set of beliefs usually put forth as a narrative and held by a community about itself”. Myths are thus based on perceptions rather than historically validated truths. Myths take what is known (e.g. history) and offer a simple interpretation of this history (Schöpflin 1997:205). Myths are thus characterised by simplifying complex issues, that is offering a univocal narrative of what happened or what is happening, thus ignoring multiple interpretations of a phenomenon. The media, such as film, television or books, serve as outlets for mythical speech (Barthes 1972:100). For myths to be effective, they need to be shared and accepted by the majority of individuals in a society (Bell 2003:65; Reid 2011:37). Myths are also related to discourses in that they are both construct social groups and relations. Myths represent beliefs, thought systems or ideologies whereas discourses are outlets for such beliefs (myths).

Myths serve to create collectives and provide means (stories) for individuals to recognise that they share mindsets (Bell 2003:65). According to Reid (2011:55), one of the functions of myths is to inspire collectivism, unify a group and also define boundaries for that group. Moreover, once boundaries have been placed among groups, they may be hard to break unless there are other (counter) myths transcending the myths that define ethnic boundaries (Schöpflin1997:207). Owing to circulating myths about group relations, groups might therefore perceive each other as enemies and demonise each other in a mutual fashion. Schöpflin adds that individuals who disregard the borders of their group may be described as “the enemy within”.

Myths also serve to justify, legitimise or delegetimise hierarchies and/or naturalise or denaturalise the social order (Sheridan-Rabideau 2001:445; Pratto 2009:786; Reid 2011:55). Myths further tend to be propagated by elite groups such as politicians and they may propagate different myths at various times for various purposes (Schöpflin 1997:206; Bell 2003:65). History, for example, may be told mythically, omitting certain events or role players. Politicians may give a version of history that ensures they remain in power for as long as possible (Schöpflin 1997:206; Bell 2003:65)

In recent years, however, some studies indicate that there is a rise of counter myths that seek to oppose dominant myths about gender or racial groups (Sheridan-Rabideau 2001:445; Reid 2011:55). Reid, for instance, identifies the good (and bad) white perpetrator myth as one of the counter myths that seek to redefine whiteness in postapartheid South Africa. Such myths, however, may not be easily recognisable or accessible as mainstream media may still prefer a dominant myth.

Counter myths may also contradict one another as there is no agreement on how to undo a dominant myth (Reid 2011:44). Similarly, there are a number of myths that seek to oppose dominant myths about racial relations or groups. Such myths include the postrace myth, the neoracism myth and the reverse-racism myth .

The propagators of the postrace myth tend to proclaim that race and racism ended with the abolishment of laws that governed previous dispensations. Researchers point out that this myth is prevalent in Western countries and became more popular with the election of Barack Obama, the first black president of the USA, in 2008 (Taylor 2009:649; Teasley & Ikard 2010:411; Alberto 2012:261). The postrace myth was also a dominant myth in South Africa during the Mandela era, although it was later threatened by oppositional myths, such as a focus on the African Renaissance and inequalities during the Mbeki era (Habib & Blentley 2005:3). A study at previously white institutions in postapartheid South Africa reveals that students drew on the postrace myth by claiming that they do not "see" race or colour (Walker 2005:42). Moreover, a number of studies indicate that it is dominant groups who are likely to hold this myth (Taylor 2009:642; Anagnostopoulos et al, 2013:164). Black middle class may also embrace this myth. According to Pratto and Stewart (2012:29), dominant groups are likely to perceive race as over since colonial or apartheid systems have been demolished. Subordinate groups, however, may perceive the current era as falling short of an egalitarian ideal and are likely to "see" race, specifically race-based inequalities. The propagators of the postrace myth have been criticised for ignoring inequalities and attributing them solely to cultural customs or "bad behaviour" of previously oppressed groups (Taylor 2009:643; Alberto 2012:261).

Propagators of the neoracism myth, by contrast, believe that racism has not ended, but that it now comes in new forms. Structural racism is believed to be replaced by an informal and subtle racism (Bonilla-Silva 2012:173; Bobo & Smith 1998:184). Whites are therefore still perceived as racist and powerful. Hughey (2012:234) asserts that "white" and "antiracism" are often framed as antonyms, thus individuals (whites and blacks) may continue to stereotype whites as racist. Propagators of this myth may thus overlook changes and focus on continuities. Whereas the postrace myth may overestimate changes, the neoracism myth may underestimate them (Taylor 2009:642).

The reverse-racism myth is based on the view that racism has not only ended, but that it is now reversed – in other words, whites are the recipients of black racism (Steyn 2010:16; Rohrer 2008:1116). Steyn reports, for instance, that a number of white males in her study saw policies such as affirmative action as “unfair reverse discrimination”. Similarly, crime as mentioned in section 3.2.5 may be viewed as targeting whites. This myth thus ignores the legacy of the past and the current (economic) privilege of dominant groups.

Another myth worthy of note is the white privilege–black disadvantage myth. This myth ignores both intrawhite and intrablack hierarchies (Hughey & Bryd 2013:977). According to McIntosh (2012:202), the victimiser-victim, privileged-underprivileged binaries are devoid of complexities. Individuals, for instance, may be privileged and disadvantaged at the same time by factors such as class, gender and (dis)ability. Some individuals may also have multiple privileges or multiple disadvantages. There are also other myths explaining current intergroup relations, and this study also focused on myths that individuals draw on to describe group relations in South Africa at present.

3.3.2 Social dominance orientation

Another contributing factor to social dominance or inequalities is an attitudinal orientation called the social dominance orientation. Pratto et al (2006:282) hold that people high in the social dominance orientation tend to endorse hierarchy-enhancing beliefs such as sexist beliefs or prejudice against subordinate groups and may oppose policies aimed at reducing inequalities. High levels of a social dominance orientation tend to be seen in discriminatory behaviours and tend to be stable over time. They can, however, change overtime through education or re-socialisation.

Prato et al (2006:282) further state that high levels of a social dominance orientation tend to be found among dominant groups. This is attributed to the fact that dominant groups have more to lose and may thereby maintain hierarchy-enhancing ideologies in order to preserve their high status. A high social dominance orientation may also be found among the middle class section of subordinate groups. Pratto and Stewart (2011:33) posit that there are also subordinates within subordinate groups, usually caused by class differences.

A low social dominance orientation, on the other hand, is characterised by awareness of inequalities among groups and support for hierarchy-attenuating ideologies.

According to Pratto (2009:784), a low social dominance orientation is usually found among subordinate groups. Another factor contributing to inequalities is differences in the behavioural repertoires of dominant and subordinate groups.

3.3.3 Behavioural repertoires

Pratto (2009:784) lists the following behaviours that contribute to sustaining group inequalities. They are:

Asymmetrical ingroup bias

Dominant groups are said to display more ingroup favouritism than subordinate groups (Pratto et al 2006:271). There may also be instances where members of subordinate groups favour the dominant group. This may especially be the case in stable hierarchies where the dominant group is the standard by which all other cultures are judged. In contested hierarchies, however, subordinate groups may show high levels of ingroup favouritism. High ingroup favouritism among the subordinate groups may be due to the need for solidarity against domination (Pratto 2009:786).

Self-debilitating behaviour

Subordinate groups are said to engage in more self and group destructive behaviours than dominant groups. Examples of such behaviours include crime, ingroup directed violence, alcohol or other substance abuse. Pratto and Stewart (2012:32) assert out that “both superior and inferior prophecies by stereotypes become fulfilled”. Hughey (2012:221) concurs that stigmatised groups or individuals tend to present an identity that is congruent with the self-concept (stigma). This, however, may not be the case for all subordinate groups. Middle class subordinates, for instance, may feel different from the lower class in terms of behaviour or lifestyle (Schutte & Singiswa 2013:4).

Ideological asymmetry

Higher levels of a social dominance orientation tend to be found in dominant groups than in subordinate groups (Pratto 2009:784). Hierarchy-enhancing myths also tend to be found among the dominant groups, which may lead to acts of discrimination or derogation of subordinate groups. Moreover, dominant groups (middle class and politicians) in subordinate groups may also favour hierarchy-enhancing ideologies.

The above factors, however, are not without complexities, and hierarchy-attenuating myths may produce paradoxical results (Steyn 2010:18). For instance, individuals may talk about subordinate groups as needing help or training in work environments. The position of subordinate groups is usually highlighted in discourses about affirmative action and such discourses may reproduce blacks as subordinates and whites as superiors.

3.3.4 Critique of social dominance theory

The theory assists in explaining how hierarchies among cultural groups are maintained and reproduced. Similar to group position theory, the theory also links macro and micro factors in analysing intergroup relations. However, social dominance theory, like group position theory, does not discuss intragroup hierarchies and differences in detail.

Further criticism against social dominance theory emanates from the fact that it does not take widespread social changes that have taken place in recent years into account (Rubin & Hewstone 2004:823). Tunçgenç (2010:3) points out that the theory relies on “historical data” which does not reflect changes that have taken place in recent years. Furthermore, the theory does not explain how the attitudinal orientation, (high or low) social dominance orientation, is formed. Turner and Reynolds (2003:200) argue that attitudes are not pre-stored, but are a product of socialisation, historical experiences, representation of groups in public discourse and other social factors. Social dominance theory is nonetheless useful in explaining how hierarchies among cultural groups are maintained and reproduced.

3.4 Summary

Group position and social dominance theories provide useful tools for understanding how inequalities are constructed and maintained and how they may be disrupted. Furthermore, group position theory demonstrates how intergroup attitudes are formed. Blumer (1958:1) holds that individual attitudes emanate from social structures and cannot be attributed solely to the psychological make-up of the individual. Information or discourses that are disseminated through the media may thus influence individual attitudes towards other social groups.

Myths that are dominant in a society as propounded by social dominance theory, may also explain why the majority of individuals hold similar attitudes towards outgroups. That means individual attitudes or views may be linked to factors larger than the individual. Factors such as the social environment, myths and media may have an impact on individual attitudes and feelings (Blumer 1958:140; Bobo & Hutchings 1996:951).

Changes in power dynamics among groups may also result in changes in individual attitudes. That means political changes may account for attitude changes among some individuals or groups. The next chapter provides a more in-depth discussion of changes and current conditions in South Africa – that is, politics, economics, media and relations among South African racial groups.

CHAPTER 4

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Introduction

South Africa is a country with a history of stark racial divisions and hierarchies. The legacy of these divisions and hierarchies is still prevalent. Identity or intergroup dynamics are therefore still an important area of study in the South African context. As discussed in previous chapters, history, myths and discourses play a role in the construction of identities and intergroup relations. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:411), “the current debate on nations and identities is no longer about whether they [identities] are constructed or not, but is about the various specific and contextual mechanisms and technologies used in their construction”.

This chapter examines postapartheid history, specifically with regard to race relations. Attention is focused on the (re)construction of South African racial identities as well as inter and intragroup dynamics. Discourses or myths on the state of the South African nation are also dealt with.

The first part of the chapter discusses race relations in postapartheid South Africa, with the focus on racial tensions and other dynamics. Secondly, nation-building discourses are discussed, followed by an exposition of postapartheid blackness, whiteness, Indianness and colouredness. Next, inequalities among and within these aforementioned groups are discussed. The last part of the chapter discusses recent incidents of interracial controversy and other political events, especially those that took place in the year 2016.

4.2 Racial relations in postapartheid South Africa

Race and ethnicity have been a central focus in South Africa since colonisation and/or apartheid (Sahistory.org 2015). The apartheid government introduced numerous pieces of legislation that enforced racial segregation and hierarchies. Legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of

1953 enforced divisions of residential areas and public areas such as hospitals and beaches according to race. The Black Homeland Citizenship Act of 1970 also divided land for specific black ethnic groups. Each ethnic group had its chief or leader. Certain laws such as the Colour Bar Act clearly set out jobs for specific races and thus widened inequalities or hierarchies. Race and/or ethnic relations were thus marked by divisions, tensions and hierarchies.

The history of race relations after apartheid (1994) is one marked by significant changes. Along with the changes, however, are the legacies of the past that are still discernible (Steyn 2010:18; Puttick 2011:21; Hook 2013:7). According to Wale (2014:3), "progress in reconciliation is not linear. Instead, we progress in some reconciliation-related areas, while remaining static or even regressing in other areas".

Progress has indeed been made in desegregating spaces that were previously white, coloured, Indian or black only (Soudien 2010:356; Wale 2014:3). Various other sectors such as residential areas, and business and corporate institutions have also been desegregated. Policies such as affirmative action and black economic empowerment (BEE) are formal policies that strive towards ensuring inclusion of previously disadvantaged groups in places that were once deemed "whites only".

The desegregation of places, however, has not been without challenges. A number of racial incidents have been recorded such as stereotyping and labelling in class or school playgrounds (Vincent 2008:1441; Mtose 2011:325). Racial slurs such as the word "kaffir", for example, or "koolie" (racial slur referring to Indians) have been used against learners on school playgrounds. Indians and whites have used these racial slurs against blacks (Vally & Dalamba 1999:11). Blacks have also used the racial slur "kaffir" against other blacks. The racial slur "boer" has also been used against whites by blacks. The word "boer" received greater media attention after the "Kill/shoot the Boer" song was sung by the now EFF president, Julius Malema, in 2010 (Davids 2014:1).

Besides the use of racial slurs, research also shows that individuals tend to self-segregate in desegregated spaces such as schools, universities and other social spaces (Keizan & Duncan 2010:466, Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2010:45). Peer pressure, circulating discourses about groups and meta-stereotypes have been cited as some of the factors leading to self-segregation (Finchilescu 2010:336). Students, for instance, may avoid association with other races as peers may not approve of such relationships. Whites who have black friends, for example, maybe be called “kaffir boeties” or “wiggers” (black-lovers) while blacks with white friends may be called “coconuts” (Vally & Dalamba 1999:32; Jansen 2009:6).

In addition to peer pressure, circulating discourses about groups may also lead to the fear of the “other”. Keizan and Duncan (2010:466), for example, found that students believed that they were different and believed that interacting with different cultures might lead to clashes. This view is also confirmed by Vally and Dalamba’s (1999:17) study where students claimed that “conflict will occur if they [students] mix”. Furthermore, meta-stereotypes, that is “stereotypes that members of a group believe outgroup members hold about them”, may cause intergroup anxiety and therefore self-segregation (Keizan & Duncan 2010:466). As noted in section 3.3, prevailing myths impact on how groups perceive one another.

Myths may also influence relations among groups. According to Vincent (2008:1434), places are constructed in a way that denotes who belongs and who does not belong in a particular place. Vincent reports, for example, that a black male was told to leave an “all-white male club”. In other words, white males had a sense of “territorial entitlement” over the place. Gobodo-Madikizela (2014:6) adds that while desegregation may be a welcome change for some whites, for others “it is an invasion of what belongs to them”. This feeling of invasion was also expressed in Vally and Dalamba’s (1999:32) study. Some learners felt that blacks did not belong in their school. Some asked why blacks had come to their school when whites do not go to black schools.

Self-segregation can also be perceived as an effect of decades of racial segregation under apartheid, the legacy of “separate development” (Hofmeyr 2004:63). Goldberg (2009:97) posits that when individuals self-segregate or informally segregate, they “informalise what was formally produced”. That means while the apartheid government formalised segregation, individuals may continue to segregate informally even when such laws are barred.

Self-segregation, however, may not occur among all groups or individuals. Some studies reveal that coloureds and Indians tend to have much more favourable relations with whites in desegregated schools than blacks (Vally & Dalamba 1999:25; Keizan &

Duncan 2010:466). Keizan and Duncan, for instance, found that blacks were the most the segregated group. By contrast, coloureds, Indians and whites, tended to mix or interact. Similarly, in a study by Vally and Dalamba (1999:25), one of the respondents stated that the culture of coloured learners was somewhat similar to that of white learners. White parents were also said to be "pleasantly surprised" when interacting with coloureds. However, while coloureds may be favoured by whites, they are sometimes stereotyped as drunkards. Indians, on the other hand, were reportedly the most favoured by whites and coloureds, while blacks were the least favoured.

Some studies also indicate that the institutional culture at some schools may be supporting self-segregation (Vally & Dalamba 1999:32; Soudien 2010:356). School principals and governing bodies in certain schools may also be against allowing black students at previously white schools. Vally and Dalamba report that this was the case, especially in the early years following apartheid. Some teachers and principals cited cultural differences and "not being accustomed to the new South Africa" as stumbling blocks to integration at schools. Some desegregated schools even saw white students leave as blacks enrolled (Jansen 2009:40; Lemon 2010:304).

Jansen (2009:40) notes, however, that some schools have made progress in establishing a culture of respect and nonracialism, but the attention of the media and the public tends to be on incidents of racial tension. Some schools were in fact highly successful in their efforts to integrate and promote all cultures or multiculturalism (Jansen 2009; Soudien 1999:204). Some researchers, however, view multiculturalism with a sceptical eye (Soudien 1999:204; Vally & Dalamba 1999:104).

Soudien (1999:204) argues that multiculturalism may deepen stereotypes instead of eradicating them. He states, for example, that an Indian student was asked to bring samosas for white parents, while some Zulu learners were asked to perform a Zulu dance at an Indian school as a way of celebrating or demonstrating their culture. These incidents indicate that culture continues to be marked by food, dance or clothing, while inequalities, power imbalances and other intercultural dynamics are ignored. This version of multiculturalism, according to Vally and Dalamba (1999:104), resonates "frighteningly with Verwoerdian [one of the apartheid leaders] manipulation of cultural diversity". Multiculturalism thus tends to be depoliticised as it ignores power imbalances. Some multicultural practices, however, are "positive and affirming" and may bring about respect and acknowledgement of various cultures (Vally & Dalamba 1999:25). The dynamics of desegregation have also been noted in the business or corporate sector.

4.2.1 Interracial incidents in the business/corporate sector

Racial incidents have not only been noted at schools, but also in the corporate or business sectors (Holborn 2010:20; Durrheim, Mtose & Brown 2010:15). Incidents of the abuse of farm workers along with the murders of mostly white farmers by blacks (robbers) have received significant public attention (Nakayama, Schutte & Van Rheede Van Oudtshoorn 2013:160). While the abuse of farm workers is mainly viewed as a continuation of the past, the murder of farmers (mostly white) has been open to multiple interpretations (Holborn 2010:20; Durrheim et al 2010:15).

Some farmers view farm murders as reverse racism, while the government and some members of society view it as similar to other crimes. The brutality of these murders, however, has resulted in perceptions that they are more than just crime, but are politically and racially motivated (Holborn 2010:20; Durrheim et al 2010:15). Moreover, the issue of the murder of farm owners does not receive much attention from black politicians, while the abuse of farm workers has received more attention (Holborn 2010:23). Consequently, Holborn states that some white politicians have accused the ANC leaders of “selective morality” because of their selective focus on the abuse of farm workers. He adds that white farmers also tend to be silent when incidents of farm worker abuse crop up, and as a result, such incidents tend to be racialised.

The media is another sector that has been accused of racism in its reportage. This accusation is symbolised by the investigation of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) into racism in the media in the year 2000. The report was, however, criticised because of its methodological flaws and biases. The study was arguably an attempt by the government to control the media (Berger 2002:2; Tomaselli 2000:158). Fourie (2008:115) notes that the media tend to be accused of racism or of using Western ideologies when incidents of government corruption or nepotism are reported. The findings of the report, inter alia, were that the media tended to associate (South) Africa with negativities. The ANC-led government, in particular, was said to be portrayed in a negative light. Black journalists expressed concern that the media debate was dominated by whites and that expert sources were usually white and male

(SAHRC 2000:21). Holborn (2010:35), however, notes that “racial sentiments in relation to the media have been few and far between since 2000”.

Racial incidents in general are still common in postapartheid South Africa, although they may have declined in recent years (Holborn 2010:33). Of particular interest is that some of these incidents are also committed by “born frees” (individuals born after 1994). Jansen (2009:14) questions how individuals born in the late 1980s and early 1990s and who grew up during the “sweet Mandela years of love and reconciliation” have come to harbour prejudice towards outgroups. The Skierlik[5] shooting (2008), for example, was committed by a teenager who shot blacks. The “Reitz four” who made the controversial video at the University of the Free State[6] were also under the age of 25 (Soudien 2010:9).

Jansen (2009:98) claims that “post children” or born-frees may be influenced by a number of factors such as parents, peers, churches and schools. He argues that children who go to segregated schools are likely to receive “partial knowledge” (half-truths) from teachers and other people who fulfil an authoritative role. He notes, for example, that a number of white students from Afrikaans schools mostly had memories of the Anglo-Boer War and how Afrikaners suffered and thrived. Stories of black suffering were hidden from their view. Moreover, whites may feel disadvantaged by the postapartheid government and stories of white suffering under the current government may lead to born-frees’ hostility towards blacks (Jansen 2009:103). By contrast, blacks mostly have stories of their suffering under apartheid and the museums are mainly filled with images of black suffering and victory. Whites who were part of anti-apartheid movements may be ignored.

Born-frees thus come to tertiary institutions with different historical memories which may cause tensions. Rastogi (2010:115) concludes that the relationship between South Africans of various racial groups is “characterised by violence, not only violence in the way each community relates to the other but also a cognitive violence in the way each [community] perceives the other”. Received knowledge (from school, parents or peers) which may differ from group to group, may cause tensions between groups (Jansen 2009:98). Jansen warns that such knowledge, if not dealt with, is likely to keep tensions between groups alive, and believes that such knowledge may be disrupted when individuals receive new knowledge about their group and other groups.

---

[5] In the Skierlik shooting (2008), a white teenager shot four blacks in Skierlik, a squatter camp near his home, in North West province.

[6] White students at the University of Free State made a video in which cleaners at the students’ hostel ate food that the students had apparently urinated on.

Although there are different historical memories or clashing knowledges, shared views among groups also exist. Studies show, however, that shared knowledge or perspectives about issues such as the past or present is/are still limited (Holborn 2010:55; Ansell 2004:20). A recent report by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (2014), for example, reveals that a large percentage of individuals did not agree that apartheid was a crime against humanity. More than 40% of whites did not agree that apartheid was a "crime to humanity", while the majority of blacks agreed. Similarly, Ansell (2004:5) reports that in her study among blacks and whites, there was little agreement about present concerns, such as how to bridge inequalities among groups. Apart from the continued existence of interracial tension in postapartheid South Africa, as illustrated by the incidents discussed in this section, race is furthermore often (mis)used by politicians to achieve particular political ends (Holborn 2010:28).

4.2.2 The race card

The race card refers to the use of racial rhetoric as a response to criticism (Holborn 2010:31). Politicians increasingly accuse critics of government policy of being racist. There have been a number of incidents where politicians use the race card to cover up failures of the government. For example, critics of a black member of parliament (MP) who bought a fleet of cars with public money were branded as racists who cannot stand to see blacks driving BMWs (Holborn 2010:53).

President Mbeki's leadership was also characterised by the overt usage of race to respond to critics. Mbeki's response to criticism on issues of crime and HIV was that these are the results of racism (Snyman 2008:1). Race card players usually accuse whites who criticise government actions or policies of being racist. Conversely, black critics of the government may be accused of being counter-revolutionary or echoing white fears (Vincent 2008:1439). Although the ANC-led government committed itself to nonracialism and tolerance, politicians have been among the most reckless "race card" players (Jansen 2009:3).

Politicians, both black and white, have raised awareness of the dangers of using the race card (Holborn 2010:35). According to Jansen (2009:5), the race card tends to stifle and distort debate over serious issues. Moreover, because of the use of the race card, incidents of racism may end up not being taken seriously. Jansen further cautions that the use of the race card may have consequences for intergroup relations.

4.2.3 Interracial interactions

While there are reported bouts of interracial incidents and episodes of self-segregation, meaningful interactions among groups do occur (Collier 2007:295; Soudien 2004:96). Such interactions may occur on an equal or unequal basis and may be experienced as positive or negative. Positive contact has been noted in some studies (Collier 2007:295; Finchilescu & Tredoux 2009:179). Sherman and Steyn (2010:73) report that individuals in intimate interracial relationships tend to transcend race and operate as equals.

For subordinate groups, however, dating other races may still be perceived as a sign or symbol of success (Durrheim et al 2010:45; Sherman & Steyn 2010:155). For example, a coloured respondent claimed that he had gained more "respect" among coloureds as a result of having a white girlfriend (Sherman & Steyn 2010:71). Whites may also exoticise subordinate groups. A white respondent in Sherman and Steyn's study, for instance, claimed that she preferred to date coloureds or other races because they are more passionate compared to whites who are quiet or conservative.

Interracial friendships may also be marked by complexities. A white respondent in Vincent's (2008:1437) study claimed that her black friend was not an "actual black", because she had grown up in London and could not speak any African language. This indicates that interracial relationships may also lead to tokenisation of individuals. Some blacks, for instance, especially middle-class blacks, may be seen as different from other blacks or as exceptional (Kriel 2010:110).

Furthermore, discussion of political issues may prove to be difficult in interracial relationships or interactions. According to Botsis (2010:240), individuals may avoid “touchy” topics such as affirmative action in interracial interactions. In private spaces, however, individuals tend to feel “safe” to utter overt stereotypes about other groups or views about the current political dispensation (Verwey & Quayle 2012:574). Botsis cautions that fear may lead to the “multiplication of the self” in that what a person says in public and what he or she says in private may differ (2010:240). She suggests that creating a “safe” environment where such topics can be discussed may lead to honesty.

Intergroup interactions and desegregation may further lead to new generalisations or new stereotypes (Vincent 2008:1446). For example, an Indian respondent in Vincent’s study claimed that she was afraid of living with blacks, because of her assumptions that they were unhygienic. However, she said that after staying in a mixed residence, she realised that blacks were the “cleanest of all”. This implies that when popular stereotypes are disproved, individuals may create new stereotypes about racial groups.

Multiracial interactions may also be characterised by fear or stereotypes (Botsis 2010:28; Sherman & Steyn 2010:155). According to Durrheim et al (2010:138), “interactions take place where the memory of racism is still fresh and apartheid legacy is visible in concrete form”. Individuals may therefore be vigilant or unconscious of how inherited habits impact the way they communicate with “others”. For example, Mtose’s (2008:345) study revealed that most whites felt that they communicated with blacks as equals. Blacks, however, felt that such interactions were imbued with some racism or a superiority complex on the part of whites.

Racism has furthermore become hard to define in recent years especially where laws prohibit the uttering of overt hostility or stereotypes in public (Durrheim et al 2010:25). Those who were previously recipients of racism may also find it hard to pinpoint if an incident or “talk’’ was racist or not (Erasmus & De Wet 2003:25). Even “new” racisms may be hard to pinpoint. Durrheim et al (2010:25) assert that “what racism looks like is not a simple exercise” in the current era. Previous definitions of racism mostly focused on structural relations (an individual’s position in a racial hierarchy) and psychological factors (such as feelings of prejudice) as the basis for racism. Where there are structural changes, racism may thus be hard to pinpoint.

Recent investigations into racism, however, tend to focus on stereotypes uttered about the ingroup or outgroups, more specifically negative stereotyping of outgroups as sole determinators of racism. Erasmus (2011:389) cautions that such definitions of racism may be “too narrow or too broad”. The current study, however, restricted racism to negative stereotyping of outgroups as the researcher used written texts (letters to the editor).

In addition to the complexities in interactions among groups, class or physical (dis)ability are among the categories that may determine a person’s experiences of mixed schools or social settings. Vally and Dalamba (1999:32) note that a black person from a middle class family who is fluent in English will have a different experience at an English multiracial school than a black from a lower class who is not fluent in English. Class therefore seems to play a major role in people’s experience of intergroup interactions. Wale (2014:3), for instance, notes that “while levels of interracial contact and socialisation have improved… the poor remain largely excluded from this positive social integration”. This implies that interracial interactions may be mostly taking place among members of the middle class and lower class members may be less likely to interact with members of other racial groups.

4.2.4 Intergroup attitudes

Intergroup attitudes in postapartheid South Africa , like intergroup relations, are quite complex. Some studies reveal that intergroup attitudes have been fluctuating from very negative at one end of the continuum to very positive at the other end (Holborn 2010:35; Wale 2014:18). Wale notes, for example, that sport events such as the soccer world cup tend to unite groups and create positive attitudes. Such attitudes, however, may wane after the event.

Other studies show that some groups tend to display the same negative attitudes they displayed during apartheid (Bornman 2011:734; Duckitt et al 2005:633). For instance, the attitude of some blacks towards Afrikaans-speaking whites tend to be similar to those shown during apartheid. Similarly, Afrikaans-speaking whites may also display negative attitudes towards blacks. Although blacks and English-speaking whites had favourable relations during apartheid, recent studies indicate that blacks have become more negative towards English-speaking whites, and vice versa (Wale 2014:3; Bornman 2011:735).

Furthermore, some studies indicate positive changes in the attitudes of Afrikaners towards blacks (Bornman 2011:735; Finchilescu & Tredoux 2009:178; Wale 2014:3). This change is especially evident among Afrikaners in urban areas. Bornman comments that extended contact in urban areas and level of education might be some of the factors accounting for the changes. Finchilescu and Tredoux (2009:178) report, for example, that greater contact with other groups resulted in improvements in the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking whites towards blacks. Moreover, whites who had greater or frequent contact with blacks also showed support for redress policies. Blacks who had frequent contact with whites also tended to display more positive attitudes towards them.

Bornman (2011:729) adds, however, that in some cases the positive changes in the attitudes of whites may be unreciprocated by blacks. The indications are that blacks may consistently display negative attitudes towards whites. A similar trend has also been noted by researchers in countries such as the USA. According to Stewart et al (2012:12), some studies on white privilege awareness campaigns showed reduced prejudice among whites. The attitudes of blacks towards whites, however, remained the same. Studies on discourses among members of white antiracist groups also indicate that whites in such groups may display positive attitudes towards previously oppressed groups (Stoudt et al 2012:178; McIntosh 2012:196). Hence it seems that there has been more emphasis on the need for whites to change their attitudes. The attitudes that blacks and other previously oppressed groups have towards whites, however, may be ignored.

Attitude changes are also noted among coloureds and Indians. Several post-1994 studies reveal that coloureds and Indians are also becoming more negative towards blacks, and vice versa (Bornman 2011:735; Wale 2014:20). Coloureds and Indians tend to feel disadvantaged by policies such as affirmative action. Wale adds that coloureds and Indians may also feel excluded from sharing a “struggle identity”, despite their participation in the liberation struggle. This feeling may also be shared by whites who participated in the liberation struggle. Wale further states that coloureds may feel excluded in the "Zebra politics" of South Africa that tends to focus predominantly on blacks and whites. Conversely, Blacks tend to view Indians and coloureds as "dominant others". Such a view may be fuelled by the fact that Indians and coloureds were relatively privileged as they were placed above blacks in the apartheid racial hierarchy.

The attitudes of Indians and coloureds towards whites have also become more positive, whereas they were slightly negative especially towards Afrikaans-speaking whites during apartheid (Bornman 2011:746; Vally & Dalamba 1999:32). Keizan and Duncan (2010:468) assert that English-speaking whites and Indians are "likely to perceive each other as allies" as they share a common language and a politically marginal position in postapartheid South Africa. Keizan and Duncan add that the relationship between Indians and Afrikaans-speaking whites was also marked by less conflict during the apartheid years and they may now perceive each other as allies as they share a numerically marginal position.

The same can also be said about the attitudes of coloureds towards Afrikaans-speaking whites in the postapartheid era. While coloureds tended to display negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking whites in the past, their politically marginal position may draw them closer to Afrikaans-speaking whites. Coloureds are also Afrikaans first-language speakers, therefore also fostering a further affinity with Afrikaans-speaking whites. Keizan and Duncan (2010:467) conclude that some groups in South Africa may view each other as allies, while some may perceive each other as enemies. The long history of conflict between Afrikaans-speaking whites and blacks, for example, may explain the persistent negative attitudes between these two groups (Bornman 2011:745). By contrast, politically or numerically marginal groups such as Indians, coloureds, Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites may become allies or hold positive attitudes towards one another (Desai & Vahed 2010:188).

Attitudes towards the current state of race relations in postapartheid South Africa also tend to vary. Some individuals may be optimistic, others may be pessimistic, while some display waning optimism (Holborn 2010:18; Bornman 2011:735). Mangcu (2003:107), for instance, refers to the early period of democracy as a "racial honeymoon" led by President Mandela. The honeymoon, however, ended as attention was drawn to inequalities and other historical legacies. A study by Bornman for instance, reveals that some South Africans feel that race relations have deteriorated over the years. Bornman reports that some individuals feel dissatisfied with how they are treated by members of other groups.

Tensions and contradictions thus exist within the South African reconciliation story (Wale 2014:37). Wale suggests that a recognition of these tensions or contradictions may bring about a shared South African identity that is not based on “blanket unity”. Wale adds that “it is only by creating a collective awareness of the tensions and inequalities which continue to exist that we can come to shape a shared identity based on the principles of justice and transformation …” (2014:37). The next section discusses discourses on the state of the South African nation.

4.2.5 Discourses on the state of the South African nation

The dawn of democracy came with new discourses that were oppositional to apartheid segregationist discourses. The term “Rainbow Nation” was coined to signify “unity in diversity” (Ramsamy 2007:478). Ethnic and racial identities were traded for a unifying South African identity or there was at least an attempt to do so. “Nonracialism” replaced the ideology of separatism (Padayachee 2010:94). Ethnic and/or racial identities were seen as consequences of apartheid “divide and rule” strategies and thus unnecessary in a new nonracial political dispensation (Ramsamy 2007:471; Bornman 2013:443). The attempt to create a “pan-South African” identity is reflected by Mandela’s “no blacks or whites, only South African’s” motto (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:410).

The Rainbow and nonracial discourses, however, soon met with challenges. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:410), the “Rainbowism” ideology was led by elite blacks who were not fully opposed to the idea that whiteness is superior. Adding to this, Padayachee (2012:88) states that elite blacks, while defining themselves in “nonracial” terms, identified with whiteness. That means some blacks sought to imitate whites or adopt the “Western culture” (ways of living or doing deemed Western). Moreover, a layer of politically connected elite blacks gained access to some white privileges such as living in suburbia, or having more money, while the majority of blacks remained in poverty. Rainbowism, however, thrived under the leadership of

Mandela (1994–1999) and obliterated other discourses that raised the issues of resources, ownership and citizenship (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011:409).

The Mbeki-led government (1999-2008), however, replaced “Rainbowism” with Africanism. “Africanisation” and the “African Renaissance” became key terms under Mbeki’s leadership. There was a renewed focus on race and inequalities exemplified by his “two nations” speech (Habib & Blentley 2005:8; Holborn 2010:10). Mbeki claimed that South Africa was a country characterised by “two nations – a rich white nation and a poor black nation” (Mbeki 1998:3). According to Habib and Blentley (2005:8), Mbeki turned the Rainbow Nation into a “Zebra Nation” of black and white. Moreover Mbeki’s “two nations” thesis was criticised for overgeneralising and glossing over intraracial socioeconomic inequalities. Poor whites and upper class blacks, for example, do not fit into Mbeki’s “two nations” paradigm (Holborn 2010:10).

Discourses on the question of who is an “African” and whether being an African would be defined by race, legal citizenship or being born in South Africa became more pronounced under Mbeki’s African Renaissance (Ramsamy 2007:470). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012:410) comments that the question of who is an African “continues to raise sensitive aspects rooted in intractable settler-native problem common to the majority of multi-racial societies born out of imperialism and colonialism”. Ndlovu-Gatsheni further states that the question of who is authentically South African among various ethnic black South African groups remains open. He notes that some politicians claim that there were no Bantu-speaking people in the Western Cape, Northern Cape as well as the interior of South Africa when whites arrived. The “empty land thesis”, however, according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni was used by apartheid leaders to deny blacks claims to land as they are also regarded as “potential foreigners”. The issue of who is a “real” South African thus remains open, but according to the current Constitution, “South Africa belongs to all who live in it” (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996:2).

Both “Rainbowism” and “Africanisation” discourses have not managed to achieve the nonracial ideals of equality. Rainbowism focused on reconciliation and unity and glossed over inherited racial inequalities (Wale 2014:20). Africanism, by contrast, ignored the intraracial inequalities, more specifically intrablack inequalities. As a result only a few blacks rose to upper class ranks, and the majority remained poor and marginalised (Van der Berg 2014:197; Tregenna 2011:586).

Furthermore, both discourses presented groups as homogeneous entities, and silenced within-group differences (Ramsamy 2007:471). He asserts that groups are marked by more heterogeneity than imagined during apartheid and by current political leaders. Ramsamy adds that even during the Mandela era's ambiguous calls for nonracialism and "unity in diversity", the four racial categories, continued and still continue to be used. He adds, that although some individuals embrace a South African Identity, there is no category "South African" on official forms. Thus the black, white, Indian and coloured identities are in continuous use today. Some racial groups such as Chinese or Japanese are also not officially recognised. One Chinese scholar, for instance, stated that he had ticked both white and black on official forms and both were accepted (comment in a seminar 2012). The next sections discuss the dynamics of postapartheid blackness, whiteness, Indianness and colouredness, followed by inequalities among these groups.

4.3 Postapartheid blackness

During apartheid, blacks experienced oppression in various forms, economically, socially, culturally and politically (SAHRC 2008:3). Blacks were positioned below whites, Indians and coloureds, which meant that they could experience racism, negative stereotyping as well as forms of abuse from all three groups (Erasmus 2001:2; Soudien 2007:240). Padayachee (2012:88) points out that blackness emerged as a category of negation, associated with all the negative traits and co-constructed against a white positive other. Consequently, shedding of this ideology (identity) has been a challenging task (Mtose 2011:326; Sherman & Steyn 2010:71).

Concern arose as early as the 1970s over blacks who saw themselves as negative or through the eyes of apartheid ideology as deficient (Padayachee 2012:5). The Black Conscious Movement in the 1970s sought to undo the damages resulting from experiences of racism and negation of blackness (Biko 1976:3). Moreover, although there were also black elites that benefited from apartheid resources, they were also not immune to racism and negative stereotypes related to their skin colour (Malimba 2010:13).

Although studies view racial categories as political constructions, as noted in the previous chapters, identities are still viewed as “real” in popular culture. Soudien (2012:3) maintains that the constructivist dimension of many identities is shunned by some academics and more so in public discourse for the “get-real view of daily life”. Padayachee (2012:95) agrees that constructionism was concealed from the public eye “leaving identities with a feeling of innateness”. Consequently, blackness is conceived as real in public culture. Departments such as “traditional affairs”, for instance, have been established in postapartheid South Africa (2008) in order to protect the “traditions” of blacks from being swept away by global or Western forces (Vincent 2008:1435: Spencer 2009:68).

Moreover, blackness was not only racialised, but was also ethnicised (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012:409). There are nine documented black ethnic groups in South Africa, each with its own traditions and language. Moreover, ethnic groups were separated during apartheid. Each ethnic group had its own chief or leader and the relationship between these ethnic groups was also marked by tensions. Besides ethnic tensions, other intrablack tensions arose on ideological or political differences. Some blacks, for instance, were “double agents”, working with both anti- and pro-apartheid movements (Von Holdt et al 2011:128). The majority of blacks, however, were united by the “struggle” against apartheid (Jansen 2009:15).

The current dispensation, however, has seen a lot of disintegration among blacks (more especially on a class and ideological basis) as the “common enemy”, apartheid has been dismantled (Spencer 2009:68; Seekings 2008:2). Although class and ideological differences existed during apartheid, they have become more pronounced in recent years (Malimba 2010:25). As a result, Durrheim et al (2010:31) and Motsemme (2002:649) claim that there are many shades or versions of blackness in postapartheid South Africa such as “coconutiness” or authentic blackness, resulting from different experiences, class positions and individual choices or interests.

4.3.1 Authentic blackness

Durrheim et al (2010:33) posit that there are different versions of blackness such as those who are regarded as authentic and those who are seen as inauthentic (coconuts). Authentic or hegemonic blackness that emerged during apartheid was associated with poverty, townships, African languages, “traditions” and the struggle against apartheid (Ellapen 2006:3). Blacks who were wealthy during apartheid were “marked as outside hegemonic blackness” as wealth was associated with being “white” (Motsemme 2002:663). Consequently, the measure for being authentic today may involve speaking an African language and knowledge of rural or township life (Spencer 2009:67).

Both young and old have various ways of expressing their authenticity. Examples include the following: showing off struggle credentials for an older generation; the use of symbols such as dreadlocks; circumcision; other cultural practices by younger people, and so forth (Durrheim et al 2010:33). Knowledge of or living in townships or rural areas may also be a marker of authenticity.

Township and rural areas tend to be associated with authentic blackness (Ellapen 2006:3). The majority of blacks live or have lived in townships because of the segregation policies of the apartheid government. However, such spaces are now associated with black culture. Ellapen adds that the media tend to fetishise or sanctify township space. While associated with negative stereotypes such as crime, dirt, poverty or violence, townships and rural areas are also areas where filmmakers go in search of authentic blackness. Movies such as *Tsotsi* (2005), *Wooden Camera* (2003) and *White Wedding* (2009) are examples of films produced in the postapartheid era that produce the image of townships and rural areas similar to that produced in colonial and apartheid eras.

Moreover, Ellapen (2006:17) notes that both black and white filmmakers and directors tend to produce the same image of township or rural space. Ellapen notes that because filmmakers are part of the elite, even black filmmakers may see themselves as outsiders (from suburbs) in township and rural areas. Townships thus remain places of hegemonic blackness. Blacks, however, are no longer confined to townships as was the case during apartheid. This has given rise to alternative identities to authentic blackness such as coconuts.

4.3.2 Coconutiness

Coconutiness is another version of blackness associated with middle-class blacks. There are a number of characteristics that can cause an individual to be referred to as a coconut. Examples include, “speaking English like a ‘white’ person”, never setting foot in townships, the inability to speak an African language and being wealthy (Spencer 2009:66). Spencer further notes that although individuals may be wrongly referred to as coconuts, some make a conscious effort to “act white”.

According to Spencer (2009:69), some blacks may “gravitate towards social expectations of a homogenised Western culture” and may esteem ways of living deemed Western. Some blacks (coconuts) may view other blacks as “too native” and thus inferior to them (Durrheim et al 2010:44). For example, some middle class black respondents in Sherman and Steyn’s (2010:69) study stated that they only had white friends, because they had nothing in common with blacks who went to township schools. Similarly, one respondent in Keizan and Duncan’s (2010:480) study classified himself as white, and most of his peers were aware of it. He stated that he classified himself as white because he enjoyed “white sports” like surfing or water polo and he found them more interesting than “black sports” (such as soccer). The escalating class gap among blacks may thus leave some middle class blacks feeling “nonblack” or white (Padayachee 2012:89; Durrheim et al 2010). Spencer concludes that middle class blacks may be caught between “ethnic African ideals and global values of ‘whiteness’” and may sometimes privilege one of the two (2009:69).

Furthermore, coconuts may find themselves perceived as being “too white” in black circles and “too black” in white circles (Spencer 2009:74). Referring to the novel *Coconut* by Kopano Matlwa, Spencer cites an example of a black student who could not fit in in the townships, because she was perceived as too white. At the same time, she was ridiculed by her white friends for being too black. Coconuts may thus experience racism.

4.3.3 Postapartheid experiences of racism against blacks

Research shows that blacks still experience racism, denigration and self-denigration in the current dispensation (Sherman & Steyn 2010:70; Mtose 2011:340). While racism, as already mentioned, was overt and easy to pinpoint during apartheid, recent forms of racism are complex and hard to point out, both to the recipient and the perpetrator (Vincent 2008:1443; Durrheim et al 2010:44). According to Mtose (2011:335), blacks may therefore be caught between the "fear of being overly sensitive – seeing race where it does not exist" and being vigilant of racial practices. Moreover, what is experienced as racism by blacks may as such remain invisible to whites. Mtose for instance, found out that some blacks with white friends experienced inclusion as racism because of the criteria for inclusion. One of the respondents stated that her white friend told her that she liked her, because she was clean, wealthy and did not speak English with an "accent" (African). Another respondent stated that her friend liked her because she was not loud like other blacks.

Blacks at times may also echo racist stereotypes when describing other blacks (Sherman & Steyn 2010:79; Durrheim et al 2010:43). The elite blacks may associate poor (or working class) blacks with racist stereotypes. Mabandu (2014:16) reports, for instance, that he observed middle class blacks using popular stereotypes about blacks. The speakers used statements such as "eish and we as blacks can be wasteful …". When discussing the 2012 Marikana miners' strike and the ensuing massacre, the speakers asked the following question: "why couldn't these people ask for increases without being black about it?" Mabandu adds that the speakers spoke in a way that suggested they were not part of the "problematic black mass" as they were upper-middle class.

Some blacks may also associate the arrival of black professionals at schools with the lowering of standards (Durrheim et al 2010:44). In addition, blacks may be treated with less respect by other blacks. A number of complaints have arisen in popular culture about blacks treating white customers better than blacks. To illustrate, Spencer (2009:67) notes that a character in the novel *Coconut* explains that she treated black customers with disdain as she associated them with those with whom she rode on trains and taxis on her way to work in an upper class coffee shop.

Self-stigmatisation among blacks was and has been noted by politicians such as Steve Biko and social scientists (Mtose & Bayaga 2011:506; Padayachee 2012:18). Self-stigmatisation, however, is not experienced by all blacks, and some individuals are aware of their own racist indoctrination (Durrheim et al 2010:43). According to Vincent (2008:1443), reactions to white dominance may vary.

Reactions to dominance

Vincent (2008:1443), notes that blacks may respond to dominance in various ways, similar to the reactions to dominance sketched by Bulhan (1977, 1980). Bulhan (1980:105) describes various reactions or phases to dominance as "capitulation", "revitalisation" and "radicalisation".

Capitulation is characterised by assimilation into the dominant culture, and Western norms are espoused in this stage (Bulhan 1980:105). The dominant group is viewed as the "significant other" and the ties between the individual and his or her traditional group may weaken. This stage is thus mainly characterised by adoption of Western values and "internalisation of the oppressor's ideology" (Hofmeyr 2004:62)

Revitalisation is the second phase and is the opposite of capitulation. Revitalisation is characterised by the adoption of a traditional world view or going back to "your roots" (Hofmeyr 2004:63). Communalism, the extended family-kinship system and "folklore wisdom of tradition are invoked vigorously and reactively" (Bulhan 1980:118). Moreover, the culture returned to is perceived as dying or overshadowed by the dominant culture (Hofmeyr 2004:62).

This phase is also characterised by a deep admiration of Africanness. In expressing this admiration, Rastogi (2010:113) and Howe (1998:3) observe that those seeking to return to their roots may mythologise the precolonial past. For example, while analysing a book by Essop Pahad, *King of hearts* (2004), Rastogi notes that one of the characters in the text claimed that "Africans built the pyramids, they invented hieroglyphics. They were the first prophets. Moses was an Ethiopian. Muhammad had black ancestry". Thus there may be a tendency to give a distorted view of the history of precolonial Africa.

Howe (1998:6) adds that Afrocentrism is usually associated with a belief in African ways of knowing and feeling about the world that can only be possibly understood by members of the group. Even ingroup members can be excluded if they do not accept the Afrocentric ideology. Howe notes that ingroup members' failure to accept the ideology may be attributed to "brainwashing by the dominant Eurocentric culture" (1998:6).

According to Bulhan (1980:106), this is a reactive stage, where an individual may realise the impossibility of fully assimilating into the dominant culture and thus embark on a search for his or her "roots". This stage is thus characterised by disenchantment with Western values and a "defensive romanticism of indigenous culture" (1980:106). Bulhan adds that this stage prompts labels such as "race-consciousness" and "reverse racism" (1980:116). Inequalities are also viewed as resulting from race conflict whereas they were viewed as resulting from the "uneducated black masses" in the capitulation stage (Bulhan 1980:116).

Radicalisation, however, "seems to be the phase of synthesis" (Bulhan 1980:119). Both Western and African values are adopted; the individual adopts what is "good" in both cultures while "anachronistic and oppressive features" are discarded. There is also more focus on class instead of race. According to Bulhan, class is viewed as a basis for social conflict and not race. This stage is thus characterised by the emergence of a new class-conscious culture.

Bulhan (1980:119) adds that none of these stages exist in "pure state", and an individual may go through all these stages with one of them dominant at any one time. Blacks may thus embrace various identities and also react differently to dominance. Differences are also noted among whites.

4.4 Postapartheid whiteness

Whiteness emerged during apartheid as the opposite of blackness, and was invested with positive traits (Padayachee 2012:88). There are two main or recognised white ethnic groups in South Africa, namely English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites. Moreover, these two ethnic groups had a contentious relationship, which resulted in violent outbursts such as the Anglo-Boer war of 1899 to 1902 (Jansen 2009:18). Furthermore, there were hierarchies among whites, with Afrikaners occupying subaltern whiteness and English-speaking whites occupying the top position in the white ethnic hierarchy (Steyn 2004:143; West 2011:19). Whites, like blacks, could also forge unity as they shared the common position and fears such as the "black peril" (*swaart gevaar*) (Brown 1987:261).

A significant number of English-speaking whites, however, supported resistance movements against apartheid and therefore were not regarded as oppressors to the same degree as Afrikaans-speaking whites. Some English-speaking whites, for instance, were stereotyped as race traitors, especially by Afrikaans-speaking whites. This was a predominant problem among young white men forced into conscription (Freederberg 2008:330). Afrikaans-speaking whites who joined anti-apartheid movements were also Perceived as traitors not only of race but of the "Afrikaner volk" (Freederberg describes the "volk" as a "mystical notion with racial, cultural and nationalistic connotations").

Morever, owing to intrawhite tensions and the involvement of some English-speaking whites in anti-apartheid movements, some English-speaking whites may distance themselves from apartheid. Jansen (2009:16) maintains that there is a dilemma among English-speaking whites as they seem to forget how they benefited from an apartheid past. Erasmus and Pieterse (1999:174) conclude that apartheid was complex because some people were both oppressors and resistors. Apartheid beneficiaries, however, were by and large white.

Whiteness has also undergone major structural shifts since the demise of apartheid in 1994, and is currently undergoing redefinition. While the political power is in the hands of blacks, economic privilege continues to be in the hands of whites (Ratele 2010:89). Whites have also responded in varied and complex ways to the transition to democracy (Jansen 2009:25). Jansen lists a number of responses relating to memories of apartheid and the political transition. The responses can be grouped as follows:

- **Nothing happened:** according to whites who hold this opinion, apartheid was not bad, "it was a well-intended experiment with one or two weaknesses" (Jansen 2009:26). The story narrative to which this groups clings, is that of success, where Afrikaners built the country and where stories of exploitation are negated.
- **Something happened -"get over it**": according to those who hold this opinion, the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) were an exaggeration of minor atrocities. They further display anger towards those who "dwell on the past" (Jansen 2009:26).
- **Terrible things happened:** individuals who hold this opinion are usually those who were on the side of the struggle. They usually acknowledge apartheid's traumatic effects.
- **Gradualist:** these are individuals who come to acknowledge the wrongs of apartheid over time. The indoctrination and misinformation that characterised apartheid are eventually realised.
- **Confessionalist:** these are individuals who offer apologies, especially those who were working for the apartheid government.

Responses are not limited to the ones offered above and these responses may change over time (Jansen 2009:30). Individuals may adopt any one of these different opinions or a combination of more than one of them. These responses are also similar to the various versions of whiteness identified by Reid (2011:213) in postapartheid South African films. Reid lists the following versions (myths) of postapartheid whiteness:

- **The good white perpetrator myth:** this myth signifies a person who acknowledges his or her wrongs, mourns the past, opposed apartheid, was on the side of blacks or even had a black lover. He or she is haunted by the past and shows genuine remorse. The good white perpetrator acknowledges past atrocities and is probably happy with the new South Africa.

- **The bad white perpetrator myth: t**his myth signifies an individual who is remorseless, racist, and dislikes blacks and other good whites. Reid (2011:213) adds that the bad white perpetrator is almost always Afrikaans in ethnicity which may contribute to the negative stereotyping of Afrikaans-speaking whites as a group.
- **The bad white turns good myth:** this myth is a subgenre of the bad white perpetrator myth and signifies an individual who has a change of heart or mind at the realisation of the wrongs committed during apartheid. She or he, like the "gradualist", goes through transformation and changes the way she or he relates to the other. She or he now treats the "other" with respect.
- **The new white myth:** this myth is represented by a white who embraces the other and has nothing to be remorseful about, and who committed no wrongs during apartheid. The new white myth is also signified by individuals who are good and yet contain some elements of the bad white myth, that is, an individual who cannot be fixed to one category.

Reid (2012:60) futher notes that the dominant myths of postapartheid whiteness do not represent whites who were part of the struggle. Lack of acknowledgement of whites who were part of the struggle in postapartheid films is mostly attributed to the fact that current political leaders have generally "written out" other political organisations and racial groups that were part of resistance against apartheid (Jansen 2009:18; Hook 2014:5).

Memories of apartheid and perceptions of the present among whites also tend to vary (Hook 2014:5). The apartheid archive project (a research project that tries to capture the memories of those who lived during apartheid) has received varied memories from both whites and blacks (Durrheim et al 2010:50; Stevens, Duncan & Sonn 2010:10). Among whites, memories include those who hold that they genuinely did not know about apartheid atrocities, those who did not want know, those with blissful memories of peace and harmony "where they could go anywhere, anytime" (Steyn 2012:9; Hook 2013:4) and memories of "happy and contented black workers who were part of the family" (Durrheim et al 2010:50). Some whites, however, have memories of hierarchical relationships and abuse of farm and domestic workers. Some also display a longing for the "good old days" (Fourie 2006:240; Haupt 2012:20; Jansen 2009:54).

Changes in perceptions of a white identity have also been noted as discussed in the sections below.

4.4.1 Redefinition of whiteness

Fourie (2006:239) observes that the changing position of whiteness and Afrikanerness in particular, “was described as that of one who was in power, to the one who was willing to share power, to one who was finally [politically] powerless”. Analysing letters to the press from the pre-1990s to 2004, Fourie discovered that there had been changes in the typification of Afrikaners in Afrikaans newspapers. Before the 1990s, Afrikaners defined themselves as the ones who had the ability to lead because “others” were seen as incapable. During the 1990s, the definition changed to the one who was urbanised and willing to share power. In recent years, however, Afrikaners defined themselves as powerless, since they have lost political power.

Studies also indicate that some individuals may adopt “non-hegemonic forms of whiteness” or Afrikanerness (Marx & Milton 2011:724; Scott 2012:746). Zef rapper Ninja, for example, describes himself as the “love child of diverse cultures – black, white, coloured and alien” (Scott 2012:747). These forms of whiteness thus tend to be characterised by creation of identities that are a mixture of multiple racial groups. Studies show that Zef music tends to bring undesirable whiteness (poor and marginalised classes) into the spotlight (Krueger 2012:401; Marx & Milton 2011:724).

Zef artists may also resist and sometimes reinforce stereotypes, such as stereotypes about poor whites and/or coloureds (Scott 2012:747; Haupt 2012:421). According to Haupt (2012:421), “the set design and costumes of *Die Antwoord* [Zef rap band] evoke associations with the coloured gang culture without actually confronting the gritty details of township life under the shadow of gangs”. Haupt further notes that such work does little in reducing “class inequalities and hegemonic perceptions of blackness” (or colouredness). Such identities nonetheless show that some individuals may embrace complex or nonhegemonic forms of whiteness. The fact that the largest majority of Zef music followers or fans are Afrikaans-speaking whites implies that there are individuals who may embrace nonhegemonic forms of whiteness or Afrikanerness (Marx & Milton 2011:731).

Besides the existence of varying white identities, some studies show that there are differences in how Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites are presented in the media (Reid 2011:231; West 2011:20). According to West, English and European whiteness tends to presented as "better than" Afrikaans-speaking whites. Analysing postapartheid fiction and Suzan Mann's *One tongue singing* (2005), in particular, West found that English, French and Italian whites were presented as possessing "cosmopolitan civility". By contrast, Afrikaners, were presented as conservative and unaccommodating. Afrikaners who were presented as nonconservative were said to be exceptions who had to defy their parent's rules. West states that the author (Suzan Mann) elevated European or English whiteness and referred to South African whites, Afrikaans-speaking whites in particular, as "the white people of this place" who were different from European whites (West 2011:20).

Owing to the fact that Afrikaners are often been depicted as racist, research shows that some Afrikaners may distance themselves from the racist image when redefining themselves (Durrheim et al 2010:52; Verwey & Quayle 2012:561). Durrheim et al attest that the dominant stereotype most South Africans have about Afrikaners relates to racism and this stereotype is "immune to class, age or religion" (2010:45). They add that even in postapartheid South Africa there is an impending suspicion of "potential racism" if you are white. For example, a respondent in their study relates that she once mistakenly skipped the line at a shop and an Indian customer in the line told her that "the past is over – she can't skip the line". Durrheim et al (2010:46) add that "the assumption that one is racist is usually automatic".

Some individuals, however, tend to dissociate themselves from such racial stereotypes. "Born frees", for example, may use their birth dates to argue that they were born after apartheid and cannot be racist or be held liable for the "sins of their fathers" (Durrheim et al 2010:53; Verwey & Quayle 2012:561). Some adults may claim ignorance and nonparticipation in apartheid activities, while others may disclose active or passive resistance against apartheid (Durrheim et al 2010:5). In talks with outgroups, Verwey and Quayle (2012:561) add that Afrikaners may "defend themselves against potential criticism of being racist", and some may avoid speaking Afrikaans in public. Some studies, however, show that some whites (English and Afrikaans) also have feelings of guilt or shame about the past.

4.4.2 White guilt

Studies indicate that some whites displayed feelings of guilt or shame, especially in the early years following apartheid (Vestergaard 2001:26; Fourie 2006:240; Hook 2011:26). Jansen (2009:91) notes that the children of perpetrators tend to experience enhanced feelings of shame and guilt. Such feelings may be expressed through intense activism or corrective action or through “indifference as a protective shield from a ‘shaky dignity’” (Jansen 2009:92). Jansen adds that children of victims and activists, by contrast, tend to admire their parents as they are perceived as “struggle heroes”.

Other studies, however, show that some whites are “tired of feeling guilty about apartheid” (Fourie 2006:254; Scott 2012:750). Fourie (2006:270) reports that the majority of individuals in her study revealed feelings of guilt in the early 1990s. In 2004, however, only a few individuals displayed guilt. Rather, some individuals asked “how long will children have to pay for the sins of the past in terms of affirmative action?”. Some letters, however, showed that there were still some people who believed that they deserved what was “formerly dished out to them” and thus still harboured feelings of guilt (Fourie 2006:278).

Vice (2010:323) called on white South Africans to embrace feelings of guilt or shame and take a moment of silence in order to detox whiteliness (ways of seeing the world inherited from apartheid). Vice holds that white subjectivities have been damaged by years of privilege and whites therefore need to do internal work in silence as they might unconsciously utter racist statements in public. Other researchers, however, question the motive behind expressing shame and guilt in public (Matthews, 2012:174; Straker 2011:14). Straker asks, for instance, if there is perhaps a “status that attaches to being a ‘shamed other’ who admits guilt” (2011:14).

Moreover, not all whites benefited equally from the structural privilege of apartheid. Poor whites, for example, were marginalised (Willoughby-Herard 2007:482). Thus the existence of both ideological and class differences among whites are recognised.

4.4.3 Poor whites

The legacy of poor whites can be traced back to the Anglo-Boer War which left a number of Afrikaans-speaking whites destitute (Jansen 2009:20). The Colour Bar Act, which gave preference to whites during apartheid, helped to alleviate poverty among whites. Conversely, the advent of democracy saw the number of poor whites escalating because they do not benefit from the current redress policies. Consequently, the number of poor whites has been rising since the advent of democracy. During his first term in Presidency (2009), President Jacob Zuma visited a poor white settlement outside Pretoria and promised to include them in government services as they were living in conditions similar to those of poor blacks (Holborn 2010:56). Zuma's visit to the settlement thus reflects a supposed recognition of the existence of poor whites by the current government.

In addition to being economically poor, Willoughby-Herard (2007:482) points out that poor whites received a status of "semi-whiteness" because they did not fit in with the image of ideal whiteness. She notes that poor whites were racially marked "as like blacks". Willoughby-Herard maintains that poor whiteness was made "hypervisible and subject to scrutiny" (2007:482).

The conclusion can be drawn that the experiences and class status of whites is not homogeneous and that such differences may be overlooked by politicians or in popular culture (Ratele & Laubscher 2010:89). According to Durrheim et al (2010:56), policies such as affirmative action do limit employment opportunities and the most impacted are working class or poor whites. Such policies and other activities as noted in the previous chapter tend to be perceived as reverse racism by some whites.

4.4.4 Postapartheid (reverse) racism

Several studies indicate that some whites tend to feel that policies such as affirmative action represent reverse discrimination (Rohrer 2008:1116; Steyn 2010:16; Desai & Vahed 2010:176). Desai and Vehad also note that such policies share many similarities with apartheid policies. Affirmative action, for example, resembles the

Colour Bar Act, while black economic empowerment (BEE) is similar to the “volks kapitalisme” (Afrikaner capitalism) policy.

Besides redress policies, certain statements or actions by some blacks tend to be perceived as reverse racism (Holborn 2010:56). For example, a newspaper article by Makgoba, a university vice-chancellor, that stated that white males were “baboons who have lost their alpha male status” is an example of some of the statements perceived as reverse racism (Makgoba 2005:1; Holborn 2010:56). A number of racist statements on social media have also been noted in South African news media (Mtakati 2016; Pijoos 2016).

Some studies also show that claims of racism by whites are usually not taken seriously by some blacks (Holborn 2010:56; Hook 2013:14). Hook asserts that the image of whites as racist has made it difficult for whites to make claims of racism by blacks. For example, in a response to claims of racism by some white Democratic Alliance (DA) members, a newspaper editor likened claims of racism by whites to “Nazi’s accusing Jews of racism”.

Some whites also tend to feel that there are no consequences for blacks who make racist statements (Holborn 2010:56). Some white political leaders, for instance, felt that Makgoba was not punished for his racist statements. They stated that “if Makgoba was white, he would have been fired and an investigation into racism launched”. It can thus be concluded that some whites express experiences of reverse racism. Their claims, however, may not be taken seriously by some blacks as noted by Hook (2013:15). These views may further be shared by coloureds and Indians.

4.5 Postapartheid Indianness

Indians occupied an ambiguous position during apartheid, namely that of being less than white and better than black. Moreover, some Indians were resistors of the apartheid regime, while some were collaborators (Rastogi 2010:115). Ramsamy (2007:470) notes that apartheid leaders received support from the South African Indian Council (SAIC) which consisted mainly of rich Indian entrepreneurs. Some Indians, however, supported resistance movements.

Indians were nonetheless semi-privileged in terms of jobs and resources (Rastogi 2007:108). According to Ramsamy (2007:470), the apartheid government realised a need for Indian support in case of a violent outbreak by “natives” and thus treated Indians better than blacks. This further fuelled tensions between Indians and blacks.

Indians were stereotyped as racist and unpatriotic by blacks (Ramsamy 2007:479). Ramsamy notes that Indians who were part of antiracist movements and those who identified as black were usually ignored by some black elites. Another dominant stereotype is that of Indians as exploitative traders who exploit blacks. According to Desai and Vahed (2010:180), despite the fact that Indians in South have indentured roots (as low-paid labourers), with shop owners (or elite) making up only a tenth of the working class, the image or stereotype of an exploitative Indian remains strong.

Most Indians arrived in South Africa from 1860 to 1911 as indentured labourers. In addition to arriving as labourers, another group of Indians had relative wealth and came to South africa in search of business opportunites (Rastogi 2008:118; Soske 2009:3). The latter group was referred to as “passenger Indians” (Soske 2009:3). As a result of having their roots in India, they have also been part of xenophobic sentiments (Ramsamy 2007:471). Further, it is believed that Indians in postapartheid South Africa tend to identify with India as a “homeland” (Desai & Vahed 2010:180). Desai and Vahed note that the search for “roots” among Indians has increased. For example, owing to increased demands from persons tracing their ancestry, the KwaZulu-Natal archives depot in Pietermaritzburg now opens on Saturdays. Ganesh (2010:31), however, points out that the search for roots or yearning for a “homeland” is only at “sentiment level”, with no desire to return.

Moreover, the image of India today is that of “glitz and glamour” or prosperity as opposed to the image of Indian rural villages presented by Ghandi (Desai & Vahed 2010:306). According to Desai and Vahed poor Indians tend to identify with India as a way of preserving their pride and dignity. Some South African Indians, for example, have supported the cricket team from India to the irritation of South African cricket supporters who told them to “go home if they are not proudly South African” (Desai & Vahed 2010:306).

Furthermore, the relations between Indians and blacks were marked by mistrust and tensions as previously noted. Such tensions led to violent outbreaks such as the

Durban riot of 1949 between Indians and Zulus (Lemon 2008:298). Moreover, some Indians have continued to vote for minority parties (white or Indian) in postapartheid South Africa. Some Indians, however, vote for the ANC. Lemon (2008:297) asserts that political sentiments among Indians are influenced by class. The upper class tend to behave like “political chameleons”, who supported the apartheid government and now support the current government in order to maintain their upward mobility (Rastogi 2010:115).

Postapartheid South Africa has furthermore witnessed anti-Indian rhetoric among prominent blacks. An Ilanga newspaper editor wrote, for example, that “Indians and whites exploit blacks”. Similarly, the statue of the Indian anti-apartheid activist, Mahatma Ghandi, was also defaced with white paint in 2015 by some blacks (Chernick & Manda 2015). The individuals who threw white paint on Ghandi statue were also carrying placards written “racist Ghandi must fall”. Such statements tend to exarcabate black-Indian tensions.

Indians, however, also tend to undermine blacks and echo apartheid racist stereotypes (Rastogi 2010:119). Rastogi maintains that there are Indians who undermine whites and also blacks. Both Indians and blacks thus tend to hold negative sentiments towards each other. Intra-Indian tensions and hierarchies, however, also exist and are discussed in the section below.

Intra-Indian dynamics

Vahed and Desai (2010:185) cite both class inequalities and ethnic differences and/or hierarchies as a probable cause of intra-Indian tensions. Class inequalities among Indians have become sharper, led by increased poverty among sections of the Indian population. According to Vahed and Desai, one of the factors that have led to increased poverty among Indians is the fact that they no longer hold the position of relative privilege they held during apartheid. Moreover, the inclusion of Indians in the affirmative action policies is controversial. As discussed in section 3.2.6, one of the ANC policy documents states that the ANC seeks to emancipate “Blacks in general and Africans in particular”. Indians are thus partially included in the black category and also benefit partly from redress policies. “Africans in particular”, for example, as stated in the ANC policy document, may mean that blacks will be considered first as they were in the lowest rung of the hierarchy during apartheid. Such policies have mostly impacted on the Indian working class.

However, upper class Indians are said to continue to exploit their Indianness and political ties in order to benefit from BEE and affirmative action policies (Rastogi 2010:115). Educated and wealthy Indians are also believed to assume superiority over poor Indians. Moreover, middle class Indians tend to experience good relations with other racial groups, especially whites (Desai & Vahed 2010:188). According to Desai and Vahed, middle class Indians who live in the same gated communities with whites may experience bonding across racial lines. Such bonding may be driven by the fact that middle class Indians and whites both have “their children going to the same schools, enjoy the same sports like cricket and golf, have same ‘problems’ of affirmative action and crime” (Desai & Vahed 2010:10). Desai (2001:40) notes, however, that interracial connections do not follow neat class lines.

Besides class hierarchies, ethnic tensions and/or hierarchies between Tamil and Hindi Indians have also been noted. Ganesh (2010:32) claims that ethnic tensions among Indians are instigated by the “assumed superiority on the part of Hindi’s based on assumed Aryan lineage and disdain for dark complexion of Tamils”. Ganesh further notes that intra-Indian tensions continue to surface beneath joint Indian activities or celebrations.

Tensions and differences between Indians, however, continue to be blurred by homogenising discourses of both the past and present government. Desai and Vahed (2010:185) point out that both the “poverty-stricken resident of Chatsworth and an affluent Houghton-ite are categorised under and an all-inclusive label – ‘Indian’”. Indians, however, may also unite because anti-Indian rhetoric is still common in postapartheid South Africa. Ganesh (2010:30) posits that the “pressures of living in a hostile environment precipitate a ‘we Indians’ feeling”.

4.6 Postapartheid colouredness

Coloureds, like Indians, occupied an intermediary position of relative economic privilege during apartheid (Duncan 2003:135). Coloureds were defined under the

Population Registration Act as “not white or native” (Erasmus 2001:15). Erasmus and Pieterse (1999:7) note that a number of coloureds have multiple origins linked to the Khoi San, East Indians, whites and blacks. Moreover, coloureds are viewed as “mixed race” people, and associated with miscegenation which may bring “a stigma of shame to those considered mixed breeds” (Erasmus 2001:4).

Some coloureds, however, traded their colouredness for blackness during apartheid, a trend that has continued to the present day (Erasmus 2001:7; Hammett 2010:247). Erasmus (2001:20) cautions, however, that taking on blackness may ignore the “better-than black” element of colouredness. Identification with blacks may also lessen coloured-black tensions.

Assertions of colouredness, however, tend to be criticised for being racist, exclusive and about defending the position of relative privilege (Motsemme 2002:656; Erasmus 2001:18). However, Erasmus (2001:20) maintains that not all assertions of colouredness are racist. Coloureds are thus torn between identifying as black, while others “grope after a mythical purity based on a selectively reconstructed mythical past” (Erasmus & Pieterse 199:7).

Similar to Indians, coloureds have a history of both resistance and collaboration with the apartheid government (Farred 2003:177). Erasmus (2001:18) notes that some coloureds collaborated with the apartheid government, echoing racist stereotypes and dissociating themselves from all things black and African. Colouredness was, however, also constructed around negative stereotypes such as drunkenness and jollity, an image or stereotype that still lingers on (Erasmus 2001:4; Malimba 2010:18).

Consequently, coloureds may also self-stigmatise. Vincent (2008:1441) reports that a respondent in her study stated that she tried to hide her accent in the presence of white students. By contrast, middle-class coloureds, such as individuals who do not have a “coloured accent” may assume superiority over other coloureds (Sherman & Steyn 2010:77). Intracoloured relations may thus be characterised by hierarchies and/or tensions.

Intracoloured dynamics

Several studies indicate that there are intracoloured hierarchies based on issues such as class and colourism (Motsemme 2002:657; Adhikari 2006:13; Malimba 2010:55). According to Motsemme, a light skin and straight hair is perceived as the "right coloured look" (2010:55) . Similarly, Erasmus (2001:23) asserts that coloureds with dark skin and kinky hair are marked as the "other coloureds" and inferior. Light skin and straight hair are thus highly esteemed and individuals with light skin and/or straight hair may be treated better than those with a dark skin.

Dlanga (2010:1) postulates that during apartheid, coloureds who were light skinned or "looked white" were held in higher esteem even within the same family. Adhikari (2005:12) adds that this "white-mindedness" could bring shame to those who were not light skinned. By way of illustration, Adhikari (2005:12) uses the story of Betty Theys (a coloured writer). Betty was considerably darker than her light-skinned father. "Throughout her life, she felt inadequate, and considered herself a disappointment to him". However, she "felt vindicated when she gave birth to a fair complexioned daughter and immediately sent her father the message, 'your black hen has laid a white egg'".

There are also class differences or hierarchies among coloureds. It is said that middle class coloureds tend to view themselves as superior to lower class coloureds (Sherman & Steyn 2010:78). Poverty among coloureds has also been on the rise due to policies such as affirmative action, with the poor being hard-hit (Farred 2003:181). Such policies may also strain relations among coloureds and blacks as previously noted. While intragroup inequalites are noted among all racial groups, intergroup inequalities also remain visible.

4.8 Inter and intrargroup inequalities

Even though intergroup inequalities have been declining in South Africa, the legacy of the racial inequalities of apartheid is still visible (Desai 2005:3; Van der Berg 2014:198). Laws that protected white wealth and prohibited blacks from participating in the economy have been removed and studies attest to some upward mobility among blacks and some downward mobility among whites, Indians and coloureds (Van der

Berg 2014:210; Tregenna 2011:586). There has been an increase in earnings among blacks compared to other groups. In 2011, the Department of Statistics recorded a 169% income increase among blacks, while whites had an increase of 88,4%. Indians had an increase of 145,2% and coloureds had an income increase of 118% (Department of Statistics 2011:50).

Income earnings per group, however, still reflect the legacy of apartheid. Annual average income by population group as recorded by the Department of Statistics in 2011 was as follows:

- Whites – R365 134
- Indians – R251 541
- Coloureds – R112 172
- Blacks – R60 613

Although the racial composition of the upper and middle class has changed from being mostly monoracial to multiracial (Van der Berg 2014:210; Soudien 2004:107), the majority of blacks are still poor. The enduring legacy of inequalities is attributed to poor education among blacks who are overrepresented in unskilled and semiskilled work (Tregenna 2011:595). Thus, while poverty may be reduced by increased employment, Van der Berg (2014:210) notes that inequality will be improved by improving levels of education among blacks. Tregenna (2011:595) concurs that while employment may reduce extreme levels of inequality, “just ‘any jobs’, however badly paid” would not lessen inequalities among groups. Blacks thus remain overrepresented in unskilled and semiskilled work.

By contrast, blacks are the majority in terms of population numbers and possess political power. According to the 2011 census (Department of Statistics 2011:17) blacks make up 79,2% of population, coloureds 8,9% , whites 8% and Indians 2,5%. Moreover, in the context of black numerical and political power, Ratele (2010:85) asserts that the meaning of "white privilege" needs to be redefined.

Using black as proxy for disadvantage has also come under scrutiny in recent years (Erasmus 2008:392; Jansen 2010:55). According to Erasmus, redress policies tend to benefit the black middle class. To illustrate, Ramsamy (2007:470) notes that in 2003, R42,2 million worth of BEE deals benefited only two men already politically connected and rich, while a R1 billion BEE deal to empower blacks in the banking sector only saw eight black individuals (upper class) being “empowered”. A considerable number of blacks, however, have risen to middle-class status. Maxon (2014:1) reports that the black middle class grew from about 1,7 million people in 2004 to 4,2 million in 2013.

Redress policies nonetheless may increase intrablack inequalities. Furthermore, race-based redress may overlook the existence of lower classes among Indians, coloureds and whites (Erasmus 2010:392; Jansen 2009:25). Studies show that life chances for the poor continue to be limited and class status may be reproduced from one generation to another (Desai 2005:5; Ncayiyana 2012:193). Schools in rural areas, for example, tend to have lower matric success rates. Moreover, bursaries are based on merit and are usually obtained by middle-class blacks who have access to good schools (Desai & Vahed 2010:184). Top research universities are expensive and most poor blacks therefore remain over concentrated in previously black institutions that are not well resourced.

Class struggles, however, are usually dismissed as “unruly behaviour” (Pithouse 2009:5). According to Pithouse, the response of the current government to most strikes is usually one of “paranoia and authoritarianism”. He notes, for example, that a strike by shack dwellers who expressed their tiredness with “election lies” was called a “political conspiracy led by a white agent … tasked with destabilising the country” (2009:6). Pithouse asserts that Abahlali Basemjondolo, a national shack dwellers’ movement tends to experience marginalisation whenever they express their concerns over basic services such as electricity and water. The government’s response to strikes is usually bullets, rubber or real. Ganesh (2009:25) comments that the government seems to be “eradicating the poor instead of poverty”. Although strikes sometimes become detrimental to the country’s resources, their foundation is class struggles and a government that does not take poverty as an urgent issue (Desai & Vahed 2010:180). Furthermore, poverty is no longer viewed as just resulting from the apartheid legacy but as also resulting from the “legacy of billions lost to corruption under ANC rule” (Holborn 2010:20; Jansen 2010:3). Intergroup inequalities in South Africa thus exist alongside intragroup inequalities.

4.9 South Africa today

Incidents of interracial controversy are still common in today’s South Africa. The year 2015 saw campaigns such as “Rhodes must fall” where students called for the statue of Cecil John Rhodes to be removed. The issue according to students was more than the statue, but they wanted to “bring out into the open institutional racism in university life in South Africa” (Chaudhuri 2016). “Afrikaans must fall” is another incident that took place from 2015 where students in bilingual (English and Afrikaans) universities such as the University of Pretoria wanted Afrikaans to be removed as language of tuition. Some Afrikaans-speaking whites saw the call to remove Afrikaans as an onslaught against the Afrikaans language (Hartleb 2015). These incidents seem to highlight interracial tensions and inequalities and the continued legacy of colonial and apartheid histories in South Africa. Moreover, social media has been used for such movements to garner support and to publicise them.

Racist or controversial tweets have also become common in South Africa. The year 2016 saw statements made by whites against blacks and vice versa (e.g. comments by Penny Sparrow and Vusi Khumalo[7]). Similar to responses by writers in the current study, racist staments tend to draw attention to the issue of white racism and black (or reverse) racism. Also similar to the current study, it can be assumed that responses will vary within and across racial groups .

Morever, the legacy of racial inequalities in South Africa is still visible. Some researchers claim that the existence of “coloniality” which is defined as “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations” (Maldonaldo-Torres 2007:243; Quijano 2000:533). The concept of coloniality was coined by Latin American scholars who are currently

---

Penny Sparrow stated that she was going to address blacks as monkeys from January 2016 (Wicks 2016). Velaphi Khumalo, on the other hand, stated that he wanted to cleanse the country of all whites and act as “Hitler did to the Jews” (Gqirhana 2016). There was a tendency by both writers to treat members of racial groups as homogenous. Responses to these statements also tend to view individuals who write such statements as speaking on behalf of the entire group (see setion 8.2).

working with scholars and activists in other Third World to analyse social and political conditions in post-colonial societies . The concept of coloniality is similar to structural theories of race as it mostly focuses on interracial inequalities and relations.

As previously discussed, intrablack inequalities have also been a focus area in South Africa. The August 2016 local government elections which saw the ANC loosing control of major cities such as Tshwane (Pretoria) and Nelson Mandela Bay to the Democratic Alliance have been another attention-grabbing event. *Eyewitness News* (2016) notes that black voters were "angry about corruption, unemployment and shoddy basic services". Many [black] ANC supporters have turned to the opposition (the DA) – "making a switch that was unthinkable only a few years ago when the party was still seen as the political home of wealthy whites". *Eyewitness News* adds that the ANC reminded voters of the ANC's liberation legacy and used the "race card" (see section 4.2.2) to win black voters. However, the use of the race card seems to have failed in the presence of intrablack inequalities and common corruption scandals that plague the ANC. Drawing from the writing of Frantz Fanon, Sithole (2012:21) notes that the black national bourgeoisie "insult the black majority by using collective rhetorical phrases such as 'our people' or 'we as the nation' while serving their own interests at the expense of the excluded black majority". The results of the election thus seem to show increasing dissatisfaction with the ANC leaders among black voters. The election results consequently highlight intrablack tensions and hierarchies. It can be concluded that both interracial and intraracial inequalities are the focus of discourses in the current South Africa.

4.10 Summary

Intergroup relations in South Africa are quite complex. Studies on intergroup attitudes and/or relations show that relations or attitudes are improving while some show that negative attitudes remain. Moreover, intragroup differences and hierarchies are more pronounced and more strongly vocalised than before.

Moreover, identities also seem to be perceived as "natural" in popular culture. Thus some individuals may still embrace and celebrate their respective racial identities. Also apparent is the fact that one racist statement or action by a group member is likely to be generalised to the entire group or incidents may be used as a maker of the state of race relations (Holborn 2010:56). The same applies to incidents such as the FBJ and Botes incidents, which were the focus of this study. The next chapter discusses the research methodologies used in the current study.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The current study investigated the views of individuals on selected incidents of interracial controversy in postapartheid South Africa (see section 1.4). The literature and theories described in the preceding chapters revealed that identities and views or attitudes of individuals towards ingroups or outgroups may change as the socio-political environment changes. Certain attitudes and some aspects of identity,however, may remain stable over time. Previous studies have thus indicated both changes and continuities in intergroup attitudes and relations (Erasmus 2010:396; Sherman & Steyn 2010:69; Puttick 2011:6). The aim of the current study was to ascertain at this juncture, the attitudes expressed by individuals towards ingroups and outgroups and the identities displayed in letters to the editors of South African newspapers. This chapter discusses research questions, research methodologies and techniques used, ethical issues, and the strengths and limitations of the study.

5.2 Research questions

The aim of the study was to answer the following research question:

What is the nature of opinions and attitudes expressed in letters to South African newspapers regarding the selected incidents of intergroup controversy?

Subquestions:

- What attitudes do cultural groups display towards ingroups and members of other cultural groups (outgroups) in these letters?
- Do people who write to newspapers on the two incidents display racism in their letters and if so, what are the reasons advanced?

- Which identities are displayed in the letters to the press regarding the two incidents and what are the consequences of the process of identification thus expressed?

5.3 Research design

The current study used a mixed methods approach. Qualitative and quantitative content analyses were used. Content analysis is a suitable method for analysing recorded or archived written material (Schreier 2014:174). It was therefore deemed an appropriate method for analysing letters to the editor.

The use of qualitative and quantitative content analyses also had several benefits for the study. Each method complemented the weakness of the other (Creswell 2008:527; Harwell 2011:151). Qualitative content analysis assisted in identifying themes, while quantitative analysis helped to determine the frequency of these themes (Creswell 2008:527). This assisted the researcher to avoid making assumptions about the population of identified themes (Creswell 2008:527). For instance, after a qualitative analysis, it could be assumed that certain themes were more frequent in the data only to have this assumption disproved by the quantitative analysis. According to Harwell (2011:154), while a qualitative study may provide a detailed and in-depth account of human perception, it may fail to provide the numerical answers needed. Answers such as how many people have a particular view may require quantitative methods. The use of qualitative and quantitative methods may therefore provide a comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under investigation. The qualitative method was the primary method employed in this study, while the quantitative method played a secondary role. Themes were identified in data as a number of studies show that attitudes as well as identities are fluid (see section 1.1). Themes were therefore identified before counting.

5.3.1 Qualitative methodology

Qualitative content analysis is a flexible method in that it allows for the inductive development of categories as well as the use of concept or theory-driven codes (Elo & Kyngas 2008:108). Qualitative content analysis mainly analyses texts in their contexts and thus pays attention to both manifest content and latent content Qualitative content analysis thus goes beyond what is said to contextual factors that may influence what is said. Qualitative content analysis can thus be defined as “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification” (Marying 2000:5). The aim of qualitative content analysis is therefore to provide an in-depth (narrative) description of what was observed in data.

5.3.2 Quantitative methodology

Quantitative content analysis was used to identify the frequency of themes identified in the qualitative content analysis. The purpose of quantitative content analysis is to describe data numerically. Coding or categorising data in quantitative content analysis is usually followed by statistical analysis of data (Schreier 2014:180). The results of a quantitative content analysis are usually presented graphically using frequency tables or graphs, thus allowing a researcher to provide a succinct picture of the observations made in the data. Similarly, the use of quantitave content analysis in the current study allowed the researcher to provide a summary of observations made in the data.

5.4 Defining the population

The target population comprised all the letters from the public which were written to South African newspapers in response to the Forum for Black Journalist (FBJ) and the Annelie Botes incidents. The accessible population was letters to South African newspapers stored on South African Media Database.

South African Media Database is a “comprehensive press cutting services offering researchers access to a database consisting of more than 3 million newspaper reports and periodical articles which have been indexed on computer since 1978” (SAMedia 2016). Among other things, the database offers access to viewpoints of the public and private sectors on contemporary affairs, statistics and researched articles. The focus of the study was viewponts of the public on the incidents selected for this study.

5.4.1 Characteristics of the population

Steyn (2004:151) notes that the genre of “letters to the editor” has been theorised as a valuable space for determining the meaning given to issues that affect various groups or individuals. Steyn adds that letters to the editor are a “site of complex intersection between mediated and everyday discourse”. This is because individual letters to the editor tend to be edited in accordance with the policy of a specific newspaper. According to Steyn, the editor selects letters to be published, and their place or relevance, thus “legitimating their contents” (2004:151). The advantage of using letters to the editor, however, is that they tend to reveal multiple or diverse opinions on an issue. These letters may also reveal which views or perspectives are prominent among those who usually write to the editor at a given moment. Steyn also notes that individuals who write to newspapers are usually part of the “elite strata” of society (e.g.politicians, academics, media professionals and leaders of religious or social institutions).

5.4.2 Data collection and sampling procedure

In order to access letters relating to the Annelie Botes incident, the researcher used “Annelie Botes” as the search terms and the publication date range selected was 20 November 2010 (date of the incident) to 20 November 2011. The researcher used both English and Afrikaans articles, which were the only languages accessible on the database. Letters written in Afrikaans were sent to an accredited translator and were translated into English. Letters were read and then categorised according to the racial identity displayed by writers. Moreover, a number of writers were public figures such as the editors of major newspapers and regular media commentators and thus known to the researcher. The researcher, however, paid attention to the identity displayed by the writers in categorising the letters according to specific racial groups[8].

The researcher found 34 letters, of which 32 were from writers who identified themselves as blacks and whites. The other two letters were from individuals identified

---

[1] An analysis of linguistic devices used by individuals assisted in placing them in specific categories.

as coloureds. Since there were only a few letters, all 34 articles relating to the Botes incident were analysed.

For the FBJ incident, the search term “Forum Black Journalists” was used and 88 letters in English and Afrikaans were found. The publication date range selected was 22 February 2008 (date of incident) to 22 February 2009. The researcher employed the services of an accredited translator to translate the Afrikaans letters into English. Owing to the relatively high number of the letters relating to the FBJ incident, a sample was drawn. The purpose of selecting a sample was also to ensure the study adheres to the in-depth analysis that characterise qualitative research. This futher allows a researcher to offer a more nuanced picture of the phenomenon under investigation (Marying 2000:5).

To select a sample from letters relating to the FBJ incident, stratified random sampling was used. Stratified random sampling ensures that a sample is representative of the population. The population is grouped into various strata and then a sample is selected from each stratum (Bornman 2009:441). Stratified random sampling was used in order to ensure that letters from all South African racial groups were represented in the sample. The letters were grouped using the identity displayed by the writer. Attention was paid to linguistic devices used by writers, that is, how the writers named themselves (see table 5.1). The majority of writers however, were journalists, editors, and public figures for both incidents (the majority responded to both incidents). As previously mentioned, the majority of letters to the editor tend to come from the “elite strata” of the society who tend to have easy access to newspaper or media in general (Steyn 2004:151; Brinson & Stohl 2012:273). The study also aimed to detect the identities displayed by the writers in letters to the press (third subquestion of the study – see section 5.2). The majority of the writers displayed racial identities as well as other identities[9]. Moreover, where individuals dis-identified with a perceived ingroup, this was reported in the findings (see section 6.4.2 and 7.6.3).

Seperating letters according to the identity displayed also assisted in detecting the attitudes writers displayed towards members of “other” cultural groups (research sub-question 1). As studies on social identities show that that individuals tend to distance themselves and debase outgroups (details in chapter 2), the researcher wanted to find out whether there has been a shift in intergroup attitudes in postapartheid South Africa.

There were 88 articles in total. Ten letters were from writers identified as coloured and Indians, and they were all analysed. The remaining 78 were from writers identified as blacks and whites. Of these 78 letters, 31 were from individuals identified as whites and 47 from individuals identified as blacks. The letters were numbered and then stored on a personal computer before selecting the sample. A random sample was selected from black and white strata using computer software known as *Randomizer.* This was done in order to avoid “cherry picking” (selecting articles that support the researcher’s assumptions) (Wodak 2009:18).

Fifteen articles from white writers and 15 from black writers were selected. The researcher initially intended to select ten articles from all racial groups (blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds), however this was not possible as there were only 10 letters from both coloureds and Indians. The total number of letters from the three strata was 40. A total of 74 letters relating to both the Botes and FBJ incidents were therefore analysed.

5.4.3 Units of analysis

The units of analysis were letters responding to the Annelie Botes and FBJ incidents.

5.5 Data analysis

The main method of analysis used for qualitative design was thematic analysis. The discourse-historical approach was employed to answer the research question relating to the identities displayed (Which identities are displayed in letters to the press regarding the two incidents and what are the consequences of the process of identification thus expressed?). Both methods are explained below.

5.5.1 Thematic analysis

A thematic analysis can be defined as a way of categorising qualitative data (Braun & Clarke 2006:5). A thematic analysis, like other qualitative approaches, focuses on “contextual aspects of the phenomenon that accounts for differences [or similarities] among participants" (Ayress 2008:451). The aim of a thematic analysis is to go beyond describing categories or themes identified in the data to interpreting the data.

A thematic analysis is also a flexible method in that it works with multiple theoretical approaches. According to Braun and Clarke (2006:8), a thematic analysis can be used with both constructionist and essentialist paradigms. A thematic analysis thus allows for quantification and a deeper analysis of qualitative data. Since the current study used both qualitative and quantitative methods, a thematic analysis was used to identify patterns and organise data into various categories or themes, which were then quantified.

Data was analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006:16) six-phase steps to thematic analysis. The six-phase steps, however, are not a linear process in the sense that the researcher "moves back and forth as needed" (Braun & Clarke 2006:16). Coding was guided by the research questions in the current study. Braun and Clarke's six-phase steps are as follows:

- **Familiarising yourself with the data**: this phase involves reading and re-reading data. Braun and Clarke (2006:16) suggest reading through the data entirely before coding, as identification of patterns can be noted as one reads through the data.
- **Generating initial codes**: this stage involves "production of initial codes from data" (Braun & Clarke 2006:17).
- **Searching for themes**: once a list of codes is developed, related codes are combined to form themes.
- **Reviewing themes**: this stage involves reviewing themes, discarding certain themes, where there are no supporting data, or merging certain themes. Themes are evaluated for "internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity", thus data within themes should be coherent and there should be clear differences between themes (Braun & Clarke 2006:18).
- **Defining and naming themes**: this stage involves naming and renaming the themes to ensure that each theme name or label identifies the "essence" of what each theme is about (Braun & Clarke 2006:18). Themes are thus named and described.

- **Producing the report**: this is where the themes found in data are listed and described.

In accordance with the above steps, the letters were read and reread several times. Relevant segments were then coded. Similar or related codes were grouped together to form themes. Both themes and codes were derived from the data. In reviewing or revising themes, some themes were re-named or merged with others to ensure that they were mutually exclusive.

In order to find out how ingroups viewed themselves and outgroups, each stratum was analysed separately. Letters relating to each incident were also analysed separately. The incidents took place in separate years (2008 and 2010) under different circumstances, and different responses were anticipated.

5.5.2 Discourse-historical analysis

The discourse-historical approach is a method of critical discourse analysis developed by the Vienna School of Sociolinguistics (Wodak & Reisigl 2001:386). The approach was first used to trace stereotyped images of other social groups (such as religious, racial or ethnic groups) in public discourse. Discourse-historical analysis is mostly used in studies on discrimination and identity (Wodak 2009:18). The method is thus mainly used to analyse identities and the concomitant stereotypes or description of identity. In the current study, this method was used to analyse the process of identification and attention was paid to referential (naming or constructive) strategies used by writers (the details to be provided in the next section).

Woodak and Reisigl (2001:386) identify six discursive macro strategies used in discourses about nations and national identities. The researcher only analysed the referential strategies used in the letters. Other strategies focus on how a group is described and strategies used to justify an individual’s negative or positive description of a group (this has already been addressed by the thematic analysis). Referential (constructive) strategies are strategies whereby an individual constructs and represents ingroups and outgroups. This may be done by categorising or naming individuals (the self or others), for example, as “black”, “white” or “South African”. An individual may refer to himself or herself or other individuals by their membership category (racial or national). Individuals may also use linguistic devices such as “we/they” pronouns to indicate distance from or proximity to a group (Clary-Lemon 2010:279; Cilla, Reisigl & Wodak 1999:161). Analysing referential strategies thus means paying attention to the names or phrases used to refer to in- and outgroups. Similarly, the researcher paid attention to both phrases used to identify self and others as well as linguistic devices used to indicate distance from or closeness to a group.

The table below shows the implications of linguistic devices such as pronouns or racial (and national) categories used to name groups. The context, however, plays a role in meaning construction and the meaning of a word thus depends on the context in which it is used.

Table 5.1: Implications of linguistic devices used to name groups

We	“We” implies solidarity or identification with the “we” group or ingroup.
They	“They” implies distance from the “they” group or outgroup.
Possessive pronouns such as “our” versus “their”	”Our” displays solidarity with the ingroup; “their” implies distanciation.
Particularising words or names such as “South African”, “black” or “white”	These terms serve to generalise stereotypes to the named group.
”Us” versus “them”	These pronouns tend to invoke stereotypic traits associated with “them” or “us”.

All the letters in the sample were read and attention was paid to the identities displayed, and whether an individual indicated distance from or identification with a specific group. Letters were read as a whole to identify the category the “we/they” was used in conjunction with. Pronouns can be used in conjunction with a racial, professional or national category.

5.5.3 Quantitative analysis

Numbers were assigned to themes that were discerned through a thematic analysis. A statistical analysis was then performed to determine the frequency of themes. The frequency analysis was done in three phases. The first phase entailed a frequency analysis of themes for each incident. This was done in order to determine if the frequency of themes differed in each incident. Next, a frequency analysis of themes was done for each stratum (racial group), and lastly, a frequency analysis of themes for each media group was conducted. Letters came from the following South African media groups: Naspers, Independent Newspapers, Times Media Group, Caxton and Mail and Guardian. Naspers publishes most of the Afrikaans newspapers and has its roots as a pro-Apartheid media group. Independent newspapers is owned by an Irish businessmen, Tony O'Reily and is viewed as pro-ANC (Hadland 2007:65). Caxton publishes the Citizen, it was part of the English press, which was financed by the Anglo mines (Bauer 2009:3). Bauer states that its opposition against apartheid was limited. In other words, like proapartheid press (Naspers) it also criminalised protests. Hadland states that it became more critical of the apartheid as the antiapartheid struggle intensified. *Mail and Guardian* (previously *Weekly Mail*) is owned by a Zimbabwean magnate and the Guardian of London is a majority shareholder. Times media group (TMG), is owned by black business groups.

An attempt to perform a chi-square goodness-of-fit test to determine whether the occurrence of themes was equal across (racial) groups and across media groups was abandoned, because the study did not meet the requirements or assumptions for a chi-square test. According to Diamantopoulos and Schelgemilch (2000:24), when applying the two-sample chi-square test, a researcher should ensure that no more than 20% of the cells have expected frequencies of less than 5, and that no cell has expected frequencies of less than 1. This usually occurs where sample sizes are small (as was the case in the current study) and can also be linked to the uneven distribution of themes (some more frequent than others). The assumption of independence was also violated as some letters fell in more than one category on one of the variables (themes). According to McHugh (2013:147), one of the assumptions of a chi-square test is that a particular subject (writer) must contribute to only one cell on each of the variables. Moreover, when one or more of the assumptions of a chi-square test is/are violated, the results may not be reliable. The study, for instance, may overestimate statistical significance or results may produce type I and type II errors. In the current study, however, the differences in frequency of themes in each stratum and media group were shown in the frequency analysis.

5.6 Trustworthiness of the study

In qualitative research, terms such as reliability and validity have mainly been replaced with terms such as “credibility” (internal validity), “transferability” (generalisability) and “dependability” (reliability) (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen & Kyngäs 2014:2). These terms are mainly the criteria to judge the quality of qualitative studies and to distance qualitative research from quantitative research. Although the current study used both qualitative and quantitative methods, the study was mainly qualitative and therefore warranted the use of qualitative research criteria. To ensure the credibility of the study, the following measures adopted from Shenton (2004) were used:

Table 5.2: Criteria used to judge the quality of the study

Adoption of appropriate methods	The methods used to collect and analyse data were suitable to provide answers to the research questions and can therefore be considered as appropriate.
Triangulation via data informants	For strata with a larger population, the sample was extended from the original target of 10 to 15 letters. This ensured that "individual viewpoints are verified against others" and a richer picture of attitudes under scrutiny is provided (Shenton 2004:66).
Thick description of the phenomenon under scrutiny	Themes discerned from the data were described and illustrative extracts included.
Authenticity	Refers to the extent to which researchers "fairly and faithfully show a range of realities" (Elo et al 2014:2). In the current study, multiple realities were displayed. Although certain perspectives were dominant, divergent perspectives were noted and categorised in an attempt to show multiple realities.

5.6.1 Dependability

The dependability (reliability) of a study refers to the replicability of findings or the consistency of results across investigators or time (Elo et al 2014:4). Descriptions of data collection and analytical methods were provided to help determine the replicability of findings across investigators.

Repeated observation of data, as is the tradition in thematic analysis and discourse-historical analysis, also assisted in establishing the intracoder consistency. Letters were read repeatedly during the coding and categorisation phases of analysis. To establish intracoder consistency, the researcher coded twenty percent of the letters from the first incident a week apart. Intracoder consistency was tested using Holsti's (1969) formula.

5.6.2 Results: intracoder consistency

$$\frac{2M}{N1+N2} = \frac{2(29)}{33+33} =0,87$$

M is the number of coding decisions on which the coders agree.

N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coding sessions respectively.

Although Wimmer and Dominick (1997:145) suggest that 0,90 is the minimum reliability coefficient, according to them, reliability estimates are usually lower where a certain degree of interpretation is involved.

5.7 Ethical issues

Owing to the fact that the researcher used content analysis of electronically archived data, there were fewer complications associated with human subjects. Wigston (2009:35), however, cautions that although content analysis is not concerned with ethical problems regarding people, there are other ethical issues that should be considered when analysing content. Such ethical issues include following the basic rules of research, acknowledgement of original sources, reporting conflicting evidence, giving credit for work done in a group or use of co-coders and describing the limitations of the study (Stacks & Hocking 1992:42 in Wigston 2009:35). The basic rules of research were taken into consideration, especially pertaining to the data analysis and reporting phase. These included reporting of conflicting evidence and describing the limitations of the study. Furthermore, the names of writers were concealed and pseudonyms used instead.

5.8 Critical evaluation of the study

5.8.1 Limitations

Relying on electronic (and archived) data has some limitations as a researcher relies on available or accessible data. For example, there were few responses from Indian and coloured writers accessible on the South African media database. The advantage of electronic data, however, is that there are fewer complications associated with human subjects such as individuals providing a response that they think is acceptable to the interviewer.

Another limitation of the study relates to the incidents selected. Both these incidents were extreme examples of interracial interactions and the findings could therefore be skewed towards extreme perspectives of interracial relations. Dominant views in the current study may therefore not reflect dominant views in South African society in general. The current study, however, identified diverse views which can be considered as some of the views that exist in South Africa, although their frequency could not be confirmed by the current study.

5.8.2 Strengths

The strengths of the study are evident in the use of both the qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis. The use of both methods allowed the researcher to provide an in-depth description of themes and also their frequency in data. The researcher thus avoided overweighting or underweighting themes identified through qualitative analysis (Creswell & Millar 2008:121). Quantitative analysis thus clearly showed which themes were frequent or less frequent. Moreover, the meaning or content of themes was described before quantitative analysis. Tracy and Carjuzáa (1993:40) argue that “quantification can ride roughshod over meaning, that we may only be counting the countable. The use of numbers to designate categories or quantities is at best premature if those categories are unclear”. Since themes were identified through qualitative analysis, they were therefore described before counting.

5.9 Summary

This chapter focused on the research questions and methodologies used in the current study. The criteria used to judge the study were also discussed. The last sections of the chapter covered the critical evaluation of the study.

The next chapter presents the results of the study. The results will be used to answer the research questions stated in section 5.2. The results presented in the next chapter are only a description of what was found in data. The interpretation of findings in relation to literature are discussed in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

6.1 Introduction

Incidents of interracial controversy tend to receive a significant amount of media attention in postapartheid South Africa. These incidents tend to draw scores of commentary in the form of newspaper columns or letters to the editor. Moreover, the responses to these incidents tend to reveal intergroup attitudes, that is, attitudes that individuals have towards in- and outgroup members. Attitudes tend to differ along racial lines and this is attributed to the tendency of individuals towards ingroup favouritism and outgroup (negative) bias (Collier 2009:298; Woodak 2009:1). Some studies also show a tendency towards negative ingroup bias or self-stigmatisation (Chen & Collier 2012:44; Soudien 2008:194). Furthermore, individual attitudes may change over time.

Individuals' identities may also influence attitudes. As previously discussed, individuals tend to be biased towards outgroups. Individuals in South Africa are grouped into four racial categories, namely black, white, Indian and coloured. Individuals may use these categories, create new categories or use a national identity.

In the current study, attitudes towards in- and outgroups, as well as the processes of identification, were analysed. Thematic analysis helped to flesh out different attitudes that individuals displayed towards in- and outgroup members. Discourse-historical analysis, however, helped to reveal processes of identification. Furthermore, quantitative analysis assisted in determining the frequency of themes. This chapter presents the findings of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis. The results of the qualitative data analysis are presented first, followed by the results of the quantitative data analysis.

6.2 The Annelie Botes incident

6.2.1 Themes identified for the black stratum

The following themes were identified for the black stratum: blacks as victims; blacks as privileged; whites as privileged; whites as racists; blacks as superior; stereotyping of whites; stereotyping of South Africans and stereotyping of blacks.

Blacks as victims

This was a dominating theme among black writers. A number of writers felt that blacks were victims because they still experienced racism and also because most blacks were economically poor. With regard to experiencing racism, a number of writers claimed that blacks were subject to insults by whites, and/or were undermined or considered subhuman by whites. Some writers felt that whites viewed or stereotyped blacks as lazy, incompetent or as criminals. These stereotypes were further described as being similar to descriptions of blackness during the apartheid era.

Another issue that some writers highlighted to establish the victim stance was poverty. A number of them stated that the political emancipation of blacks had not yet translated into economic emancipation. The reasons for poverty that some writers mentioned were the apartheid past and a government that moves at a snail's pace in transforming the lives of township or village dwellers. The following extracts illustrate perceptions of blacks as victims:

> It is very difficult to be a black South African, and it's worse if you are poor. … for most of us who are daily exposed to this dehumanising crime called racism, we know it is more painful than hunger or a bullet wound, let alone death. (Luvo)
>
> In the township and villages, black dominated suburbs and stokvels, talk is the same. It is about how change aimed at ameliorating the plight of the majority of the citizens is either moving at a snail's pace or non-existent. A community in Northwest had to burn down a school and everything that represented the government just to bring to the attention of the country the plight of impoverished villagers who had to resort to bathing in and drinking dirty water. And then, despite all the hardships plaguing blacks, Botes & Co see *skelms* [crooks] in all of us. (Alu)

> … black people generally continue to live in squalid conditions in the townships. And it is worse when the likes of Botes and Hofmeyr[10] spit on their suffering. (Ranthomeng)

The statements above highlight both poverty and "Botes & Co" (whites who made controversial racial statements in the media) as some of the issues leading to black victimisation. Some writers, however, stated that blacks were "in charge" (Zuko) but pointed out that whites continued to view them with an old apartheid eye. The following excerpts exemplify this view:

> Such is the curse of blackness: even when we're in charge, we are subjected to such demeaning statements. (Zuko)
>
> These two individuals [Botes and Hofmeyr] are a clear example of how some white people *still* think – that blacks are either lazy, incompetent, criminals, murderers and rapists [emphasis added]. (Nqaba)

Another highlighted issue, although not dominant, was the issue of black inferiority. Some writers stated that blacks viewed themselves as inferior as a result of apartheid socialisation. The two writers below explained this as follows:

> When people internalise racism, it may manifest itself as self-degradation and self-alienation. Internalised racism is embedded in issues of self-esteem, self-confidence, depression, anxiety and other areas of life. It has remained largely invisible in its impact and this needs to change. (Vuyo)
>
> Similarly, individuals who continue to sustain an inferiority complex also have to engage in a process of re-education and self-healing. (Farai)

Blacks as privileged

Some black writers viewed blacks as privileged. Such opinions, however, were rare. A few writers stated that blacks were emancipated as they had political power and access to previously white schools or areas. The following excerpts illustrate the perception of blacks as emancipated:

---

[10] South African Singer, Steve Hofmeyr, made controversial racial statements in December 2010, a few weeks after Annelie Botes's statement. The main thrust of his statement(s) was that blacks have a sense of entitlement. He stated on his Facebook page that "blacks (God knows, probably not all of them, but most of those I observe) feel justified and 'entitled' in everything, from quotas/low matric marks to land rights/brutality" (the Facebook statement was translated from Afrikaans to English) (Du Plessis 2010:1).

> But it would be foolhardy to start questioning the content of our emancipation because of the Botes and Hofmeyrs of this world. (Zuko)
>
> Wonderful pieces of legislation have been enacted over the past 16 years of democracy; such as the BEE and the much pooh-poohed affirmative action, whose definition and benefits have included white females and lately Chinese as “previously disadvantaged”. (Alu)

Black emancipation (or privilege) was thus acknowledged and the role of policies such as affirmative action in this emancipation.

Whites as privileged

A number of black writers described whites as privileged. The privileges of whiteness mentioned were having economic and cultural power (white languages and norms perceived as dominant) and socialisation into a superiority complex. The following excerpts demonstrate this perception:

> A consequence of that system [apartheid] was that a minority group [whites] lives better than the rest, gets richer than the rest, gets better education, gets better health care and has the right to belittle the rest. (Luvo)
>
> Yes, we can aggregate the wealth of “white people” and be dissatisfied that most of the country’s wealth is still in their hands. (Zama)
>
> … There is simply nothing institutionally tangible that Afrikaners can point to to show that they are indeed a marginalised group. They remain with the English first language speakers the only grouping that can get educated in their mother tongue from pre-primary to PHD. Afrikaners are per capita richer than they were during apartheid and can now travel more freely anywhere in the world than they could under the racist government they elected … (Bonga)

Overall, whites were perceived as richer and the languages of whites as dominant. Some writers stated that whites were still in charge in the business sector. Even with regard to policies such as affirmative action aimed at improving the lives of blacks, white women were perceived as beneficiaries. Bonga, for example, noted the following:

> Affirmative action numbers show that white women and we must include Afrikaners in this number – have been the biggest beneficiaries of employment equity laws.

Whites as racist

A number of black writers described whites as racists. Furthermore, some writers listed different kinds of racism displayed by whites. These were subtle racism and overt racism. Subtle racism was defined as racism that is privatised or hidden and often covered with superficial smiles. Overt racism, by contrast, was described as racism that is expressed publicly. Botes's statements were described as an example of overt racism. The following excerpts illustrate perceptions of subtle racism:

> Annelie Botes and Steve Hofmeyr have cast a light on the extent of racism that still exists in the new South Africa. Mind you this racism is being covered by superficial smiles, but there are still people who see blacks in a highly negative manner. (Nqaba)
>
> Steve Hofmeyr and Annelie Botes are the faces of the rise in white racism in South Africa with the racists feeling increasingly emboldened to go publicly with their bigotry … After a period during which the racists privatised their racism by confining it to their home, businesses and braai fires, they have come out of their closets. (Bonga)
>
> First there is subtle racism, which is difficult to detect, but omnipresent in society. Many black people experience this. Stories of black recruits condemned to interminable graduate training programmes abound. "They have a potential, only just this other life skills programme then they'll match the profile of this company". (Busi)

Busi further mentioned "residual resentment" and overt racism as other forms of racism which he described as follows:

> Then we have residual resentment, a racism that straddles subtleness and overt bigotry. Most working black people experience this racism. Often they are suspected of incompetence, of being prone to criminality and violence and, as Hofmeyr contends, of having a sense of entitlement.
>
> Finally, we have overt racism expressed in the crudest forms available. Inspired by superiority complex, hatred or ill-feeling for people who look different, overt racists employ social and scientific theories to justify their chauvinism. Remember Verwoerd and his statements on the mental abilities of black people? Remember Terre' Blanche and his diatribe? No elaboration necessary!

Words used to describe whites (especially those who made racial statements such as Botes) were "bigots" or "chauvinists" who are "arrogant". Moreover, some writers described statements made by Botes and Hofmeyr as examples of how whites think about blacks. Some writers thus felt that the views of Botes and Hofmeyr were shared by other whites.

Blacks as racists

A few black writers stated that blacks were racist. One writer, for example, pointed out that the ANC's ambivalent stance towards racially inflammatory songs such as "Kill the Boer" served as an example of black racism. Bonga noted the following:

> The ANC cannot continue to encourage those who sing about killing "boers" - for that is what the party is doing by refusing to acknowledge the obviously inflammatory and racist sentiment such a song has in current day South Africa – and still call itself a champion of non-racism.

Some writers thus stated that both black and white racism exist. The excerpts below illustrate this view. The first writer, for instance, differentiated between white racism and "racism in general". Racism in general can be interpreted as, black, Indian or coloured racism.

> At the root of South Africa's problems is white racism and not racism in general. … Non-racism and anti-racism are non-negotiable. We must fight with every bit of strength again if needs be. It is not about blacks versus whites. It is about South Africans who love their country and believe in its future against those who hanker for its sorry past. (Bonga)

> No wonder writer Zukiswa Wanner wants her [Botes] and all people who walk around with the cancer that is racism, whether they are black or white to leave this country. (Mosa)

The statement above thus indicates that some writers considered the possibility that both blacks and whites could be racist.

Blacks as superior

As opposed to the above themes that cast blacks mostly as victims and whites as privileged, this theme represents viewpoints depicting blacks as powerful individuals with high moral values. High moral values listed, inter alia, were as follows: being forgiving and embracing; playing a role in building a new South Africa; letting bygones be bygones; fighting for freedom and justice; and sharing the fruits of the labour for freedom with "others".

The following statement illustrates the view of blacks as having high moral values:

> It takes clarity of mind to recognise that the mere act of having raised your voice against oppression puts you on a higher moral platform. So you dare not waver, even in the face of extreme provocation and wish your erstwhile oppressors the kind of harm they put you through. … It so happens that the fruits of liberty are not meant to be enjoyed exclusively by *those who fought for it.* Even Botes and

> Hofmeyr are free to partake as gluttonously as they wish [emphasis added]. (Zuko)

Some authors described blacks as the builders of a new South Africa. The following excerpt illustrates this point:

> To categorise “all” black people in this manner [as criminals] is clearly unfair and unjust to the masses of the so-called “black people” who are working diligently to build a new South Africa. (Mmuso)

Blacks were thus described as “freedom fighters”, forgiving or letting bygones be bygones.

Stereotyping of whites

Whites were described as the opposite of blacks, who were described as builders of a new South Africa. Some writers associated whites with traits such as, being naive, having warped views on race, keeping the past alive and destroying the country that blacks (and other nonracial individuals) were trying to build. Other traits linked to whites were that they were holding on to the past white superiority-black inferiority framework, while “others” were moving forward. Whites were also perceived as being paranoid and perceiving themselves as being marginalised and/or endangered by black criminals and/or as victims of reverse racism. One writer, for example, cited the story of Brandon Huntley, a white South African, who sought refugee status in Canada, citing the reason that blacks were killing whites in South Africa as an example of white paranoia (Bonga).

The following statements illustrate perceptions of whites as paranoid:

> Still the question lingers. What is it that Afrikaners mean when they say they are under siege? What is it that that makes them feel that they are victims in the land of their birth and for many, the country they call home? Objective analysis shows that there is nothing that warrants this Afrikaner paranoia. The closest they come to having a point is that affirmative action (especially in the public sector) gives them the short-end of the opportunity stick. (Bonga)
>
> They [whites] also feel that by promoting employment equity and affirmative action we [blacks] are implementing reverse racism. (Ranthomeng)

In addition to being paranoid, some writers described whites as naïve or having distorted minds. Some writers even compared Botes (and Hofmeyr) with “Adolph Hitler in Nazi Germany” (Mosa). The following excerpts illustrate these views:

> It is only when we critically engage with them [whites like Hofmeyr or Botes] that we will discover that they may be naïve, foolish victims of apartheid thinking because there will be no scientific basis for their opinions. (Luntu)
>
> Adolf Hitler with his warped views on race might have commenced as a Steve [Hofmeyr] or a Hannelie (*sic*) [Annelie Botes]. (Ntombi)
>
> Botes is merely articulating what the apartheid framework intended her to feel, perceive and express about black people and their propensity to criminality. She has not been able to emancipate herself from these distorted views. (Farai)

Overall, whites were described as having “warped views on race” or being unemancipated from distorted views they inherited from apartheid.

Stereotyping of South Africans

A few black writers claimed that all South African racial groups had distorted minds. Farai, for instance, stated that most South Africans had not “healed” from the psychological damage caused by apartheid. A few writers stated that some South Africans were overly sensitive to issues of race and holding on to past mindsets or beliefs. The following excerpts illustrate this view:

> South Africans cannot afford to pretend that because there has been a political transformation, we have all been reborn with blank memories, with new beliefs, values, attitudes and personalities that are yet to be reshaped. We must all recognise we carry baggage from the past into the present … (Velo)
>
> I wrote in a recent piece that the lasting effect of our history on the mindsets of all South Africans has not yet been fully recorded. We have all been brought up to give one form of treatment to people from one group and a different form of treatment to those of another group even in similar settings. Many of us may not be aware we’re doing this. (Zola)

The above statements indicate that a few writers perceived all South Africans as having damaged psyches because of their socialisation into a racist system.

Stereotyping of blacks[11]

A few writers stated that blacks overreact to racial statements. Luntu, for instance, noted the following**:**

---

3 Blacks were mainly stereotyped as sensitive, and a few writers described blacks as inferior. Examples are provided in relevant sections.

> … black people in general must stop over-reacting to what white people like Botes or Steve Hofmeyr, for instance, say and critically engage the content and substance of what they say. (Luntu)

6.2.2 Themes identified for the white stratum

The following themes were identified: blacks as racists; whites as racists; whites as fearful; blacks as criminals; blacks as victims; whites as heterogeneous; and stereotyping of blacks.

Blacks as racists

A number of white writers described blacks as racists. Incidents such as the murder of white farm owners, statements made by black politicians, especially the current Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) president Julius Malema, were used as examples of black racism. The word “Boer” (used to refer to whites), for example, was perceived as a derogatory word or racist term. One writer stated that “the once world-renowned name for freedom fighters, ‘Boers’, was later lowered to that for oppressors who should be shot” and therefore racist. Another writer also stated that the song “kill the Boer” was no longer acceptable in a context where farmers were actually being killed (Paul).

There were also a few perceptions of institutional reverse racism. A few writers described policies such as affirmative action as reverse discrimination disadvantaging white and “brown” (coloured) South Africans. Dannie, for example stated the following:

> The ANC, however, ensures statutory race indicators for cases such as affirmative action and black empowerment – thus also reverse discrimination.

According to another writer, high levels of violence, especially black-white crimes, such as the murder of white farmers could also be linked to hostility and anger that is sometimes rationalised on historical grounds. Dawie stated that blacks may sometimes perceive whites as a “fair game” and may thus practise reverse racism. A sentiment was also expressed that blacks stereotyped all whites as racists. The following excerpts illustrate perceptions of blacks as racists:

> It is no wonder that he [black public intellectual] approves of her [Annelie] recent remarks, because they seem only to confirm everything contained in his twisted world, in which all whites are essentially born into racist sin, of which it is impossible to purge themselves. (Andrea)

> From the one quarter she [Annelie] has been accused of extreme racism (and sometimes even all Afrikaners are tarred with the same brush). (Andre)
>
> This racism is by no means limited to white people; blacks announce their racial hatred with their names and even photographs alongside. (Dannie)

Whites as racist

White racism was also acknowledged alongside black racism. Some white writers posited that there was a “fair amount of racism going on also among whites” (Peter). Some writers described whites as aggressive individuals, who sometimes stereotype blacks as criminals or as less intelligent and have a superiority complex. The following excerpts illustrate perceptions of whites as racists:

> Even if we [whites] are allowed to be a bit familiar with the dark-ones these days, the slightest wobble gives us the mandate to lay the smallest human failing at their door with the same blatant disregard as Annelie Botes. As you know: “they” are stupid-simple, violent, bad, yes. (Brett)
>
> Racist references such as the K-word which are still used in non-black conversations, mean humiliation, abuse and disdain. (Dannie)
>
> … She [Botes] also admits her sincere feelings of empathy for a black woman behind a counter who is belittled by impatient whites’ aggression and judgements. (Leandra)

Blacks as criminals

Some white writers described blacks as criminals. Statistics and news reports were cited to establish blacks as criminals. Some writers, however, noted that it is not only blacks who were criminals, thus implying that whites and other racial groups could also be criminals. However, this viewpoint was rare. Blacks were thus perceived as criminals in South Africa as well as in other countries. Dannie, for example, noted the following:

> … most crime is committed by blacks against whites. Even in the “non-racial” USA, 82% of the prison population is black.

By contrast, a number of writers (including subsequent statements by the writer above) acknowledged that the majority of victims of crime were black. One writer postulated, for example, that when victims of crime were white and middle class, crime received more attention. Crime committed against the poor (or blacks), according to the said writer, did not receive as much attention. Overall, a number of white writers perceived blacks as both criminals and victims of crime. There were a few references to whites as criminals. Brett, for example, stated that whites were criminals who were blind to their own criminality:

> For years I have been watching this goon show: Our [Afrikaans] newspapers whine about our own decay, about us who also murder and steal, who slit the throats of our loved-ones, murder children, kick people to death and throw them into lakes, create corrupt cartels, commit fraud and are paedophiles – and yet still we believe that we are not like the crooked, violent blacks.

Blacks as victims

A few white writers described blacks as victims. Dannie for instance noted:

> For a very large group, especially black youth, democracy brought no *uhuru* (freedom/liberation), but instead, a continuing spiral of unemployment, poverty, a decline in values and erosion of self-image

The description of black as victims, however, was rare.

Whites as fearful

A number of white writers stated that whites were fearful. Crime, policies such as affirmative action, clashing value systems between blacks and whites, fears of being labelled as racist and a government that no longer embraces the ideology of nonracialism were among the reasons that some writers cited as reasons for white fear. The dominant fears mentioned included fear of being labelled racist and cultural differences between blacks and whites. With regard to crime and a government that no longer embraces a nonracial ideology and practises reverse racism, Dannie stated the following:

> For white and brown South Africans “liberation”, however, despite all its benefits, has also brought with it the increasing threat of crime, loss of power and reverse racial discrimination … In contrast to the ideal examples of Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk in the transition period to democracy, in the discussion one has to refer to contemporary, dangerous comments in ANC ranks. The ANC found out long ago how much political leverage it can gain from

> the race debate and uses it shamelessly: “Nation building” has long been forgotten.

Some writers cited cultural differences between blacks and whites as a cause of white fears:

> In many cases, it [the thinking that “a peaceful political solution for the country will only dawn when we are able to associate with people we like”] is at the core of the concern over “Afrikaans” schools and universities where we can try to guarantee that our children and students are exempt from uncomfortable (jarring) exposure to fellow South Africans, who do not look, think or act as we do. (Juan)
>
> For whites in South Africa, these spaces [suburbs] are a reflection of the Western lifestyle and “civilisation”. With the increased migration of black Africans from rural areas to cities, there is an increasing discomfort with what are perceived as clashing ideas about lifestyle and civilisation. (Linda)

Another cause of fear mentioned was to be accused of racism. One writer asserted that it was difficult for whites to speak about their fears in public as they did not wish to be labelled as racist. Some writers, for example, stated that if blacks and whites use the same word to refer to blacks, a white person was likely to be accused of racism. For example, Paul noted that he could not use the word “darkies” that was used by the Minister of Education (black):

> Imagine the outrage if I had said “darkies” in Bhisho cannot run education. That is why Annelie got so much flack – she was the “wrong” person.

Some writers thus held the view that if a black person and a white person used a negative or racist term, the consequences were not the same. They believed that there were less or no consequences for a black person, while there were harsh consequences for whites.

A few writers, however, postulated that all South Africans were fearful, especially of other races. According to Leandra, for instance, South Africans were reinforcing “the vicious cycle of racial segregation and stereotyping” because individuals were afraid of discussing racial issues publicly. Another writer also stated that some individuals were afraid of standing up to their ingroup members when they violate members of other racial groups as ingroup members tend to enforce compliance to dominant views (ingroup favouritism – outgroup bias).

Whites as heterogeneous

In response to the belief that Annelie’s views were shared (among some white and black writers), a few white writers stated that whites were heterogeneous and thus do not think alike. Some writers pointed out that “Afrikaners” were not all racist. Sunett, for instance, questioned the notions of “we” or “us” used by Botes and her “defenders”:

> Sorry but it is not good enough to allege, like many of your defenders, that you are just saying “what most of us are thinking”. Who are these “we” and “they” that you harp on about?

Another writer posited that Afrikaners also had a superior complex and Afrikaners who did not believe that may be called “Kaffir-Boeties” by other Afrikaners (Brett). The same writers also asserted that there were differences between blacks as well, such as class and/or ideological differences. Writers who highlighted intrawhite differences thus also tended to highlight intrablack differences.

Stereotyping of blacks

A few writers described blacks as overly sensitive to racial statements. Jane, for instance, explained this as follows:

> Blacks are too sensitive about the issue (Botes’s statements). It is time that South Africans grow up and stop carrying on about things that are irrelevant.

6.2.3 Themes identified in the coloured/Indian stratum

There were few letters from coloureds (and no Indians) in letters responding to the Annelie Botes incident. A few themes were also identified in the letters as most of the contents dealt with issues unrelated to the study. The following themes were identified: stereotyping of South Africans and stereotyping of blacks.

Stereotyping of South Africans

According to one coloured writer, all South Africans were victims of apartheid and all carried scars. Sally noted the following:

> Apartheid's victims are not just black or brown. All of us carry the scars of a system that kept people so successfully away from each other, that we couldn't naturally get to know one another.

Stereotyping of blacks

One writer described blacks as sensitive and quick to point out racism. Sam, for instance, noted the following:

> It was bizarre to see even black critics – people who are quick to point out racism against other black people – thanking Annelie Botes for her honesty.

6.3 The FBJ incident

6.3.1 Themes identified in the black stratum

The following themes were identified and are discussed in the sections that follow: blacks as victims; whites as privileged; black as racists; whites as racists; stereotyping of blacks as coconuts; stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power; blacks as privileged; and blacks as criminals.

Blacks as victims

The majority of black writers described blacks as victims. A number of writers stated that the lives of blacks did not change significantly after 1994. The lives of blacks were described as having been shattered by apartheid and colonialism. Other factors that writers noted to establish blacks as victims included a lack of a black voices in the media and the experiences of racism (mistreatment of blacks by whites). The following excerpts illustrate the perceptions of blacks as victims:

> Black professionals, for example, are still discriminated against when they have to prove themselves. The number of black advocates compared to those that are white is appalling and the media are still white-dominated. … I say these organisations [such as FBJ] should continue meeting to discuss the way forward against the unfair treatment of black professionals in this country. (Khonzi)
>
> Many black journalists, for example, are languishing in junior positions where they are unable to influence decisions in the newsroom … The media also tend to emphasise that black people are criminals and are the only ones that are dying from AIDS. (Banda)
>
> They [blacks] need a comfortable space to discuss their common concerns, find clarity and craft strategies to deal with the institutionalised and systemic racism. Individual attempts to address this problem are, after all, routinely dismissed as isolated incidents and gripes from underperforming individuals. Taking on the source of your own alienation and leading that struggle is the first step away from remaining a perpetual victim. (Zola)

While the writers above described blacks mainly as victims, some writers noted that the lives of blacks had improved, but stated that blacks were still victimised or powerless. Black journalists, for instance, were perceived as having no decision-making powers in the media. The following extracts illustrate this point:

> …despite transformation of the media and that the majority of newspaper editors are now black, some journalists still feel left out in the cold by the media. (Mandla)
>
> Just because black journalists head editorials in the newsroom does not necessarily mean that they set the tone of reporting ... (Nathi)

Blacks were thus perceived as victims, despite measures introduced emancipate their lives. Some writers noted that progress towards economic transformation was slow. While the government was perceived as one of the reason for blacks' unchanging lives, whites appeared to be perceived as the chief "source of [black] alienation", as noted by Zola (in the above excerpts). The expectations that black politicians had of blacks, especially journalists, seemed to be another source of black victimisation. One writer, for instance, stated the following in this regard:

> … It is a matter of public record that many black commentators and policy makers have no faith in black journalists. We are seen, wrongly or not, as simply parroting what is routinely called the "white/DA" agenda[12] – whatever that means! It is not long ago that Minister in the presidency Essop Pahad threatened to pull advertising from the black-owned and managed *Sunday Times* because the paper was not showing the kind of respect for national leaders that is expected of black journalists in the mainstream newspapers. (Bonga)

Whites as privileged

A large number of black writers described whites as privileged. Similar to blacks, a large number of writers described the lives of whites as unchanged. The majority of writers shared the sentiment that the inherited privileges of whites still remained and that whites were reinforcing these privileges. Some writers, for instance, described the media as "white-dominated" (Khonzi) and reflecting Western voices. Other writers asserted that black journalists "demand space to speak as victims of it [racism] without [white] supervision and surveillance …" (Awelani). Some writers thus perceived whites as "in charge" or desiring to dominate. One writer, for instance, described white journalists who attended the FBJ meeting as "the people who felt the need to supervise black journalists …" (Milly).

Furthermore, some writers described whites as economically privileged and white norms as dominant or invisible (the standard by which everyone is judged). A few writers quoted Peggy McIntosh's article on white privilege in emphasising the notion of white privilege and the invisibility of whiteness. The following excerpts illustrate perceptions of whites as privileged:

---

[12] The expectations that black political leaders had of black journalists were mostly supportive and positive stories. Black journalists who criticise government policies tend to be accused of being used by whites. Chala (2002:1), for instance, notes that "for some reason, the ANC leaders seem to think that all black people owe their loyalty to the party and that black journalists should do their public relations work for them. They regularly complain that the media fail to report on the 'positive' things they do. *Mail & Guardian* advertising executives are subjected to lectures about 'blackness' and 'patriotism' from government departments because the paper carries 'anti-ANC stories'".

> And many whites are still in overly influential positions despite affirmative action. (Banda)
>
> Those with power, particularly economic power, are keen that the media serves to reinforce their privilege position. (Mandla)
>
> The noise about FBJ can be understood as a moment of “racing” whites, in other words, making whiteness visible. Whiteness naturalises, normalises and makes white privilege invisible. When the blacks in the FBJ shut the door on white colleagues they were saying: “You are white”. The subsequent outrage and claims of racism are a strategy to reconstitute whiteness as the norm. (Muzi)

Whites were thus perceived as privileged and seeking to reinforce their privileges.

Whites as racists

Some black writers expressed the feeling that whites were racist, prejudiced and still holding on to the notions of white superiority. Examples of white racism such as the University of Free State (UFS) video[13] and Skierlik shooting[14] were cited to establish the notion of whites as racists. Moreover, some writers described these incidents as examples of how some whites think about blacks. Other writers further differentiated between institutional, individual, overt and subtle racism. A few writers posited that South Africa had made progress in eradicating overt forms of racism, while some noted that both subtle and overt racism still exist. The following excerpts exemplify perceptions of whites as racists:

> The UFS video is a metaphor for how black people are held in utter disdain among some sections of white South Africa. (Awelani)
>
> Racism can be covert and overt. In other words, it can be institutional and individual racism. When thousands of black babies die from a lack of health care every year, it’s institutional racism and it’s not condemned. When a white youth shoots blacks in Skierlik and white students make blacks drink their urine, it’s individual racism and it’s condemned. However, individual racism rides on the back of institutional racism. (Muzi)

---

[13] Four white students at the University of Free State (UFS) (2007) published a video in which they made cleaners eat food that they allegedly urinated on.

[14] In the Skierlik shooting (2008) – a white teenager shot four blacks in Skierlik, a squatter camp near his home, in North West province.

> There is still overt racism in many sectors of our society. The media, therefore, cannot arrogantly claim to be free of racism and other forms of prejudice. (Pinky)

Other traits associated with white racism included the following: whites' "chronic lack of respect" for black colleagues (journalists) (Nathi) and "arrogant resistance" from whites against black organisations (Khonzi). A few writers also described whites who reported the FBJ incident as racist or prejudiced. Zola, for instance, noted the following:

> Ironically, those who have stood on the rooftops to discredit other people's experience, shouting reverse racism, have somehow exposed their racial prejudice.

Blacks as racists

A few black writers noted that the FBJ members were reversing racism and affirming apartheid's separate development policies. Some writers described exclusion of white journalists because of skin colour on its own as racist. Aaron, for instance, stated that whites were excluded on the basis of race and not membership as FBJ had "become moribund and had no members when they excluded Katopodis and others". Pinky wrote the following in this regard:

> But, if you are a white journalist, you can't join FBJ, the prerequisite is being black. You don't even have to be a member to secure an invite, just be black.

Some writers, however, postulated that FBJ racism represented mild racism compared to violent racial incidents such as the Skierlik shooting. One writer further stated that discrimination by blacks should be given another name and not racism as racism was only practised by whites. The following excerpts illustrate perceptions of black racism as reverse apartheid and fair racism:

> In excluding – and the operative word here is excluding – their white counter parts, the Forum for Black Journalists (FBJ) affirmed the divide-and-rule policies of the apartheid regime. … It is sad [that] the FBJ seeks to emulate the policies of a regime whose racist dogma decimated society. (Pinky)
>
> So let us not kid ourselves. It is patently untrue that black people are incapable of being racist. The poverty of thought displayed on the banners of the

> relaunched FBJ showed that blacks are not instinctively sensitive to the pain of racial exclusion. (Bonga)
>
> By South African standards, this [FBJ incident] was a rather tame racial incident. Racial incidents over the past 13 years have seldom been this mild. This year alone we have endured the bizarre but very racist Skierlik shootings in North West province. … Against this backdrop, the gentle expulsion of white journalists from an event designed to resuscitate the FBJ pales in comparison. (Awelani)

Some writers thus acknowledged black racism, but some described it as “mild” or sometimes fair compared to white racism. There was also a view among a few writers that “blacks – by virtue of their historically evolved position can’t be racist” (Muzi). Awelani, for instance, equated accusing FBJ of racism to accusing victims of violence of trying to reinvent violence when they hold a meeting. He stated the following:

> It is like suggesting that when victims of violence meet to talk of their experiences with a view to joint action, they invent and create, by the very act of coming together, the very evil they seek to expose and combat.

Writers who acknowledged black racism were few, and some of these writers perceived black racism as mild racism or racism with a purpose – seeking to combat (white) racism.

Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts

Some black writers described black journalists who criticised the racially exclusive policy of the FBJ as *coconuts.* Blacks who wrote negative stories about the government or believed there was no racism in the media were also typified as coconuts. One writer, for instance, stated that he was called a “model C” (coconut) after he had disagreed with some black journalists over the notion that the “media” ignored black commentators. Isaac stated the following:

> … There was a lot of bitching about how the media – it was always the amorphous media, nothing specific – ignored black commentators and only ever used white commentators to give opinions. … I asked half rhetorically and half seriously, how many of us could produce a list of black commentators ignored by the “media” if asked to do so. My point was not that there were no black commentators. There were. But we could not accuse our employers [mostly white] of ignoring them if we did not do so ourselves. There was I remember, a bit of heckling. Some of the attendees called me, by way of insult, a “model C” [coconut] and told me to shut up.

Experiences of blacks were also viewed as dissimilar. One writer, for instance, stated that some blacks were treated better by whites and tended to sing praises for whites. Blacks who were treated better by whites or “sang praises for whites” were thus perceived as coconuts. Zola further stated that this “uneven treatment of the oppressed has played itself out throughout history”.

Coconuts were also described negatively. Duma, for instance, noted the following:

> … a whole list of coconuts that include Justice Malala and Citizen’s Chris Bathembu to name but a few, deserve to emigrate to Zimbabwe where there will be a whole lot of truth in what they write, since nothing positive is happening there anyway. … These white and coconut journalists predicted this country would have gone to the dogs by now; and it pains them [to see that] this democracy is still intact.

Coconuts were thus described as blacks who supported whites, were being used by whites or were similar to whites in terms of political views.

Stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power

Some black writers shared the sentiment that FBJ members were interested in having access to power (the President). A few writers stated that there were power struggles among black journalists, with some journalists seeking close relationships with politicians in order to have more power. A small number of writers thus expressed a view that the FBJ incident was more than just a racial issue. The following excerpts illustrate this view:

> A handful of black journalists had long figured out that the only way they would gain any audience with T-man [Thabo Mbeki] was by organising themselves into a bloc. Like accountants and lawyers. Training, empowerment, affirmative action, yada-yada-yada – all that stuff came a distant second. … This is the context within which Jacob Zuma’s recent appearance at the forum must be understood. Mbeki is yesterday’s man. Zuma is now the top dog, the man of the hour. He is the leader you want to be seen with if you want your bark taken seriously, especially if you work for a media institution that has so far been partisan in the ANC succession dispute [SABC]. (Isaac)

> The FBJ may look like a black versus white issue at the outset but the issue here is actually about power. … Black journalists feel they are being let down by their own kind when it comes to advancement. (Lufuno)

Some writers thus believed that some black journalists were only interested in power and were hindering the advancement of other black journalists.

Blacks as privileged

Although a few black writers noted that there has been economic progress or change in the lives of blacks, this view was rare. Pinky, for instance, stated the following:

> But it is a fact that black people hold senior positions in newsrooms. There are more black editors, senior reporters, political editors than there are white ones.

Blacks as criminals

Only one black writer described blacks as criminals. Muzi asserted that “sometimes we [blacks] kill our women, rape our children, even more are known to be cannibals”.

6.3.2 Themes identified in the white stratum

The following themes were identified: blacks as racists; whites as racists; whites as heterogeneous; blacks as heterogeneous; whites as privileged; blacks as privileged; and stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power.

Blacks as racists

A large number of white writers described blacks as reversing racism and “hankering back to apartheid” (Amy). The exclusion of white journalists from the FBJ meeting was perceived as an immediate example of black racism. Other examples of black racism mentioned were songs such as “Kill the Boer”, black organisations such as the Black Lawyers’ Association (BLA) and the stereotyping of whites as racists. The following excerpts exemplify this view:

> There is an inherent racism in the titles of organisations such as Black Lawyers' Association. With the FBJ matter, this is exacerbated by the deliberate exclusion of white journalists from even attending a briefing. (Anonymous)

> In year 2008, the leader of a movement that fought racial discrimination and separation for many decades attends a [FBJ] meeting from which some people have just been removed, purely because of the colour of their skin [white]. He doesn't say a word. He actually makes a keynote speech at this racist spectacle … (John)

> What, one wonders, will be the criteria for admission [to the FBJ]; the old system's degrading pencil through one's hair test? Production of a replica pass-book? Or what? Whatever the situation, it comes across to me that here we have a bunch of racists. What are these journalists, like the black managers and black lawyers, doing when they create bodies divided along racial lines? (Amy)

Some writers further stated that black racism did not receive as much political or media attention as white racism and the consequences were not the same. Some writers stated that incidents such as murders of white farmers by blacks were not described as racism by black politicians. Willem, for instance, compared the Skierlik shooting to the murder of white farmers:

> When At and Katrien Deysel were murdered on their farm last week by a black man who escaped from the Ottoshoop police station, there was no mention of racism. When students at the Tshwane University of Technology protested, ransacked property and made statements such as "Kill the Boer" and "Whites should die", were they also investigated by the education department, as were the University of the Free State students who made a racist video? When obvious racism took place when the Forum for Black Journalists (FBJ) blatantly refused white journalists entry to their conference, they justified it as their right to gather as non-whites.

Another writer noted the following:

> … Although soccer boss Irvin Khoza argues it is okay for a black to say the dreaded k-word, it will be branded as racism if whites form a White Management Forum or a White Lawyers Association. (Herman)

A few writers also stated that blacks held the view that blacks could not be racist and that it was only whites that could be racist. Cindy, for instance, noted the following:

> There seems to be a widely held belief in our country that racism is practised only by whites against blacks. I came across a similar notion, but with a strange twist, not long after I returned to South Africa. At work following a workshop on racism in 1992, I asked in all sincerity a colleague who had been one of a group responsible for conducting the workshop how she defined racism. Her response was: "Racism exists among all whites and is directed against all blacks".

Whites as racists

Some white writers described whites as racists who were still holding on to the superiority-inferiority framework of the apartheid era. Certain incidents of interracial violence, the racial composition of staff at multiracial schools and differential treatment of black and white staff by white parents at some schools were some of the examples used to establish whites as racists. The following excerpts exemplify perceptions of whites as racists:

> What is of concern is that Vryburg-like incidents [interracial violence] do still happen in 2008. Young white men stroll into informal settlements and kill four black people, students at university humiliate and terrorise black workers and then film their actions. Yes, I fear that the racism that drove Vryburg is very much alive and well. (Leanne)
>
> President Thabo Mbeki is frequently hauled over the coals for being obsessive when he says that racism is alive and well in South Africa – but can one really argue with him? A while back, I heard a woman at a nursery school in Pretoria talking to her baby girl. “Is that your *servant girl?!”* she asked the child at the top of her voice in front of the black women (in the majority) employed to look after the children at the school. A few minutes later, in conversation with her daughter, she referred to a white member of staff as “auntie” (*tannie).* Why is the white woman a *tannie,* but the black woman a “servant girl”? ... Nevertheless, her behaviour is indicative of the deep-rooted prejudice that occurs all too frequently in our society. (Linda)

The above statement was cited as an example of differential treatment of white and blacks staff that occurs frequently, according to the above writer. However, there were few references to whites as racists when compared to “blacks as racists”.

Whites as privileged

A few white writers shared the sentiment that whites were privileged. Furthermore, these privileges were perceived as residues of the apartheid hierarchical past. Leanne, for example, asserted that even in postapartheid South Africa, the “subtle messages are still powerful: white is superior, white is beautiful, white is clever …”. Regarding white dominance, Neil stated that the newsrooms still suffer “a hangover of white hegemony” and may alienate other cultural groups. This means that whites were perceived as privileged because of “subtle messages” that described whites positively (and blacks negatively) and the residue of white power in newsrooms. However, there were, few references to whites as privileged.

Blacks as privileged

A few white writers shared the sentiment that blacks were privileged. Privileges of blackness that were mentioned included policies such as affirmative that were described as disadvantaging other cultural groups. Some writers stated that a number of black journalists held senior positions in the workplace (newsrooms) and had the support of the ruling political party (ANC). Herman, for instance, stated that some black journalists enjoyed the privileges enjoyed by white journalists who had supported the apartheid government:

> Some of my black colleagues find themselves (willingly) in the same position that the white journalists of the former Nasionale Pers, now Naspers, did when they enjoyed the privileged position with the ruling government of the day … we've seen when the Forum for Black Journalists insisted that only blacks attend the ANC president Zuma's speech.

There were also perceptions that blacks in privileged positions viewed themselves as "marginalised". John, for instance, stated the following:

> Imagine the political editor of the SABC (and chairman of the forum), whose superiors all the way from Union Buildings to Luthuli House, the SABC Board, the management down to the editors and news editors are all black (as are more than 90% of the journalists at the continent's biggest news organisation), [SABC] crying crocodile tears about being marginalised as a black journalist …

Blacks were thus described as a privileged group who sometimes perceive themselves as marginalised. However, this view was limited.

Blacks as victims

According to some white writers, blacks were disadvantaged because of the apartheid history that had caused damage to the psyche of a number of blacks. Some writers alluded to the disadvantages experienced by blacks during apartheid that have not yet been overcome. The following excerpts illustrate this view:

> This is not to deny blacks were victims of racial exclusion in the past, or to pretend that such injustices have been fully overcome. (Anonymous)

> Even more difficult to eradicate is the psychological damage caused to blacks by generations of discrimination. Somewhere deep down inside the psyche of many blacks is the real sense of inferiority … Our black counterparts still experience it [racism] every day in various guises living, as Sipho Seepe put it so well in a recent Business Day, “lives of quiet desperation”. (Leanne)

Stereotyping of blacks

Some white writers described blacks as underachievers or inferior. Such views, however, were limited and are exemplified by the following excerpts:

> If you really feel the need to suck up to journalists, don’t do it with the poor sods who feel so insecure and inferior about their own abilities that they had to go and seek solace in a racially exclusive little club. (John)
>
> Perhaps Jekwa [black journalist] should mull over Jean Ping’s (the new chairperson of the African Union) statement that “Africa’s history points to the fact that it does not put its own plans into action. This is due to the vicious history of under-achievement by leaders on the continent. Sceptics are forgiven when they draw attention to this.” (Frank)

Blacks as heterogeneous

A few white writers described blacks as heterogeneous, especially in terms of ideological or political views. Some writers, for example, stated that not all blacks supported the FBJ. The following excerpts illustrate this view:

> Thankfully not all black journalists subscribe to the ethos of the Forum of Black Journalists (FBJ). Still fewer are members. (Anonymous)
>
> In the same vein, not all black journalists were in favour of the exclusion of white journalists from the FBJ meeting with Zuma. Numerous respected black journalists refused to attend the meeting and others raised objections at the meeting. (Elsabe)

Whites as heterogeneous

A few white writers also referred to whites as ideologically different. John, for instance, described certain Afrikaans-speaking whites, especially those who made controversial racial statements as “right-wing Afrikaner types” and thus implicated ideological differences among Afrikaners. The main differences highlighted were thus between racial (right-wing or extremists) and nonracial individuals.

Stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power

A few writers noted that some FBJ members were interested in benefits stemming from being close to the president. Ben, for instance, wrote the following:

> Obviously some thought, Makoe [FBJ chairperson], is a fawning toady, preparing his comfy bed for the time when the Zuma administration comes to town. A man who cares more for himself than for journalistic principles.

6.3.3 Themes identified in the coloured/Indian stratum

The following themes were identified: blacks as racists; whites as racists; blacks as privileged; whites as privileged; blacks as victims; perceptions of intrablack hierarchies; stereotyping of blacks as coconuts; and stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power.

Blacks as racists

A large number of coloured/Indian writers described blacks as racists. The exclusion of whites at the FBJ meeting with Zuma was regarded as a prime example of black racism. Other examples of black racism mentioned were the murder of white farmers and statements by elite blacks such as musicians and politicians. One writer, for instance, referred to a song “Amandiya”[15] (Zulu word for Indians) by Mbongeni Ngema (black musician) as an example of black racism. Some writers described blacks as arrogant, “chauvinists” or “triumphalists”. The following excerpts illustrate the perceptions of blacks as racists:

> …deliberate exclusion of white journalists from a public event – especially one which hosts the president of a ruling party – is unnecessarily discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional. (Reuben)
>
> Do you remember the coloured man who moved into Khayelitsha and was hounded out by blacks for daring to go and live in a black area? And how many

---

[15] The song Amandiya made disparaging comments against Indians and was deemed hate speech and banned from being broadcast (Sosibo 2014:1).

> hundreds of Somalis in the Western Cape have been killed by other black people for simply being successful business people? (Kim)
>
> While one may wonder at the need for such an anachronistic organisation (FBJ) these days, there is no ambiguity in the outright rejection of the way they behaved towards their non-black colleagues. Here too no right-minded democrat can condone or gloss over this crude racism and its insulting rudeness. (Roseanne)

Some writers further stated that black racism did not receive as much political or media attention as white racism. The following excerpts exemplify this view:

> On one memorable afternoon I was regaled on radio with the UFS affair at each half-hour news bulletin. Then came TV news. I lost track of the number of times I saw the image of the student urinating on the food. … I could not help but compare all this with the treatment of Mbongeni Ngema who incited, in song, against South African Indians and got off virtually scot-free. (Roseanne)
>
> …high priests of political correctness condemn this video (UFS), but not acts of murderous racism such as gruesome farm murders and killing of Somalis, for example. (Kim)

Whites as racist

Some coloured/Indian writers described whites as racists. The UFS video was cited as a prime example of white racism. There were, however, few examples of white racism. Some writers simply highlighted the existence of white racism. Reuben, for instance, stated that “rulings are required to combat both white racism and black chauvinism”. Another writer noted that the “previously advantaged people” [whites] were refusing “to acknowledge in practice the inherent equality, human dignity and freedom that every person became a beneficiary to in April 1994” (Vinesh).

Whites as privileged

A few coloured/Indian writers also expressed the sentiment that whites were privileged. This was expressed implicitly and explicitly. Some writers, for example, referred to historical imbalances or unequal power relations between blacks and whites in the workplace. Other writers, however, explicitly named the privileges of whiteness. Wealth and a culture that flourishes or is dominant in South Africa were some of the privileges of whiteness mentioned. Tarina, for instance, asserted that whites were born with certain privileges:

> … we should not underestimate the value of being born with a silver spoon in your mouth. It comes with a good education and life-skills like confidence, with networks that empower and with what might seem like mundane resources like cars and driving licences, but which can propel success or failure.

Zane, however, referred to whites as oppressors who wanted to retain privileges inherited from the past. He explained this as follows:

> When the oppressors talk in the name of these rights [human rights], what they mean is the retention of their privileges built over centuries of oppression …

The above views therefore exemplify perceptions of whites as privileged among coloureds/Indians. Hence the historical imbalances meant that whites were at the top and blacks as well as Indians and coloureds at the bottom.

Blacks as victims

Some coloured/Indian writers described blacks as victims or disadvantaged. Similar to white privileges, the disadvantages of blackness were perceived as resulting from past imbalances. Blacks were perceived as disadvantaged economically and culturally (black culture or worldview is not reflected in the media). Regarding economic disadvantages, Tarina, for instance, asserted that the older generation of black journalists did not have resources like cars and driving licences. She futher stated the following:

> Most newsrooms (barring perhaps those of *City Press*, *Sowetan* and the SABC) induce a culture shock of practices that might be alien to young blacks. This spanned the gamut of everything from the culture of swearing, to the ability to differ and argue with people who are older, to pitching stories forthrightly and fighting about their placement. Culture clash chimed with many reporters.

Blacks were thus perceived as “strangers” in most newsrooms. Another writer also described the HRC ruling (that the FBJ cannot be racially exclusive) as resistance to black empowerment and thus disadvantaging blacks. According to Zane,

> …Africans and black people encounter resistance to their efforts to carve their own destinies in their own images after centuries of colonial dispossession…But the media do not reflect the black and African world as black intellectuals, writers and journalists understand it.

Some participants, however, simply noted “historical disadvantages” without being specific about what those disadvantages were.

Perceptions of intrablack hierarchies

Some coloured/Indian writers asserted that there were hierarchies among blacks such as class or gender hierarchies. Reuben, for instance, noted that the FBJ and its supporters were part of the middle class who pretended to have an “organic unity” with the broader black community. He explained this as follows:

> Two, contrary to Mohau’s claim that black journalists are a part of the broader black community, the reality is they do not have the same relationship they had with that community in the 1970s and 1980s. Most of them no longer live in townships but in white suburbia, and are now part of the thriving black middle-class. The attempt to pretend they have an organic unity with this community is simply false. (Reuben)

A few writers also posited that black journalists, particularly senior black journalists, were part of the middle class and not “marginalised” as they claimed to be. A few writers thus noted hierarchies between “black journalists in positions of authority” and “young reporters” (Tarin). Tarin, for instance, stated the following in this regard:

> I wonder, for example, why Abbey Makoe, who is a political editor of SABC, should preach a gospel of marginalisation when he is in a position to bring young reporters to the centre? Ditto many others. (Tarina)

Some writers further noted gender hierarchies such as attacks on women and sexual violence on some of the university campuses. Vinesh, for instance, used the story of Nwabisa Ngcukana who was attacked by male taxi drivers as an example of gender violence among blacks. “Intertribal conflicts” such as xenophobia which is usually an attack on black Africans from other African countries were some of the examples cited to highlight the tribal hierarchies among blacks. Some writers thus felt that there were class, gender and tribal (South African versus non-South African blacks) hierarchies among blacks.

Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts

A few coloured/Indian writers described some blacks as coconuts or Europeanised blacks. The term “coconut” (black on the outside and white on the inside) was also used to denote (ideological) differences between blacks, Indians and coloureds.

According to Ray, for instance, an Indian and coloured journalist who objected to the exclusion of white journalists were called coconuts by some of the black journalists (Indian and coloureds were allowed to attend FBJ meeting thus included in the black category). Moreover, a few writers stated that blacks who differed with other blacks in terms of political views were also likely to be called coconuts. The following excerpts show perceptions of some blacks as (or likely to be called) coconuts:

> My concern would be that one possible approach the FBJ could take would involve essentially setting out a template for black journalism … and if you indulge in journalism of a different type then you are a race-traitor or a water carrier for whites or a coconut …. (Tarina)
>
> There is a distinction between those black intellectuals who wish to assert an independent black identity and those who have become so Westernised and Europeanised that they have internalised colonial oppression into their persons, sometimes unknowingly. Frantz Fanon and others, such as Aimé Césaire, have analysed this internalisation of the oppressor's viewpoint. It exists in South Africa too, among many black intellectuals and journalists. (Zane)

Coconuts therefore seem to refer to blacks who were perceived to be Europeanised or have internalised colonial oppression. Coconut may also refer to black journalists who were not favourably biased towards black politicians, as noted by Tarina.

Stereotyping of blacks as being in search of power

A few coloured/Indian writers believed that some black journalists were opportunists who became interested in President Zuma only after he had been elected President of the ANC in 2008. The following excerpts illustrate this view:

> Besides where was the FBJ over the past few years? Nowhere at all. They did not even have an office. They were simply dead. Suddenly they opportunistically injected with a new lease of life after Polokwane. They had no interest in president of the ANC, Jacob Zuma, before his victory in Polokwane. What is the new agenda?
>
> That black journalists even respond to such an invitation confirms my worst suspicions that, like politicians, they are prepared to defy their own ethics when power is paraded before them.

Some writers thus perceived some blacks as only being interested in the benefits accruing from being close to the president.

6.4 Identities displayed

This section focuses on the identities displayed by writers, that is, the identities that writers avow and used to identify others (ascribe) in each incident and stratum.

6.4.1 The Annelie Botes incident

Black stratum

Avowed identities

The majority of black writers avowed a racial and a national identity. Linguistic devices such "we/us", "our [black] people" were used to indicate belonging to the black racial group. A South African identity was also avowed alongside a racial identity (sometimes in separate paragraphs). A national identity was mostly displayed when referring to issues that were perceived as being common to all South Africans such as "*our* constitution", "*our* young democracy" or the mayhem "*we* as a country find *ourselves* in today" or issues such as crime, and how "we" (South Africans) handle crime and issues of gender violence [emphasis added].

There were also a few writers who only used a national identity to identify themselves. Some writers, however, highlighted racial differences between South Africans. One black writer, for instance, used words such as "*our* black and white communities" to highlight racial differences (Velo). Individuals who identified as "South African" also made distinctions between South Africans who love the country and "*those* who hanker for its sorry past" (Bonga). Other phrases commonly used to indicate distinctions among South Africans were "right thinking South Africans" or "peace-loving South Africans" and "neo-age conservatives who fear transformation" (Luntu).

Some writers who identified as South African, however, used linguistic devices that implicated distanciation from "other" groups. Bonga, for instance, noted the following:

> Let *us*[16] not beat about the bush here. … it is white people who have used state power to entrench a system so that only *they* would enjoy privileges … [emphasis added].

---

[16] This as example of an "us" used in relation to a national and professional identity and "they" used in specific relation to a specific group within the nation.

Ascribed identities

Linguistic devices such as “they/them” pronouns were used to indicate distanciation from the “they (the white) group”. A large number of black writers used words such as “white people” or “whites” to refer to individuals perceived as whites. Ethnic categories such as “Afrikaners”, “English”, “Greek” and “Jewish”’ were also used. “White” therefore seemed to be perceived as a collective term to refer to the above ethnic groups. Moreover, “Afrikaner” was the ethnic group referred to most often (Botes is an Afrikaans-speaking author and this might be the context in which this ethnic group is mentioned more than any other ethnic group).

Some writers also used terms such as “erstwhile oppressors” and “members of the privileged group” to refer to those perceived as belonging to the white category. Internal differences between “white females” and “white males” were also highlighted, especially when discussing affirmative action (white females were perceived as the beneficiaries of affirmative action). Hardly any participants, however, highlighted internal differences – most authors referred to “whites” or “Afrikaners” as a singular group. Groups were thus mostly perceived as a united whole. One writer, for example, asserted that Botes “was followed by *her brother”* Steve Hofmeyr in “contempt for blacks” (Rapule), thus implying that Botes and Hofmeyr were members of one (racial/ethnic) family [emphasis added].

White stratum

Avowed identities

A number of white writers avowed a racial and/or an ethnic identity. Some writers avowed an ethnic identity and identified as “Afrikaner” or “Afrikaans-speaking white”. Although some writers highlighted intragroup differences or described ingroup members negatively, pronouns such “we/us” were used implying belonging to the “we [Afrikaner]” group.

Moreover, the majority of writers tended to describe the perceived ingroup members as similar (in views or behaviour). Terms such “our convictions” and “we stereotype” appeared to indicate a perception that individuals belonging to the same group might be viewed as homogeneous. A few writers, however, indicated internal differences between the perceived ingroup members. Some writers, for instance, alluded to “Botes and her followers/defenders" (Andre, Sunet). Andre described "Botes and her followers" as individuals who stereotype blacks and described himself as a nonracial individual (someone who looks past race).

Some writers only used a racial identity and identified as "white". Individuals who identified as "whites" also tended to describe their ingroup as similar. Furthermore, some individuals highlighted similarities between blacks and whites. Some writers, for instance, noted that blacks and whites both stereotype racial groups or are racist. A few writers likened the EFF leader Julius Malema to Annelie Botes.

Some white writers, however, identified themselves as "South African". They used a national "we" when discussing issues that were perceived as relevant for most South Africans such as "our constitution" or "our media". The language used also indicated that South Africans were perceived as similar. Statements such as "*we* are re-inforcing the vicious cycle of racial segregation" indicated the tendency to treat ingroup members (South Africans) as homogeneous [emphasis added].

Some writers indicated differences between South Africans such as the differences between "us-non-racial South Africans" and "them racist South Africans". Others who identified as "South African", however, highlighted racial differences between black and white South Africans. Moreover, blacks were described as the "they" or (out)group.

A few writers avowed multiple identities such as ethnic, professional or gender identities. Some white writers, for instance, identified as "white Afrikaans-speaking authors" or "Afrikaans women authors". More emphasis, however, was placed on ethnic identities – the "we/us" used was in relation to the ethnic identity and not a professional identity (e.g. "we Afrikaners are not all like this"). The tendency to emphasise an ethnic identity was mostly noticeable among individuals who identified as "Afrikaans-speaking whites".

Ascribed identities

A racial identity was mostly used to identify "others". The category "black" was used by most white writers to refer to individuals perceived as black or black South Africans. Other words used were "dark ones" and "those with black skin". Moreover, most writers used "we/they" pronouns, thus implying that blacks and whites were members of different groups. Even when some writers described blacks positively, “we/they” pronouns were used – indicating that some writers were aware of the existence of different groups. Individuals identified as black were furthermore perceived as similar or united. One writer, for example, who described both blacks and whites positively noted that “blacks do stand up when they believe one of *their black brothers* has gone too far”, thus implying that blacks were members of one (racial) family [emphasis added] (Sarah).

Coloured/Indian stratum

Avowed identities

Coloured writers avowed a South African identity. The writers used a “we South African” identity. Sally, for instance, stated that “..*we* will have to close the last chapter of injustice…”. Sam also noted; “are *we* not in danger of becoming a nation where the thought police sway the sceptre?” Both writers asserted a national identity and not a racial identity. However, they indicated distanciation from the category black.

Ascribed identities

Both writers used the category “black” ambigously. Sam, for instance, asserted that “blacks are quick to point out racism against other blacks”. The use of the category “black” in this statement seems to include coloureds/indians. Blacks who point out racism against other blacks, for example, may refer to blacks pointing out racism against coloureds/Indians or vice versa. Sally also asserted that Botes stated that she does not like “certain black people”. Botes stated that she did not like blacks but would invite an Indian or coloured person for coffee. The term “certain blacks” therefore seems to mean “other blacks” and thus highlights the existence of other racial groups such as coloureds and Indians within the black category. Sally further used the term “brown”, and asserted, for instance, that apartheid victims were not just “black or brown” (Brown is a category used to refer to coloureds).

There was no mention of the white category in both letters. Both writers ascribed a professional identity to Botes. Sally, for instance, referred to Botes as her friend and a woman, and this may be the reason why she overlooked her racial identity. Although Sam mentioned the category black, he mostly used a “we South African” identity that is inclusive of all racial groups.

6.4.2 The FBJ incident

Black stratum

Avowed identities

A number of black writers displayed professional and racial identities. Furthermore, some writers placed more emphasis on the racial identity. They claimed that they were black first in their families and communities before they were journalists. Alu, for instance, elaborated as follows:

> Some of us insist that we are black in our families and community before we are journalists. If you remove the tag of 'journalist' from us what will remain is what we had at the beginning – our identity. (Alu)

Another writer, however, stated that the expectation to be black first and journalist second was placed upon black journalists by black politicians. Bonga, for instance, noted:

> Black journalists in a postapartheid society have new dilemmas. *We are expected to be black first and journalist second*, while everyone else can get away with whatever profession they are without pondering which comes first [emphasis added].

Being "black" in this case seem to mean showing loyalty to black political leaders (ANC) (Bonga stated, for instance, that a black editor was attacked by a black government official for "failing to behave as was expected of a black editor").

A few writers also used a professional identity and thus identified as "journalists". Racial differences between journalists, however, were highlighted. Distinctions were also drawn between black journalists. A "handful of black journalists" who sought close alliances with politicians (Isaac) and "coconut journalists" were the two subgroups identified among black journalists. Some writers also identified as "South African", but used a racial identity to identify "other South Africans".

Ascribed identities

A large number of black writers used the category "white[17]" to refer to individuals perceived as the "other". References were made to white journalists, white males, "our white counterparts" and "our white friends". Ethnic categories, such as "Greek" and "Jews[18]" were also used, and these ethnic groups were perceived as part of the "white" category.

White stratum

Avowed identities

Some writers avowed a racial, ethnic as well as a national identity. The majority of writers, however, displayed a racial identity in discussing this incident, while an ethnic identity was displayed alongside a racial identity with regard to the Botes incident. Some writers avowed a national identity and a professional identity. Writers who avowed a national or professional identity, however, distanced themselves from a black identity. Willem, for instance, stated the following: "*We* live in a country … that divides *our* people by making everything an issue of race" (he later used pronouns such as "they/them" implying distanciation from the black category). A few writers who avowed a professional identity also used words such as "my black colleagues" to highlight racial differences between journalists.

Dis-identification

A few writers distanced themselves from the perceived ingroup. Neil, for instance, stated the following:

> I often had to confront being regarded as a member of a group that I had not chosen and which had failed to choose me – an Afrikaner!

Neil that his "deemed identity" was that of a white male, indicating an awareness of his ascribed identity. He identified himself as a "whitish Afrikaans-speaking South African African".

---

[17] Ethnic categories, especially the "Afrikaans-speaking white" which was used in letters relating to the Botes incident category were rarely used in letters relating to the FBJ incident.

[18] The chairperson of the FBJ stated in defence of the FBJ exclusive policy that "FBJ was no different from the Jewish Board of deputies" (Sapa 2008:1). While a few writers defended the Jewish Board, stating that inclusion in it was based on religion and not race. A few writers referred to the Jewish Board of deputies as a racial (white) organisation.

Ascribed identities

A number of white writers used categories such as “blacks” or “black journalists” and other accompanying words or pronouns such as “they/them” to indicate distanciation from blacks or black journalists.

6.4.2.3 Coloured/Indian stratum

Avowed identities

A number of coloured/Indian writers avowed a South African identity. While coloureds and Indians were allowed to attend the FBJ, and were thus included in the black category, a large number of coloured/Indian writers indicated distanciation from the (ascribed) “black” identity. A large number of coloured/Indian writers mostly avowed a national and/or a professional identity.

Pronouns such “we” and “our” were used in relation to a national identity. Moreover, some writers described “South Africans” as similar or homogeneous. Other coloured/Indian writers, for instance, described “us South Africans” as “suffering from a moral deficit disorder" (Vinesh) or as “tainted by the past” (Nina).

Similar associative pronouns such as “we” and “our” were also used to indicate belonging to professional categories. Statements such as “we have tough debates … for the profession we love” (Tarin), “if those within *our* ranks discriminate” (Yusuf) indicated association or belonging to the media professional identity [emphasis added].

One writer[19] also avowed a religious (Jewish) identity. Moreover, the Jewish identity was described as a nonracial identity (as opposed to assumptions made by the FBJ that it is a racial organisation). Evan described the Jewish identity as changeable and a racial identity as unchangeable. He elaborated as follows:

> It is possible for someone who is not Jewish to become Jewish but it is not possible for someone who is not black to become black.

---

[19] Owing to the fact that letters in the Coloured/Indian stratum were few, the writer who identified as Jewish was placed in this stratum. The author displayed no racial identity.

Ascribed identities

A number of coloured/Indian writers indicated distanciation from black and white racial groups. Writers who avowed a national and/or a professional identity referred to blacks and whites as the “they groups”. In a few instances some writers differentiated between black and “nonblack”[20] journalists.

Furthermore, a few writers used the word “black” ambiguously. Kim for instance wrote the following:

> At many predominantly black universities, racial segregation is the order of the day but nobody speaks about that because it is assumed here that freedom of association is a right.

Racial segregation at predominantly black[21] universities seems to imply segregation among coloureds, Indians and blacks. “Other blacks” whom Kim referred to were Somalis (or foreign nationals, who are usually victims of xenophobic attacks). A few writers also indicated distinctions between “independent blacks” and “Europeanised” blacks and class difference between “black middle class” and “black working class”.

Coloured and Indian identities were also mentioned, although sparingly. These identities were mostly mentioned when comparing black and white racism. Some writers stated, for instance, that racism was displayed by blacks towards “South African Indians” and coloureds. The writers, however, did not explicitly identify as coloured/Indian but as South African or media professionals.

---

[20] Nonblack journalists seem to imply white, coloured and Indian journalists (white journalists were excluded, while an Indian and coloured journalist who left the meeting were called coconuts). This context may explain the grouping of whites and Indian or coloured journalists as “nonblack”. Nonblack could also be understood as an opposite of “nonwhite” (a term used to refer to blacks, coloured and Indians in the apartheid era) which was taken to be indicative of the power of whiteness over “nonwhites”. Authors could then view this power as reversed – especially in an incident where black journalists excluded nonblack colleagues in a “blacks only” meeting.

[21] Coloured and Indian racial identities are somewhat fluid in the South African context. Individuals perceived as members of these identity categories are sometimes ascribed a coloured/Indian or a black identity. “They” also sometimes avow a black or coloured/Indian racial identity.

6.5 Results of the quantitative analyses

The themes identified in each incident were counted. There results of the frequency analysis are indicated in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Distribution of themes from the Annelie Botes and FBJ incidents

Theme	Botes incident (N)	(%)	FBJ incident (N)	(%)
2. Whites as racists	11	16%	12	13%
3. Blacks as victims	8	12%	17	18%
5. Stereotyping of whites	8	12%	0	0%
8. Blacks as racists	8	12%	26	27%
1. Whites as privileged	6	9%	10	11%
10. Whites as fearful	5	7%	0	0%
7. Stereotyping of South Africans	5	7%	3	3%
11. Blacks as criminals	4	6%	1	1%
12. Whites as heterogeneous	4	6%	4	4%
4. Blacks as superior	3	4%	0	0%
6. Stereotyping of blacks	3	4%	2	2%
9. Blacks as privileged	2	3%	3	3%
13. Whites as victims	0	0%	2	2%
14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	0	0%	8	8%
15. Blacks in search of power	0	0%	5	5%
16. Blacks as heterogeneous	0	0%	2	2%
Grand total	67	100%	95	100%

The frequency of themes differed for each incident. The theme “blacks as racist”, for instance, was the most frequent theme in the FBJ incident and less frequent in the Botes incident. Moreover, some themes such as “blacks as superior” only appeared for the Botes incident. The difference in the frequency of themes may be attributed to the fact that the nature of the incidents differed. The Botes incident was an example of white racism, while the FBJ incident was an example of black racism. The fact that the FBJ incident had more letters than the Botes incident could also account for differences in the frequency of themes.

There was, however very little difference between the two incidents for some themes in terms of frequency. The theme “whites as racists”, for example, was frequent in both incidents (N = 11 in the Botes incident and N = 12 in the FBJ incident). Similarly, the theme “whites as heterogeneous” was less frequent in both incidents (N = 4). A note of caution, however, is necessary here, as the FBJ incident had a larger population (40 letters) compared to the Botes incident (34 letters).

Furthermore, themes from both incidents were combined in order to ascertain which themes were frequent and less frequent. The results are indicated in table 6.2 below.

Table 6.2: Distribution of themes from both incidents

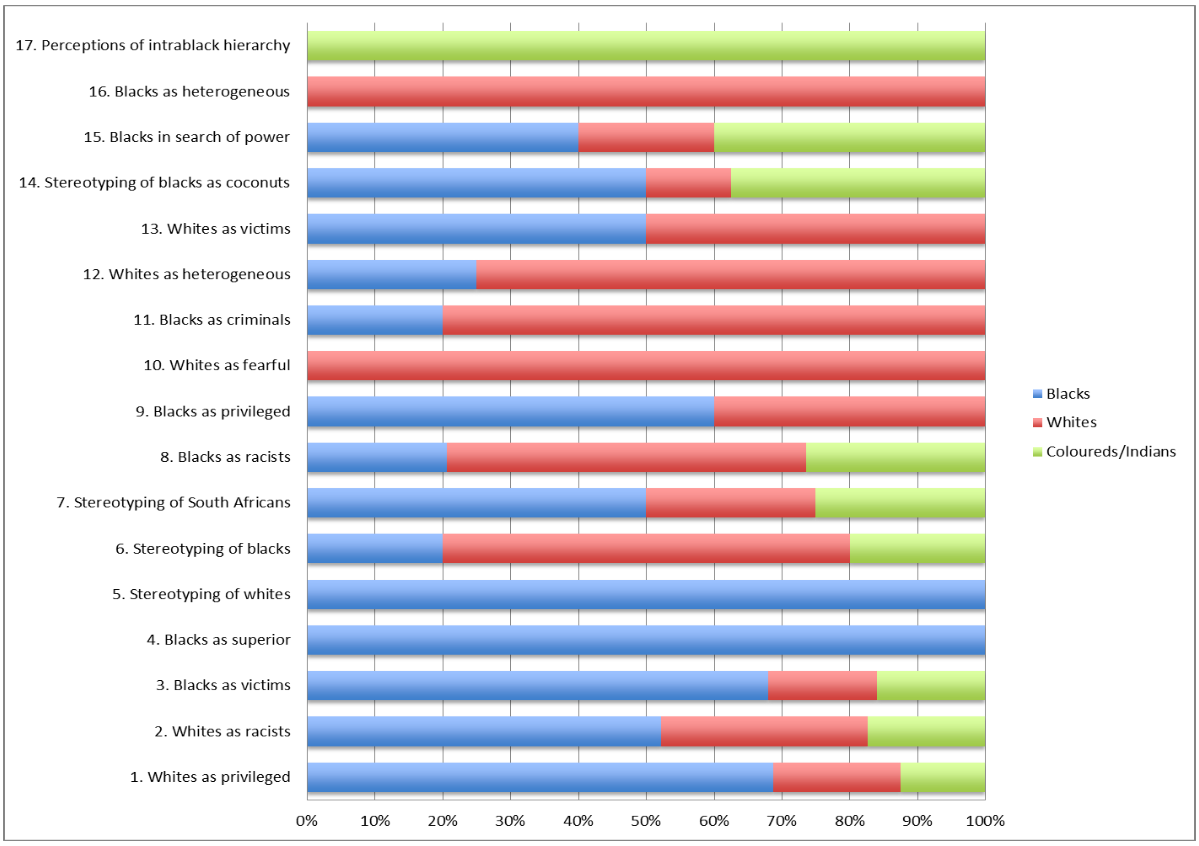
Theme	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Blacks as racists	34	20.99%
Blacks as victims	25	15.43%
Whites as racists	23	14.20%
Whites as privileged	16	9.88%
Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	8	4.94%
Stereotyping of whites	8	4.94%
Stereotyping of South Africans	8	4.94%
Whites as fearful	5	3.09%
Blacks as criminals	5	3.09%
Blacks in search of power	5	3.09%
Stereotyping of blacks	5	3.09%
Blacks as privileged	5	3.09%
Whites as heterogeneous	4	2.47%
Perceptions of intra-black hierarchy	4	2.47%
Blacks as superior	3	1.85%
Whites as victims	2	1.23%
Blacks as heterogeneous	2	1.23%
Grand total	162	100%

The most frequent themes were “blacks as racist” (20.99%, N = 36), “blacks as victims” (15.43%, N = 25), “whites as racists (14.20%, N = 23) and “whites as privileged” (9.88%, N = 16). Some themes appeared less frequently. The fact that some of the themes were only identified in one stratum or one incident may account for the disparities between the most frequent and the less frequent themes. The distribution of themes in each racial group (stratum) is discussed in the next section.

6.5.1 *Descriptive analysis of themes across racial groups*

Themes identified in each stratum, namely blacks, whites, coloureds/Indians were analysed to determine if the frequency of themes differed in each racial category. The results are indicated in figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Bar chart showing distribution of themes across racial groups

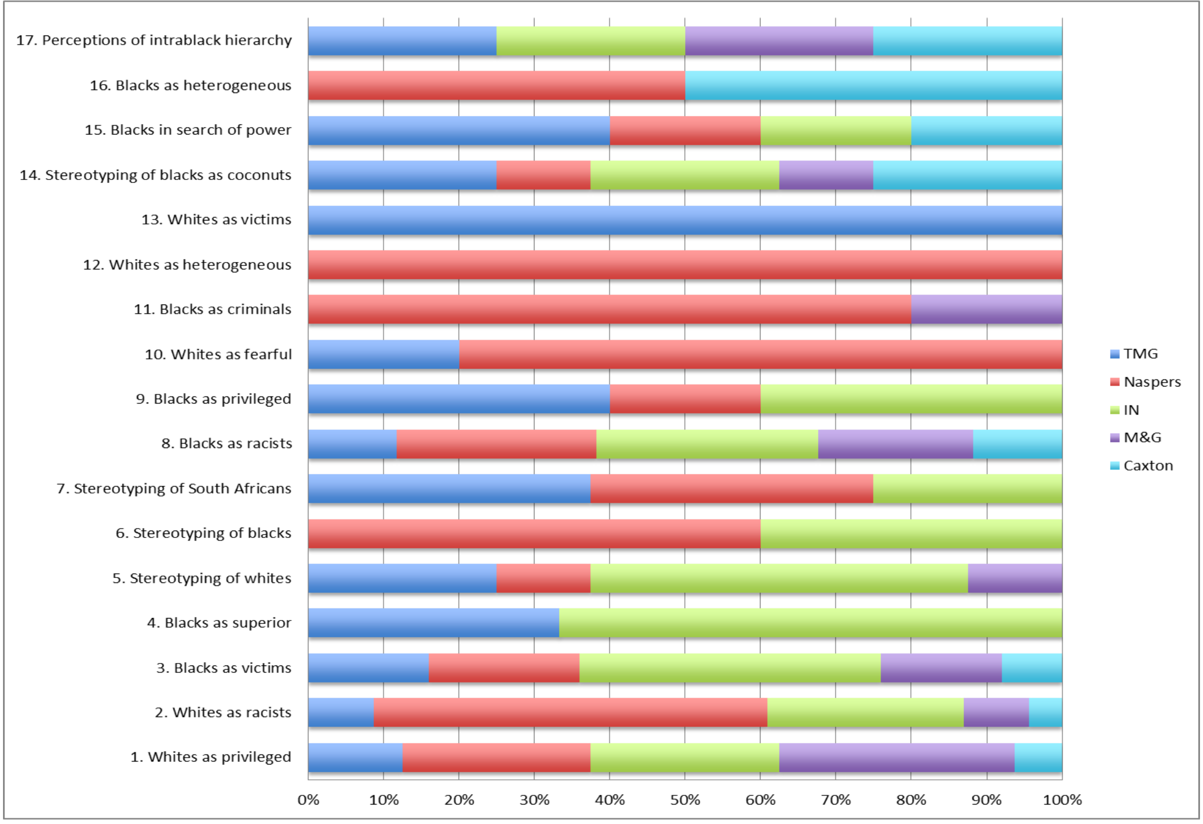


Differences were noted for each racial group. Certain themes were more frequent among some racial groups, while others were discerned only in one racial group. The theme “whites as privileged”, for instance, was more dominant among black writers and less frequent among white, coloured and Indian writers. By contrast, the theme, “blacks as racists”, was more frequent among white writers and less frequent among black writers. It can be concluded that there were differences in the way each racial group described itself and members of other groups. Themes such as “blacks as superior” and “whites as fearful”, for instance, were only identified in the black and white strata, respectively.

6.5.2 Descriptive analysis of themes across media groups

Letters were grouped according to the media groups under which they were published. Letters came from the following South African media groups: Naspers, Independent Newspapers, Times Media Group, Caxton and Mail and Guardian. The frequency of themes for each media group wase analysed in order to ascertain whether the frequency of themes differed in each media group. The results are indicated in figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2: Bar chart showing distribution of themes across media groups



Some themes occurred more or less equally across media groups, while the distribution of some of the themes was uneven for the respective media groups. For instance, there was little difference in the distribution of the theme “blacks as racists” across media groups.

There were, however, differences in the distributions of some themes. The theme “whites as racist”, for example, was more frequent in Naspers than other media groups. Furthermore, some themes appeared only in certain media groups and not in others. Some themes also appeared only in one group. However, this was mostly the case for the less frequent themes (see table 6.2) such as “whites as heterogeneous” (Naspers) or “whites as victims” (TMG). Furthermore, the majority of themes (and letters) came from the Naspers, Independent Newspapers and Times Media Groups. These are larger media groups with more newspapers, while *Mail and Guardian* and Caxton are smaller media groups with only a few newspapers. *Mail and Guardian,* however, had more letters compared to Caxton. The distribution of themes in each media group is indicated in table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Distribution of themes for each media group

Paper	Frequency	Percent
Times Media Group	28	17.2
Naspers	53	32.7
Independent Newspapers	46	28.3
M&G	22	13.5
Caxton	13	8.02
Total	162	100.0

6.6 Summary

This chapter discussed and presented the findings of both the qualitative and quantitative analyses. The results of both these analyses show that there were differences in how each group described itself and how it was described by “others”. Differences were also noted in each incident. Certain themes, for instance, were more frequent in the Botes incident, but less frequent in the FBJ incident. Similar observations were made in media groups. Some themes were more frequent in some media groups and less frequent in others. The next chapter discusses the findings pertaining to the literature and theoretical foundations of the study.

CHAPTER 7

INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

The results of the current study were presented in the previous chapter. This chapter will discuss these results (findings) with regard to the literature and theoretical foundations of the study. The aim of the current study was to find out the nature of the opinions and attitudes expressed in letters to South African newspapers regarding two selected incidents of interracial controversy, namely the Botes and the FBJ incidents. The discussion of the results is organised according to the following research subquestions:

- Attitudes that cultural groups display towards in- and outgroups in letters to the press
- Racism displayed and reasons advanced
- Identities displayed in the letters to the press regarding the two incidents and the consequences of the process of identification

The last section of the chapter discusses the role of context, discourses and myths on intergroup attitudes.

7.2 Attitudes that cultural groups display towards in-and outgroups in letters to the press

Several studies show that individuals tend to describe ingroup members positively and outgroup members negatively (Kim 2007:250; Collier 2009:347; Wodak 2009:1). Discourses about cultural groups thus tend to be characterised by positive ingroup descriptions and negative other-descriptions. Some studies, however, indicate a tendency towards negative ingroup description and positive other-description (Chen & Collier 2012:44; Soudien 2008:194). The results of the current study seem to confirm some of these observations. Some writers tended to describe ingroup members positively, while others described the ingroup negatively (see section 7.3.2). The attitudes displayed by the following racial groups:, blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds, are discussed in the sections below.

7.2.1 Attitudes displayed by blacks towards in- and outgroups

The majority of black writers displayed positive attitudes towards ingroup members and mostly negative attitudes towards whites. This finding is in line with observations made in previous studies regarding the tendency of individuals towards positive self-description and negative other-description (Chen & Collier 2012:44; Wodak 2009:1). Several social identity studies indicate that individuals tend to be favourably biased towards ingroups and negatively biased towards outgroups (Tajfel 1978:75; Woodak & Reisgl 2008:153).

The majority of black writers in the current study thus displayed a tendency towards positive self-description and negative other-description. They mostly described blacks as victims and whites as racists or privileged. A victim position is associated with innocence and is thus a powerful position when contrasted with that of the perpetrator (Steyn 2004:156). The themes “blacks as victims”, “whites as racists” and “whites as privileged” were, for instance, more frequent among black writers. Black writers expressed various attitudes and feelings towards in- outgroups which are discussed in the subsections below.

7.2.2 Feelings of victimhood and alienation

A perception of blacks as victims is consistent with recent studies indicating that blacks tend to describe themselves as victims despite structural changes (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2012:410; Durrheim et al 2010:50). Moreover, it is sometimes the black elite or middle class who describe themselves as victims who are marginalised by whites. The majority of writers in the current study can also be said to be part of the elite or middle class as most writers indicated that they were media professionals, analysts or academics. Their views thus seem to confirm Durrheim et al’s (2010) observation about the tendency of black middle class members to describe themselves as victims.

The feelings of victimhood expressed by the majority of black writers furthermore seem to confirm the claim of group position theory that subordinate groups tend to experience feelings of racial alienation (Bobo & Hutchings 1996:951). These feelings are mostly attributed to historical experiences as well as inequalities among groups.

The history of colonialism and/or apartheid may thus provide an arsenal for blacks to claim a victim position. A number of writers, for instance, stated that blacks were still negatively stereotyped by whites or still subject to insults even when they are "in charge". This indicates that some black writers believed that blacks continued to experience racism even after apartheid.

Intergroup inequalities were another resource used to establish blacks as victims. While strides have been made in changing the economic conditions of at least some blacks, racial inequalities inherited from apartheid are still visible (Desai 2005:3; Van der Berg 2014:198). This may be the context in which some writers express feelings of alienation. Some black writers, however, expressed feelings of superiority.

7.2.3 Feelings of superiority

Whereas group position theory mainly claims that subordinate groups tend to experience feelings of alienation, the attitudes displayed by some black writers in the current study appear to be mixed with feelings of superiority (Bobo & Hutchings 1996:951). Some writers, for example, described blacks as superior individuals who held high moral values. This finding, however, seems to confirm Jansen's (2009:92) observation that members of subordinate groups may sometimes admire some members or leaders of the group as they are perceived as "struggle heroes". This perception may therefore induce feelings of pride or superiority in an imagined heroic group. Regarding blacks as superior, one of the writers noted the following:

> It takes clarity of mind to recognise that the mere act of having raised your voice against oppression puts you on a higher moral platform. So you dare not waver, even in the face of extreme provocation and wish your erstwhile oppressors the kind of harm they put you through. … It so happens that the fruits of liberty are not meant to be enjoyed exclusively by those who fought for it. Even Botes and Hofmeyr are free to partake as gluttonously as they wish.

Blacks, furthermore, tend to be mostly perceived as "freedom fighters". According to Hook (2013:14), the ruling party (ANC) has "written out" other racial groups who were part of the struggle against apartheid. This may then lead to perceptions of whites as a monolithic perpetrator group and blacks as "struggle heroes". Blacks who were "traitors" or whites who were against apartheid may thus be ignored and racial groups may thus be considered as falling either into the perpetrator or victim group (Von Holdt et al 2011:128).

The view of blacks as superior shows that subordinate groups in the postcolonial era may experience more than only feelings of alienation. They may also have feelings of superiority. Moral values such as non- or antiracism are values esteemed in most societies. Moreover, these are the esteemed values in the new South Africa (Jansen 2009:3). Regarding the FBJ incident for instance, one black writer stated that "blacks risked handing moral high ground to the expelled and protesting [white] journalists". Furthermore, blacks may be assumed to hold these values as opposed to whites who are perceived as perpetrators. In some instances, however, blacks may be perceived as perpetrators. The theme "blacks as racists" was, for instance, more frequent among black writers in the FBJ incident, an incident that can be said to be an example of black racism. Context may thus play a role in how a group defines itself (see section 7.7). Although the majority of writers tended to describe blacks and whites as opposites, some writers highlighted intrablack differences.

7.2.4 Various kinds of blackness

Some writers made distinctions between coconuts, independent blacks and power-hungry blacks who sought close alliances with politicians. Such distinctions were mostly noted in letters responding to the FBJ incident. Intrablack differences, especially differences between coconuts (blacks regarded as "white") and authentic blacks, have been noted in a number of studies (Mtose & Brown 2010:31; Durrheim et al 2010:46; Motsemme 2002:649).

While the term "coconut" tends to refer to blacks who are wealthy or "speak English like a white person" (Spencer 2009:66), it may also be used to refer to blacks who do not support black political parties or politicians. One writer, for example, stated that coconut journalists tended to write negative stories about the current government or the country. Coconutiness thus seems to include ideological or political views as well as class.

Furthermore, the category coconut seems to be used to “tame” or homogenise blacks. Kim (2012:898) notes that new or internal categories tend to be created in an attempt to force individuals to adhere to set cultural norms. Similarly, Gibson and Gouws (2000:280) note that identification with a group may lead to emphasis on attitudinal and behavioural conformity. Blacks, for example, may be expected to support the black political parties. Blacks who do not support the black political parties may therefore be referred to as coconuts. Coconuts were moreover associated with negative stereotypes such as being “water carriers for whites” or “being used by whites”.

Authentic or independent blackness was regarded as the opposite of coconutiness. Authentic blacks in the current study were mostly described as those who adopt an Africanist ideology. One writer, for example, defined independent blacks as those who support Africanism and described those who do not support it as “Europeanised blacks”. Authentic blackness may thus be associated with African languages or traditions as noted in previous studies (Ellapen 2006:3; Motsemme 2002:649).

Authentic blackness may also be associated with support for black politicians or political parties. Some black writers, for instance, pointed to a lack of a “black voice” or African perspectives in the media. Although the black and African voices were not clearly defined, writing negative stories (critical comments) about black political parties such as ANC, however, seems to be linked to Western voices. Regarding the need for black voices, some writers, for instance, stated the following:

> ... but the media do not reflect the black and African world as black intellectuals, writers and journalists understand it. …Space must be given to black journalists and journalism to thrive.
>
> To Zuma, last Friday’s brouhaha is evidence of racial interstices that exist in South Africa today and is further that the media fails to reflect the voices of black people.

The calls for an African voice in the media seem to confirm Bulhan’s (1980:106) observation that individuals may adopt Africanism as a reaction to dominance. This reactive phase to dominance tends to be characterised by a focus on returning to “roots”, namely Africanism (Hofmeyr 2004:62). Moreover, individuals who fail to adopt the Afrocentric ideology may be perceived as brainwashed by the Eurocentric ideology (Howe 1998:6). “Europeanised blacks” or coconuts in the current study thus seem to refer to blacks who fail to adopt the “Africanist ideology”.

Coconutiness and authentic blackness may furthermore be privileged or disadvantaged, depending on context. Some studies show that certain individuals may embrace coconutiness (Spencer 2009:69; Durrheim et al 2010:44). According to Durrheim et al, some individuals may consider blacks who cannot speak English or from lower classes as “too native”. Spencer also asserts that some blacks may gravitate towards Western culture or use the Western yardstick to judge themselves or other blacks. Coconuts, however, may be disadvantaged in some contexts as they may be perceived as Europeanised.

Similarly, authentic blacks may be privileged in some contexts as they may be perceived as possessing “real blackness” (Motsemme 2002:663). In other contexts, however, individuals considered as authentic blacks may be considered as “too black” as previously noted (Durrheim et al 2010:44). In the current study, individuals considered to be coconuts by some black writers were described negatively and thus disadvantaged.

Another type of blackness that was identified refers to blacks described as power-hungry or political opportunists. Some black journalists were perceived as seeking benefits that may come from being close to politicians. Ramsamy (2007:479) notes that politically connected blacks tend to benefit more from policies such as black economic empowerment (BEE). Politically connected blacks also tend to be viewed negatively by some blacks. Some studies show, for instance, that the members of the black working class may feel oppressed by the black middle class and by black government officials (Radhakrishnan 2005:278; Schutte & Singiswa 2013:1). The black working class may thus describe black middle class or political opportunists negatively. The fact that the previous two FBJ meetings were held around the appointment of the new ANC presidents (1998 and 2008) raised questions among some writers. They believed that FBJ members were only interested in forming political connections. The following extract reflects this view:

> A handful of black journalists had long figured out that the only way they would gain any audience with T-man [Thabo Mbeki] was by organising themselves into a bloc. Like accountants and lawyers. Training, empowerment, affirmative action, yada-yada-yada – all that stuff came a distant second. … This is the context within which Jacob Zuma's recent appearance at the forum must be understood. Mbeki is yesterday's man. Zuma is now the top dog, the man of the hour. He is the leader you want to be seen with if you want your bark taken seriously …

The following versions of blackness thus seem to exist: coconuts, independent (Africanised) blacks and power-hungry blacks. References to intrablack differences were, however, limited. A limited focus on intragroup hierarchies and differences has been noted in a number of other studies (Ganesh 2010:30; Desai & Vahed 2010:185; Van der Berg 2014:197). According to Ganesh, intragroup tensions and inequalities in South Africa tend to be overlooked as the emphasis is mainly on intergroup inequalities and tensions. In the current study, the overwhelming focus was also on blacks as victims (poor) and whites as wealthy or privileged. Although it was mentioned, intragroup inequalities received relatively little attention. The majority of writers tended to describe blackness as a unified victim category. Whites, however, were described as a privileged group.

7.3 Attitudes displayed by whites towards the in-group and out-groups

The views expressed by white writers in the current study also leaned towards positive ingroup description and negative outgroup description. Some writers did, however, describe the ingroup negatively. The attitudes or feelings displayed by white writers are discussed in the subsections below.

7.3.1 Perceptions of reverse racism

Some white writers described blacks as reversing racism. This was especially pronounced in letters relating to the FBJ incident. The description of blacks as racists is in line with observations made in earlier studies regarding the tendency of whites to perceive blacks as reversing racism (Steyn 2010:16; Rohrer 2008:1116). According to Steyn, whites tend to perceive policies such as affirmative action as unfair reverse discrimination. Certain statements or actions by elite blacks may also be perceived as reverse racism (Holborn 2010:20). The FBJ meeting with President Zuma where white journalists were excluded was typified by some writers as an example of black racism. Other examples cited included statements made by politicians and the murders of white farmers.

Some white writers also noted that black racism tended to be ignored by politicians. They stated that there were harsh consequences for racist statements made by whites, while there were little or no consequences for racist statements made by blacks. This finding corroborates Holborn's (2010:56) observation about the tendency of whites to feel that black racism receives less media or political attention. Some writers, for instance, noted that whereas there were harsh consequences for Botes, there were little or no consequences for blacks who made controversial statements about whites.

Hook (2013:14) notes in this regard that the image of whites as racist has made it difficult for whites to make claims of racism by blacks. Whites who report incidents of black racism may not be taken seriously. Holborn (2010:56) reports, for instance, that when white DA members reported an incident of black racism, they were likened to "Nazi's accusing Jews of racism". Similar observations were made in the current study. One black writer (referring to the FBJ incident), for instance, asserted the following:

> It is like suggesting that when victims of violence meet to talk of their experiences with a view to joint action, they invent and create, by the very act of coming together, the very evil they seek to expose and combat.

This seems to indicate that the image of blacks as victims and whites as racist may thus make it difficult for whites to make claims of racism by blacks (Hook 2013:14).

Although the majority of white writers described blacks as racist, some writers described both blacks and whites as racists. Negative self-description among some white writers seems to be consistent with observations made in earlier studies regarding a tendency among some whites to describe ingroup members negatively (self-stigmatise) (Hughey 2012:219; Hook 2011:19).

7.3.2 Self-stigmatisation

Some studies reveal that whites may describe themselves negatively and subordinate groups positively (Stoudt et al 2012:178; Stewart et al 2012:13; Hughey 2012:219). According to Stewart et al, when whites are aware of their privileged position, they may describe ingroup members negatively. Individuals, for instance, may self-stereotype or self-stigmatise themselves as essentially racist (Hughey 2012:219; Hook 2011:19).

Negative self-description among some white writers is also consistent with recent studies claiming that individuals tend to employ master narratives in self- or group description (Benwell & Stokoe 2010:84; Hammack 2008:233; Collier 2009:296). Individuals, for example, tend to be aware of how they are described by outgroups and may incorporate such descriptions in their self-description. Some white writers in the current study, for example, described whites as arrogant or racist, similar to the way some black writers described whites.

In addition, there was a tendency to place more emphasis on Afrikaners as racist. Hardly any writers mentioned English-speaking whites when describing whites as racist. In response to Botes's statements, some writers, for instance, noted "we Afrikaners are not all like this". Some writers thus described "whites" as racist, while others placed more emphasis on Afrikaans-speaking whites. The extract below reflects this tendency:

> This brings me back to Burke's words and the way in which people (for the purposes of this article, specifically white Afrikaans-speaking individuals) behave in South Africa every day.

The tendency to associate racism with Afrikaans-speaking whites has been observed in some studies (West 2011:20; Reid 2011:213). According to Reid, the myth of the bad white perpetrator (a myth that signifies an individual who is racist or remorseless) in postapartheid films is usually used for Afrikaans-speaking whites. This may then contribute to stereotyping (and self-stereotyping) of Afrikaans-speaking whites as racist.

Other white ethnic groups, however, tend to be described positively. West (2011:20) notes that ethnic groups such as French or English tend to be viewed as possessing "cosmopolitan civility", while Afrikaans-speaking whites tend to be described as conservative. Some individuals, however, displayed various versions of Afrikanerness or whiteness.

7.3.3 Various kinds of whiteness

Studies show that individuals may adopt non-hegemonic forms of whiteness and may differentiate between various kinds of whiteness and/or Afrikanerness (Krueger 2012:401; Marx & Milton 2011:724; Scott 2012:746). Some studies show, for instance, that individuals may differentiate between modern Afrikaners and right-wing Afrikaners (Fourie 2006:256; Verwey & Quayle 2012:561). According to Verwey and Quayle, modern Afrikaners are usually described as nonracist or rainbow-minded, while right-wing Afrikaners are usually described as racist. Similarly, there were a few writers in the current study who referred to other Afrikaans-speaking whites as right-wing Afrikaners or extremists. Some writers also noted extremists among blacks as well. Both Julius Malema and Annelie Botes were described as extremists.

Furthermore, a few writers displayed nonhegemonic forms of whiteness. Nonhegemonic forms tend to bring undesirable whiteness (poor or marginalised) to the fore (Krueger 2012:401; Marx & Milton 2011:724). Some individuals, for instance, may describe themselves as having mixed blood, as opposed to the notion that races possess singular or "pure blood" (Weltz 2003:137; Scott 2012:746). Neil, for instance, who described himself as a "whitish Afrikaans-speaking South African African" stated the following:

> I was raised Afrikaans, not an "Afrikaner" with the ethnic schmaltz and solidarity it entailed. … I felt oppressed by the Afrikaner culture and its attempts to lay claim to me. … Braaivleis? Don't look at this Bortjie. I am not one and besides, I don't do meat. Yet I couldn't stay away from the fruits of the sea – perhaps the genetic pull of the Khoi blood which I assume mingles in me with that of German, French, Flemish and Nguni ancestors.

The above statement furthermore seems to confirm the notion that nonhegemonic whiteness tends to be characterised by resisting and reinforcing stereotypes about whiteness and other racial groups (Haupt 2012:421; Scott 2012:747). Neil, for instance, contrasted his identity with an Afrikaner identity associated with the love of "braaivleis" (grilled meat) or rugby.

The wording used to express the avowed identity, namely "whitish Afrikaans-speaking South African African", closely resembles the ascribed identity - "white Afrikaans-speaking South African". This seems to indicate that while some individuals may distance themselves from the ascribed identity, their created or new identity may incorporate some aspects of the old or ascribed identity. Neil, for instance, stated that he was raised "Afrikaans" and not "Afrikaner", which seem to indicate that the Afrikaans language is incorporated into his new identity. According to Marx and Milton (2011:743), nonhegemonic forms of whiteness may be characterised by viewing racial identities as multiple or fluid. Nonhegemonic forms of whiteness may thus incorporate whiteness (ascribed identity) as well as other racial identities. Ninja, one of the Zef artists (Zef music is associated with creation or portrayal of nonhegemonic whiteness), for instance, describes himself as the "love child of diverse cultures – black, white, coloured and alien" (Scott 2012:747).

The majority of white writers, however, tended to describe whites as homogeneous. Some writers, for example, described whites as fearful. Descriptions of whites as fearful appear to confirm the feelings of dominant groups listed in Blumer's (1958:1) group position theory.

7.3.4 Feelings of dominant groups

Blumer (1958:1) posits that the following feelings tend to be found among member of dominant groups: feelings of superiority; a fear that the subordinate racial group is threatening or will threaten the position of the dominant group; a feeling that the subordinate is intrinsically different and alien; and a feeling of proprietary claim to certain areas of privilege and advantage. Blumer, however, asserts that members of dominant groups may have different attitudes or feelings towards subordinate groups. The feelings expressed by some writers in the current study seem to reflect the following feelings: fear that the subordinate racial group is threatening or will threaten the position of the dominant group and a feeling that that the subordinate group is intrinsically different and alien.

Fear that the subordinate racial group is threatening or will threaten the position of the dominant group

Blumer (1958:2) claims that dominant groups tend to experience fears or threats to their dominant status. Moreover, feelings of threat are not only limited to economic or political status, but may also include internal affairs (respect or dignity) (Perry 2007:377). Fear of being labelled a racist, as expressed by some writers in the current study, may therefore be related to internal affairs. Racism has negative connotations and being labelled a racist, may therefore lead to negative feelings about the self.

A few writers also noted economic threats brought about by affirmative action and crime. Dannie, for instance, stated the following:

> For white and brown South Africans "liberation" however, despite all its benefits, has also brought with it the increasing threat of crime, loss of power and reverse racial discrimination.

Some writers thus expressed feelings of fear. Reverse racism, crime and clashing civilisations were some of the issues listed as the cause of white fears.

Contrary to observations in some studies that Afrikaans newspapers tend to cast crime tends as targeting whites (Steyn 2004:156; Wasserman 2010:30), the opposite appears to be true in the current study. The majority of white writers (who wrote to Afrikaans newspapers) who described blacks as criminals mentioned that blacks were also victims of crime. Andre, for instance, stated that "by far the most criminals are black. But don't forget that by far the most victims of crime are also black." It thus appears that while Afrikaans newspapers may describe crime as targeting whites, individual letters to the editor may express different views.

A feeling that the subordinate group is intrinsically different and alien

According to Blumer (1956:139), the feeling that the outgroup is alien is achieved through magnifying differences between groups. This has also been noted in social identity studies (Mohanty 2010:531; Kim 2007:250; Tajfel 1978:75). Tajfel (1978:75) posits in this regard that “race” connotes “a shorthand expression which helps to enhance perceived differences in worth between individuals and it contributes to making these differences as clear-cut and inflexible as possible”. Similarly, a few writers in the current study stated that blacks and whites were different. Differences mentioned included clashing Western and African cultures or lifestyles or differences in the way the outgroup looks, acts or thinks.

Differences expressed by some white writers in the current study mostly seem to be cultural or psychological in nature. This finding seems to support Ansell’s (2004:20) observation that whites tend to focus on cultural or psychological differences, whereas blacks tend to focus on socioeconomic differences. This also seems to confirm Lentin’s (2012:4) observation about culturalisation of politics. According to Lentin, individuals tend to use a cultural frame instead of socioeconomic frames such as inequality to argue or theorise.

Individuals may therefore view group differences through a socioeconomic or cultural frame. However, it seems that in the current study some white writers tended to use a cultural frame, while black writers mostly used a socioeconomic frame. The themes, whites as privileged or blacks as victims were, for instance, more dominant among black writers. Blacks, however, may also use cultural frames for political agendas as exemplified in “Africanisation” discourses (section 7.2.1). Some white participants, however, also noted socioeconomic differences between groups (see section 7.3.5).

7.3.5 Awareness of privilege

Studies indicate that when dominant groups are aware of their privileged position, they may perceive whites as privileged and subordinate groups as victims (Stoudt et al 2012:178; Stewart et al 2012:13; Hughey 2012:219). Individuals who are aware of their privileged position may describe their ingroup negatively and may support policies such as affirmative action. A few writers in the current study seemed to display awareness of privilege. Leanne, for instance, had the following to say in this regard:

> And how many black teachers, lecturers or professors do we find in these so-called non-racial schools and universities? Very few. The subtle messages are still powerful: white is superior, white is clever, white is beautiful, white is clever, black is inferior, black is corrupt, black is ugly. Even more difficult to eradicate is the psychological damage caused to blacks by generations of discrimination.

> Somewhere deep down inside the psyche of many blacks is a real sense of inferiority, just as in the sense in the psyche of whites is a sense of superiority.

Leanne thus described the privileges of whiteness alongside the disadvantages of blackness. Writers who described blacks as victims therefore appear to be aware of white privilege.

The description of blacks as victims and whites as privileged among some white writers also seems to contradict some of the claims of social dominance theory. Pratto et al (2006:282), for instance, state that members of dominant groups tend to endorse hierarchy-legitimating views and tend to exhibit high ingroup favouritism. White writers in the current study tended to display less ingroup favouritism compared to blacks. While the majority of writers tended to describe outgroups negatively, negative ingroup descriptions were also noted. The theme "whites as racists", for instance, was fairly frequent among white writers. Similarly, there were also whites who described blacks as victims of white racism or apartheid. Such views may therefore be described as hierarchy-attenuating views.

Overall, whites tended to display less ingroup favouritism compared to blacks. This tendency has been observed in a number of studies. Some studies, for instance, indicate a positive shift in the attitudes of whites towards blacks (Bornman 2011:735; Stewart et al 2012:12). A number of factors are attributed to these changes. An encounter with a variety of discourses may lead to a change in individual perceptions as noted by Jansen (2009:36). Levels of education and extended contact with other groups may also affect individual perceptions of the "other" as noted in Bornman's (2011:729) study. Bornman further notes that in some cases, positive changes in the attitudes of whites may be unreciprocated by blacks. Some studies show, for instance, that members of white antiracist groups tend to display positive attitudes towards other racial groups. Such groups, however, tend to consists of "whites only" and their work may be unknown to other racial groups (Hughey 2012:219; Hook 2011:19). Some racial groups may therefore continue to perceive "whites as racists" despite attitude changes among some whites.

7.4 Attitudes of indians/coloureds towards the in- and outgroups

Research shows that coloured/Indians may identify as black and may sometimes identify with the “white minority victim stance” (Elam & Elam 2010:196; Erasmus 2001:15). Other studies furthermore show that coloureds/Indians may perceive whites as allies, as they share similar concerns such as affirmative action that may pose an economic threat to all three groups (Desai & Vahed 2010:10; Keizan & Duncan 2010:467). Desai and Vahed, however, note that such coalitions tend to exist mostly among middle class coloureds/Indians and whites. Coloureds/Indians who feel disadvantaged may therefore express negative attitudes towards blacks.

By contrast, some studies indicate that coloureds may identify as black and display negative attitudes towards whites (Erasmus 2001:7, Hammett 2010:247). Moreover, coloureds/Indians and blacks may unite. According to Radhakrishnan (2005:278), for instance, blacks and Indians living in a Durban Indian township shared similar problems and views towards current government officials whom they perceived as oppressors.

Coloureds and Indians, however, may also feel excluded from the “Zebra politics” of South Africa that tends to focus on blacks and whites. Coloureds/Indians who feel excluded may therefore identify as (or with) neither black nor white (Elam & Elam 2010:190; Wale 2014:36). Adhikari (2009:18) asserts that some coloureds and Indians tend to feel that they were not white enough to benefit fully from the apartheid regime and are now not black enough to benefit from redress policies. The results of the current study seem to give credence to some of these observations.

Some coloured/Indian writers in the current study shared similar views with whites. Similar to white writers, the theme “blacks as racists” was the dominant theme among coloured/Indian writers. Some writers thus described blacks as racists and whites, coloureds and Indians as victims.

Kim, for instance, described blacks as racists and triumphalists. However, she described whites as guilt-ridden and pliable to the vices of black politicians. Kim used the investigation into subliminal racism in the media which was arguably an attempt by politicians to interfere with media freedom as an example. She noted the following:

> Remember the gusto with which then commission chairman Barney Pityana took on Judge Dennis Davis and those guilt-ridden [white] editors who actually gave evidence before the commission's hearings into subliminal racism in the media, when in fact they should have boycotted it. It is this cowardice laced with white guilt and black triumphalism that perpetuates apartheid and inspires universities and high priests of political correctness to condemn this video, but not acts of murderous racism such as the gruesome farm murders and killing of Somalis, for example.

Writers who described whites positively thus tended to describe blacks negatively. Some coloureds/Indians, for instance, described white journalists as colour-blind individuals who were chased out of a meeting by racist black journalists. Coloureds/Indians who identify with the "white minority victim stance" may therefore display negative attitudes towards blacks and positive attitudes towards whites.

The feeling that black racism received less political or media attention was also expressed by both the white and coloured/Indian writers. This seems to indicate that some whites, coloureds and Indians may indeed share similar concerns (Duncan 2010:467; Desai & Vahed 2010:10). As previously noted, it is believed that coloureds/Indians may identify as black and display negative attitudes towards whites (Erasmus 2001:7, Hammett 2010:247). Similarly, a few coloured/Indian writers displayed negative attitudes towards whites and mostly positive attitudes towards blacks. Zane, for instance, used words such as "representatives of former regimes" or "former oppressor"' to refer to whites. Conversely, he described blacks as victims who encounter resistance in their attempt to bridge racial inequalities. Some coloureds may thus identify as blacks and display negative attitudes towards whites.

Some coloured/Indian writers, however, differentiated between the privileged black middle class and black working class. Negative attitudes were displayed towards black middle and upper classes, while positive attitudes were displayed towards the black working class. This may indicate that middle class or elite blacks may be perceived as oppressors, whereas lower class blacks may be perceived as victims. Displaying negative attitudes towards the black middle class and positive attitudes towards the black working class seems to confirm Erasmus's (2010:396) view that individuals may identify with outgroups and form coalitions based on class or political orientation. Some coloureds and Indians may therefore identify with the black working class or hold favourable attitudes towards them.

Exhibition of negative attitudes towards the black upper or middle class by some coloured/Indian writers furthermore seems to confirm Fujimoto's (2012:13) observation that the ingroup-outgroup binary may leave out certain nuances in intergroup relations. Negative attitudes, for instance, may displayed towards some members of the outgroup (such as the middle class), while positive attitudes may be displayed towards other members of the same group (such as the lower class). Thus outgroup favouritism or outgroup denigration may be displayed towards some members of a cultural group and not all.

Some coloured/Indian writers displayed negative attitudes towards both blacks and whites. Both blacks and whites were described as racist. Some writers, for instance, pointed to a need to combat both black and white racism. The description of both blacks and whites as racist seems to confirm Wale's (2014:24) observation that coloureds may feel left out in South African politics. Some coloureds and Indians may thus feel like observers of blacks and whites who seem to be the main players in South African politics. Most writers, for example, tended to note the role played by black and white racism, without noting the role of coloureds' or Indians' attitudes in South African politics.

Coloureds/Indians thus displayed diverse attitudes towards both blacks and whites. Certain views, however, were dominant. The theme "blacks as racists" was the most frequent theme. The second most frequent theme was that of "perception of intrablack hierarchies" where class hierarchies and differences between blacks were highlighted. Immediate context or the topic under discussion may account for dominance of the theme "blacks as racists" among coloureds. This, for example, was true for the FBJ incident. The majority of coloured/Indian letters were letters relating to the FBJ incident.

7.5 Racism displayed and the reasons advanced

The definition of racism has been contested in recent years as laws prohibit the utterance of overt stereotypes in public (Durrheim et al 2010:25; Erasmus 2011:389). In such contexts, it may therefore be difficult to tell if a statement or talk is racist or not as individuals may avoid using statements that may be considered racist in public (Durrheim et al 2010:70). Although there is no agreed-upon definition of racism, analyses of racism in texts, mostly pay attention to employment of negative stereotypes when referring to members of other cultural groups (Van Dijk 1993:3; Wodak & Reisgl 2001:386). Similarly, the current study limited racism to negative stereotypic descriptions of “others”.

Certain views in the current study such as references to whites as racists, blacks as racists, blacks as criminals and stereotyping of whites may therefore be described as racism as they negatively stereotype racial groups.

Whites as racists

Several studies indicate that whites are mostly stereotyped as racists (Durrheim et al 2010:53; Verwey & Quayle 2012:561; Hughey 2012:219). Durrheim et al note that the dominant stereotype that most South Africans have regarding whites is racism. The current study gives credence to this observation. The theme “whites as racists” was the third most frequent theme identified. Furthermore, it was more frequent among black writers than among the other racial groups. Botes’s views, for instance, were presumed to be indicative of how whites (still) think about blacks. The history of apartheid (and colonialism) and racial incidents such as the UFS video were the main reasons advanced for this belief. Although apartheid laws have been abolished, some writers felt that their legacy is still alive. Some writers, for example, noted that overt racism is replaced by subtle racism, while some believed that overt racism still exists. A few writers also asserted that even whites who did not support apartheid never “believed in the capacity of blacks” (Vuyo) and were thus racist. Such statements seem to imply that the majority of black writers believed that most whites are racist.

Colonial histories thus seem to make it easy for individuals to describe whites as racist. As noted by Vuyo, for instance, even whites who never supported apartheid may be suspected of racism. Hughey (2012:219) asserts in this regard that white and antiracism tend to be viewed as antonyms and whites may not be trusted in antiracist circles.

Current dominant discourses that tend to describe whites as racists may further account for this belief or attitude (see section 7.7). Politicians, for instance, tend to employ the race card to silence whites critics of the current government’s policies or actions (mostly by describing them as racist) (Holborn 2010:53; Moloto 2013:1).

Stereotyping of whites

According to Vincent (2008:1446), new environments may lead to new generalisations or the creation of new stereotypes. Desegregation in postapartheid South Africa may therefore lead to the creation of new stereotypes as old ones may be disproved. While racism is the dominant stereotype that most people have of whites, other stereotypes can be said to have emerged. In the current study, some black writers associated whites with traits such as being naïve or paranoid. Paranoia, for instance, can be said to be a new stereotype linked to postapartheid or colonial discourses of white suffering or victimage (Hughey 2012:219; Lacy 2010:205; Steyn 2010:23. Studies show that whites tend to express feelings of victimisation by policies such as affirmative action or crime. However, expression of victimhood by whites may be viewed as paranoia by other racial groups as whites are mostly perceived as privileged. Regarding white paranoia, Bonga, for instance, asserted the following:

> Still the question lingers. What is it that Afrikaners mean when they say they are under siege? What is it that that makes them feel that they are victims in the land of their birth and for many, the country they call home? Objective analysis shows that there is nothing that warrants this Afrikaner paranoia. The closest they come to having a point is that affirmative action (especially in the public sector) gives them the short-end of the opportunity stick. But that affects white males in general (including Greek, Jewish or English). … other that than that, there is simply nothing institutionally tangible that Afrikaners can point to to show that they are indeed a marginalised group. They remain with the English first language speakers the only grouping that can get educated in their mother tongue from pre-primary to PHD. Afrikaners are per capita richer than they were during apartheid and can now travel more freely anywhere in the world than they could under the racist government they elected.

Whites were thus described as privileged individuals who perceived themselves as marginalised. The association of whites with negative traits such as being "naïve" or "paranoid" may be considered as racist as it negatively stereotypes whites. This theme, however, was less frequent.

Stereotyping of blacks

A few white writers described blacks as inferior. Associating blacks with inferiority may be described as a stereotype that resembles apartheid descriptions of blackness (Fourie 2006:256). Some writers furthermore described blacks as sensitive and quick to point out racism, even against other blacks. Descriptions of blacks as sensitive can also be said to be a new stereotype. Some blacks, for instance, tend to be accused of "dwelling on the past" (Jansen 2009). This is because some blacks may associate current racial statements with apartheid. Mtose (2008) states in this regard that some blacks have a "fear of being overly sensitive – seeing race where it does not exist".

Blacks as racists

The majority of white and coloured/Indian writers also described blacks as racists. Statements made by some black politicians and the FBJ incident were used as examples of black racism. This seems to indicate that whites may also stereotype blacks as racists. Association of blacks with racism can also be said to be a new stereotype linked to postapartheid discourses of reverse or black racism (Holborn 2010:56; Steyn 2010:16).

Blacks as criminals

Some white writers furthermore described blacks as criminals. Statistics and news were cited to establish this fact. The association of blacks with crime also seems to resemble apartheid descriptions of blackness (Fourie 2006:250; Soudien 2007:240). Harldy any participants described whites as criminals. This stereotype, however, was mostly evident in letters responding to Botes. This seems to confirm Vincent's (2008:1446) observation that context may determine which stereotypes will be ascribed to groups.

7.6 Identities displayed

The results of the current study appear to confirm observations made in earlier studies, namely that black and white South Africans tend to display racial and ethnic identities (Bornman & Potgieter 2015:6; Gibson & Gouws 2000:279). Some studies, however, indicate that some racial groups, especially coloured and Indian South Africans, may display a national identity (Walker 2005:42; Hammett 2010:247). An enactment of a national identity, however, does not mean that it is inclusive of all South African racial groups. According to Gibson and Gouws, individuals may identify as South African, but dis-identify with other racial groups. Some white South Africans in Gibson and Gouw's study, for instance, identified as South African, but dis-identified with blacks.

Similarly, some writers (such as Indian/coloured writers) who identified as South African distanced themselves from other racial groups.

The majority of black and white writers in the current study displayed a racial identity. Some writers, however, displayed an ethnic identity. This was mostly notable among Afrikaans-speaking whites. This could be propounded by the fact that a number of Afrikaans-speaking whites wrote in Afrikaans. Language may thus serve as an expression of ethnic affiliation. Bornman and Potgieter (2015:3) posit that “language often serves as the most important symbol of ethnic identities”. Individuals who use their mother tongue are thus likely to identify with their ethnic group. Context, however, may also play a role. A number of Afrikaans-speaking whites avowed an ethnic identity in letters relating to the Botes incident. In letters relating to the FBJ incident, however, the majority of writers avowed a racial identity. This seems to confirm Chen and Collier’s (2012:45) claim that a racial or ethnic identity may be more salient in some contexts, whereas it may be less salient in others.

A large number of coloured/Indian writers, however, mostly displayed a South African identity, but distanced themselves to a certain extent from black and white South Africans. Studies show that some coloured/Indian South Africans tend to display a South African identity instead of a racial identity (Malimba 2010:55; Hammet 2010:247). This is attributed to a number of factors. Some coloureds/Indians tend to form coalitions across racial lines. Some studies show, for instance, that Indians, coloureds and whites may become allies (Keizan & Duncan 2010:466; Vally & Dalamba 1999:32). One writer, for instance, used the category “nonblacks” to refer to coloureds/Indians and whites. Such a category may thus reflect coalitions among “nonblacks”.

Some coloureds/Indians, however, may affiliate with blacks (Erasmus 2001:15). The choice of a national identity among coloureds and Indians may thus be used to display identification with more than one racial group. Some Indians, however, reject the “Indian” identity as they may not identify with India. Naidoo (1997:31), for instates, notes that “… I have rejected the term ‘Indian’ for myself. I was born and raised in South Africa and my life has been influenced by material conditions here rather than those in India”. South African Indians may therefore disavow an Indian identity owing to the fact that they were born and raised in South Africa (Desai & Vahed 2010:306).

Coloureds and Indians in postapartheid South Africa have furthermore been ambiguously included in the black category. A policy document of the ANC, for example, states that preference is given to "blacks in general and Africans in particular" (ANC 2011:1; Kathrada 2012:17). Such ambiguities may then influence the dissociation from blackness among coloureds and Indians. Morover, some coloured writers in the current study used the category black ambiguously. Some writers, for instance, referred to "racial segragation among blacks" (Kim), or "certain blacks" (Sally), thus highlighting different racial groups in the category black.

Disassociation from blackness among coloureds/Indians may also be attributed to the fact that relations between blacks, Indians and coloureds are to some extent marked by tensions (Desai & Vahed 2010:176; Ramsamy 2007:470). Indians and coloureds tend to feel excluded from policies such affirmative action and from sharing a "struggle identity". The intermediary position occupied by Indians and coloureds during apartheid also means that blacks may perceive Indians and coloureds as "dominant others" (Wale 2014:20). Such perceptions may thefore fuel tensions between blacks, coloureds and Indians.

There were also differences in the identities ascribed by writers to other racial groups. Pertaining to the Botes incident, for instance, black writers mostly focused on the ethnic identity, "Afrikaner", to refer to Afrikaans-speaking whites. Regarding the FBJ incident, however, the category "white" was mostly used to refer to both Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites. This seems to indicate that the context may also impact on the identities ascribed.

The use of the category, "Afrikaner" however, could also be attributed to the fact that blacks mostly held negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking whites during apartheid and mostly positive attitudes towards English-speaking whites (Bornman 2011:736; Finchilescu & Tredoux 2009:178). This is because apartheid was mostly associated with Afrikaans-speaking whites (Jansen 2009:55). In recent years, however, blacks have tended to display negative attitudes towards both Afrikaans- and English-speaking whites. Blacks may therefore use the category "white" to refer to (and disassociate from) both ethnic groups. However, the fact that the category "Afrikaner" was mostly used in letters relating to the Botes incident seem to indicate that the immediate context (topic) was the major contributing factor in the current study. Similarly, a number of white writers used the category “black” in the Botes incident, while the category “black journalists” was used in the FBJ incident. Context (topic) thus seem to have impacted the identities ascribed.

Overall, racial and ethnic identities were constanty avowed by the majority of both black and white writers. Indians and coloureds, however, mostly displayed a national identity, but distanced themselves from blacks and whites. All three racial groups, however, mostly ascribed racial identities to others. Some writers avowed (and ascribed) multiple identities.

7.6.1 Multiple identities

Some writers displayed multiple identities. The tendency to avow multiple identities is emphasised by the intersectional approach to identity (Levine-Rasky 2011:240; Anthias 2013:127). Cultural identity theory also acknowledges the avowal of multiple identities, but tends to emphasise that individuals may focus on a single identity that is salient in a particular context (Collier & Thomas 1988:100; Collier 1998:20). Avowing multiple identities may thus highlight intersections of race with class, ideology or gender. Some writers, for instance, referred to Botes as an “Afrikaans woman writer”, thus highlighting ethnic, gender and professional identity. As emphasised by the intersectional approach, individuals may have multiple privileges, disadvantages or both privileges and disadvantages. Using multiple identities may therefore highlight intragroup hierarchies or complexities. Some coloured writers, for instance, differentiated between black middle class and black working class. The majority of writers, however, tended to avow and ascribe racial and ethnic identities more in comparison with other identities. Placing racial and ethnic identites above other identities (such as professional identities) thus seem to indicate that some identities may be perceeved as more important than others (Jamieson 2002:510).

7.6.2 Salience hierarchy

Some studies indicate that certain identities may be salient across contexts (Anderson & Matheny 2004:15; Mckinnon & Heise 2010:124). This is because some individuals may consider certain identities as more important than others. Identities perceived as central or important are thefore likely to be evoked across contexts. A few writers in the current study, for instance, noted that a racial or ethnic identity was more important than other identities. The following extracts exemplify this view:

> Some of us insist that we are black in our families and community before we are journalists. If you remove the tag of “journalist” from us what will remain is what we had at the beginning – our identity.
>
> My “Afrikanerness” and my mother tongue are an intrinsic part of my identity; they are matters that are extremely important to me. But I am also a Christian, historian, journalist, world citizen, democrat, lover of rugby, braaivleis, hiking and snow (of which there is currently abundance here).

According to Mckinnon and Heise (2010:124), socialisation or context may influence the rank-ordering of identities. Some identities, for instance, may be associated with benefits. “Ethnic [or racial] renewal” among some groups, for instance, may be attributed to opportunities for previously oppressed groups. A weak racial identification, however, may be attributed to negative sentiments surrounding a specific racial identity.

Pressure from ingroup members or leaders may also play a role in the identity that is given a central place. Some individuals may constantly be reminded not to forget their racial identity. In the current study, blacks journalists were, for instance, warned against becoming white or coconuts in a white-dominated professional environment. The following excerpts exemplify how individuals may be pressurised by ingroup members or leaders to place a racial identity over a professional identity:

> Journalists in postapartheid society have new dilemmas. We are expected to be black first and journalist second, while everyone else can get away with whatever profession they are without pondering which comes first.
>
> It is also necessary to remind black journalists that they must never forget that they are also Africans.

Identification with a racial and/or ethnic group may therefore be perceived as more important, especially where there are interracial or ethnic tensions. Ganesh (2010:30) comments in this regard that even though intragroup tensions may exist, the “pressures of living in a hostile environment precipitate a ‘we Indians [blacks or whites]’ feeling". Intergroup tensions may thus account for the centrality of racial or ethnic identities over other identities among some individuals.

Context thus play a role in the processes of identification. Individuals, for instance, tend to identify themselves and "others" using the social categories available in a particular context (Ehlers 2008:337). According to Ramsamy (2007:470), the categories black, white, Indian or coloured are still used on official forms in South Africa and individuals may use such categories. Some individuals, however, may reject such identities or use a national identity as shown by some writers in the current study. Hollway (2010:230) posits in this regard that the "self is not simply a product of social forces or of autonomous minds". Social context thus plays a role in the processes of identification. Identification with a group may also have consequences.

7.6.3 Consequences of the processes of identification

Some studies show that once individuals identify with a group, they may perceive outgroups as "others" who are different (Tajfel 1981:255; Reicher et al 2010:47). Identification is thus a boundary-marking project where individuals may be considered as insiders or outsiders (Mohanty 2010:531). The next section discusses various beliefs or attitudes attributed to the processes of identification that were identified in the current study.

Perceptions of ingroup similarity and outgroup difference

Identification with a group tends to create an illusion of sameness with the perceived ingroup (Dube 2010:129; Tajfel 1978:75; Mohanty 2010:531). The outgroup, however, may be perceived as different. Phrases such as "we blacks/whites" may create or obliterate class, ideological and other areas of difference among blacks or whites (Wodak 2009:1; Woodak & Reisgl 2008:153). Similarly, phrases such as "they whites/blacks" may obliterate differences between the "they/them" groups.

Studies show that once individuals identify with a group, they are likely to view outgroups as a united whole or as similar in terms of class or views (Tajfel 1978:69; Collier 2009:338; Wodak 2009:1). Once individuals are grouped into "we/they" groups, stereotypes (negative or positive) tend to be assigned to the groups. Moreover, individuals tend to assign positive stereotypes to ingroups and negative stereotypes to outgroups. However, the opposite may occur in some contexts (see section 7.3.2)

Racial and ethnic identity as unchangeable

Studies show that racial and ethnic identities tend to be perceived as unchangeable (Kannen 2008:150; Anthias 2013:128). This is because racial and some ethnic identities are based on physical attributes such as skin colour that are perceived as unchangeable. Similarly, some writers in the current study perceived racial and ethnic identities as unchangeable. A few writers stated that an individual may choose or change his or her profession or religion but not a racial identity. A few writers also described an ethnic identity as unchangeable. One writer, for instance, stated the following: “I suffer from this incurable disease: I am an Afrikaner” (Brett). The perception of his ethnic identity as an “incurable disease” could be linked to his awareness of the negative stereotypes associated with his ethnic identity (he mostly described Afrikaners negatively). These negative stereotypes may furthermore be perceived as permanent or “incurable”. Identity and the stereotypes may therefore be perceived as permanent (Meijl 2010:64; Padayachee 2012:95).

Disassociation from negative stereotypes

Another consequence of the processes of identification seems to include disassociation from some of the stereotypes (mostly negative) associated with the avowed identity (Fourie 2006:256; Verwey & Quayle 2012:561). Some writers, for instance, indicated awareness of the stereotypes associated with Afrikaans-speaking whites and therefore stated that “we are not all like this”. The writers, however, avowed the identity (Afrikaans speaking) and described themselves (and other ingroup members) as different from some ingroup members. Andre, for instance, disassociated himself from the stereotype that “Afrikaners are racist”, but stated that he was a lover of braaivleis (love for braaivleis is also associated with Afrikaans-speaking whites). Individuals may thus distance themselves from some of the stereotypes associated with the ingroup and embrace others.

Creation of internal others

Creation of “internal others” or categories seems to be another way of distanciation from perceived ingroup stereotypes (Fujimoto 2012:18). Words such as “right-wing Afrikaner” or “extremist” (individuals who hold negative views towards members of other groups) show that individuals who identify as “Afrikaner” may associate racism with “right-wing Afrikaners”. Categories such as modern Afrikaner or right-wing Afrikaner may thus be created to demonstrate intragroup differences (Fourie 2006:240).

Creation of internal others may also be an attempt at enforcing compliance to dominant group norms or garnering support for those (or by those) in power such as politicians (Kim 2012:898). This was observed in the use of the term “coconut”. The first use of this term was when some two journalists identified as coloured and Indian left the FBJ meeting in solidarity with the white journalists who were excluded from the meeting. Black journalists who criticised the FBJ’s exclusive policy were also referred to as coconuts. Some black writers referred to individuals who wrote “negative stories” about black politicians as “coconut journalists” or “blacks who are used by whites”. This seems to also imply that black journalists who supported the FBJ or wrote positive stories about the current government could then be described as “real or authentic blacks”. One writer, for instance, described coconuts as follows:

> … a whole list of coconuts that include Justice Malala and *Citizen*’s Chris Bathembu to name but a few, deserve to emigrate to Zimbabwe where there will be a whole lot of truth in what they write, since nothing positive is happening there anyway. …These white and coconut journalists predicted this country would have gone to the dogs by now; and it pains them [to see that] this democracy is still intact .

According to Kim (2012:898), internal categories may thus serve to “tame” or homogenise ingroup members. Moreover, individuals may sometimes regulate their behaviour to avoid being labelled as “coconuts”.

Disidentification

Some studies show that individuals may disidentify with an ingroup and may rather use different categories (D’Andrea 2006:96, Kannen 2008:150). Individuals may perceive identity as limiting because of its rules and regulations (beliefs and norms associated with the identity). One writer, for instance, called himself a “whitish, Afrikaans-speaking South African African" (Neil). He stated that he felt "oppressed by the Afrikaner culture". The oppressive features of the Afrikaner identity that he mentioned seem to be the values or norms associated with it, such as rugby (he preferred football) or braaivleis ("he does not do meat").

According to Kannen (2008:150), although individuals may not identify with a group, "disidentification will not be exterior". This is because racial identities are based on physical attributes. Neil, for instance, stated that he is still regarded as a "white male" even though he does not identify as such. This seems to indicate therefore that some individuals may perceive identity as imprisoning and a force serving to homogenise diverse individuals (Ehlers 2008:333; D'Andrea 2006:96). Identity may furthermore be perceived as creating boundaries between groups. Regarding his exclusion from the FBJ meeting, Neil, for instance, noted the following:

> What I fail to understand is that, in spite of our shared alienation and hurt, the FBJ won't let me, an African join their laager.

Thompson (2004:43) asserts that identification entails not only identifying as, but also identifying with. Individuals may identify with other groups based on perceived similarities. Neil, for example, seems to identify with black journalists based on "shared alienation and hurt". Individuals may thus perceive identities or categories as permeable. Kim (2010:20) posits that the ingroup-outgroup binary may be "blurred and changed" in culturally diverse contexts.

7.6.4 Emotional and attitudinal consequences

Research shows that identification has emotional and attitudinal consequences **(**Bornman 2004:155; Wetherell 2010:4; Martín-Alcoff 2010:145). As noted previously, individuals may display negative attitudes towards outgroups and positive attitudes towards ingroup members. Moreover, such attitudes are usually a product of socialisation (Reicher et al 2010:57). In many postcolonial societies, for instance, where racial groups have long histories of conflict, groups may display negative attitudes towards outgroups. Woodak and Reisgl (2008:153) point out that identity can be regarded as a "sort of habitus". In other words, identity may refer to ways of thinking and feeling internalised through “national socialisation”. Ingroup favouritism and outgroup bias may thus be considered as habitual (long-standing habits). Themes identified in the current study show that the majority of writers tended to describe ingroup members positively and outgroup members negatively.

Changes in a social environment, however, may also lead to changes in individual attitudes (Franchi & Swart 2003:157). Some writers, for example, displayed positive attitudes towards “others” (details in section 7.3.5). Positive attitudes towards “others” could be linked to postapartheid discourses of reconciliation or Rainbowism. Attitudes, however, are not simply a product of social forces, individuals may choose which attitudes to adopt towards others (Martín-Alcoff 2010:160).

In addition, there were differences in how groups perceived the incidents. Some writers, for instance, perceived the FBJ incident as black racism, while the majority of black writers perceived it as black emancipation. Martín-Alcoff (2010:50) points out in this regard that a social identity may affect how an individual judges events. This is because certain identities are associated with certain experiences. Past experiences may therefore influence how people judge events. The fact that certain themes were more frequent or were identified in one racial group means that there may be differences in the way groups view events.

There were similarities, however, but they were sparse. Some black, white, coloured/Indian writers, for instance, described “whites as racists” or “blacks as racists”. Individuals may thus share similar views on some political issues. A study by the institute of Justice and Reconciliation (IJR), for instance, reveals that in 2014, views on some political issues tended to be similar across racial groups, whereas the opposite was true in 2003 (Wale 2014:3). Intergroup attitudes, however, may also be attributed to social context.

7.7 The role of context in intergroup attitudes

Studies show that the context may impact on individual attitudes (Collier 2009:296; Collier & Chen 2012:45) Some studies show for instance that there have been changes in the attitudes among racial groups in postapartheid South Africa (Bornman

2011:735; Finchilescu & Tredoux 2009:178; Wale 2014:3). The immediate context (topic discussed) and broader social context (postapartheid history) may thus account for various attitudes displayed in the current study.

Certain themes were, for instance, more frequent in letters responding to the FBJ incident, while less frequent in letters relating to the Botes incident. Furthermore, some themes were identified only for one incident. The theme “blacks as superior” was, for example, only identified in letters relating to the Botes incident. Some themes such as “blacks as racists” were more frequent in letters relating to the FBJ incident. Context may therefore influence attitudes that individuals have towards “others”.

Context may also explain a minimal focus on intragroup differences. According to Collier (2009:1), cultural identity may be salient in intergroup discussions. Consequently, within-group differences may be overlooked whereas the opposite may occur in intragroup situations (Chen & Collier 2012:450; Nakayama et al 2013:160). The themes “stereotyping of blacks as coconuts” and “stereotyping of blacks as in search of power” were, for example, mostly observed in letters relating to the FBJ incident, where some writers noted differences between black journalists. The majority of writers, however, did not highlight intrablack differences. Similarly, the theme “whites as heterogeneous” was identified in letters responding to the Botes incident, where a few writers highlighted differences between Botes and other Afrikaans-speaking whites. The selected incidents involved intergroup controversy which may explain the limited focus on intragroup differences.

While certain themes appeared only for one incident as indicated above, certain themes such as “whites as privileged” appeared to be frequent for both incidents. Such themes may be linked to the broader social context, specifically discourses or myths circulating in the South African context.

7.7.1 The role of myths and discourses in intergroup attitudes

According to Schöpflin (1997:205), myths refer to a “set of beliefs usually put forth as a narrative and held by a community about itself. Schöpflin states that myths take what is known and offer a univocal narrative of what happened or what is happening. Myths are also related to discourses in that they both construct relations and groups. Discourses may thus be regarded as expressions of myths.

Certain myths (dominant myths) tend to be dominant, while some may not be well received (counter myths). Dominant myths tend to reinforce the status quo, while counter myths may serve to disrupt the status quo. Individual views may therefore be aligned to dominant myths and discourses or counter myths. In the current study, the majority of the writers' views seemed to reflect dominant myths and discourses.

7.7.2 Dominant myths and discourses

The views of blacks as victims and whites as privileged seem to confirm the dominance of the victim-privileged myth (McIntosh 2012:202). McIntosh states that the victim-privilege myth tends to overlook intrablack and intrawhite hierarchies and complexities. While a few individuals noted ideological differences between whites and blacks, class differences between whites (and blacks) were rarely mentioned. According to Ratele and Laubscher (2010:85), the existence of poor whites is barely acknowledged in political or media discourses. This may also extend to other racial groups such as Indians (Desai & Vahed 2010:180).

The victim-privilege myth may also be linked to discourses or views of the elite or politicians. Letters responding to the FBJ incident, for example, were published in 2008/2009, which was during the Mbeki era. Mbeki's era (and apparently also the post-Mbeki era) was marked by an emphasis on racial inequalities as opposed to the Rainbow discourses of the Mandela era (Habib & Blentley 2005:8; Holborn 2010:10) (the myth of the Rainbow Nation is, coincidentally, another dominant myth). This may then explain the perceptions of a "poor black nation and a rich white nation" (blacks as victims and whites as privileged) among some writers[22] (Mbeki 1998:1). According to Blumer (1956:140), the views of the elite tend to become widely held views about who groups are and where they are supposed to be (or where they are) in a hierarchy. Individual discourses may therefore complement or contradict macro (elite) discourses or master narratives (Hammack 2008:233).

Calls for an African or black voice in the media also seem to complement the Africanisation or African Rennaisance discourses that were more pronounced during the Mbeki era. The focus of Africanisation was on returning to "roots", called Africanism (Mngadi 1997:17; Wasserman 2005:81). There was a call to Africanise education, the media and other sectors (Fourie 2008:115). Similarly, some black writers in the current study stated that there was a need for "black journalism" as the media did not reflect black voices.

Furthermore, the tendency to associate African journalism with writing positive stories about the current government, seems to reveal the hidden powers in Africanisation discourses noted by some scholars (Castillo 2010:394; Nel 2012:460; Fourie 2008:115). According to Castillo, a selection of certain features as the representation of a particular culture reveals hidden powers in the (re)construction of that culture. Similarly, Fourie notes that politicians tend to criticise the media of being "Western" mostly when incidents of nepotism or corruption are reported. Journalists who write negative stories about the current government were, for instance, referred to as coconut journalists who are similar to white journalists. As observed by Fourie (2008:115), "African journalism" may thus mean writing good stories about the government, while Western journalism is associated with writing negative stories.

The Rainbowism discourses of the Mandela era, however, were mostly criticised for not bridging inequalities among groups. Some writers, for example, described the Mandela era as a "magical thinking phase" (Velo). This seems to confirm the view that the Mandela era may be perceived as a (racial) honeymoon phase, which was followed by a focus on realities such as intergroup inequalities (Mangcu 2003:107; Habib & Blentley 2005:8). Some writers' views, for instance, reflected disassociation from Rainbowism. Tumi and Alu, for instance, commented as follows:

> When Nelson Mandela became President, he was so eager, alongside our colourful bishop, to declare us a rainbow nation. As some of us have pointed out, a rainbow consists of every colour but black. Now those with brave hearts have questioned whether white is present in the illusory concept. The point here is that Mandela was so drunk with ecstasy, what with his looming inauguration and the goodies it was going to bring, that he expected everyone to dance to his tune of overnight forgiveness. (Tumi)

> There is every semblance of merit in Mandela’s pursuit of reconciliation policy during his tenure as our first postapartheid president. But in my book, a goal, no matter how noble, should not be pursued at the expense of all else. (Alu)

The above statements indicate that some individuals may have negative sentiments towards Rainbowism. Some writers’ views thus seem to contradict discourses of Rainbowism.

Another view that that was dominant in the current study was the view of whites as racist. The theme “whites as racist” appears to confirm the existence of the neo-racism myth. According to Taylor (2009:642), propagators of the neo-racism myth tend to underestimate changes. They may continue to describe whites as racists and blacks as victims of white racism despite structural changes.

The dominance of certain themes, such as “whites as racist” and “blacks as victims” also seems to confirm group position theory’s claim that attitudes cannot be solely attributed to the psychological make-up of individuals, but emanate from larger structural factors (Blumer 1958:1; Bobo & Hutchings 1996:951). The fact that these views were displayed by the majority of writers indicates that attitudes may indeed be influenced by structural factors. Structural factors such as intergroup inequalities, apartheid history, circulating discourses(myths) and intergroup relations may account for some of the writers’ perspectives (Collier 2009:303; Kim 2007:249). Bornman (2011:745) notes, for instance, that the legacy of white domination and economic disparities may account for blacks’ negative attitudes towards whites. Although the dominant views in the data seem to complement dominant myths, counter myths were also observed.

7.7.3 Counter-myths

Studies on myths indicate that oppositional or counter-myths may be less successful or popular (Barthes 1972:99; Bell 2003:65; Reid 2011:37). The myth of black victimisation-white privilege is a century-old myth and counteracting myths may therefore be disregarded (McIntosh 2012:202). Moreover, ingroup members who disregard dominant group myths may be viewed as the “enemy within” (Schöpflin 1997:207). In the current study, black writers who differed from the members or leaders of the FBJ, for instance, were referred to as coconuts or as being used by whites and thus viewed as the "enemy within". Peer pressure from ingroup members may encourage conformity to the dominant group myths as noted in some studies (Ehlers 2006:150; Chinn 2010:112). According to Ehlers, individuals may be scorned for not "acting black" or "acting white". Individuals in a group are therefore presumed to be the same, and blacks who differ may therefore be perceived as "acting white".

There were, for instance, black writers who described blacks as privileged and whites as disadvantaged by policies such as affirmative action. A few black writers, for instance, described black journalists as privileged, that is holding senior positions in the workplace. Such views, however, may be sidelined. Isaac, for example, states that he was told to "shut up" after disagreeing with some black journalists over the issue of black marginalisation:

> There was a lot of bitching about how the media – it was always the amorphous media, nothing specific - ignored black commentators and only ever used white commentators to give opinions. … I asked half rhetorically and half seriously, how many of us could produce a list of black commentators ignored by the "media" if asked to do so. My point was not that there were no black commentators. There were. But we could not accuse our employers [mostly white] of ignoring them if we did not do so ourselves. There was I remember, a bit of heckling. Some of the attendees called me, by way of insult, a "model C" [coconut] and told me to shut up.

According to Reid (2011:43), counter myths may not be well received or may be recognisable only to a small audience. Some writers, for instance, stated that there have been changes in the current South Africa, but they described this change as slow and insufficient. Some writers stated that although black journalists held high positions in the media, they did not have decision-making powers. The fact that some writers acknowledged black privilege alongside black victimisation seems to indicate that this myth is not yet well received.

Another observed counter myth was the myth of whites as victims (Steyn 2010:24). Some writers also seemed to be aware of this myth, but their views seem to indicate that it is not well received. Some writers, for instance, described whites as paranoid for believing that they were disadvantaged in the current era. A few writers, however, noted that policies such as affirmative action may disadvantage whites, especially white males. Thus it seems that some individuals may be aware of the myth of white victimage, but the majority of individuals may discredit it. The perception of whites as victims in postapartheid South Africa thus appears to be subdued by the (dominant) myth of white privilege.

Structural changes in postapartheid South Africa may thus explain differences in attitudes among writers. These attitudes may also be linked to dominant discourses and myths or counter myths. The majority of the writers' views, however, seem to be linked to dominant discourses or myths.

7.8 Summary

The current chapter discussed the findings of the study by comparing them with previous research. The researcher attempted to include possible theoretical explanations for the themes that emerged in the data. Indeed the findings of the current study seem to corroborate observations made in previous studies. The chapter further displayed how the research questions were answered by the results of the study. The next chapter concludes the study and makes suggestions for possible future research.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

The current study set out to investigate the nature of opinions and attitudes expressed in letters to South African newspapers regarding selected incidents of interracial controversy, namely the Botes and FBJ incidents. Identity and intergroup attitudes were the main focus of the study. A qualitative and quantitative content analysis of letters to the editor was conducted in order to answer the research questions stipulated in the introductory chapter.

This chapter concludes the study by reflecting on the results of the study and their possible meaning for race relations in South Africa. The question on racism is discussed, together with the attitudes towards in and outgroups. It also includes a discussion of the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

8.2 Attitudes displayed towards in- and outgroups

The results of the current study show that the majority of individuals leaned towards ingroup favouritism and outgroup bias. The majority of writers described ingroup members positively and outgroups negatively. Furthermore, writers from different racial groups tended to mutually demonise one another (Schöpflin 1997:207). The majority of black writers, for instance, described “whites as racists”, while the majority of white writers described “blacks as racists”.

These results seem to indicate that racial tensions and divisions are still rife in South Africa. Moreover, where racial tensions exist, group boundaries may also be rigid. Individuals may thus be perceived as agents of their respective racial groups and not as individuals (Blumer 1958:1). In other words, perpetration by one (outgroup member) may be perceived as perpetration by all. As noted by Millar (2012:725), in intergroup contexts, perpetration by an individual tends to be depersonalised and applied to the whole outgroup. The outgroup becomes a “source of evil and the in-group, the victimised collective" (2012:725). According to some black writers, for example, the views of Botes were an example of how whites still think about blacks. Similarly, the FBJ incident was perceived by some white writers as an example of how blacks feel about whites. Views shared by the FBJ members were thus assumed to be shared by most blacks.

Although individuals in a group may have diverse views, certain views may be popular among and within groups. Individual views may therefore not be purely individualistic in nature, but may be linked to other discourses or myths circulating within a group or society (Hammack 2008:233; Collier & Chen 2012:45). The views of Botes, for instance, regarding her fear of blacks, could be linked to discourses of white fear and victimage circulating in postapartheid South Africa as well as other postcolonial societies (Lacy 2010:33; Steyn 2010:18). Similarly, the views displayed by FBJ members, such as the perception of black victimhood, could be linked to other discourses or myths circulating in postapartheid South Africa (such as the neo-racism myth – see section 7.7.2). As discussed in the theoretical chapters (see sections 2.3 and 3.3), individuals' attitudes or views are not pre-stored but are a product of socialisation, historical experiences and discourses or myths circulating in a society as well as individual idiosyncrasies (Turner & Reynolds 2003:200; Alcoff 2010:160). The dominance of positive self-negative other-description in discourses about cultural groups is therefore linked to discourses circulating in a social environment. Considering South Africa's racial history as well as the current sociopolitical climate (see chapter 4), the dominance of positive self-negative other-description observed in the letters from black and white writers confirms the theoretical assumptions (Pattman 2010:195; Steyn & Foster 2008:30; Wilmot & Naidoo 2010:1).

The attitudes of Indians and coloureds, however, leaned in multiple directions. Their views did not follow the positive self-negative other-description binary (Fujimoto 2002:18). A number of coloured/Indian writers showed favourable attitudes towards whites and negative attitudes towards blacks. A few writers also displayed negative attitudes towards whites, while some displayed negative attitudes towards both groups. As previously discussed (see section 7.4), coloureds and Indians may form alliances with either whites or blacks (Keizan & Duncan 2010:466). Studies, however, show that coloured and Indians are more inclined to form alliances with whites as they share a numerically marginal position with whites, as well as common problems such as affirmative action (Vally & Dalamba 1999:32; Desai & Vahed 2010:188). Alliances between coloureds, Indians and whites may explain the dominance of the theme “blacks as racists” in comparison with the theme “whites as racists” among coloured and Indian writers (this was also a dominant theme among white writers). The perception that black racism received less media attention was also generally observed among these three groups. This seems to indicate that coloureds, Indians and whites may share similar views on certain political issues which might further reinforce this alliance. Another possible explanation for the attitudes of coloureds and Indians towards whites is the fact that individuals positioned as “in-between” may relate differently to groups above (whites) and groups at the bottom of the hierarchy (blacks) (Fujimoto 2002:13). “In-between” groups may favour the groups above or below, depending on context as well as individual idiosyncrasies. The sample of Indian/coloured writers in the current study, however, was small and therefore did not allow for drawing definite conclusions.

In addition, a number of coloureds and Indians displayed negative attitudes towards middle class blacks and positive attitudes towards the black working class. Negative attitudes may therefore not be shown to all outgroup members. Studies show that the ingroup-outgroup binary may leave out certain nuances, such as the the fact that individuals may display positive attitudes towards some outgroup members and negative attitudes towards others (Erasmus 2010:395; Kim 2010:20). The expression of negative attitudes towards some outgroups seems to exist in South Africa, although it may not be prevalent. Blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians in similar political organisations or parties, for instance, may hold favourable attitudes towards one another. The same individuals may display negative attitudes towards some outgroup members such as those who are members of other political organisations.

The ingroup-outgroup binary may also obliterate intragroup dynamics, hierarchies or the existence of “internal others” within groups (Tomaselli 1992:61; Fujimoto 2002:18). The category “coconut” is an example of the distinction of internal others among blacks. A few white writers also used the category “right-wing Afrikaners”, a category associated with holding or displaying overtly racist attitudes (Fourie 2006:239). Groups are thus marked by hierarchies or differences based on factors such as political views or class. These hierarchies or differences, however, may be downplayed in intergroup situations as race may be a salient category. Similarly, writers who highlighted intragroup differences in the current study were few. This seems to indicate that intragroup nuances and hierarchies are likely to be ignored in postapartheid South Africa because the focus seems to be predominantly on intergroup relations and inequalities (Erasmus 2008:392; Ganesh 2010:30).

Overall, the majority of writers displayed negative attitudes towards outgroups. Moreover, writers tended to view outgroups as negatively biased towards their ingroup (meta-stereotypes). Individuals tend to know the stereotypes that groups hold about them (Keizan & Duncan 2010:466). The majority of black writers, for instance, perceived whites as racist and holding negative attitudes towards blacks. Conversely, the majority of white writers perceived blacks as racist towards whites. Coloured/Indian writers also described both blacks and whites as racists towards each other and towards coloureds and Indians.

Individuals thus tend to have “clashing knowledges”, that is, different opinions of self and “others”. As noted by Rastogi (2010:115), interracial relations in South Africa seem to be “characterised by violence, not only violence in the way each community relates to the other but also a cognitive violence in the way each [community] perceives the other”. Different knowleges or myths held by groups, especially about “others”, are likely to keep intergroup tensions alive (Jansen 2009:98). Such a situation may be improved by the use of alternative discourses or myths about groups. The creation of “shared knowledge” among groups, as opposed to clashing knowledges, may thus diminish intergroup tensions. Respect and empathy for the viewpoints of other groups may also reduce these tensions.

Moreover, there is perhaps too little sustained dialogue between various racial groups in South Africa. Perhaps a more extensive dialogue focusing on interracial issues could bring about shared knowledge or disrupt the current largely negative knowledge held by individuals about “others” as suggested by Jansen (2009:98). Such a disruption could therefore challenge or change long-held perspectives (knowledges) or attitudes towards “others”. Individuals thus need to speak to one another instead of speaking about each other. Moreover, when individuals interact, they tend to avoid “touchy topics” such as affirmative because of the fear of the reactions of “others” to such issues (Botsis 2010:240). Discussions about “touchy” or current contentious political issues such as affirmative action thus need to be conducted in an empathetic atmosphere.

8.3 Identitied displayed and the consequences of processes of identification

The results of the current study show that racial identities seemed to be important for both black and white writers. An ethnic identity also appeared to be somewhat important for Afrikaans-speaking white writers. The exaltation of racial or ethnic identities over other identities, however, should come as no surprise in a country marked by racial tensions (Ganesh 2010:30). In such contexts, individuals may value racial solidarity or “seek solace in a racially exclusive little club”, as noted by one of the writers.

Some individuals furthermore noted that racial or ethnic identities were more important than other identities such as professional identities. Although this may be an individual choice, group leaders or the elite may also enforce racial solidarity. One writer, for instance, stated that black political leaders expected black journalists to be a black first and a journalist second. In other words, they expected black journalists to value racial solidarity or racial identification over professional solidarity. There may be a number of factors that lead individuals to value racial identification above other identities (Mckinnon & Heise 2010:124; Stets & Serpe 2013:33). Racial tensions and political machinations (such as the pressure placed on black journalists by politicians) seem to be some of the factors leading to the placement of a racial identity over other identities in postapartheid South Africa.

A few writers, however, disidentified with the perceived ingroup and constructed their own racial and/or ethnic identities. One writer, for instance, identified himself as a “whitish Afrikaans-speaking South African African”. This identity was described as a mixture of black and white ethnic groups such as French, Flemish, Nguni and Khoi. Such identities are described in the literature as nonhegemonic white identities and are mostly observed among some Afrikaans-speaking whites (Marx & Milton

2011:724; Scott 2012:746). Moreover, these identities solidify the view that identities are incomplete, fluid or everchanging (Meijl 2010:63; Wetherell 2010:15).

Some writers described racial identities as unchangable or permanent. Racial identities tend to be perceived as permanent, especially in popular culture (Soudien 2012:3; Tomaselli 1992:61). Similar observations were made in the current study. One writer, for instance, stated that it was possible to change a religious identity, while changing a racial identity was impossible. Overall, racial identities seemed to be important for the majority of black and white writers.

Coloured and Indian writers, however, predominantly displayed national and professional identities. As previously mentioned, coloureds/Indians may form alliances across groups and thus opt for a national identity over a racial identity. One writer, for instance, used the category “nonblacks” to refer to coloureds, Indians and whites, thus implying a momentary coalition among these groups. (Some coloured/Indian journalists did not support the FBJ and others left the meeting in condemnation of the incident).

Overall, the majority of writers perceived themselves and others as members of groups. This seems to indicate that individuals in South Africa view each other as members of respective racial and/or ethnic groups and not just as individuals (Blumer 1965:322). Futhermore, while the majority of studies and individuals view stereotypes as socially constructed, the fact that group categories are also socially constructed seems to be ignored (Prins 2006:278). Rather, individuals or scholars tend to focus on ways to establish peaceful or just relations between (socially constructed) groups. As noted by Alcoff (2010:153), groups seem to be unreal and dangerous as they overlook intragroup differences and hierarchies. Consequently, “group interests” may not serve all members of a group and may oppress individuals who might be inaccuratelty spoken for. The rising intraracial hierarchies in postapartheid South Africa attest to the dangers of using (racial) groups, for example, as a proxy for advantage or disadvantage (Erasmus 2010:392; Ncayiyana 2012:193). Some individuals in a group may benefit more than others. One writer, for example, noted the following about the FBJ incident:

> The implication that the blacks-only policy of the FBJ is in the interest of the black working class is false and deceiving. There is no evidence to validate such a stance. While he [FBJ supporter] states [that] there are still inequalities between blacks and whites – which is generally true – he ignores the related sociological fact, there are massive and growing inequalities between the black middle and upper classes and the working class. The black rich and middle classes play up racial dimensions in their own interests, but play down class dimensions for similar reasons.

“Perceptions of intrablack hierarchies” were mostly observed in the coloured/Indian stratum (see section 6.3.3). Intragroup hierarchies within all racial groups have also been noted in literature (see section 4.8). Some authors have furthermore suggested the use of class instead of race for redress policies as a means to curb intragroup inequalities (Erasmus 2010:392; Ncayiyana 2012:193). That means “group interests” may indeed serve some group members and not all members, as observed by Alcoff (2010:153).

Since racial categories and the concomitant stereotypes are socially constructed, it is believed that they may also be socially deconstructed (Millar 2012:796). This deconstruction may furthermore create space for the creation or solidification of groups based on other commonalities such as class, ideological or value-based commonalities (Erasmus 2010:396). Deconstruction of racial identities may also avert the rising class inequalities, as previously noted.

Conversely, group categorisation fulfils a basic human need for inclusion in a larger group and differentiation from other groups (Brewer 1999:187). Individuals have a need to belong to groups as well as a need to be different from others. Moreover, outgroup bias is not a permanent feature in intergroup relations, but depends on social conditions (Tajfel 1971:151). Thus a change in a social environment such as showing respect, reducing intergroup inequalities and having empathy with other social groups, could alleviate intergroup tensions. The creation of an overarching South African identity could also diminish interracial tensions. The current sociopolitical conditions, however, seem to thwart the desire for creation of South Africanness displayed since the 1990s “Simunye-we are one” era (Ivez 2007:164). A change in sociopolitical conditions could therefore improve intergroup relations.

8.4 Limitations of the study

The current study, however, had several limitations. The first limitation relates to the number of incidents used. In future studies, an analysis of a wider range of incidents could perhaps reveal different tendencies.

Another limitation pertains to the incidents selected. The two incidents were extreme examples of interracial interactions, and the findings could therefore be skewed towards extreme perspectives of interracial relations. The writers' views may have been a reaction to these incidents, and they might have voiced different opinions if provocation of the kind presented by the two incidents had not been present. The dominant views in the current study may thus not be dominant views in the wider South African society. The views expressed by the writers can nevertheless be said to reflect some of the existing views in society as they confirm the findings of prior studies.

The analysis of letters to newspapers only represents another weakness of the study. An analysis of views reflected on social media could yield different results. Letters to newspapers tend to come mostly from elite strata of society and thus reflect the views of the elite or middle class (Steyn 2004:151).

8.5 Suggestions for future research

The current study could be extended to include the following:

8.5.1 An analysis of a wider range of incidents

An analysis of a wider range of incidents could yield more diverse perspectives and less skewed results. The current study used (a few) incidents that could be said to be an example of black-white racism and white-black racism. An analysis of incidents involving other racial groups such as black-Indian/coloured racism or tensions (and vice versa) might prove interesting. Incidents of interracial controversy that flooded the South African media from the year 2015 and early months of the year 2016 such as the vandalisation of the Gandhi statue (see section 4.5), which highlighted black-Indian tensions and other similar incidents could be useful and yield a richer picture of intergroup attitudes in postapartheid South Africa.

8.5.2 An analysis of social media discourses

The social media seems to be a site of “overt racisms and criticism” (Caldwell 2013:502). An analysis of responses to “racist tweets” might prove worthwhile. South Africa witnessed a number of “racist tweets” in the early months of the year 2016 from both blacks and whites, which received wide coverage in the media. Controversial statements or statements deemed racist still garner a lot of media attention, and an analysis of responses to these “tweets” could be worthwhile. The social media is furthermore not associated with claims of bias towards certain perspectives like newspapers. Social media responses may also be compared to data on interracial relations and patterns of social identification yielded by other data collection methods. This is necessary as the social media also tend to be dominated by the elite and the middle classes, and could therefore produce skewed results.

8.5.3 An analysis of media coverage of incidents of interracial controversy

Research shows that there is a link between macro (media) and micro (personal) discourses (Hammack 2008:233; Collier & Chen 2012:45). Analysing both discourses concurrently could therefore be useful. The way the media report on these incidents could potentially be linked to individual attitudes about the state of race relations in South Africa. Studies exploring the links between media coverage of incidents and individual responses to such incidents could be interesting. Such studies could reveal the extent to which individual discourses complement or contradict macro discourses.

8.6 Concluding statements

The current study has demonstrated the relevance of social identity and group-related theories such as group position theory and social dominance theory in analysing intergroup talk or texts. Such theories may remain relevant in societies marked by intergroup tensions. Racial categories or identities may remain important in such contexts and individuals may be depersonalised or treated as agents or representatives of their respective racial groups (Blumer 1958:1).

Structural theories of race or social groups such as group position or cultural identity theories also provide tools for demonstrating how individuals come to share views towards “others”. Certain themes such as “blacks/whites as racists” were dominant, which indicates that individuals may share views on certain political issues or groups.

What structural theories may overlook, however, are intrargroup nuances or hierarchies. Intragroup inequalities and “internal others” may be overlooked by a structural or macro lens (Fujimoto 2002:18). The current study as well as other studies (see section 4.8) have indicated that intragroup hierarchies and differences also exist to some extent. An analysis of both intergroup and intragroup nuances thus seems to be important.

Intergroup attitudes or feelings are also complex. Theorisation of intergroup feelings or attitudes as observed in group position and social dominance theories may overlook these complexities. Group position theory, for instance, associates certain feelings and attitudes with either subordinate or dominant groups. Feelings of superiority, for example, are associated with dominant groups and feelings of alienation with subordinate groups (Blumer 1958:1; Bobo & Hutchings 1996:951). The current study and other recent studies, however, have shown that groups may experience feelings of both alienation and superiority simultaneously (Jansen 2009:3; Lacy 2010:205; Steyn 2010:23; Hughey 2012:219).

Overall, the results of the current study have shown that ingroup glorification and outgroup derogation are still common in the South African society. The results of the study have also indicated that negative ingroup perceptions may be more common among dominant groups. Individuals, especially blacks and whites, may furthermore embrace racial identities over other identities such as national or professional identities. Coloureds and Indians, however, may embrace alternative identities such as national and professional identities.

LIST OF SOURCES

Adhikari, M. 2009. *Not white enough, not black enough: racial identity in the South African coloured community.* Ohio*:* Ohio University Press.

Alberto, PL. 2012. Of sentiment, science and myth: shifting metaphors of racial inclusion in twentieth-century Brazil. *Social History* 37(3):261-296.

Alexander, L. 2007. Invading pure space: disrupting black and white racially homogenised spaces. *South African Journal of Psychology* 37(4):738-754.

Anagnostopoulos, D, Everett, S & Carey, C. 2013. “Of course we’re supposed to move on, but then you still got people who are not over those historical wounds”: Cultural memory and US youth’s race talk. *Discourse & Society* 24(2):163-185.

ANC. 2011. What is the African National Congress? http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=172 (Accessed 20 November 2014).

Ansell, AE. 2004. Two nations of discourse: mapping racial ideologies in post-apartheid South Africa. *Politikon* 31(1):3-26.

Anthias, F. 2013. Hierarchies of social location, class and intersectionality: Towards a translocational frame. *International Sociology* 28(1):121-138.

Atkinson, JD, Rosati, C, Berg, S Meier, M & White, B. 2013. Racial Politics in an Online Community Discursive Closures and the Potentials for Narrative Appropriation. *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 37(2):171-185.

Author Annelie Botes stands by racist comments. 2010. *Mail and Guardian*, 26 November.
http://mg.co.za/article/2010-11-26-author-anneli-botes-stands-by-racist-comments
(Accessed 20 October 2015).

Ayres, L. 2008. Thematic coding and analysis, in *The Sage encyclopaedia of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks: Sage:867-868.

Baldwin, A. 2012. Whiteness and futurity: towards a research agenda. *Progress in human geography* 36(2):172–187

Bamberg, M. 2010. Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity. *Theory & Psychology* 21(1): 3-24.

Bamberg, M, De Fina, A & Schiffrin, D. 2011. Discourse and identity construction, in *Handbook of identity theory and research,* edited by S Schwartz, K Luyckx & V Vignoles. New York: Springer:177-199.

Barbarin, OA & Richter, LM. 2013. *Mandela's children: growing up in postapartheid South Africa*. New York: Routledge.

Barbour, R. 2008. *Introducing qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Barthes, R. 1972. *Mythologies*. Translated by A Lavers. London: Paladin.

Bauer, T. 2009. A democratised market? Development of South Africa's daily newspapers 1990 – 2006. *Global media journal* 3(1):1-17.

Bell, DSA. 2003. Mythscapes: memory, mythology, and national identity. *The British Journal of Sociology* 54(1): 63–81.

Benwell, B & Stokoe, E. 2010. Analysing identity in interaction: contrasting discourse, genealogical, narrative and conversation analysis, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:82-104.

Berger, G. 2002. Seeing past race - The politics of the HRC’s inquiry into racial representation. *Ecquid Novi* 23(1):254-277.

Bhana, D & Pattman, R. 2010. White South African school girls and their accounts of black girls at school and cross-racial heterosexual relations outside school. *Ethnicities* 10(3): 371-386.

Blaylock, DL. 2009. Group Position Theory, in *Encyclopedia of Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*.
http://www.sage-ereference.com/view/processes/n111.xml (Accessed on 2012/03/03).

Blumer, H. 1958. Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *The Pacific Sociological Review* 1(1):3-7.

Blumer, H. 1965. The future of the color line, in *The South in Continuity and Change*, edited by J McKinney & ET Thompson. Durham: Duke University Press:322-336.

Bobo, L & Hutchings, VL. 1996. Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context. *American sociological review* 61(6):951-972.

Bobo, L, Kluegel, JR & Smith, RA. 1997. Laissez-faire racism: the crystallization of a kinder, gentler, anti-black ideology.
http://epn.org/sage/rsbobo1.html (Accessed 20 November 2013).

Bonilla-Silva, E. 2012.The invisible weight of whiteness: the racial grammar of everyday life in contemporary America. *Ethnic and racial studies* 35(2):173-194.

Bornman, E. 2004. Identity, social groups and communication: Some frontiers for theory and research. *Communicare* 23(1):149-170.

Bornman, E. 2009. Questionnaire surveys in media research, in *Media studies: media content and media audiences*, edited by PJ Fourie. Cape Town: Juta:421-480.

Bornman, E. 2010. Emerging patterns of social identification in postapartheid South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues* 66(2):237-254.

Bornman, E. 2011. Patterns of intergroup attitudes in South Africa after 1994. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35(6):729-748.

Bornman, E & Potgieter, PH. 2015. Language choices and identity in higher education: Afrikaans-speaking students at Unisa*. Studies in higher education* 40(1):1-14.

Bornman, E. [Sa]. *Globalisation, communication and identity*. [Sl: sn].

Botsis, H. 2010. White teenage girls and affirmative action in higher education. *South African journal of higher education* 24(2):238-243.

Bourdieu, P. 2005. Habitus, in *Habitus: A sense of place,* edited by J Hillier & E Rooksby. Aldershot: Ashgate:43-49.

Braun, V & Clarke, V. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology* 3(2):77-101.

Brinson, ME & Stohl, M. 2012. Media Framing of terrorism: implications for public opinion, civil liberties, and counterterrorism policies. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 5(4):270-290.

Brown, BB. 1987. Facing the 'Black Peril': The Politics of Population Control in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13(2):256-273.

Bulhan, HA. 1980. Dynamics of cultural in-betweenity: an empirical study. *International Journal of Psychology* 15(1):105-121.

Butler,J. 1990. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.

Caldwell, M. 2013. On the use of play theory in analyses of online public commentary. Communicatio 39(4): 501-517.

Case, KA. 2012. Discovering the privilege of whiteness: white women's reflections on anti-racist identity and ally behavior. *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):78-96.

Castillo, RAH. 2010. Indigeneity as a field of power: Multiculturalism and indigenous identities in political struggles, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:379-402.

Chala, S. 2002. Criticise, but don't insult my intellect. *Mail and Guardian*, 21 June. http://mg.co.za/article/2002-06-21-criticise-but-dont-insult-my-intellect (Accessed 10 January 2016).

Chaudhuri, A. 2016. The real meaning of Rhodes Must Fall. *The guardian*, 16 March. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/16/the-real-meaning-of-rhodes-must-fall (Accessed 20 August 2016).

Chen Y & Collier, MJ. 2012. Intercultural identity positioning: Interview discourses from two identity-based nonprofit organizations. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 5(1):43-63.

Chen, L & Pan, S. 2002. Cultural Identification, Cultural Identity and Communication. Intercultural communication studies XI (2):157-164.

Chernick, I & Manda, S. 2015. Was Gandhi a racist? *The Mercury*, 14 April. http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/was-gandhi-a-racist-1844758 (Accessed 10 March 2016).

Chinn, S. 2010. Performative identities: From identity politics to queer theory in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage: 104-125.

Christensen, A. 2009. Belonging and unbelonging from an intersectional perspective. *Gender, Technology and Development* 13(1):21-41.

Clarke. S. 2008. Culture and identity, in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis,* edited by T Benett & J Frow. Los Angeles: Sage:510-529.

Clary-Lemon, J. 2010. ‘We’re not ethnic, we’re Irish!’: oral histories and the discursive construction of immigrant identity. *Discourse & Society* 21(1):5-25.

Collier, MJ & Thomas M. 1988. Cultural Identity: an interpretive perspective, in *Theories in intercultural communication,* edited by WB Gudykunst & YY Kim. Newbury Park: Sage: 99-120.

Collier, M. 2005. Context, privilege, and contingent cultural identifications in South African group interview discourses. *Western Journal of Communication* 69(4): 295-318.

Collier, MJ. 2009. Contextual negotiation of cultural identifications and relationships: Interview discourse with Palestinian, Israeli, and Palestinian/Israeli young women in a U.S peace-building program. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication* 2(4):344-368.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. 1996. NO. 108 of 1996. http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/images/a108-96.pdf (Accessed 01 March 2016).

Creswell, JW. & Miller, DL. 2000. Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice* 39(3):124-130.

D'Andrea, A. 2006. Neo-nomadism: a theory of post-identitarian mobility in the global age. *Mobilities* 1(1):95-119.

Davids, N. 2014. ‘Boer' song haunts SA. Times, 22 September. http://www.timeslive.co.za/thetimes/2014/09/22/boer-song-haunts-sa (Accessed 10 March 2016).

Daniels, G. 2016. Paradoxical Splits: Race and Journalists’ Identity in Post-apartheid South Africa. *African Studies* (1):1-14.

De Cillia, R, Reisigl, M & Wodak, R. 1999. The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse & society* 10(2):149-173.

Dell'Orto, G, Dong, D, Schneeweis, A & Moore, J. 2004. The impact of framing on perception of foreign countries. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 25(2):294-312.

Desai, A. 2005. *Uprooting or re-rooting poverty in postapartheid South Africa? A Literature Review.* http://canrad.nmmu.ac.za/canrad/media/Store/documents/News/the-lecture-by-Professor-Ashwin-Desai.pdf (Accessed 20 May 2014).

Desai, A &Vahed, G. 2010. Beyond the nation? Colour and class, in South African cricket, in *The Race to transform,* edited by A Desai. Pretoria: HSRC Press:176-221.
Desai, A & Vahed, GH. 2010. *Inside Indian Indenture: a South African Story, 1860-1914.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Department of Statistics. 2011. Census 2011: Census in brief. http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2011/census_products/Census_2011_Census_in_brief.pdf. (Accessed 20 March 2014).

Diamantopoulos, A & Schlegelmilch, BB. 2004. *Taking the fear out of data analysis*. London: Thomson.

Dlamini, J. 2014. *Askari: A story of collaboration and betrayal in the anti-apartheid struggle*. South Africa: Jacana media.

Dlanga, K. 2010. The lightness of being light skinned. https://khayadlanga.com/2011/05/06/the-lightness-of-being-light-skinned/ (Accessed 26 May 2016).

Dixon, J, Durrheim, K, Tredoux, C, Clack, B & Eaton, E. 2010. A Paradox of Integration? Interracial contact, prejudice reduction, and perceptions of racial discrimination. *Journal of Social Issues* 66(2):401-416.

Donmoyer, R. 2008. Quantitative Research, in *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods.* Thousand Oaks*:* Sage*:* 713-718.

Drewery, W. 2005. Why we should watch what we say position calls, everyday speech and the production of relational subjectivity. *Theory & Psychology* 15(3):305-324.

Drost, EA. 2011. Validity and reliability in social science research. *Education research and perspectives* 38(1):105-123.

Dube, S. 2010. Critical crossovers: postcolonial perspectives, subaltern studies and cultural identities, in *The SAGE handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:125-144.

Duckitt, J, Callaghan, J & Wagner, C. 2005. Group identification and outgroup attitudes in four South African ethnic groups: a multidimensional approach. *Personality and social psychology bulletin* (31):633-646.

Duncan, N. 2003. ‘Race’ talk: discourses on race and racial difference. International journal of intercultural relations 27(2): 135-136.

Du Plessis, C. 2010. Steve starts race row. *Times*, 5 December.
http://www.timeslive.co.za/entertainment/2010/12/05/steve-starts-race-row
(Accessed 20 October 2015).

Durham, FD & Carpenter, JC. 2014. The face of multiculturalism in Korea: Media ritual as framing in news coverage of Jasmine Lee. *Journalism* 15(8)1-18.

Durrheim, K, Mtose, X& Brown, L. 2011. *Race trouble: Race, identity and inequality in postapartheid South Africa.* Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

Ehlers, N. 2006. 'Black Is' and 'Black Ain't': performative revisions of racial crisis. *Culture, Theory and Critique* 47(2):149-163.

Elam, H & Elam, M. 2010. Race and racial formations, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:186-201.

Ellapen, JA. 2006*. Locating Blackness: The 'Township Aesthetic' and representations of black identity in contemporary South African Cinema*. Master's dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Entman, RM. 2007.Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power. *Journal of communication* 57(1):163-173.

Erasmus, Z. 2000. Recognition through pleasure, recognition through violence: Gendered coloured subjectivities in South Africa. *Current sociology* 48(3):71-85.

Erasmus, Z. 2001. *Coloured by history, shaped by place: new perspectives on coloured identities.* Cape Town: Kwela books.

Erasmus, Z & De Wet, J. 2003. *Not naming 'race': some medical students' experiences and perceptions of 'race' and racism in the Health Sciences Faculty of the University of Cape Town.* Cape Town: Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies in Southern Africa.

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

Eyewitness News. 2016. ANC shaken to core as SA voters look beyond race. *Eyewitness News*, 5 August. http://ewn.co.za/2016/08/05/ANALYSIS-ANC-shaken-to-core-as-South-African-voters-look-beyond-race (Accessed 22 August 2016).

Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and power.* London: Longman.

Farred, G. 2001. Where Does the Rainbow Nation End? Colouredness and citizenship in postapartheid South Africa. *The New Centennial Review*1(1):175-199.

Fereday, J, & Muir-Cochrane, E. 2008. Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International journal of qualitative methods 5*(1):80-92.

Feree, KE. 2010. *Framing the Race in South Africa: The Political Origins of Racial Census Elections.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Finchilescu, G &Tredoux, C. 2008. Intergroup contact, social context and racial ecology in South Africa, in *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of Thomas F. Pettigrew,* edited by U Wagner, L Tropp, G Finchilescu & C Tredoux. Oxford: Blackwell:179-194.

Finchilescu, G & Tredoux, C. 2010. The changing landscape of intergroup relations in South Africa. *Journal of Social Issues* 66(2):223-236.

Flusk, LM. 2008. *Factors influencing interracial mixing among university students*. Master's dissertation. Alice: University of Fort Hare.

Fong, M. 2004. Multiple dimensions of identity, in *Communicating ethnic and cultural identity,* edited by M Fong & R Chuang USA: Rowman & Little field publisher:19-34.

Fourie, PJ. 2008. African ubuntuism as a framework for media ethics: questions and criticism, in *Media ethics beyond borders: a global perspective*, edited by SJA Ward & H Wasserman. Johannesburg: Heinnemann:108-124.

Fourie, W. 2008. Afrikaner identity in postapartheid south Africa: the self in terms of the other, in *Power, politics and identity in South African media*, edited by A Hadland, S Sesanti & H Wasserman. Cape Town: HSRC press:239-289.

Franchi, V & Swart, T. 2003. Identity dynamics and the politics of self-definition, in *Social Psychology and Intergroup Relations,* edited by K Ratele, C de la Rey & N Duncan. Cape Town: Juta Publishers:148-173.

Freedberg, L. 2006. The end of “whiteness”: the transformation of white identity in South Africa, in *Ethnic Identity: Problems and Prospects for the Twenty-first Century*, edited by A De George, Vos TT and L Romanucci-Ross. Oxford: AltaMira Press:325-345.

Freeman, MA. 2001. Linking Self and Social Structure: A Psychological Perspective on Social Identity in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 32(3):291-308.

Frosh, S. 2010. Psychoanalytic perspectives on identity: From ego to ethics in *The SAGE handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage: 29-45.

Fujimoto, E. 2002. Japanese-ness, whiteness and the “other” in Japan's internationalization, in *Transforming communication about Culture: Critical New Directions,* edited by MJ Collier. Thousand Oaks: Sage:1-25.

Ganesh, K. 2010. Beyond Historical Origins: Negotiating Tamilness in South Africa. *Journal of Social Sciences* 25(1):25-37.

Garran, AM & Werkmeister Rozas, L 2013. Cultural competence revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 22(6): 97-111.

Gilroy, P. 2012. ‘My Britain is fuck all’: zombie multiculturalism and race politics of citizenship. *Identities: global studies in culture and power* 19(4):380-397.

Gibson, JL & Gouws, A. 2000. Social identities and political intolerance: linkages within the South African mass public. American journal of political science 44(2):272-286.

Gobodo-Madikizela, P. 2014. The roots of Afrikaner rage, City Press, 29 July. http://www.news24.com/archives/city-press/the-roots-of-afrikaner-rage-20150429 (Accessed 10 August 2014).

Goldberg, DT. 2009. *The threat of race: reflections on racial neoliberalism.* Malden: Blackwell.

Gqirana, T. 2016. Khumalo in hot water over racist Facebook post. *News24*, 7 January. http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/khumalo-in-hot-water-over-racist-facebook-post-20160107 (Accessed 22 August 2016).

Hadland, A. 2007. *The South African print media, 1994-2004: An application and critique of comparative media systems theory*. Doctoral Thesis. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Hall, S. 1996. Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies, in *Stuart Hall: critical dialogues in critical studies*, edited by D Morley and C Kuan-Hsing. USA: Routledge: 262-275.

Hammack, PL. 2008. Narrative and the cultural psychology of identity. *Personality and social psychology review* 12(3):222-247.

Hammett, D. 2010. Ongoing contestations: the use of racial signifiers in postapartheid South Africa. Social identities 16(2):247-267.

Hammond, P. 1999. *Cultural identity and ideology*. http://www19.homepage.villanova.edu/silvia.nagyzekmi/estudiosculturales/Cultural%20Identity%20and%20Ideology.pdf (Accessed 28 May 2014).

Hancock, A. 2007. When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: examining intersectionality as a research paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1):63-79.

Hartleb, T. 2015. 'Total onslaught' against Afrikaans – AfriForum. News 24, 7 September. http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Total-onslaught-against-Afrikaans-AfriForum-20150907 (Accessed 20 August 2016).

Harwell, MR. 2011. Research design in qualitative/quantitative/mixed methods, in *The Sage handbook for research in education*, edited by C Conrad & RC Serlin. Los Angeles, CA: Sage: 147-164.

Haupt, A. 2012. Part IV: Is Die Antwoord Blackface? *Safundi* 13(3):417-423.

Hofmeyr, M. 2004. The promise and problems of intercultural philosophy. *Phronimon* 5(2):51-67.

Holborn, L. 2010. *The long shadow of apartheid: race in South Africa since 1994*. Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations

Hook, D. 2011. Retrieving Biko: Black Consciousness critique of whiteness. *African Identities* 9(1):19-32

Hook, D. 2012. *A critical psychology of the postcolonial: the mind of apartheid*. East Sussex: Routledge.

Hollway, W. 2010. Relationality: the intersubjective foundations of identity, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage: 216-233.

Holsti, OR. 1969. *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Longman: Higher Education.

Hornsey, MJ. 2008. Social identity theory and self-categorization theory: a historical review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2(1):204-222.

Howe, S. 1998. *Afrocentrism: Mythical pasts and imagined homes.* London: Verso.

Hughey, MW. 2010. The (dis) similarities of white racial identities: the conceptual framework of ‘hegemonic whiteness’. *Ethnic and racial studies* 33(8):1289-1309.

Hughey, MW. 2012. Stigma allure and white antiracist identity management. *Social psychology quarterly* 75(3):219-241.

Hughey, MW & Bryd, WC. Souls of white folk. *Ethnic and racial studies* 36(6):974-981.

Inkelas, KK. 2003. Diversity's Missing Minority: Asian Pacific American Undergraduates' Attitudes toward Affirmative Action. *The Journal of Higher Education* 74(6): 601-639.

Jamieson, L. 2002. Theorising identity, nationality and citizenship: implications for European citizenship identity. *Sociologia* 34(6):507-532.

Jansen, JD. 2009. *Knowledge in the blood: Confronting race and the apartheid past.* Cape Town: UCT Press.

Jansen, JD. 2010. Over the rainbow? Race and reconciliation on university campuses in South Africa. *Discourse* 38(1):7-11.

Kanemasu, Y. 2013. A national pride or a colonial construct? Touristic representation and the politics of Fijian identity construction. *Social Identities* 19(1):71-89.

Kannen, V. 2008. Identity treason: race, disability, queerness, and the ethics of (post) identity practices. *Culture, Theory & Critique* 49(2):149-163.

Kathrada, A. 2011. Non-racialism in Postapartheid South Africa. Talk by author. [Verbal presentation]. 13 October 2011. University of Witwatersrand.

Keizan, S & Duncan, N. 2010. From their perspective: explanations of patterns of racialised social interactions among a group of postapartheid adolescents. *South African Journal of Psychology* 40(4):465-486.

Kim, DH, Lee, ES, Mendieta, E, Perina, M &Sheth, FA. 2012. An Unruly Theory of Race.*Hypatia* 27(4):898-921.

Kim, S. 2012. Racism in the global era: analysis of Korean media discourse around migrants, 1990–2009. *Discourse & Society* 23(6):657-678.

Kim, YY. 2007. Ideology, identity, and intercultural communication: an analysis of differing academic conceptions of cultural identity. *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* 36(3):237-253.

Kim, YY. 2013. The identity factor in intercultural conflict, in *Conflict communication*, edited by J Oetzel & S Ting-Toomey. California: Sage:639-660.

Kometsi, K (ed.). 2012. *Commentaries on Equality: Race, Gender, Disability and LGBTI Issues.* Johannesburg: South African Human Rights Commission.

Kraus,W. 2006. The narrative negotiation of identity and belonging. Narrative Inquiry 16(1):103–111.

Kriel, C. 2010. *Rugby, race and rhetoric: A thematic content analysis of constructions of race in the South African newspaper media in relation to South Africa rugby*. Master's dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Krueger, A. 2012. Part II: Zef/Poor White Kitsch Chique: Die Antwoord's comedy of degradation. *Safundi* 13(3):399-408.

Lacy, MG. 2010. White innocence myths in citizen discourse, the progressive era (1974–1988).*The Howard Journal of Communications* 21(1):20-39.

Lavie-Dinur, A, Karniel, Y & Azran, T. 2013. 'Bad girls': the use of gendered media frames in the Israeli media's coverage of Israeli female political criminals. *Journal of Gender Studies* 22(3):1-21.

Lawrence, B. 2010. Legislating identity: colonialism, land and indigenous legacies, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:508-529.

Lemon, A. 2008. Indian identities in the ‘rainbow nation’: Responses to transformation in South African schools. *National Identities* 10(3):295-312.

Lentin, A. 2012. Post-race, post politics: the paradoxical rise of culture after multiculturalism .*Ethnic and racial studies* 33(1):1-19.

Levine-Rasky, C. 2011. Intersectionality theory applied to whiteness and middle-classness. *Social identities* 17(2):239-253.

Louw, L. 2009. *The international flow of news regarding the 2003 Iraq War: A comparative analysis.* Master’s dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Mabandu, P. 2014. Dashiki Dialogues: ‘Eish, you know how we blacks can be …’*City Press*, 24 July:16.

Maldonado-Torres, N. 2007. On the coloniality of being: contributions to the development of a concept’. *Cultural Studies*, 21 (3):240-270.

Malimba, NA. 2012. *Writing Black Sisters: Interrogating the Construction by Selected Black Female Playwrights of Performed Black Female Identities in Contemporary Postapartheid South African Theatre*. Master’s dissertation. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal.

Makgoba, M. 2005. Wrath of dethroned white males. *Mail and Guardian*, 25 March. http://mg.co.za/article/2005-03-25-wrath-of-dethroned-white-males (Accessed 20 March 2014).

Mangcu, X. 2003.The state of race relations in postapartheid South Africa, in *State of the Nation: South Africa 2003-2004*, edited by J Daniel, A Habib & R Southall. Cape Town: HSRC Press:105-117.

Martín Alcoff, L. 2010. New epistemologies: post-positivist accounts of identity in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:144-163.

Martín Alcoff, L. 2010. Sotomayor's reasoning. *The Southern Journal of Philosophy* 48(1):50-65.

Marx, H & Milton, VC. 2011. Bastardised whiteness: zefculture, Die Antwoord and the reconfiguration of contemporary Afrikaans identities. *Social Identities* 17(6):723-745.

Marying, P. 2000. Qualitative content analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(2):1-28.

Matthes, J. 2009. What's in a frame? A content analysis of media framing studies in the world's leading communication journals 1990-2005.*Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 86(2):349-367.

Matthews, S. 2011. Becoming African: debating postapartheid white South African identities. *African Identities* 9(1):1-17.

Matthews, S. 2012. White anti-racism in postapartheid South Africa. *Politikon* 39(2):171-188.

Maxon, C. 2014. Rise of the black middle class, 04 June. http://www.news24.com/MyNews24/Rise-of-the-black-middle-class-20140604 (Accessed 10 August 2014).

Mbeki, T. 1998. *Statement of deputy president Thabo Mbeki at the opening of the debate in the National Assembly, on reconciliation and nation building.* http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0529.htm (Accessed 22 May 2016).

McHugh, ML. 2013. The Chi-square test of independence. *Biochemia Medica* 23(2):143-149.

McIntosh, P. 2012. Reflections and future directions for privilege studies. *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):194-206.

Meijl, T. 2010. Anthropological perspectives on identity: from sameness to difference, in *The Sage handbook of identities,* edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:63-82.

Millar, G. 2012. Our brothers who went to the bush: post-identity conflict and the experience of reconciliation in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Peace Research* 49(5):717-729.
Mngadi, S.1997. ‘Africanization’ or the new exoticism. Scrutiny2(1):18-23.

Mohanty, C. 2010. Social justice and the politics of identity in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage: 529-540.

Moss, K& Faux, WV II. 2006. The Enactment of Cultural Identity in Student Conversations on Intercultural Topics. *Howard Journal of Communications* 17(1): 21-37.
Motsemme, N. 2002. Gendered experiences of blackness in postapartheid. *Social Identities* 8(4): 647-673.

Mtakati, D. 2016. Velaphi Khumalo’s racist post probed. *Citizen*, 7 January. http://citizen.co.za/932519/i-want-to-cleanse-this-country-of-all-white-people-got-official/ (Accessed 15 January 2016).

Mtose, X. 2011. Black peoples’ lived experiences of everyday racism in postapartheid South Africa. *Journal of International Social Research* 4(17):325-338.

Mtose, X & Bayaga, A. 2011. The psychology of black identity. *Journal of international social research* 4(17):504-515.

Munro, R. 2010. Identity: culture and technology, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:201-216.

Ncayiyana, DJ. 2012. The vexed question of race-based admission to medical school. *South African Medical Journal* 102(4):193-193.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, SJ. 2012. Racialised ethnicities and ethnicised races: reflections on the making of South Africanism. *African Identities* 10(4):407-422.

Nel, PJ. 2012. Trends in wisdom research: a perspective from the African continent. *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa* 111 (3): 460 - 471.

Padayachee, A. 2012. Structure, subject and colonialism: tracing black and white subjectivity in South Africa. Masters dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Pattman, R. 2010. Investigating 'race' and social cohesion at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. *South African Journal of Higher Education* 24(6):953-971.

Perry, P. 2007. White universal identity as a “sense of group position”. *Symbolic Interaction* 30(3):375-393.

Phoenix, A. 2010. Ethnicities, in *The Sage handbook of identities,* edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:297-321.

Pijoos, I. 2016. 'Kill all whites' T-shirt culprit identified – UCT. http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/kill-all-whites-t-shirt-culprit-identified-uct-20160212 (Accessed 14 May 2016).

Pithouse, R. 2006. “Our struggle is thought, on the ground, running” the University of Abahlali Basemjondolo. *Center for civil society research report No. 40*. http://www.abahlali.org/files/RREPORT_VOL106_PITHOUSE.pdf (Accessed 20 March 2014)

Pöllmann, A. 2016. Habitus, reflexivity, and the realization of intercultural capital: the (unfulfilled) potential of intercultural education. *Cogent social sciences* (2):1-12.

Pratto, F, Sidanius, J & Levin, S. 2006. Social dominance theory and the dynamics of intergroup relations: taking stock and looking forward. *European review of social psychology* 17(1):271-320.

Pratto, F. 2009. Social dominance theory, in *Encyclopedia of Group Processes & Intergroup Relations.*
http://www.sage-ereference.com/view/processes/n241.xml
(Accessed 04 June 2012).

Pratto, F & Stewart, AL. 2012. Group dominance and the half-blindness of privilege. *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):28-45.

Prins, B. 2006. Narrative Accounts of Origins: A Blind Spot in the Intersectional Approach? *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3):277-290.

Purdie-Vaughns, V & Eibach, RP. 2008. Intersectional Invisibility: The Distinctive Advantages and Disadvantages of Multiple Subordinate-Group Identities. *Sex Roles* 59(5):377-391

Puttick, K. 2011. *First year students' narratives of 'race' and racism in postapartheid South Africa*. Master's dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of power, Eurocentrism and Latin America'*. Nepantla* 1 (3):533-580.

Radhakrishnan, S. 2005. "Time to show our true colors": the gendered politics of "Indianness" in postapartheid South Africa. *Gender and Society* 19(2): 262-281.

Ramsamy, E. 2007. Between non-racialism and multiculturalism: Indian identity and nation building in South Africa. *Tydschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 98(1):468-480.

Rastogi, P. 2008. Citizen Other: Islamic Indianness and the implosion of racial harmony in postapartheid South Africa. *Research in African Literatures* 39(1):07-124.

Ratele, K & Laubscher, L. 2010. Making white lives: neglected meanings of whiteness from apartheid South Africa. *Psychology in Society* 40(1):83-99.

Reay, D. 2010. Identity making in schools and classrooms, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:277-295.

Reddy, V, Moletsane, R & Masilela, T. 2011. Framing the issues around affirmative action and equity in South Africa: policy, progress, prospects and platitudes. *Transformation:Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 77(1):1-10.

Reicher, S, Spears R & Haslam, S. 2010. The social identity approach in social psychology, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:45-63.

Reid, JBJ. 2011. *A theoretical exploration of the construction of counter myth: a case study of postapartheid South African film*. Doctoral Thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa

Reid, J. 2012. The remythologisation of white collective identities in postapartheid South African film by myth and counter myth. *Communicatio* 38(1):45-63.

Rohrer, J. 2008. Disrupting the ‘melting pot’: racial discourse in Hawaii and the naturalization of Haole. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(6):1110-1124.

Rubin, M & Hewstone, M. 2004. Social Identity, System Justification, and Social Dominance: Commentary on Reicher, Jost et al., and Sidanius et al. *Political Psychology* 25 (6):823-844.

Said, EW. 1993. *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Sandelowski, M, Voils, CI & KnafL, G. 2009. On quantitizing. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 3(3):208-222.

Schachter, EP. Narrative identity construction as a goal-oriented endeavour: reframing the issue of "big vs. small" story research. *Theory & Psychology* 21 (1):1-7.

Scheufele, DA. 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication* 49(1):103-122.

Scheufele, DA & Lyengar, S. 2012. The state of framing research: a call for new directions, in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication Theories,* Edited by K Kenski & KH Jamieson. New York: Oxford University Press:1-25.

Schönfeldt-Aultman, SM. 2014. Sweating Race: White Expatriate South African Readers Constructing Race and Racial Identities in Juluka's Mail Bag. *Safundi* 15(1) 53-74.

Schöpflin, G. 1997. The functions of myth and a taxonomy of myths in, *Myth: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, edited by RA Segal. London: Routledge:205-220.

Schreier, M. 2014. Ways of Doing Qualitative Content Analysis: Disentangling Terms and Terminologies. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 15(1):1-27.

Schutte, G & Singiswa, S. 2013. *The ten layers of oppression when you are black and poor in South Africa*. http://muslimviews.co.za/blog/2013/12/14/the-ten-layers-of-oppression-when-you-are-black-and-poor-in-south-africa/ (Accessed 10 May 2014).

Scott, C. 2012. Die Antwoord and a delegitimised South African whiteness: a potential counter-narrative? *Critical Arts* 26(5):745-761.

Seekings, J. 2008. *The rise and fall of the Weberian analysis of class in South Africa Between 1949 and the early 1970s*. Centre for Social Science Research, CSSR Working Paper No. 239. http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/publications/working-paper/2008/rise-and-fall-weberian-analysis-class-south (Accessed 10 July 2014).

Sherman, R & Steyn, M.2009. E-race-ing the line: South African interracial relationships yesterday and today, in *The prize and the price: Shaping sexualities in South Africa,* edited by M Steyn & M van Zyl. Pretoria: HSRC Press:55-81.

Shenton, A. 2004. Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information* 22(1):63-75.

Sheridan-Rabideau, MP. 2001. The stuff that myths are made of: myth building as social action. *Written Communication* 18(4):440-469.

Sidanius, J, & Pratto, F. 1993. The inevitability of oppression and the dynamics of social dominance, in *Prejudice, politics, and the American dilemma*, edited by PM Sniderman, PE Tetlock & EG Carmines. Stanford: Stanford University Press: 171-211.

Sithole, T. 2012. *Fanon and the positionality of Seepe, Mangcu and Mngxitama as black public intellectuals in the post-1994 South Africa*. Master's dissertation. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Snyman, G. 2008. African hermeneutics' 'outing' of whiteness. *Neotestamentica* 42(1):93-118.

Soudien, C. 2004. Constituting the Class: An analysis of the process of 'integration' in South African Schools, in *Education and Social Change in South Africa,* edited by L Chisholm. Pretoria, HSRC Press:86-113.

Soudien, C. 2007. The asymmetries of contact: An assessment of 30 years of school integration in South Africa. *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 10(4):439-456.

Soudien, C. 2012. *Realising the Dream: Unlearning the logic of race in the South African school*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

South African Human Rights Commission. 2000. *Faultlines: Inquiry into racism in the media.* Johannesburg: SAHRC.

South African Human Rights Commission. 2008. *SAHRC Public Forum on Exclusive Organisations*. Johannesburg: SAHRC.

Spencer, L. 2009. Young, black and female in postapartheid South Africa: identity politics in Kopano Matlwa's Coconut. *Scrutiny2* 14(1):66-78.

Stevens, G, Duncan, N & Sonn, C. 2010. The Apartheid Archive: memory, voice and narrative as liberatory praxis. *Psychology in Society* (40):8-28.

Stewart, TL, Latu, IM, Branscombe, NR, Phillips, NL. & Denney, H. 2012. White privilege awareness and efficacy to reduce racial inequality improve White Americans' attitudes toward African Americans. *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):11-27

Steyn, ME. 2004. Rehabilitating a whiteness disgraced: Afrikaner white talk in post-apartheid South Africa. *Communication Quarterly* 52(2):143-169.

Steyn, M & Foster, D. 2008. Repertoires for talking white: Resistant whiteness in postapartheid South Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(1):25-51.

Steyn, M (ed.). 2010. *Being different together: case studies on diversity interventions in some South African organisations*. Cape Town: iNCUDISA.

Stoudt, BG, Fox, M & Fine, M. 2012. Contesting privilege with critical participatory action research. *Journal of Social Issues* 68(1):78-193.

Straker, G. 2011. Unsettling whiteness. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society* 16(1):11-26.
Stubbs, ACR (ed.). 1987. *Steve Biko 1944-1977 I write what I like: A selection of his writings*. Oxford: Heinemann

Surez-Krabbe, J. 2012. Identity and the preservation of being. *Social Identities* 18(3): 335-353.

Tajfel, H. 1974. Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Social Science Information* 13(2):65-93.

Tajfel, H. 1981. *Human groups and social categories.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H. 1982. Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology* 33(1):1-39.

Taylor, C. 2009. Hurricane Katrina and the myth of the post-civil rights era. *Journal of Urban History* 35(5):640-655.

Teasley, M & Ikard, D. 2010. Barack Obama and the politics of race, the myth of postracism in America. *Journal of Black Studies* 40(3):411-425.

Thompson, D. Calling all fag hags: from identity to identification. *Social semiotics* 14(1):37-48.

Tollefson, JW. 2014. Language policy-making in multilingual education: mass media and the framing of medium of instruction. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 15(4):1-17.

Tomaselli, K. 2000. Faulting faultlines: racism in the South African media. *African Journalism Studies* 21(2):157-174.

Tracy, K & Carjuzáa, J. 1993. Identity Enactment in Intellectual Discussion*. Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 12(1):171-94.

Tregenna, F. 2011. Earnings inequality and unemployment in South Africa. *International Review of Applied Economics* 25(5):585-598.

Tromp, B & Sapa. 2008. We don't work for the 'baas' – FBJ. *The Star*, 6 March. http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/we-dont-work-for-the-baas---fbj-1.392090 (Accessed 20 October 2015).

Truscott, R. 2011. National melancholia and Afrikaner self-parody in postapartheid South Africa. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*16(1):90-106.

Tunçgenç, B. 2010. Towards a Comprehensive Socio-Psychological Perspective: A Critique of Social Dominance Theory. *Journal of European Psychology Students* 2(1):1-8.

Turner, JC. 1982. Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group, in *Social identity and intergroup relations,* edited by H Tajfel*.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press:15-40.

Turner, C & Reynolds,K. 2003. Why social dominance theory has been falsied. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42(1):199-206.

Vahed, G. & Desai, A. 2010. Identity and belonging in postapartheid South Africa: the case of Indian South Africans. *Journal of Social Sciences* 25(1):1-12.

Vally, S, Dalamba, Y. 1999. *Racism " racial Integration" and desegregation in South African Public Secondary Schools: A Report on a Study by the South African Human Rights Commission.* Johannesburg: SAHRC.

Van der Berg, S. 2014. Inequality, poverty and prospects for redistribution. *Development Southern Africa* 31(2):197-218.

Van Dijk, TA. 1989. Mediating racism. The role of the media in the reproduction of racism, in *Language, Power and Ideology,* edited by R Woodak. Amsterdam*:* Benjamins:199-226.

Van Dijk, TA. 1993. *Elite discourse and racism.* London: Sage.

Veninga, C. 2009. Fitting in: the embodied politics of race in Seattle's desegregated schools. *Social & Cultural Geography* 10(2):107-129.

Verwey, C & Quayle, M. 2012. Whiteness, racism and Afrikaner identity in postapartheid South Africa. *African Affairs* 111(445):551-575.

Vestergaard,M. 2001. Who's Got the Map? The Negotiation of Afrikaner Identities in Postapartheid South Africa. *Daedalus* 130(1):19-44.

Vice, S. How do I live in this strange place? *Journal of social philosophy* 41(3):323-342.

Vincent, L. 2008. The limitations of ‘inter-racial contact’: stories from young South Africa. *Ethnic and racial studies* 31(8):1426-1451.

Von Holdt,K, Langa ,M, Molapo,S, Mogapi,N, Ngubeni,K, Dlamini, J & Kirsten, A. 2011. *The smoke that calls: insurgent citizenship, collective violence and the struggle for a place in the new South Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Walker, M. 2005. Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26(1):41-54.

Wale, K. 2014.*Reflecting on Reconciliation: Lessons from the past, prospects for the future.* Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation.

Wasserman, H. 2005.Talking of change: Constructing social identities in South African media debates. *Social Identities* 11(1): 75-85.

Wasserman, H. 2010. ‘We're not like that’: Denial of racism in the Afrikaans press in South Africa. *Communicatio* 36(1):20-36.

Watkins, SC. 2001. Framing protest: News media frames of the Million Man March. *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18(1):83-101.

West, M. 2011. One rainbow, one nation, one tongue singing: whiteness in postapartheid pulp fiction. *Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies* 32(3):17-35.

Wetherell, M. 2010. The field of identity studies, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage:3-28.

Whitehead, KA. 2013. Race-Class Intersections as Interactional Resources in Postapartheid South Africa, in *Social Inequality and the Politics of Representation: A Global Landscape,* edited by CM Pascale. California: Sage.

Wicks, J. 2016. Twitter erupts after KZN estate agent calls black people 'monkeys'. *Mail and Guardian*, 4 January.http://mg.co.za/article/2016-01-04-twitter-erupts-after-kzn-estate-agent-calls-black-people-monkeys (Accessed 22 August 2016).

Wilmot, M & Naidoo, DR. 2011. Behind the doors of learning: the transmission of racist and sexist discourses in history classrooms. *Perspectives in Education* 29(2): 28–38.

Wimmer, RD & Dominick, JR. 1997. *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. Wadsworth Publishing Company: Belmont.

Wood, H. 2010. From media and identity to mediated identity, in *The Sage handbook of identities*, edited by M Wetherell & CT Mohanty. London: Sage: 258-277.

Wodak, R, & De Cillia, R. 2007. Commemorating the past: the discursive construction of official narratives about the ‘Rebirth of the Second Austrian Republic'. *Discourse & Communication* 1(3):337-363.

Wodak, R & Reisigl, M. 2001. Discourse and racism, in *The handbook of discourse analysis,* edited by D Schiffrin, D Tannen & HE Hamilton. Oxford: Blackwell publishers:372-397.

Yuval-Davis, N. 2007. Intersectionality, citizenship and contemporary politics of belonging. *Critical review of international social and political philosophy* 10 (4): 561-574.

APPENDIX A: CODE BOOK FOR QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

id	theme	code	paper	papercode	Race	Race2	Incident
1	1. Whites as privileged	1	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
9	1. Whites as privileged	1	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
22	2. Whites as racists	2	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
32	2. Whites as racists	2	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
44	3. Blacks as victims	3	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
46	3. Blacks as victims	3	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
54	3. Blacks as victims	3	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
55	3. Blacks as victims	3	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
65	4. Blacks as superior	4	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
69	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
74	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
83	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
84	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
86	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
101	8. Blacks as racists	8	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
111	8. Blacks as racists	8	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
112	8. Blacks as racists	8	TMG	1	3	2.00	2
104	8. Blacks as racists	8	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
121	9. Blacks as privileged	9	TMG	1	1	1.00	1
125	9. Blacks as privileged	9	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
126	10. Whites as fearful	10	TMG	1	2	2.00	1
140	13. Whites as victims	13	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
141	13. Whites as victims	13	TMG	1	2	2.00	2
142	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
144	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
150	15. Blacks in search of power	15	TMG	1	1	1.00	2
153	15. Blacks in search of power	15	TMG	1	3	2.00	2
157	17. Perceptions of intra-black hierarchy	17	TMG	1	3	2.00	2
4	1. Whites as privileged	1	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
6	1. Whites as privileged	1	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
7	1. Whites as privileged	1	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2

8	1. Whites as privileged	1	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
17	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
18	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
21	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
23	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
25	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
26	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
27	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
28	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
29	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
30	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
35	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	2	2.00	2
37	2. Whites as racists	2	Naspers	2	3	2.00	2
48	3. Blacks as victims	3	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
47	3. Blacks as victims	3	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
50	3. Blacks as victims	3	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
51	3. Blacks as victims	3	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
52	3. Blacks as victims	3	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
72	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
77	6. Stereotyping of blacks	6	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
79	6. Stereotyping of blacks	6	Naspers	2	2	2.00	2
82	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
85	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	Naspers	2	3	2.00	2
88	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
90	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
93	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
94	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
95	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
97	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
108	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	2	2.00	2
109	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	2	2.00	2
114	8. Blacks as racists	8	Naspers	2	3	2.00	2
123	9. Blacks as privileged	9	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2

127	10. Whites as fearful	10	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
128	10. Whites as fearful	10	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
129	10. Whites as fearful	10	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
130	10. Whites as fearful	10	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
131	11. Blacks as criminals	11	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
132	11. Blacks as criminals	11	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
133	11. Blacks as criminals	11	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
135	11. Blacks as criminals	11	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
136	12. Whites as heterogeneous	12	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
137	12. Whites as heterogeneous	12	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
138	12. Whites as heterogeneous	12	Naspers	2	1	1.00	1
139	12. Whites as heterogeneous	12	Naspers	2	2	2.00	1
143	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
151	15. Blacks in search of power	15	Naspers	2	1	1.00	2
156	16. Blacks as heterogeneous	16	Naspers	2	2	2.00	2
11	1. Whites as privileged	1	IN	3	1	1.00	2
13	1. Whites as privileged	1	IN	3	2	2.00	2
14	1. Whites as privileged	1	IN	3	3	2.00	2
16	1. Whites as privileged	1	IN	3	1	1.00	1
19	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	1	1.00	1
31	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	1	1.00	2
33	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	1	1.00	2
34	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	2	2.00	2
38	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	3	2.00	2
39	2. Whites as racists	2	IN	3	3	2.00	2
40	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	1
41	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	1
43	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	1
45	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	1
53	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	2
56	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	2
57	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	1	1.00	2
60	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	2	2.00	2

61	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	3	2.00	2
62	3. Blacks as victims	3	IN	3	3	2.00	2
66	4. Blacks as superior	4	IN	3	1	1.00	1
67	4. Blacks as superior	4	IN	3	1	1.00	1
68	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	IN	3	1	1.00	1
70	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	IN	3	1	1.00	1
73	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	IN	3	1	1.00	1
75	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	IN	3	1	1.00	1
76	6. Stereotyping of blacks	6	IN	3	1	1.00	1
78	6. Stereotyping of blacks	6	IN	3	2	2.00	2
80	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	IN	3	1	1.00	1
81	7. Stereotyping of South Africans	7	IN	3	1	1.00	1
87	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	1	1.00	2
91	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	1	1.00	1
99	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	2	2.00	2
103	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	2	2.00	2
105	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	2	2.00	2
107	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	2	2.00	2
110	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	2	2.00	2
117	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	3	2.00	2
119	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	3	2.00	2
120	8. Blacks as racists	8	IN	3	3	2.00	2
122	9. Blacks as privileged	9	IN	3	1	1.00	1
124	9. Blacks as privileged	9	IN	3	2	2.00	2
146	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	IN	3	2	2.00	2
147	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	IN	3	3	2.00	2
152	15. Blacks in search of power	15	IN	3	2	2.00	2
160	17. Perceptions of intra-black hierarchy	17	IN	3	3	2.00	2
2	1. Whites as privileged	1	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
3	1. Whites as privileged	1	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
5	1. Whites as privileged	1	M&G	4	2	2.00	1
12	1. Whites as privileged	1	M&G	4	2	2.00	2
15	1. Whites as privileged	1	M&G	4	3	2.00	2

20	2. Whites as racists	2	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
24	2. Whites as racists	2	M&G	4	2	2.00	1
42	3. Blacks as victims	3	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
49	3. Blacks as victims	3	M&G	4	1	1.00	2
58	3. Blacks as victims	3	M&G	4	2	2.00	2
64	3. Blacks as victims	3	M&G	4	3	2.00	2
71	5. Stereotyping of whites	5	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
89	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	1	1.00	1
92	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	2	2.00	1
96	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	2	2.00	1
98	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	1	1.00	2
100	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	2	2.00	2
106	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	2	2.00	2
116	8. Blacks as racists	8	M&G	4	3	2.00	2
134	11. Blacks as criminals	11	M&G	4	2	2.00	1
149	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	M&G	4	3	2.00	2
159	17. Perceptions of intra-black hierarchy	17	M&G	4	3	2.00	2
10	1. Whites as privileged	1	Caxton	5	1	1.00	2
36	2. Whites as racists	2	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
59	3. Blacks as victims	3	Caxton	5	2	2.00	2
63	3. Blacks as victims	3	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
118	8. Blacks as racists	8	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
102	8. Blacks as racists	8	Caxton	5	2	2.00	2
113	8. Blacks as racists	8	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
115	8. Blacks as racists	8	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
145	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	Caxton	5	1	1.00	2
148	14. Stereotyping of blacks as coconuts	14	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
154	15. Blacks in search of power	15	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
155	16. Blacks as heterogeneous	16	Caxton	5	2	2.00	2
158	17. Perceptions of intra-black hierarchy	17	Caxton	5	3	2.00	2
158	6. Stereotyping of blacks		Naspers	2	3	2.00	1
159	7. Stereotyping of South Africans		Naspers	2	3	2.00	1