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2018

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Mdluli, Nothando Nokulunga (2018) Race and identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa: the use of new media for racial discourse,University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, <http://hdl.handle.net/10539/27132>

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University of the Witwatersrand

Race and Identity Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The use of new media for Racial Discourse



A dissertation submitted to University of the Witwatersrand; Faculty of Humanities; at the School of Literature, Language and Media (SLLM). The dissertation is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree, Masters of Arts – Research.

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Declaration

I Nothando Mdluli Student Number 496908 hereby declares the following:

- ✓ I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.

- ✓ I confirm that the study submitted is my own work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.

- ✓ I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others

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Signature __Ms NN Mdluli_ Date:

ABSTRACT

In post-apartheid South African, the government instituted policies that were established to foster the vision of a non-racial society following the colonial history of the country. Some of these policies include the Black Economic Empowerment Policy, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 2000 (Act 4 of 2000), as well as the idea of the Rainbow Nation, to name but a few strategies put in place to foster the vision of a non-racial society. Although these policies were enacted to create the idea of nationhood and building a new national identity, the period of 2016 and 2017, however, the country was engulfed with intense racial events that led to notions of the reawakening of racism in the society.

A number of these events were facilitated through the use of social media that adversely sought to confront and challenge these enacted policies. As a result, the issue of race and identity continues to be persistent and appears to be challenging institutionalized government initiatives for a viable democracy. Thus, the significance of this study is to confront this racial antagonism so as to understand how race and identity is constructed in post-colonial South Africa Also, this is to ascertain the role of new media in facilitating racial debates, such as through the idea of citizen engagements on race and identity discourses.

Methods of data collection for this study include cyber ethnography where online platforms, namely Nelson Mandela Facebook page, Andile Mngxitama's Facebook page, and Letters from White South Africa Facebook page, were used as fundamental online communities to carry out an online study in order to understand how citizens engage on the issue of race and identity politics. Informal interviews were conducted amongst three political analysts, namely Ralf Mathekga, Tinyiko Mashiqi, and Steven Friedman and with representatives from the country's three main political parties such as the African National Congress, Democratic Alliance, and Economic Freedom Fighters.

Thus, the study concluded that race and identity politics remain a challenge in the post - apartheid South African society. This was evident through immense racial contestations or tensions that were facilitated through the use of social media, which continue to challenge government's efforts in realizing the vision of a non-racist society. The study further established that there are various political, socio, and economic factors that contribute

towards the construction of race-racism and identity in post-apartheid South Africa, which require robust interventions by the state.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the Almighty God for granting me the ability and opportunity to carry out and complete this study. Secondly, my words of gratitude go to my parents Mr David and Mrs Bonsile Mhlanga for their endless support. I am what I am today because of their love and commitment to see me prosper in life. May God keep you and bless you for me as I have great plans for you. I would also like to acknowledge my supervisor Dr Ufuoma Akpojivi for his support, expertise, guidance and motivation from the beginning of the study until its completion. As my teacher and mentor, you have taught me more than I could accredit you for. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the interview participants who offered their time to richly contribute towards the success of my study, I am deeply humbled by their support.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC – African National Congress

BBBEE – Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment

DA – Democratic Alliance

DTI – Department of Trade and Industry

EFF – Economic Freedom Fighters

GEAR – Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy

IRR – Institute of Race Relations

JSE – Johannesburg Stock Exchange

NRFSA – National Research Foundation of South Africa

NPA – National Prosecuting Authority

PNUR – Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act

RSA – Republic of South Africa

SADF – South African Defence Force

SACAP – The South African College of Applied Psychology

SAHO – South African History Online

TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Committee

WITS – University of the Witwatersrand

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Approval of the study

Appendix 2: Research ethics certificate

Appendix 3: Interview Consent Form

Appendix 4: I Love Black People and My Black is Beautiful Facebook Pages

Appendix 5: Responses to Penny Sparrow Racial Event

Appendix 6: Land debates from other Facebook users

Appendix 7: Research Interview Participant

Table of Contents

DECLARATION……I
ABSTRACT……III
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS……V
ABBREVIATIONS……VI
LIST OF APPENDICES……VII
Chapter 1……1
BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY……1
1.1 Research Problem……3
1.2 Aim of the Study……4
1.3 Objectives of the Study……4
1.4 Research Questions……5
Chapter 2……6
LITERATURE REVIEW……6
2.1 Conceptual and Contextual Frameworks……6
2.1.1 Engaging with the Race Concept in Post-Apartheid South Africa……6
2.1.2 The Dynamics of Racism as a social construct……11
2.1.3 Conceptualizing New Media: How South Africa Relates to the Construct……15
2.2 Theoretical Framework……23
2.2.1 The theory of Coloniality……23
2.2.2 The Social Identity Theory: The politics within South Africa's identity formation……29
2.2.3 The identity development theory (IDT): Understanding the development of Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa……34
2.2.4 The Libertarian Theory: Freedom of speech in New Media dynamics……40
Chapter 3……47
METHODOLOGY……47
3.1 Methods of Data Collection for This Research Include:……48
3.1.1 Cyber-ethnography / Virtual Ethnography……48
3.1.2 Interviews……50
3.1.3 Gathering of Policy Documents……51
3.2 Methods of analysis for the Study were……51
3.3 Ethical Consideration……52
3.4 Limitations of the Study……46
Chapter 4……54
DATA ANALYSIS……54
4.1 Policy Document Ambition and Realisation……54
4.1.1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995.……55

4.1.2 The Broad – Based Black Economic Empowerment Policy..... 60
4.1.3 The Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994 (Land Reform Act)..... 63
4.2 The Battle for Power Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa and Criticisms of the Democratic Project..... 67
4.2.1 Land Conflicts in Post-Apartheid South Africa and The Citizen's Power Struggle 71
4.2.2 White People's Response to White Supremacy: White Arrogance or White Poverty?.....77
4.2.3 The Hypothetical Failures of the 1994 Government in Addressing White Supremacy……82
4.3 Racial Differences in South Africa: A Contribution to Racial Conflicts..... 90
4.3.1 The Politics of Representation and Racial Stereotyping Through Social Media……90
4.3.2 General Hatred Amongst Races: An Epitome of Racism …….98
4.4 Double Standards and the Absence of Government in Dealing with Racism…… 102
4.5 False Anonymity and Free Speech in the Use of Social Media……108
Chapter 5..... 111
CONCLUSION AND RECCOMMENDATIONS..... 111
5.1 Recap of The Study..... 111
5.2 Summery of Findings..... 112
5.3 Reccommendations..... 113
5.4 Suggestions to Further Research…….....115
DISCLAMAIR ……...116
BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 117

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

From the time of colonialism, South Africa has struggled with issues of race and identity. Since the country's European colonization, it has remained a complex mix of races, cultural identities, diverse languages and diverse ethnicities bringing into significance issues of race and identity. The country's long existing history also encompasses the era of colonialism, which incepted the system of apartheid. Apartheid was a system of segregation or discrimination enforced on the grounds of racial separation by the then National Party, which ruled the country from 1948 to 1994 (Pfister 2005:7).

This ideology was enforced to separate the country's races according to distinct phenotypic features such as the colour of skin, dividing the nation according to Whites - who were the settlers, Blacks - who are the Natives, Coloureds - people of mixed race, and Indians of Indian decent but regarded as South African Indians (Allan 2005:148). The apartheid regime implemented this segregation to create white political hegemony or white power at the expense of other racial groups, such as using them for slavery and deliberately isolating them from the country's political and economic participation for the benefit of white supremacy. Therefore the segregation of humans through the construction of race and identity became a philosophical principle to divide, classify, and identify the populace, whilst intensely used as mechanisms to sustain the ideals of apartheid (Pfister 2005:7).

Although South Africa gained its independence in 1994, it has remained racially divided, consequently imposing the inability to bring unity among all races, post-apartheid. This racial division emanates from the legacy of apartheid, that the country has not yet fully addressed, resulting in issues of unequal wealth distribution, unequal patterns of land ownership, racial mind-sets or stereotypes, and general racial hatred, to name but a few, which have continuously subjected the country to enormous racial tensions in post-apartheid (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). The racist ideologies that were instigated and propagated during the dispensation of colonialism have not been an easy challenge to surmount. This is to note that in the democratic dispensation, ideas of white superiority and black inferiority constructed during colonialism still remain dominant perpetuating racial conflicts in the country.

Part of the challenge in uprooting racism can be attributed to the role played by new media in the 21st century, where citizens have found an alternative platform for racial expressions using social media, which have further led to enormous racial contestations. Furthermore, apart from

new media being used to distribute racial contestations, it has, to a large extent, also played a critical role in exposing the existence of racism in the country. This is to acknowledge that as some citizens use social media to practice racism or share videos and texts of racial altercations or racial comments, they revealed the reality of racism, as such creating visibility around the issue.

For instance, one can refer to the alleged *Penny Sparrow* incident, where she labelled black people as "monkeys" on Facebook in January 2016, and the Oxford Rhodes student and fallist leader *Ntokozo Qwabe*'s Facebook comments where he allegedly stated to a white waitress that they will not give gratuity (tip) until white people have given back the land (News24 2016:n/p). This is similar to *Velaphi Khumalo's* Facebook post where he stated that black people should do to white people what Hitler did to the Jews (News24 2016:n/p).

All these racial events serve as examples of racism in post-colonial South Africa which were facilitated and exposed through new media. In addition to this, the Human Rights Commission of South Africa recorded that it received an estimation of 505 complaints of unfair discrimination based on race in the financial year 2015/2016, 2016 which is an 82% increase from the 2014 financial year (SAHRC Publications 2016:n/p). The Human Rights Commission noted that a significant number of these racial conflicts were, and are, facilitated through the use of new media's platforms of social media[1] such as twitter and Facebook[2] (SAHRC Publications 2016:n/p). Facebook in particular is a social media platform or tool used by the public to publish information such as videos, pictures, written data, as well as comments that can be seen by thousands and millions of people within seconds (Highfield 2015: 2).

In 2016, social media received vile expressions of racial issues or debates from white and black people with a number of expressions or comments regarded derogatory to other races and therefore amounting to racism (News 24 2016:n/p). Subsequently, this prompted the administration of President Jacob Zuma to declare March 21, 2016 as a day to march against racism (Diannem 2017:n/p). As a result, it is therefore critical to note that these racism events

1 Social Media refers to websites and applications that allow its users to create and share content while communicating and engaging with one another which can be regarded as socialising through the media (McLuhan 2010: 12).

2 New media offers new ways of interaction through social media where citizens have total freedom of expression and the opportunity to engage with one another, without being censored and their views controlled by the state (Highfield 2015: 1). In this case, social media i.e. Facebook refers to computerized applications that allow people to create, share and exchange information or data in a space that could be referred to as communities (McLuhan 2010: 12).

constitute a problem as the vision of the post-apartheid government is to promote unity and equality of all races following the commencement of democracy in 1994.

This is to acknowledge that after the inception of democracy, the government made efforts to deal with racial issues inundating the South African society. In the midst of these efforts however, new media has played an intense role in facilitating racial altercations amongst citizens. Therefore, this study seeks to investigate racial discourses prevalent within social media that deepens racism, as well as to examine the efforts made by the South African government to create a non-racial society. In addition, to this, the study will assess the role of new media in facilitating racial debates and confrontations in the society at large. This is because it can be argued that South Africa remains a deep racially divided country as evident in the 2016 wave of racial conflicts or tensions regardless of government's efforts to promote unity and non-racialism.

1.1 Research Problem

Following the institution of democracy in 1994, the newly elected government of former president late Nelson Mandela attempted to address the social injustice of the past and promoted the idea of a unified country. This was evident in the adoption of a constitution that enshrines values of equality amongst all citizens of South Africa. Successively, Chapter 1 of the constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that the country is founded upon values of human dignity, the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms. It also insists that the country is founded upon the values of non-racial and non- sexism where all citizens are equal (The Republic of South Africa Constitution 1996: 3).

Consequently, this idea of equality promoted by the post-apartheid government influenced the notion of a 'rainbow nation' which became reflected in a number of economic, social and political policies including amongst others the macroeconomic policy framework called Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996, Land Redistribution Act 22 of 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Program RDP, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 2000 (Act 4 of 2000), as well as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) (SAHO 2015:3).

All these policies were enacted to foster unity and peace under the Nelson Mandela's vision of a rainbow nation while attempting to deal with the injustices of the past (Habib 1996: 1). However, despite these efforts made to create this non-racial society, racism remains a dominant issue within South Africa. It thus seems as though the South African institutional dynamics put in place are less effective in integrating all races and creating a non-racial society.

Hence, this study seeks to investigate factors contributing to the constant problem of racism in post-apartheid South Africa, and as well as the contribution of social media in this problem.

1.2 Aim of the Study

This study seeks to explore the idea of race and identity in post- apartheid South Africa, with the aim to understand how these are constructed in the society. The study will question the factors perpetuating racial tendencies after 24 years of democracy and how these contribute towards the construction of race and identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa. As a result, identifying and critically examining the racial discourses on the popular new media platform Facebook as most racial tensions in post-apartheid South Africa is imperative for the study.

This is also because Facebook emerged as a popular social media platform due to its ability of creating interactivity and engagements among users (Highfield 2015: 1). Unlike Twitter, it gives a wide platform for comments and users to give replies on certain topics that interest them forming a conversation. Within the context of racism occurred on Facebook, it allowed citizens to engage, comment and express their views, as a result evoking public opinion. This is also to note that because the social media platform is uncensored by the state unlike traditional forms of media, it thus became a convenient platform for immense freedom of speech to citizens[3].

Thus, the study will focus on the racism events and debates that took place in the year 2016 because the year arguably saw intense events of racism that took place online such as the aforementioned *Bongani Qwabe, Penny Sparrow, Matthew Theunissen* etc. The study will also attempt to understand the role of new media in facilitating the incessant racial tension. This is to ascertain if new media's role is aggravating the current racial tensions or simply acting as an important tool in detecting the already existing tensions in the society by acting as a platform for citizen engagement.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

In researching the idea of race-racism and identity politics, the study holds the following objectives:

1. To critically investigate and examine the rise of racism in post-apartheid South Africa so as to provide insight on why racism remains a dominant issue.

3 Although social media in South Africa is not regulated by the state, there has however been proposals by the government to regulate social media this including the Film and Publication Amendment Bill. The Film and Publications Amendment Bill seeks to regulate online content generated by social media users posted to private communication services such as Facebook or Twitter (Reddy 2016:2)

2. To identify the role of new media in facilitating racial discourses.
3. To ascertain government's efforts in fighting against racism and creating a non-racial society.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How is race constructed in post-apartheid South Africa?
2. To what extent do social media platforms such as Facebook contribute in facilitating these racial debates?
3. What are some of the discourses emanating from racial debates on Social media, and how do these discourses shape identity and race construction in post-apartheid?

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to deconstruct the idea of race, racism, identity and new media as the main pillars of the study. As a result, the literature review is structured within three dynamics, the conceptual and contextual frameworks, as well as the theoretical review that aims to outline the imperative theories adopted in the study. The conceptual and contextual frameworks will outline race, racism and new media, while the theoretical framework will outline the theory of coloniality, social identity theory and the social identity development theory.

2.1 Conceptual and Contextual Frameworks

2.1.1 Engaging with the Race Concept in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Despite the efforts invested by government in transforming the South African society since its transition from apartheid to democracy, the notion of race is still significant within this particular society, and arguably continues to dominate individuals in everyday life. If one is not confronted by the issue of race from the media, one would surely encounter it within political debates influenced by protests, if not in minor settings such as restaurants or shopping malls. Race in South Africa has shaped society's life, socially, economically, and politically. Many scholars have attempted to understand the idea of race and what it can potentially represent in the society, which has generated numerous ideas attached to the notion of race. *Relethford* (1996) *for instance* in the book *Fundamentals of biological Anthropology*, and *Andreasen* in the book *Biological Reality or Social Construct*, have approached race within a biological perspective, while some scholars, such as *Mbembe* in *Critique of Black Reason* and *Dywer (2008),* have argued that race is an ideological construct, a centrepiece of power and privilege, established to institute what is known as structural racism.

As a result, this section of the study will attempt to engage with the diverse views of race from different scholars, with the aim to also understand if these scholars' contribution towards the idea of race is useful in helping to critically understand race in South Africa. One will begin by unpacking the arguments that race is a biological construct, and in the latter, explore ideas of race as an ideological tool.

Relethford (1996) and Andreasen (2000) have challenged the ideological definition of race and maintained the idea of biological reality. Relethford (1996: 10) establishes that racial categories exist to describe biological traits such as phenotypes of human groupings in the society, which consequently divides humans according to human genetic variation. For instance, one person

has a dark skin and afro-textured hair, while another is light skin with silky long hair. The physical differences are therefore defined as race.

Andreasen (2000:654) reasons that fundamentally, races were assumed to be biologically objective categories that exist independently of human classifying activities. Andreasen (2000:654) argues that, scientifically, human races must be subspecies of Homo sapiens[4], which could be categorised in two definitions. The first definition of subspecies argues that first there was the *typological subspecies concept*,[5] which treats subspecies as natural kinds. This argues that humans are naturally different from each other and have certain characteristics which distinguish them from other groups in society. While this was conceptualised initially in academia, then emerged the second definition – the *geographical subspecies concept* which argues that a geographical subspecies is an aggregate of phenotypically and genetically similar breeding populations that inhabit their own geographic range (Andreasen 2000:654).

In consolidating both biological categories argued by Andreasen (2000:654), to define race, both concepts maintain the biological scientific point of view, with further underlying argument presuming that humans are phenotypically and genetically different from each other and/or other groups. This occurs *ipso facto* by one's natural existence while, on the other hand may be influenced by geographic elements. While this is the case, Relethford (1996:10) argues that the concept *race* would be non-existent if not based on real physical differences in human groupings, which he designates as biological realism. The genetic differences points out that a human being may be dark skin, Caucasian or light skin, which is subject to common ancestry genetics or the combination of different genes. Therefore, the common underpinning argument from both Andreasen (2000) and Relethford (1996) is that if the argument that races are biologically real is dismissed, then how can the physical and genetic differences in humans be explained?

One considers these insights from both scholars in this study, as far as attempting to understand the fundamental existence of race in society. This is with the recognition that although the idea of race has evolved and tremendously altered its meaning from one scholar to another, one critically notes that originally the construct materialized during colonialism as a result of physical differences (Jones 2014:1). For instance, it can be argued that to some extent, the subjection of native Africans during colonialism to be seen and used as slaves, can be attributed

4 Homo Sapiens is a term that describes the primate species to which modern humans belong; humans regarded as a species (Oxford Dictionary).

5 Typological subspecies concept is a concept of a species as group whose members share certain characteristics which distinguishes them from other groups (Ladyman and Bird 2013:163).

to their skin colour, which played a critical role in determining who could be used or not used as slaves. This then depicts the idea of biological differences hypothesized by Relethford (1996) and Andreasen in their explanation of race (2000).

Frantz Fanon in his book, Black Masks White Skin (1968: 82) explains the fact of blackness as a result of the colour of the skin, arguing that the skin of a black man carries a different meaning to the white man. That of a black person is inferior and, therefore, subject to slavery, while a white man is superior by virtue of their skin colour. The fabrication of the idea of race was done arguably on the basis of physical variations in human species, and a set of culturally created attitudes and beliefs about human group differences. Although the acknowledgement of differences in society resulted in undignified habits and practices, such as discrimination and separation, this does not jettison the idea that humans, to some degree, are phenotypically different. As such, the concept of race may have been relevant in defining and categorizing these differences. As a result, it may even be safe for one to assume that racial ideologies came as a result of these biological differences.

Considering this status of racial categories, the South African society forms the basis of one's examination of race. In South Africa, when one questions another's race, they basically seek understanding of where one belongs according to the formal racial categories adopted by the society based on the argued biological differences. These include Black, White, Indian or Coloured, validated by physical attributes (Allan 2005:148). Racial categories within the argument of biological realism have been accepted and normalised to the extent that if one is black, they consciously notice that they are black because of their skin colour and hair texture, if one is coloured they acknowledge that they are coloured in that they would be aware of their physical features. Therefore, race, associated with biology in indicating the morphological variation between races, does, to a certain extent, bring an understanding of the race concept.

Although one may have slightly agreed with Andreasen (2000) and Relethford (1996) as far as trying to understand the minor physical differences in humans, there are however certain issues problematic in their argument of race as a biological construct. Firstly, in my view, Andreasen (2000) and Relethford (1996) do not consider the idea that race is categorised and described differently from one place to another. For example, a person who could be categorized as Black in the United States, might be considered as Coloured in South Africa, and White in Brazil (Nittle 2016:2). How then do we describe these variations within the biological sphere? The mere fact that one race could carry a meaning in one place and another in a different place, highlights race as a social construct. This means human beings decide, according to their social and structural beliefs, how to describe one another, which then, by virtue of socially defining

one another, presents race as a socially constructed phenomenon rather than a natural biological element.

One can argue then, that the moment humans are categorized according to their physical features, such as the skin colour or hair texture, the biological explanation, to a large extent, loses its authenticity in that humans live in a wide range of environments, where, for instance, being dark skin would not necessarily mean being black. Nittle (2016:2) says "someone of African descent may be the same skin shade as someone of Asian descent, someone of Asian descent may be the same shade as someone of European descent". This then imposes difficulties to group people by race, in that one needs to ask where does one race end and another begin?

In addition, this biological explanation of race does not hold much ground in that it also rejects the fundamental similarities that exist in every human being. For example, the colour of the blood from one human being to another is the same, and the human habitus is the same. Thus, seeing the similarities that outweigh the minor differences, it is safe to argue that all humans are the same and that races do not in fact exit, other than because they have been socially constructed (Steyn 2008: 4).

This then becomes one's point of departure from the biological realism's notion of race to explore the idea that race is socially constructed as an ideological phenomenon. In relation to this there are several ideas that one will explore in the notion of race as a social construct. The first one to note is by Dywer (2008) and Sussman (2014) who dismiss the idea that races are biologically real in that they argue differences in human species are often blurry and as a result there are no races. Thus, they contend humans are genetically too similar to each other to justify dividing them into races. This is a social constructivism idea, which states that the concept of race has developed as a result of cultural, social and misperceived physical differences. This idea argues that different ideologies, such as descriptions and stereotypes about other human groups in the latter, become normalized and accepted as differences. For example, one description would be 'I am dark skin and speak an African language, therefore I am black', this is a socially constructed phenomenon based on the certain ideas and descriptions by humans in a social setting.

The second idea is revealed by Mbembe (2017) who also strongly argues that race is an ideological tool, socially constructed in history to be used as a driver for capitalism, such as slavery. This is to note that the concept of race itself became popularized in the expansion of European colonists who promoted the enslavement of Africans to generate colonial power (Jones 2015:3). As a result, Mbembe (2017:47) argues that it was ideological for colonisers to

create categories such as 'Black people' or 'White people' in order to mark the subjugation and exploitation of Africans during the slave trade era, which he described as 'racial capitalism'. Mbembe (2017:47) continued to reason that although there is only one human race, human beings had to be categorised by being given the name "Black" as a name of a slave who could be used as a "man of metal, man-merchandise, man of money". However, whiteness became symbolic of the slave master. This fundamentally means that race is based on historic institutional power and became perpetuated over time.

Mbembe's (2017) notion of race is therefore relevant in post-colonialism in that the historic ideologies sustained by race during colonialism continued to shape some African societies, such as South Africa, to the extent that race is still problematic. Dywer (2008:239), for instance, argues that race should be understood as a reflection of society's differences – be those political, social, mentally and economical. This means that race, as an ideological tool (just as its intended construction during colonialism), categorizes humans such that every sphere of society, socio-economically in terms of employment, income and entrepreneurship, as well as politically within the perspective of political power is arguably affected and to some extent organized by race (Dywer 2008: 239). Therefore, in the 21st century, race is now understood as an element that is continually used to structure unequal power relations and reproduce inequalities in society. In South Africa, for instance, the continuation of white dominance economically is fundamentally sustained by race, which is why Jones (2015:3) and Olusaga (2015:4) highlight that race is socially constructed to create white supremacy.

This then becomes a standing point for the social constructivism ideology that if race only points out physical differences, then what led to the discrimination and hatred of other human groups? In effect, what led to racism? Furthermore, it reveals the idea of colonial power and supremacy being reasonably obtained through racism on the basis of race. It also suggests that race is beyond physical differences, but instead about the accumulation and ownership of political, and to a very large extent economic power. Jones (2015:3) further argues "race is a social fiction imposed by the powerful on those they wish to control" meaning that race was socially constructed by colonialists to gain control and power against those they subjected to their rule.

In conclusion, when considering definitions of race, the biological and social constructivism do play a significant role in the understanding of race as a concept. Although the biological explanation can somewhat be considered to slightly understand the origins of race, one can conversely argue that this explanation has to some extent created an illusionist idea of believing that there are real differences in society. However, when these are deeply scrutinized, there are no differences that could aggressively divide people. In this case Mbembe (2017:48) argues

that the idea of difference was socially constructed for the benefit of European societies. However, these categories or ideas of difference can be challenged and remade, where, for instance, blackness can be turned into a symbol of beauty and pride.

Furthermore, if we were to conform to the biological definition of race, it would be difficult to understand the existence of racism as it is understood within a South African context that it largely centres upon economic power, and to a less extent political power. Moreover, one would ask, what was the idea behind constructing race and enforcing racial differences by European settlers in Africa? Was race constructed to really reflect physical differences or was it a form of exerting power by colonizers? If race was constructed to reflect physical differences, why then did the construct lead to apartheid and colonialism?

In this case, the study adopts the social constructivism explanation of race in that it is able to unpack the relevant philosophies behind it, namely power and privilege. This is to also acknowledge that in post-apartheid South Africa, society continues to battle against issues of race simply because they are deeply rooted within economic ideologies, although biologically the colour of the skin does play a role to distinguish people (Genever 2016:2).

2.1.2 The Dynamics of Racism as a social construct

There are two possible ideas that the study will engage with, in attempting to conceptualize racism. The first idea of racism suggests that racism is the practice of hatred and discrimination against other races (Memmi 2000:89). This is when one person distinguishes other races as inferior and his or her race as superior. This type of racism can be expressed through attitude, behaviour and verbal expressions that can be considered offensive and antagonistic to other races.

The other idea argues that racism is the continued maintenance of structures of power, privilege, supremacy and domination, which oppress other racial groups, known as institutional racism (Memmi 2000:89). In South Africa, the mere fact that wealth continues to be in the ownership of the minority, namely white people, while a majority of black people remain disfranchised in post-apartheid, can be argued as racist or racism. According to a study conducted by Oxfam, 79% of South Africa's land is privately owned by white people, while only 7% of white people are unemployed (Oxfam 2016:35). Whites make up only 10% of the economically active population, however, they occupy more than 60% of top management in the corporate industry (Oxfam 2016:35). Moreover, only 10% of black people own the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Market, which leaves the rest of the 90% to white people (Oxfam 2016:35).

Black people make up 90% of the country's poor, yet they are 79.5% of the population. Moreover, the report by Oxfam stated that in 1993, 3.7 million people in South Africa, which encompassed the richest 10% of the population, earned $25 billion, which is more than the poorest 50% of the population (an estimated 19 million people at that time) (Church 2016:n/p). That meant 3.7 million, mainly white, people earned four times than 19 million, mainly black people. By 2011, the richest 10% of the population (around 5 million) had an income of $69 billion, compared to the poorest 50% of the population, who had an income of $11 billion (Church 2016: n/p). This means an estimated 5 million, mainly white people were now earning 6 times more than 25 million, mainly black people (Church 2016:n/p).

Based on the comparison between the 1993 and 2011 statistics, it is clear that much has not changed since the purported transition to democracy. The statistics reflect that white people are still economically superior, while a majority of blacks remain economically dis-empowered. The statistics speak of an unequal distribution of wealth and white supremacy, which can be argued as structural racism.

On the other hand, some socialists have developed new arguments which state that even black people can be racist, popularly known as reverse racism (Dludla 2014:n/p). The argument that black people can be racist is largely substantiated by the idea that racism is hatred against other races. Moreover, the argument also emanates from the new economic policies such as the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE policy) legislated by the democratic government, which have been criticised by some white people as racist against whites in that only non-whites benefit from these policies (Dludla 2014:n/p).

Although this may be the case, there have been arguments to the contrary, challenging this notion, citing that black people can never be racist. These arguments are largely substantiated by the one definition contending that in order for one to be racist, they need economic power and privileges, both of which black people lack. Further stating that the few government policies established to address inequality, such as Land Reform Act and BBBEE, have not yet fully addressed the challenges encountered by black people. Genever (2016:2) argues that black people cannot be racist against white people in that the force behind racism is economic power and privilege, which are not black people's inheritance.

Genever (2016:2) contends that frustrations of black people against white people caused by inequalities should not be prejudged as racist, however, they should be viewed as expressions against white people's continued racial tendencies. Nhlapho (2016:n/p) also argues that black people cannot be racist in that racism is about the structure of white supremacy, which remains intact in post-colonialism not vice-versa. The expressions of black people against white people

are simply expressions of black people's pain, in that racism is a system in which a dominant race benefits of the oppression of other races (Nhlapho 2016: n/p). For example, the controversial event of a student seen walking at the University of the Witwatersrand campus with a t-shirt on written "fuck white people", stirred debates on the issue of black racism. While some people believed it was racist, others believed differently. Nhlapho (2016:n/p) argues that these expressions should not to scare white people. Thus, the argument that Nhlapho (2016:n/p) brings forward is that white people are using the myth of black racism to escape their institutional racism instead of cooperating in bringing justice to black people, by not taking part in the efforts to dismantle white power as a means of creating a non-racial society.

Dludla (2014:2) also argues that firstly, the argument against black people being racist maintains that in order for black people to be racist against white people, they would have to contain the power to conquer, colonize, dominate and enslave white people, similarly to how white people gained their power. Secondly, it further posits that socially, black people would be considered superior, for example by creating beauty standards according to their skin colour, and enforce them on white people (Dludla 2014:2). Thirdly, they would have to have enough power to create systems to only economically benefit black people while excluding white people and subjecting them to slavery for the same amount of years that apartheid reigned (Dludla 2014:2). Therefore, seeing that black people were never subjected to superiority, but rather were subjected to slavery which stripped their dignity and humanity, then black people cannot be racist (Dludla 2014:2).

Harvey (2016:n/p), however, disagrees with Dludla and argues that the notion that black people cannot be racist is flawed and lacks a deeper, and more nuanced, understanding of racism. This is because Harvey maintains, racism is manifested in various ways and exists at different levels. For instance, Harvey (2016:n/p) argues that racism also subsists through ideas, attitudes, conduct and behaviour, to the extent that even if there were no structural causes such as laws, it would manifest itself in other ways for as long as it is informally practised. For instance, if a black person would express that they dislike white people, though racism has been removed legally and there are constitutional changes since 1994, it would still be correct to consider that black person racist.

Although one slightly agrees with Harvey (2016) as far as realising that racism is not one dimensional and the country has been struggling to deal with racism that manifests itself through attitudes and behaviour, what one finds problematic is that Harvey (2016) refuses to acknowledge institutional racism as the most harmful form of racism in any society. This is to argue that other forms of racism other than institutional racism, can easily be rectified, such as through forms of punishment imposed by the state on those racist individuals. However,

institutional racism is more complex and requires national and global strategic interventions, in that it is a global crisis. Castles (1993) has argued that institutional racism exists nearly in all countries in the world as it is anchored in global economy that potentially breeds racist policies and practices. This argues that for institutional racism to be eradicated, there has to be robust strategies to radically change the economy. As a result, to only focus on the racism which Harvey (2016) has sought refuge for, it is to distort the reality of racism and to remain oblivious in the midst of the national racial crisis.

In consolidating all the above-mentioned forms of racism, my argument is that all forms of racism are unacceptable in society, however institutional racism is more detrimental than verbal racism or acts of meanness against other races. Till to date, South Africa still struggles to deal with racism because its roots are deeply cast into institutional racism. Also, one is of the view that if the country can succeed in dismantling white supremacy as the most acrimonious form of racism, it can at least attempt to deal with the other argued forms of racism.

Thus, the definition of institutional racism, to a very large extent, is helpful to extract deeper meanings of racism because South Africa's main challenge in the democratic era is white supremacy. Consequently, it is almost ineffective for one to focus on Harvey's (2016:n/p) arguments about racism in that the problem of racism in South Africa is bigger than just the day to day hostile racial expressions. The severity goes as far as needing to rectifying injustices of the past, redistribute land and wealth, create economic equality, and dismantle white power.

In addition to this, it is imperative to also bring to one's attention the fact that racism in South Africa is not only revealed between blacks and whites, other minority groups such as coloureds and Indians also experience racism. For instance, debates around the idea of 'Africanist majoritarianism' have revealed that black people's domination politically, and in land advocacy, excludes other races as though they are not African or even to some extent South African. This is because Harvey (2016:n/p) argues that the emergence of black domination, especially politically, excludes "minorities", where Coloureds are viewed as not black enough or white enough, and Indians are seen as immigrants – perpetuating the idea that they do not necessarily belong to South Africa. Furthermore, they are often 'left out' in land debates where black people often argue that 'land only belongs to black Africans' thus raising questions about coloureds and Indians' rights to political and economic participation.

Under apartheid, coloureds were perceived as 'too black' to enjoy the privileges of white advantage (although they had some privileges compared to black people), and in post-apartheid they are considered 'too white' to be beneficiaries of affirmative action and other legislative policies designed to redress black disadvantage. Erasmus (2001) argues that the identity of

coloureds is complex and often accompanied by various historic ideologies that shape how coloureds are viewed in the current South Africa. Erasmus (2001) reasons that during both apartheid and post-apartheid, there has always been confusion about the positioning of the coloured people in race classification, which results in the perceived exclusion.

In conclusion, although one has attempted to engage scholars in order to conceptualize racism, one argues, however, that it is difficult to understand the real meaning of racism. This is because racism itself is complex when regarding its historical construction and how it has generally been perceived as a white phenomenon. One's point of departure is although race-racism does exist, the question to ask is does race in post-apartheid South Africa really matter? In the effort of creating a non-racial society in a democratic South Africa, should government not abolish race in order to supplement its efforts of creating a non-racial society?

Given this notion, one's argument is that even the government itself continues to put emphasis on race, especially in that it continues to officially and legally legitimize racial groups as a normal phenomenon. The concept of race can no longer serve its function in post-apartheid. Instead of uniting people, the concept obfuscates and divides citizens, thereby provoking issues of racism. Historically, racial classifications were invented to serve the interests of the apartheid state (Brown et al 2011:31). Today, the danger they impose on society is that people continue to see themselves in the terms black, white, coloured or Indian (Brown et al 2011:31). Although government efforts exist, which shall be engaged on in depth in the analysis section of the paper, one would question: are these attempts really visible enough to enforce this vision of a non-racial society if race still matters?

2.1.3 Conceptualizing New Media: How South Africa Relates to the Construct

New media is critical for this study because it has been a significant platform used by several citizens to facilitate racial debates in 2016. With the advent of information communication technologies, the landscape of media has drastically changed, giving rise to the concept 'new media'. The concept new media, however, differs from one scholar to another in that there is no common definition of what new media is. In addition, there is no definitive conceptual or theoretical framework attached to it. Some scholars, such as Gamson (2008) in the study *New Media as Political Sphere*, and Hansen (2009), *New Media: The new Media Language,* have attempted to define new media within the technological determinist view. However, some scholars, such as Livingston (1999) in *New Media and New Audiences,* have attempted to understand new media within the socio-economic and cultural perspective of society.

Gamson (2008:23) establishes that new media suggests a change from old traditional media, which implies dynamic shifts that have taken place in the 'mediascape', specifically contemporary advanced media technologies. This infers the idea of new media introducing new ways of producing, storing, retrieving, disseminating and consuming information through new media technologies such as the internet (Gamson 2008: 23). Hansen (2009:5) also concurs that the popular understanding of new media as a concept, is identified with the use of computerised applications and the use of the internet resulting in computer mediated forms of production, distribution and communication (Hansen 2009:5).

The scholar further contends that in as much as we have witnessed the existence of old or traditional media, there is a current emergence of a new media revolution - a dynamic shift from an old media culture to digitally mediated forms of media consumption (Hansen 2009:445). The revolution implies the transition from analogue to digital culture. This new revolution is arguably more profound than traditional media, in that the digital media revolution embraces the holistic stages of communication, including manipulation, acquisition, storage and distribution, while also affecting all types of media such as texts, images, sound and spatial constructions (Hansen 2009:5).

Lister (2003:9) adds that in conceptualizing new media, it is critical to seek an understanding of the ideological connotation of the 'new' in new media. Lister (2003:9) argues that the term is used to mark a break with history from 'old' to 'new' media. New media, therefore, implies the idea of the 'cutting edge' or the 'avant-garde'. The connotation of the 'new' is, therefore, derived from a modernist belief in social progress as delivered by technology within the media sphere. The idea of new media can be regarded as a relevant term in the 21st century when considering the technology embedded within different forms of media.

In their attempt to conceptualize new media, scholars often seek to understand what is new about new media as a form of outlining new media characteristics or features. While scholars attempt to conceptualize new media within the technological determinist view, 'digitality' has become one of the substantial features of new media. This as a result of the dominance of digital media, which is offered by new media. Digital media refers to a break away from analogue to embrace computerised gadgets in the consumption of media, such as through mobile phones (Creeber & Martin 2009:5). It has given rise to the emergence of digital culture within the post-modern society, resulting in extreme dependency on computerised gadgets and the internet. This implies that new media has given rise to digital technology, such as new ways of distributing and consuming media texts, characterized by interactivity and hypertext formats, including the internet, the search engine Google, cell phones and tablets, CD-ROM, DVD, etc.

The idea of digitization in society can be extended to the notion of convergence, which is another characteristic of new media. Flew (2005:10) is helpful to understand that convergence emanates from the power of technology to integrate media forms into one media gadget. Flew (2005:10) describes convergence as being able to interlink communication networks, computing information technology, and media content. This implies that new media has provided society with the ability to easily access media forms through the integration of diverse textual backgrounds, such as newspapers, radio and television, on the internet, in one gadget or device (Barak 2012:345).

This has resulted in new media being convenient and attractive to society, thereby encouraging a widespread of the new media culture, where people use smartphones to access social media, the internet and other forms of media products. Consequently, this has given rise to the idea of an interactive or participatory society, characterising interactivity as one the attributes of new media.

Due to the emergence of Information Communication Technologies (ICT's) encompassing the use of social media, the web, emails, voice image transmissions, etc., interactivity in society has increased. Interactivity has arguably given rise to the idea of a participatory culture. The participatory culture idea alludes to the notion of how globalization has allowed audiences from across the world to become increasingly involved in the creation and dissemination of information in the act of communicating (Creeber & Martin 2009:5). The interactive potential of new media is significant. Where old media offered passive consumption, new media offers interactivity. With new media there is high user engagement, as well as the promise of democratization in the distribution and consumption of new media content. The emergence of social media has promoted high interactivity and sharing of content within the global community.

This has augmented the degree to which new media is inseparable from people's lives as they engage with it on a day to day basis. It connects individuals from diverse demographics, offering increased freedom of expression, and creating the idea of participation within media forms. For example, it has enabled society to interact intimately with issues taking place in their communities such as through the idea of citizen journalism, where citizens are empowered to cover stories emerging in their spaces and publishing them on social media platforms like Facebook or Twitter (Jurrat 2011:7).

Over and above this, new media has offered platforms for deliberation and sharing of information where society interacts with one another, such as through the pervasive dominance

of 'hashtags'[6]. Although the technological determinist view has, to a large extent, assisted in conceptualizing new media, the definition of new media that will be used for this study is Sonia Livingstone's idea of new media. Livingstone (1999:2) explains new media by examining society's relationship with it, offering a different perspective towards its understanding.

Livingstone (1999:2) reasons that new media is a consequence of social change, impacted by socio-economic and cultural spheres of society. Creeber & Martin (2009:5) also add that, 'what is new about new media is our relationship to it'. New media is defined by how society uses it, more so than the technology *per se*. For instance, the interactive nature of new media can be shaped by the political and cultural nature of society. For example, a democratic society that is inherently outspoken when considering the prospects of freedom of expression would often use new media as a platform for citizen engagement. This then would create new media as a democratized space in that particular society. However, this may not necessarily be the case in other societies, where there is censorship of the internet and authoritative rule, such as in North Korea (Petronzio 2016: 2).

In South Africa, for instance, new media is shaped by the democratic nature of the society. This is because in this country, new media has arguably emerged as a space to facilitate citizen engagement and the exchange of opinions on political, social and economic issues which can be argued as digital activism (Akpojivi: 2018). Makhwanyo (2018:56) has argued that in South Africa, social media has become a tool for civic engagement, referring to the wide range of campaigns facilitated in social media such as the fight against Xenophobia, 16 Days of Activism of No Violence Against Women Children[7] etc.

Makhwanyo (2018:57) further argues that there is a growing trend on the use of social media where research by World Wide Worx and Orinico South Africa (2017) has shown that social media has been popularly used by politicians, artists, business markets, religious organisations and media reporters in South Africa. This reveals the liberal nature of new media in the country shaped by how citizens relate to it as Livingston (1992) would argue, bearing in mind that this may not be the case in some other countries as stated above. For instance, Makhwanyo

6 A hashtag is a social media practice where users produce phrases preceded by a hash sign (#), aimed at identifying key messages or topics within social media critical for discussion and interaction. For instance, in South Africa these would include, the 'hashtag' #ZumaMustfall, #FeesMustFall, #BlackHairMatters, #RhodesMustFall, to name but a few. All these 'hashtags', as part of social media, have stimulated participation from citizens, which enhanced the nature of interactivity of new media.

7 16 Days of activism is an international campaign against gender based violence commemorated yearly which is aimed to protect the human rights of women and children and also instilling values of responsibility to all people to protect women and children (SA News Agency)

(2018:57) gives an account of how social media was used by the political party ANC in 2017 as part of campaigning for leadership positions. One of the candidates for the ANC who eventually won the campaign and became the current president of the country Cyril Ramaphosa popularised the hashtag #CR17 while the other candidate Dr Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma used the hashtag #NDZ17. These hashtags were then used by citizens to engage on their social media platforms, in so doing directly or indirectly (whether people were using the hashtags in their personal social media accounts which is indirectly or engaging with the politicians on the political party's social media accounts directly) engaging on critical issues (Makhwanyo 2018:57). This notion was also noticeable in 2016 through the emergence of hashtags such as #ZumaMustFall or #RhodesMustFall that became popular through the use of social media, where citizens ardently used social media to challenge the country's political conditions (Fuchs 2016:60)

This is not to argue if whether digital activism could bring about political or socio-economic change as Akpojivi (2018) would contend in the discourse of the euphoria and delusion of digital activism. However it is to cite the argument that social media became a platform for citizen engagement (denoting the relationship between citizens and new media) regardless of the outcomes. This as a result revealed that due to the democratic nature of the society, social media appeared as a space for citizen engagement. New media is therefore regarded as an interactive and democratised space due to the democratic nature of the society that enables the use of social media in South Africa for civic engagement (Makhwanyo (2018:58).

Moreover, according to a 2016 Social Media Landscape study by World Wide Worx and Fuseware, a quarter of all South Africans (13 million) use Facebook (World Wide Worx 2016:n/p). Ten million of these users' access Facebook via mobile devices, while 1.6 million are using basic feature phones to browse the social network. With a large portion of the country's population on social media or new media, the phenomenon has been used to express opinions on social, economic, and political issues affecting citizens, such as the increase of racial debates facilitated within social media (World Wide Worx 2016:n/p).

In addition to this, citizen's relationship with new media is also shaped by the economic characteristics of the South African society. For instance, the people that have the power to afford communicating via social media have the economic privilege to afford data[8] or Wi-Fi[9]

8 A data plan is a financial service offered by mobile companies that allows its users to access the internet once they have financially recharged their smartphones (Hill 2016:1)

9 Wi-Fi is a technological facility that allows computers and smartphones to connect to the internet wirelessly (Bornsetin 2015)

(MyBroadband 2016: n/p). Their economic power arguably enables them to have the privilege to access information and exercise freedom of speech while excluding those that do not have the same privilege. Thus those that have economic power, are also empowered to dominate on social media such as those that incited racial issues in 2016.

This, then, demonstrates that new media has a positive and a negative side, depending on how society relates to it. For instance, Evgeny Morozov in the book *The Net Delusion*: *The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* argues against the cyber-euphoria that has engulfed societies, stating that it is naïve for people to believe that the internet has come to save societies because the internet has lost its utopian nature. Morozov's (2012) diagnosis of the internet seeks to bring enlightenment about what he argues as "the dark side of the web" where he deliberates on the Internet's danger imposed by the internet on society. Morozov's central argument focuses on the democratizing power of new media, arguing that the internet does not bring real freedom and democracy, instead it brings entrenchment of authoritarian regimes.

He argues against two delusions of the internet - "cyber-utopianism", the belief that the culture of the internet is inherently emancipatory, and "internet–centrism", the belief that the internet plays a part in forming public policy in modern societies. Morozov (2012) uses the revolution that took place in Iran in 2009 as an example, arguing that it might have brought temporary excitement to the country in that Twitter could be used to mobilise support and disseminate ideologies to create a massive protest against the government, however, it could not create real activism that sustains democracy.

In South Africa, this cyber-euphoria has been noted through the emergence of racial debates, where citizens believe that the internet offers them the liberty to exercise their right to free speech. Although they have this liberty, one may question, to what extent do racial expressions online assist in uprooting racism in the country? The internet is helpful as far as revealing the challenge of race and identity politics. However, it is a delusion for citizens to believe that using the internet for expressions is helpful towards forming public policy aimed at enabling effective democracy, because for this to be ensured, citizens have to be active in reality (Akpojivi 2018:186). Akpojivi (2018:186) has argued this as simulacrum[10] where digital activism creates a delusion of false representation of reality in society such as the belief that digital activism is bringing about social or political change, yet in reality, that is not the case. As a result, Morozov (2012) maintains that the internet is creating a generation of "slacktivists" instead of "activists", in that, on the internet, there is no proper guidance for political action.

[10] According to Baudrilled (1995) simulacrum means the creation of an impression or reality which isn't true but a false representation of society (Akpojivi 2018:186)

Morozov (2012) argues that by simply 'clicking' on the Facebook 'like' icon, or 'posting' something political on Facebook does not really constitute a political act. This is the delusion of the internet, in that, the use of the internet does not necessarily create realistic democracies where policy objectives can be achieved (Morozov 2012).

On the other hand, the negative side of the internet is also revealed by scholars such as Cineros and Nyakama (2015), Whitehead et al (2015), Daniels (2012 & 2009a), and Atton (2006) in the discourse of new media and racism. Daniels (2012:696) has argued on the antiquity of the embedded racism in new media technologies, reasoning that racism could be seen through Information Technology (IT) infrastructures. This refers to websites, IT programmes and the representation of races in the internet etc. Daniels (2012:696) points out that in the creation of new media technologies, there are traces of racism built within new media which arguably presents new media as inherently racist. This has been vastly noted also in internet discourses revealed by Noble (2018) who argues that search engines on sites, for instance Google[11] are inherently discriminatory and racist.

Noble (2018) argues that the representation of women especially black women by Google is discriminatory as their identity is portrayed in a sexualised manner. Noble (2018:n/p) says "run a Google search for black girls, what will you find, big booty, and other sexually explicit terms. But if you type in white girls, the results are radically different. The suggested porn sites and un-moderated discussions about why black women are so sassy, or why black women are so angry, presents a disturbing portrait of black womanhood in society". Noble (2018) further contends that these search engines like Google do not offer equality in data such as identities, ideas, and activities. Noble (2018) therefore presents what Daniels (2012) alludes to when s/he argues that internet infrastructure and designs are signifiers of race and racism.

On the other hand, Daniels (2009a: 660) posits that the nature of new media opens new horizons for individuals or organisations to distribute political agendas. Daniels (2009a: 661) makes reference to how the internet was used to perpetuate white supremacist movements in Europe and North America and how propaganda was interwoven in these sites which s/he labels as "cloaked websites". According to Daniels (2009a: 661) "cloaked websites" use legitimate elements such as civil rights, historical narratives etc. however to hide a certain political agenda which then describes the websites as counterfeit or illegitimate. Daniels (2009a: 661) uses the example of a "cloaked website" for Martin Luther King used to hide white political propaganda. Daniels (2009a: 661) then establishes that these cloaked websites presented by new media, disguise cyber- racism which is an epistemological challenge in the society.

[11] Google is a site used to search for information (digital unite).

Cineros and Nyakama (2015:109) have also contributed that "the internet has provided a new space for the cultivation of racial intolerance and hate speech". Cineros and Nyakama (2015: 109) have attributed this argument on the idea that with new media, there is ease of communication which can allow a wide platform for citizens to say anything.

To further this argument, Durrheim (2014: 2514) has portrayed that indeed, the increase of online communities and the ease of communication intertwined with the existent notion of racial conflicts, racial conversations are easily initiated. For instance, Durrheim (2014: 2514) notes how in South Africa, these online communities would racialise conversations that were arguably initially not racist. This can be afforded to psychological accounts and sociological accounts which are often used as lead factors to racial conflicts in online communities (Durrheim 2014: 2514). For instance, if one individual in the online communities would use various words such as 'animals', 'black', 'wild', 'white' to offer a comment over a political or social issue, the psychological and sociological effects sustaining issues of racism would influence other individuals to respond in a racist manner or to regard the comment as racist.

Therefore in conclusion, although new media is celebrated in that it has brought new technologies that enable digital forms of communication, interaction and convenience in the society, it has been noted also that new media has brought significant disadvantages. These disadvantages include concerns of euphoria and delusion in the society which have arguably misled society to believe that digital activism can bring about political and socio- economic change (Akpojivi 2018 & Morozov 2012). On the other hand, new media has proven its darker side of being used as an ideological tool to disseminate propaganda and perpetuate racism where (Daniels 2009a: 661 & Noble 2018) argue that new media's IT infrastructure is inherently racist.

Furthermore, the disadvantage of new media being used to disseminate racism was noticeable in the case of South Africa where various individuals such as Sparrow and others, used social media to express racism. These racial events sparked by social media could have arguably disadvantaged democratic efforts of creating unity and reconciliation amongst all racist.

Lastly, although this could be the case, the darker side of new media does not dismiss the idea that new media plays a critical role in revealing issues of racism that demands state and public attention. What the various scholars Cineros and Nyakama (2015), Whitehead et al (2015), Daniels (2012 & 2009a), and Atton (2006) do not demonstrate is the idea that although new media has been used for racism, its role has been intertwined in that it has also acted to expose racism. This then denotes that the problem is not with new media however, lies with how society relates to it (Livigston1992). New media has played a critical role in exposing the silent

issues of racism thus acted as an enlightenment to government and the public. Therefore one can argue that the role of new media cannot be considered in one perspective as noted in the above mentioned scholars, however, can be considered that its role has revealed the continued existence of racism in the society.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 The theory of Coloniality

Ramon (2007:219) posited that one of the most powerful myths of the 20th century in Africa was the notion that colonial structures have been eliminated, and created an illusionist idea that the previously colonised have been decolonized. The contention is, how can heterogeneous and global colonial structures built up for 450 years simply evaporate over the past 50 years? (Ramon 2007:219). Ramon (2007:219) argues that we continue to live under the same colonial matrix, where we have moved from a period of global colonialism to the current period of global 'coloniality'.

Coloniality reflects the persistent, structural and systematic patterns of the idealization of Western or White domination and modernized exploitation of native Africans in society (Ramon 2007:219). The roots of coloniality stems from colonialism where Ndlovu Gatsheni (2015) argues "first, colonialism and capitalism forcibly incorporated Africa into the world economy, beginning with the slave trade, which dragged African labour itself into the emerging international capitalist system". This illustrates that although colonialism was legislatively abolished in Africa, the continent however was not uprooted out of the capitalist westernised system in which it was planted in. For instance Ndlovu Gatsheni (2015:486) argues that African victory in the conquest of Europeans could not change the emerging wave of Euro-North American-Centric modernity that unfolded from the 15th century. This then argues that Africa could potentially be 'swallowed up' in this wave. Therefore Ndlovu Gatsheni (2015:486) argues that African countries continue to manage and maintain a global system even after the removal of colonial rulers.

Thus the idea of coloniality was advanced in post-colonial studies, and was made prominent by Anibal Quijano (Mignolo 2007:1). Coloniality is, therefore, a theory that interrelates the practices and legacies of European colonialism in social orders (Mignolo 2007:1). Maldonado-Torres (2007:242) argues that coloniality is a result of colonialism, however, that defines culture, labour, knowledge production, language, as well as inter-subjective relations. It,

therefore, ascertains the existing racial, political and social hierarchical orders that are continuously present in modern societies.

In providing a brief narrative of Africa and Coloniality, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 486) has argued that Africa was incorporated into a Euro-North America- centric world culture. This includes its incorporation in European Languages modern technologies, knowledge/information, Christian beliefs, of which all these elements are sustained by the Euro-North America- centric global system (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015: 486) . This therefore argues that in modernity, colonial power relations have not changed which then Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 489) borrowing from Anibal Quijano argues as coloniality of power.

Coloniality of power states that power is still maintained by the then colonisers of which global racial hierarchies have not changed. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015: 489) argues this as a "Zone of Being", defining this idea as "the world of those in charge of global power structures and beneficiaries of modernity". He also argues that there is the "Zone of None Being" defined as the "invented world that was the source of slaves and victims of imperialism". Thus, Africa is the "Zone of None Being" in that it remains exploited and used by those in charge of global power. For instance, this happens through its economic exploitation, political influence, westernised lifestyles etc. Therefore, in Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2015) reasoning, one establishes that coloniality of power is central in understanding issues of coloniality and the subjugation of Africa by modern colonisers.

Furthermore, Quijano (2007:1) alluded that coloniality plays out within the colonial matrices of power, which are mentioned as follows: The first is control of economy, which can be seen through land ownerships, exploitation of labour, and control of natural resources by big companies (Ndlovu 2007:n/p). The second is control of authority, which includes the maintenance of military superiority. The third is control of gender and sexuality, which asserts the re-imagination of family in westernised terms and the infiltration of western-centric education which erodes African cultures (Ndlovu 2007: n/p). The last is control of subjectivity and knowledge, which cites epistemological colonization of African subjectivity and its representation as inferior (Ndlovu 2007: n/p).

South African society is an insightful example of coloniality of power in that there continues to be matrices and manifestations of the hegemonic western forms of control that are evidently revealed in the existence of racism in the country. Post 1994 South African society continues to witness the dominance of white people in the form of control of the economy, sexuality and gender, and control of subjectivity and knowledge Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015).

Firstly, the economic control by white people is a form of coloniality of power in that it perpetuates tendencies of modern slavery of black people. This includes land ownership, domination by white companies, increased economic wealth of white people, and the continued impoverished of the majority of black people as demonstrated earlier (Dywer 2008: 239). Moreover, one can argue that the lack of economic power in general has 'ripple effects', in that it affects every other aspect of one's being and social surrounding in society. For instance, if one lacks economic power, they lack dominance even socially, culturally, and politically. They become dependent on those that have economic power, and, as a consequence, are dominated and prone to modern colonialism. For example, the white minority have economic dominance, thus have the power to build schools that would carry out western ideologies, consequently diminishing African cultures (Mignolo 2009). In addition to this, they own a majority of social establishments such as restaurants, malls, hotels etc., which inevitably reduces the presence of black people in social settings and participating economically (Ndlovu 2007: n/p).

Secondly, the domination of westernisation following colonization has diminished what can be described as African identity features, such as its cultures, languages, traditions, etc. This is what Quijano (2007:1) argues as control of gender and sexuality, as well as control of subjectivity and knowledge. For instance, the emphasis on westernised lifestyles have controlled beauty standards, resulting in, for example, black women bleaching their skin to be lighter in order to be accepted as beautiful (Olumide 2016:88). It also extends to issues of matrimonial ceremonies, such as the adoption of westernised forms of getting married -'the white wedding phenomenon'. These have replaced traditional forms of marriage, such as 'paying of bridal price', wearing African attires in matrimonial celebrations, and practising homage to ancestors, due to popular beliefs that traditional weddings are no longer relevant as westernised forms of marriage are becoming more and more dominant (Mugovera 2017:n/p).

Sihlongonyane (2000:3) posits that the difference between Eurocentric values and African values is that Eurocentric values are materialistic, scientific, and secular, imposing modern and industrialized ways of living. African values are communal, socialistic, and traditional. The whole idea of modern enlightenment and industrialization brought by western civilization consequently shaped the manner in which African families structured themselves and their environment, as these were overridden by western norms.

For instance, Sihlongonyane (2000:3) argues that the communal spirit of African families, "the family bond" and "spirit of community", was eroded by the notions of industrialization and materialism. For example, significant members of the family, the father or the mother, being subordinated under labour to work in different places, which eventually would create a distance between families. Sihlongonyane (2000:4) argues that the whole idea of urbanization, brought

by westernisation and technological advancement, have removed imperative factors such as the "African bonding factor", where families now spend less time together, replacing the socialistic values and the spirit of community due to industrialization and urbanization.

In South Africa, the implementation of human settling imposed by urbanization during apartheid, that is the establishment of townships and suburbs, eroded some important aspects of communal living. These include, African centred- leadership, referring to the traditional chiefs who historically led and guided the community with wisdom (Sihlongonyane 2004:3). The suburbs phenomenon led to the adoption of westernised lifestyles, such as language, westernised clothing, hairstyles, food, etc., and also resulted in less interaction with other members of the community, such as one's neighbours. The adoption of these Eurocentric values, Sihlongonyane (2000:4) argues, controlled the human environment, led to the deprivation of African cultures, and the lack of self- reliance and self- determinism of indigenous Africanness due to conformity to Eurocentric values.

The issue of coloniality of power also continues to be seen on the subject of language, where there is much emphasis on the use of *English* as a language, replacing African indigenous languages (Maldonado-Torres 2007:245). The westernised system of education that places much emphasis on western norms rather than African indigenous norms, such as the lack of African cultural studies in schools, is a form of eroding African systems and perpetrating coloniality. As a result, this has led to arguments of *coloniality of being*, arguing that the being or existence of Africans has been so colonized, such that Africans 'know' nothing else except what their colonial masters have taught them.

This can also be linked to the idea of *coloniality of knowledge* Mignolo (2009). Mignolo (2009) argues that knowledge is constructed and the imperative aspect to critique is who controls the construction of 'the' knowledge (who, when and why?). Mignolo (2009:2) carefully deconstructs the existence of knowledge in academia, the economy, politics, history and social knowledge. Mignolo (2009:2) argues that knowledge in its existence within geographical and biographical locations is an inhabitant of Europeanism which thus has controlled the *humanitas*.

Therefore the idea of *coloniality of knowledge* has produced *coloniality of being*. This is because what has shaped and made the being of people is the knowledge that they have about themselves and the exiting world, of which this knowledge is derived dependently on colonialism. Maldonado-Torres (2007:242) argues that the concept of 'coloniality of being' reflects the idea of how coloniality affected the lives of Africans under the discussion "lived experiences and language". He argues that although Africans would ideally like to maintain

their indigenous Africanness, their existence and way of life has been fabricated through westernised norms. This would include Africans lack of knowledge about their African history before they were colonised, lack of knowledge about their cultures, traditions and historic African civilisation, and lack of knowledge about their indigenous religions, etc. (Sihlongonyane 2000). Thus Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015:490) argues that Africa is today saddled with irrelevant knowledge that serves to disempower rather than empower individuals and communities.

What is problematic about 'coloniality of knowledge and being' is the idea that it is sustained within the western idea of modernity such that it imposes difficulties for Africans to produce their own sense of modernity independent from the former (Mignolo 2009: 3). For example, Mignolo (2009) demonstrates that African scholars, literature and research is influenced by Europe and the United States which imposes difficulty to produce organic knowledge. Mignolo (2009:12) argues that the history of African modernity is intertwined with the history of colonialism, "for that reason we never quite believed that there exists a universal domain of free discourse unfettered by race or nationality (Mignolo 2009:12). Therefore this perpetuates coloniality of being in that the knowledge produced even in Africa is still dependant on the western forms of modernity. Also, failure of Africans to mark their own modernity imposes struggles in the continent of Africa to decolonise.

Therefore Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015), Mignolo (2009) Nyamnjoh (2016) and Mbembe (2016) have extensively vocalised on the need for decoloniality. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) has argued that "decoloniality is a necessary liberatory language for the future of Africa". Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) maintains that the need for decolonisation is to redeem Africa from the colonial matrices of power. Mbembe (2016:6) also intimately argues that decolonisation encompasses what he calls the "university classroom". This Mbembe (2016:6) argues that a number of institutions are teaching knowledge deeply rooted on colonialism referring to this as the Eurocentric Epistemic Canon, meaning a westernised way of knowledge production. Therefore decoloniality would mean to decolonise the mind and the intellectual landscape of the country. Thus the issue of decoloniality becomes central in dealing away with issues of racism and identity as it can be argued, coloniality has exacerbated racism through the argued maintenance of white power and dominance.

Furthermore, Mignolo (2009) also reasons that the beginning of decoloniality starts by decolonising knowledge which he argues as "delinking from the web of imperial knowledge". Mignolo (2009) states that there is a need for Africans to free themselves from the knowledge of the equilibrium which calls for a radical transformation of the mind and organisations of

knowledge such as universities. Therefore the assumption is that if the mind can decolonise, then the 'being' would be decolonised thus will be able to defeat coloniality of power.

One agrees with Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015), Mignolo (2009) and Mbembe (2016) in that their advocacy is imperative to re-awaken the society to realise the ongoing racial issues challenging South Africa's democracy and the call to rise and stand against colonial legacies of every form. However, their academic advocacy lacks a direction into how should the mind be decolonised. Therefore, the argument of decoloniality becomes problematic as far as there is lack of clarity on the alternative knowledge production. Once we remove westernised knowledge, what then do we replace it with and how do we go about doing it? Although there have been arguments on the need to use 'African Thought' by Ngugi wa Thiong'o on *Decolonising The Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature (1986)* to replace westernised knowledge, the question however remains that to what extent is 'African Thought' not influenced by western modernity. This is because arguably, western knowledge has enormously shaped the being of Africans to an extent that arguably even the indigenous 'African Thought' has been eroded Mignolo (2009). Mbembe himself has drew his attention on Fanon's objection on the idea of Africanisation, arguing that Africanisation still draws on ideas of capitalism and elitism where only a certain people in the society are empowered while a majority is left behind which still denoted colonialism of a special type. Thus Fanon (1963) and Mbembe (2016) do not provide a clear way forward or alternative knowledge production if rejecting Africanisation. As a result, without a clear mandate and direction of decoloniality, colonisation will not be defeated.

Therefore in conclusion, granting the different notions of coloniality and its key elements, it is imperative for one to note that a key feature of coloniality central to this study is control of economy in the post-colonialist era and control of subjectivity and knowledge. This is to still acknowledge that the economic system of South Africa is constructed through racial lines, which underpin a system of segregation and inequality fashioned during colonialism and in post- apartheid, society and that these economic discrepancies have not been adequately corrected (Pfister 2005:3).

Control of subjectivity and knowledge also reveals issues of identity politics, which has largely contributed towards racial contestations in the country. The culture of white people is much more dominant over the diverse cultures of black people as the black community becomes increasingly urbanised and westernised. For example, the country's education system is largely organised through colonial terms, where English and Afrikaans remain the dominant languages and mediums of instruction in schools (Spaull 2012:n/p).

The lifestyle adopted by a majority of black families, especially the middle-class families, is deeply rooted in western cultures, such as social activities, interests, attitudes, and values (Sihlongonyane 2004:2). Not only is the idea of control of subjectivity and knowledge visible in social settings, the country's political system is also influenced by western ideals for the very reason that the idea of democracy itself is a westernised system or notion of civilisation, as opposed to the ancient traditional ideas of civilisation, such as traditional chiefs and monarchies (Sihlongonyane 2004:2).

Therefore, one can establish that the construction of racism in South Africa is fuelled by the idea of coloniality where white domination in society is persistent, and issues of decolonization remain a struggle. In particular, one notes that control of the economy, and control of subjectivity and knowledge remain critical elements that demonstrate the actualisation of coloniality in society.

2.2.2 The Social Identity Theory: The politics within South Africa's identity formation

Amid the emergence of identity discourses in social sciences, the social identity theory has become useful in demonstrating identity construction discourse in society. Steyn & Distiller (2008:4) argue that identity, just as race is neither natural nor biological, in that it is socially constructed by individuals based on their knowledge of who they are or who they perceive themselves to be, which can be defined as the 'self'. As a result, they argue that the process of identification of being who you are comes into existence by an *act* of being, which is argued as the process of performance. For example, one would hold the idea that they are black in that they believe they identify as black, and simultaneously perform or act as being black.

What defines identity, according to (Steyn & Distiller 2008:4), is the ideologies of 'self'. In other words, identity is informed by material and ideological contexts in which the 'self' finds 'itself'. They further contend that our senses of 'selves' are reliant on the worlds we live in, not independent of them (Steyn & Distiller 2008:4). In other words, one begins to find meaning in the things that surround us, such as people, places, cultures, and religions etc., which in the latter shape our sense of being, after which we then develop our identities. This then contends that identity does not have a moment of origin, it is neither given nor fixed; however, it has always being constructed and constantly reproduced in and as performance. The social identity theory, therefore, states that society is divided into groups, where these groups provide individuals with a sense of belonging to the social world (McLeod 2008:n/p). The *act* of division (the divided groups) is constructing and (re)producing identity.

In South Africa, the social identity groups were socially constructed during the era of colonialism and reproduced from time to time (Almaguer1994:28). These groups are

categorised as Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds, where Erasmus (2001) has described these categories as racial identities. The racial groups or categorization form the basis of individual identities as they carry notions of class, languages, culture, religious beliefs and physical appearances.

On the other hand, there are two primary identities often referred to in the South African society, the whiteness identity and the blackness identity. Whiteness just as blackness is argued by Falkof (2016:190) as an identity socially constructed by people of European decent to gain control over economic and political advantage during European colonial expansion. Thus whiteness came with enormous social and economic benefits as it was constructed to create a sense of superiority in the colonial era. On the other hand, Mbembe (2017) argues that blackness is in connection with the creation of whiteness, to act as a slave subjected to the conquest and exploitation by whiteness. As a result, whiteness was created as an identity of privilege contrary to the black identity created to be inferior. The white identity was also glorified by mentalities of Christian ideologies, where whites believed that their identity is God's chosen (Falkof 2016) thus whiteness being considered as pure and holy contrary to blackness.

Furthermore, seeing that identity is constantly constructed and reproduced, as Falkof (2016) would posit that identities are neither consistent nor permanent, identity in South Africa has inflected different meanings that have reproduced different sub-groups, supplementary to the already existing fundamental groups. In this case, amid the tension between blacks and whites, invoking debates about the identity of white people in South Africa, identity politics has resulted in the idea of specifying and, inadvertently, constructing identity groups amongst the primary groups.

These groups include the idea of the 'white South-African' (as opposed to the identity of black South African), the 'Afrikaner Identity', and the 'English speaking South Africans' (Matthews 2015:3). These identity groups have been created to enforce the identity of whites in South Africa and also sub-consciously create differences amongst white people themselves (Matthews 2015:3). Moreover, the identity of 'white South African' has been constructed to adopt the existence of white people, whose citizenship is South African and aims to uphold their sense of belonging in the country (Matthews 2015:3).

Therefore, the existence of an individual's identities in the South African society is influenced by the aforementioned racial groups and racial identities which the individual, by virtue of their given pragmatic choice, will identify themselves with. For instance, if one is born with a black skin and afro-textured hair, it becomes reasonable for them to identify themselves as black

rather than white. Moreover, as the 'self' of the person relies on the material and environmental objects surrounding his or her existence, they begin to develop themselves, and in the process, perform their identity, which will ultimately lead to them establishing their identity - 'I am a black person'.

As a result, the social identity theory states that the socially constructed groups and identities become important to us because they are a sense of who we are, and are an important source of pride and self- esteem (Capozza & Brown 2000:15). For instance, black people's identity would be their physical appearance, such as the colour of their skin, their sense of belonging in Africa, the idea of 'Africanness', while to others their identity is characterised by their traditional attire, food, indigenous languages or certain traditional practices. This to them would be their pride and sense of belonging.

As a result, individuals often use their groups to increase self-image and bestow pride on them. Thus, individuals often become patriotic about their groups to the extent of consciously, or sub-consciously, protecting them, while in the process, however, their patriotic act often becomes chauvinistic. For instance, van Dijk (1992) argued that in the case of whiteness, the white identity was a sense of pride in the white community in that it bestowed in them social recognition, economic power and respect from other racial groups.

Also, the social identity theory states that individuals would seek to enhance and increase their self-image in order to enhance the status of the group to which they belong (McLeod 2008:2). Capozza & Brown (2000:15) describe this as intergroup discrimination, arguing that individuals elevate the in-group while depreciating the out-group. This often happens when we talk positively about our groups while discriminating and holding prejudiced views against other groups (McLeod 2008:2). This, according to the social identity theory, is the psychological idea of "them" and "us" (McLeod 2008:2). "Them" in a sense that we often distance ourselves from other groups and talk as if they are not a part of us, and "us" in a sense that we are dominant in our space. This is known as in- group (us) and out-group (them) (McLeod 2008:2). For instance, a person from a different race can use stereotypes such as black people are lazy, and in so doing undermining the image of the group, while increasing the image of their own groups.

As a consequence, the more individuals edify their groups, the more they believe their identity is enhanced. For the person using stereotype ideologies against the other group, they are made to believe that they are different and better than the other groups. van Dijk (1992) argues this as racial prejudices citing that they are often acquired and shared through everyday conversations. This posits that racial stereotyping has been normalised and often appears as

naturalised thereby constructing racial prejudices used by in-groups to undermine out-groups. To further this argument, McLeod (2008:3) argues that this stereotyping is based on a normal cognitive process: the tendency to group things together in an exaggerated manner. This tendency considers a) the differences between groups, and b) the similarities of things in the same groups. For example, in out-group representation, the identity of coloureds is often presented in ambiguity, where they are presented as mixed race and with extreme stereotypes such as violence, gangsterism, and being inclined to drug addiction stereotypes. In addition to this, they are seen by the wider public as not having any recognised culture and having an identity crisis as they are neither portrayed as black nor white, and as a result often become excluded economically, politically, and socially (Petersen 2015:2).

Indians, on the other hand, are often seen as foreigners in that they are defined by where they historically originate, their nationality, which is India (Reddy 2015: n/p). This is contrary to the race classifications of black, white or coloured (Reddy 2015: n/p). Therefore, the fact that they are identified by their nationality brings a confusion into fully identifying them as South African, which often leads to the group being isolated. While this is the case, they are also identified by their religions, traditions and cultures - such as their clothing and food. Moreover, Indians are often not taken seriously on the idea of nationhood because the only races that exists in debates and discussions are black and white (Reddy 2015: n/p). As a result, they are also excluded economically and politically and they are also viewed as people who live in South Africa to make money and gain wealth (Reddy 2015: n/p).

On the other hand, stereotypes can also be used against the in-group. For example, a black woman would appraise a light skin colour, by for instance bleaching her skin to obtain a lighter complexion, inadvertently discriminating against the black group and edifying the white group, while adopting a white identity. This is noted as internalised racism which is the act of practising racist attitudes towards members of your own identity group, through practices such as skin lightening, which can be interpreted as ‘black women are ugly’ thereby impacting negatively on one’s own group (Panlay 2016:20). Moreover, van Dijk (1992) has noted this as mental representations that produce attitudes and ideologies about racial groups.

Consequently, the existence of identity groups in the society enforces the notion of racial hierarchies as noted by Johnson (2008). The racial hierarchy is characterised by social class which works as a major determinant of access and opportunity. For instance in South Africa, albeit democracy, the social class of whites remains dominant and privileged in the country’s economy which invariably gives them power socially (Dywer 2008). This has also been caused by the idea of ‘the unearned wages of whiteness’ where whites continue to benefit in post-apartheid, the privileges of whiteness in apartheid (Johnson 2008:622). Likewise, the continued

privileges of whites is 'blamed' on government's failure to deliver economic equality (as noted in the argument of institutional racism), thus arguing that the white identity is still dominant (Reed 2016). The black identity is still considered inferior to that of whites, while coloureds and Indians are economically ranked higher than a majority of blacks (Reed 2016).

These social identities have consequently caused social barriers such that there is often limited space for people to inter-meddle and mix with other groups. Barriers are often created by certain social differences such as different cultures, beliefs, languages, economic class etc. For instance, some identity groups would find difficulty in socializing with other groups in that they would first have to adapt to the out-group cultures, belief systems, etc., which is a process and may clash with "their" own belief system. For example, it would be easier for a black person to intermingle with other black people than it would for them to do so with Indians or whites because of certain stereotypes notions that would prohibit socialization.

Johnson (2008:625) has noted that the difficulty of races to socialise with one another has been caused by apartheid ideologies such as blacks being considered a disgrace in the white community. These ideologies have carried on to the point where the black community is forbidden by the white community, thus the black community distancing itself from the white community in fear of being undermined (Johnson 2008:625). This has therefore been problematic in the South African society in that there is less intermeddling amongst the country's races.

Furthermore, an interesting argument regarding identity in South Africa has been brought forward by Matthews (2015) in the journal article titled *shifting white identities in South Africa*: *White Africans and the struggle for racial justice* on the argument if whites should be considered Africans. This followed after disputes over institutional identity tools such as completion of forms where South Africans are made to choose between the identities "white, coloured, African and Indian". Various white groups noted by Matthews (2015:114) such as AfriForum, staged a small protest march in which they wanted to identity as African. Importantly, one extracted from this that whites are often not regarded as African.

What is therefore problematic about this ideology is that it excludes whites from belonging in Africa thus threatens their identity as they 'feel' like outsiders (Matthews 2015). This consequently divides the country's races as it entrenches notions that only blacks and coloureds are Africans thus excluding whites. Ones point of departure is, the mere fact that whites live in the African continent, should identify as African. Although the notion of being African is complex (noted by Matthews 2015:115) such as the African identity being characterised with

being black, traditions and cultures, it does not reject the idea that whites whose citizenship is South African, should identity as African.

Therefore, the social identity theory contributes towards the understanding of identity construction in South Africa. We have noted that identity politics in South Africa plays out according to the notions of race, because race, as constructed according to the colour of one's skin, determines how one is seen and perceived by other races, as well as how one sees themselves. This then illustrates the identity crisis that the South African society faces in that identity is constructed through race, and the tendency to discriminate against other racial groups is overwhelming as the study by NRFSA reveals that social identities in South Africa are increasingly being constructed along existing ethnic, class, and racial identities (SACAP 2013:1). These, as a result, have defiled efforts made by government in transforming society by trying to foster social cohesion and autonomous national identity, consequently continuing to cause social polarization (SACAP 2013:1). Although the social identity theory has assisted in understanding how the South African society formed its various identities, it is paramount that one extends the discussion by further referring to the *Identity Development Theory*.

2.2.3 The identity development theory (IDT): Understanding the development of Identities in Post-Apartheid South Africa

The racial identity development theory is defined by Janet Helms (1990:3) as

> A sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group, racial identity development theory concerns the psychological implications of racial group membership that is a belief system that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership.

It is assumed that in a society, where there is extensive emphasis on racial group membership, the development of a racial identity is inevitable and will occur in every individual (Tatum 1992:8). The identity development theory becomes useful to understand how these identities are formed or constructed. Although there are other existing racial groups such as coloureds and Indians, for the purpose of this discussion, the study concentrate analyses on the model of black identity development and white identity development, given the dominant relationship between whites and blacks in the South African society.

Black Racial Identity Development

Tatum (1992:10) outlines that the black racial identity development model has five stages that formulate a process of creating a black identity. These stages are identified as *Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Ermesion, Internalization* and *Commitment* (Tatum 1992:10). In the

first stage of pre-encounter, due to colonialism, the black person has adopted many of the beliefs and values of the dominant white culture, including the notion that "white is right" and "black is wrong" (Tatum 1992:10). This is mainly caused by negative black stereotypes outside his or conscious awareness, influencing the individual to seek association and acceptance by whites and actively or passively distancing him/herself from other blacks. This is the process which Brown et al. (2011:33) describe as self – stigmatization, where black people adopt racist stereotypes in reflecting on their own lifestyles, thinking, and conduct. In other words, they look at themselves 'through white eyes' where the process can transpire either by using stereotypes of themselves or of other black people (Brown et al. 2011:33).

For example, Brown et al. (2011:33) referred to an interview Mtose (2009) conducted with a working-class participant named Sida, who shared her experience as the first black person to chair a finance committee meeting in an Eastern Cape municipality where she worked. Sida stated that throughout the committee meeting, she felt very intimidated by the presence of whites and began to doubt herself and lost confidence in herself, wondering if she was perceived as incompetent because she was black. After the meeting, one of the committee members came to her and said, "That was a good meeting, you are learning fast". Seeing herself through white eyes, Sida interpreted this as a comment about her shortcomings and mainly because she is black and has to 'catch-up' with the intelligence of white people.

In addition to this, Brown et al. (2011:33) also referred to another interview by Mtose (2009) who interviewed a black university professor to establish how black people also judge other blacks using racist stereotypes. The professor confessed that black people often embarrass him by their behaviour in the presence of whites, saying "black people often find excuses for, like, people urinating in public places, against buildings, and such as spitting on the floor". This really made him feel bad, saying "sometimes our people can really embarrass us" (Brown et al. 2011:33), which further demonstrates the idea of internalised racism.

The second stage Tatum (1992:10) describes as a stage where the individual begins to be race conscious. In this case, although the individual would have been typically influenced by the dominance of the white race, the individual however, rather, begins to feel less acceptance by the white group, which Tatum (1992:11) posits as social rejection by white people. The moment the individual is faced with a 'social reality', such as not being able to fit in with the group of white friends or colleagues, or through reading new personally relevant information about racism, or by merely being confronted by racism either from the media or in social settings, the individual begins to distance her/himself from the white race and can only be conscious of their own race (Tatum 1992:11). According to Tatum (1992:11) this also happens

the moment the individual begins to learn about issues of racial inequality in society, from economic inequalities to social inequalities, which consequently leads the individual to face the reality that he or she cannot truly be white and the individual is suddenly enlightened that the white group may not view him or her as an equal.

This stage is called Immersion/Ermesion, where black individuals begin to construct or develop their black identity as they simultaneously surround themselves with visible symbols of the black identity, while actively avoiding symbols of whiteness. In South Africa, for instance, the expansion of racial debates since the Penny Sparrow racism wave in January 2016, led to the reawakening of black consciousness, where a number of individuals began to be protective towards the black identity which became pervasively visible in popularising Social Media Movements such as the *I Love Black People* Facebook page and *My Black is Beautiful* Facebook page that aims to positively celebrate black people in response to their experiences with racism (See Appendix 4).

As black people were struck by the social reality of racism in South African society, a majority began to distance themselves from symbols of whiteness and consciously embraced symbols of blackness, although some may have been left in the first stage. This also took place in a number of debates that transpired on social media, to the extent of perpetuating racial expression against white people (See Appendix 5).

It is, therefore, evident that there is a sense of detachment from white symbols, as black South Africans simultaneously begin to develop their own black identity through, for example, the embrace of black hair (afro hair and braids typically known as black hair), black skin, black cultures, etc. Tatum (1992:11) argues that at this stage, everything of value in life must be black or relevant to blackness, where there is much more glorification of black people than of white people. This is because as the individual transits from the pre-encounter stage to the immersion stage, there is some sort of white-focused anger that the individual carries, anger that may be caused by racist confrontations such as the Penny Sparrow racism event. As a result, the individual seeks to direct his or her focus towards their black identity and begins a journey of self- exploration. This was evident as a number of black people posted their views on social media in response to Penny Sparrow, which meant that in the process they focused their attention towards the idea of being black and developed the pro-black attitude.

The next stage Tatum (1992:11) describes as the Internalization stage. In this stage, the black individual is secure in their own identity. There is no longer a need to assert the pro black attitude as the individual begins to be settled into their own identity. Black people begin to be more open and less defensive about who they are as they are willing to establish meaningful

relationships with whites, who acknowledge and are respectful of the black identity (Tatum 1992:11). This stage can be divided into two segments: it can take place at the level of individualization or collectiveness. It is still early, however, to establish if internalization has taken place in the black community at the level of collectiveness.

This is because one would argue, some black people in South Africa are transitioning from the pre-encounter stage, where they had adopted white symbols through the dominance of colonialism, and are now simultaneously moving towards the immersion stage. Also, it can be argued, a number of black South Africans are still left in the pre-encounter stage, where they are largely influenced by white identity practices such as adopting white beauty standards, the asserting of black stereotypes against black people, the adoption of white cultures such as a white wedding, etc. On the other hand, perhaps immersion does take place on an individual basis, which one cannot argue for or against in this study because it is a self-conscious psychological process, which may not be readily visible, unless research is focused on the subject.

White Racial Identity Development

The issue of white identity is controversial in that the white identity has to evolve from a negative identity to a positive identity. This is because typically, the white identity is synonymous with racism (Johnson 2008). Historically, the fact of whiteness carries colonial historical contexts and notions of white privilege and dominance against people of colour (Matthews 2015:4). While at the same time, Falkof (2016) noted that the white identity was attached to issues of murder and violence. Thus both racism and violence imposed against other racial groups frame the identity within negativity. Thus the white identity development describes the evolution of a positive white racial identity that evolves to abandon the typical racist white identity. Tatum (1992:13) argues that "in order for the white person to do the latter, he or she must accept his or her own whiteness, the cultural implications of being White and define a view of self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group over another".

There are, therefore, six stages in the model of white identity development outlined by Tatum. These stages are Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independent, Immersion/Ermersion and Autonomy (Tatum 1992:13). This study however shall only focus on the first two stages, because according to this research, the white identity development remains on either of the two stages, although individually there may be white people who have developed to the other stages.

The contact stage is characterized by a lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, as well as one's own privilege (Tatum 1992:13). At the contact stage, most white people err through learning that racism is something which puts others at a disadvantage, but are not taught to see one of its imperative aspects - white privilege, which puts them at an advantage and ultimately generates white dominance (Tatum 1992:13). This perception, according to Tatum (1992:13), is generated by the idea that most white people have been taught to perceive racism only in individual acts of meanness, not in invisible systems, such as their economic privilege.

To advance this argument, McIntosh (1989:1) argues that whites are carefully taught not to recognise white privilege as a form of racism in that they are taught that racism is an act of meanness against other races, rather than white privilege. McIntosh (1989:1), therefore, argues that they are unconsciously oppressive through acknowledged white privilege. This is because Johnson (2008:623) argues that most whites in democratic South Africa refuse to accept responsibility for apartheid which can be regarded as white denialism or white arrogance in that they were taught to be patriotic about their identity.

Thus the argument that Tatum (1992:13) raises is that the contact stage is critical, yet so detrimental to society, because until whites are no longer ignorant of their privilege and dominance they cannot take part in the idea of eradicating racism. Currently, there are enormous debates about white privilege, which ultimately signifies dominance and subsequently shapes the white identity as synonymous with racism. One such debate took place on SABC News between AfriForum's Ernest Roets, political analyst Eusebius MacKaiser, and Black First, Land First convener Andile Mngxitama where they argued about racism and white privilege in South Africa (eNCA 2016). During the course of the debate, Ernest Roets was adamant that white people worked for their success and wealth, while deliberately avoiding answering questions on the issue of white privilege as a form of institutional racism.

In response to Roets, Eusebius MacKaiser argued "it is ignorance and arrogance proving that white people are unrepentant of their privilege that would lead to Roets's response on the issue at hand". (eNCA 2016) MacKaiser's argument was directed to the fact that Roets failed to deliberate on the issue of institutional racism, which is South Africa's main challenge, and instead only focused on other forms of racism, such as black people's hatred against white people. Therefore, by listening to this debate, one was put at liberty to construct critical ideas that Tatum established in his argument about white people's identity construction. For instance, this debate displayed Tatum's (1992:13) argument that a significant number of white people lack awareness on the issue of cultural and institutional racism, as well as their own privilege, which they deliberately refuse to confront.

Tatum (1992:13) argues that because white people refuse to confront arguments of white supremacy, they often project little interaction with people of colour and often structure their lives to ensure limit awareness of racial issues. This is because, according to Tatum (1992:13), the contact stage also includes naïve curiosity about, or fear of people of colour based on stereotypes learned from friends, family or the media. A number of white people may avoid talking about race, and interacting with black people, to supposedly keep themselves safe, while at the same time may defend white racism. This kind of a structured life may result in the white person to remain within the contact stage.

On the other hand, van Dijk (1992:89) noted that white people's refusal to confront racism can be presented in many ways, at micro, meso- and macro levels. The first form is white people resenting to be perceived as racist. Some would even say "we are not racist or we are not a racist society". This is a form of denying in a blanket approach at a macro or group level the possible existence of racism in the white community. Also, according to van Dijk (1992:89) individual denials can be made by comparison to others for example one's neighbour or customers and then hide behind them such as "I have nothing against them, but you know my customers don't like to deal with black personnel…" This denial shows defence however, does not remove the fact that it's a denial of racism. Other forms of denial would be when a white individual makes racist comments but later argue "I did not intend it that way". This indicates the individual distancing themselves from racism in protection of the white identity.

The next stage, is called the disintegration stage. This stage is caused by certain kinds of experiences, such as increased interaction with people of colour or exposure to new information about racism (Tatum 1992:13). At this stage, ignorance or lack of awareness is replaced by comfort of guilt, shame, and sometimes anger at the recognition of one's own advantage because of being white, and the acknowledgement of the role of whites in the maintenance of a racist system (Tatum 1992:13).

Johnson (2008:626) argues that in democracy, there are a number of whites who feel guilty over apartheid. These are notably the white South Africans who were fed false information such as 'the covenant'– which stated that Afrikanners have a special pact with God, thus they can rule over other races and enslave blacks. These apartheid patriots as well as those who generally feel guilty over racism regret apartheid and its ideologies. As a result, there may be a number of white people who are trying to create the non-racist identity by advocating against white privilege, however, this identity is still not visible enough because some white people are still in the first stage, while some have attempted to create the non-racist identity.

In conclusion, these identity theories are helpful to understand how identities in post-apartheid South Africa are constructed. The social identity theory, in particular, is helpful to understand the idea of identity, how identity is constructed in society, and how different races relate to one another based on their so-called identities, which is identity politics. The identity development theory, on the other hand, with focus on black identity development and white identity development, assisted in understanding how these existing identities were or are developed in South Africa. It has also revealed critical aspects of identity politics, such as the influence of a white identity on black people, the rejection of whiteness by some black people in pursuit of a black identity, and the construction of the white identity in South Africa.

One's point of departure, therefore, is that as long as there is greater emphasis on these racial identities, South Africa will not be a united society. Moreover, it will be difficult to create a common national identity in which people would no longer see themselves according to these racial groups, but rather through the same national identity. Thus, one's contribution to the matter is that the South African government should adopt total eradication of racial identification and create one common identity in an effort to create a non-racialised society. This does not mean it would happen as effortlessly and as quickly as possible, it simply means a significant amount of time may need to be invested towards changing and implementing new policies, social belief systems, and in changing society's mind-set towards the new identity.

2.2.4 The Libertarian Theory: Freedom of speech in New Media dynamics

In the midst of the already mentioned racism events that took place within social media, particularly in 2016, is the critical notion of freedom of speech that individuals exercised when engaging with racial discourses. This has driven the study to also engage with the idea of liberty in order to understand pivotal issues of freedom of speech and the argued democratised nature of South African social media. Libertarianism is a political philosophy that advocates for individual's freedom and free thoughts, which explains that individuals are free from any authority, control or censorship (Mill 1857:3). The idea of liberty was philosophically conceived by John Stuart Mill in his work *On Liberty* in 1854, where he critically discussed the tension between authority and liberty, constructing profound analysis of the tyranny of government and the adverse infringement on the liberty of citizens (Mill 1857:3).

The idea of liberty places much emphasis on individualism and limited government interference. This is because, according to Mill (1857:3), the superimposed tyranny of government over individual's will results in the oppression of an individual's freedom and fundamental rights, such as of freedom of speech. Therefore, the study focuses on

understanding liberty as valuing the autonomous being of an individual in society and the liberty of thought and discussion afforded to individuals within new media.

Considering Mill's (1857:3) philosophical idea of individuality, it is one of the most fundamental elements of well-being, in that it values the 'being' of an individual, where the very existence and human nature of a person matters. As a result, Mill (1857:3) argues that a person should be given liberty to pursue his or her own interests, as long as it does not harm the interest of others. Liberty upholds the idea that an individual's will is unopposed by any other 'will', stating that rightful liberty is unobstructed and individuals are allowed to do anything. And so, the primacy of this theory maximizes autonomy and freedom of choice, arguing that individuals should not be coerced by the state (Mill 1857:3).

In post- apartheid South Africa, liberty is critical because freedom of speech is one of the most fundamental values of democracy. Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa reflects the Bill of rights that aims to govern and protect the political, civil and socio-economic rights of all people in South Africa including freedom of speech (Republic of South Africa Constitution). Freedom of speech, therefore, constitutes the idea of liberty granted to individuals in a democratic South Africa to freely express themselves and make their voices to be heard. This is what Mill (1857:3) would argue as the liberty of thought and discussion.

In this case, liberty then becomes distinct in understanding new media and the exercise of freedom of speech in the society. For instance, the increase in the use of social media by citizens to freely express their opinion on issues of racism, such as in the examples of Bongani Qwabe, Penny Sparrow, Velaphi Khumalo, Matthew Theunissen, etc., are examples of the exercise of freedom of speech that is advocated by the libertarian theory (News24 2016:n/p). This is to note that in the advent of new media and the prevalence of freedom of speech, citizens are at liberty to freely express themselves and facilitate conversations of their interests. This notion then grants the idea of a public sphere where the popularity of new media and liberalism have portrayed the idea of new media acting as a public sphere.

This is because the ability of liberalism to create a free space for communication in society has led to arguments of new media being perceived as a public sphere, as espoused by the Habermasian public sphere theory[12]. A public sphere is considered a space in social life where individuals can come together to engage and discuss societal problems, shaping these

12 The public sphere theory was developed by Jürgen Habermas in which he conceptualised it as a space where public opinion has the ability to shape political power and form public policy (Dahlberg 2005: 115). In his historical narrative informed by the Frankfurt School tradition, Habermas argued that the public sphere's effectiveness is constituted and maintained through dialogues, acts of speech and discussions (Dahlberg 2005: 115). A public sphere is therefore a space in which private individuals come together as public and use their own reasoning to influence the power of the state.

engagements in a way to influence political action (Dahlberg 2005:115). Although the idea of a public sphere referred to citizens meeting in physical buildings or spaces, the contemporary idea of the theory affords new media as a space in which citizens can come together and engage with each other (Dahlberg 2005:115). As a consequence, new media platforms, such as social media networks, can be regarded as spaces that have the ability to facilitate citizen engagement and freedom of speech, which is the ultimate idea of a public sphere.

For instance, this has been done through social media activism noted by Akpojivi (2018:179). Akpojivi (2018:179) argued "the inspiration of digital media developments has altered activism and ushered in new media and dynamic ways of generating awareness and participating". This argues that digital technology has allowed citizens to be involved in societal issues affecting their lives through activism thus inspiring the idea of a public sphere.

Therefore, the critical element in the idea of a public sphere is liberty where citizens freely express themselves in dialogues and conversations within that given social space. Hence, the idea of liberalism as granted by the libertarian theory, gives effect to the notion of new media being considered a public sphere. In South Africa, the idea of citizens exercising their constitutional right of freedom of speech regarding racial issues within new media platforms according to their inherent liberty, denotes a participation in a public sphere.

Although the public sphere theory is useful as far as understanding new media as a public sphere, it however remains prone to criticism by scholars such as Dahlberg and Nancy Fraser. Dahlberg's (2000:111) point of departure centres upon how the Habermas public sphere reinvigorated capitalists interests therefore excluding and marginalising the poor. This is because the mass media as considered a public sphere, reduced its effectiveness to function as one due to the penetration of capitalism such as in forms of ownership of the mass media Dahlberg (2000:112). While this became prevalent, it consequently led to mass media as a bourgeoisie public sphere, side-lining the voices of the majority, but representing the voices of the elite.

This can be noted as the case even with new media as a public sphere in that the use of new media is reliant on affordability putting into question the issue of the digital divide (Akpojivi 2018: 194). Digital divide alludes to the notion of inequality in the possession of digital gadgets i.e. smartphones, the issue of airtime and or data affordability as well as technology literacy within communities (Bornman 2015). Akpojivi (2018:194) posits that the issue of equality in participating in the public sphere is imperative as it aims to question the idea of egalitarian utopianism such as the issue of access to the internet and the power of affordability. This then cites criticisms that the public sphere is elite oriented within the Marxist theory as it arguably

serves the interests of those who have economic power translating this to the idea of 'communicative power' (Fuchs 2014).

Furthermore, it seeks to question as noted by (Akpojivi 2018:194) that how many people can afford to buy data to be on social media networks seeing the economic inequalities in South Africa. Thus, this cites that those who cannot afford, can be excluded from participating in this type of a public sphere? The middle class and the elite are the ones privileged to participate, which still argues that the public sphere is centred upon notions of capitalism. Firstly, this is to recognise that the demand of data in order for one to participate in this public sphere, still entrenches ideas that the public sphere is controlled by enterprises whose interests is profit (Akpojivi 2018:194).

Akpojivi (2018:194) noted that according to Research by ICT Africa, pricing remains prevalent in South Africa as the country ranks 30th out of 46 countries examined in affordability and connectivity. For example, the cost of 1GB of data between the telecommunication operators ranges between R99 to R160 (Akpojivi 2018:194). This then demonstrates that enterprises are driven by making profit, thus obscuring the role of the public sphere. Secondly, the public sphere entrenches classist notions whereby only a certain privileged class in the society can participate thereby forgoing the notions of egalitarianism (Akpojivi 2018: 194).

Therefore the idea of a public sphere becomes problematic in that only those with affordability can have power to express their opinions and have their voices heard thereby marginalising the less affording consequently, presenting this 'public sphere' as a liberal model for the bourgeoisie. In South Africa for instance those who could express their racial views can be argued as privileged and thus dominant to an extent that those who did not have 'communicative power' were subjugated within the views of those who were privileged thereby being excluded from participating.

Furthermore, the notions of legitimate public opinion are put into perspective and scrutiny as social media can be a free space where public discourse cannot properly be shaped or censored. It is a space of diverse individuals and high freedom of expression (Morozov 2012). Therefore it could be challenging for the state to collate social media discourse and put a distinction on legitimate public opinion and construct it to form or shape public policy so as to benefit society. As a result, the public sphere is limited in terms of offering legitimate public opinion.

On the other hand, Frazer (1990: 57) contends that the Habermasian public sphere was used as an ideological tool in which its bourgeoisie nature excluded women. Frazer (1990: 57) contends that the view that women were excluded in the public sphere became ideological as women were abridged to have least voices in the society. This reveals that the public sphere can be

used as an ideological tool to serve the interests of a certain group in the society just as how it was used to marginalise women. For instance, Back (2001:1) argues that new media has always been used as an ideological tool for white supremacists to further their interests. For example, Back (2001:1) notes how various websites were created on the internet to disseminate the interests of white people. Atton (2006:574) also added that these websites would be for political campaigns such as the one h/she referred to, created by the British National Party to be used as part of campaigning however with ideologies of whiteness or white supremacy.

This then cites that although new media can be useful in as far as allowing public debates, it cannot however be fully trusted seeing that it can be used by anyone to facilitate their ideologies just as this has been the case in South Africa where it has been used to disseminate racist ideologies. These criticisms however do not defeat the idea of new media with the advantage of liberty as a public sphere in that it has prominently proven itself as being a useful space for individuals to come together and express opinions on political issues - noted during the research period.

Nevertheless, what is critical to note is that although liberty is imperative in a democratic society, it has limitations (Mill 1857:3). The first limitation that one would note in exercising liberty in new media as a public sphere, is the importance of creating a balance between freedom of speech and hate speech. This is a limitation in that although citizens are given the liberty to freely express themselves, certain expressions may not be allowed because they would be denoted as hate speech in society. For example, Mill (1857:12) holds that individuals are granted liberty, however, their liberty is limited by the mere fact that they ought not to interfere with the interests of others. Each right has associated responsibilities that the individual should observe in order to protect society. Mill (1857:12), therefore, argues that due to this reasoning, society has jurisdiction over an individual's behaviour.

For instance, although the expressions of the above-mentioned individuals (Penny Sparrow etc.) can be perceived as freedom of speech, it is critical to note that such expressions may have resulted in hate speech, thereby undermining the interests of other citizens in society, including unity, peace and dignity. Freedom of speech is the liberty granted to individuals to freely express themselves, hate speech denotes individuals expressing things that are offensive or harmful to other groups (Whitehead et al 2015: 94). Therefore, even though these individuals may have been exercising their freedom of speech, it is more likely that they practiced hate speech to other groups, which limits their freedom.

In addition to this, the public sphere theory outlines that citizen engagement through freedom of speech must contain the potential to influence public policy, which can contribute towards

state building. As a result, referring to the nature of the racial discourses that emanated from citizens, to what extent have these citizen's expressions contributed towards state building? This is to critically note that the racial discourses that took place in the name of liberty were, to a very large extent, denoted as hate speech in that they evoked racism in society, as citizens were not pleased with the expressions of the individuals. This reiterates the notion of legitimate public opinion. It also buttresses Morozov's (2012) argument about legitimate political action within social media. For instance, just because individuals may be critical of government or the issue of race because they are at liberty to do so, does not mean their opinions are legitimate enough to contribute towards state building, such as in the case of online racism.

Furthermore, liberty is not absolute as Mill (1857) would note. For example, Mill (1857:12) argues that although individuals have their liberty, government may still interfere on behalf of individuals incapable of self-governance. This to illustrate, may refer to penalties and punishments imposed on individuals who may be breaking their obligations, such as causing harm to others. Thus, in principle, government interferes to punish the act, not the individual, because the individual still has liberty, however, the act of liberty may have caused harm to society. Currently in South Africa, there are interventions by the state to limit the liberty of individuals, such as limiting what people should say or not say when it comes to the issue of race. This includes legal fines imposed on those found guilty of racism or racist actions, such as in the case of Penny Sparrow, where the state legally opened a court case against her on criminal charges for racist comments translated as hate speech (City Press Online 2016)

The problematic issue, however, is that although there are limitations attached to individual's liberty, state interference is still minimal because the nature of the libertarian theory rejects state's coercion on individuals (Mill1857). Therefore, either way, the state has little control over individuals which may cause them to continue to be in liberty to pursue their interests.

One also notes that the lack of regulation of freedom of speech by the South African government on social media also imposes challenges in society (Whitehead et al 2015). If new media can be used as a platform to enforce racism tendencies that undermine the state's efforts in creating a non-racial society, then the liberty given to society is destructive rather than constructive. In this case, where does one draw the line in exercising legitimate autonomous freedom that is not harmful to society? This question is important because we have witnessed how, in South Africa, the liberty granted to individuals in their use of social media has to a larger extent worked against society, in that it awoke past colonial issues of racism, thereby re-working the aspirations of apartheid. This is to further note that the sovereignty of individuals is not guided by the state to significantly contribute towards common good, however, individuals also have power that triumphs over the state's attempts at dealing with racism.

Moreover, if libertarianism grants freedom of speech in the name of individual sovereignty and rejects state's interference, then how will the state benefit from public opinion because individual will cannot be guided to significantly contribute towards state needs i.e. public policy.

Therefore, is there need to restrict social media liberty in South Africa? One argument could be that the South African government could censor the internet, such as in North Korea, Tunisia, Cuba, Syria, etc., so as to align the media in accordance with the government's ambitions (Petronzio 2016:2). This is because Mill (1857:13) argues that the only manner through which power can rightfully be exercised in a civilized society by the sovereignty of individuals is if an individual's power is not harmful to others. Thus, by virtue of this argument, power that is harmful to citizens is not imperative and could be eliminated.

This is to further acknowledge that individual's autonomy in South Africa, exercised through new media, is to some extent detrimental when regarded in light of issues of racism, and could amplify the need to be restricted for the good of society. This is to acknowledge racial events of 2016 that prompted the government to debate the need for social media regulation. This, however, does not necessarily imply that censorship of the internet would successfully curb contentious racial issues, as long as the racial mind-set persist. Therefore, perhaps other means of guiding individual freedom by the state, such as through education and legal penalties, would assist in dealing with the issue at hand.

In conclusion, the liberty granted to individuals is critical in a democratic society to form public opinion, which is granted by the idea of a public sphere. Although new media has, on the one hand, been used to undermine government's efforts in creating a non-racial society, it has, on the other hand, to a larger extent, contributed or acted as an informative tool for society and government to reveal critical race issues that require the public 's and state's attention. Moreover, in exercising freedom of speech, citizens also have to take note of hate speech, and learn to balance between free speech and hate speech.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This study employed qualitative research to collect and gather critical information. Unlike quantitative research which gathers numeric information and reports data through statistical analyses, qualitative research is a type of scientific research that uses research methods such as interviews, focus groups, ethnographic observations etc. (McLeod 2008: 10). McLeod (2008:12) explains that qualitative research is used to obtain culturally specific information about values, opinions, behaviours and social contexts of particular populations. Qualitative research is thus useful to generate information when conducted at the individual level to establish in depth ways of how people think or feel (McLeod 2008: 10).

The researcher therefore found qualitative research useful for this study because through employing qualitative research methods such as interviews and cyber ethnography, one gained insight and the ability to generate qualitative data about the social context of the South African society. These include, gaining understanding of the society's beliefs, values, opinions and behaviours in response to the issue of race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Qualitative data also assisted the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the issue of race-racism in addressing the emanating research questions such as how race is constructed in post-apartheid South Africa and the role of new media in facilitating racial debates.

Also, in view of the epistemological ideas associated with qualitative and quantitative research methods of data collection, this referring to ideologies of positivism and post-positivism[13], applying qualitative method was significant for the study. This is because unlike with positivism, post-positivism in qualitative research allowed the researcher to employ a more integrated and more deliberative approach in collecting data in order to assure the validity of the study. This is because post-positivism sees the need for integration of different methods of data collection in order to extract appropriate or quality data unlike with positivism that believes in singular methods of data collection.

For example, Adam (2014: 6) argues that with post-positivism applying various methods of data collection, it introduces doubt as to the appropriateness of using a single method citing the

13 Positivism and post-positivism is a school of thought employed in social or scientific research. Positivism states that scientific research must be based on observable and measurable facts rather than subjective experiences (Adam 2014:6). According to positivists, only natural sciences such as biology, chemistry or physics are counted as science and rejects the study of subjective individuals such as in social sciences as they contend cannot be measured or observed. Post-positivism on the other hand rejects positivism's ideologies in that the philosophy posits that observations cannot be relied upon as they can also be subjected to error (Adam 2014:6). Therefore, post-positivism emphasizes on critical realism where researchers should be critical of the reality they study and should also not rely on a single method of scientific enquiry as with positivism (Adam 2014:6).

need for integrating alternative research methods through qualitative research in order to produce quality data. Also, post-positivism retains the idea of objective truth where the researcher is obliged not to be biased in the presentation of data which is imperative for the study in presenting credible data regarding the society of South Africa. Therefore, through qualitative methods the researcher conducted interviews, online observations and discourse analysis, with the hope to have appropriate data for the credibility of the study.

3.1 Methods of Data Collection for This Research

3.1.1 Cyber-ethnography / Virtual Ethnography

The researcher used cyber-ethnography as a method of studying 'online communities'. Cyber-ethnography is a new online research method of collecting new media data (Kozinets 2010:1). With the advent of new media such as social media, referring to blogs, websites, Facebook, twitter etc. a new method to collect new media data has been developed designated particularly for conducting online fieldwork such as either participating or observing and gathering data online (Kozinets 2010:1). According to Kozinets (2010:1) this method of data collection is often used to study communities and cultures created through computer-mediated social interaction.

Granting that the study is concerned with the argued reality of race-racism and identity in the South African society often facilitated through the use of social media particularly Facebook, virtual ethnography was a relevant method of data collection. This is because, it greatly assisted in generating data, collecting online evidence and producing online findings on issues such as diverse mechanisms used to construct race in the South African society, people's attitude towards race and identity as well as the role of new media in such processes.

The researcher selected Facebook[14] as a field of online study and observed and gathered data from only (3) identified Facebook profiles. The researcher purposefully selected and sampled the three Facebook profiles after having critically examined and studied general race related

14Since January 2016, following the alleged Penny Sparrow racism event of 30 and 31 December 2015, Facebook became widely used as a media platform for racial debates in the country. This is because it is a social media tool that allows interactivity and engagements by users and gives wide space to post information that can instantly be seen by a very large audience. With Facebook, users have the ability to share someone's comments as well as send replies, forming a conversation (Highfield 2015: 1). Facebook also allows the creation of Facebook groups and pages which by virtue of its nature, offers a wide platform for interactions and engagements from people. As a result, much racial debates took place on Facebook which provides more information for the researcher to integrate onto the study. Also, the researcher selected Facebook because it is convenient to archive information than Twitter.

content from a number of online communities or profiles and thereafter sampled the ones considered to be relevant for the study.

These Facebook profiles are Andile Mngxitama's *Facebook* Profile registered on Facebook as Andile Mngxi with 22,976 Facebook followers. Andile Mngxitama is a black, South African political activist who founded a political party called *Black First Land First* (News24 2015). Mngxitama is an active social media or Facebook user who often writes about racial and political issues affecting South African society and is a passionate advocate for land redistribution and the fall of white supremacy in South Africa.

The other Facebook page is called *Letters from White South Africa* and has 25 597 followers. This Facebook page is made up of a majority of white people and aims to advocate for the experiences of white people living in post - apartheid South Africa. The Facebook page often gives an insight into the beliefs, views and experiences of white people in South Africa on the issue of racism. On a daily basis, the Facebook page updates information such as economic, political and social issues affecting white people.

The third Facebook page is the legacy of Nelson Mandela Facebook page called Nelson Mandela and has 7,894,618 Facebook followers. The reason for selecting this Facebook page is because the content shared on the page is different from those of the other two Facebook pages in that it is neither for black nor white racial ideologies however, neutral and more concerned with issues of reconciliation and nation building. While the other two Facebook pages are concerned with racism from both predominant races, the Nelson Mandela page shares content that seeks to unite and enforce general democratic principles.

The debates online were selected according to the interest of the study which is race-racism and identity politics as well as the amount of comments that reflected citizen engagement on these issues. Moreover, the researcher visited the three Facebook pages aforementioned on a daily basis, observed participant's engagements with one another and studied their views and opinions on given racial debates, so as to be able to collect relevant data and evidence that will offer diverse views from different perspectives.

The researcher observed for a period of 10 months from January 2016 to October 2016 to be able to collect significant amount of data pertaining racism. This is because it was anticipated that the period mentioned gave enough time to carry out an informed study of the online communities' behaviour, interactions and engagements from the Facebook profiles mentioned.

3.1.2. Interviews

Another method of data collection used for the study was conducting unstructured interviews. An interview is a method of data collection that researchers use to elicit narrative data that allows researchers to deeply investigate people's views through socially interacting with them. Unstructured interviews are useful because they enable interviewees to express their own ideas, thoughts and feelings about given subjects (McLeod 2014:1).

The main reason the researcher used unstructured interviews was to gain in depth understanding of race-racism and identity politics, from political officials' point of view and political analysts' point of view. Furthermore, interviews allowed the researcher to interact with participants at an individual level while they could openly express themselves on racial issues thereby allowing the researcher to critically investigate government's institutional efforts in the wake of creating a non-racial society.

Therefore, interviews were conducted amongst six (6) participants, of which 3 were representatives from the three main political parties of South Africa, namely the African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA) as well as Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The other three (3) participants were the country's well-known political analyst, Steven Friedman, Ralf Mathekga and Aubrey Mashiqi.

The researcher selected the three participants from the three political parties in order to gain a deeper understanding on the issue of racism from a political perspective. This is to acknowledge that the country's three main political parties are well informed with the race and identity issue as they are arguably active in the society in interacting with the public and the media to address socio-economic and political issues affecting citizens such as racism. For instance, the DA's pledge against racism, the ANC's march against racism which took place in February 2016 and EFF's activism on land issues indicates that the participants are aware of issues of racism in post-apartheid South Africa (Plessis 2016). This form of interviews was therefore useful in extracting the participant's knowledge about government's initiatives and vast experiences in confronting the issue of racism.

The three political analysts were selected to acknowledge their well vested information on the country's political and socio-economic dynamics, of which the researcher believes that their skill set and knowledge on the country's nature of politics and socio-economic situations largely contributed towards analysing the race problem in South Africa. Conducting interviews with the political analysts as a result allowed them to share their thoughts on the race-racism issue and that they could, freely express themselves without being limited by political affiliations unlike with the politicians.

3.1.3 Gathering of Policy Documents

The researcher gathered South African policies for analysing to ascertain if government's institutional mechanisms in addressing racial issues have been achieved or not. These policies include: the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995* (PNUR). The *Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Policy* (BBBEE), the *Land Redistribution Act 22 of 1994*. What motivated the researcher to select these policies is the notion that they remain most relevant amongst others to address issues of past injustices and socio-economic inequalities. For instance, the PNUR act became significant in establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Committee that mandated the importance of reconciliation amongst the country's races in the wake of a new democratic era. The policy therefore became fundamental in ensuring that issues of past injustices are duly addressed and that there is some form of forgiveness and tolerance between perpetrators and victims of gross violations of human rights by the apartheid system.

The BBBEE policy is a government initiative that has remained a pivotal policy since 1994 to redress the inequalities of apartheid by advantaging previously disadvantaged racial groups such as black people (Cornish-Jenkins 2015: n/p). The policy remains key in understanding the need for the economic empowerment of black people in post-apartheid South Africa and as a result, will also assist the researcher to critically analyse institutional mechanisms put in place for the vision of a non-racist society.

In addition to this, in the wake of racism debates and enormous political movements advocating for the redistribution of land in South Africa, it is imperative that the study also engages with the land redistribution act. This is because the policy aims to provide for the restitution of rights in land to persons or communities dispossessed of such rights after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws (SAHO 2015:3). Moreover, it is with recognition that the South African state cannot address issues of racism without addressing the land question, in that land in South Africa remains significant of the country's colonial history and the injustices felt by black people through apartheid land policies as well as how current patterns of land ownership still reflect significant issues of racism. Therefore, the researcher hopes that these policies will assist in understanding government efforts in the fight against racism.

3.2 Methods of analysis for the study

This study adopted two methods of analysis, discourse analysis and thematic analysis. Discourse analysis was used as a method of analysing data collected from the Facebook profiles. Discourse analyses aims to study and analyse the use of discourse or language in a given sentence, behaviours linked to social practice and language as a system of thought (Gee

2005: 9). Discourse analysis is useful for the study in that once data is collected through virtual ethnography (Facebook comments or debates), discourse analyses assisted to critically analyse the collected data so as to carefully establish issues of race and identity politics, citizen's attitudes and behaviour towards race and the alignment of government's efforts in relation to race. Moreover, the method was useful in the study of language (what is being said), and also to consider the surrounding social, cultural, economic, political and historical context in the act of communication by citizens within the social media platform (Gee 2005: 9). This is because the researcher aimed to not only study what was being said, however to also establish surrounding issues of power, behaviour and attitude linked with emanating racial debates.

Thematic Analysis on the other hand was used to analyse data received from interviews and policy documents. Moules et al (2017) indicated that thematic analysis is a method used to analyse data by identifying dominant issues raised in a set of data which are then considered as themes. In this case, thematic analysis illustrates the interpretation and presentation of data in order to contribute to a useful and purposeful research (Moules et al 2017). Thus the reason behind using thematic analysis for interviews was to give a clear indication of the dominant issues raised while critically examining their ideas. On the other hand, from the policy documents, thematic analysis assisted with extracting critical issues of race and identity politics as well as examining government's efforts. Therefore once data was collected from the interviews and policy documents, the researcher repeatedly read the data to identify important features and then critically identified significant patterns of meaning which were then labelled as themes. Afterwards, potential themes were reviewed to determine if they give a useful narrative of the study. Lastly, the themes were defined such as being given suitable topics and extensively discussed.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Given the sensitive nature of the study in investigating racism in South Africa and the type of participants selected (politicians and political analysts) for the study, the researcher applied for ethical clearance certificate from the Wits Human Research Ethics Committee in 2016 which was received, see appendix 3. In conducting interviews, the researcher adhered to ethical rules. Moreover, although interview participants were provided with an option of remaining anonymous in the study as outlined in the consent forms handed to them before interviews commenced, some participants however opted for full disclosure of their identities.

3.4 Limitations of the study

Since the study is limited to three online communities, the results or findings cannot be generalised across every individual in the society. The results are only a reflection of certain public discourse. Therefore, views expressed on social media may not be a holistic representation of the country's opinion on the race issue however an indication of what might be taking place in society. Also, seeing the sensitivity of racism in post-apartheid South African society and certain corrective measures implemented by government to discipline those found practising cyber racism such as in the case of Penny Sparrow, most citizens may have refrained and may have been more careful to use social media for racial discourses. This might have limited racial content online which could have been useful for the study. Critical to note also is, although anonymity was granted to interviewees should they have felt discomfort to disclose their identities, the sensitive nature of racism might have limited the expressions of interviewees when answering interview questions. Lastly, the study largely focused on two races, blacks and whites seeing how these races are dominant in the country. Hypotheses focusing on Coloureds and Indians was limited.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

As earlier indicated on the methodology section, this study collected data from Facebook during the period January 2016 - October 2016 and interviews from the selected participants. The data collected was analysed to carefully ascertain key issues based on race and identity raised by citizens. The data received from the Facebook pages and interviews was read and analysed to understand the critical information received so as to produce sufficient findings. Therefore, the subjects that received dominance in discussions and were used as themes in the study to be analysed include the battle for power relations, white supremacy discourse, criticisms of the country's democracy, racial representation, general hatred against each other, issues of stereotypes, lack of government interventions in the 21st century to uproot racism as well as double standards in dealing with racism.

Thus this chapter will give a presentation of the findings. It will first provide a brief background of the research findings and themes to give an overview of the dominant issues raised during the research period; and then provide an analyses of the selected government policies. This is to ascertain government's interventions and the effectiveness of the policies in post-apartheid South Africa to fight against racism. Lastly, the chapter will give an analysis of Facebook discourse from the selected Facebook pages and the views of interview participants thereby consolidating all ideas to form a thematic analysis.

4.1 Policy Document Ambition and Realization:

Amid the inception of democracy in South Africa, various policies were enacted by the democratic government, which were aimed at eradicating structures and ideologies built and enforced by the apartheid regime. The policies include the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995, the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) formally known as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994 which can be referred as 'land reform act'. Although these policies have been regarded as government's efforts to unify the country, rectify past injustices and deal with racism in post-apartheid South Africa, racism remains ever present. Therefore it is imperative that one conducts an analysis of the impact of these policies in order to ascertain their achievements and short-comings in eradicating racial politics in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.1.1 The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995.

The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995 is a policy that was enacted at the end of apartheid to provide for the investigation of the acts of gross violations of human rights committed during the reign of apartheid (Verdloolaege 2008:8). The aim of the policy was to provide rehabilitation and restoration to victims of apartheid violations as well as provide amnesty to perpetrators of violence based on their willingness to testify on their wrong doings (Verdloolaege 2008:8).

From the policy, a commission which was to realize the vision of unity and reconciliation was established on 15 April 1996 known as the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC)* (Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008:35). The commission's attempt at a strategic level was to bring reconciliation amongst the country's races and also bring unity for a new democratic South Africa. At an operational level, the TRC was a court like body or assembly organized to investigate the past history of human rights violations and facilitate hearings for perpetrators of apartheid violence (Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008: 35). This became a platform for those found with wrong doing to offer a testimony on their violent actions and even request amnesty from prosecution. This was to also offer rehabilitation to those who had considered themselves victims of violence as stipulated by the Act.

Therefore, the TRC's investigations largely focused on the period between 1960 and 1990 while also looking at the political environment of the 1990s (Verdloolaege 2008:8). In this regard, political parties, sectors and institutions such as South African Police Services (SAPS) and the South African Defence Force (SADF) were requested to make their submissions regarding their role in human rights violations and conflicts in order to ascertain their motives and perspectives (Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008: 35). Furthermore, in the commission's adherence to the act, they eschewed notions of revenge and instead allowed for amnesty for politically motivated actions such as those who were compelled by the state to kill, for example the police, political leaders, soldiers etc.

After the investigations and public hearings were conducted, the commission issued a report regarding their findings. For instance, the commission reported that some of the submissions given by political parties or leaders such as the National Party[15] and Inkatha Freedom Party[16] and institutions such as the South African Police Services (SAPS) and South African Defence

15 The National Party was a political party founded in 1915 which gained political power from 1948 until 1994. The political party is popularly known for implementing the policy of racial segregation known as Apartheid.

16 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) is a South African political party founded in 1975 that contributed to the political conflicts in KwaZulu Natal between the IFP and the ANC.

Force (SADF), did little to positively contribute to the work of the commission in that they consisted of policies under which these groups functioned and contained unconvincing apologies for the violations committed which limited the work of the commission (TRC Report 1998: 196).

Moreover, some members of the former state, particularly PW Botha[17], displayed unwillingness to cooperate with the commission by way of written responses which could have been viewed as a sense of denial and may have worked against the work of the commission (TRC Report 1998: 196). Adversely, this could have meant that the commission received less support by the country's public institutions and former political leaders which may have worked against the idea of reconciliation at an institutional level.

Therefore, the commission reported as based on their findings that the apartheid government and its security forces including SADF and SAPS were responsible for the commission of gross violations of human rights under the leadership of the National Party and administration of PW Botha (TRC Report 1998: 197). This was made possible through directives given by security forces, such as to wipe out, eliminate or eradicate their opponents including black political activists. In addition to this, the commission reported that a culture of impunity which emerged through the authoritarian nature of apartheid was largely facilitated.

The operation of apartheid sought to protect the power and privilege of a minority where racism became the core of the South African order (TRC Report 1998: 199). Furthermore, as the commission proceeded with its investigation, it realized that there was little support given by political parties or leaders in offering full disclosure and showing remorse in the atrocities committed by apartheid which showed that the mind-set of apartheid was still prevalent regardless of the establishment of the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995 (TRC Report 1998: 200).

In light of the above finding by the commission, various recommendations were made that can be regarded as mechanisms to address issues of racism and bringing about National unity. These include the need for South Africans to accept healing, to enforce the spirit of tolerance and understanding, to embrace diversity, such as, of language and faith and sensitivity to the needs of those that have particularly been previously disadvantaged specifically women and children (TRC Report 1998: 304). It also made recommendations that South Africans should collaboratively strive for transformation, initiate programs of action as means to implement the

17PW Botha was the leader of South Africa during apartheid from 1978 to 1989 serving as a prime minister and became a state president from 1984 to 1989.

process of reconciliation, encourage a culture of debate to resolve the racial issues in the society and by far and large, leaders locally, provincially and nationally to prioritize the need for reconciliation and unity at the core of their respective social agendas (TRC Report 1998: 304).

Scholars such as *Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008* in their research *Peace and Reconciliation in South Africa,* Research by University of the Witwatersrand *Traces of Truth* and a study conducted by Simpson G, 1998, *A Brief Evaluation of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Some lessons for societies in transition* is helpful to understand that although the TRC accomplished in bringing forth the truth, it however may have not succeeded in bringing remediation to those affected. This is to acknowledge that it dealt with confessions of those who were perpetrators with the attempt to discourse forgiveness to those who were victims. However, it did not necessarily address real issues at hand such as the demolishing of white supremacy which adversely imposes challenges in the new South Africa (Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008: 35). Thus, these scholars argue that even though the TRC played a significant role in bringing out the truth which could have been its primary mandate, it conversely lacked an approach that would have reconciled all races in that its primacy did not challenge white supremacy (Van der Merwe & Chapman 2008: 35).

First, it is imperative to recognize that the policy was essential as far as investigating human rights abuses was concerned. This is critical for democratic countries as they are able to strengthen the need for human rights by first addressing what could have gone wrong in the past regimes in order to embrace a new government (Verdloolaege 2008: 19). Secondly, the policy was essential for restoring peace by attempting to reconcile the country's races. Seeing that the country had experienced racial hatred and gross human rights violations, a policy was needed to address the experiences of victims of apartheid as well as ushering the country into a peace process. This however does not mean that the policy received effective implementation by the democratic government nor does it mean that it succeeded in addressing racial issues, given that the country is still not as unified as would have been anticipated.

Moreover, this is to argue that although the TRC attempted to usher the country into this peace process, it is however difficult to measure the policy's impact or achievement in creating peace for reconciliation. For instance, on what basis can we really say that victims of apartheid forgave the perpetrators and ultimately created peace and reconciliation? Chapman and Van der Merwe (2008: 295) have argued that there are different aspects to consider from the TRC's idea of forgiveness, such as, was forgiveness feasible or ethically appropriate considering the mass gross human rights violations and to what extent did forgiveness really take place? Chapman and Van der Merwe (2008: 295) continue to argue that could prosecutions of perpetrators not have played a significant role in fast-tracking the healing process to those

considered as victims and in so doing implementing justice as means to reconcile. In light of this argument, it can then be argued that the policy could not bring the intended healing to the lives of black South African, which is now evident as the country continues to face racial animosities.

According to a political analyst, the TRC did not bring healing in that its strategy was based on people's voluntary ability to disclose the truth to those who had been victimized, with no tangible idea if they had received healing afterwards (Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Ralf Mathekga said, "It is difficult to measure the success of the policy in this regard, in that to what extent can we say that black South Africans were able to heal and embrace the idea of reconciliation." (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Ralf Mathekga indicates that although the TRC did take place, its effectiveness is not tangible enough, citing that perhaps healing did not really take place. Consequently, if black South Africans could not receive healing, it can be argued that reconciliation in essence did not happen.

On the other hand, political analyst Prof. Steven Friedman said:

"Seeing that reconciliation is a process which is unending, it might have been an ambitious idea to believe that a commission set to function over a set period of time would have succeeded in healing the entire nation. It was illogical for government to believe that the TRC would solve racism that had taken place for over 300 years in just a short space of time" (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

Prof. Steven Friedman reasons that the TRC was limited in its function and as a result, could not cover the depths of apartheid. Therefore, although the policy existed, it could not offer satisfactory and holistic healing to the nation.

Furthermore, National Head of Communications for the African National Congress (ANC), Khusela Sangoni said:

"On what basis can we say that the policy was based on critical fundamental human rights as it arguably stated that it sought to restore human and civil dignity of victims, if it was not necessarily premised on the socio-economic needs of South Africans as their fundamental human rights. The policy became less effective in that its approach was based on social and or religious morals remaining oblivious of the critical economic challenges the country's majority faced" (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

This is to argue that primarily, the policy was not concerned with addressing the economic oppression the country's majority had lived to experience such as recognizing the need for redistributive justice. This very notion that economic issues were fundamentally ignored means that it could not have succeeded in dealing with racism. Thus the policy could have been more effective had it considered the economic needs of the majority.

However, on the other hand, EFF founding member Dr. Hlayseka Chewane, expressed that the TRC was a good vision in a sense that it was an attempt to bridge the gap between blacks and whites and also necessary to address the issues and experiences produced by apartheid. However, it remained limited as far as its ability to engage on other critical subjects such as economic redistribution as a way of peace establishment (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). Its limitations therefore imposed failure to reconcile and further engage on the idea of democracy in that although the policy's vision and primary mandate was to heal society, the envisaged healing ill-advisedly did not penetrate to the deep wounds caused by apartheid as it is currently evident through the realisation of continued racial wars.

Anonymous representative from the Democratic Alliance (DA) also acknowledged that perhaps a different approach to the TRC in considering the need for redistributive justice would have sufficed where critical issues that government is attempting to address now, could have been addressed immediately after democracy (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017). This, conversely does not mean that it is too late for government to engage on redistributive discourses as an approach for healing, it signifies that more efforts could have been given to the TRC to curb the current racial warfare.

One therefore agrees with the above arguments from interview participants in realising that the scope of the TRC was only based on revealing the truth without a guarantee that national healing would take place. This is because as Prof. Friedman noted, the TRC's operation was limited to a certain timeframe thereby not looking beyond its establishment if indeed it was effective (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2018). On the other, to Khusela Sangoni, the TRC did not consider the economic needs of the citizens (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2018). According to political analyst Aubrey Mashiqi, the streamlined approach of perpetrators telling the truth and victims being "expected" to forgive may have been a misdiagnosis on what the real problem was (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2018). Perhaps, what society needed and black people in particular, as indicated by Sangoni and Mashiqi was the restoration of their resources such as land, economic empowerment more than what the policy offered.

As a result, one can conclude that the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, No 34 of 1995 and its TRC establishment did not effectively reconcile the country in that to date racism has not been uprooted from the society. As a matter of fact, the country has been experiencing racial wars and racial hatred where a majority of black people are arguing that historical injustices such as land dispossessions have not been addressed, consequently instigating frustrations and racial warfare (Cousins 2016:2). The TRC may have succeeded in bringing about the truth on the atrocities of apartheid, however much more should have been

done subsequent to the policy such as further engagements on restorative justice, redistribution processes, reconciling and unifying the country's races.

4.1.2 The Broad – Based Black Economic Empowerment Policy

Following apartheid policies that aimed to economically empower white people while situating black people at the periphery of the economy, a policy post 1994 was necessary to redress historical economic inequalities. The Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy later refined as the Broad Black Based Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) became a necessary and essential policy to usher the country into the desired egalitarian economy (Southall &Tangri 2008:699). The BBBEE policy is an intervention by the democratic government that aims to redistribute wealth and create economic opportunities such as employment and entrepreneurship to previously disadvantaged groups mainly Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Asians as a result of racism (Southall &Tangri 2008:699).

Therefore, as an attempt to challenge racism within an economic perspective, the policy is a responsive tool to directly resolve racism in the society through eradicating poverty especially from the black community. For instance, it aims to create equality in terms of income earnings, managerial positions in corporate governance, business ownership in the economic landscape and overall reduction of poverty in the society at large (Southall &Tangri 2008:699). This is arguably done as stated by the policy, through transferring and conferring the ownership of South Africa's financial and economic resources to the country's majority.

The policy therefore seeks to expand the participation of black people not only in the public sector, however also in the private sector where they can be afforded opportunities to hold managerial positions thereby transforming the economic landscape of the country (Southall &Tangri 2008:699). It also aims to encourage black people's participation in entrepreneurship such as allowing them to buy shares in big companies including the Johannesburg Stock Exchange Market and the country's mining sector.

Khusela Sangoni has alluded to the BBBEE as a policy enacted by government to de-racialise the economy (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). This means that the control and ownership of the country's economy should no longer be in the hands of a minority due to legacies of apartheid, however that all races should equally participate and take part in the country's economy and wealth. This would be done by implementing policies that will realize the need to transform the country's economic structure, creating more opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups to participate as well as changing economic power relations where every South African has the right to participate regardless of their race and social background.

The critical question to ask is, has the policy succeeded in transforming the country's power relations as means to de-racialise the economy. In this regard, it is critical to acknowledge that the policy has its successes and failures. According to Prof. Steven Friedman, the BBBEE only treated the symptoms of economic racism and not the root of the racial problem, hence it was subjected to failure (Steven Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

"The BEE only had the purpose to change racial ownership and obviously would not go beyond its purpose. This is why it failed because it only treated the symptoms and not the real problem…you see, and it doesn't apply to 90% of the population. Government should have looked beyond the BEE. It's like you are changing ownership rather than control. You have more black people who seem to own things, but they are not in control. You can own shares, but you do not own the economy" (Pro. Steven Friedman, Political Analyst, 18 July, 2017)

Pro. Steven Friedman highlights important arguments. First, the policy has succeeded in recognizing the need for black participation in the economy of the country however that is as far as it could go. For example, Southall &Tangri (2008:699) argued that labour relations in the private sector has not been enormously transformed in that it remains mostly white especially in managerial positions. Secondly, the policy may have somewhat assisted in funding small medium black owned enterprises from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), there are notable challenges regarding this as the policy does not function optimally in assisting a majority of black people (DTI 2014:1).

Thirdly, certain companies from the corporate sector embarked on BBBEE initiatives post 1994 such as Sanlam selling 10% of its stake in Metropolitan Life to a black owned consortium (DTI 2014:1). Also, the JSE embarked on similar transactions where equity stakes in enterprises listed in the JSE were sold to black investors (DTI 2014:1). Similarly, this includes MTN Group Limited, one of the country's biggest communications network company selling its shares to only black people as means of black empowerment in 2016 (Mahlaka 2017: n/p). However, although these achievements have taken place, they are not enough to commend the policy, in that little has been done to transform the economy. Thus Aubrey Mashiqi reasoned "to me the BEE is like we fight to build a shack in a white man's yard, it does not challenge the structure of the economy". In other words, Aubrey Mashiqi indicates that the efforts of the BEE are too little to submerge white power for the following reasons:

Firstly, statistics revealed in 2016 showed that 70% of top management in all sectors remain white (despite the implementation of the policy), yet white people are only 10% of the economically active population. In contrast to this, only 14.3% of black people are in top management positions and yet they constitute 78% of the economically active population (BusinessTech 2016: n/p). Therefore this economic reality contradicts with the policy's ideals of de-racialising the economy in that there still remains unequal power relations. Southall

&Tangri (2008:699) have argued that the reason for this could be that the ANC fears to radically relinquish large ownership levels to black investors, fearing that the country's economic growth may be hampered in the processes, thus Mashiqi's argument that the policy does not challenge the structure of the economy. Therefore, the policy has been subjugated to preserve white contribution to the economy for the purpose of economic growth.

Secondly, the manner in which the policy was administered, it arguably benefitted a minority of blacks rather than the majority. Thus it has been criticised with creating black capitalism. According to anonymous representative from the DA, the policy has been criticized with benefiting mainly politically connected individuals thus side-lining ordinary citizens (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017). AIDC (2017) indicated that the BEE has created a tender based capitalist class who have invested in the growth of only tenderprenuers (those who get awarded tenders by the state). Thus the policy does not administer redistribution as means of challenging economic structure, however it benefits those who arguably have connection with the state leaving the majority black South Africans still impoverished. As a consequence, the preservation of white economic power and the minority of black capitalists imposes difficulties to reconcile both races in post-apartheid.

The first step which ought to be taken therefore is enlisting strategies on how government can penetrate white economy or white power, attain prevalence over and then redistribute accordingly. Failure for government to break through white economic power, will again result in issues of racism. Furthermore, it puts into question the whole notion of democracy in South Africa. This is because in the understanding of the characteristics of democracy, it should advocate for equality in the idea of creating an egalitarian society Memmi (2000). This implies that there should be equality among all races, economically, politically and socially. However, the BBBEE has failed to implement equality instead only benefited a minority black people, creating inequalities even within the black community and still could not transform power relations in the broader economic sphere (AIDC 2016).

One can therefore conclude that a new policy either than the BBBEE is needed which will have strong focus on transforming the lives of the majority of South Africans. The BBBEE is not benefiting the country in meeting the interests, rights and needs of all citizens Southall &Tangri (2008:699). This is noted through the enormous service delivery protests against government taking place in the townships, and the racial wars caused within social media on issues of control and ownership (Africa Check 2018). On this note, the South African government has to be clear in its mandate to transform the ownership and control of the economy and this means embarking on robust strategies to recognize the need for an inclusive economy.

Perhaps the BBBEE was necessary ensued democracy, however the set of needs of South Africans in 2017 have changed, this including the demands of the latter generations to holistically transform the economic structure. For instance, building RDP houses alone may have been sufficient post 1994, however these efforts are no-longer enough. Also, a strategy to employ a majority of black people in the work place is no longer sufficient if ownership and control of the economy remains with the white minority. Most certainly the country will not be liberated by a black-capitalist economy however an inclusive economy that allows every racial group to equally partake in the country's wealth.

4. 1. 3. The Land Restitution Act 22 of 1994 (Land Reform Act)

The Land Reform Act is a policy adopted by the democratic government of South Africa as a direct intervention to abolish the apartheid 1913 Natives Land Act which legally allowed for the appropriation of land to 90 per cent of land surface owned by white people while confining the natives to the remaining 10 per cent marginal portions of land (Ntsebeza and Hall 2007: 3). The land reform act was therefore enacted as measures to correct these past injustices by redistributing land back to the indigenous owners.

As a result, the land reform act recognizes the imperativeness of equal land ownership such as through empowering a majority of black families to becoming farmers for equal economic participation. Thus, the land reform act also sees the need for government to put in place a comprehensive rural development plan in order to support agricultural projects in the rural areas in the event that land has been redistributed (Cousins 2016:2). Moreover, the land reform act states that those who were previously dispossessed of land based on racially discriminatory laws have a "restoration of a right in land" (Ramutsindela et.al 2016:11). Claims of land are therefore processed through the department of Rural Development and Land Reform where land redistribution would be made possible through the claims submitted by those who hold the indigenous rights (Ramutsindela et.al 2016:11). Also, redistribution of land would be made possible through the willing buyer and willing seller principle where the state buys land from white people whose ownership dates back from apartheid (Cousins 2016:2).

Although the introduction of this policy would have seemed to bring great hope post-apartheid, the challenge however regarding issues of land ownership have not been successfully addressed, as a result creates land contestations in post-apartheid. For instance, Khusela Sangoni has argued that the country cannot address racial issues without first addressing the land question and challenging the ownership and control of land in South Africa (Khusela Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Anonymous representative from the DA also

acknowledged land politics to be a contributing factor towards racial contestations in the country (Personal Interview, 21, September, 2017).

"Whenever we talk about racism in the country, the land question comes up. This is because land is symbolic of many things. It is symbolic of power, heritage, wealth, freedom and so forth. We have then noted that land is the major contributor of racial conflicts, and it has to be because it signifies the pain of those previously dispossessed" (Anonymous representative from the DA, Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

The above arguments stated by anonymous representative from the DA as well as Khusela Sangoni indicate that land remains a critical aspect of the country's racial politics. This is because land ownership patters in the country still project apartheid ambitions. This is to acknowledge that whites still own 87% of land while the smaller portion is owned by black people and the government, creating a negative impact on income distribution patterns, wealth distribution and standards of living (Cousins 2016:2). Thus, land becomes an emotional aspect in that it still invokes memories of apartheid through the continued unequal land ownership.

Furthermore, according to Aubrey Mashiqi, the policy has been slow in addressing the issue of inequalities hence the country has been continuously faced with racial wars (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017). Luke (2015) argued that after 22 years of democracy, the policy has not yet effectively addressed the politics of land ownership in the country as the willing seller and willing buyer principle has proven not to be effective. Cousins (2016:1) stated that several thousand restitution claims lodged in 1998 to date await resolution. Moreover 20 000 resolved restitution claims have not been implemented while new claims lodged in 2014 of about 150 000 might rise to 400 000 without being resolved (Cousins 2016:1). Thus, there are two possible reasons to the ineffectiveness of the policy:

The first reason could be that the willing buyer willing seller principle is dependent on current owners of land to be willing to sell, and government's willingness to buy which as a consequence stonewalls the policy in redistributing land back to the black community (Cousins 2016:2). Thus the question that one would impose therefore is to what extent are white people willing to sell land. This is with recognition that for 22 years 80% of land still remains in the hands of white people. This overwhelming fact can therefore be regarded as the unwillingness of current land owners to sell.

For example, Khusela Sangoni, stated that the challenges imposed by the principle is that in the land purchase negotiations undertaken by the ANC, willing sellers would over value the asset and charge government high prices which then delays the implementation of the policy (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). As a result, it frustrated the process of buying.

Dr. Hlayseka Chewane also argued that the reason the willing seller is not willing to sell can be afforded to the fact that land is an economy and economy is power. Land constitutes mineral resources and agricultural resources of which by possession of this, one has power and by virtue, control. Therefore, how does one begin to sell the economy? (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017) This then somewhat may reflect the fear of willing sellers, that if they sell, they forgo and lose the economy which is their power.

The second reason to the ineffectiveness of the policy can be afforded to the idea that once land is redistributed to the black community, the community lacks the skill and capacity to captivate the land for agrarian economy (Cousins 2016:3). Anonymous representative from the DA acknowledged that current land redistributed by the government through the policy has not been used effectively and that can be afforded to failure of government to impart skills and expertise to the current owners (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017). Therefore, there are two conflicting factors one notes regarding the land program; the zeal to redistribute with less willingness from white ownership to participate and lack of skills by the black community to utilise redistributed land at a large commercial scale.

Therefore, this brings the controversial issue of 'land expropriation without compensation' following the failures of the reform act to redistribute land. President Jacob Zuma in his parliamentary address in 2017 argued that the land reform act must be reassessed and perhaps a different approach taken such as land expropriation (Peyper 2017:n/p). De Vos (2013:n/p) argued that land expropriation is constitutional and the willing buyer and willing seller principles have somewhat blocked redistributive efforts. Khusela Sangoni has also stated that the expropriation of land can be tested seeing that the constitution allows (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

This is to argue that the constitution in section 25 (8) endorses land redistribution by empowering the government to redistribute land while also being empowered to expropriate provided it is for public interest (Dlamini 2014). Section 2 states "property may be expropriated only in terms of law of general application (a) for a public purpose or in the public interest" (Dlamini 2014). This has therefore raised arguments that government has the constitutional right to expropriate. Thus the idea of expropriation is envisaged to precipitate the land redistribution process.

The critical factor however to note regarding this is will this approach benefit the country or will it lead to detrimental outcomes such as in the case of Zimbabwe lest we collapse the economy (Peron 2000:87). If land is forcefully taken away from its current owners, to what extent is the black community ready to invest in the agricultural sector? This is because Luke

(2015:n/p) noted that 90% of farms redistributed in the rural areas are unproductive. Therefore, this has imposed the question that why should land be returned to the black community if it will no longer be useful in contributing to the country's economic growth. Perhaps this is the weakness of the policy in that it has not effectively implemented the idea of capacitating black people to effectively utilise it such as in agricultural development to those whose land is in the rural areas. For instance, Prof. Steven Friedman has argued that farmlands returned to the black community has been underutilised. This can signify less interest from the black community regarding farmlands, or lack of skills (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

Ralf Mathekga also indicated:

"We shout bring back the land…bring back the land… what for, that mandate must be clear. Are blacks ready to invest in it, are they prepared. These are the questions that South Africans have not been engaging on" (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

Ralf Mathekga's argument posits that activism over land redistribution does not indicate black people's state of preparedness. It seems as though black people are advocating for the return of land just for the sake of healing the historical injustices, and not necessarily that they are seeking for economic empowerment. Therefore, to what extent will land expropriation benefit the black community if they are not capable of its production to benefit the country's economy at a larger scale? If land expropriation is applied without strategic economic plans, it may bring emotional satisfaction but will still not bring black economic empowerment.

Anonymous representative from the DA argued that there is a need to look beyond emotions lest decisions made result to economic failures (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017). Thus the critical question to ask in relation to anonymous representative from the DA's argument is should land be redistributed to heal the wounds of Africans, or should it be redistributed to economically empower black people as a form of healing. One can therefore argue that land expropriation should not be applied without a clear framework of the mandate. This means, it should only be applied once black people have proven beyond any reasonable doubt that they are capable of effectively utilizing the land lest the country loses its economic power.

Following the policy document analysis, the below part of the study will elaborate on the themes from Facebook data and interviews. These themes include the Battle for Power Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa and Criticism of the Democratic Project; Racial Differences in South Africa: A Contribution to Racial Conflicts; Double Standards and the Absence of Government in Dealing with Racism; False Anonymity and Free Speech in the Use of Social Media.

4.2 The Battle for Power Relations in Post-Apartheid South Africa and Criticism of the Democratic Project

One of the key findings of this study showed that South Africa continues to struggle with power relations in the democratic dispensation. The issues raised by the interviewed participants and in the selected Facebook pages centered upon the idea of white supremacy such as in land ownership and control as well as economic domination. This prompted citizens to criticise the notion of democracy as they believed that 20 years later, power relations in the country have not changed.

Dr. Hlayseka Chewane, expressed that during apartheid, black people were oppressed, post-apartheid, nothing has changed - race relations, patterns of economic ownership and control of resources have not been transformed (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). In addition to this, as citizens became critical of the country's democracy, their criticism was in relation to race and identity perspectives entrenched within the economic background of the society. This as a result revealed the battle of economic power especially between blacks and whites.

Therefore, white supremacy discourses have been dominant on social media. Although this is the case, notably, these discourses have been dominant in the black community rather than the white community. This is because as one carried out cyber-ethnography on all three Facebook pages earlier mentioned as (Andile Mngxi, Letters of White South Africa and Nelson Mandela Facebook Page) one noted that the black community were more vocal in repudiating issues of white supremacy rather than the white community on the Facebook page Letters of White South Africa. As a result, it can be argued that white people saw less need to engage on the issue of white supremacy, in that they may either feel threatened by the idea or remain oblivious of the construct.

According to Ralf Mathekga and Aubrey Mashiqi, economic white supremacy remains a large contributor to the construction of racism in the country in that it has produced structural inequalities (Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017 and Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017). Adding on this, to Prof. Steven Friedman, power relationships have not changed over the last 20 years in the economy, the

same power relations which were constructed during apartheid still exist, and these power relations perpetuate racism (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). “The non-racism project stopped in the adoption of the constitution. People just assumed that if we have such a constitution, then there won’t be racism” (Prof. Steven Friedman, Political Analyst, 18 July, 2017).

Prof. Steven Friedman raises a fundamental point in critique of the Nelson Mandela administration post 1994, where he argues that less efforts were made by government to dismantle structures of white supremacy. This is because post-1994 as noted by Memmi (2000:89) the government only focused on garnering political power and did not change the economic structures of the country although the BEE was enacted. This is in recognition that legislations alone were not sufficient without further activities such as ‘wealth redistribution’ strategies to implement change.

Khusela Sangoni also agrees that legislation alone would not have changed the country’s power relations. There was a need for a different approach in wealth redistribution that would be more robust in its application supplementary to the legislations adopted. For instance, the BEE was adopted, yet still not brought the needed change (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Khusela Sangoni added that post 1994, the vision of Nelson Mandela was reconciliation either than the economic needs of the oppressed. This argument was also alluded by Prof. Steven Friedman when he said “we changed the political system but did not change the economic system” (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

Aubrey Mashiqi on the other hand, argued that although there were desires post 1994 for change and transformation, which is quite visible through some of the legislations and policies such as the *Land Reform Act, Employment Equity Act and Constitution of RSA* etc. there were less activities conducted by government to challenge the economic structure. “Desires does not challenge the economic structure, look at income disparities, white people still earn more, management structures are white in corporate South Africa, the logic of the economic culture remains white” (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017).

This illustrates that there is still an issue of inequality in the country within the economic landscape and this can be afforded by the lack of government efforts to change power structures in the economy. Memmi (2000) has argued that the dominance of white people in the economy is visible, which cites that white people have more economic power as opposed to the other racial groups. Therefore, this provokes racial conflicts in the country. The views raised by the interview participants also demonstrate that the issue of racism could not be dealt with post 1994 as would have been anticipated unless power relations were changed. Consequently, this

threatens the country's democracy as citizens remain uncertain of its progress. Thus white economic supremacy becomes a dominant issue in the country's race-relations in that it is considered a racist ideology that exist to continuously subjugate the previously disadvantaged.

To argue further on this, one has shared a Facebook post by Mngxitama below.



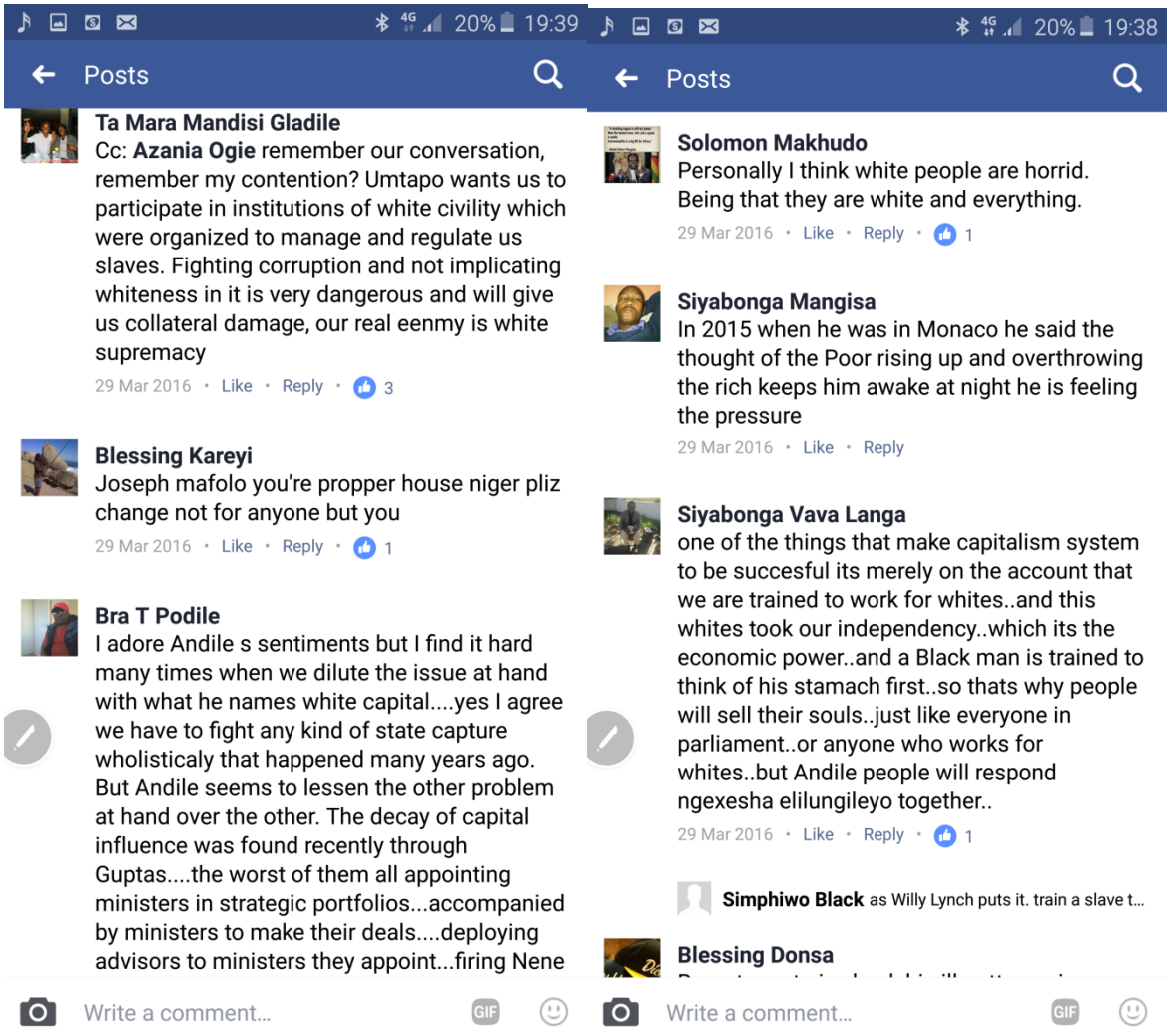
Mngxitama's post reads:

"Our struggle is not against corruption. That is a symptom of a problem which is white supremacy which manifest as white capital" (one of its many sites)". White capital and its agents have trapped us in fighting corruption by black business and politicians not the evil capitalist system which benefits and is controlled by whites".

This statement argues that white supremacy in South Africa is still a challenge and as a result remains the struggle that the country is yet to overcome. Marker (2003) has posited that white supremacy is a legacy of colonialism, which was not removed post 1994, and therefore continues to haunt the society today. For example, one notes when Mngxitama says "we are fighting against white supremacy" that this issue remains dominant in the South African society. The term "fighting" can signify the opposition of black people against white supremacy. The use of the term "we" may also suggest that he is speaking on behalf of all black South Africans or conversely only on behalf of the black people against white supremacy.

White supremacy therefore becomes a significant issue in the country's political and social realm. For example, Dr. Hlayseka Chewane has argued that black people will never be free for as long as there is white supremacy, and this has been the call of his political party the EFF to fight against white economic domination (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017).

Moreover, the confrontation of white supremacy was also noted from the comments by other citizens reflected below emanating from Mngxitama's post.



For example, a Facebook participant commented

"What makes the capitalism system to be successful is through the exploitation of black people where they are trained to work for white people".

This is what Mbembe (2016) alluded to when he mentioned that white supremacy in colonialism was built on racial capitalism. As a result, the fact that white supremacy was not dismantled, racial capitalism still continues even in post-apartheid South Africa.

I however noted in engaging with the interview participants and the Facebook communities regarding white supremacy that they raised critical elements that form white supremacy in post-

apartheid. These elements were notably the land question, notions of white arrogance and hypothetical failures of government to address white supremacy. These issues will be extensively discussed below starting with the land question.

4.2.1. Land Conflicts in post-apartheid South Africa and the Citizen's Power Struggles

Fundamentally, racial capitalism has been alluded to the issue of inequality in land ownership and control in South Africa. To Dr. Hlayseka Chewane "we cannot address white supremacy without raising the land question". This is because land is the economy and economy is power (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). Moreover, Khusela Sangoni indicated that land remains an unresolved harbour of racism in South Africa in that it is a representation of historic dispossession of land from blacks and the continued white dominance.

"We need to accept that the country cannot address the issue of racism without first addressing the land question. In addressing the land question, it would be an attempt to correct past injustices. The fact that whites are absent in the conversation of land redistribution, it's like whites you still do not recognise us as people and you still do not make efforts to correct past injustice" (Khusela Sangoni, ANC National Head of Communications, 4 August 2017).

Khusela Sangoni indicates that the issue of land is significant in country as means to address racism. At the same times, Sangoni questions the argued absence of whites to participate in the land question. Thus the questioning of white's absence can signify that the white community is not active enough in fighting against racism.

Aubrey Mashiqi as well as EFF Executive Member Dr. Hlayseka Chewane also strongly raised concerns on the issue of land ownership in addressing white supremacy in South Africa. Both Mashiqi and Chewane argued that the country's majority of land is still owned and controlled by whites and this is a signifier of an ongoing struggle of racism in the country (Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017 and Dr. Hlayseka Chewane EFF Founding Member, Personal Interview, 22 September 2017). As a result, this historical reality has continued to be a trigger of land conflicts in the quest for economic power as land debates become more and more intensified especially on social media platforms such as Facebook.

This is with recognition that in the 21st century, land conflicts have evolved, in that people no longer have to physically fight for land as was the case during colonialism in South Africa. For example, history reflects that in the age of colonialism, there were a series of land conflicts such as the Frontier Wars in the conquest of the Eastern Cape, one of South Africa's provinces (SAHO 2011: 2). These wars date back from 1779 involving Xhosa people, British, Boers, Khoikhoi and San, fighting over land ownership (SAHO 2011: 2). Colonists – British and the Dutch promulgated their conquest through the use of military power, while the indigenous

people, such as the Xhosa people, grew resistance by enlarging their African military power (SAHO 2011: 2).

In light of this, Prof. Steven Friedman has posited that seeing the lack of transformation in power relations by government, now citizens focus their attention on the use of social media to express these frustrations (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

In addition to this, Dr. Hlayseka Chewane said:

"In the modernist era, where technology has become dominant in societal life, citizens have embraced digital means as a way to challenge existing issues, such as power relations in land ownership, contrary to historical ways of fighting for land" (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017).

This is because in the 21st century, new media has gained much prominence in its ability to reach a wider audience and provide instant communication. This is the idea of new media ushering society into the new age of digitization and also serving as a public sphere where citizens can come together and influence public opinion (Dahlberg 2005:115). Atton (2006) has argued that with new media, there is participatory communication where citizens can debate on issues central to their interest. This therefore, explains new media, being used to vocalise the challenge of white supremacy. In this case, this opportunity to participate in debating on such issues would not be provided in the mainstream due to issues of gatekeeping. Thus, citizens could use new media for political discourse as one noted in the Facebook page of Andile Mngxitama as a way of resistance.

This modern form of resistance is described as modern revolutionism, where citizens have adopted digital means to repudiate, overthrow, or challenge social orders in favour of new political or social systems (Fuchs 2014:60). For example, social media in South Africa has become a popular platform for citizens to influence political and social issues. This has been done through the development of online political movements or political views that challenge the status quo in race-relations such as the #RhodesMustFall movement that gained its popularity on Social Media (Fuchs 2014:60). This was then the case on the issue of land, where the country experienced land conflicts in challenging white supremacy that were mostly facilitated through the use of Facebook.

To demonstrate this, shared below is an image of a Facebook post by Andile Mngxitama, where he argued against white land ownership citing that land must be returned to its indigenous owners.



The post by Mngxitama argues that black people in South Africa have no land, as it was arguably "stolen" by white people. Mngxitama further contends that land is a heritage of black people and as a result must be taken back from white people. Firstly, one notes how Mngxitama's tenacity in advocating for the land reveals that land redistribution remains at the heart of the black community citing that although the country is within democracy the land question remains imperative. Secondly, one also notes from Mngxitama's Facebook post that issues of identity politics are revealed, such as land being seen as an inheritance of black people in that they are considered the indigenous populace of the country and not white people.

For example, when Mngxitama says 'the ancestors of black people are without land', reveals that black people regard themselves as indigenous owners of land through the notion of acknowledging ancestors who once 'physically' lived in the country. It carries the racial idea that blacks are the true citizens of the country as whites being considered settlers do not have their ancestral lineages in Africa. Mngxitama further argues that land is the heritage of black people when he says "a landless people have no heritage, they are landless". He also asserts that blacks must claim the land back in restoring their heritage. This illustrates black's emotional attachment to land, in that land gives them the validation that they are African and that they belong in Africa. This demonstrates power politics in the society as black people quest for ownership in a form of a title deed in so doing challenging existing structures of white power.

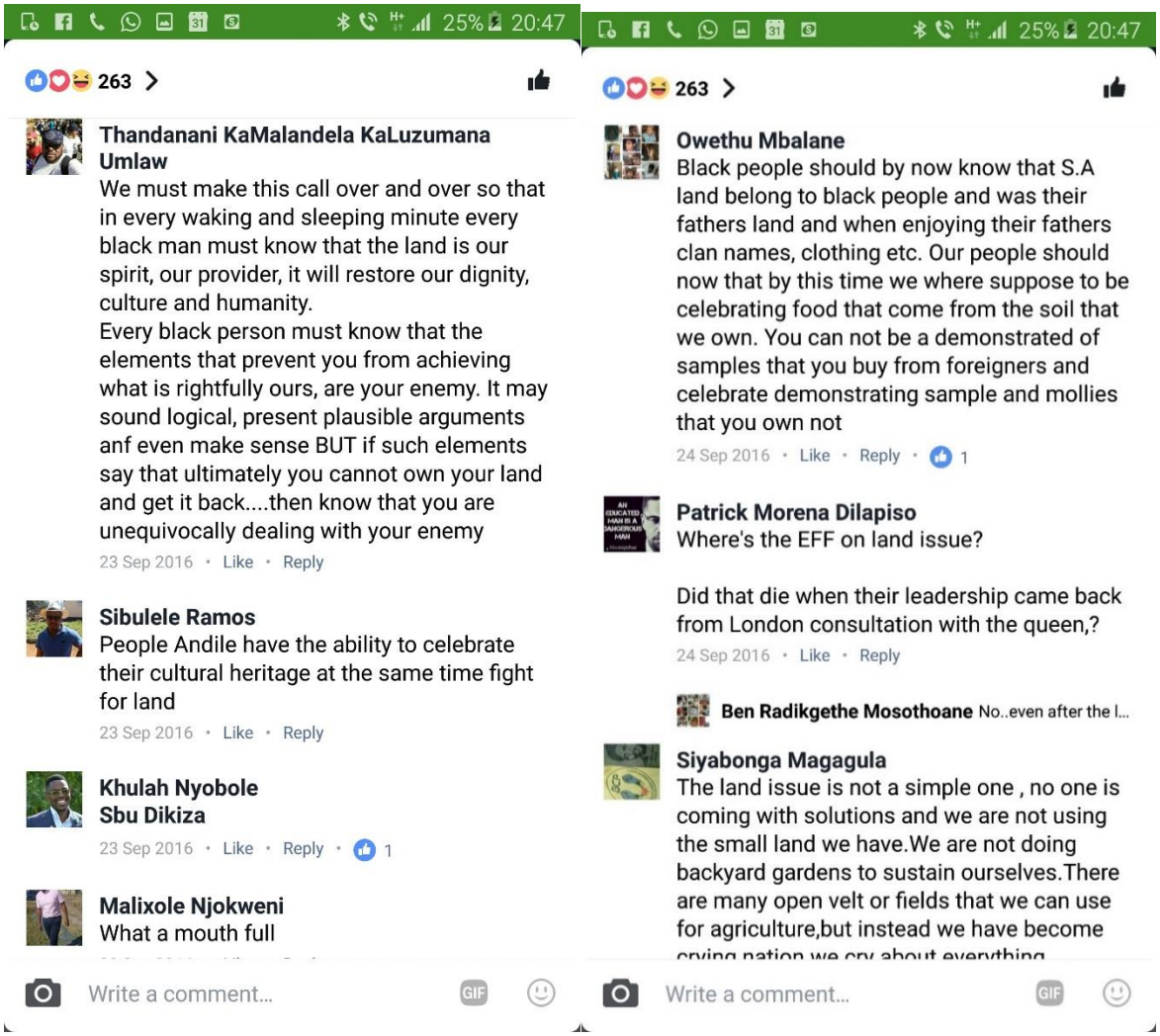
Mngxitama's reasoning also, signifies the idea of African practices, where most black communities honour their ancestors, which is often attached to the black identity and therefore land being the significant space for African traditions (Meji 2014:n/p). To Aubrey Mashiqi, the lack of land ownership by the black community undermines the lifestyles of black people and their ability to fully lead their African lives and practices as part of their identity without being controlled by whites (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017).

This, Mashiqi noted that in the current social and spatial conditions in South Africa, blacks have to negotiate with whites on how they ought to live, dismissing the fact that land belongs to black people (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017). For instance, blacks living in the suburbs may not have the African privilege to pay homage to their ancestors when there is celebration that is traditionally signified by slaughtering of a cow and the gathering of family and friends. In so doing, this may be viewed by whites as an infringement and a commotion in their space.

Furthermore, one can also argue that Mngxitama's statement, when deeply scrutinized, dismisses the idea of whites belonging in South Africa. The emphasis on the notion that white people are considered colonizers or settlers, even in the democratic era, who arguably 'stole' black people's land, threatens the identity of white people. This is to contend that if black people argue that land only belongs to the black community, are they then implying that non-blacks are not South African or African enough to qualify for ownership of land?

This is not to dis-acknowledge the legacies of apartheid, but rather to question the psychological connotations attached to black people's land advocacy. Khumalo (2016) for instance argues that the land question, which has led to prominent political or public figures calling for violent land grabs has stirred up anti-white sentiments, leaving a majority of white people wondering if they are still welcome in South Africa. Moreover, one can also argue that the identity of whites is often diminished in a sense that whites are often labelled as "land thieves", which is a negative representation to their identity (Matthews 2015).

To further demonstrate this argument, one has shared engagements on social media from other citizens, which emanated from Mngxitama's post shared above, where black people also expressed themselves on the land issue.



One of the comments reads:

"We must make this call over and over so that in every waking and sleeping minute every black man must know that the land is our spirit, our provider, it will restore our dignity, culture and humanity".

One takes note of the words 'black man' in the comment and the argument that land will restore black people's culture and humanity. These set of ideas illustrate further, the argument of identity politics as a) the emphasis on 'black man' disregards the identity of whites as South Africans and b) it becomes evident that land conflicts are caused by the fact that the lack of land in the black community reproduces notions of a threatened black identity. Consequently, the idea of a 'threatened black identity' in the latter, threatens the white identity thus causing the manifestations of identity politics and racial tensions as both racial identities feel threatened by each other.

This is because as the mentioned respondents Mashiqi et al. (2017) have argued, land continues to reinforce notions of superiority and inferiority. The fact that whites still have ownership and control over land, threatens a segment of those black people such as Mngxitama who would like to break free from the inferiority identity. Therefore, the desires of black people to escape

from this identity has to be focused on challenging white people thus deepening issues of identity politics and power struggles.

While this is the case, during the research period, as blacks extensively advocated for land, there was no evidence from the Facebook page - letters of white South Africa on land discourse. This be argued that white people do not participate in the land question as they may either feel threatened or afraid to give up their land power, which can still be interpreted as whites fighting to keep the land.

This illustrates what Khusela Sangoni said "In as much as the country is united in its condemnation of corruption, why can't it be united in its condemnation of unequal ownership of land" (Personal Interview, 4 August 2017). In other words, Khusela Sangoni argues that there is no unity in the country when it comes to land discourses and white supremacy. This is quite evident as black people believe that land must be returned back to their community, while there is lack of advocacy from the white community. Thus this reveals the issue of power dynamics in the society as citizens fight with each other over land.

Moreover, one noted that the contrast of ideas in land discourses were also from political parties. For example, according to Anonymous representative from the DA:

"Land expropriation without proper planning is not a solution when looking at the economic needs of the country such as economic growth. It can serve as an immediate comfort to the country's majority if the state gives them large ownership, however, may oppress the country's economic growth in the long run" (Anonymous representative from the DA, Persona Interview,21 September, 2017).

Dr. Hlayseka Chewane on the other hand argued that land expropriation is inevitable and necessary to equally redistribute power. He argued:

"People must not worry about what will happen to the land after it has been taken away from white people. Everything has a starting point, we cannot sit here struggling to give our people what they deserve, the power they need, due to our fears of possible economic failures. Even now, the country is struggling economically and partly because of racist patterns of land ownership that make up white supremacy. We must then do what is economically right" (Dr. Hlayseka Chewane, EFF Founding Member, 22 September 20107).

The both quotes show that there is no consensus in the country regarding the land issue. While anonymous representative from the DA argues that there is a need for proper planning before land expropriation, Dr. Hlayseka Chewane argues that it is about time that land is expropriated forgoing fears of possible failures. Dr. Hlayseka Chewane anchors his arguments on the notion that even currently, the economy is not benefitting the country's majority. In this case, one would argue that both participants are presenting with needful arguments. This is because land

expropriation can be beneficial as far as equally redistributing land. On the other hand there is a need to properly plan for this endeavour in order not to fail the country's economy.

In conclusion, land conflicts from the country's citizens have thus been exacerbated, contributing greatly towards the construction of racism through racial contestations. Appendix 6, for example, reveals racial expressions from random Facebook users of different Facebook profiles as a demonstration regarding the intensity of racial contestation over land in the fight against white supremacy.

4.2.2 White People's Response to White Supremacy: White Arrogance or White Poverty?

The second issue raised in confronting white supremacy is the idea that whites are not fully participating in the conversation of white supremacy. This has been argued as *white denial or white arrogance*. For instance, Aubrey Mashiqi said:

"I dealt with this issue on a show, some people felt I was quite harsh… because one of the things I said was that I personally, have reached a point where I'm not interested in persuading white people not to be racist. I have been there done that and I am not doing that anymore. I am not interested. When I speak about race, I am speaking to black people not white people. We talking about what we as black people need to do. White people can do whatever they want. We must talk about what we want to do. We have done this thing of persuading white people not to be racist, but it's not working. I might change my mind next week, next month or a year later, and say let's re-engage, for now my position is that I'm not interested to talking to white people about not being racist" (Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, 26 July, 2017).

Aubrey Mashiqi demonstrates the tension between blacks and whites in confronting white supremacy as a form of racism. His expressions reveal some form of detachment from white people in tackling the issue of racism thereby deepening racial divisions. Also, Mashiqi's expressions reveal the popular idea from the black community that whites are arrogant. When Mashiqi says "we have done this thing of persuading white people not to be racist, but it's not working" portrays this general perception of white arrogance.

Anonymous representative from the DA stated that it is apparent that white arrogance exists as white people have fear of losing their economic power and as a result will act to protect what they believe is theirs. This however, is working against the project of reconciliation in that it continues to divide the country (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

"The DA is aware that there is lack of participation by whites in the white supremacy debate, such as issues of white monopoly capital, this can be regarded as white fear which is white arrogance. White people cannot be protected through this notion of white fear, they fear to give up their power and this is nothing but greed" (Anonymous Representative from the DA, Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

Anonymous representative from the DA draws the notion that white arrogance exists because the white community is not fully participating in dealing with white supremacy. In addition, he further argues that this conduct of white people can be considered as greed. Thus the underlying argument revealed by the participants is the notion of white arrogance.

The lack of recognition of white supremacy by the white community to a very large extent reflects Tatum's (1992:13) argument about white people's identity, where he argues that their lack of awareness of cultural and institutional racism, as well as their own privilege, is a continuation of white dominance. While some citizens are raising awareness on the detrimental effects of white dominance to achieve an egalitarian state, white people however may not be sharing the same intention (Pressly 2017:2). van Dijk (1992: 89) has argued that "the denial of racism is one of the moves that is part of the latter strategy of positive ingroup presentation". van Dijk (1992) indicates that the denial of white supremacy is an act of protecting the white identity. However, this act of protecting the identity is often viewed as arrogance. van Dijk (1992: 89) further contends that denials of racism have both an individual and a social dimension. Not only do most whites resent being perceived as racist at an individual level, their resentment would also be protecting the white community as a whole.

This notion according to Johnson (2008) can arguably be regarded as dominance behaviour. This argues that resistance is often produced by notions of being dominant within racial relations and social hierarchies. Johnson (2008) posits that in South Africa during the change to democracy, socially high ranking individuals experienced a deeply personal crisis as their identity was threatened. In addition to this, Falkof (2016) argued that the end of apartheid imposed a threat on whiteness. This was caused by fear of either denialism that white power was on the verge of eroding or that the country would be run by 'the majority' previously considered as slaves. Therefore, denialism acts a protector of the white identity either, the superiority identity or the notion of whites being considered innocent from racism.

According to Prof. Steven Friedman, economic privileges have produced prejudice attitudes where people who feel that their privileges are being threatened, will grow resistance and become more racist (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). For example, white individuals who have published racist comments on online media platforms such as Penny Sparrow could be feeling threatened by black people and as a result act out violently to protect their privileges thus being denoted as white arrogance.

Dywer (2008) has argued that the mere fact that whites fear to lose the power which is a form of arrogance symbolises the continuity of coloniality of power where white people even in post-colonialism would still prefer to have economic dominance. These race power dynamics

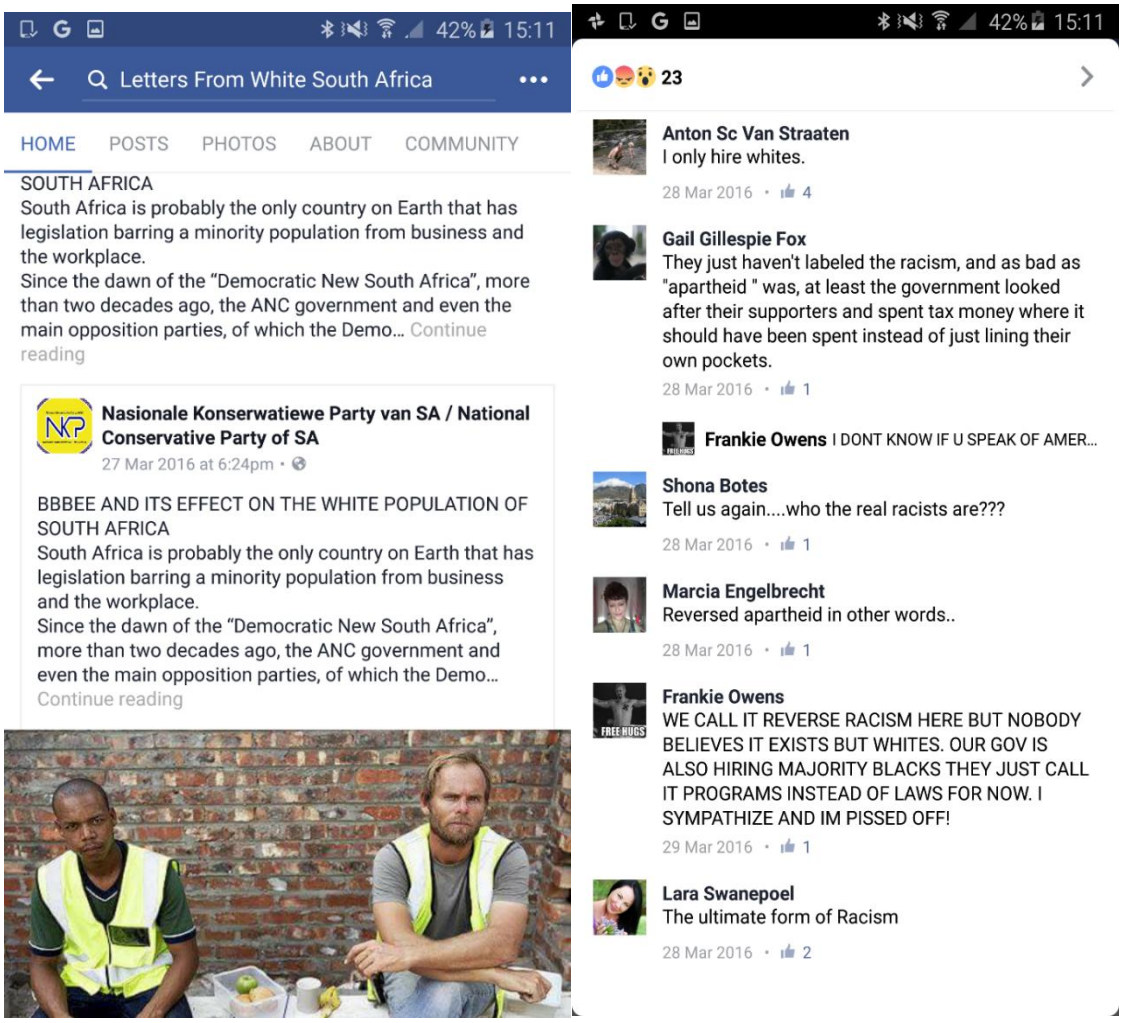
then deepen racism in that as blacks sought to garner economic power that is already in the hands of whites, white's reflex is to protect the power that they have Dywer (2008).

Although there have been arguments of white arrogance, the critical question to ask is, are white people arrogant or are they too becoming poor to fulfil the demands of government? This is because white people have viewed the discourses of white supremacy as not entirely reflecting the struggles of white people in democracy and therefore argue against the notion of white arrogance. Ralf Mathekga argued that in post-apartheid South Africa, there has been a rise of white poverty levels which have possibly created resistance by the white community to recognise white supremacy (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Anonymous representative from the DA has also stated that although white arrogance exists, it is important to note that there is a handful of whites living in poverty. This does not necessarily mean that those who are poor are arrogant (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

"We need to realise that South Africa is slowly changing. This is a good change because the desire of empowering black people is no longer far-fetched. But at the same time, the phenomenon of white poverty is emerging, in as much as there is white arrogance. I really think the ANC is challenged because in as much as black people need economic empowerment, what do they do with the poor white people. At the end of the day, government has to be there for them also. We say whites are arrogant, true, but what about those who are not?" (Anonymous representative from the DA, Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

Both Ralf Mathekga and anonymous representative from the DA raise a critical point in the discourse of white arrogance. Although white people have invariably been considered arrogant due to ideas that they are not participating in redistributing their wealth, the issue of white poverty cannot be ignored. Some white people do not have privileges such as jobs or businesses due to lack of economic power and state support. According to Burrows (2016) 'white poverty' exists. Burrows (2016) argues that the country has 80 white "squatter camps or townships'' known as informal settlements where white families live in poverty with lack of basic services such as proper sanitation or water. These conditions according to Burrows (2016) are worsening as the government continues to strengthen policies promoting black empowerment in isolation of whites.

Thus whites' views are that government is not supportive enough of their challenges. This buttresses what anonymous representative from the DA alluded to that although there is a need to economically empower black people, government has to still consider a fragment of the white people living in poverty. For example, some of the policies implemented by government to include the BBBEE and Employment Equity policies, have been viewed by some white people as sanctions of white freedom not necessarily that whites are arrogant. As an illustration to this, one has shared a Facebook post by Letters from White South Africa.



The Facebook post reads:

"South Africa is probably the only country in the world that has legislation barring a minority population from business and the workplace in a democratic era".

One comment reads: "we call it reverse racism here but nobody believes it…" Another comment reads "Tell us again…. who the racist is now". The expressions revealed in the Facebook post argue that South African legislation has been designed to frustrate whites from economically advancing. The comments supporting the post contend that these legislations are racist. This reveals the notions of white poverty and the fear of whites to be excluded from participating in the country's economy. This argued form of exclusion is perceived as racists by the white community. In this case, the idea of white arrogance is problematic in that if government's vision is to create a non-racial society, its efforts of supporting the previously disadvantaged can be put to scrutiny seeing that it is still creating an economy of exclusion.

Ernest Roets Deputy CEO of Afri-Forum, a non-governmental organization with the aim to protect minorities in a democratic South Africa has argued that white people in the country are excluded and their economic, social and political rights are not protected by the government (PoliticsWeb 2017). Ernest Roets, holds the position that government is not exercising equality

in protecting the economic rights of the citizens. Blacks are given more priority as opposed to whites. This argument is however complex in that blacks were excluded in the dispensation of apartheid. Therefore it may seem just for government to prioritise the previously excluded so that they economically become equal to whites who were prioritised during apartheid. For instance, Aubrey Mashiqi maintained that if government is to create equality, whites cannot be given the same privileges as blacks.

"Whites should not compare themselves with us. They had 300 years of being privileged and we had 300 years of being their slaves. Look, their conditions are far better than ours. Actually, they are still very rich. So what must we do? We are not at the same level" (Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017).

Aubrey Mashiqi argues that whites have already garnered privileges and as a result, have accomplished economic empowerment than black people. In this case, the notion of white poverty is almost dismissed by Mashiqi as his emphasis mainly focuses on white privilege received from apartheid. Mashiqi reasons that despite the emerging white poverty, whites are still economically superior. This continues to echo the notion of white arrogance rather than white poverty. The complexity of this notion is then displayed seeing that Mashiqi's argument is true to a large extent, however, while taking into consideration anonymous representative from the DA's argument that the handful of whites living in poverty cannot be ignored.

The critical question to ask therefore is in the wake of white poverty, where does government draw the line in implementing black empowerment policies. While fighting against white supremacy, what happens to the segment of whites living in poverty? One's contribution on the debate is although white poverty exists and is detrimental on the lives of some white people, this does not jettison the fact that white people are still dominant in the country's economy as illustrated on previous arguments. Power relations as noted by Prof. Steven Friedman have not changed. A majority of blacks are still poor while a majority of whites are still economically advantaged. As a result, black people are not economically equal to white people. Therefore, privileged whites have to realise the need to eradicate white arrogance by agreeing to redistribute wealth equally across all races. The BBBEE has attempted to enforce this notion, however there is a need for a unified voice in support of government's policies.

4.2.3 The Hypothetical Failures of the 1994 Government in Addressing White Supremacy

Lastly, the issue raised in connection to white supremacy is the notion that government has failed the previously disadvantaged groups in addressing white power. This notion is based on arguments that the then Mandela Administration 'sold out' black people and that some of the policies adopted in post-apartheid such as the Freedom Charter were still in favour of white

supremacy. Petterson (2013) has contended that the myth of the rainbow nation created a delusion in society, especially amongst the black community that the beginning of democracy would be a beginning of socio-economic hope and aspirations. However, the complexity of daily living framed within race in this country smothered these feelings of hope, and as a result led to a number of black people losing confidence in democracy, similarly to white people.

Youngster (2012:3) in an article published by News24 argued that the government failed to give economic empowerment to black people, instead, democracy deepened issues of poverty and inequalities as it still retained white people in power. Youngster (2012:3) based these arguments on the notion that Nelson Mandela, 'sold out' black people, in that democracy has not brought about the changes promised during the electioneering period of 1994. Prof. Steven Friedman as earlier noted, expressed that post 1994, the main priority of government was political power, with less consideration on the importance of economic power (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). Thus, the approach into this notion of freedom reserved institutional racism which could then potentially harm society in the future.

As a result, some black people such as Youngster (2012:4) maintain that democracy is a form of propaganda in that it lobbied black people to believe that the commencement of democracy would be the ending of their poverty struggles, yet this has not been achieved. Dr. Hlayseka Chewane also argued that the fact that the Nelson Mandela Administration did not effectively address the issue of the economy during negotiations with whites in as much as it addressed political power, was utter negligence of the economic needs of black people (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017).

"You see the thing is we do not know what else was said on the negotiations when Mandela was to be released. We cannot be confident that the interests of blacks of which it's the economy, the land and so forth were clearly represented by Mandela. Anything could have gone wrong in those negotiation. I mean, it's clear now. Mandela after being released from Robben Island was kept in a house prison where he was comfortable and rubbing shoulders with whites. Who knows they could have influenced him"

The expressions of Dr. Hlayseka Chewane reveal a sense of disappointment with the 1994 government and democracy negotiations. His expressions that black people's interests were not represented while holding views that perhaps Mandela was influenced by whites demonstrates his doubts on the legitimacy of the country's democracy while citing a criticism that the 1994 government facilitated the interests of whites. As a result, this reveals the complexity of the country's democracy stemming from the first democratic administration. Although, black people have been constitutionally liberated, there are reservations of their said liberty. The problematic issue raised by Dr. Hlayseka Chewane is that, the 1994 administration did not put into perspective the economic question. Thus, criticisms emerge that the 1994

government failed black people. This has begotten two imperative arguments directed to the country's democracy.

The first argument has already been raised by Youngster (2012) that democracy is a myth as it arguably failed South Africans especially the younger generations who are beginning to feel the legacies of apartheid. The second argument is raised by Reed (2016) in the journal article *Nostalgia in the Post-Apartheid State.* Reed (2016) gives an account of how research conducted in the idea of nostalgia revealed how historically oppressed people had longings of apartheid in the twenty first century South Africa due to their discontent of democracy. "In light of the widespread perception that that the ANC has failed to deliver economic equality, many people recall apartheid as a time of stability – even if it meant systematic oppression (Reed 2016:98)".

Reed (2016) ascertains that the hypothetical failures of the 1994 government has created a segment of older generations who express sentiments of 'loss and longing' as they encounter economic difficulties to live in a democratic South Africa. Reed (2016:98) notes: "In another conversation, the same woman longed for her childhood during which she did not need to worry about money while her family grew everything it needed to survive". In this case, Reed (2016) was demonstrating how one of the participants in the study revealed nostalgia due to the argued economic security in apartheid.

Thus critical arguments are raised in the above engagement. Primarily, one notes that the current economic challenges of black people creates sentiments of economic loss by blacks due to democracy. Either by a point raised by Dr. Hlayseka Chewane that black people's interests were not represented in the democracy negotiations or the idea raised by Reed (2016) that apartheid arguably provided some blacks with economic security. Thus the notion that apartheid provided economic security seems to equate democracy with apartheid and in fact, life under apartheid being viewed much better than life in democracy. Hence this imposes a strong criticism against government that it arguably failed to eradicate white power to bring about the freedom reverberated by blacks during apartheid. This perpetuates issues of racism as whites are still considered to be much better than blacks in democracy while also blaming the state for an argued delusion of democracy.

Reed (2016) however brings forth a significant argument that aims to explain citizens' discontent of democracy. Firstly, Reed (2016:98) indicates that the presence of nostalgia not only depict discontent against the country's democracy, it is a reflection of material realities of a global economy that deepens poverty in the lives of black South Africans. According to Reed (2016:98), in 2011, 45.5% of South Africa's population lived in poverty and rates for black people were double that of any other demographic. Secondly Reed (2016:99) argues that the

nostalgia of apartheid is "the indirect result of an ideological conflation of freedom, democracy and capitalism that is undergirded by a conservative resistance to western liberalism". The underlying issues raised by Reed (2016) reiterate notions of westernisation which problematize the notion of democracy.

This is to note that democracy itself remains prone to criticism such as Mignolo (2009) critically deconstructing the notion of modernity which African states have been submerged to. In view of this, democracy in South Africa was not 'tailor made' to suit the needs, cultures and traditions of Africans. Instead it was adopted as modelled by the phenomenon of western modernity. Thus Reed (2016) argued that nostalgia is also caused by a growing resistance of western liberalism by traditionalists who experienced life in the villages and were arguably allowed to lead a greater cultural autonomy and security by the apartheid government in the ideology of 'Bantustans' referred to as homeland regions (with their own ruling bodies).

Thus what was problematic about the adoption of democracy is that it was adopted by colonised mind-sets inundated with western knowledge Mignolo (2009). Mignolo (2009) argued that Africans could not create their own modernity separated from western modernity citing arguments of 'coloniality of being' and 'coloniality of knowledge'. As a result, this notion contends that the idea of democracy itself was problematic not only because it supposedly failed to provide economic power to blacks, but because it was centered on the idea of global economy and capitalism constructed by Euro-North American-Centric powers (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015:486).

Therefore, the arguments raised by Mignolo (2009) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2015) are imperative to a very large extent because they are central in understanding the country's economic landscape and the nature of democracy. This is because it remains clear as indicated by Dywer (2008) that the country continues to struggle with economic inequalities due to institutional racism that stems from issues of capitalism. In addition to this, the adoption of the country's democracy was aligned to western ideals of civilisation which are white centric and not the indigenous African civilisation as stated by Sihlongonyane (2000). Sihlongonyane (2000) argued that African civilisation was communal and more socialistic as opposed to western civilisation which is materialistic and based on industrialisation. Therefore, African civilisation was not capitalist in that it was not materialistic and industrially driven.

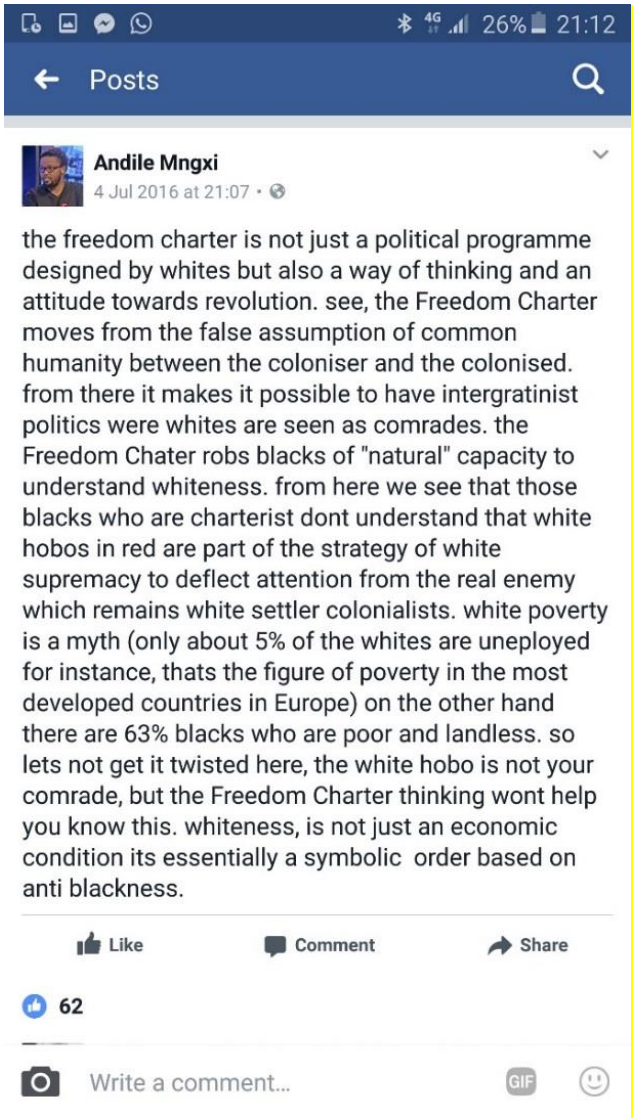
Furthermore, the notion of limitations of democracy cannot be overlooked. As Reed (2016) noted, South Africans expected racial, political, cultural and economic freedom, which was arguably not achieved by the 1994 government. According to Ralf Mathekga, expectations of freedom were inevitable due to the detrimental effects of apartheid, where blacks would be

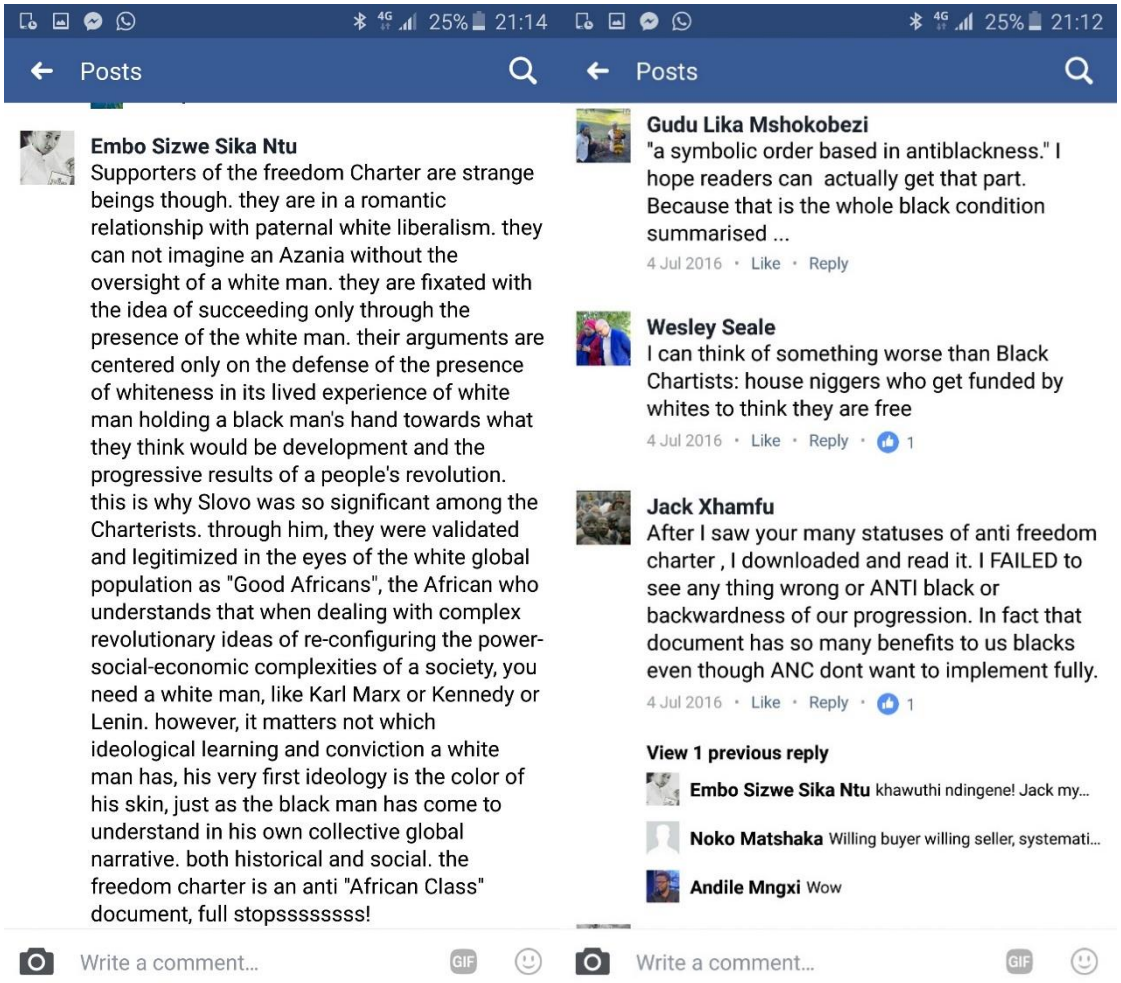
totally free from apartheid (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Although this is the case, the continued struggle of economic freedom shows that democracy has limitations. In this regard, a question that one would posit is, to what extent can we say democracy in any country has fully delivered on its promises? This is with recognition that democracy is a man-made system that has its own limitations.

These limitations for instance can be the notion that majority rule is limited as far as casting national votes for presidential candidates, however, subsequent to that, often times citizens are unable to cast national votes or make their opinions felt directly on issues concerning them such as in healthcare, economy, infrastructure, political cabinets, public education etc. (Southall 2003:49). For example, in South Africa, president Jacob Zuma conducted a cabinet reshuffle without the concern and or approval of citizens (although allowed by the constitution) which caused a national uproar, leading to protest campaigns against the president for instance the "Zuma Must Fall Campaign" (Merten 2017). As a result, although the country is a democratic state, citizens are still limited and so their desires may not be unreservedly fulfilled as there are notions of lack of balanced power (Merten 2017).

Nevertheless, this is not to discourage the notion of democracy, however it is to reveal that the democracy which was anticipated post 1994, like some democratic countries in the world, have ambiguities and may not fully deliver on made promises. For example, such as in the case of Zimbabwe where president Robert Mugabe ruled for over 30 years, in Democratic Republic of Congo where there have been civil wars and in the United States there is arguably continued racism and or prejudice against people of colour (Southall 2003:49). Moreover, in the case of South Africa, the democratic project from inception was imposed with enormous ills to solve, stemming from apartheid, such as disassembling structures of racism in the economic, social and political sphere of which all these could not have been solved in the 23 years of democracy.

Nonetheless, the below images are expressions taken from Andile Mngxitamas's Facebook as he shared his thoughts on the country's democracy since 1994, as well as comments emanating from his views.


26% 21:12
Posts
Andile Mngxi
4 Jul 2016 at 21:07 •
the freedom charter is not just a political programme designed by whites but also a way of thinking and an attitude towards revolution. see, the Freedom Charter moves from the false assumption of common humanity between the coloniser and the colonised. from there it makes it possible to have intergratinist politics were whites are seen as comrades. the Freedom Chater robs blacks of "natural" capacity to understand whiteness. from here we see that those blacks who are charterist dont understand that white hobos in red are part of the strategy of white supremacy to deflect attention from the real enemy which remains white settler colonialists. white poverty is a myth (only about 5% of the whites are uneployed for instance, thats the figure of poverty in the most developed countries in Europe) on the other hand there are 63% blacks who are poor and landless. so lets not get it twisted here, the white hobo is not your comrade, but the Freedom Charter thinking wont help you know this. whiteness, is not just an economic condition its essentially a symbolic order based on anti blackness.
Like
Comment
Share
62
Write a comment...
GIF



Mngxitama is critical of the Freedom Charter, arguing that it is a political program designed to further perpetuate white dominance in the so-called democratic South Africa. Mngxitama continues to argue that the Freedom Charter makes false assumption towards humanity, between the colonizer, and the colonized symbolic of anti-blackness. Mngxitama has based his arguments on the idea that the Freedom Charter upholds ideals of liberty where all races in the country are given the fundamental right to belong and participate through the notion that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. Automatically, the Freedom Charter recognizes white people as the country's citizens, and over and above this enforces peace for blacks and whites to live together regardless of the country's history and any racial differences that might occur.

Mngxitama therefore holds the view that, the idea of blacks and whites co-existing disregards the history of how blacks lost territory or ownership of their country. Consequently through the Freedom Charter they are now forced to forsake their indigenous right to take back what is essentially theirs without negotiating or sharing it with whites, who also have the right to ownership. This is, therefore, according to Mgxitama, problematic in that the Freedom Charter still offers the platform for white hegemony and white supremacy. One can, therefore, assume

that according to Mngxitama, a Freedom Charter that would be ideal is one that would hold whites accountable of the ills of apartheid, in so doing limit their freedom of ownership and wealth accumulation.

Mngxitama's idea supports Youngster (2012:4)'s notion that Nelson Mandela sold out black people through the ideas of the rainbow nation. Mngxitama is also of the view that in the midst of the Freedom Charter or the Constitution, white people are still in economic power and black people are still subjected to white control. This is because according to one's analysis of Mngxitama's ideas, the Freedom Charter does not make provisions for blacks to recover their wealth, land, economic freedom, etc., rather it forces them to co-exist with whites, who did little to change the conditions of black people.

Dr. Hlayseka Chewane reasoned that the problem with the Freedom Charter is the preamble that 'South Africa belongs to all who live in it black and white' (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). This narrative imposes challenges in that in as much as blacks would have loved to take back what they supposedly lost, the Freedom Charter makes provisions that South Africa belongs even to whites. Thus the frustrations of blacks regarding the country's democracy is the perception that it still reserved white power at the argued expense of black people's freedom. To Khusela Sangoni, South Africa post 1994 experienced colonisation of a special type:.

"I really think in my view that South Africa is the only country in Africa that never drove away its colonisers. Instead post 1994, we co-existed with them, and hence we are viewed by the world as a country that is doing well thus far in this democracy thing. But that alone has its own implications because we were now expected to learn to forgive and learn how we can peacefully live with whites, yet the problem of racism never went away" (ANC National Head of Communications, Personal Interview, 4 August 2017).

Khusela Sangoni indicates that the discontent of democracy in South Africa is the idea that post-apartheid, both races were legislatively expected to co-exist in peace thus the expectations extended even to the country's social context that blacks and whites will be able to tolerate each other. To the contrary, racism continued in that legislation did not uproot the structures of racism. In this case, Prof. Friedman argued that policies enacted post-apartheid sought to treat the symptoms of the problem not treating the real problem (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). Thus racism continues as revealed by either discontent of democracy within the economic aspect or its policies that arguably frustrated black people as noted from Mngxitama's argument.

Although these views about democratic legislations hold weight to a certain extent when considering the issues of white supremacy and racism, one has a different aspect into this

matter. Firstly, the Freedom Charter in its existence has to acknowledge the country's form of civilisation (democracy) which imperatively accommodates all races, including whites. Secondly the Freedom Charter was not created on resentment, racism and hatred; however, it is fundamentally built on ideals of unity, consensus, human rights, equality and peace. These are the values that democracy in essence must uphold. According to Khusela Sangoni, the ideals of the ANC which is the legacy of the 1994 administration, is the historic mission to create a non-racial society. Likewise, this vision then had to be enshrined in democratic legislations (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). This according to Khusela Sangoni, did not mean a race blind society, however, the ANC mandated to resolve any contradictions that would have arisen due to issues of racial domination (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Therefore, the Freedom Charter as well as other democratic legislations such as the Constitution would have been attempts of government to reconcile the country's races in the vision of a non-racial society.

Lastly, the critical question to ask is did government really fail to address white supremacy? One is of the view that democracy did bring liberation to black people in a form of constitutional rights. These rights are inclusive of socio-political and economic rights. Although government may have not effectively addressed white supremacy, the issuing of political power and rights to blacks is the right step towards challenging white supremacy (Pfister 2005: 8). This political power that blacks possess should not be undermined in that it has the potential to position blacks in economic power. For instance, government would not have had the privilege to adopt policies such as BBBEE or Land Reform Act without political power.

Therefore, one's point of departure is that it is still early to judge if government has indeed failed to challenge white supremacy for the following reasons: A) white supremacy was built for over 300 years, which could mean that much time is still needed by government to challenge white supremacy, perhaps citizens have been impatient on the transformation project (Dludla 2014). B) A report by Brand South Africa (2014) stated that although the ruling party in 1994 under the Nelson Mandela administration inherited a bankrupt economy, South Africa's growth had averaged 3.2% from 1994 to 2012, which reveals improvement over pre-1994 growth rates, while the number of people in employment grew by approximately 60%, or 5.6-million people, between 1994 and 2013 (Brand South Africa Reporter 2014. C) Due to the human rights given to South Africans, even black people can start businesses and compete in the market with white people (Pfister 2005)

In conclusion, it can be argued that white supremacy in its complexity is a contributing factor on the construction of racism in post-apartheid. This is because white privilege is still dominant while black people continue to be impoverished. As a result this has caused land conflicts where the country's citizens fight for land redistribution thus giving rise to racial contestations. Land also became a signifier of identity politics and power struggle as blacks argued that they are rightful owners of land in that they are African while whites silence over the land issue could signify their power protection. Also, arguments of white arrogance were prevalent citing notions that whites are less interested in sharing the country's wealth as they arguably protect the notion of the privileged whiteness. Lastly, the government has been criticised that it has failed to challenge white supremacy, thus these criticisms have further divided citizens consequently leading to the deepening of racism in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.3 Racial Differences in South Africa: A Contribution to Racial Conflicts

One noted as the study was carried out, that social media was used to display issues of differences, such as racial representation and stereotypes which exacerbated racial contestations in post-apartheid South Africa. This in particular became visible through racial stereotypes, or the politics of representation, and the general hatred the country struggles to deal with. According to Dr. Hlayseka Chewane, a large contributor to the issue of racism in South Africa is the idea of difference, which stems from differences in the colour of the skin which in essence creates racial tensions and stereotypes (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017).

4.3.1 The Politics of Representation and Racial Stereotyping Through Social Media

Racial stereotyping remains a challenge in South African society. This is nonetheless a disease that the whole world has to be cured from, in that whether the racial stereotypes are positive or negative, they hold a psychological effect of identity politics and racism. Brown et al. (2011:27) argue that the politics of racial representation is largely endorsed by stereotypes where people represent each other based on their views against one another. Aubrey Mashiqi, has argued that the politics of representation in the country is everywhere, it is in political affairs, social settings, in the media and in schools (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017). Politics of representation may refer to representation of people, places, objects, events etc. (Brown et al 2011:27).

Arguably, the black community, apart from other racial groups such as coloureds and Indians, has largely been affected by negative representation since apartheid. This to the extent that even other racial groups, mainly coloureds, would prefer to associate with whites rather than

blacks (Bezuidenhout 2017). To Khussela Sangoni, racial stereotyping has affected how black people in reverse view themselves, in that for centuries blacks have always been affected by how white people perceive them (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Therefore racial representation in a form of stereotypes reinforces racist attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa while perpetuating identity politics. As a result, it is critical to note that one will engage with the issue of representation from both blacks and whites in order to ascertain how whites represent blacks and how blacks represent whites.

White Representation of Blackness

"…to a white person, the fact of blackness seems disgusting as if we blacks are not real people, as if we are not civilised. But nonetheless, whites continue to view us in terms of colonial ideologies where non-Europeans are considered inferior" (Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017)

Aubrey Mashiqi argues that white representation of blackness stems from the era of apartheid where blacks were negatively perceived by whites. Falkof (2016) argued that blacks were considered as slaves by the apartheid regime, an ideological tool aimed to enhance whiteness as part of their dominance. The white identity was considered as the 'God's chosen race' as opposed to the black race Falkof (2016). Johnson (2008:624) alluded that although the country is in democracy, there are still ideologies from the white community particularly white Afrikaners that God created a selected group of whites to rule the world. Therefore the black identity is viewed from a negative perspective with negative ideas attached to it by whites.

As an illustration to this could be seen in the post below from the Facebook page of Letters from White South Africa depicted below.



Letters from White South Africa's Facebook post was shared on an event of looting that had taken place in one of the country's cities Pretoria. Several comments were shared following this post. One comment reads "Interestingly, you never see a white South African doing this sort of thing do you!! But you say you are more civilised would be construed as racist so I will leave it up to you to make your own conclusion". Another comment reads "It's always been the black nature and it will never change never. They use everything in the book for an excuse to steal and murder. They can't change no matter what".

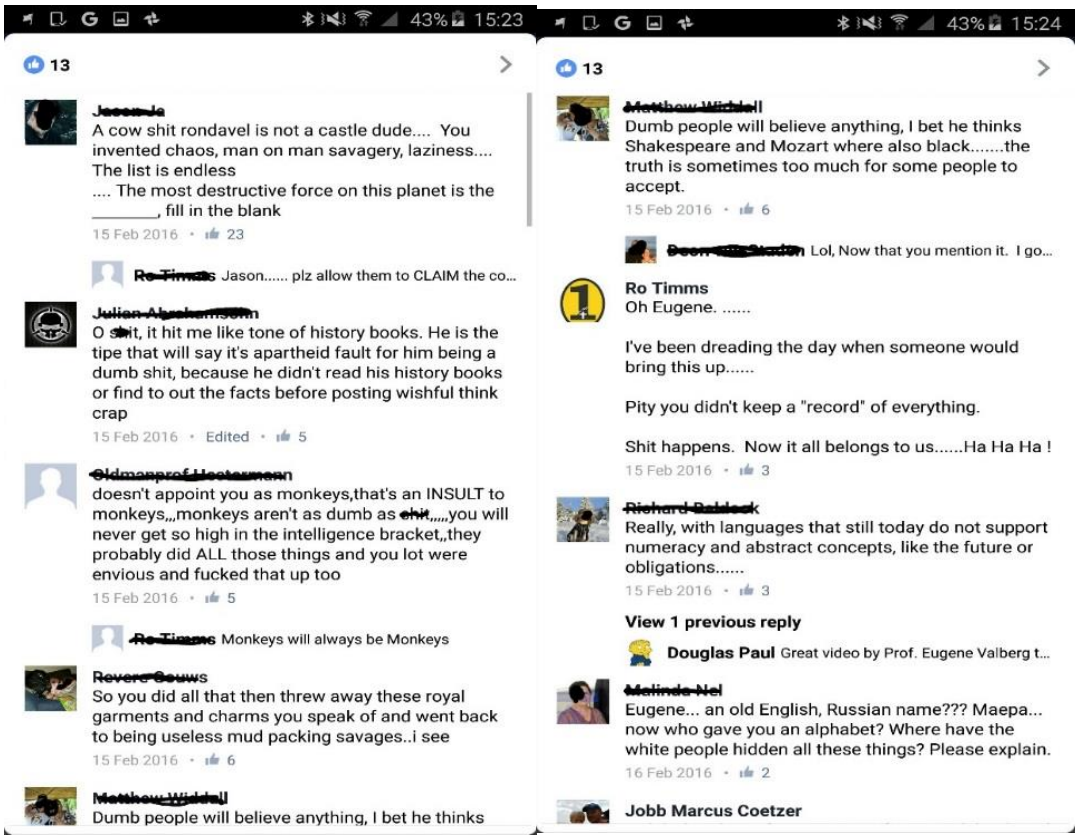
These comments reveal the idea of stereotypes embedded in some white people's mind-sets about the black identity. Their expression on this matter is stereotypic in that it does not consider the fact that not all black people would behave in such a manner. Also, to say that it is the nature of black people to be uncivilized is a misrepresentation of the black race identity and invariably carries notions of racism.

Another misrepresentation of black people is reflected in the image below, also taken from the Facebook page of Letters from White South Africa. The first image depicts a Facebook post of a black person arguing that white people have hidden 76% of black people's history by stating all the inventions this particular black person believes have been done by black people. However, it should be noted that the purpose of this argument is not to argue whether or not

black people have invented anything in history, but to reveal the responses and perception of white people which are examples of stereotypes and misrepresentations of black people reflected in the other images.



Image depicting a black person's Facebook post citing his views about the history of black people and arguing that it has been hidden by white people.



The above two images depict white people's responses to the views expressed above by the black person. One comment reads "….doesn't appoint you as monkeys, that's an insult to monkeys…monkeys aren't as dump as shit". Another comment reads, "dumb people will believe anything, I bet he thinks Shakespeare and Mozart where also black the truth is sometimes too much for some people to accept". We note that white people's responses on this issue are negative, thus reflecting that black people have no inventions worth celebrating in the

human race. The word ‘dumb’ reflected in the responses depict a stereotype that says black people are unintelligent and uneducated, and therefore incapable of inventing anything.

This stereotype is a distortion of truth in that ancient history shows that black people did invent monuments, such as the pyramids in Egypt, animal husbandry, tool making, food processing, beverages, textiles etc. (New African Magazine 2014). In modern history, black people invented traffic lights, closed circuit TV (CCTV), 3-D special effects in media, Laser Cataract Surgery, the blood bank in medicine, automatic elevator doors, gas masks, ironing boards, light bulb filaments, home security systems, the modern refrigerator, and so many other inventions that one could possibly mention (New African Magazine 2014). To Dr. Hlayseka Chewane, black people were intelligent even before white people brought their ideology of civilisation (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). This posits that the idea of black people not being considered as intelligent is an apartheid ideology adopted as part of esteeming the white identity.

Therefore white people’s stereotypes against black people are often negative and diminishing to the black identity. These stereotypes have created racial tensions in society, thereby constructing racism.

Black representation of whiteness

The representation of whites by blacks however is quite different from how some whites view blacks. Ralf Mathekga and Aubrey Mashiqi pointed out that black people’s representation of white people comes from two dynamics, hence it can be argued as ‘the mixed representation of the white community’ (Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017 and Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interviews, 26 July, 2017). This means that the representation of white people from the black community differs from one generation to another, as well as the level of black consciousness one has exposed him or herself to.

For example, the older generation, who were directly abused by apartheid and mentally enslaved to viewing white people as masters, would represent white people in that positive light instilled to them by colonial masters. According to Steven Friedman, the belief systems have not changed. Even socially, those that suffered directly with apartheid have notions of feeling inferior in relation to white people’s superiority (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). According to Khusela Sangoni, black people still believe that white people are more intelligent, beautiful, civilised, and modernised than black people (Personal Interviews, 4 August, 2017).

Also, there is a segment of the younger generation, mainly the middle class, influenced by the phenomenon of the western culture, who portray white people in a positive light, while

undermining their own identity. This set of young people have developed a behavioural system of comparing black people in relation to white people and drawing conclusions on how blacks should conduct themselves based on white ideas. These black people have been criticized and labelled by the black community as "coconuts", meaning black people who are seen to be black outside but white inside (Horstmeir & Cornelissen 2002).

Aubrey Mashiqi for instance argued that this behavioural system has resulted in the creation of the slang term "*u-Darkey",* pronounced in Zulu, meaning a black person (Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017). "When a black person does what we think is wrong or embarrassing we say u-Darky. We ourselves undermine our own race" (Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Interview, 26 July, 2017). Thus the term *darky* refers to dark meaning black. In most cases, the term is used to ridicule certain 'things' that black people would be doing regarded as embarrassing to other black people in relation to what white people would do or not do.

For instance, the term *u-darkey* would be used by black people to ridicule some black people, such as in circumstances where black people embark on violent protests, littering in prohibited places, urinating in prohibited places, etc. The so called 'civilised' black people would be responding to such things by saying "ah well, that's a black person for you, littering anywhere, *or u-darkey*, that's what a darkey does". As they use the slang term '*darkey'* it is in contrast to the 'white phenomenon'. Therefore, if black people ridicule a black person with personification of the skin colour, the stereotype created is that a white person is far better than a black person. This ideology then esteems whiteness to be used as a model of what some black people aspire to be as they practice what has been argued to be internalized racism (Tatum 1992). This then reflects that racism is constructed through politics of racial representation, where whiteness in the society is still venerated just as was the case in the apartheid era.

On the other hand, there is a stereotypic mind-set that believes all white people are racist. This stereotype is perpetuated by a number of black people who have grown resistance against whiteness based on their experiences and perceptions. It is also based on the ideas of institutional racism, which believes that all white people were and are beneficiaries of apartheid, who constructed white privilege.

This notion was also displayed by the respondents during the interviews. For example, Khusela Sangoni said:

"Whites are not interested in the reconciliation project. They are not even supportive of any of the activities that matter to black people. When we black people go out to commemorate some of the events that are important events such as human rights day or June 16, I have never seen them being part of… look at the 16th of December, which is supposed to be the day of reconciliation, white people changed that to be a braai day.. I mean, it is difficult

to engage with people who are not interested and would still like to maintain racism" (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

In this statement, Khusela Sangoni displays the stereotype that all whites are racist based on her experiences. For instance, she went on to share a story of when she went to a pharmacy with her husband where the only pharmacist who could attend to them was a white man. The white pharmacist however according to Sangoni rudely told them to wait as he was still busy. They however decided to leave as they felt offended but while they were in their car, a white customer came in. Her husband determined to prove that the white pharmacist was racist, followed the white customer and immediately the white customer entered, the white pharmacist assisted her. From this event, she could then realise that the white pharmacist was racist, which buttressed her stereotype from when she had entered the pharmacy that white people are racist (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

Khusela Sangoni therefore argues that the perceptions of white people being racist is perhaps shaped by black people's experiences with whites such that when blacks interact with whites, they have a sense of expecting white people to be racist.

Furthermore, one would also like to refer to a Facebook post by Andile Mngxitama that depicts the notion that all white people as racist.



Mngxitama's post reads:

"The ANC and freedom charter blacks can only think up to individual acts of racism, they cannot go to the real thing, impersonal white power that is naturalized as a way of life in SA. They must sit down and allow themselves to be helped to understand that individual racism is possible because SA is racist. From this understanding, not one single white is not a beneficiary of racism and by extension a racist".

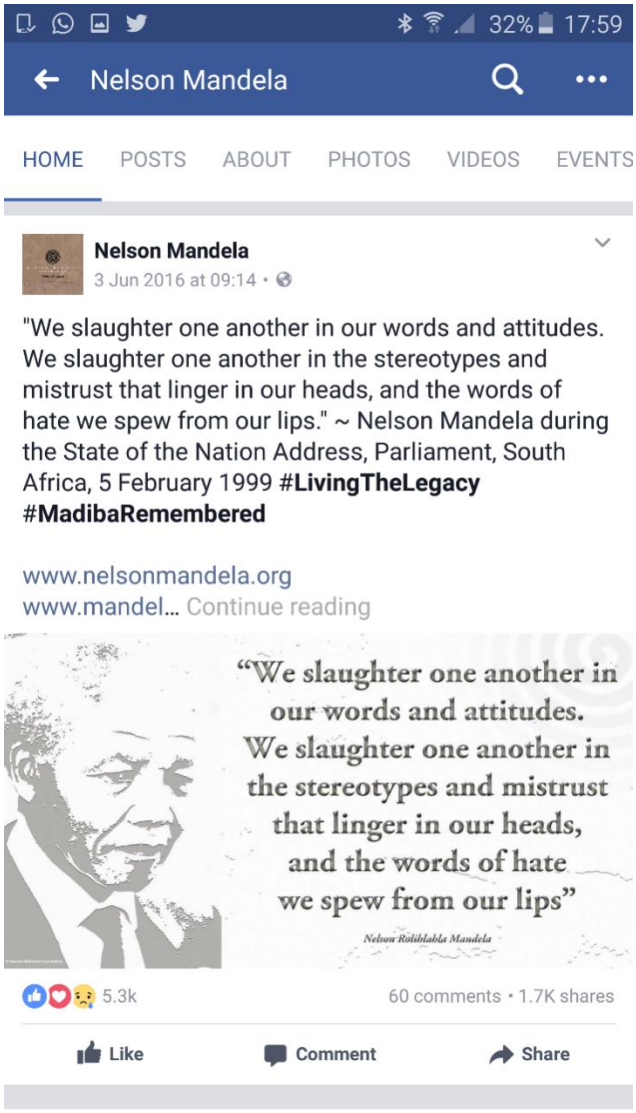
Mngxitama holds the view that all whites are racist, basing this view on the idea of institutional racism. One considers this idea as a stereotype, regarding its complexity when deconstructed. This is because the problematic supposition one finds in this thought is seeing that the idea is based on a generalization that white people are inherently privileged and to a very large extent withholds the fact that in as much as a majority of whites are economically superior, there is a handful of those that are not economically privileged, living in poverty similar to black people as previously noted (Burrows 2016).

If black people regard whites who are as poor as other blacks based on the fact that they are white, are they not practising racism against white people? This is to also argue that if white privilege is premised on whiteness and white people can access privileges based on their skin colour, why is it then that the country has poor white people? In this argument, one is not dismissing the idea of institutional racism, rather challenging the notion that all whites are racist. Moreover, if we say that all whites are racist based on the idea of institutional racism, are we in reverse implying that privileged black people are racist too?

This is because the country has a significant number of privileged blacks such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Patrice Motsepe, Toyko Sexwale, Sipho Nkosi, Phuthuma Nhleko, over and above the blacks who had access to good education, employment, etc. (Top Empowerment 2017). Accordingly, are these blacks racist because they are privileged? Therefore, one would like to partially dismiss the generalization of all white people being racist for the reason that there is no sufficient evidence conducted in South African society that proves this notion. This is with acknowledgement that not all whites are privileged and if that was the case, why is the ideology never used against black people? Although the idea of white supremacy, to a very large extent, exists, the idea that all white people are racist distorts how society ought to view whites who are genuinely not racist such as those who are generally as kind and respective to the black community as they would be with any other race.

Therefore, in light of the above arguments, one notes that politics of racial representation in post-apartheid society plays a significant role in constructing racism. The detriments of stereotypes are clearly visible, citing the need for a robust government intervention. For example, the legacy of Nelson Mandela Facebook Page depicted below reiterated the dangers

of stereotypes. The post reads “we slaughter one another in our words and attitudes. We slaughter one another in the stereotypes and mistrust that linger in our heads, and the words of hate we spew from our lips”. This then suggests that educational interventions from government can assist in dealing with the politics of representation. This can be done through creating educational programs that can be popularized using new and traditional media where awareness on issues of race and identity politics can be raised across the country in the vision of creating a non-racist society.



4.3.2. General Hatred Amongst Races, an Epitome of Racism

Over and above the politics of stereotypes and representations in South Africa, one took note of the general hatred imbued in this society based on the racial differences. This hatred comes from the racial discrimination that the country still has and as a result blacks and whites cannot

get along with each other. Research by the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) conducted in 2015 revealed the continued race-relation challenges that the country is facing. IRR's report stated that the white community was alleged to be filled with racism and a deep desire to re-work the aspirations of apartheid. Black people on the other hand were said to be filled with hatred against white people and the desire for vengeance (Cronje 2016: n/p).

According to Ralf Mathekga, South Africans cannot get along with each (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

"Government has tried various social cohesion programs where blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds can meet and engage socially, this, however, has proven to be ineffective" (Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

Anonymous representative from the DA has also argued that because of the country's racist history, blacks and whites do not tolerate each other.

"It was much better when we thought we are tolerating each other, but now it is clear that even that tolerance has diminished, if we can't tolerate one another, then how do we expect to love one another" (Anonymous Representative from the DA, Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

Both Ralf Mathekga and anonymous from the DA raise fundamental points in revealing that the country still has reservoirs of hatred. They reveal that the country struggles to overcome general hatred. As a demonstration to this, one would like to refer to a Facebook post by Andile Mngxitama which exposes the idea of hatred.

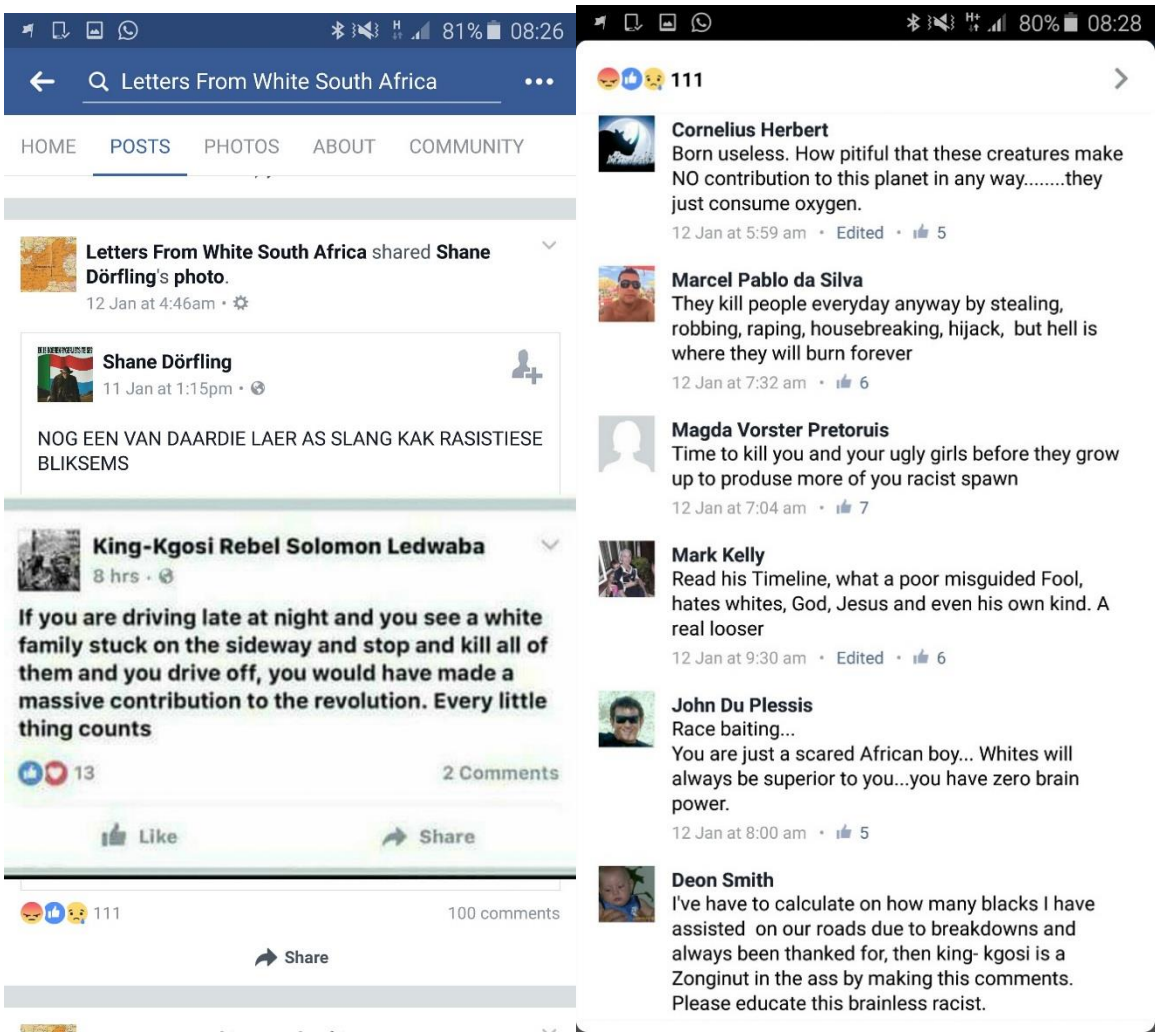


Mgxitama's post reads:

"Ok blacks, time to realise there's a permanent and total war against us. Linda who was attacked by whites for being black is a normal victim of war. In war you submit or fight back. We must earn the respect of white people. Let them know. You touch one of us there shall be hell to pay. Black First".

Mngxitama's post was shared after an altercation between blacks and whites in a particular setting. One's focus, however, is on the idea of how this event is viewed as 'war', prompting black people to see the need of fighting back which projects hatred. War in this sense may not be regarded as physical fighting, but is rather the idea that blacks are in conflict against whites and should not tolerate white people. One notes when Mngxitama carefully uses the words "normal victim of war" which may argue that black people are on a normal basis victims of racism, of which this may not be a holistic reflection of the racial reality in the country. This is because one might find that even Coloureds, Indians and Whites have suffered racism. However, blacks might have suffered great pain than the other racial groups. Therefore, to prioritise black people alone, side-lines other minority groups. Nonetheless this demonstrates the idea of general hatred immersed in the society.

Further evidence has been shared below in the images of a Facebook post shared by Letters from White South Africa.



The above Facebook post talks about killing white people and reads:

"If you are driving late at night and you see a white family stuck on the sideway and so stop and kill all of them and you drive off, you would have made a massive contribution to the revolution, every little thing counts".

This Facebook post is embedded with violent language that utterly reflects racial contestations in the country, which is also noted from white people's response against it. One comment from a white person reads "time to kill you and your ugly girls before they grow up to produce more of you racist spawn". The altercations or exchange of racial words reveal the hatred that blacks and whites have against each other in the society which may often not be noted at times in that one can argue some racism practices are subtle. This is where new media became useful in that it revealed such hidden issues.

To Khusela Sangoni, although at a distance the country may seem to be doing well since democracy in terms of unity, it conversely would be ignorant of 'us' (citizens) to believe that we "get along" with each other (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Khusela Sangoni further reiterated that:

"……you are expected to live with the person that colonised you with the belief that they would change or you would suddenly be nice to them having forgotten whatever they did as if the TRC would really bring total healing" Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

Khusela Sangoni raises a fundamental point that general hatred can be afforded to the idea that in post-apartheid, blacks had to intermeddle with whites despite the experiences of apartheid. Also, as noted in policy document analysis section, the TRC could not effectively reconcile the country's races due to its short comings. As a result, although the ideals of democracy under the ideology of the rainbow nation was to enforce peace and tolerance, the mere fact that blacks did not receive the intended healing, there is arguably resentment against whites. It is therefore clear that general hatred in this society contributes to the construction of racism in post-apartheid South Africa and that the use of social media intensifies racial contestations as one noted from the Facebook comments shared.

Therefore, in conclusion, it is evident that the differences that exist in the society are problematic as they depict politics of representation. This reveals the idea of identity politics, where in-groups have certain views about out-groups. The identity of black is attached with stereotypes such as blacks are ugly, uncivilised, unintelligent etc. while white people's identity is often esteemed in superiority as was the case in apartheid. The white people's identity is also generally viewed as racist due to the history of the country, such that it is almost impossible for government to reconcile both races thereby constructing racism in post-apartheid. On the other hand, the country is still imbued in hatred where possibly, the hatred emanates from past injustices and the weakness of government policies such as the TRC to reconcile both races.

4.4. Double Standards and the Absence of Government in Dealing with Racism

Apart from the concern that government is not fighting against white supremacy, interview respondents have argued that lack of government interventions in general are a contributing factor towards the construction of racism in post-apartheid. This has been noted in two ways a) the lack of government initiatives in the 21st century to uproot racism and b) supposed double standards in dealing with the race issue.

Although Khusela Sangoni has argued that the ruling party has employed several initiatives at the grassroots level to raise awareness on racism, and has been discussing on criminalising racism, Steven Friedman, Hlayseka Chewane and Ralf Mathekga, have adamantly argued that government is not doing enough to fight against racism. According to the respondents, there have been less educational programs run by government to teach and condemn racism.

For instance, Prof. Steven Friedman contends that although government can announce to pass a law that bans racism, however, law cannot ban racism in that racism is a practice based on a culture and a system of beliefs. Law would only serve to punish those who practice racism, however, would not change the mind-sets of people (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2018). This argues that plans to adopt law to criminalise racism would not really be dealing with the issue at hand especially when considering that racism is an ideology that can be passed from one generation to another (Johnson 2008). Therefore, government needs to consider robust educational strategies in uprooting racism.

Dr. Hlayska Chewane also indicates that that there are no programs run by government to educate society against racism. "It is as though government is not interested in dealing with racism" (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). Ralf Mathekga has also reiterated that government is not proactive, instead it is reactive. According Ralf Mathekga, although there are institutions such as the equality court which are aimed at employing punitive measures to racist offenders, the court can only deal with those that are found with racism however cannot stop racism.

"We need proactive instruments that can deal away with racism, we can blame racist individuals, but they themselves are victims, some lack proper knowledge…the only thing that they have been taught is racism" (Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017).

Ralf Mathekga posits the need for government to employ education in dealing with the issue of racism. This is because racism is a psychological issue that can arguably be defeated through education. Furthermore, Romm (2010: 81) also argues that the outbursts of racism are partly attributed to government's failures to meet the needs of South Africans and the lack of a responsive political system. In this case, apart from the policies enacted by government to promote a non-racist society, there is an inevitable need for educational programs and campaigns that can be applied at schools, social groups or gatherings such as sport's clubs, churches etc. as well as using the power of the media to educate communities on the detriments of racism. Failure of government to do so, racism will continuously live in the face of society.

The notion that government's efforts is not sufficient in the fight against racism is also derived from discourses of double standards in government's dealing with racism. The idea of double

standards became a large contributor to the construction of racism as racism from both blacks and whites was not dealt with the same. This was based on popular ideas also discussed previously in conceptualising racism that blacks can never be racist thus racism is considered a white phenomenon (Jones 2015).

Dr. Hlayseka Chewane said:

"I don't know if I can ever consider black people as racist or just a bunch of angry people. I mean where do we draw the line, their frustrations could be that they are angry but not racist, but on the other hand we do not want to think that they are not capable…" (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017).

Dr Hlayseka Chewane indicates the complexity of dealing with racism in the South African society in that black racism is often pardoned by ideas of black anger. This however does not mean that black people cannot be racist.

Ralf Mathekga also said:

"You see my thinking is freedom of speech in South Africa is encapsulated within racial lines… such as who is the messenger, who is saying this thing… we will punish those individuals based on who they are and that is the colour of their skin, if you are black you are more likely to get away with murder but if you are white, we will definitely find you racist…for me this is absurd" (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017)

Ralf Mathekga posits that one's identity plays a critical role in dealing with racism in the society. Black people's racism is more likely to be ignored than white people's racism. During the research period, one therefore noted that white racism was treated differently from black racism as Mathekga argued. White racism gained more popularity and attention from the state than black racism. For example, Penny Sparrow's racist comment gained more popularity and received wide media attention such as 4501 media reports. Chris Hart's social media comment which said, "more than 25 years after apartheid, the victims are increasing along with a sense of entitlement and hatred towards minorities" received attention from the ANC youth League as it held a march to Standard Bank's headquarters on 7 January 2016 (Mulder & Brink 2017).

Justine van Vuuren on the other hand who reiterated on Penny Sparrow's Facebook post received attention from the ANC. Subsequent to the Facebook comment, the political party indicated its intensions to lay formal charges. Moreover, Matthew Theunissen who called blacks "kaffir" was found guilty by the South African Human Rights Commission and was sentenced to 6 months of community service in a disadvantaged area in Cape Town (Mulder & Brink 2017). These examples are the least of the many white offenders who were found guilty of racism in 2016.

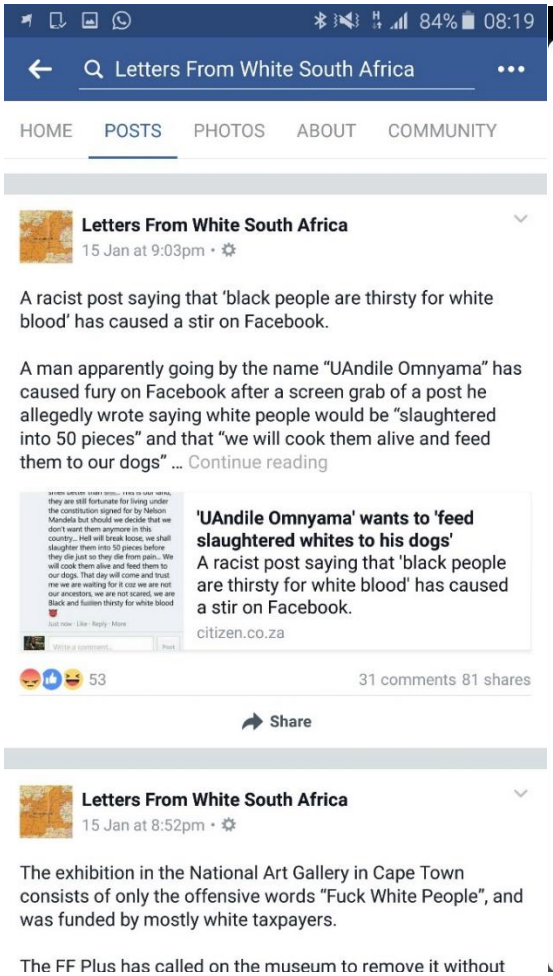
Black people on the other hand such as the case of Julius Malema, received 117 media reports where he made statements in November 2016 outside the Newcastle Magistrate Court saying

“we are not calling for the slaughter of white people, at least for now, the rightful owners of the land are black people…no white person is a rightful owner of the land here in South Africa and the whole of the African continent” (Mulder & Brink 2017). The report by Mulder & Brink (2017) stated that the media coverage received in this case, was one sided and most certainly did not receive wide attention on social media.

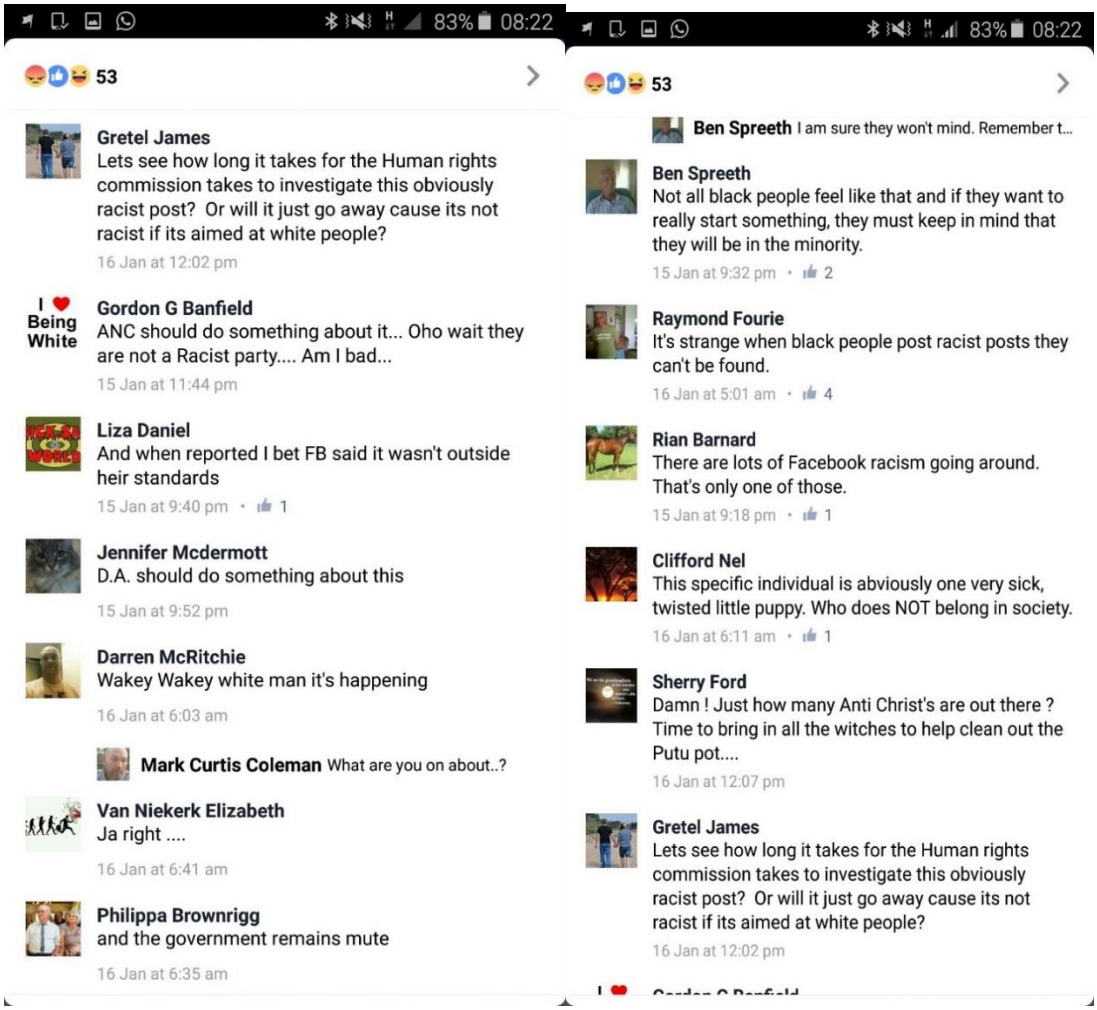
Velaphi Khumalo who had allegedly called for the slaughtering of white people was also found guilty by his employer the ANC and was suspended with full salary pay although later the suspension was uplifted and continued to carry out his duties as a Sports Promoter (Mulder & Brink 2017). The SHRC had said to be investigating on Khumalo’s case, however, after a year later, there was no evidence on the conclusion of his case (Mulder & Brink 2017). These examples serves to prove that the manner in which white people’s racism was treated by the state, is different from how black people’s racism was treated. White people were given harsh convictions while black people’s cases were almost treated lightly.

Therefore, lack of equality in dealing with racism in the society deepens issues of racism in that other racism acts are sparred provided they come from blacks while those of white people are given attention. Gottfried (1995:88) for instance argues that there has been a culture where racism is accepted as long as it is vocalized by black people. This speaks to the idea of identity politics. Gottfried (1995:88) refers to this as ‘playing the race card’, arguing that in the society ‘playing the race card is all right so long it is played by black people’. This therefore demonstrates that because government does not apply the same ideas to black racism as to white racism, incites frustration from the white community, consequently constructing racism.

For example, the Facebook post below by Letters from White South Africa where they express themselves on the issue of double standards as a form of racism against whites in the new democratic South Africa.


84% 08:19
Letters From White South Africa
HOME
POSTS
PHOTOS
ABOUT
COMMUNITY
Letters From White South Africa
15 Jan at 9:03pm
A racist post saying that 'black people are thirsty for white blood' has caused a stir on Facebook.
A man apparently going by the name "UAndile Omnyama" has caused fury on Facebook after a screen grab of a post he allegedly wrote saying white people would be "slaughtered into 50 pieces" and that "we will cook them alive and feed them to our dogs" … Continue reading
'UAndile Omnyama' wants to 'feed slaughtered whites to his dogs'
A racist post saying that 'black people are thirsty for white blood' has caused a stir on Facebook.
citizen.co.za
53
31 comments 81 shares
Share
Letters From White South Africa
15 Jan at 8:52pm
The exhibition in the National Art Gallery in Cape Town consists of only the offensive words "Fuck White People", and was funded by mostly white taxpayers.
The FF Plus has called on the museum to remove it without


83% 08:21
53
standards,
But yet I use the word Negroid & they deleted my comment. Go figure?!
Boitumelo Tshepo Monare
And this is why we will continue the white genocide
5 hours ago · Like
17 Jan at 12:17 am
Graham Russell Swanborough
Find him, arrest him, punish him. If it was bad enough for Penny Sparrow to call them monkeys, stop trying to prove she was right.
16 Jan at 10:01 am · Edited
Sharon White
And what will be done to rectify this absolutely nothing enough now it has to stop before something terrible starts the white man is being persecuted in his own country shame on you people doing this and shame on the government for not saying a word to stop this
15 Jan at 9:19 pm · 3
Ben Spreeth I am sure they won't mind. Remember t...
Ben Spreeth
Not all black people feel like that and if they want to really start something, they must keep in mind that they will be in the minority.
15 Jan at 9:32 pm · 2
Raymond Fourie
It's strange when black people post racist posts they



Letters from White South Africa shared a post of a black person who demonstrated racism against white people stating “black people are thirsty for white blood”. White people expressed themselves regarding this post with sentiments that government will not discipline the citizen because he is ‘black’. One comment reads “and what will be done to rectify this, absolutely nothing, the white man is being persecuted in his own country shame you people on doing this and shame on government for not saying a word to stop this”. Another comment reads “let’s see how long it takes to investigate this obviously racist post? Or it will just go away cause it’s not racist if it’s aimed at white people”. These comments reflect the thoughts of whites in government’s attention on racism. They fundamentally reveal the idea of identity politics, the fact that they believe because they are white, then government would not protect their dignity.

For instance, they argue that if it had been a white person expressing such views against black people, government will act, however, because it’s a black person, he is protected. For instance, Anonymous representative from the DA has argued that government needs to be careful that in addressing racial issues, it is not building another layer of racism (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

"We have noted that racism in post-apartheid South Africa is evolving and that the respected anger of black people could result in racism, I mean when we look at racism as hatred against another race. I do not believe that these are the founding principles of the ANC under the Nelson Mandela Administration. We need to fight against racism equally across all races. We do not want to teach our black kids that it's okay to hate white people because of what they did, and we do not want to teach our white kids that it's okay to be racist to protect yourself, we do not want to build another layer of racism" (Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017).

In conclusion, it is evident that government's failure to proactively raise awareness on non-racialism perpetrates racism in the society in that there is lack of education given to all generations across the South African boundaries thus citizens will continue to be racist while others will be more likely to adopt racist behaviour. Therefore this calls for government to develop campaigns that can intensely uproot issues of hatred in the country and promoting social cohesion programs. Lastly, the issue of double standards in dealing with racism has vastly contributed towards racism in post-apartheid. The research study noted that racism was not condemned the same way.

4.5 False Anonymity and Free Speech in the Use of Social Media

Social media has indeed given a platform to citizens and empowered them to express social issues largely those pertaining to racism. Although the phenomenon has become a useful tool to reveal issues embedded in society, it has however given false anonymity to its users. This is to note that social media has been useful as far as serving to strengthen some of the democratic principles such as freedom of speech and the need for public opinion provided it is exercised through a manner that respects other people's rights. It has however presented its darker side to how its users have been indirectly influenced by the idea of the phenomenon.

Prof. Steven Friedman has noted that social media has the idea of false anonymity presented to its users coupled with the idea of freedom of speech. This notes that the people using social media are made to believe that their identities are not known, that social media is a safe space and that they are enormously liberated to express their views though freedom of speech and anonymity (Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017). Prof. Steven Friedman has argued that this false anonymity allows people to say anything that they wish without a sense of responsibility and accountability and has therefore contributed towards the construction of racism (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017).

Renshaw (2016) has reasoned that anonymity is the act of hiding one's identity in the use of social media. Renshaw (2016) contends that when people are able to hide behind a computer screen, they become very likely to act contrary to how they would in a face to face conversation. This posits that due to this cultural modality of the internet, people are more likely to act

differently than they would in person. Therefore the sense of anonymity makes users feel less accountable for their action.

Back (2002) gives a retrospective account of the use of the internet for online racism. Back (2002) argues that white racist started using the internet in the mid-eighties and by the nineties they had considered the internet as a political tool and an alternative media that was unregulated and affordable. Therefore this reasons that since then, the use of the internet had gained much prevalence in the white community to carry out racist ideologies. In the 21st century however, the use of social media for cyber racism is not only confined within the white community, we have noted in this study that even black people have also used social media to disseminate racist ideas such as the likes of Velaphi Khumalo (News24 2016).

Firstly, with this idea of false anonymity, people create online identities where they are able to share as much or as little about themselves and can freely express themselves without worrying about the reactions of others which also indicates the idea of free speech. Secondly, the idea of space provided by social media such as one being able to express themselves on anything without being physically present, gives false impression that they are liberated to say anything. For instance, one can make a comment about a certain country while in South Africa and that idea of space creates false anonymity.

Furthermore, according to Prof. Steven Friedman, the perception about social media is that one shares views with the similar audience that is more likely to share the same identity with (Personal Interview, 18 July, 2018). Daniels (2012:699) argued that identity in online communities always played a critical role to connect people. Daniels (2012:699) further maintains that the internet is a site for identity construction and community formation around racial and ethnic identity. For instance as blacks or whites express racial issues against each other, identity is being constructed (whether racial, racist, economic or social identity). Thus the likes of Penny Sparrow or Velaphi Khumalo who disseminated racism, constructed a racist identity. The audiences of similar identities also adopt the ideas and may relate to them which inevitably reinforces attitudes and racist behaviour.

However, the idea of false anonymity provides an illusion to citizens that when they are sharing their racist ideas, they are talking to a certain audience that will be in favour of their views and that their identities are hidden, the impression that people do not know who they are. In view of this, Renshaw (2016) argues that the idea of being online gives social media users a sense of invisibility and a false hope that their actions will not have consequences. This is false anonymity in that in South Africa, the aforementioned examples of ‘cyber racists’ have been identified and exposed.

Lastly, although new media can almost be criticised of producing cyber racist, it is imperative to note that social media exposes what already exists. To Khusela Sangoni, the problem is not that the social media platforms exists, however it is the people who engage on these platforms and how they use them (Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017). Furthermore, Hlayseka Chewane indicates that people's views on social media are an indication of societal problems, however those people express themselves without any form of accountability (Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017). One agrees with both Sangoni and Chewane that social media is not problematic, rather its users are the ones problematic based on their societal experiences. This reiterates Livingston's (1999) notion that new media is impacted by society's relationship to it. Therefore, seeing the versatile nature of social media, it can potentially be used to unite the country. For instance Aubrey Mashiqi argued "in as much as social media has been used to reinforce racist ideas, it can potentially be used to reinforce anti-racist ideologies".

Therefore in conclusion, although false anonymity can be seen as disadvantageous in South Africa as it has stirred up cyber racism, one can however controversially argue that false anonymity and the idea of liberty became useful in revealing organic views from citizens. For instance, people often felt motivated to share their views on Facebook hoping to get likes, shares, comments, and attract an audience that will agree with them. The sense of comfort is also enforced by the idea that people can hide their true identities, such as the use of nick-names which then gives individuals' confidence to vent their ideas. Thus the expressions by citizens on racism played a critical role in alerting the government to take note of the racial issues.

As a result, it can be inferred from the study that the role of new media is twofold, in that it held a positive and a negative side. The positive side of new media in racial debates revealed that new media became useful in revealing the already existing issues of racism that may have been kept hidden from the face of the society under the idea of democracy. The negative side however revealed that through the idea of false anonymity, social media became misused by citizens to the extent that government proposed for its regulation through the Film and Publication Amendment Bill (Reddy 2016:2). This is to argue that in 2016, racial events on social media were, to a large extent, hurtful and detrimental to society, while also opening apartheid wounds for some individuals. As a result, the misuse of social media (although may have been alerting), to a certain extent, undermined government's efforts in fighting against racism.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter seeks to provide a conclusion of the study and has been structured according to the following; the first section will provide a recap of what the study is about, its aim and objectives. The second section will provide a summary of findings as indicated in the analysis chapter, the third section will provide recommendations critical for the non-racial project and the last section will provide suggestions for further research.

5.1 Recap of the Study

Amid the rise of cyber racism in South Africa particularly in 2016, there was an interest to investigate and research on the continued existence of racism in the South African society. This was with recognition of the country's history that shaped its race relations and current racial events aligned with the history. This is to argue that although in 1994, apartheid was abolished with the adoption of democracy, issues of racism and identity politics remain dominant. Various factors have emerged that contribute towards the construction of race-racism and identity politics.

These factors arguably undermine government's efforts in fighting against racism such as the adoption of democratic policies for example, Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, the Land Reform Act and the BBBEE policy which also became fundamental policies analysed in the study. Therefore, the intention of the study was to explore the idea of race and identity in post- apartheid South Africa, with the aim of understanding how these are constructed in the society. It aimed to question the factors giving rise to racism and perpetuating racial tendencies in a democratic society despite government's efforts to unite the country.

In the study, various methodologies were employed to include; cyber ethnography conducted amongst 3 Facebook pages namely; Andile Mngxi's Facebook page, Legacy of Nelson Mandela's Facebook Page and Letters from White South Africa. Cyber ethnography was conducted for a period of 10 months from January 2016 to October 2016 in which the mentioned period offered enough time to the researcher to collect meaningful data. Interviews were also conducted amongst 6 participants. 3 participants were from the selected political parties namely the ANC, DA and EFF and the other 3 participants were political analysts. The interviewed participants from political parties are; Khusela Sangoni from the ANC, Anonymous from the DA and Hlayseka Chewane from the EFF. The political analysts include Steven Friedman, Ralf Mathekga and Aubrey Mashiqi. These participants were selected based on their assumed positions and knowledge of South Africa's race relations. Methods of analysis

were, Discourse Analysis used to analyse Facebook discourse and Thematic Analysis used to analyse Interview data as well as government policies.

5.2 Summery of Findings

The study establishes that race and identity are unremittingly constructed and reproduced in post-apartheid South Africa. This construction takes place, firstly, through wide contestations and attitudes against the untransformed power relation referring to white supremacy that contains issues of land ownership and arguments of white arrogance. This suggests that the black community has grown massive resistance against the white race due to the politics of economic ownership and control in South Africa thus accusing people of racism. On the other hand, although white arrogance exists to a large extent, there are newly emerged arguments of white poverty which challenged the state to balance between alleviating the poverty standards of black people while being careful not to seem racist to other minority groups especially the white community.

The contestations of white supremacy revealed by Facebook communities and interviewed participants largely displayed notions of power struggles in the society which are attached to the epistemological idea of identity. These were noted through the land debates that indicated both blacks and whites' battle over land ownership. In addition, citizens had negative reflections on the country's democracy as they argued that the 1994 government of which it is still the same government currently, failed to economically empower black people. This as a result contributed to racism as black people feel an injustice done to their race thus imposing difficulties to reconcile both races.

Secondly, by the mere existence of these racial factors carried over to 1994, the country has enormous racial differences often reproduced in stereotypes and contestations reflected in general hatred. For instance, whites' representation of blackness was mostly negative while blacks' representation of whiteness was twofold in a sense that there was a handful of blacks that still respected white superiority while believing that blacks are inferior instilled to them by the apartheid government while there was another handful that believed all whites are racist. This politics of representation enforced issues of racism and identity politics in post-apartheid.

Thirdly, the study revealed that issues of double standards and lack of government interventions in post-apartheid exacerbated issues of racism. This is notably because ideas of racism in the society are racialised according to people's identity. Black racism was almost accepted while white racism was mostly punished. This raised the argument of reverse racism against whites while protecting black racism. The fact that forms of racism were not punished

the same what? argued that government is not doing enough to repudiate racism while at the same time, could have acted as a contributor to racism. This then undermined its project of non-racism in that its interventions were lacking and not strong enough to challenge the construct.

Fourthly, the idea of false anonymity and free speech provided confidence to citizens to freely express their views without being accountable. This augmented issues of cyber racism which has become a modern form of racism in the society. This is because social media was used by a number of citizens who played part in distributing racial content thereby causing a tremendous stir of racism events in 2016.

Lastly, findings showed that in post-apartheid society, new media played a role in facilitating racial debates. This can be afforded by the popularity of a digital culture where citizens mostly use smartphones for communication. Also, it can be afforded by the idea that social media in South Africa is not legally regulated by the state, thus citizens can exercise extensive freedom of expression. Although this role could have been detrimental to the country's democracy, it was however still imperative to reveal salient issues of racism in the society.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the factors indicated above, it is therefore imperative for the South African government to implement robust strategies in the fight against racism. These strategies must be focused on uprooting the racial problem, rather than addressing the racial symptoms. Although this idea may be prone to criticism in view of white supremacy, which has been considered a global phenomenon, one believes that racism can be eradicated. This is because the diagnosis of South African society presented by the study reveals that racism is mainly constructed by lack of redress mechanisms and redistributive measures, as well as weak government interventions, which can be rectified by the government.

Therefore, if government can implement redress and redistributive measures to economically empower black people, the battle against racism would almost be conquered. This is to acknowledge and commend the democratic government since 1994 for the efforts it has put in place thus far to preserve both blacks and whites in the same social space without civil war or evacuating whites out of the country. This then states that at least there are some institutional mechanisms that are pointing the country at the right direction, which may only need effective strategies and implementation.

In addition to this, the government must continually fight against racism instead of reacting to racial events. This is because one noted during the study that government intensified advocacy against racism whenever there were racial events mostly taking place on social media. This, therefore, points to the need for continuous nation building programs and social cohesion programs at local, provincial, and national levels to educate and unite the country. Various civil society organizations can be formed to drive reconciliation and unity campaigns.

Moreover, it is critical for government to look towards abolishing racial categories in the country and create a singular national identity in order to move towards integration. This is because *race* is a colonial concept, founded upon beliefs of separation and segregation. Does race really matter in post-apartheid South Africa? In an effort to create a non-racial society in a democratic South Africa, should government not abolish race in totality supplementary to the efforts it is putting in place to create a non-racial society? This is because, one would argue, that even government itself continues to put emphasis on race, especially in legitimizing paper work that questions one's race identification. The concept of race can no longer serve its function in post-apartheid. Instead of uniting, the concept obfuscates and divides provoking issues of racism. Seeing that racial classifications were invented to serve the interests of the apartheid state, the danger they impose on society is that people continue to see themselves along colonial lines (Brown et al 2011: 31).

In addition, what is critical to note is the debate of whether government must censor the internet or not. My contribution on the matter is that the problem in South Africa is not social media, but rather the existing racial mindsets and practices which are a reflection of the country's apartheid history. Therefore, censoring online media will not uproot the problem, but will disguise the challenges faced by society. Social media, in this case, simply acts as a mirror of these challenges and to a large extent is helpful in revealing issues that the country has otherwise remained ignorant or oblivious of.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the issue of racism cannot be fought by government alone. The fight against racism requires collective efforts from citizens. This means that every individual in society must partake in the fight against racism. It begins with individuals accepting the responsibility to protect one another, regardless of race, colour and creed, thereby uniting against racism practised either physically or within social media. Simultaneously, it then requires whites to be part of redistribution and redress discourses, where they can also equally note the detriments of white supremacy and unequal power relations in society. The absence of their voice and action against white supremacy debates does perpetuate racial contestations, while these contestations can be ceased through cooperation.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

Lastly, in considering the limitations of the study, it is imperative that further research that will have a strong focus on race construction in post-apartheid South Africa, and how government can tackle this challenge, is carried out to support the findings of this study. This will largely contribute to finding solutions targeted at solving the current racial problem.

DISCLAIMER

This research has been conducted with the interest to contribute towards the non-racial project in South Africa. I am a young black female who has indirectly experienced the legacy of apartheid through the continuation of the system of racism in post-apartheid. Thus based on my experience of racism as a young black female, there may have been some black advocacy in the study.

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Appendix 1: Approval of the study

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Faculty of Humanities – Postgraduate Office

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • **Tel:** +27 11 717 4007• **Fax:** +27 11 717 4037• **Email:** madile.moeketsi@wits.ac.za

Student Number: 496908

Ms Nothando Nokulunga Mdhluli
P.O.box 1887
Carolina
Silobela 1185
Mpumalanga South Africa

24 February 2017

Dear Ms Mdhluli

APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS BY RESEARCH IN MEDIA STUDIES

I am pleased to be able to advise you that the readers of the Graduate Studies Committee have approved your proposal entitled "***Race and identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa: The use of new media for racial discourses***". However you should take note of warnings and recommendations. I confirm that Dr Ufuoma Akpojivi has been appointed as your supervisor.

The research report is normally submitted to the Faculty Office by 15 February, if you have started the beginning of the year, and for mid-year the deadline is 31 July. All students are required to RE-REGISTER at the beginning of each year.

You are required to submit 2 bound copies and one unbound copy plus 1 CD in pdf (Adobe) format of your research report to the Faculty Office. The 2 bound copies go to the examiners and are retained by them and the unbound copy is retained by the Faculty Office as back up.

Please note that should you miss the deadline of 15 February or 31 July you will be required to submit an application for extension of time and register for the research report extension. Any candidate who misses the deadline of 15 February will be charged fees for the research report extension.

Kindly keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Note: All MA and PhD candidates who intend graduating shortly must meet your ETD requirements at least 6 weeks after your supervisor has received the examiners reports. **A student must remain registered at the Faculty Office until graduation.**

Yours Sincerely

MM Moeketsi

Madile Moeketsi (Ms)
Postgraduate Division
Faculty of Humanities
Private Bag X 3
Wits, 2050

Appendix 2: Research Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Mdluli

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/04/18**
PROJECT TITLE	Race and identity politics in post-apartheid South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss N Mdluli
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Literature, Language and Media Studies/
DATE CONSIDERED	21 April 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	30 July 2020
DATE 31 July 2017	**CHAIRPERSON** (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr U Akpojivi

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____

Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix 3: Consent Form

WITS
UNIVERSITY

CONSENT FORM

Student Name: Nothando Mdluli

Student Number: 496908

Research Supervisor: Dr Ufuoma Akpojivi

Title: Race and Identity Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa

(Please Initial Every Box)

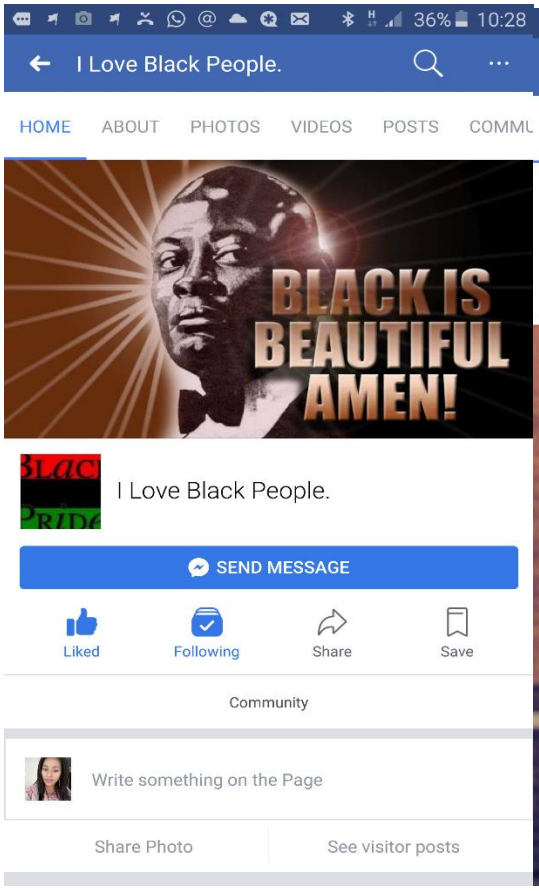
1. I confirm that I have read and understand the participant information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my reputation affected. ☐
3. I understand that my views will be used on the above mentioned study ☐
4. My participation in the study will be confidential. ☐
5. I voluntarily agree to participate in the study. ☐

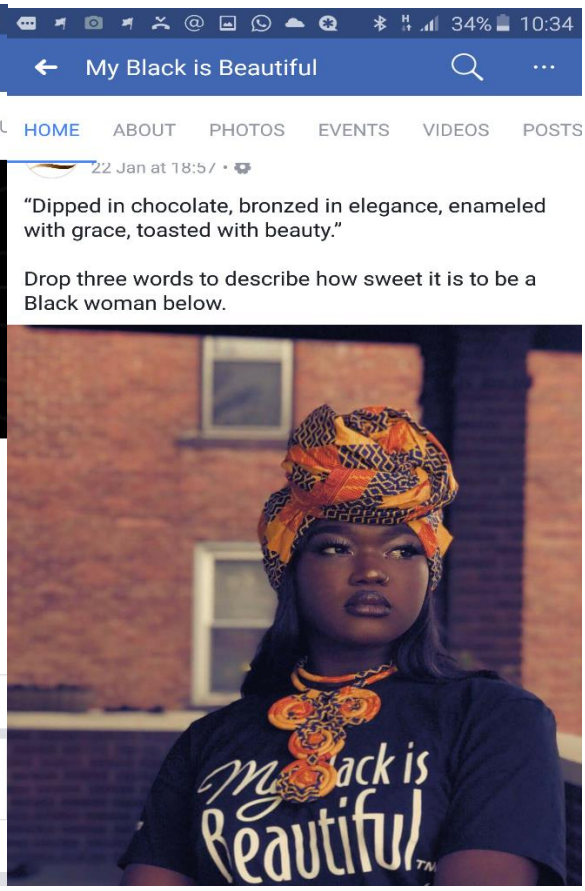
Name of Participant	Date	Signature

Nothando Mdluli

Date:

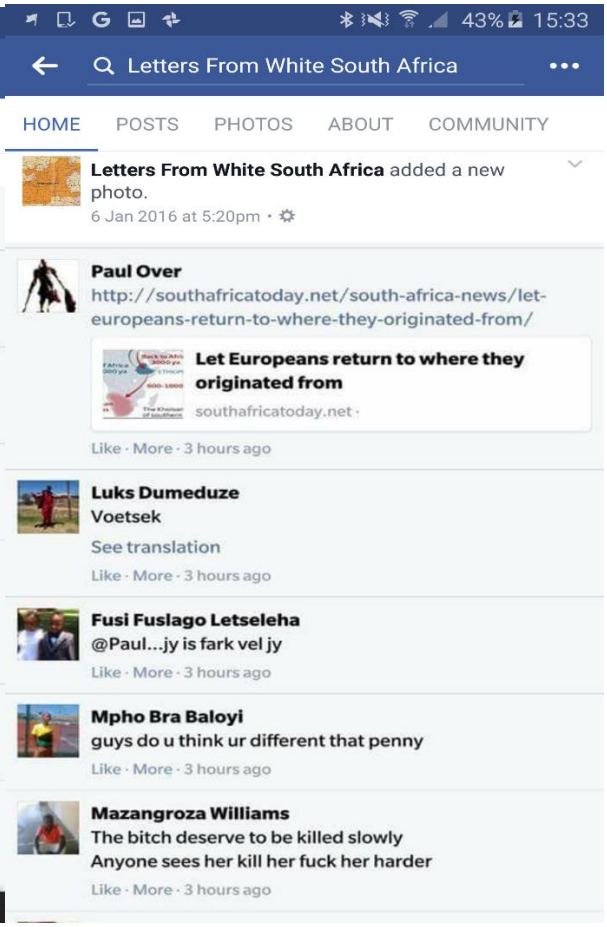
Appendix 4: Facebook pages celebrating black people


36% 10:28
I Love Black People.
HOME
ABOUT
PHOTOS
VIDEOS
POSTS
COMMU
BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL AMEN!
I Love Black People.
SEND MESSAGE
Liked
Following
Share
Save
Community
Write something on the Page
Share Photo
See visitor posts


34% 10:34
My Black is Beautiful
HOME
ABOUT
PHOTOS
EVENTS
VIDEOS
POSTS
22 Jan at 18:57 •
"Dipped in chocolate, bronzed in elegance, enameled with grace, toasted with beauty."
Drop three words to describe how sweet it is to be a Black woman below.
Beautiful

Appendix 5: Responses to Penny Sparrow Racial Event

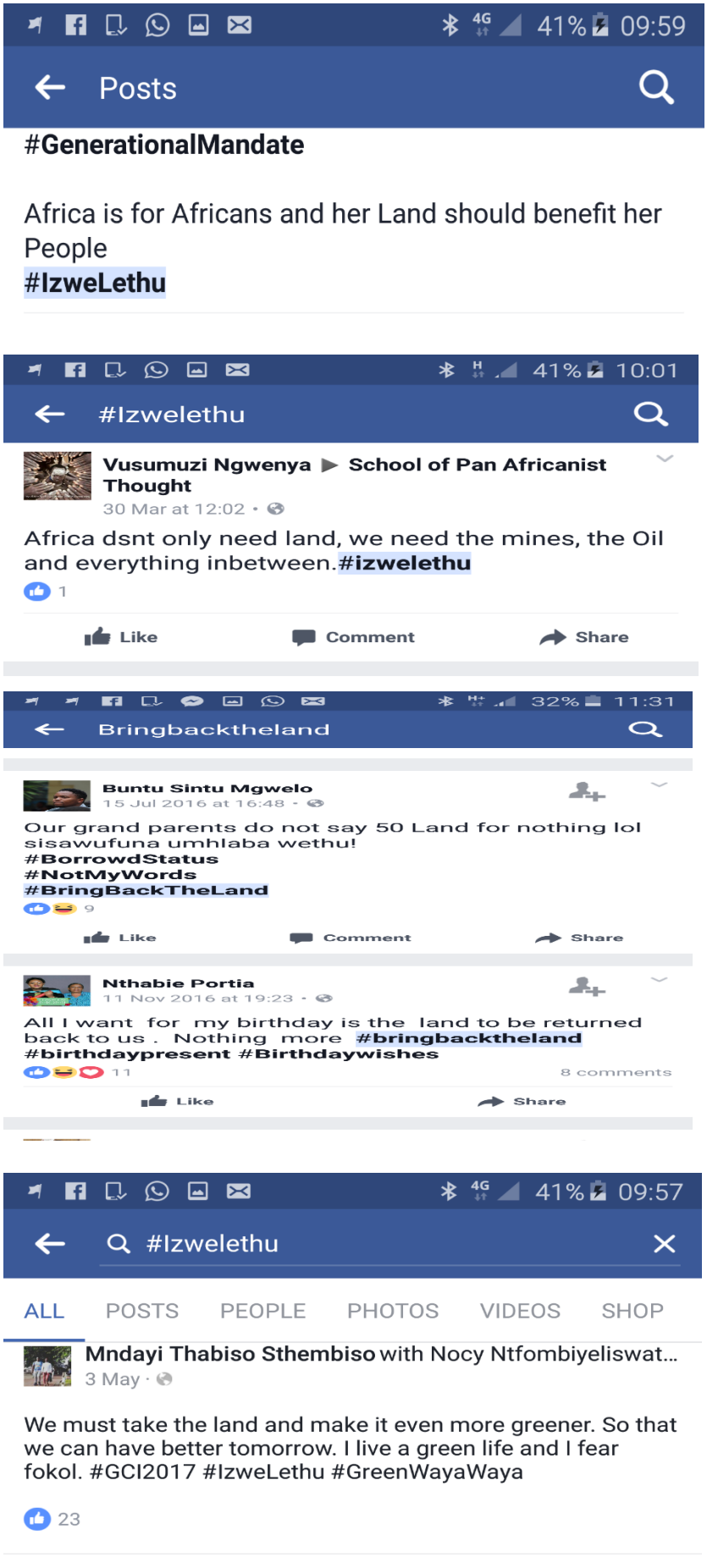








Appendix 6: Land Debates from other Facebook users



Appendix 7: Research Interview Participants

Anonymous representative from the DA, Personal Interview, 21 September, 2017

Aubrey Mashiqi, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 26 July, 2017

Hlayseka Chewane, EFF Executive Member, Personal Interview, 22 September, 2017

Khusela Sangoni, ANC National Head of Communications, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017

Ralf Mathekga, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 4 August, 2017

Steven Friedman, Political Analyst, Personal Interview, 18 July, 2017