



**UNIVERSITY** of the  
**WESTERN CAPE**

*Shoot the Boer: A discourse analysis of online posts and related texts*

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## Abstract

The controversial singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song by Julius Malema was a focus of media attention during the period of March 3, 2010 to September 12, 2011. This study aims to analyse the discourses participants draw on in the expression of their positions of race and identity in selected online texts, as well as the different meanings and interpretations the *Shoot the Boer* song has acquired over time. Using the data drawn from three court rulings, namely the South Gauteng High Court, North Gauteng High Court and the Equality Court and commentaries from various online websites, this project focuses on the various ways in which issues of race are realised through language by focusing on the construction and interpretation of Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song within different contextual spaces. This study uses a critical discourse analysis framework, as well as theories of *intertextuality*, *resemiotization*, *context* and *chronotope* to analyse the texts which were generated in response to the song. Key findings include the ways in which participants who consider themselves as part of a minority group, construct themselves as ‘victims’ in relation to Malema and the singing of the song. Similarly, another key finding is that the broader discourse of fear exhibited in the various commentaries links to a general fear of ‘black power’ where Malema is a signifier of this ‘black power.’ Overall, the thesis argues that the meanings of the song are multiple and shift with the changing chronotopia of its performance. It therefore support Blommaert’s (2005) emphasis on the importance of ‘text trajectories’ in establishing the meaning of texts, and argues that the historical meanings associated with the *Shoot the Boer* song form a complex set of frames on which different participants draw when interpreting the song in 2010.

### Key words

critical discourse analysis, discourse strategies, *Shoot the Boer*, intertextuality, online media, internet forums, hate speech, Julius Malema.

## Declaration

I declare that *Shoot the Boer: A discourse analysis of online posts and related texts* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Full name: Cleo Cupido

Signed:

Date:



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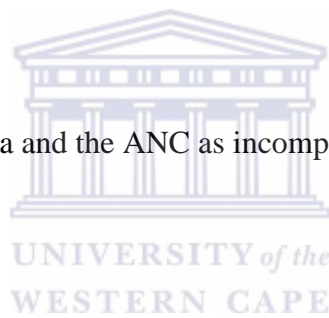
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## Chapter 1

### 1.1. Introduction

The focus of the study is to analyse reporting and commentary, which relates to the controversial singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song by Julius Malema, which became a focus of media attention. This study aims to analyse the discourses participants draw on in the expression of their positions of race and identity in selected online texts during this period, as well as the different meanings and interpretations the *Shoot the Boer* song has undergone, stretching from a pre-democratic era to a post-apartheid South Africa. Using the data drawn from three court rulings, namely the South Gauteng High Court, North Gauteng High Court and the Equality Court and commentaries from various online websites, this project focuses on the various ways in which issues of race are realised through language by focusing on the construction of Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song within online commentaries, as well as the different meanings the *Shoot the Boer* song has acquired within different contextual spaces. Hence, I will show the link between the original song as sung during the apartheid era and the current version of the song under scrutiny to present the different meanings attached to the song over the years. I also make use of commentaries from newspaper articles to elaborate on the various positions of ‘hate speech’ and ‘freedom of speech’. My research data also focuses on the online commentaries of participants provided by selected websites and how these participants position themselves and Malema in relation to the *Shoot the Boer* song.

This study uses a critical discourse analysis framework in order to highlight the various issues of power and inequality between Julius Malema and the general public and how this is realised through language. Key findings include the ways in which participants, who consider themselves as part of the minority group, construct themselves as ‘victims’ in relation to Malema and the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song. Similarly, another key finding is that the broader discourse of fear exhibited in the various commentaries links to a general fear of ‘black power’ with Malema as a signifier of this ‘black power.’ I argue that the historical meanings associated with the *Shoot the Boer* song form a complex set of frames on which different participants draw when interpreting the song in 2010.

I have chosen to research this topic because race is still a predominant issue in South Africa and even with the abolishment of apartheid, racial discrimination, whether implicit or explicit, it is still prevalent in many public and private settings. When Malema sang the *Shoot the Boer* song in more recent occasions, he not only brought into focus issues of race within South Africa, but the song also resurrected an historical fear of ‘black power’ and genocide, with Malema as the signifier of this ‘black power.’

This chapter not only introduces the focus of the research study, but also aims to provide a brief overview of my research data and the main qualitative research tools which I used to analyse my research data. In order to provide some contextual background, it offers a brief history of Julius Malema and the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song and why this was frowned upon by various organizations. I will also elaborate as to why the song is seen as problematic by the South Gauteng and North Gauteng High Court, which led to the permanent ban by the Equality Court. I will also provide the main aims of my research project, as well as how the research questions link to the aims of the research project. Finally, I will provide an overview of my thesis which serves as a preview of the chapters which follow.

## **1.2. Julius Malema and the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song**

Julius Sello Malema was born on 3 March 1981, the son of a 23-year-old woman named Florah. According to Forde (2011), Julius Sello Malema was raised in poverty and brought up by a single mother and extended family who were mostly women. Malema attended local schools with *sePedi* as his first language. Malema was considered by his family and friends as a ruffian and “street smart,” knowing how to survive on the streets and spending most of his time collecting old tin cans and bottles for extra money (Forde, 2011).

However, even though Malema was brought up in a poor family, he was a young boy with a lot of pride because he would never beg for anything. Forde (2011: 38) states that Malema was “reared in miserable hardship” which refers to Malema’s predisposition to abject poverty, as well as him living in an era of apartheid filled with blatant racial oppression. During the apartheid era, Malema was amidst this social divide, personally developing a sense of anger toward social oppression which stayed with him until his career in South African politics (Forde, 2011).

Malema's opposing view toward social oppression not only steered him towards a career in politics, but also moulded him into the militant political leader he is today. Malema was the former president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) until he was dismissed in April 2012, and he currently serves as the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). There are many polarizing views with regards to Julius Malema as a political figure. Individuals in favour of Julius Malema, including those in power, describe him as the future president of South Africa, whereas many other individuals construct him as a dangerous political leader with the power to destabilize South Africa through inciting racial conflict and divide.

In his role as a political leader, Malema sang the struggle song *Ayesaba amagwala* or *Dubul'ibhunu* (*Shoot the Boer/farmer*), on four different public occasions in 2010; most notably, he sang the song on his birthday on March 3, 2010 as well as at the University of Johannesburg on March 9, 2010. In response to this, AfriForum lodged a complaint against Malema in terms of the *Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act* (No. 4 of 2000). AfriForum's aim was to declare the song as 'hate speech' since the words incite harm towards *boers*, a term which is commonly understood as referring to Afrikaners and Afrikaner farmers (Twala, 2013: 6).

The three court rulings against Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song took place during 2010 and 2011. The ANC responded to these critically, arguing that banning the singing of the song would remove a piece of struggle history and South African heritage (Twala, 2013: 9). The first court ruling took place on March 26, 2010 in the South Gauteng High Court where Judge Halgryn ruled that the song is unconstitutional and unlawful in society. On April 1, 2010 AfriForum and the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA) took matters to the North Gauteng High Court which resulted in Judge Bertelsmann temporarily banning the singing of the song. The final court ruling took place on September 12, 2011 in which Judge Colin Lamont ruled that the song is a form of 'hate speech', permanently banning it from the current South African context.

Against this background, this project seeks to uncover the different meanings the *Shoot the Boer* song and the term *'ibhunu* has undergone as the song has transitioned from a pre-democratic to a post-apartheid context. This project also seeks to explore the contrasting perspectives of 'hate speech' presented by the media and various organisations, versus 'freedom of speech' presented by Julius Malema and the ANC regarding the singing of the

*Shoot the Boer* song. Finally, this project seeks to explore the various positions and online identities participants on different internet sites construct for themselves, as well as Malema and the ANC in relation to the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song in a post-apartheid context.

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

This project explores how the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song by Julius Malema during 2010 triggers a range of discourses on racial positions and identities in a post-apartheid South Africa. Framed by issues of ‘freedom of speech’ and ‘hate speech’, this project explores how a number of participants in both legal and online contexts engage with the song and the issues it raises for them. This research project explores how racialising discourses shape particular racial positions and entrench or contest inherited racial positions.

### **1.4. Research questions**

This research project explores the various discourses emerging from the *Shoot the Boer* song in a post-apartheid South Africa and aims to investigate the following research questions:

What are the different meanings the *Shoot the Boer* text has taken over the years and how has meaning changed or evolved through these recontextualizations? Secondly, how has the *Shoot the Boer* song and Julius Malema been represented and constructed through the court rulings and online discussion forums and comment sections? Thirdly, what are the different discourses and ideologies that are dominant around the *Shoot the Boer* song? Lastly, what discursive strategies do participants use to position themselves in relation to Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song on selected online media sites?

### **1.5. Overview of thesis**

Chapter One provides an introduction to my study and my research project. I also provide background information on Julius Malema. Chapter Two is the literature review and provides a theoretical overview of the various concepts and ideas which I will use as a framework for analysis. In Chapter Three I discuss the methodology that informed my research and present the various qualitative research methods which I will be using, as well as the type of data that I will be collecting and analyzing. Chapter Four of my research project is the first data analysis chapter and focuses on the various meanings and interpretations the term *ibhunu* and the *Shoot the Boer* song have acquired over the years by considering the importance of language and context in relation to the three court rulings. Chapter Five is the second data

analysis chapter and is a discourse analysis of the internet based commentaries and how participants construct and position themselves and Malema in relation to the *Shoot the Boer* song. Chapter Six is the final chapter of my research project and serves as a conclusion to the two data analysis chapters by showing the link between the various findings and discourses which were identified in the two chapters of analysis.



## Chapter 2

### 2.1. Introduction

In this research project, I explore the various meanings the *Shoot the Boer* song has acquired over the years, as well as how Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song are constructed by participants in an online space in selected discussion forums. In this section of my research project, I will provide a theoretical overview of the various ideas and concepts which I will use as a framework for analysis. This framework includes various areas of research such as theories of *discourse* and *discursive strategies*, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, *resemiotization* and theories of *context*. These key theories are appropriate for my research project as they not only serve to uncover the various issues of power abuse and inequality through language, but also the various racialised discourses and positions surrounding Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song.

### 2.2. Discourse

I will be using different theories by different authors from a variety of fields as a conceptual framework for my research. Different authors provide a variety of definitions for the term *discourse*. I will refer to authors such as Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) and Gee (1999) to provide different yet interrelated definitions for the term *discourse*.

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 328) define discourse as:

Broad patterns of talk and systems that are taken up in particular speeches and conversations. Discourse focuses on particular statements and patterns within specific texts and not the specific text itself, which can take written or spoken form.

In a related definition, Gee (1999: 13) defines discourse as:

different ways in which we humans integrate language with non-language 'stuff,' such as different ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing and using symbols. These various forms of interactions are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people.

Gee (1999: 21) further argues that discourses are “fluid”. For example, a particular discourse can split into a variety of other discourses just as the branch of science can be divided into natural science, formal science and social science. Similarly, a number of discourses can also combine with each other to form new discourses. In other words, discourses emerge and shift and are always contested within society. The various theories of discourses proposed by the aforementioned authors are significant to my research project as the research data gives rise to various emerging discourses, such as *discourses of denigration* and *racialised discourses* surrounding Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song as the participants construct various positions between themselves and Malema.

In the next few paragraphs I will focus on the branch of discourse analysis known as *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) which looks at uncovering hidden issues of power and inequality through language. I make use of the work of various authors such as, Fairclough (1992, 2001, and 2003), Fairclough and Wodak (1997), Van Dijk (2003, 2006), as well as Cameron (2001), Blommaert (2005) and Johnstone (2008) who all present interesting concepts which serve to provide a theoretical framework for the CDA approach adopted in this project.

### **2.3. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Van Dijk (2003: 352) defines CDA as the different ways in which certain concepts such as social power abuse, dominance and inequality are produced, reproduced and resisted within social and political spheres. Thus, the aim of CDA is to investigate and uncover structures of power and hidden underlying ideologies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 8). Van Dijk (2006: 115) defines ideology as a shared system of ideas and beliefs of a specific social group. These shared representations organize identity, actions, aims, norms, values and relations to other social groups. Ideologies are expressed and reproduced in the social practices of its members and are acquired, confirmed, changed and perpetuated through discourse (Van Dijk, 2006: 115).

Fairclough (2001) argues that individuals produce and reproduce various ideologies through broad patterns of talk and, although language and discourse are not always overtly ideologically marked, an analysis of discourse serves to uncover the structures and functions of underlying ideologies. The phrase “ideological power” refers to being able to project one’s ideological viewpoint or shared beliefs as the general norm within society (Fairclough, 2001: 27). This projection and assimilation of ideology is exercised through discourse and it is also

a manner in which institutions in power maintain economic and political power (Fairclough, 2001: 27).

Cameron (2001) also argues that when one has to analyse the ideological aspect of a text, one needs to make sure that the overt linguistic features, as well as the covert, more hidden meanings are taken into consideration. This is very important, because one needs to remember that CDA aims to uncover these opaque and discreet aspects of discourse. For example, in an interview regarding topics such as racism and sexism, individuals may avoid using terms and phrases which can be considered offensive and instead rely on the ability of the interviewer or analyst to pick up on these coded meanings through references to 'language' or 'culture.' Individuals may use these techniques to avoid conflict or to avoid being perceived as racist.

According to Fairclough & Wodak (1997), CDA can be viewed as a form of 'social practice.' This means that there is a two-way relationship between a specific discursive event and the social structures which frame it. The specific discursive event is shaped by these social structures, but these social structures are in turn shaped by the discursive event. For example, within the social structure of the university, the educational setting determines social roles such as lecturer-student or tutor-student. These social roles in turn determine the kind of discourse used between lecturers and students or tutors and students. Discourse is thus understood as 'socially constitutive,' meaning it incorporates situations, knowledge, identities of people and also helps to maintain or reproduce the status quo of society. The 'socially constitutive' aspect of discourse is also one of the main tenets in the CDA framework as proposed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), which will be explored within the next few paragraphs.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) suggest eight principles which underpin the theoretical framework of CDA. The first principle is that *CDA addresses social problems*, which means it aims to uncover oppressive structures and discourses. The second principle is that *power relations are discursive*, which focuses on how relations of power are reproduced and negotiated within discourse. The third principle views *discourse as constituting society and culture*. This explores the dialectical relationship between discourse and society and culture. The focus is on power and how discourse contributes to reproducing as well as transforming society and culture. The fourth principle focuses on *discourse doing ideological work*. This principle aims at uncovering the underlying ideology of a text by focusing on how a text is



interpreted and received and what social effects it might have. The fifth principle views *discourse as historical* and explore the importance of context as well as intertextuality when understanding and analyzing discourse. The sixth principle emphasizes the mediated link between text and society through *orders of discourse*, which explores the hierarchical aspect of discourses in language and ‘controls’ which discourses are appropriate within a particular context. Principle seven views discourse as *interpretive and explanatory*. This principle looks at the various ways in which a discursive text can be interpreted. Factors which play a role include the amount of contextual information provided, as well as the background schemata of the participants. Finally, principle eight views discourse as a *form of social action*, which explores the uncovering of hidden relations of power, dominance and inequality.

Cameron (2001) argues that CDA can be seen as a ‘textual approach’ which can be applied to writing and other different kinds of spoken texts. Cameron (2001) argues that analysts using the CDA approach focus on ‘institutional’ talk as opposed to ‘ordinary talk’ with the media domain being a main focal point. Cameron (2001) also proposes a covert aspect of CDA, which can be seen as the ideological dimension. This refers to the meanings embedded within the text which are often hidden from participants or users. Similar to Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Van Dijk (2003), Cameron (2001) states that the purpose of CDA is to expose these hidden meanings and sometimes manipulative ideological positions.

The central theme in CDA is the amount of social power certain groups and institutions have at their disposal and how this social power is translated into a form of control. The amount of power groups or institutions have is dependent on whether they are able to control the minds and beliefs of other groups, such as the general public. According to Van Dijk (2003: 355), having power is predicated on having access to scarce social resources which include money, status, fame, knowledge, information and so forth. Van Dijk (2003) argues that there are different types of power. A distinction can be made between the different types of power depending on the different resources that are used to exercise the specific power. For example, wealthy individuals will have power based on their wealth, criminals or military will have power predicated on force, and the power of professors or lecturers is situated within their greater knowledge base and power to control access to valued social capital (Van Dijk, 2003: 355).

Power is not always exercised through direct abusive acts by dominant groups. In most cases it is exercised indirectly through everyday societal norms, such as discourses which perpetuate sexism and racism (Van Dijk, 2003: 355). Having access to these social resources allows one to exercise a specific power. This type of discourse is exerted from bosses within the workplace, teachers, policeman and so forth (Van Dijk, 2003: 355). Members of powerful social groups or institutions have access to and control over different types of public discourse. For example, teachers control educational discourse, journalists control media discourse, and lawyers control legal discourse and so forth.

Hence, social groups and institutions that have control over various types of public discourse are in turn more powerful. The recipients of public discourse generally have lesser power than the social institutions or groups that control the different types of public discourse. This is owing to the fact that these powerful groups and institutions exert this power on individuals within different social spheres, for example within the work domain or at school.

The control of the mind can be seen through the power of manipulation and persuasion. Van Dijk (2003: 355) argues that if one can influence a person's mind, which refers to their opinions, beliefs and knowledge, one can indirectly control a person's behaviour. This in a sense can be seen as *mind control*. The term *mind control* refers to a very important tool used to reproduce dominance and hierarchy within society. Van Dijk (2003) suggests that there are three different ways in which power and dominance are incorporated into the notion of *mind control*.

First, individuals are recipients of talk and discourse. People tend to accept information and beliefs if the source is credible and trustworthy, for example, reliable media, professors, teachers and so forth. Second, power and dominance are reproduced through naturalised everyday practises, for example within the job domain or classroom where individuals are once again the recipients of discourse (Van Dijk, 2003: 357). Third, in most cases, individuals tend not to challenge the discourses they are exposed to as they might not have the knowledge to challenge the discourses and beliefs that they are exposed to (Van Dijk, 2003: 357).

Media and political discourse commonly reproduce racial stereotypes and prejudices. Van Dijk (2003) provides an example of a study conducted at the University of Amsterdam, in which Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese students explored how different ethnic identities were represented within texts such as conversations, academic texts and news reports.

Specific linguistic structures were focused on; features such as hesitations and rephrasing in mentioning other individuals, for example, “Coloured and black people, I mean people of colour...” Other linguistic facets that were studied included the description of other individuals through the use of disclaimers. This refers to individuals justifying their reasons for describing or depicting somebody in a particular light, for example, “We have nothing against blacks, but...” (Van Dijk, 2003: 361). Hence, the main aim of this study was to explore how individuals represent one another in texts within a social and political sphere (Van Dijk, 2003: 361).

Thus, relating racism and ethnocentrism to CDA, one can view these concepts as well as any other forms of denigration towards ethnically defined individuals, as a complex system of social and political inequality that is reproduced through discourse, and perpetuated by those groups and institutions which have the most power.

Individuals often maintain or reproduce existing power relations within various social institutions without even knowing that they are doing so. This is similar to Van Dijk’s (2003) notion of power as control and the influence of hegemony. He states, “...power is not always exercised in obvious abusive acts of dominant group members, but may be enacted in the myriad of taken-for-granted actions of everyday life...” Fairclough (2001: 27) also argues that power is exercised in two manners, through *coercion* or *consent*. *Coercion* refers to force which is used to persuade individuals to go with them. This method usually has repercussions such as violence or death. The second method is *consent*, which focuses on ‘winning over’ the public, as they believe what they are doing is ‘natural,’ ‘normal’ and ‘correct.’ Therefore, people follow those in power willingly. The aspect of *consent* is similar to Van Dijk’s (2003) notion of *mind control*.

### **2.3.1. Critiques of CDA**

Despite the many arguments for the use of CDA as an analytical framework for exploring hidden ideologies, CDA has also been subject to a number of critiques. Cameron (2001) critiques CDA, particularly the issue of subjectivity. She argues that a CDA theorist cannot assume how the readers will interpret the text and thus the analysis is based on the analyst’s own subjectivity.

Blommaert (2005) also explores some of the limitations of CDA as a research approach, by proposing two criticisms of CDA. The first criticism focuses on the methodology and analytical approaches of CDA and the second criticism focuses on general aspects of CDA as a whole. Blommaert (2005) not only provides his own perspective on the limitations of CDA, but he also provides critique from other theorists regarding CDA.

Henry Widdowson (1995, 1996, 1998 cited in Blommaert, 2005: 31), argues that CDA does not clarify important distinctions between concepts, disciplines and methodologies. Widdowson also suggests that many of the concepts and theoretical models in CDA are 'unclear.' Widdowson also states that CDA proposes biased interpretations of discourse and claims that CDA fails to prove how a text can be read in different ways, or under what social circumstances it is produced and consumed. Widdowson thus argues for the need for close linguistic analysis as 'counterbalance' to the problem of subjectivity regarding CDA (Blommaert, 2005: 31).

Emanuel Schegloff (1997 cited in Blommaert, 2005: 32), provides a critique of CDA by also drawing on the notion of subjectivity. Schegloff (1997) argues that analysts tend to project their own political views and perspectives onto their data. This is similar to Cameron's (2001) perspective regarding the problem of interpretation, whereby analysts may impose their own subjective meanings onto their data. Therefore, they argue, it is the analyst's own social and political common sense which is projected into discourse (Blommaert, 2005: 32). As one can deduce, the subjectivity of the analyst is a major critique of CDA.

I have discussed some of the theorists who have critiqued CDA as a research approach. I will now discuss Blommaert's (2005) own critique of CDA and some factors which he sees as problematic. The first problem noted by Blommaert (2005) is its restrictions with respect to certain societies. Blommaert (2005) argues that critical analysis of discourse is more relevant to late modern, post-industrial first-world countries. Blommaert (2005) uses Fairclough (1989) as a model for CDA situated in Great Britain. It is problematic to use these countries and societies as a model for understanding discourse, Blommaert (2005) argues, because the world consists of many different countries which are not first-world and within these different countries and societies, different problems occur. Therefore, the analysis of first-world countries such as the United Kingdom, Europe and the USA does not automatically apply to all countries and societies. Thus, using CDA research situated in these countries as a 'global' model is problematic.

The final problem regarding CDA is its conception of context. According to Blommaert (2005), CDA analysts often fail to take historical contexts into account. Issues such as power and inequality, social structures and so forth, do not just derive out of nowhere as we need to consider not only the present, but also the historical ‘birth’ of these issues and concepts. Blommaert (2005) states that history needs to be taken seriously. This means that we as analysts need to prove that concepts which seem ‘new,’ actually have a historical background. However, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) do stress the importance of history in their fifth principle regarding CDA. Similar to my research, the contextual significance of the *Shoot the Boer* song needs to be considered in the interpretation of meaning, as the version of the song as sung by Malema within the contemporary South African context traces back to the apartheid era when it was originally sung by Peter Mokaba (further explained in Chapter Four). Hence, the recontextualised version sung by Malema shows intertextual traces to the original version of the struggle song.

CDA is significant to my research project as the analysis of the court cases which surround the singing of the song (in Chapter Four), produces polarizing positions regarding the meaning and interpretation of the *Shoot the Boer* song. The judges from the three different court rulings, as well as the various complainants, construct the song as ‘hate speech’. By contrast, the ANC and some media sources construct Malema and the ANC as supporting the *Shoot the Boer* song as a form of ‘freedom of speech’. Both are powerful groupings in society. Thus, the social discourses associated with both these positions circulate and collide as participants offer contested interpretations of events. In Chapter Five of my analysis, the participants produce commentaries which construct Malema and the ANC, as well as the *Shoot the Boer* song overwhelmingly in a negative light. It analyses the various racialised discourses of denigration and fear which link to a broader fear of Malema and ‘black power’ in the broader social context.

The next section of my literature review aims to explore the various discursive strategies the online participants use to not only construct themselves in a particular light, but also to negatively construct Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song. I draw on the work of Wodak (2006, 2007) and De Cillia *et al.* (1999) as these various strategies serve as the main framework for my analysis in Chapter Five.

## 2.4. Discursive strategies

In my analysis of the discourses surrounding the *Shoot the Boer* song, I make extensive use of Wodak's (2006, 2007) *discourses of justification*. I will also provide a brief summary of De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak's (1999) work as they also explore the construction of national identities in discourse through discursive strategies they label as *construction, perpetuation* and *transformation*. This is also very similar to Wodak's (2006, 2007) broader *discourses of justification*.

Wodak (2007) explores various strategies of justification and legitimization in private and public discourses. In this particular study, Wodak (2007) focused on texts and narratives pertaining to traumatic pasts associated with war crimes of the German *Wehrmacht*. Wodak (2007) looked at how the interviewed participants dealt with questions of guilt and responsibility and how they positioned themselves when asked about the crimes which took place during the *Wehrmacht*. The focus group involved individuals associated with the war crimes such as soldiers or guards, the children or grandchildren of individuals involved in the war.

Wodak (2007) proposes a model of context to analyse these types of texts. Her model has four levels: first a *linguistic level* which focuses on grammatical choices while the other three levels focus on *understanding* and *explanation*. Wodak (2007: 125) further explains that the discourse analysis using this model takes place on four levels. The first level explores the discussed topics, whereas the second level explores the analysis of linguistic expressions of knowledge and knowing, which is known as *knowledge maintenance*. This includes participants remembering, doubting and offering different perceptions and so forth. The third level explores the analysis of themes, motives and patterns, while the fourth and final level analyses the involved participants, who said what to who and so forth.

Wodak (2007) further extends this model to highlight three major discursive strategies. The first strategy is the *refusal* to deal with the topic, followed by *denying* that anything happened or knowledge of what happened. The final strategy involves what she terms as a *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*. Wodak (2007) provides an example of a German soldier's account of his experience of becoming a prisoner within the German *Wehrmacht*. In this example, the soldier presented himself as the victim and is constructed as a passive object. Perpetrators and victims can also be explicit or implicit. For example, in the narrative, the soldier clearly names the perpetrators as the Jews, Canadians, and Moroccans (Wodak, 2007:

128). Wodak (2007) provides a second example highlighting instances when a perpetrator is implicit, the victim is foregrounded.

Similar to the above strategies, Wodak (2006) explores the strategies of *blaming* and *denying* which is associated with *conflict talk*. The aim of *blaming* and *denying* strategies is to attack the other participant or group, while simultaneously maintaining a positive self-representation or position (Wodak, 2006). This links to justification discourses in the sense that participants provide reasoning for the negative representation of others and the positive self-representation of self. The manifestations of these strategies depend on the genre and the informality or formality of the context. Wodak (2006: 60) provides an example of a study of racist discourses in the more informal settings, such as conversations among friends or peers, where denigration and abuse was more prevalent.

Wodak (2006) states that *blaming* and *denying* strategies are used in a variety of practices such as court trials, relationships between parents and children, speeches, media debates, recollection of traumatic events and so forth. According to Wodak (2006: 60), certain forms of denial serve to reject guilt by creating an imaginary opponent. For example, in Wodak's (2006), study certain participants stated that the holocaust was a lie. The strategy of *blaming* consists of two parts: firstly, the presentation of the action, and secondly, the negative evaluation associated with it. Wodak (2006: 60) states that *blaming* leads to accusations. Violations of rules and norms may trigger *blaming*, with accusations taking place directly or indirectly depending on the knowledge possessed by the participants in the communication setting.

Wodak (2006) also explores three different sub-strategies associated with *blaming* and *denying* and is used in *conflict talk*. The first strategy identifies *attacking the opponent personally* as an aspect of *blaming*. The second strategy focuses on *threatening the opponent's freedom of expression* and the third strategy focuses on *undermining the credibility of the opponent*. All these three sub-strategies associate with *blaming* but are also applicable to *denying*. Forms of denials may appear as *disclaimers*, or *direct rejections of accusations* formulated as counterattacks which are coined "straw man fallacies" (Wodak, 2006: 61). These refer to when a fake point of view is applied to the opponent, or the opponent's position/point of view is twisted.

De Cillia *et al.* (1999) explore various discursive and linguistic strategies used to construct alignments in the form of similarities, as well as barriers by highlighting differences within

discourse. De Cillia *et al.* (1999: 160) define four types of ‘macro-strategies’ associated with discourse. The linguistic strategies associated with these macro-strategies emphasize similarities, differences, uniqueness, unity, exclusion, continuity and so forth. These strategies include; (1) *constructive strategies*, (2) *perpetuation and justification strategies*, (3) *transformation strategies* and (4) *dismantling or destructive strategies*.

*Constructive strategies* aim to establish alignments and a sense of ‘sameness’ within discourse and can be seen as a form of inclusion. According to De Cillia *et al.* (1999: 160), *perpetuation and justification strategies* aim to “maintain, support and reproduce national identities”. In essence, this discursive strategy is used to maintain the status quo within a text, through either defending or preserving a particular position within the text. *Transformation strategies* have the discursive aim of transforming the meaning of a national identity, which can also be applied to the transformation of meaning within texts in general. The last strategy is *dismantling or destructive strategies*, which aim to deconstruct existing positions and perspectives within a text. This can be seen as an ‘opposition strategy’ which serves to create barriers between participants and can also be seen as a form of exclusion.

The above strategies by Wodak (2006, 2007) are useful in Chapter Five of my analysis, as many of the participants produce commentaries which evoke *discourses of victimhood* as well as *racialising* and *denigrating discourses* aimed at negatively constructing Malema, the ANC and the *Shoot the Boer* song, as there is a fear of Malema which links to a broader overriding fear of ‘black power.’ The various strategies proposed by De Cillia *et al.* (1999) also resonate with my research as many of the participants create alignments with one another as they feel that they are victims of Malema’s onslaught and justify their reasoning for denigrating Malema and constructing him as the out-group threat.

In the next section of my literature review, I will look at the different types of *intertextuality*. I will also discuss Bakhtin’s concept of *genre* as ‘drive belts from history,’ which looks at how texts exhibit intertextual traces to prior texts and discourses, by drawing on the work of Fairclough (1992, 2003) and Johnstone (2008). I will also look at the concept *identification* which links to inclusion and exclusion as participants create alignments and barriers between themselves and others within discourse.



## 2.5. Intertextuality

I will provide an outline of Johnstone (2008) and Fairclough's (1992) work regarding *intertextuality*, which I will use as a framework for Chapter Four of my analysis. Similar to Johnstone (2008), Fairclough (1992) also looks at *genre* but draws on Bakhtin's (1986) description of the concept as the 'drive belts from history.' I will also provide a brief definition of *intertextuality* as proposed by Fairclough (2003). The theory of *intertextuality* provided by Johnstone (2008) also draws on Fairclough's (1992) discursive dimensions associated with *manifest intertextuality*. However, I will only refer to the dimensions which are applicable to my research project, such as *discourse representation* and *metadiscourse*.

Fairclough (2003) provides a simple definition for the term *intertextuality*. Fairclough (2003: 39) defines *intertextuality* as an external and internal linguistic relationship between two texts, whereby one text is brought into another text. Thus, Fairclough (2003) identifies *intertextuality* as the presence of elements of another text within a new text. Johnstone (2008) draws on the work of Fairclough (1992) and both these theorists draw on the framework of the Russian linguist, Mikhail Bakhtin. This in essence can be seen as a form of *intertextuality* in its own regard.

Bakhtin (1986) writes about the 'dialogic' qualities of texts, which explores multiple ways of talking, points of view, which are in turn transformed and reused every time something new is written (Johnstone, 2008: 164). The French Scholar, Julia Kristeva (1986), not only drew on and introduced the work of Bakhtin to Westerners; she also coined the term *intertextuality*. *Intertextuality* refers to the way in which texts refer to and build on other texts/discourses (Johnstone, 2008:164). Fairclough (1992: 101) states that, although Bakhtin did not coin the term *intertextuality*, this concept was still at the core of his approach to the dialogic nature of texts.

Kristeva (1986: 39), cited in Fairclough (1992: 102), states that *intertextuality* also explores "the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history". In essence, *intertextuality* refers to the way in which texts alternatively build on prior texts. Kristeva also makes the distinction between two levels of *intertextuality*, *vertical* and *horizontal intertextuality*. *Horizontal intertextuality* refers to building on other texts in a sequential manner. For example, speakers pick on other speakers' words, phrases and reuse them, or when films or books draw on existing plots, characters and so forth. *Vertical intertextuality* refers to building on other texts which are of the same type or similar category (Johnstone,

2008: 164). For example, an email may draw on the conventions of letter writing or a modern fairy-tale may draw on the characters, language and plot from a traditional fairy-tale. Fairclough (1992) draws on Bakhtin's (1986: 89) notion of implicit or explicit *intertextuality*:

All utterances are populated, and indeed constituted, by snatches of other's utterances, more or less explicit or compete: 'our speech... is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of "our-own-ness, varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and reaccentuate.  
(Fairclough, 1992: 102).

Hence, a text may quote or paraphrase another text, regardless of direct or indirect quotes. In many instances, when the authors of a specific text changes the text, the changed text still shows traces of the previous authors' work and also predicts utterances for future authors, for example academic articles and novels (Fairclough, 1992: 102). Therefore, when we look at *intertextuality* as a form of textual analysis, each utterance cannot be looked at in isolation but rather as being interrelated to one another. In essence, *intertextuality* looks at how each text, whether verbal or written, is constituted by other texts either in a discreet or explicit way.

The concept *manifest intertextuality* is a form of direct *intertextuality* as it refers to when certain texts are overtly drawn upon within the 'new text.' Fairclough (1992) further explores the concept of *manifest intertextuality* by not only distinguishing between the discursive dimensions (*discourse representation* and *metadiscourse*) of *intertextuality* but also between three sub-forms of *intertextuality*, namely *sequential*, *embedded* and *mixed intertextuality*. *Sequential intertextuality* refers to when different texts and discourses alternate in one specific text, whereas *embedded intertextuality* refers to when a text or discourse is directly contained within another text or discourse (Fairclough, 1992: 118). The final sub-form, *mixed intertextuality*, looks at the merging of texts and discourses in one interconnected frame.

The first dimension of Fairclough's (1992) *manifest intertextuality* is *discourse representation*, which not only looks at speech and writing, but also grammar and various discursive features, such as the participants involved, which voices are foregrounded, the

discursive event, the tone of the discursive event and so forth. The second discursive dimension is *metadiscourse*. *Metadiscursive strategies* are used to point out something which has been previously mentioned in prior discourse. For example, we point out that someone else has used the term by referring to the origin of the word in the speech or writing of other individuals.

Johnstone (2008: 184) defines *genre* as a ‘text-type’ associated with a recurrent purpose or activity. However, Fairclough (1992: 126) argues that genre is not only a ‘text-type,’ but it is also concerned with producing, distributing and consuming texts. For example, newspapers and poems are different genres and are produced, distributed, consumed and interpreted in different ways. Johnstone (2008) further extends the notion of *genre* by including ‘genre knowledge,’ which is the ability to produce a genre and use it, such as research reports, academic essays, wills, medical consultations and so forth. Johnstone (2008: 184) states that there are certain requirements in order to define a particular *genre*, which include describing the form of texts, as well as the contexts in which the participants use the genre to organize and explain what they are doing and why. For example, in Chapter Four of my data analysis the genre-type of the *Shoot the Boer* song can be seen as a struggle song sung during the apartheid era to mobilise resistance to the white dominated state. However, when the song is recontextualized by Malema the song becomes problematic, producing a variety of meanings which are open for interpretation within the current South African context.

Fairclough (1992) explores genre by drawing on Bakhtin’s concept of the ‘drive belts from history.’ According to Bakhtin (1986: 65), cited in Fairclough (1992: 126), ‘genres are “the drive belts from the history of society to the history of language”’. This suggests shifts and transformations in a particular ‘system of genres’, are both embedded within social change, and contribute accumulatively to social change.

These aforementioned theories are particularly appropriate to Chapter Four of my research project, as it aids in identifying the particular type of text under scrutiny (*Shoot the Boer* song) and how the genre of the text has changed over the years. The theories also aid in showing the link between the two versions of the song when it was sung by Peter Mokaba and Julius Malema in two different contexts, as the song is not only interpreted as a struggle song by Malema and the ANC, but also as ‘hate speech’ by the judges in the various court rulings and various media sources and organizations.

In the next few paragraphs I will explore Iedema's (2003) theory concerning *resemiotization*, which is similar to the aforementioned *intertextuality* framework. Iedema (2003) looks at how the meaning of a text changes as it transitions into a new context, as the *Shoot the Boer* song has transitioned through various historical time-spaces.

## 2.6. Resemiotization

In the journal article entitled *Multimodality, resemiotization: extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice*, Iedema (2003) explores *resemiotization* and its relationship with multimodality. According to Iedema (2003: 41), *resemiotization* can be defined as "how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next." In relation to my research project, I will focus on the different meanings the *Shoot the Boer* song has taken over the years. Thus, I will be exploring how the text has evolved from the past and how it has been resemiotised within a contemporary South Africa. However, as a particular text is resemiotized, meanings often mutate. Therefore, the text becomes more detached from the original social interaction which created it (Iedema, 2003: 40). This is similar to Bakhtin's (1986) 'drive belts from history,' as a trajected text is altered as it moves from its original context to the new one.

Iedema's (2003) framework of *resemiotization* proves useful as it explores how texts may transform as they transition into a new context and also places a large emphasis on how material expression attempts to depict social, cultural and historical events of a specific time (Iedema, 2003: 50). For this study, the historical meaning of the *Shoot the Boer* song will be explored and compared to its recent portrayal in the media. I will look at the historical and cultural ideologies associated with the *Shoot the Boer* song and how these meanings and ideologies have evolved over the years by means of the trajectory taken by this text. Hence, by using *resemiotization*, I will be able to analyse and explore the historical and cultural dimensions of the *Shoot the Boer* song.

In the next section of my literature review, I explore the link between language and context by referring to the work of Blommaert (2005). Blommaert (2005) refers to a number of interesting concepts such as *contextualisation*, *recontextualisation* and *entextualisation* to show how meanings change as texts transition into new contexts.

## 2.7. Language & context

Blommaert (2005) looks at how texts are made to fit into and integrate with the broader social context. He explores three main concepts which link to language and context, namely *contextualisation* which includes *responsive understanding* and *frames*, as well as *recontextualisation* and *entextualisation*, which links to his discussion of *text trajectories*.

Gumperz (1982, 1992), cited in Blommaert (2005: 41), defines *contextualisation* as the activity where participants use their knowledge of a text's context to 'make sense' of interactions within the broader social world. Similar to *intertextuality*, individuals use prior knowledge to interpret various texts as coherent and meaningful. Given that this knowledge is potentially vast, Blommaert (2005: 40) states that "context is potentially everything and contextualisation is potentially infinite."

*Contextualisation* is seen as an important tool in showing the link between discourse and social structure, but it also has its limitations. Blommaert (2005: 42) explains that one of the main problems is the intentional and unintentional misplacing of utterances in various contexts which can cause communication breakdowns. Interpretation and understanding are based on the process of *contextualisation*, where a text is made to fit in the particular context by the specific audience or recipients of the text (Blommaert, 2005: 42). This resonates with my research project as the *Shoot the Boer* song follows a trajectory between two different contexts, resulting in different interpretations and meaning being applied to the song. Hence, as Blommaert (2005: 43) states, "we understand something because that something makes sense in a particular context."

The audience within a particular context also plays a large role in interpreting and understanding a particular text. Blommaert (2005: 43) describes this relationship between context and *contextualisation* as dialogic, because the producers as well as the recipients need to be considered in the uptake of a text. This dialogical relationship between context and *contextualisation* is further extended to incorporate the concept *responsive understanding* (originally Bakhtin's formulation), which pertains to the various cultural, linguistic, social and cognitive aspects (contextualisation universes) that individuals draw upon in contextualizing particular texts. The concept, *responsive understanding* refers to dialogic nature of meaning as both the producers and recipients of the text are active in the production of meaning making (Blommaert, 2005: 44). However, the dialogic nature of *responsive understanding* is also problematic because, in many cases, the producers and recipients of the

text do not share the same contextualisation universes to interpret and understand a text. Blommaert (2005: 44) views this as “dialogue not presupposing sharedness.” This limitation is particularly important, because the song is sung in a contemporary South African context consisting of an intended audience and a broader public audience who attach different meanings to the song. Blommaert (2005: 44) also states that there is often conflict in the negotiation of meaning between the producer and the recipient of the text as contextualisation universes differ and that “dialogue does not presuppose co-operativity.” This is the case with my research project as Malema and the two contrasting audiences use different contextualisation frames to interpret the text.

Similar, to *responsive understanding*, Goffmann (1974 cited in Blommaert, 2005: 46) introduces *frames*, as a way of looking at *contextualisation*. Goffmann (1974 cited in Blommaert, 2005: 46), provides an example where a serious utterance can also be interpreted as a joke. Similarly, the *Shoot the Boer* song can be interpreted through the frame of ‘hate speech’, or as a struggle song signifying heroic past fights against oppression.

Blommaert (2005: 46) explores *recontextualisation* as the process where we as individuals interpret and attach new meaning to a text that was produced earlier by different individuals within a different context. In the case of the *Shoot the Boer* song, Malema and the ANC attach a variety of signifiers to the signified, ranging from historical to contemporary meanings, as the song was decontextualised and recontextualised within a contemporary context. Blommaert (2005: 46) states that as a text is recontextualised, we do not only add or change meanings, but the text also carries the history and elements from the original text as it was produced in the earlier context.

Finally, *entextualisation* is rather similar to *recontextualisation*. Blommaert (2005: 47) defines *entextualisation* as “the process by means of which discourses are successively or simultaneously decontextualised and metadiscursively recontextualized so that they become a new discourse associated to a new context.” Blommaert (2005: 47) further extends *entextualization* to incorporate the notion of ‘text trajectory,’ where a text and its historical, cultural and social attributes are ‘lifted’ out of its original context and placed in a brand new context. Hence, as a text is place in the new context, it is seen as a new text, but still resonates and shows links with the original text. According to Blommaert (2005: 47), this can be seen as the “natural history of discourse,” where a particular text carries a variety of meanings as it transitions across contexts.

These theories on language and context are particularly useful as they not only help to explore how the *Shoot the Boer* song carries a variety of meanings as it followed a text trajectory between different contexts, but also how the recipients of the song interpret it as ‘hate speech’ as well as ‘freedom of speech’. In the next few paragraphs, I will explore Bakhtin’s notion of the *chronotope*, another method for exploring context. I will draw on the work of Lorino (2012), Bakhtin (1981) and Deleuze (2006) for theoretical insights on the framework and how it relates to textual analysis.

## 2.8. Chronotope

Lorino (2012) provides a theoretical framework for the *chronotope* concept. Lorino (2012) draws on the work of Bakhtin (1981 cited in Lorino, 2012), as well as Deleuze (2006 cited in Lorino, 2012), in order to define *chronotope* as a theoretical concept for textual analysis. Bakhtin (1981 cited in Lorino, 2012: 6), defines the *chronotope* as the “intrinsic connectedness of spatial and temporal relationships that are artistically expressed in literature.” Thus, the *chronotope* expresses the inseparability of space and time and can be seen as a time-space capsule in which texts occur; it offers us another way to think about context.

Bakhtin’s (1981) *chronotope* theory includes four important tenets. Firstly, the spatial and temporal frames of a text are connected and constitute the *chronotope* as a whole. Secondly, the spatial and temporal frame of a text is crucial in the production of meaning. Thirdly, the *chronotope* is linked with various value systems, classes of identity, whether professional, organizational or cultural, and individuals. Finally, the *chronotope* of the text links the interpretation by a reader with the historic, social and cultural setting in which the *chronotope* should be interpreted.

*Chronotope* theory can be applied to the analysis of texts, as the time-space framework aids in making sense of reality by showing the link between social, historical and institutional environments. *Chronotope* theory not only frames and mediates interpretation and understanding, but also aids in identifying various identities and aspects of culture (Lorino, 2012: 1).

In relation to my research project, the *chronotope* framework links together Chapters Four and Five of my analysis as each chapter is embedded within three different time-space frames, each with different values and personal aspects which influence interpretation of the

*Shoot the Boer* song. The various time-space frames transition from an apartheid South Africa when the song was first sung as a freedom song, to a democratic South Africa where various court rulings declared the song as ‘hate speech’, and finally to a virtual space dominated by online commentaries surrounding Malema and the song. In essence, the *Shoot the Boer* song is linked to all three different yet interrelated *chronotopes*.

In the next section, I will focus on current research pertaining to racial positions and discourses in South Africa and how this links to my research project and the broader South African context.

## **2.9. Race**

The issue of race and ‘race talk’ is explored by a range of scholars, including: Posel (2001), Camara (2002), Steyn (2004) and Verwey & Quayle (2012). Posel (2001) explores the historical construction of race in twentieth century South Africa, whereas Camara (2002) looks at the racialising of Africa in general under colonialism. Finally, Steyn (2004) and Verwey & Quayle (2012) explore various racialising discourses in contemporary South Africa.

Deborah Posel (2001) provides an historical account of racial classification through exploring how various racial categories have become naturalised within South African society. Posel (2001) further extends the notion of race and explores how the concept is interpreted and understood in the frame of the apartheid system. Therefore, Posel (2001) explores racial classification under apartheid in terms of the *Population Registration Act*.

The *Population Registration Act of 1950* was a law which enforced every South African citizen to be racially classified during the apartheid era. Posel (2001: 56) highlights racial classification as stated by the *Population Registration Act of 1950* as,

A racial classification was a judgement about a person’s ‘social status,’ as much as physical appearance – racial appearance and social habits, not birth certificates, must be the deciding factors.

However, Posel (2001: 54) argued that the laws and legislations during the apartheid era often produced arbitrary and inconsistent racial categories, such as racial categories given to



individuals purely based on their lifestyle choice or socio-economic position. For example, a person would be considered coloured owing to their job position within society. Posel (2001: 54) states that apartheid created a segregated and hierarchical South Africa with an inconsistent racial classification system, where South Africans could move around the racial classification system. Posel (2001) claimed this as a form of ‘racial mobility.’ For example, if a coloured individual married an African individual, then that coloured individual would be considered African.

The apartheid tactics of mass racial classification and segregation commenced through various initiatives, such as forced residential segregation, forced racial barriers on marriage and sex, as well as racially segregated access to public facilities and so forth. These acts of racial discrimination later racially defined individuals as these laws and legislations pervaded the lives of individuals and became interpreted as a ‘naturalized’ occurrence. According to Posel (2001: 67), the socially constructed apartheid racial classification system bound individuals to a specific racial class, affecting individuals on a social and cognitive level. For example, the apartheid government legally defined and reinforced individuals as coloured, black or white, regardless of how the individual perceived him or herself (or having access to certain job positions, housing, education and other public facilities). Hence, Posel (2001: 65) states that “if anything and everything could be read as sign of race, then race was in everything.”

Under apartheid, the racial discourse of ‘separateness’ was further reinforced by the notion of ‘difference.’ For example, Posel (2001: 65) states that because coloured, black and white individuals were viewed as having their own unique physical features, they needed to belong to their own separate ethnic groups or races. These rigid racial classifications kept white people ‘safe’ from racial mixing and in turn maintained ‘racial purity.’ Within a post-apartheid South Africa racial reasoning among various ethnicities remains a dominant feature of the society. Posel (2001) further argues that these inherited discourses of racial difference are not concentrated within a specific ethnic group, but span the entire population of South Africa, including the previously oppressed such as coloured and black individuals.

I will now be referring to the work of Camara (2002) who does a comparative study between South Africa and Haiti by focusing on the relationship between race and ideology. Camara (2002) explores how racist ideology is used as a ‘tool’ to cover up the exploitation of South

Africans and Haitians during their separate periods of oppression. Camara (2002: 86) states that racism is a very powerful concept and is very successful in its intrusion into various forms and contents. It is this diversity which allows racism to be pervasive and powerful. Therefore, racism is not only social or political but rather ideological (Camara, 2002: 86). Camara (2002: 89) further elaborates on the connection between racism and ideology by stating that,

There is a connection between racism and neurosis and the origin of that connection lies in the frustrations of social life and would consequently trigger aggressive reactions geared to certain minorities and more so, since they are easily recognizable by their common physical traits.

Camara (2002) argues that ideologies are often used as a justification for certain actions in society. For example, discourses of colonialism and imperialism were built on racist ideologies and operated as a form of ‘othering’ by constructing Africa and Africans as primitive, underdeveloped and backward, thus legitimating white western control and expropriation of the land. According to Caraco (1983 cited in Camara, 2002: 10), “the reality of racism is that it is a European invention: and that those very Europeans systemized it.” What is meant by Caraco (1983) is that the denigration of Africa and black people is foregrounded in history. This systematic racial denigration was perpetuated by influential Western philosophers with the aim of creating ‘historical myths’ and distorted realities regarding black people and Africa. The form of ‘othering’ was built on the ideology that black individuals have no natural skills and are therefore naturally inferior and used as a justification for their exploitation.

Today, Westernized scholarly texts and global media are the main catalysts for the negative stigmatization of Africa. Western media tend to denigrate Africa by constructing the continent as ‘helpless’ and in need of aid. Africa’s positive contributions to humankind are not profiled in the same way and thus this is perpetuated as a negative stereotype (Camara, 2002: 102). This form of negative stereotyping is sometimes referred to as *orientalism*. This term was coined by Edward W. Said (1979 cited in Camara, 2002: 103) and it entails the negative stereotyping and stigmatization at an academic level perpetuated by Western countries such as Europe and the USA (Camara, 2002: 103). This form of ‘othering’ allows countries such as Europe and the USA to ‘control’ the stigmatized regions as well as its

inhabitants. Therefore, Camara (2002: 103) suggests that the ‘othering’ of Africa is a form of dominance and an imposition of authority over countries within Africa from a Western perspective.

In the next few sections, I will focus on the work of Steyn (2004) and Verwey & Quayle (2012) who look at the reproduction of Afrikaner identity and the emergence of racialising discourses in a post-apartheid South African context. In the paper *Rehabilitating a Whiteness Disgraced: Afrikaner White Talk in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Steyn (2004) focuses on the various discourses representing Afrikaner ethnicity and ideology known as ‘white talk.’ Steyn (2004) identifies ‘white talk’ through analyzing various letters sent in to the editor of the *Rapport*, which is a national Afrikaans newspaper distributed on Sundays.

The letters draw on various discourses of race, fear and anger where the Afrikaner individuals express their frustration about the ‘new’ South Africa. The letters deal with issues such as the government changing the names of various streets, the increased crime rate, as well as white Afrikaners’ claims of victimhood for the various atrocities in the ‘new’ South Africa (Steyn, 2004: 156). Many of the letters contained headlines which reinforce ‘white talk’ such as, “The good old days of way back then...,” “New names abuse country’s history” and “In SA with its barbarians the death penalty is justified.”

Steyn (2004) identifies two registers of ‘white talk,’ namely Afrikaner and English-speaking ‘white talk.’ Steyn (2004: 150) defines Afrikaner ‘white talk’ as Afrikaners aiming at reconstructing their identity within the current South Africa, while at the same time attempting to resist any control and maintaining a sense of power. In essence, the texts suggest that Afrikaners are struggling to find their place within contemporary South Africa. According to Steyn (2004: 150), ‘white talk’ is used in various ways to ‘shore up’ white Afrikaner power within the current South African context. ‘White talk’ is realised through forms of inclusion such as speaking the same language, having the same religion, history and supporting the same sports. Steyn (2004: 150) explains that these various forms of inclusion are central to Afrikaner identity and are used to sustain and maintain the Afrikaner identity.

Finally, Steyn (2004: 150) also uses the concept of *dislocation* to further extend the notion of ‘white talk.’ *Dislocation* looks at the Afrikaner identity as stuck in a crisis period, whereby Afrikaners attempt not to lose their socio-economic and political position which they

acquired and occupied during the apartheid era, as they attempt to fit into the new post-apartheid South Africa.

Verwey and Quayle (2012) explore post-apartheid Afrikaner identity construction among white middle-class South Africans, who see themselves as Afrikaners living in a post-apartheid South Africa and who seek to redefine their traditional identities within the new South Africa.

The research for Verwey and Quayle (2012) is a group of friends at a *braai* at one of the participants' homes. The *braai* is used as the setting for the construction of post-apartheid Afrikaner identity. The *braai* is generally considered a private social domain and therefore it is likely that those present will feel comfortable to speak more openly with each other than they would in, for example, a workplace setting. Verwey and Quayle (2012: 558) state that a private *braai* produces a racially and culturally homogeneous private space which produces the type of conversation used by the in-group and that is not spoken in the public domain where other ethnic groups may be present. This links with the study done by Wodak (2006) who also argues that the informality of the setting sets the scene for the emergence of various racialised discourses. However, a formal setting such as a televised debate, radio interview and so forth, is more censored, where certain terms would be indirect or avoided.

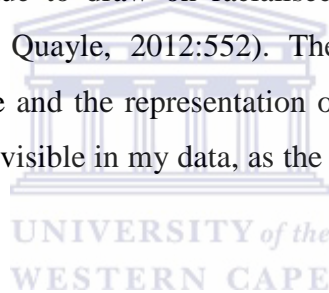
A few interesting features regarding the study done by Verwey & Quayle (2012) is that the participants exhibit a difference in private and public Afrikaner identity construction. Another feature is that the participants within the study distance themselves from apartheid and racism, but simultaneously draw on racialised discourses underpinned by old-apartheid ideology, such as discourses of black incompetence, threat and genocide (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 553). Similarly, the participants accept a part of their identity as 'African,' but disassociate themselves with Africa as a whole, as participants within the study construct Africa as violent and unsafe.

According to Verwey and Quayle (2012), white Afrikaner participants are re-interpreting the way in which they perceive themselves as Afrikaners living in a post-apartheid South Africa. The participants utilized three interrelated discursive activities to produce and reproduce their redefined post-apartheid Afrikaner identity. Firstly, participants avoid any discernible affiliation with traditional Afrikaner identity. This pertains to traditional Afrikaner culture

and stereotypes, direct racism often associated with Afrikaners and also minimizing the importance of the Afrikaans language (Verwey & Quayle, 2012:552).

Secondly, participants claimed being 'white' as a fundamental issue relating to post-apartheid Afrikaner identity. This also suggests that the participants acknowledge the notion of 'white privilege.' The notion of 'white privilege' is similar to the work of Steyn (2004), as the transformation of South Africa to a democratic country has put the Afrikaner identity in a state of crisis. Therefore, Steyn (2004: 143) identifies 'white talk' as serving two purposes, namely to solidify the Afrikaner identity in the 'new' South Africa so that Afrikaners do not lose the privilege and power which they occupied during the apartheid era, as well as constructing the Afrikaner identity as having a place in a democratic South Africa.

Finally, as mentioned above, Verwey & Quayle's participants distance themselves from apartheid. However, they continue to draw on racialised discourses underpinned by old-apartheid ideology (Verwey & Quayle, 2012:552). These racialised discourses include references to black incompetence and the representation of themselves as white individuals under threat. Similar patterns are visible in my data, as the online commentaries reflect a fear of 'black power.'



Another interesting find in the study conducted by Verwey and Quayle (2012) is the idea of 'separation' between the participants themselves, black South Africans and South Africa as a country. In certain instances, participants negate race as a factor for the separation between themselves and black South Africans and instead ground their reasoning in the actions of black individuals. The reason for this is that participants want to distance themselves from old-apartheid ideology and any other indicators of racism. However, by referring to the longing for 'racial separation,' the participants simultaneously draw on racialised discourses by wanting to bring back the laws of apartheid, but cannot use race as a reason and thus base their argument on the actions of black individuals. Verwey and Quayle (2012) refer to this phenomenon as *separation de-racialised*.

Verwey and Quayle (2012) state that their participants within the research study construct a post-apartheid Afrikaner identity based on three important elements, namely racial exclusivity, the pre-conceived notion that black people are intellectually inferior and the construction of black individuals as the out-group threat. Verwey and Quayle (2012: 571)

state that the racial discourses embedded within the texts of the participants are reminiscent of the apartheid era and the reproduction of these racial discourses within a post-apartheid South Africa is a clear indication of the survival of ‘racist talk.’

Similar to Verwey & Quayle’s (2012) study, Durrheim *et al.* (2012) argue that racism is dominant within various private settings, such as the household. Durrheim *et al.* (2012: 29) state that racial slurs and derogatory insults are not only more prevalent in private settings as individuals are no longer bound by various constitutional laws and legislations, but private settings are also governed by various personal preferences and qualities such as ethnicity and cultural background. Therefore, MacDonald (2006 cited in Durrheim *et al.*, 2012: 29), argues that “the public as a realm in which members are equal and the private as a realm in which inequalities emerge...” in relation to racial discrimination in public and private settings.

In relation to my research project, my data produces various issues of race such as the negative construction of Julius Malema as racist, as well as the defamation of the *Shoot the Boer* song as a form of ‘hate speech’ in the current South African context. In essence, both chapters of analysis indicate how the various issues of race surrounding Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song link to the broader South African social context, as the fear of Malema is further extended to include a broader hypothetical fear of ‘black power’, with Malema running the country and white individuals facing the mass genocide at the hands of Malema.

Given that much of my data in Chapter Five derives from online sources, the next section focuses on how participants use language to produce and reproduce online identities for themselves and others.

## **2.10. Online identities**

In his essay entitled *Language, Identity and the Internet*, Warschauer (2000) explores the relationship between language, race and identity and the role language plays within the cyberspace paradigm. An internet forum allows members to post discussions on any topic as well as read and respond to posts by other forum members. However, internet forums differ from weblogs in that they allow members to make posts and start new topics, whereas weblogs only allow one user to choose the name and topic of the blog. The main source of data for Chapter Five derives from internet forums associated with a variety of different

websites including the social networking website [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com) which is very similar to weblogging.

Language and identity are interrelated concepts as language has always been used to construct identity. Warschauer (2000) explores the relationship between language, race and identity within cyberspace and how individuals portray themselves and position others by posting comments on internet forums. Warschauer (2000: 156) argues that the internet is an important platform as it allows for the scrutiny of various problems in society such as race and also provides the platform to engage with these problems due to the large audiences who use and interact with the internet.

According to Warschauer (2000: 155), even though the internet emphasizes the role of language, identity markers such as race, gender and class are often nullified in online posts. For example, it is not always easy to determine the race, class, gender or age of the individuals who are communicating with each other on internet forums such as those used for this research (for example, [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org), [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) and [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) (*Mail & Guardian Online*). In contrast, the social networking website [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com) not only allows users to publicly display various identity markers such as race and gender through profile pictures, but also allows users to provide extensive information, such as their marital and job position, education, and so forth.

Manuel Castells (1996 cited in Warschauer, 2000) also explores the role of identity within the cyberspace paradigm as a fundamental source of social meaning and argues that people base their personal meaning on what kind of person they want to project for public display. Individuals portray themselves in a certain light when posting comments on an internet forum and construct a certain identity for themselves and others. Johnstone (2008: 155) also argues the 'selves' we present to others are changeable, strategic and jointly constructed. For example, you may be a student and a tutor at university, but at the same time a son and a musician at home. We use linguistic resources to produce a variety of social identities adapted to the situations we find ourselves in and the ways in which we are socially positioned by others (Johnstone, 2008: 155).

Similarly, Joinson (2007) looks at disinhibition or 'flaming' within the internet paradigm through exploring how individuals display different identities and behaviour within different

contexts. For example, an individual might display aggressive behaviour while chatting online but is actually an introvert in real life. Hence, individuals tend to behave differently within the online paradigm as opposed to face-to-face communication (Joinson, 2007: 75). Joinson (2007) explains that the main reason for this type of behaviour is the large sense of anonymity within the online paradigm. This is also what Joinson (2007) refers to as an “online disinhibition effect.” Joinson (2007: 75) defines disinhibition as “... any behaviour that is characterised by an apparent reduction in concerns for self-presentation and the judgment of others.” The term ‘flaming’ is very similar as it is commonly used alongside ‘inhibition’ in the same regard. Joinson (2007: 75) defines ‘flaming’ as “behaviours ranging from being impolite to the use of capital letters or exclamation marks and expressions of personal feelings toward another person using a computer network.”

These theories, as discussed above, are appropriate to my research, especially in Chapter Four, as the data mainly derives from online internet forums where participants not only position themselves and others in relation to the *Shoot the Boer* song, but also construct Malema and the song in a negative light. Therefore, the online paradigm allows for the discussion of issues of race surrounding the *Shoot the Boer* song and how it links to the broader social context as various racialised and denigrating discourses emerge from the data.

## **2.11. Conclusion**

In conclusion, the literature review provides an overview of the various concepts and theories which contribute to the specific research project. All of the discussed topics are interrelated and serve as the theoretical outline for the research project entitled, *Shoot the Boer: a discourse analysis of selected online texts*.

The subsections *discourse*, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, and *discourse strategies* focus on the linguistic aspect of the project where the participants make meaning through various linguistic and discursive choices. *Discourse analysis*, along with *Critical Discourse Analysis* and *thematic analysis* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three as part of my research methodology.

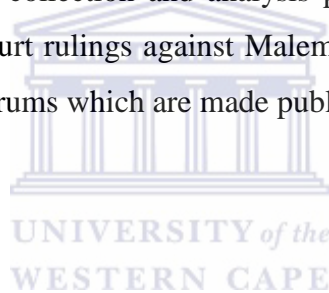
Similarly, the subsections on *intertextuality*, *resemiotization*, *language and context* and *chronotope* theory serve as a theoretical framework particularly for Chapter Four of my



research project, which explores the different meanings and interpretations of the *Shoot the Boer* song over various contextual time-space frames.

The subsections on *race* and *online identities* are significant as these are two pervading issues in relation to my research project, both from the perspective of various forms of ‘talk’ relating to race, as well as the different positioning and identity construction of the participants within the study. The subsection on *online identities* also points to the constructed and strategic nature of identities as performed online, which is evident in Chapter Five.

The next chapter focuses on my research methodology and explores the various approaches and methods that I will be using to collect and analyse my research data, which include the qualitative research tools *discourse analysis*, *Critical Discourse Analysis* and *thematic analysis*. I also explore the data collection and analysis procedure, as my first set of data derives mainly from the three court rulings against Malema, whereas my second set of data derives from online discussion forums which are made publicly available.



## Chapter 3

### 3.1. Methodology

My research project will focus on the different meanings the song *Shoot the Boer (Dubul'ibhunu)*, has taken over the years and the role language has played in these various recontextualizations. I will also focus on the various emerging discourses and themes deriving from online debates and online commentaries based on the *Shoot the Boer* song.

### 3.2. Approach and methods

The aforementioned literature review presents a number of theories and concepts relating to the way in which we represent ourselves and others within society through language. I will use qualitative approaches, namely discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis and thematic analysis, to analyse and categorize my research data and the concepts and theories provided by the authors in the aforementioned literature review to create a framework for the analysis of my research data.

According to Mack *et al.* (2005: 1), a qualitative research approach aims to understand a particular research problem or topic from the subjective perspective of the participants involved within the research study. A qualitative approach will focus on the various beliefs, norms and values participants contribute to the study and how this influences the research topic. Qualitative research approaches differ from quantitative methods as qualitative methods are less rigid and are more open to adaption, which makes them more flexible (Mack *et al.*, 2005: 4).

Discourse analysis, and in particular CDA, is the primary qualitative approach I will make use of for my research. CDA has been covered in detail in Chapter Two. Here I review theories of discourse before presenting Fairclough's CDA framework which I use to guide my analysis. Schiffrin *et al.* (2001), Cameron (2001), Johnstone (2008) and Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) offer various theories of discourse analysis. Schiffrin *et al.* (2001) provide a brief introduction to discourse analysis, Cameron (2001) argues that discourse may be analysed in a variety of channels or mediums and similarly, Johnstone (2008) also explores discourse analysis from a social perspective. Cameron (2001) provides an overview of the changing definitions of discourse and discourse analysis in her book entitled *Working with Spoken Discourse*.

Discourse analysis draws from various academic disciplines. According to Schiffrin *et al.* (2001:1), discourse analysis derived from different fields of analysis and understanding such as anthropology, philosophy and psychology. Discourse analysis is commonly understood as referring to linguistic and non-linguistic social practices which evoke various discourses such as power and racism (Schiffrin *et al.*, 2001: 1).

Cameron (2001: 7) states that ‘discourse analysis’ is an umbrella term that allows for variation in subject matter and approach. For example, discourse analysis does not only involve spoken discourse, it can deal with language use in any channel or medium. This means that discourse analysts may work with written data, data from sign languages of the deaf, images and textual graphics (Cameron, 2001: 7). Cameron (2001) also explores discourse as an interdisciplinary enterprise. Those who make use of discourse analysis are anthropologists, linguists, philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, media students, or law students (Cameron, 2001: 7).

Similarly, Johnstone (2008) states that discourse analysis not only focuses on language, but also on how individuals draw on their personal knowledge of language, which pertains to how individuals interpret, internalize, express and make sense of their reality. This notion is similar to Wodak’s (2007) notion of *knowledge maintenance*. According to Jorgensen and Phillips (2002: 2), discourse analysis also shows how various discourses within a text are contested upon and how these various discourses depict different ways of making sense of reality. This contestation in turn produces different identities among participants as these participants occupy different positions.

Van Dijk (2003: 353) states that the main aim of CDA is not only to explore how discursive structures produce, reproduce and resist power and dominance within society, but also to uncover hidden ideologies and issues of power. This can be done in various ways, and one powerful means is through an analysis of the media. For example, during the apartheid era, the South African government used derogatory and condescending terms to describe people of colour, and freedom fighters were referred to as ‘terrorists’ and ‘traitors,’ thereby associating these people with negative meanings.

Fairclough (1992, 2001) also provides a framework for the analysis of texts from a CDA perspective. His framework includes reference to three dimensions of discourse, namely discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice and discourse as social practice. Fairclough (1992) argues that the first dimension views discourse as text and focuses on the formal

properties of the text such as vocabulary and grammar, cohesion and structure (Fairclough, 1992: 75). Thus, discourse as text places emphasis on the linguistic structure of the text.

The second dimension of discourse views discourse as discursive practice, which focuses on the production, distribution and consumption (interpretation) of the text (Fairclough, 1992: 78). Focus is also placed on how authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text, and on how recipients of texts also use available discourses and genres in the interpretation of the texts. Therefore, one can state that the second dimension of discourse explores the analysis of the discourses and genres which are utilised in the production and the interpretation of the text.

Fairclough (2001: 20) also proposes that individuals draw on *member's resources* (MR) which are their cognitive processes in order to produce and interpret texts. In essence, *member's resources* can also be seen as background schemata which include elements of the individual's knowledge of language, values, norms, beliefs and so forth. *Member's resources* (MR) are also social in the sense that they are socially generated. What this means is that individuals internalize what is produced within society and use this internalized MR to engage in their specific social practice.

Finally, Fairclough (2001) proposes that the third dimension views discourse as a form of social practice and looks at how the discourses within the text relate to the broader social context. This dimension also looks at how a text is embedded within institutional and societal processes, as well as within various power relations. According to Fairclough (1992), the relationship between texts and social practice is mediated by discursive practice. Hence, it is only through the use of language in order to produce and interpret texts, that texts shape and are shaped by social practice. In essence, the three dimensions of discourse influence the MR that an individual would use for production and interpretation of a text, which in turn also shape the manner in which texts are produced and interpreted (Fairclough, 2001: 21).

The second qualitative approach I use is that of thematic analysis as discussed by Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) and Attride-Stirling (2001). I also refer to scholars who use thematic analysis as a qualitative research tool such as Pavlenko (2007), and Graneheim and Lundman (2004). I will look at the type of meanings you can elicit through thematic analysis and I will

also focus on the different concepts that I will use for my data analysis and try to situate this approach within the qualitative research paradigm.

Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) explore the qualitative aspect of thematic analysis by focusing on the procedure pertaining to the construction of themes through the understanding and familiarization with one's data. Similar to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), Attride-Stirling (2001) also proposes a step-by-step guide regarding the analytical process for conducting a thematic analysis, through the use of a network of themes. Attride-Stirling (2001) refers to 'thematic networks' as sets of categories which summarize a particular text. Her ideas frame Chapter Five of my data analysis entitled *Discourses of Fear*, as I mainly make use of various themes to systemize and present my research data.

If one looks at thematic analysis as a tool, the main analytical step revolves around the coding of the text according to the themes, trends, patterns or conceptual categories that emerge from the text (Pavlenko, 2007: 166). According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 321), the main point of doing a good interpretive analysis is to stay close to the data and to interpret it from a position where you have empathic understanding. The purpose of interpretive analysis can be seen as providing a 'thick description' of data, which includes a detailed description of the characteristics, processes, transactions and contexts that form the topic, the language used, and the researcher's role in constructing this description (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 321).

When doing a thematic analysis or interpretive data analysis, there are steps that one should take into account when analysing one's data. Step one is familiarisation and immersion, which involves one having a certain understanding of one's data once you have collected it. During the data analysis stage, the researcher should take all of the gathered material and immerse oneself in the data (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 322). Thus, the main aim of this stage is to know your data well enough to know what kinds of things can be found where. This can be done through repeated readings, brainstorming, making notes, diagrams, mind-maps and so forth.

Step two is coding, which entails marking different sections of data as being relevant to the themes (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 324). A person might code a phrase, a line, a sentence, or even a paragraph which is seen as the textual 'bit' that relates to a certain theme. Coding can

be seen as “breaking up the data in analytically relevant ways” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 324).

According to Graneheim and Lundman (2004: 107), themes are depicted as ‘threads of meaning’ and are a way of linking together underlying meaning in categories, codes, or meaning units. The identification of discourses is also very important in a thematic analysis, which Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 328) defines as “broad patterns of talk” (as mentioned before). Emphasis is thus placed on how the expression of these themes draws on typical ways of speaking, writing, behaving in a community or society.

Step three is inducing themes. This can be seen as a bottom-up approach because one looks at one’s material and tries to find organising principles that are within the material (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 323). Firstly, what one should do is use the language of your subjects/interviewees and not abstract theoretical language (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 323). For example, in relation to my research data, the participants frequently refer to Julius Malema as an ‘idiot.’ Therefore, the researcher should attempt as far as possible to use the same terms/phrases as the participants. In Chapter Five, I have attempted to stay as close as possible to the participants’ words while constructing the various themes of my data analysis.

One should also not just summarize the content. One should think in terms of processes, functions, polarizing viewpoints and so forth. For example, in my study, the emerging discourses surrounding the *Shoot the Boer* song not only highlight the various constructions of Julius Malema, but also how the *Shoot the Boer* song is perceived within the data, as well as the various ‘counter positions’ established by participants within the data.

One should not have too little or too many themes. Having three themes might be considered inadequate whereas ten to fifteen may be too many. Hence, there should be a balance to the number of themes one should identify. One should also have an open mind and try to construct different kinds of themes. Finally, one should not lose focus about what the study is about and one’s themes should always relate to the research topic (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 324).

Step four involves elaboration and focuses on providing an attentive look at themes. According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006: 326) the purpose of elaboration is to capture the inner meaning that is not captured by one’s original coding system. Elaboration can be seen

as a more thorough revising of one's analysis, through re-checking one's coding system and themes in order to have a good account of what your data entails.

Finally, step five is interpretation and checking. This involves putting together your interpretation which is a written version of the phenomenon you studied. One should go through the interpretation very carefully and try to fix weak points, as well as try to find examples that contradict some point in the interpretation (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 326). One should also check one's interpretation with other people who have knowledge on the topic and those who do not in order to get constructive criticism and who are able to look at the data from another perspective.

According to Attride-Stirling (2001), a thematic analysis pertains to a thematic network of themes, which aims to systematically organize qualitative research data. A thematic analysis also aims to explore emerging themes within the research data, with the help of a thematic network aiding in the construction and organization of the specific themes within the research data. Attride-Stirling (2001: 388) states that the network-style of organizing themes is fundamental in the hierarchical systemization and construction of themes. This hierarchy of themes ranges from lowest-order themes, such as basic themes, to middle-order themes such as organizing themes and then finally super-ordinate themes, such as global themes.

Attride-Stirling (2001:388) defines the basic theme as the lowest-order theme which emerges from the data and serves the purpose of backing the organizing theme and in turn, the global theme. However, a basic theme cannot make sense on its own and needs to be interpreted in conjunction with other basic themes. An organizing theme can be depicted as the middle-order theme that organizes the basic themes into groups of similar issues (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 389). In a sense, organizing themes aim to make explicit the underlying issues of a group of basic themes.

Finally, the global theme is the main theme within the thematic analysis network. The purpose of the global theme is to group together the various organizing and basic themes and to summarize the meaning presented by these themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 389). The global theme provides us with an overview of what the overall text entails within a qualitative data analysis. In relation to my research project, I made use of basic themes as well as various organizing themes which support the global theme entitled, *Fear of Malema*.

Similar to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), Attride-Stirling (2001) also refers to the construction of a thematic network as a ‘bottom-up’ approach. In my research data, the organizing theme, *The denigration of Malema and the ANC as incompetent*, is supported by basic themes such as *Malema is stupid*, *ANC is stupid* and *Malema has no respect for the judicial system* which forms part of the larger global theme entitled, *Fear of Malema*.

### 3.3. Data collection and analysis

The main sources which I used to obtain my data for Chapter Four of my research project, *A text through time*, were mainly the three court rulings involving Julius Malema, the ANC, the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA) and AfriForum. The three court rulings included the 2010 South Gauteng High Court ruling, the 2010 North Gauteng High Court ruling and finally the 2011 Equality Court ruling. I also used Section 16 of the *South African Constitution* and Section 10 of the *Equality Act* as sources to identify the issues of ‘freedom of speech’ and ‘hate speech’. I also made use of various newspaper articles found on the SA Media online database such as *The Time* and *The Star* and in order to offer a debate regarding these polarizing positions of ‘hate speech’ and ‘freedom of speech’. In my chapter, *Discourses of Fear*, I also conduct an internet forum-based discourse analysis as I mainly made use of internet discussion forums linked to various online and social networking websites pertaining to Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song. The online sources which I used to obtain my data are not only linked to online newspaper websites such as [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) (*Mail & Guardian Online*), but I also used various other websites which are not essentially online newspaper websites, such as [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com), [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com), [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com), [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org) and [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za). The websites which are the main sources of my data include: [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com), [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org), [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com), [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) (*Mail & Guardian Online*) as well as [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za) and [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com).

The reason why I chose these particular websites and chose to exclude certain sites such as, [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com) and [www.carforums.co.za](http://www.carforums.co.za) found within my web searches, was because the data from my chosen sites were denser and the participants engaged more with each other and the *Shoot the Boer* song. It is significant that these sites also seem to attract a majority of seemingly ‘white’ responses (based on names and occasional self-identifications) which obviously shapes the data in important ways. For example, websites such as [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com), [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) (*Mail & Guardian Online*) and



[www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za) predominately produce white middle-class readership. However, these were the sites on which the song was most hotly debated.

Once my data was collected from these online websites, I used a thematic analysis framework to construct various themes which not only helped me to systemize and present my data but also helped me to identify various discourses and patterns within the data.

The discourse and thematic analysis framework allowed me to interpret and organize my research data into themes, as well as helped to identify emerging discourses pertaining to Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song. The discourse analysis framework also aided me in exploring the various discursive and linguistic choices made by participants to construct identities and their positions in selected online media sites relating to Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song.

Iedema (2003) and Blommaert's (2005) theories on *resemiotization* and *contextualization* aided me in exploring the role of context in the interpretation of the words of the song across the two time-space frames. Similarly, I used Lorino (2012) and Deleuze's (2006) *chronotope* theory to trace the different meanings and 'mutations' the *Shoot the Boer* song has undertaken through time. Johnstone (2008) and Fairclough's (1992) framework on *intertextuality* pointed me towards the intertextual traces between Malema's version of the song and the original version of the song sung during the apartheid era, as well as how the song links to struggle songs in general.

In the next chapter of my research project, I will explore the various meanings the term *'ibhunu*, and the *Shoot the Boer* song has taken over the years. I will also look at the polarizing constructions of the song as 'hate speech' by taking into consideration the three court rulings against Malema, as well as commentaries from various individuals in the media and the justification of the song as a struggle song, the singing of which is guaranteed by the right to 'freedom of speech' by Malema and the ANC.

## Chapter 4

### A text through time

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the different meanings the *Shoot the Boer* song (and in particular, the word, 'ibhunu) has acquired as it has traversed across time and space. Hence, I will investigate how previous discourses and texts surrounding the *Shoot the Boer* song have shifted across contexts and how meanings have changed with the various recontextualizations. I will focus on various contextual factors, such as the identities of the individuals who sang the song, for which audiences and the meanings the song carried during the apartheid era as well as in the current contemporary context. I will also look at the English equivalent of the words under scrutiny and how these words have been recontextualised by Malema in a post-apartheid South Africa. I will also explore the history of the song by taking into consideration the role of struggle songs in liberation movements and its link with the ANC struggle history.

I will further review the three court cases brought against Malema, namely the 2010 South Gauteng High Court ruling, the 2010 North Gauteng High Court ruling, and the 2011 Equality Court ruling and the reasons for finding the *Shoot the Boer* song as a form of 'hate speech'. I will also look at the legal issues that revolve around how meanings (texts) are to be interpreted by the public, by referring to the conflicting issues realised within Section 10 of the *Equality Act* ('freedom of expression', 'hate speech') and Section 16 of the *South African Constitution*. I will draw on the opinions of stakeholders and other public players as expressed in various newspaper articles (such as *The Times* and *The Star*) from *SA Media Online* to substantiate my argument about the contrasting positions of 'hate speech' and 'freedom of speech'. Finally, I will explore responses to the 'hate speech' judgement by providing a critique of Judge Colin Lamont's ruling by referring to scholars such as Brown (2012), Modiri (2013) and De Vos (2011).

I will pay close attention to Blommaert's (2005) framework (as discussed in Chapter Two) as he proposes a range of ideas regarding text and its relationship with context. In the case of the *Shoot the Boer* song, we look at how the song is interpreted by the audience and how it is understood within the context of that event. I will make use of concepts such as *contextualisation*, *entextualization*, and *text trajectory* which looks at how texts are

interpreted differently by shifting across contexts (Blommaert, 2005). I will also make use of Johnstone (2008) and Fairclough's (2003) theories of *intertextuality*. I will make use of Johnstone's (2008) *vertical* and *horizontal intertextuality*, as well as Fairclough's (1992) *manifest intertextuality*, which further explores dimensions such as *discourse representation* and *metadiscourse*. Iedema's (2003) theory on *resemiotization* will also be useful as it links with the theories of the above-mentioned scholars and serves to investigate how texts build on prior texts when they move across different contexts.

Johnstone (2008) also explores the concept of *genre* not only as a 'text-type', but also as a way in which texts are produced, consumed and distributed. This links to Bakhtin's (1981) idea of the *chronotope* and the issue of audience, because it is similar to the way in which personal factors such as cultural values, emotions and identities influence the way in which texts are interpreted. Thus, I will make use of Lorino's (2012) work which mainly draws on Bakhtin's (1981) *chronotope* framework. The *chronotope* theory serves as a time-space framework which I will use to explore the meaning of the *Shoot the Boer* song in different contexts and to show the connection of meaning within these different but interconnected time-spaces. This connection between the two frames and interpretation of the song constitutes the two polarizing chronotopes. The time-space frames represent the physical and temporal contexts and their associated socio-economic aspects which the audience uses to interpret the *Shoot the Boer* song in a particular time and space.

The *Shoot the Boer* song takes the form of a struggle song which carries different meanings across different time-space frames. For example, when the song was sung by Peter Mokaba within the 'apartheid' *chronotope* it was intended as a statement of defiance against the apartheid system. However, once the song was reproduced by Julius Malema within the 'democratic' *chronotope*, the text was interpreted by many, including the courts, as 'hate speech'. The *Shoot the Boer* song as a text-type was produced and interpreted as a struggle song during the apartheid era. However, the democratic *chronotope* is an example of how genre has changed as the meaning of the song was contested by different parties.

In this chapter, I will also refer to various concepts proposed by various CDA scholars. In particular, I will make use of Fairclough's (1992, 2001) theory of discourse as a form of social practice by exploring the three dimensions of discourse, namely *discourse as text*, *discourse as discursive practice* and *discourse as social practice*. I will also explore some of the main underlying tenets which are applicable to my research project, as proposed by

Fairclough & Wodak (1997). I will also look at how Van Dijk (2003) explores the reproduction of power within discourse, through the use of *mind control*.

#### 4.1. Chronological timeline of events

The following table provides a chronological timeline of the events leading up to the court rulings of the *Shoot the Boer* song as a form of ‘hate speech’. The table begins with the first time the singing of the song was reported on as controversial in the media. The table also shows the year in which the song was first declared as a form of ‘hate speech’, as well as the dates of the three occasions when the song was sung by Julius Malema. Finally, the table contains the dates of the three court rulings which eventually declared the song as a form of ‘hate speech’.

| <b>Chronological timeline of events</b> |   |
|---|---|
| 1993                                    | The <i>Shoot the Boer</i> song was first sung by ANCYL member Peter Mokaba.   |
| 2003                                    | The <i>Shoot the Boer</i> song is first construed as ‘hate speech’ by the SAHRC.  |
| March 3, 2010                           | Julius Malema sung the <i>Shoot the Boer</i> song on his birthday.  |
| March 9, 2010                           | Julius Malema sung the song at the University of Johannesburg.  |
| March 21, 2010                          | Julius Malema sung the song at a Human Rights Day celebration.  |
| March 26, 2010                          | Judge Halgryn of the South Gauteng High Court ruled the <i>Shoot the Boer</i> song as unconstitutional and unlawful in society.               |
| April 1, 2010                           | Judge Bertelsmann of the North Gauteng High Court filed an interdict against Malema preventing the singing of the <i>Shoot the Boer</i> song. |
| Sept 12, 2011                           | Malema is found guilty in the final court ruling as the song is considered ‘hate speech’ by Judge Colin Lamont of the Equality Court.         |

In the next few paragraphs, I will explore the role and impact of struggle songs during the apartheid era, as well as during a democratic South Africa. The scholar, Gray (2004), focuses on the importance of the relationship between history and music and also introduces the various styles of struggle songs. I will also make use of the ideas from other contributing authors such as Dlodlo (2011), Twala (2013) and the Equality Court ruling (2011).

## 4.2. The role of struggle songs in liberation movements

Gray (2004) explores the link between cultural history and music, by paying attention to the lyrics and different styles of struggle songs. Gray (2004) claims that the role of struggle songs in liberation movements should be understood within their historical context and that their meaning is linked to these time periods. According to Gray (2004), liberation songs were one of the ways in which oppressed groups exerted pressure for social change in South Africa between 1912 and 1994. Gray (2004: 96) states that liberation songs were sung as a way to create a sense of unity among black South Africans. Social factors such as ethnicity, class and political affiliations were overlooked as more important issues of common concern, such as social oppression, were emphasized in the singing of liberation songs (Gray, 2004: 96). Struggle songs such as *Dubul'ibhunu* were not only seen as a tool of motivation and unity, but also served to psychologically destroy the image of the enemy in the minds of those fighting against apartheid (Equality Court, 2011).

Gray (2004) distinguishes between three styles of liberation songs up until the 1950s, namely *iMusic*, *iRagtime* and *isiZulu*. The liberation song style known as *iMusic* was predominantly based on choir music which is also known as *makwaya* (Gray, 2004: 89). The style *iMusic* is not a politically dominant music style and is fundamentally grounded in European and American church music, an example is *NkosiSikelel' iAfrica*. Gray (2004) argues that individuals would change the lyrics of the song to suit their socio-political context. Initially *NkosiSikelel' iAfrica* was composed as a hymn and was first sung in 1899 at a religious gathering involving a Methodist Minister named Reverend Mboweni. However, as Gray (2004: 89) explains: "As the liberation struggle intensified the lyrics of Nkosi... took on a new meaning." Gray (2004) draws the link between the mutation of meaning and socio-political context as a direct result of the intensification of the struggle. This shows how the hymn evolved into a struggle song.

The second style of liberation songs is *iRagtime*, typical of Afro-American music. According to Gray (2004: 92), Orpheus McAdoo and his Jubilee Singers were black Americans who encountered the Afro-American genre between 1891 and 1898. The composer Reuban Thokalee Caluza (who also composed *NkosiSikelel' iAfrica*) also started to compose *iRagtime* songs such as the popular praise song *Vul' indhelela*. The *iRagtime* style emphasized deteriorating socio-political conditions. For example, the song *Idipue Tekwini* ('Dipping in

Durban') focused on the appalling conditions with which black people had to contend when in search of work.

The 1930s witnessed a revitalization of Zulu ethnicity through the performance of *isiZulu* liberation songs. The *isiZulu* style of music was performed in defiance of Natal's racist settlers which later evolved to incorporate various music elements with the main aim of fighting oppression (Gray, 2004: 94). Gray (2004) provides more examples of liberation songs sung after the 1950s to fight oppression, for example, songs which referred to political leaders such as *Umbusoka Verwoerd* which called for the destruction of Hendrik Verwoerd and the apartheid regime. Another song entitled, *Sikhalela izwelakithi* ('We are crying for our land') was a response to the denial of the improvement of the social position of black South Africans (Gray, 2004: 96).

According to Gray (2004: 94), struggle songs reflected the intensification of the struggle after the 1950s. According to Gray (2004), struggle songs 'evolve' over time with the aim of reflecting the way in which the singers/speakers feel in that particular context. Gray (2004: 95) provides an example of the song, *Senzenina* ('What have we done?') which was widely sung during the apartheid era. Many of the songs sung during the era of oppression also contained intertextual traces of other struggle songs. For example, Gray (2004: 96) points out that *Sikhalela izwe lakithi* ('We are crying for our land') recontextualises elements from another struggle song entitled *Silusapho Lwase Afrika* ('We are the children of Africa'). Therefore, Gray (2004) argues, while the genre of the song remains the same, the words may be adapted to fit a particular context. Gray (2004: 97) provides another example where hymns such as *Thula Sizwe* and *Thina Sizwe* were adapted to be sung at funerals during the 1970s.

Gray (2004) not only explores the evolution and mutation of songs sung during the struggle period, but also looks at how certain songs should be interpreted by taking into account the 'performance style' of a specific song. Hence, one can only understand the full meaning of a song when taking into account the non-verbal forms of performances that accompany the song. Gray (2004) provides an example of the song *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto*, which was often sung by *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) members. According to Gray (2004: 98), the song was often accompanied by chanting such as the *toyitoyi* and other gestures. Hence, the performance is an essential way in which the militant message is conveyed and also a critical part of eliciting the desired involvement of the singers/audience.

Thus, Gray (2004) shows how struggle songs are recontextualised in different contexts and how the words and their meanings evolve along with the changing contexts. In a similar vein, Malema and various members of the ANC claimed that the *Shoot the Boer* song should be understood as a struggle song that has developed new meanings over time.

Many political leaders, especially in the ANC, made use of liberation songs when faced with difficult times in their political careers. Jacob Zuma sang the controversial song entitled the *Leth' umshin' wami'* ('Bring me my machinegun') during his run for presidency, which he eventually won in 2009. This was a popular struggle song which originated in the mining community of South Africa and often used by the ANC during the apartheid era. The singing of the song was seen as an effective way of connecting with the people of South Africa, as it appealed to those individuals who supported the ANC (Twala, 2013: 6). In essence, the singing of liberation songs were used to mobilize, motivate and unite black South Africans in the past and present, whether in exile or at home, whether everyday persons or political leaders (Twala, 2013: 6).

#### **4.3. A brief history of *Ayesaba amagwala/Dubul 'ibhunu* (*Shoot the Boer/farmer*)**

The struggle song *Ayesaba amagwala* or *Dubul 'ibhunu* first came to prominence through media coverage when it was sung by former ANC Youth League President Peter Mokaba in 1993 at Chris Hani's memorial service in Cape Town. At that time, the song embodied the anger felt by the ANC Youth League regarding Chris Hani's murder, which they described as "a murder caused by rightwing whites" (Bloom, 2011).

According to Dlodlo (2011: 1), the struggle song *Ayesaba amagwala* ('the cowards are scared') or *Dubul 'ibhunu* was often sung at ANC gatherings during the apartheid era. The singing of *Ayesaba amagwala* is also associated with the ANC armed wing known as *Umkhonto we Sizwe* or 'MK', which used the struggle song as a tool of resistance against the oppressive laws and legislations of apartheid.

Traditionally struggle songs are sung in African languages. What made the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song controversial was that Mokaba sang the song in English, which meant it could easily be understood by all South Africans including those who could be identified as *boers*. The leading members of the ANC eventually reprimanded Peter Mokaba as the song was seen as inciting racial division and violence. Therefore, Peter Mokaba changed the words

of the song to *Kiss the Boer, Kiss the farmer* as this had a less violent overtone (Twala, 2013: 5). However, the intertextual echo of the original words was not lost on anybody.

#### **4.3.1. SAHRC claims *Dubul 'ibhunu* as 'hate speech'**

The song was first declared 'hate speech' by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) when the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) filed a complaint against the ANC in 2003 (Twala, 2013: 6). According to De Vos (2010: 13), the complaint was filed against the ANC regarding the words, *kill the Boer/kill the farmer* as sung by the late Peter Mokaba on the grounds that it constituted 'hate speech'. Peter Mokaba's argument, which stated that the song is part of the ANC's struggle history and that it should be understood metaphorically, was rejected as the judgment was based on a narrower definition of 'hate speech' within the *South African Constitution* (Section 16(2)), as opposed to the broader definition within the *Equality Act* (Section 10) (De Vos, 2010: 13). This foreshadowed the court cases brought against Julius Malema by various complainants in 2010 (see section 4.3.2. below).

#### **4.3.2. Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song in more recent contexts**

During 2010, Julius Malema made headlines when he sang the song on three occasions: on 3 March 2010 on his birthday, on 9 March 2010 at the University of Johannesburg, and on 21 March 2010 on Human Rights Day (Equality Court, 2011). The singing of the song became an issue when various media institutions reported on the song when the song was sung at the University of Johannesburg. Various complaints were filed against Malema as the song was seen as an incitement to violence by groups such as the Afrikanerbond, the SAHRC, the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) and AfriForum.

The issue in question is, how can the singing of this song be understood within the new democratic chronotope? How have the meanings of the words changed as they transition into a different context? How are they (lyrics) interpreted by the new audiences? These recontextualizations form the focus of this research project.

##### **4.3.2.1. The song sung on 3 March 2010**

On 3 March 2010, Julius Malema sang the song at his birthday celebration in Polokwane, an area where six farm murders had taken place in and around that time. The song was negatively received by the public as FF+ leader, Pieter Mulder, and AfriForum Youth



Chairperson, Ernst Roets, both filed complaints against Julius Malema with the SAHRC. Pieter Mulder was quoted saying:

The FF Plus is convinced that Mr Malema, with this action, advocated and incited hatred which could cause harm to citizens and makes himself guilty of the advocating of 'hate speech' (*Malema charged over 'kill the Boer,'* 2010, [Online]).

Ernst Roets stated:

Julius Malema has become the biggest embarrassment of not only the youth, but also of the country. There is no way in which you can dismiss the song as something that simply has to be viewed in a political context and that doesn't have any real consequences (*Malema charged over 'kill the Boer,'* 2010, [Online]).

The Afrikanerbond also filed a complaint against Julius Malema with the SAHRC. The complaint stated:

It is clear that neither the ANCYL or the ANC have the political will or power to reign in Mr Malema and his daily tirades against everything we hold dear in South Africa. Incitement to violence is a serious offence and with the current problem with rural safety, we simply do not need a politician such as Mr Malema to exacerbate the problem (*Malema charged over 'kill the Boer,'* 2010, [Online]).

#### **4.3.2.2. The song sung on 9 March 2010**

The song was again sung on March 9, 2010 at the University of Johannesburg with a more diverse audience in attendance. Malema told students that even though Nelson Mandela promoted reconciliation and forgiveness, they should never forget that apartheid is part of the struggle history (*Malema under fire for 'kill the boer' song,* 2010, [Online]). The audience at the University was multi-ethnic and mostly students in their late teens and young adults. These individuals interpreted the meaning of the song differently in comparison to the Polokwane birthday audience (Equality Court, 2011). According to the Equality Court ruling, a number of newspapers such as *The Mercury* publicized the singing of the song on March 11, 2010. *The Mercury* stated:

He sang the old struggle song *Dubula ibhuna* (shoot the farmer) harking back to the spirit of the chant ‘kill the Boer/kill the farmer.’ The trademark of the late ANC youth league leader Peter Mokaba (sic). Complaints have been lodged with the SA Human Rights Commission and the Equality Court by among others the Freedom Front Plus, the Afriforum Youth and the Afrikanerbond (Equality Court, 2011: 49).

The song was also negatively received by South African political parties such as the Democratic Alliance (DA) which linked the singing of the song with the murder of AWB leader and white supremacist, Eugene Terreblanche (Randeree, 2010). For example, DA party member Juanita Terreblanche said:

The DA calls for people to remain calm and on the ANC to strongly condemn racist utterances which have become synonymous with Malema and his ilk (Randeree, 2010).

She was further quoted as saying:

This happened in a province where racial tension in the rural farming community increasingly is being fuelled by irresponsible racist utterances by Malema and Solly Pheto, the Cosatu secretary in the province (Randeree, 2010).

#### **4.3.2.3. The song sung on 21 March 2010**

On the third occasion, Malema sang the song on Human Rights Day as part of a celebration in Bushbuckridge, Mpumalanga (*Heritage or hate speech?* 2010, [Online]). A few days prior to Malema’s Human Rights Day celebratory chanting of the *Shoot the Boer* song, the FF+ once again took action by launching a *Prosecute Malema* campaign (Twala, 2013: 7). The aim of the campaign was to gain a number of signatures from individuals who were against Malema’s actions which would in turn serve as a petition to be sent to President Jacob Zuma (Twala, 2013: 7). According to Twala (2013: 7), the FF+ hoped that the petition would serve as an indicator of the severity of the situation and put pressure on President Zuma to take action against Malema for his misconduct.

The audiences’ understanding of the song as ‘hate speech’ or ‘freedom of speech’ is predicated on a variety of contextual factors. Thus, Blommaert (2005: 43) states that text and

context involve a dialogical relationship. This means that it is not only the producers of a text which provide context, but also the recipients of the text as they are crucial to the consumption and uptake of the text. This links with Bakhtin's (1981) theory of the chronotope as the interpretation of the *Shoot the Boer* song within a democratic time-space frame is linked with a range of emotions, cultural backgrounds, values and identities, as certain individuals perceived the song as 'hate speech' or 'freedom of speech'.

Blommaert's (2005) *responsive understanding* is useful as the recipients of the text range from the immediate audience – who may or may not share Malema's stance and the general public, all of whom have different perspectives regarding the singing of the song, perspectives which are determined by their personal values, and cultural and political identities. These different audiences make use of different contextualizing frames to interpret and understand the meaning of the song as the song is recontextualized within the various aforementioned contemporary contexts. For example, the audience at the University of Johannesburg was different to the audience who attended Malema's birthday celebration in Polokwane.

In the above examples, we see the dialectical relationship between the discourse and its link with the broader society, as various individuals and media institutions negatively or positively construct Malema and the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song on the various occasions it was sung. This can also be seen as a reproduction of power relations within discourse as many of the individuals and institutions in the above examples are credible and respectable sources, such as DA political party member Juanita Terblanche, *The Mercury* newspaper, as well as FF+ leader Pieter Mulder and AfriForum Youth Chairperson Ernst Roets. This power is reproduced in public discourse and can also be seen as Van Dijk's (2003) *mind control* as the public acknowledges statements and information from these credible sources and institutions of power.

#### **4.4. The legal battles**

##### **4.4.1. Legal distinction between 'freedom of expression' and 'hate speech'**

'Freedom of speech' can be seen as a democratic right which is either granted or denied and 'hate speech' is way of referring to individuals or groups that violate the principles on which free speech is granted. The controversy surrounding the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song in contemporary South Africa hinges on the tension between the rights to 'freedom of speech'

and the issue of ‘hate speech’. This tension is the result of wordings in two different acts, namely Section 10 of the *Equality Act* versus Section 16 of the *South African Constitution*. According to De Vos (2010: 8), Section 16 of the *South African Constitution* focuses on the right to ‘freedom of expression’ by defining which type of speech is protected. Section 16 of the *South African Constitution* includes ‘freedom of expression’ but it does not support hatred based on race, ethnicity and so forth (De Vos, 2010: 8). Section 16 of the *South African Constitution No. (108 of 1996)* reads as follows:

16. Freedom of expression
  - (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes:
    - (a) Freedom of the press and other media.
    - (b) Freedom to receive or impart information or ideas.
    - (c) Freedom of artistic creativity.
    - (d) Academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.
  - (2) The right in subsection (1) does not extend to:
    - (a) Propaganda for war.
    - (b) Incitement of imminent violence.
    - (c) Advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm.

Section 10 of the *Equality Act* clashes with the right to ‘freedom of expression’ in certain respects. This is because the definition of ‘hate speech’ in the *Equality Act* is very broad in comparison to Section 16 of the *South African Constitution* (De Vos, 2010: 14). The *Equality Act* reduces ‘hate speech’ to ‘hurtfulness’, which suggests that anything hurtful towards another person can be seen as ‘hate speech’ (Equality Court, 2011). Section 10 of the *Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000)* reads as follows:

10. Prohibition of hate speech
  - (1) Subject to the proviso in section 12, no person may publish, propagate, advocate or communicate words based on one or more of the prohibited grounds, against any person, that could reasonably be construed to demonstrate a clear intention to:

- (a) Be hurtful.
  - (b) Be harmful or to incite harm.
  - (c) Promote or propagate hatred.
- (2) Without prejudice to any remedies of a civil nature under this Act, the Court may, in accordance with section 21 (2) (n) and where appropriate, refer any case dealing with the publication, advocacy, propagation or communication of hate speech as contemplated in subsection (1), to the Director of Public Prosecutors having jurisdiction for the institution of criminal proceedings in terms of the common law or relevant legislation.

Section 10 of the *Equality Act* serves to promote equality by outlawing anything which can be construed as undermining human dignity (Equality Court, 2011). The *Equality Act* aims to eradicate any actions or words which could amount to discrimination on the basis of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Equality Court, 2011). Because an ethnic target group is clearly identified in the struggle song through the use of the word *'ibhunu* (*boer*/'Afrikaner'/'farmer') the song can be constituted as 'hate speech' (Equality Court, 2011). The *Equality Act* does not only focus on the specific words and their meaning, but also takes into the account the effect the words have toward the public (Equality Court, 2011).

#### **4.4.2. The words under scrutiny**

I will now focus on the actual words of the song and compare the meaning with a direct English translation. It was difficult to trace the original words of the song and author. Gray (2004: 86) substantiates this statement by stating, "The creators of the songs and their points of origin were lost in the obscurity of the past." According to De Vos (2010: 13), the standard words of the song are in *isiZulu* and are as follows:

*Ayasab' amagwala* ('The cowards are scared')

*Dubula dubula* ('Shoot', 'shoot')

*Ayeah dubula dubula* ('Shoot', 'shoot')

*Ayasab 'a magwala* ('The cowards are scared')

*Dubula dubula* ('Shoot,' 'shoot')

*Awu yoh dubula dubula* ('Shoot', 'shoot')

*Aw dubul 'ibhunu* ('Shoot the Boer')

*Dubula dubula* ('Shoot', 'shoot')

*Aw dubul 'ibhunu* ('Shoot the Boer')

According to the Equality Court (2011: 43), the words sung by Julius Malema at various locations in 2010 read as follows:

*Dubula! Dubula! Dubula nge s'bhamu* ('Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun')

*Dubul' ibhunu* ('Shoot the boer')

*Dubula! Dubula! Dubula nge s'bhamu* ('Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun')

*Mama, ndiyeke ndidubul' ibhunu* ('Ma, let me shoot the Boer')

*Dubula! Dubula! Dubula nge s'bhamu* ('Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun')

*Ziyareypa lezinja* ('These dogs rape us')

*Dubula! Dubula! Dubula nge s'bhamu* ('Shoot! Shoot! Shoot them with a gun')

The reuse and rewording of the original words of the *Shoot the Boer* song by Malema can also be analysed with reference to Fairclough's (1992) concept of *manifest intertextuality*, as well as Johnstone's (2008) *horizontal intertextuality*. The words sung by Malema overtly and directly draw on the original words of the song sung in the past. One can trace the historical origin of the words of the song and how they are reformulated and reinserted within the 'new text', which is Malema's version of the *Shoot the Boer* song (*Dubul 'ibhunu/Ayesaba amagwala*). The original words of the song are 'embedded' within the new version of the text as a direct form of *manifest intertextuality*. The overt intertextual traces include consistent use

of the original words ‘shoot the Boer’, but also Malema’s addition of words such as ‘shoot them with a gun’, ‘these dogs rape us’, and the phrase ‘ma, let me shoot the Boer.’

Fairclough (1992) explores a discursive dimension in intertextuality known as *metadiscourse*. This discursive dimension allows one to identify the various linguistic and discursive properties which were previously used in another text. Therefore, the theory not only draws attention to the historical origin of the words of the song, but also the genre and author of the text. Fairclough (1992: 122) states, “Metadiscourse implies that the speaker is situated above or outside her own discourse, and is in a position to control and manipulate it.”

In this case, the *Shoot the Boer* song is a struggle song which was first sung by former ANCYL member Peter Mokaba in 1993 and was then recontextualized by Julius Malema in 2010. Judge Lamont states, “There is no set of predetermined words to such a liberation song. The song mutates as when different people sing it and as and when the mood or occasion which is celebrated changes” (Equality Court, 2011). Through recontextualization, Malema added a few new words/phrases to the song. The meaning of the song shifts as the song follows a *text trajectory* from the apartheid chronotope into the new democratic chronotope. In other words, the ANC and Malema added numerous signifieds to the signifier which will be explored in more detail within the following sections.

#### **4.4.3. The court cases against Julius Malema**

I will now explore the three court rulings which eventually led to the banning of the *Shoot the Boer* song as a form of ‘hate speech’. I will look at the reason why each case was brought against Malema, as well as name the complainants presenting each case. Finally, I will also look at the outcome of each court case. The two court cases against Malema took place during 2010. The final hearing, which concluded the ‘hate speech’ judgement against Malema, took place on September 12, 2011.

The first two court rulings took place in quick succession as complaints were filed against Malema by AfriForum and the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA) due to the continued singing of the song and with the aim of permanently banning the singing of the song. However, the South Gauteng and North Gauteng High Courts were ‘sitting in’ as the Equality court, as only the Equality Court has the power and authority to place a permanent ban on the song as it acts in accordance with Section 21 of the *Equality Act*. Therefore, the issues covered in the preceding court rulings were transferred to the Equality

Court, as this court serves as an extension of these two court rulings. Section 21 of the *Equality Act* gives this court the power to issue an order:

- f. restraining unfair discriminatory practises or directing that specific steps be taken to stop the unfair discrimination, hate speech or harassment;
- g. to make specific opportunities and privileges unfairly denied in the circumstances, available to the complainant in question;
- h. for the implementation of special measures to address unfair discrimination, hate speech or harassment in question (*Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act* 4 of 2000).

The complainants in all three court cases were AfriForum and the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA) and the respondents included Julius Malema and the ANC. Each hearing was presided over by a different judge, namely Judge Halgryn of the South Gauteng High Court, Judge Bertelsmann of the North Gauteng High Court and Judge Colin Lamont of the Equality Court. The South and North Gauteng rulings banned the singing of the song as well as any song which could be seen as a form of incitement to murder. The final Equality Court ruling in 2011 ruled Julius Malema guilty of ‘hate speech’.

#### **4.4.3.1. South Gauteng High Court ruling**

The court ruling took place on March 26, 2010. According to the South Gauteng High Court ruling (2010), the court ruled the questionable utterances *Dubul 'ibhunu* as sung by Julius Malema on various occasions, as ‘hate speech’ under Section 10 of the *Equality Act*. Judge Halgryn of the South Gauteng High Court ruled that the singing was unlawful and unconstitutional because it incited violence and that any person in violation of the court order would face charges of incitement to murder (Twala, 2013: 9).

#### **4.4.3.2. North Gauteng High Court ruling**

The second court ruling took place on April 1, 2010. The complainants were once again AfriForum and TAU SA, with Julius Sello Malema as the respondent. According to Twala (2013: 9), AfriForum and TAU SA took the court case to the North Gauteng High Court to ensure the *Shoot the Boer* struggle song was banned as the two complainants felt the song was being used to verbally abuse and threaten Afrikaners. In his judgement, Judge Bertelsmann relied on the expertise of music-history expert Dr. Anne-Marie Gray (cited



earlier in section 4.2.) to explain that it is not a song, but rather a ‘chant’ and is therefore more threatening (Twala, 2013: 9). Dr. Anne-Marie Gray is quoted as arguing:

This is not a song, this is a chant, and a chant is much more threatening... to people who don’t understand it (*Shoot the Boer is not a song, court told*, (n.d.) [Online]).

In the journal article by Gray (2004), which revolved around the role of struggles songs in the fight against apartheid, Gray (2004) highlights the importance of non-verbal behaviour such as gestures and bodily movements that aid in the interpretation of meaning in struggle songs. Gray (2004) extends this argument by referring to the chant known as the *toyitoyi*, which is commonly associated with various bodily movements and gestures and how this helps to understand the song in context. Therefore, Gray claims that the *Shoot the Boer* song is a threatening chant due to the ‘performance style’ in which Malema portrayed the song on the aforementioned occasions. I will now refer to two examples from the Equality Court, as this issue is once again referred to in the Equality Court ruling (2011). Judge Lamont stated:

During the course of the singing the respondent executed rhythmic movements (hereafter “the gestures”) including movements with his forearm extended at approximately 45 degrees to the ground with his finger and hand making the shape of a firearm (Equality Court, 2011: 41).

Lamont further extends this connection between the gestures and the words of the song as it is an important constituent of context. In paragraph 39 of the Equality Court ruling (2011) Judge Colin Lamont states:

The definition refers to words as being what is objectionable. This definition does not exclude the relevance of gestures which accompany the words. Those gestures form part of the context and will be relevant to determining the reasonable construction to be placed upon words.

In essence, Judge Bertelsmann based his judgment on the ‘effect’ the words of the song have on the general public, thus giving these more weight than the intentions of the speaker, namely Julius Malema. Judge Bertelsmann of the North Gauteng High Court stated:

The true yardstick of ‘hate speech’ is neither the historical significance thereof, nor the context in which the words are uttered, but the effect of the

words, objectively considered upon those directly affected and targeted thereby (North Gauteng High Court, 2010).

The court ruling concluded with Judge Bertelsmann issuing an interdict against Malema, temporarily banning the singing of the song by anyone in any context (Twala, 2013: 9).

#### **4.4.3.3. Equality Court ruling**

This was the final court ruling in the saga and took place on September 12, 2011 (Equality Court, 2011). The Equality Court ruling is a continuation of the South and North Gauteng High Court rulings between the aforementioned complainants and respondents, as the issues were transferred to the Equality Court.

In his final decision at the end of this case, Judge Colin Lamont ruled that the words of the song should be construed as a form of incitement and hatred toward Afrikaners and white people in general as the words of the song pertain to ethnicity and culture (Modiri, 2013: 276). Therefore, the words should be viewed as ‘hate speech’ as they are hurtful towards a specific ethnic group and undermine the human dignity, rights and freedom of Afrikaners and Afrikaans farmers (Equality Court, 2011).

Judge Colin Lamont proposed two arguments to support the final outcome of the Equality Court ruling. Firstly, Judge Lamont argued that the term *'ibhunu* carries different meanings, as it not only refers to the apartheid regime but also carries a threatening meaning towards a minority group such as Afrikaners and white individuals commonly referred to as *boers* (Modiri, 2013: 276). Judge Lamont thus took into consideration the intended and the unintended meaning of the song as the signifier carries two different signifieds, which refers to the apartheid regime, as well as white individuals or Afrikaners on a literal interpretation. This is evident below as Judge Lamont was quoted saying:

The use of the word in the context of oppression was a usage which was designed by the author of the song to reflect and refer to the regime: the oppressor. There is no dispute between the parties that the song, as it was originally sung, had the meaning to destroy the regime. The words also mean “shoot the Boer” in a literal translation (sic) (Equality Court, 2011: 44).

Lamont argues that not only is it evident that the signifier carries two signifieds, but both signifieds need to be considered as they both contribute to the meaning as a whole. Judge Lamont states:

The double meaning was intended by the author and cannot have been lost on the audience. The author and singers originally placed more emphasis on the “destroy the regime” meaning. The fact they did so in no way detracts from the other meaning or remove it as an equally competent reasonably understood meaning (sic) (Equality Court, 2011: 45).

Judge Lamont reinforces this argument in par. 109 subsection 7 of the Equality Court ruling. For example:

7. If the words have different meanings, then each meaning must be considered and be accepted as meaning. The search is not to discover an exclusive meaning but to find the meaning the target group would reasonably attribute to the words (Equality Court, 2011: 70).

The above examples draw on what Blommaert (2005: 42) refers to as the “misplacement of utterances” with regards to context. The same word *'ibhunu* carries two different meanings, namely the reference to the apartheid regime as well as white Afrikaners across the two time-space frames. This process of *entextualisation* involves interpretation as well as understanding where a text is made to ‘fit’ in a particular context(s) (Blommaert, 2005: 42). Judge Lamont focused on the intentional and unintentional signifieds as Malema was aware of the ‘double entendre’ and that both these signifieds constitute meaning as a whole.

The signifier – *'ibhunu* - followed a *text trajectory* where the song transitioned from an apartheid time-frame into a democratic time-frame. Therefore, even though the meaning of the song shifted as the song was resemiotized into the new context, the recontextualised version of the song still carries the historical elements of the song from when it was produced in its original context. Therefore, Judge Lamont argues that the meaning which points to the killing of white Afrikaners and farmers cannot be disregarded.

The second argument made by Judge Lamont related to the effect of the words of the song by referring to audience and receiver interpretation. The individuals who were not present at the previously mentioned occasions (white Afrikaners) where Malema sang the struggle song, should be treated as being ‘present’ as they are the ethnic target group of the *Shoot the Boer*

song and are still considered audience. This is evident in par. 33 of the Equality Court ruling (2011: 28) as Judge Lamont stated:

Speech that is political and that takes place in public is intended, and must be considered, to be communicated to the public at large not merely to those who are present at the time... Such persons, even if they do not attend the event in question, can hardly avoid the impact of the speech.

This argument is further extended in par. 109, subsection 1 & 2 of the Equality Court ruling (2011). Judge Colin Lamont stated:

1. Publication of words at a political rally must be treated as publication to the nation.
2. The intention of the speaker who utters the words is irrelevant.

Judge Colin Lamont also stated:

11.4 No justification exists allowing the words to be sung.

11.5 The words were in any event not sung on a justifiable occasion.

Just as *contextualisation* proved pivotal in deriving a set of meanings for the *Shoot the Boer* song in the contemporary time-frame, the dialogical nature between text and context shapes its interpretations. What I mean by this is that it reflects Blommaert's (2005) *responsive understanding*. The producer, which in this case is Malema and his immediate audience, as well as the broader public, don't share the same contextualisation universes in order to interpret and understand the song in the current time-frame. Reflecting on Goffman's (1974 cited in Blommaert 2005) notion of *frames*, Malema and the ANC, as well as Judge Lamont and the other complainants, make use of different contextualising *frames* to interpret and attach meaning to the song.

In the previous discussion of the North Gauteng High Court ruling, I mentioned the importance of the various gestures associated with the performance of the song, as it provides the context within which the song should be understood. In the Equality Court ruling, the accompanying gestures provided the contextual frame for Judge Lamont to argue that the song is a form of incitement to violence. Judge Lamont stated:

By that time the target group was able to see and did see the video-recordings which I have seen which demonstrate Malema making the sound of a gun... It seemed apparent to them, as is apparent from the effect the song had upon them... that Malema was encouraging persons to shoot the Boer (sic) (Equality Court, 2011: 68).

Various different stakeholders also had negative reactions in response to the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song, which included the Pro-Afrikaans Action Group (PRAAG), AfriForum and Judge Colin Lamont. PRAAG director Dan Roodt stated:

The racist hatred exemplified by all anti-Afrikaner and anti-white songs cannot be regarded as heritage or culture, in the same way as anti-Semitism cannot be seen as a noble part of the German heritage ( Mnguni, 2010).

The Chief Executive of AfriForum Kallie Kriel was quoted as saying:

This is a 100% win as far as we're concerned for Afriforum but not only for Afriforum but South Africa as a whole. South Africa as a whole now has seen that our courts are in favour of the principles of mutual recognition, of the principles of the positives of ubuntu (ANC appalled by Equality Court, 2011, [Online]).

However, some commentaries viewed the song as reigniting hatred, but draw on a discourse of black oppression and dispossession to contextualise the song. In *The Times* newspaper Judge Colin Lamont was also quoted as saying:

It brings back memories of suffering and oppression under white rule; it reignites hatred for white people. Today in South Africa, the majority of the land is still in white people's hands, economic activities still favour white people (Mnguni, 2010).

I will now explore the various signifieds attached to the song by Malema and members of the ANC.

#### **4.4.3.4. ANC defend the singing of the song**

In response to the Equality Court ruling, various members of the ANC and Julius Malema made several arguments in defence of the song focusing on the speaker's intention. Malema

and certain members of the ANC offered different meanings for the song, which shifted from historical to contemporary signifieds. The ANC and Malema claim that the song forms part of the South African struggle heritage and should be interpreted and understood within the apartheid time-frame, even though the song has been recontextualised by Malema to fit into the new democratic time-frame. Gwede Mantashe, ANC secretary-general stated:

I can defend the relevance of the song back in the time of Apartheid because then the government also had a repressive mentality of Skiet die K\*\*\*\*\*r (shoot a black person) (Mnguni, 2010: 16).

Julius Malema also stated:

The liberation songs represent the history of the anti-Apartheid struggle; in particular; the liberation of all South Africans from political, economic and social oppression caused by colonial and the Apartheid system (Ndaba, 2011: 3).

ANC spokesperson, Jackson Mthembu, also defended the singing of the struggle song as a part of South African struggle history and should be considered in context. Jackson Mthembu was quoted as saying:

This song was sung for many years even before Malema was born... Julius doesn't even know who's the writer of the song. He got it from us [the ANC]. You must blame the ANC, don't blame Julius. But when you blame the ANC, then contextualise it. (*ANC appalled by Equality Court ruling*, 2011, [Online])

However, Malema also offered a new contemporary signified when he claimed that *'ibhunu* in fact also referred to 'untransformed individuals' who were beneficiaries of the apartheid era. Julius Malema was quoted as saying:

...the regime lives on in the form of the untransformed person who holds benefits conferred upon him by the regime and which he has not relinquished. (Equality Court, 2011).

Then ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu also attached a new signified to the song, namely that *'ibhunu* refers to individuals who are cowards and resistant to change. Jackson Mthembu was quoted as saying:

If you don't look at the song in its entirety, then you lose the meaning. It [the song] says, 'some people are cowards', it says, 'use your gun to shoot', because it is reminiscent of fighting a war. It refers to all people who are cowards, including blacks who were cowards, it means oppressive forces, it means those who are against transformation, those who are saying this ANC regime is against the 'blankevolk' [the white nation] (*ANC appalled by Equality Court*, 2011, [Online]).

In the above examples, it is once again evident how Malema and the ANC defend the singing of the song as a part of struggle history and negate the literal meaning by attaching various signifieds to the signifier. The various members of the ANC and Malema offer a range of signifieds for the single signifier, 'ibhunu'. They argue that the song should be understood within an historical context, but also recontextualise it within a post-apartheid chronotope, as the signifier has acquired new signifieds namely, untransformed individuals and cowards, including blacks, who are against transformation. Therefore, the text carries a variety of meanings which it has gained on its trajectory through time (see Blommaert's 2005 notion of *text trajectory*).

In summary, the final outcome of the court case ruled that the non-literal meanings of the song (apartheid and contemporary signifieds), should be negated as the complainants (AfriForum and TAU SA) felt that the derogatory words of the song are harmful towards the dignity of Afrikaners and do not allow for the equal enjoyment of freedom and rights as provided in the *South African Constitution* (Modiri, 2013: 276). Judge Colin Lamont therefore concluded that the words of the song are inflammatory and derogatory as certain impressionable groups of people might become volatile and lash out in accordance with the words of the song (Equality Court, 2011). In the end, Judge Colin Lamont ruled that Malema and his supporters should not only be interdicted from singing the words, but Malema should also pay the costs of the court case which was filed by AfriForum (*ANC appalled by Equality Court*, 2011, [Online]).

#### **4.5. Discourse as social practice**

I will now make use of Fairclough's (1992, 2001) CDA framework to reflect on these court rulings.

The first dimension of his framework, 'discourse as text,' focuses on structure, grammar and vocabulary choice. This can also be seen as the level of description, whereby I will be once again referring to the different signifieds given to the term *'ibhunu* by the different stakeholders. In the Equality Court ruling, Judge Bertelsmann and Judge Lamont had different interpretations as to why the song should be prohibited. Judge Bertelsmann focused mainly on the effect of the words on the public. However, Judge Lamont argued that the signifier, which is the *Shoot the Boer* song, has two different signifieds and that both meanings, intentional and unintentional, need to be considered as it constitutes meaning as they constitute the meaning as a whole.

Hence, as opposed to Judge Bertelsmann who mainly focused on the effect of the words of the song, Judge Lamont considered the meaning of the signifier within the context of apartheid, but also the literal meaning of the words of the song which calls for the killing of farmers and white South Africans. In contrast, Malema and the ANC defended the singing of the song by attaching various signifieds to the signifier, ranging from historical to contemporary meanings (as mentioned before). In essence, all the above parties used different *frames* to contextualise the words of the song, thus leading to different interpretations.

This leads us to the next dimension which explores 'discourse as discursive practice'. This dimension is interrelated with the first dimension and focuses on the interpretation and production of the text. This dimension focuses on the interpretation of the song as either 'hate speech' or as a struggle song, by also looking at how gestures are interpreted as contributing to the meaning of the song. I have mentioned before that there are two contrasting perspectives of the song where it is constructed as 'hate speech' by various stakeholders such as Judge Colin Lamont, AfriForum, FF+, Afrikanerbond, PRAAG and so forth. However, Julius Malema and various members of the ANC argued that the song is not 'hate speech' and forms part of the country's struggle history.

Those in favour of the song as a form of 'hate speech' construct the song in a negative light through various linguistic choices, such as *negative labelling*. This is evident in examples such as, "It brings back memories of suffering and oppression", "Incitement to violence is a serious offence" and "irresponsible racist utterances by Malema". These forms of *negative labelling* are also a prominent feature in the next chapter of my data analysis concerned with the broader fear of Malema and 'black power'. However, Malema and members of the ANC support the singing of the song and construct it in a positive light. This is reinforced through



various phrases such as, “I can defend the relevance of the song” as well as “liberation songs represent the history of the anti-Apartheid struggle”. Gestures are also interpreted as adding to the meaning of the song, as gestures help to understand the song in a particular context. For example, Gray (2004) argued that the way in which Malema performed the singing of the song was in a threatening manner as Malema’s hand gestures represented the shape of a firearm (as mentioned before).

Fairclough’s (2001) *member’s resources* (MR) is an important concept as it helps in the production and interpretation of texts. In the case of the apartheid time-space frame, individuals internalized and interpreted the song as a struggle song as it was produced with the aim of fighting oppression within that time period. Therefore, whether individuals were for or against apartheid, they would use personal factors such as values and beliefs to interpret and understand the song as a struggle song. However, the song is given a wide variety of signifieds as a result of *entextualization* and *contextualisation* in the democratic time-space frame. The audience is polarized between the immediate audience, who are those individuals who were either part of the struggle or understand struggle history and the broader public, including the minority groups, which can be seen as the secondary audience. Where the immediate audience shares the same background schemata as Malema, they interpret the song as a part of struggle history. However, when these events were broadcast to a broader public, Afriforum and TAU SA used different interpretive norms and values, thus interpreting the song as a form of ‘hate speech’.

The third and final dimension explores ‘discourse as social practice’, which looks at how the *Shoot the Boer* song and the associating discourses link to the broader South African social context. This dimension can also be viewed as the level of explanation, where text not only shapes the context, but the context in turn shapes the text. The genre of the *Shoot the Boer* song can be seen as a struggle song which followed a *text trajectory* between two time-space frames, namely an apartheid context and a democratic South African context, where the song was recontextualized, and providing different meanings to the recipients of the song.

The two chronotopic time-frames reflect how text not only shapes context, but also how context shapes the text. The song was not only produced as a struggle song during the apartheid era, but is also constructed as a form of ‘hate speech’ as a result of *text trajectory* from the apartheid time-frame into the democratic time-frame. Hence, since the *Shoot the Boer* song was formerly part of the liberation/struggle discourse, it is now being contested

whether it can form part of a democratic, post-apartheid discourse. Once again we see how meaning shifts from one context to the next as a piece of text is recontextualized.

The various issues presented by the aforementioned individuals and organizations constructing the song as ‘hate speech’, link to the broader issue of race within the current democratic context. This broader issue of race is linked to racialised discourses and talk regarding the fear of Malema and the broader fear of ‘black power’ which will be covered in more detail in the next chapter of analysis.

#### **4.6. Critiques of the judgement**

I will now provide a critique of the final court ruling by Judge Colin Lamont by referring to Brown (2012), De Vos (2011) and Modiri (2013). The main critique raised by all three authors is primarily based on the issue of meaning and how meaning changes as texts travel through time and space.

##### **4.6.1. Brown (2012)**

According to Brown (2012: 316), the use of history allows for the contextualization of legal issues under scrutiny and provides an environment within which these issues should be discussed and understood. Brown (2012: 321) argues that Judge Lamont did not take the historical context sufficiently into consideration and that the song is a product of a particular time and place. Brown (2012: 321) argues that Judge Lamont excluded any consideration that the meaning of the song during the apartheid era might have been more complex. This refers to whether or not the meaning of the song changed over time as South Africa moved into a democratic era and if it still has the same meaning within the current socio-political context. Brown (2012: 321) also states that Judge Lamont did not either provide any scholarly references to his historical accounts, such as the history of the *boers* and the ANC. This in turn suggests that Judge Lamont used his own subjective interpretation on the various issues.

##### **4.6.2. De Vos (2011)**

In the paper entitled, *Malema judgment: A re-think on ‘hate speech’ needed*, De Vos (2011) provides a few limitations of the court ruling against Julius Malema. De Vos’ (2011) main critique pertains to the infringement on the right to ‘freedom of expression’. De Vos (2011) argues that the definition of ‘hate speech’ is defined in broader terms within Section 10 of the

*Equality Act* than in Section 16 of the *South African Constitution*. This causes the *Equality Act* to reduce ‘hate speech’ to a form of ‘hurtfulness’. De Vos (2011) states:

If ANC members congregate at a party at which they reminisce about the struggle days and one of its members then sing this song, that person will be in contempt of this ruling and might be found guilty of contempt of court. This, in my opinion, constitutes a rather absurd and drastic infringement on the right to freedom of expression not warranted by the *Equality Act* — even given the broad provisions of that Act.

De Vos (2011) further argues that Judge Lamont claimed that Afrikaners and white people are a minority and need extra protection from words such as *Dubul ’ibhunu* as the words are constructed as having the intention to be hurtful and expose them to the risk of genocide.

#### **4.6.3. Modiri (2013)**

Modiri (2013) provides a critique of the Equality Court ruling by drawing on various socio-political and socio-historical factors which serve as a limitation towards the judgement. Similar to De Vos (2011), Modiri (2013: 278) states that the words of the song mean different things to different sections of society. Modiri (2013) critiques Judge Lamont’s ruling by stating that all plausible meanings of the utterances need to be taken into consideration. However, only the meaning interpreted by the minority group (white people) is accepted. For example, if the majority of Afrikaners and white people in general feel threatened by the utterances, this meaning is accepted as they are considered the minority group. According to Modiri (2013: 278), Judge Lamont ruled that the intention of the speaker (Malema) is irrelevant and what is important is what the words mean to the individual who interprets the words, or as Judge Lamont states, “to a reasonable listener.” For example, in par. 109, subsection 4 of the Equality Court ruling (2011):

4. What the words mean is to be determined by applying the test of what the words would mean to a reasonable listener having the common knowledge and skill attributed to an ordinary member of society. (Equality Court, 2011: 69).

Modiri (2013) also argues the problem of subjectivity in the Equality Court ruling (2011). Judge Colin Lamont shares the same ethnicity as the minority group and shares the same concerns and fears of the minority group. This influences the court ruling through subjective

moral and political beliefs, as Judge Lamont is in strong favour of the minority's interests (Modiri, 2013: 281).

Modiri (2013: 285) further critiques the Equality Court ruling by stating that a “black point of view” is needed in law, as the perspectives of white individuals are treated as the universal standard of analysis and white individuals are used as a point of reference for all South Africans. Modiri (2013: 286) also argues that the judgement portrayed implicit “court-sanctioned racial stereotyping” suggesting that black people lack the moral capacity to contextualize the song and that they will actually kill white people. This links to the apartheid mentality of the *swart gevaar*, which suggests black people pose a threat to white people and are constructed as savage and violent (Modiri, 2013: 287).

Modiri (2013) further extends Judge Colin Lamont's argument regarding audience. Modiri (2013: 277) states that in the Equality Court ruling Judge Colin Lamont preferred considering the broader general public (secondary audience), in contrast to the immediate audience, who are the participants for whom the song is intended and who understand the meaning of the song.

In summary, Brown's (2012) main argument is predicated on the shifting of meaning as the song was recontextualised into a new democratic context. Brown (2012) argues that Judge Lamont did not consider all the various meanings attached to the song, including the signifieds presented by Malema and the ANC, which range from historical to contemporary meanings. Hence, Brown (2012) believes that Judge Lamont was subjective in attaching meaning to the song as he did.

The scholar, De Vos (2011) based his critique of judge Lamont's ruling on the legal discrepancy between the issue of ‘freedom of expression’ and ‘hate speech’ as presented in Section 10 of the *Equality Act* and Section 16 of the *South African Constitution*. Similar to Brown (2012), De Vos (2011) also explores the issue of meaning by considering the audience and how this allows for different interpretations of the same text. I have mentioned before that the relationship between text and context is dialogical. Individuals in the current chronotope draw on different contextual frames in order to attach meaning to the song. Hence, the intended audience, who share the same contextualisation universes as Malema defend the singing of the song, whereas the broader public construct the song as a form of ‘hate speech’.

Modiri's (2013) argument is also very similar to Brown's (2012), as it focused on the effect and the interpretation of the words of the song in the current context. Similar to Brown (2012) and De Vos (2011), Modiri (2013) also considered the issue of the two contrasting audiences who draw on different contextual *frames* and universes to interpret the text. Hence, Modiri (2013) argued that Judge Lamont failed to take the changing chronotope into account.

#### 4.7. Conclusion

The *Shoot the Boer* song has gone through various 'mutations' as it has been sung by different individuals on different occasions. From my review of the issue, it is evident that although certain words contained within the original version of the *Shoot the Boer* song have been altered, the overall message of the *Shoot the Boer* song still remains the same. It is evident how the relationship between language and context not only allow one to view how the meaning of words link to the broader social context, but also the effect of these words on the recipients of the text. In the case of the *Shoot the Boer* song, we see how the song is recontextualized over time as the song shifts into a new democratic South African chronotope.

In conjunction with the two contrasting chronotopes, the effect of the words is important as the recipients are part of the uptake of the text. The dialogical nature of text and context proves problematic as the "dialogue does not share co-operativity" (Blommaert, 2005: 44). This means that the broader general public and the various complainants against the singing of the song make use of different contextual *frames* to interpret and understand the song. Therefore, the contextual *frames* shared among the complainants and the broader public differ from the ANC and Malema, which resulted in polarizing constructions of 'hate speech' and 'freedom of speech'.

The *text trajectory* of the *Shoot the Boer* song allowed for a variety of signifieds produced by Judge Lamont and Judge Bertelsmann. Malema and the ANC also provide various historical and contemporary signifieds. These contrasting signifieds from both these groups construct the song as either 'hate speech' or 'freedom of speech'.

Malema and the ANC argue that the song should be seen as 'freedom of speech', as it forms part of struggle history and should be interpreted within this context. The apartheid chronotope provides a frame for this interpretation. The chronotope also provides the context in which the song needs to be interpreted by linking the struggle song with the social,

historical and cultural values of the audience, such as the intention to destroy the apartheid system. Another reason why Malema and the ANC defend the singing of the song is because they share the same *responsive understanding*. This means that they make use of the same contextual *frames* to interpret and attach meaning to the song

In contrast, Judge Bertelsmann based his judgement mainly on the effect of the words, as well as the way in which a text places the intertextual echoes of its historical meanings into the present. In par. 109, subsection 8 of the Equality Court ruling Judge Lamont argues:

8. If the words mean different things to different portions of society then each meaning, for the reasonable listener in each portion of society, must be considered as being appropriate meaning (Equality Court, 2011: 70).

Judge Lamont further argues that even though Malema and the ANC argue ‘freedom of expression’, Malema was aware of the multiple signifieds attached to the song as it was recontextualised into the current chronotope. Judge Lamont stated:

On a balance of probabilities it appears to me that the author was aware of the double entendre. The double meaning was intended by the author and cannot have been lost on the audience (Equality Court, 2011: 45).

In essence, Judge Lamont used all dimensions of context to contextualise and to attach meaning to the song as he considered all possible signifieds. This resonates with Blommaert (2005: 40) who states that “context is potentially everything and contextualisation is potentially infinite.” Judge Lamont ruled that the song is a form of ‘hate speech’ owing to the fact that the denotative signified refers to an ethnic group through the use of the word *’ibhunu* which also means *boer* (farmer/white Afrikaners) in Afrikaans. Although Malema tried to argue that the meaning of the word *’ibhunu* had changed over time, Judge Lamont rejected this argument, arguing that *’ibhunu* is commonly understood as referring to a specific ethnic group. Thus, the analysis of the song in its different time-space frames set the scene for the various meanings attributed to the *Shoot the Boer* song and allowed me to interpret the song as *a text through time*, which shifted from a form of ‘freedom of expression’ in an apartheid chronotope to a form of ‘hate speech’ in the current democratic chronotope.

The next chapter of my data analysis can be viewed as an extension of this one, as it not only focuses on the various commentaries associated with the aforementioned court rulings, but also how the *Shoot the Boer* song was reported on in general within the media. Therefore, in

the next chapter the chronotopic frame shifts to an online space dominated by online discussion forums in a democratic South African context. Similarly, the next chapter also identifies similar issues such as the negative construction of Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song as well as the underlying fear of ‘black power.’



## Chapter 5

### Discourses of fear

#### 5.1. Introduction

This chapter offers a qualitative analysis of the commentaries that were published online in discussion forums, not only in response to articles related to the 2010 South Gauteng High Court and 2011 Equality Court rulings, but also how the singing of the song was reported on in general by the media. In this chapter, I aim to explore both the themes which thread through the data as well as the discourses which realise them. The thematic analysis traces both the overt and the covert meanings which thread through the data, and the discourse analysis explores the social discourses or ‘ways of speaking’ which have shaped them. Overall, I argue that the dominant global theme of the corpus is a *Fear of Malema* as the racialised discourses which permeate this global theme reflect an underlying fear of ‘black power’, with Malema as a signifier of this ‘black power’. Hence, the title of this chapter is *Discourses of Fear*. In this chapter, the chronotopic frame primarily shifts to an online space dominated by online discussion forums situated in a democratic South African context.

The data for my research project derives from public online discussion forums. My research can be compared to the studies of Steyn (2004) regarding the production of post-apartheid identity in newspaper discourses. In contrast, Verwey and Quayle’s (2012) study on the production of a post-apartheid Afrikaner identity is situated in a private context, such as social events at the participants’ homes known as the *braai*. The difference between the public and private spaces is that they influence and shape the data in a certain way. In the case of the Verwey and Quayle’s (2012) study, participants felt more relaxed within the comfort of their homes and were more inclined to speak openly, as opposed to Steyn’s (2004) study where participants were more careful of what they said and published. My data is collected from an online public space, but the option to use pseudonyms for your username provides a sense of anonymity and privacy while simultaneously allowing the freedom to speak one’s mind. Therefore, my participants, like Verwey & Quayle’s (2012), speak more openly and explicitly in ways which they might not have had their identities been known.

The websites from which I derived the majority of my research data include [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com), [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org), and [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com), as well as [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) (*Mail & Guardian Online*). Other websites include [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za)



and [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com). The majority of the commentaries for this data analysis chapter derive from the websites [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) and [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za). The website known as [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) is an online rugby community website, focusing on various aspects of rugby such as upcoming matches, tournaments, and previous match results, with a dedicated discussion forum, whereas [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) serves as a platform for political issues, investigative reporting, South African news, art, music and popular culture. Finally, the website [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org) is an online infertility support website aimed at helping couples who have problems conceiving children without medical help. Websites such as [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com) and [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com) provide a broader and general discussion platform where the users are not specific, such as specific gender or ethnic groups. They consist mainly of ‘user generated content’ where individuals have to register or sign up to post comments. Anyone is free to start a discussion about any topic if they are registered on the website. However, the website, [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za) is more specific as it aims to provide news on South Africa’s latest technological and business updates. Certain voices in the commentaries were also more dominant than others on this website.

Most of the data derive from the websites [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com), [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org) and [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za), as I found that these forums produced the most comments relating to the Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song. These participants stood out as the comments which they provided were the most dense and insightful. Dominant voices from [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) include *heineken*, *LordHope* and *psychic duck*. Voices from [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org) and [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) include *Maryna*, *Gwen*, *Alchemist*, *HelenC*, as well as *Das H*, *NickG\_RSA*, *Les Wil* and *John Bond*. Other voices from [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com) include *Mark Hurlin Shelton* as well as *Garyvdh* and *Picard* from [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za). Other contributing voices from [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com) include *The Finest*.

In the analysis of the research data, participants such as *LordHope*, *Heineken*, *psychic duck* and *callsign.springbok* evoke white discourses which are not surprising given that they are predominantly drawn from websites such as [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) and [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za). Many of the participants also claim female identities such as *Maryna*, *Gwen*, *readymom*, *Babyshev* and *Barbara* as these commentaries are drawn from [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org). It is thus evident that the context and readership of the websites from which the comments originate need to be considered as these determine the dominant voice and various identities within the online comment sections.

The commentaries are responses to various articles relating to the three court cases surrounding Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song, as well as Malema singing the song on various occasions, stretching from April 2010 to September 2011, with one forum continuing until March 2012. Hence, the time period of the commentaries correlate with this timeline as it stretches from April 27, 2010 to September 21, 2011. The commentaries from the first article from [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com), published on April 27, 2010, revolve around the interdict filed against Malema by the North Gauteng High Court, temporarily banning the singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song.

The commentaries from the second article from [www.facebook.com](http://www.facebook.com) are a response to the interview Malema had on the talk show which handles current affairs known as *Interface*. Various socio-economic issues were dealt with, including Malema's Equality Court hearing on September 12, 2011. The commentaries deriving from the website [www.jamiiforums.com](http://www.jamiiforums.com) are in response to the expulsion of Malema as the ANCYL president due to Malema stating that a change in government is needed in Botswana and claiming it to be a 'puppet regime' (Chauke, 2011). These commentaries also take place after the three court cases involving Julius Malema. The commentaries from the two articles deriving from the [www.mybroadband.co.za](http://www.mybroadband.co.za) website also pertain to the North Gauteng High Court ruling which placed a ban on the song, as well as the interpretation of the song as a 'chant'. Finally, all commentaries from the [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za) website are in response to the two articles associated with the final court hearing against Malema in 2011.

The reasons why I have chosen these websites is because these sites provided a range of responses to one text as many of the comments were extended and dense, providing much data on the topic. The commentaries link to organizing themes and represent significant ideas which reinforce the broader global theme, which is the *Fear of Malema*. My analysis does not focus on the interactive context of these commentaries and the way they draw or 'interact' with each other in the form of 'replies'. Rather, I am treating the comments as a single corpus, the analysis of which gives insight into the overriding concerns, issues and broader social discourses with respect to Malema and what he signifies for the predominantly white and/or middle class participants who frequent these discussion lists. It is for this reason that I have adopted a combination of thematic and discourse analysis as my methodology.

Table 5.1. below is an overview of the corpus of my data. Table 5.1., indicates the name of each website, the time period when the data was collected, the total number of comments and

participants for each website, as well as the pseudonyms of each participant used for each discussion forum.

**Table 5.1: Websites and participants**

| <b>Title of website</b>  | <b>Title of article</b>                                   | <b>Time period of data</b>              | <b>Total number of comments</b> | <b>Number of participants in discussion forum</b> | <b>Pseudonyms of participants used for discussion</b>  |
|--|---|---|---------------------------------|---|--|
| <a href="http://www.mybroadband.co.za">www.mybroadband.co.za</a> | Judge defends order to ban 'Shoot the Boer' song          | November 29, 2010                       | 8                               | 6   | <i>McT, rorzOr, shakenbake, Kosmik, JungleBoy, blunomore</i>   |
| <a href="http://www.facebook.com">www.facebook.com</a>           | The 'Kill the Boer Song is unacceptable – We stand United | April 27, 2010 – April 12, 2011         | 16                              | 3   | <i>Fatik Superblademan Nomangola, Malcolm Adams, Mark Hurlin Shelton</i>   |
| <a href="http://www.mybroadband.co.za">www.mybroadband.co.za</a> | Shoot the Boer is not a song, court told                  | April 13, 2011 – April 14, 2011         | 31                              | 21  | <i>Rpm, Happy Camper, Fudzy, The_Librarian, gregmcc, Techne, rorzOr, grayston, Garyvdh, Nothxkbi, CorneN, Zzyzyva, TheHiveMind, Ricard, Brawler, Picard, MidnightWizard, doobyscoo, Dixie, LGrey, SEF</i>                                    |
| <a href="http://www.facebook.com">www.facebook.com</a>           | Interface & Melema Shoot the Boer                         | May 22, 2011                            | 1                               | 1   | <i>Dean Carlson</i>  |
| <a href="http://www.mg.co.za">www.mg.co.za</a>                   | Shoot the Boer: 'That's how genocide can start'           | September 12, 2011 – September 13, 2011 | 26                              | 19  | <i>Kwame Mahlaba, Cliff Smith, Les Wil, Myth Os, hilly1963, Rod Baker, suetopham, John Bond, Dave Harris, Grumpy Dunce, Citizen Mntu, Muluvhu Ntshavheni, jean wright, Save SA Vote DA, Concerned Citizen, riman09, Waxfoot, dc, Reducto</i> |

|  |   |   |    |    |   |
|--|---|---|----|----|---|
| <a href="http://www.mg.co.za">www.mg.co.za</a>                   | 'Shoot the Boer': It's hate speech, says judge      | September 12, 2011 – September 16, 2011 | 17 | 12 | <i>Steven, jean wright, NickG_RSA, Das H, v_3, Just Wondering, Rod Baker, Purebreed X, Paul Whelan, Nqaba Nqaba, hilly1963, Happily Emigrated</i> |
| <a href="http://www.fertilicare.org">www.fertilicare.org</a>     | 'Shoot the Boer': It's hate speech, says judge      | September 12, 2011 – September 21, 2011 | 39 | 14 | <i>Maryna, readymom, Sunny, Barbara, Aralia, Denelle, Alchemist, Gwen, juniper, Kam267, Babyshev, Soetie, SOS, HelenC</i>                         |
| <a href="http://www.jamiiforums.com">www.jamiiforums.com</a>     | South Africa's ANC sacks youth leader Julius Malema | November 10, 2011                       | 8  | 8  | <i>Ngambo Ngali, Korosho, ibange, The Finest, Nanu, Jason bourne, Companero, nyamemba</i>   |
| <a href="http://www.therugbyforum.com">www.therugbyforum.com</a> | Julius Malema                                       | October 11, 2011 – March 2, 2012        | 25 | 9  | <i>psychic duck, heineken, LordHope, Sker, stormer2010, gingergenius, lucky number 7, callsign.springbok, TRF Ezequiel</i>                        |

I have used thematic analysis to structure this chapter. Each section explores the meanings carried by the specific theme, which then draws attention to some of the salient linguistic and discursive choices which participants use to realise these meanings. The analysis explores a range of organizing themes which support the larger global theme which I have entitled, *Fear of Malema*. I argue that the main racialised discourses which realise these themes are *discourses of denigration* and *discourses of victimhood*. The analysis also explores some of the lexical choices and discursive strategies which characterise these discourses, including elements I have labelled, *negative labelling*, *offensive analogies*, *negative evaluations* and *highly emotive vocabulary*. All these various lexical choices and discursive strategies also link to forms of 'othering'.

I have also used a discourse analysis approach to analyse my research data. The reason why I chose to do a discourse analysis was to analyse the broad patterns of talk and linguistic

manifestations within the research data. In my analysis of the various discursive strategies used by the participants, I will draw on the work of Wodak (2006, 2007) and De Cillia *et al.* (1999) which form part of the broader discourses of justification. Wodak (2007) focuses on language and racism and uses a critical discourse analysis to explore various discourses of justification and legitimization within public discourse. I will explore Wodak's (2007) four-level model of context but also look at the use of various strategies such as the *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*, which I found was pervasive in relation to my research data.

Wodak (2006) proposes that strategies of blaming and denying are typically associated with *conflict talk*. These strategies of *blaming* and *denying* focus on the justifying and legitimizing of statements. Hence, these strategies attempt to 'attack' the other participant and construct that person in a negative light, while simultaneously maintaining a positive self-image. Wodak (2006) further argues that there are three modes of argument associated with *blaming* and *conflict talk*. These modes include *personally attacking a person through language*, *attempting to limit the person's 'freedom of expression'*, and finally, *undermining the person's credibility*.

The strategies proposed by De Cillia *et al.* (1999) look at forms of alignment and distancing by drawing on similarities and differences between participants. This links to forms of 'othering'. De Cillia *et al.* (1999) explore four types of 'macro-strategies' associated with discourse. Some of the pervasive strategies include opposing and constructive strategies which set up an 'us' and 'them' contrast between Malema and the participants. Another strategy is the use of a discourse of justification which is similar to the ideas of Wodak (2007). I will draw on the aforementioned strategies proposed by the various authors as a framework for analysis, but I will add my own strategies – which emerge from this analysis – as well.

The discourses emerging from these online comment sections evoke a fear linked to discourses of apartheid, for example, the *swart gevaar* ('black danger') and pertains to the same threat participants perceive black people as representing. Other racialised discourses include those which refer to the *mismanagement of South Africa* and the *out-group threat*. The online commentaries evoke a fear of 'black power', with Julius Malema as a signifier of this 'black power'.

## 5.2. Thematic analysis

In this section, I argue that the overriding global theme for the data in this corpus can be titled *Fear of Malema*. This global theme is supported by a number of organizing themes which are presented in Table 5.2. below, together with a list of basic themes, as well as key terms and phrases which realise this global theme. These key words and phrases served as codes and thus emerged as significant in the thematic analysis process. The global theme captures the overt concern of fear of the participants in this data about their own well-being, as well as the well-being of South Africa if Malema had to come into power. Participants express their fears about the current condition of South Africa while Malema is the president of the ANCYL, as well as a hypothetical fear of what would happen if Malema were to become president of South Africa. This hypothetical fear is further extended through an analogy between Julius Malema and Robert Mugabe, and by extension, a comparison between South Africa and Zimbabwe. This analogy serves to emphasize the similarities between Malema and Mugabe, as well as Malema's destructive capabilities if he were to attain presidential power.

Table 5.2. contains the global theme for this chapter and provides an overview of all the various organizing themes, basic themes and associated codes.

**Table 5.2: Themes**

| <b>Global theme: Fear of Malema</b>                  |   |
|--|---|
| <b>Organizing themes</b>                             |   |
| The denigration of Malema and the ANC as incompetent |   |
| <b>Basic themes:</b>                                 | <b>Codes:</b>   |
| 1. Malema is stupid                                  | idiot, clown, three brain cells, dumb, broken English, fool |
| 2. ANC is stupid                                     | feeble-minded, dim-witted, dumb and thick                   |
| 3. Malema is trash                                   | trash, disgrace, wannabe, egomaniac, judgment               |
| 4. Malema has no respect for the judicial system     | disciplinary hearing, western law, court of law, court room |
| The denigration of Malema as racist                  |   |
| 5. Malema causes rifts                               | rift, thorn, drive me away from here, I don't               |

|   |   |
|---|---|
|   | belong  |
| 6. Malema is racist                           | revenge, racist, whites murdered, threat  |
| Malema is dangerous                           |   |
| 7. Malema is dangerous because he is powerful | Robert Mugabe, Robert Mugabe support, ANC support, Malema cannot be disciplined by the ANC, power |
| 8. Malema has a mass of uneducated followers  | uneducated masses, massive following, voice of the poor   |
| 9. Malema is destroying the country           | next President  |
| Fear of victimisation                         |   |
| 10. Genocide                                  | murdering of farmers, kill the Jews, the Holocaust, fear, killing, the Nazis                      |
| 11. Racism in South Africa                    | South Africa torn apart by race   |
| 12. History                                   | heritage, apartheid is to blame   |

In the rest of the chapter, I discuss these organizing themes in more detail under the organizing themes, *The denigration of Malema and the ANC as incompetent*, *The denigration of Malema as racist*, *Malema is dangerous* and *Fear of victimization*. I have organized the discussion in this way because these organizing themes group together the various basic themes. The basic themes in turn summarize the various terms and phrases which serve as codes within the data. The quotations which I used as examples are numbered as they appear in Appendix A.

### 5.3. The denigration of Malema and the ANC as incompetent

#### 5.3.1. Malema is stupid

The first basic theme that I will discuss is one which carries the meaning of *Malema is stupid*. Similar to the other basic themes in this data such as *ANC is stupid*, *Malema is trash* and *Malema has no respect for the judicial system*, this theme picks up on the way in which the participants have personalised their comments about Malema, as well as the ANC and their perceived lack of intelligence and worthiness. Throughout the data, it is evident that

participants constructed Julius Malema in a negative light through the use of certain linguistic and discursive resources.

I would argue that the most common discursive strategies for this purpose are the use of *negative labelling*, as well as *negative analogies*, as shown by the analysis which follows. These *strategies of blaming* draw on the work of Wodak (2006), associated with *conflict talk*. The participants personally ‘attack’ Malema while simultaneously providing justification for this linguistic and discursive onslaught. The effect of these strategies, I argue, is to denigrate and belittle Malema and the ANC, thereby attempting to diminish their power. In this way, the data presented here draws on what I have referred to as a *discourse of denigration*, one of the main discourses the participants draw on in their construction of Malema. This amounts to the concept of ‘othering’ where certain derogatory labels are placed on Malema and the ANC (Blommaert, 2005: 205). This form of ‘othering’ is also similar to Wodak’s (2006) work which focuses on *blaming* associated with *conflict talk*.

In the basic themes, *Malema is stupid* and *ANC is stupid*, Malema and the ANC are negatively constructed on a personal level through the use of terms such as, *idiot*, *fool*, *clown*, *three brain cells*, as well as *dim-witted* and *feeble-minded* (see Appendix A, subsections 1-14 for further evidence of this argument). The term *idiot* is a recurring term used by participants such as *heineken* and *LordHope* and appears up to eight times in the data.

### 1. *heineken*:

“...and everywhere I go you hear more and more people saying he's an **idiot** and stuff like that... To me it looks like people's eyes are slowly opening up...” (1 March, 2012, 1:25pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

### 2. *LordHope*:

“Julius Malema is an **idiot**, it is mind staggering if you listen to things he says...” (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

The term *idiot* is one of the key terms which participants use to construct Malema in a negative light. In this case, Malema is constructed by individuals such as *heineken* and



**LordHope** as a stupid and senseless person who should not be taken seriously, thereby contributing to his perception of incompetence. Thus, Malema is belittled. Malema is also perceived as somebody who should not gain a high political position and obtain more power because he is as an idiot and would not make adequate decisions. For example, **LordHope** states:

**3. LordHope:**

“...either is a very very intelligent man (which I fear, I really hope he is the **idiot** that he seems, otherwise he is really, really dangerous) or the biggest **idiot** in politics.” (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**4. LordHope:**

“Then again if he is a harmless **idiot** I hope he stays right where he is, we don't want a harmful **idiot** with his power...” (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

The participants also create an analogy between South Africa and Zimbabwe to emphasize the possibilities of what could happen to South Africa if Malema becomes president. This is a strategy which I have referred to as *offensive analogies*. For example:

**5. psychic duck:**

“...tell me if this **idiot** has a chance of getting into power and turning all Nelson Mandela's good work into another Zimbabwe.” (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

The participant mentions “Nelson Mandela’s good work”, which refers to the sacrifice Mandela made for democracy and freedom in South Africa. The participant suggests that if Malema gains more power, for example, as president of South Africa, Malema will turn a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa into a tyrant-ruled Zimbabwe. The commentary is a reflection of De Cillia *et al.*'s (1999) *perpetuation* and *justification* strategies - a form of alignment is created with Nelson Mandela’s vision as the participant **psychic duck** attempts to maintain a non-racial position within the text. Thus, by using Mandela’s name in this way

the participant creates an alignment of his views with the former president's views, thereby serving to alienate and set Malema apart as 'the other'.

Similar to the work of Verwey and Quayle (2012), this discourse of fear is underpinned by apartheid ideologies, racialised discourses of black mismanagement, as well as the generalized incompetence of black individuals. Through the use of *negative labelling* the participant metaphorically paints a 'before and after' image of South Africa, while at the same time highlighting the fact that Malema should not become president.

Malema is also referred to as a *fool*, which is a synonym for idiot within the research data. This is another example of *negative labelling*. The term *fool* only appears once within the research data and is thus not as prevalent as the term *idiot*, which appears a total number of eight times (as mentioned before). For example:

#### **11. *psychic duck*:**

*"is this TOTAL fool out of the picture for good?" (11 November, 2011, 1:34pm)*  
[\(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>\)](http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema)



Other negative evaluations used to denigrate Julius Malema as stupid include him being referred to as the *clown* of the ANC, *dumb*, and having only *three brain cells*. For example:

#### **7. *callsign.springbok*:**

*"it's not just Malema, it's the whole group that he represents - gormless, corrupt, nouveau riche. yes, he is the clown in the political circus - and he's already done damage but [by] lowering the bar so far and making JZ look good." (11 November, 2011, 2:42pm)* (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

The forms of 'othering' are reinforced through loaded words which carry strong negative connotations, such as "gormless", "corrupt", and "nouveau riche". In the example, Malema and the ANC are not only construed as unintelligent, rich and corrupt, but also as a circus. This suggests that there is no order and structure within the political party itself and everything is seen as fun and games. Malema is constructed as the *clown*, which suggests that everything that he says within the media is only stupid and entertaining. The fact that he is

compared to a clown suggests that even though he is a political figure, he keeps making a mockery of himself and therefore should not be taken seriously.

The following commentaries (see Appendix A, subsections 8-10) produced by participants **Garyvdh** and **John Bond**, belittle Malema. The terms *three brain cells*, and *dumb* are further examples of how the negative construction of Malema's stupidity is referenced as an ongoing and recurring phenomenon. For example:

#### 8. **Garyvdh:**

*"I suspect that pretty [pretty] much any rational thought Malema might have had amongst his **three brain cells** has been drowned out by the incessant chanting and revolutionary singing that is going on in his mind like a buzzing bee since the day he was born."* (13 April, 2011, 3:13pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

#### 9. **John Bond:**

*"Black lawyers (for Malema, the ANC and the State - all funded by the State) will get rich proving that Malema is **dumb**..."* (12 September, 2011, 7:03pm)  
(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

#### 10. **Garyvdh:**

*"It's a wonder that he can even string [string] three syllables together let alone attach any meaning to them... in Pedi or in his **broken English**. Must be like a customer trying to book a flight while standing next to the runway at JFK."* (13 April, 2011, 3:13pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

In the above example **Garyvdh** emphasizes Malema's stupidity through the term "broken English". Malema is denigrated as an individual with a poor proficiency in his first language which is *Sepedi*, as well as the English language. The effect of these negative identity

constructions is to belittle Malema by suggesting he is incompetent and stupid, which further denigrates him as ‘uneducated’ as well as ‘backward’.

### 5.3.2. ANC is stupid

Participants within the research data not only construct Malema as incompetent but also denigrate the ANC as stupid as well. This is evident below in commentaries 12 and 13 below. The participants within the commentaries once again make use of negative labelling such as *feeble-minded*, *dim-witted*, as well as *dumb and thick*, to construct the ANC in a negative light. For example:

#### 12. Les Wil:

“Perhaps the **feeble minded** and illiterate Winnie Mandela can take some lessons from this judgment. She's the one that needs to be educated, not the court.” (12 September, 2011, 2:28pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

#### 15. Les Wil:

“To the **dim witted** senior ANC members who testified in court. You have got to be **dumb and thick** not to realize that the song constitutes hate speech and is racist in it's intent.” (12 September, 2011, 2:28pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

These evaluations have strong negative connotations and are used in order to denigrate the ANC and to construct them as unintelligent and incompetent, thus making them seem ‘unfit’ for their current political positions within the ANC ranks. This resonates with the aforementioned basic theme *Malema is stupid*, where participants construct Malema as an incompetent individual who is dangerous because he has political power at his disposal. It is also similar to Steyn (2004) and Verwey & Quayle’s (2012) analysis of ‘black incompetence and mismanagement’ as a feature of ‘white talk’.

### 5.3.3. Malema is trash

The third basic theme entitled, *Malema is trash* not only personally attacks Malema through denigration but also undermines his credibility and character as an individual with political

power. This is realised through words such as *trash*, *disgrace*, *wannabes*, *egomaniac* and *judgement*. This defamation of character is further realised in the basic theme entitled, *Malema has no respect for the judicial system*. A linguistic resource which the participants use throughout the data is *emotive language* in the form of *negative labelling/evaluations* and *offensive analogies*. These codes are similar to the previously explored codes such as *clown*, *three brain cells* and *fool*. These words are also negatively loaded. For example:

**15. Zyzzyva:**

*"I must say i found the "chanting" and speeches outside the courthouse by Malema and Winnie quite disturbing. Can't believe trashlike that are allowed to lead anything. Circus i tell ya."* (13 April, 2011, 5:24pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

The participant, *Zyzzyva*, uses the metaphor 'political circus' to describe the ANC, which can be seen as an extension of the previous code *clown*. The linguistic and discursive resources that the participants utilize suggest that Malema and the ANC are 'unfit' to represent South Africa as political party members and also inadequate to possess leadership power. This once again resonates with the previous basic themes *Malema is stupid*, as well as, *ANC is stupid*. Other examples extending the negative construction of Malema include:

**16. TRF Ezequial:**

*"Malema is a disgrace for humanity and nothing better than Mugabe"* (1 March, 2012, 12:36pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**5.3.4. Malema has no respect for the judicial system**

All these constructions of *negative labelling* and *negative evaluations/analogies* serve to index a *discourse of denigration* which aims to 'trash' Malema's moral and intellectual character. The discourse of denigration is further extended below in commentaries 19 to 20. This denigration serves to construct Malema as immoral and as having no respect for law or courts. In this case, participants such as *Garyvdh* and *Rod Baker* position Malema as an individual who has no regard for the rules and regulations of authority pertaining to the 'hate

speech' judgment. This reinforces comment 15, where Malema (and the ANC) are compared to trash, suggesting that they are worthless individuals and should be discarded like rubbish. For example:

**19. Garyvdh:**

*“Malema will just ignore the **judgment** as he has ignored all other **judgments** against him. He will refuse to make any amends or apologise.”* (13 April, 2011, 8:32pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**20. Rod Baker:**

*“Darren Scott immediately apologised for swearing at a fellow employee, it will be interesting to see if Malema has moral guts to match, now that a **court of law** has found him **guilty of hate speech**.”* (12 September, 2011, 12:54pm)  
(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

This denigration is construed in commentaries 28 and 31 below. Discourses of denigration are realised through the construction of Malema as unrepentant and lacking a sense of respect towards the South African judicial system. The participants **Das H** and **NickG\_RSA** make use of negative evaluations which suggests Malema's attitude towards the courts. For example:

**28. Das H:**

*“So Malema asked that his **disciplinary hearing** be postponed due to the **hate speech judgement**, but does not even appear when said **judgement** is given. Maybe he was out buying a new rolex or something.”* (12 September, 2011, 12:37pm)  
(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

### 31. NickG\_RSA:

*“He was probably not in the **court room** as he over slept, languishing in his luxury home, while the majority of our citizens sleep in fear in their shacks!”* (12 September, 2011, 12:20pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

It is evident that not only is Malema denigrated as having a low-regard for the South African judicial system, but he is also denigrated as having no respect for Western law and politics. Further, these commentaries introduce the idea that Malema is only concerned with a materialistic and luxurious lifestyle, i.e. not with the poor or the good of the country. These negative generalizations are realised through various negative evaluations and various discursive strategies. The effect of these strategies is to ‘other’ in the form of sarcasm.

In commentary 29, *Picard* uses “them” to create an ‘out-group’ into which Malema and all black individuals and corrupt leaders are placed. This positioning is reinforced by certain statements such as, “African politicians [politicians] operates on African politics”, and “Western law and politics are despicable to them”. Western law is held up as the uncontroversial standard against which all action is measured and where white norms are naturalised in the interests of ‘humanity’.

### 29. Picard:

*“Because formal law is irrelevant to him. African politicians [politicians] operates on African politics. **Western law** and politics are despicable to them.”* (14 April, 2011, 8:34pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

### 30. Picard:

*“...black people know that they are wrong wrt [about] **black politicians [politicians] actions**. But they see it as a necessary [necessary] evil for **black people's greater good**. Yet white see black Africans' actions as despicable in the light of humanity's greater*

good.” (14 April, 2011, 8:34pm)  
(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

The comments made by the participant **Picard** are also fuelled with *emotive language*. **Picard** describes Malema’s perception of Western law and politics as “despicable to them”, further reinforcing Malema’s opposing perception of Western politics or ‘white law’. **Picard** mentions “African politics”, which suggest law and regulations favouring black individuals. **Picard** states that “African politics” is a “necessary [necessary] evil for black people's greater good.” This suggests that all previously oppressed black individuals will now prosper through ‘political favouritism’ (“African politics”) brought upon by politicians such as Julius Malema, a signifier of ‘black power’.

#### 5.4. The denigration of Malema as racist

##### 5.4.1. Malema causes rifts

The two basic themes, *Malema causes rifts* and *Malema is racist* explore racialised discourses which are underpinned by the overriding threat of Malema’s power. Much like the aforementioned themes, these themes are further realised through *discourses of denigration* and relate to Wodak’s (2007) concept known as *victimhood*, which includes the *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*. This is realised through terms and phrases such as “drive me away from here”, “I don’t belong”, “revenge”, “racist”, as well as “all whites will be murdered” and “threat”. The discourses of victimhood are also similar to one of De Cillia *et al.*’s (1999) ‘macro-strategies’ associated with discourse. In this case, a *constructive strategy* of ‘sameness’ is used by the target group in the commentaries to emphasize shared concerns of safety and the fear of Malema.

In the commentaries below, the participants **Babyshev** and **Maryna** reinforce the racialised discourse of Malema driving white individuals out of the country. While the participant **Babyshev** does not self-identify as white, **Maryna** confirms this identity. However, both participants express similar feelings which relate to their fear of having to leave this “beautiful country” because they are white. For example:

##### 23. **Babyshev:**



“I love this beautiful country and I will die here and I will not allow people like Julius Malema to **drive me away from here.**” (13 September, 2011, 4:52pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**24. Maryna:**

“My point is just that as a white person in South Africa, it seems as if people like Malema and his followers and even members of the ANC are forever saying **I don't belong** here and that I should pack my things and leave.” (13 September, 2011, 4:55pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**25. Maryna:**

“I hate the thought of ever having to leave the country of my heart, ancestors and passport behind to become pieces of flotsam and jetsam in a place **I don't belong.**” (13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

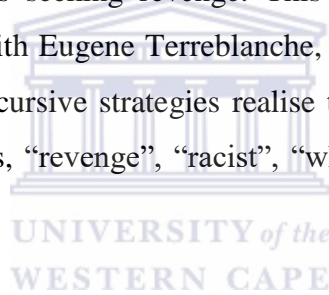
In the examples above, **Babyshev** and **Maryna** create a polarizing negative and positive image of South Africa. The participants construct a ‘tyrant-driven’ South Africa, while simultaneously declaring their devotion for South Africa. This positive polarization is realised through evaluations such as, “I love this beautiful country and I will die here”, as well as “I hate the thought of ever having to leave the country of my heart, ancestors and passport”. Malema is also constructed as a politician exhibiting the same despotic tactics as Robert Mugabe. This is another example extending the Julius Malema and Robert Mugabe analogy. Once again, these discourses link to the *discourse of mismanagement* which in turn reinforces the *discourse of fear*.

**5.4.2. Malema is racist**

Malema as a racist is another dominant theme which finds expression in sentiments such as Malema seeking revenge for the atrocities of apartheid. This relates to Wodak's (2007)

*victim-perpetrator reversal strategy* which constructs Malema as the oppressive force and the white minority as the oppressed victims. *Just Wondering* also draws on an emotive comparison between Malema and Eugene Terreblanche to reinforce the construction of Malema as a racist. It is interesting that, just as *psychic duck* (comment 5) associates himself with Mandela (a black leader) to construct himself as not being racist, here *Just Wondering* draws a cross-racial comparison between Eugene Terreblanche and Julius Malema, as though to distance himself from white right-wing extremism. The victims and perpetrators are also explicitly and implicitly mentioned within the commentaries through the use of direct naming or through the use of pronouns. The effect of the victimhood strategy also allows for foregrounding and back-grounding of participants within the commentaries as either active subjects or passive objects.

The racialised discourses are evoked through the implied victimization of white people, where Malema is constructed as seeking revenge. This negative identity construction is reinforced through an analogy with Eugene Terreblanche, as well as the act of violent land-grabs against white farmers. Discursive strategies realise this racist positioning through the use of terms and phrases such as, “revenge”, “racist”, “whites murdered” and “threat”. For example:



**76. Fatik Superblademan Nomangola:**

*“The likes of Malema are more interested in getting their **revenge** more than bridging the gap between the rich and the poor.”* (April 12, 2011, 1:18pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

**77. Just Wondering:**

*“I’ve said it all along, Malema is just as much a **racist** as Eugene Terreblanche was. Good judgment by our courts.”* (12 September, 2011, 12:42pm)  
(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

**78. psychic duck:**

*“...he is an absolute **racist** who wants [to] depose white people of their land and has given several hate speeches on white people...”* (10 November, 2011, 5:48pm)  
(<http://www.rugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

The *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy* is further extended through the commentaries produced by **HelenC**. The commentaries produced by **HelenC** and **Mark Hurlin Shelton** evoke a ‘fearful voice’, as white individuals feel threatened by Malema’s tactics, which is reinforced by an analogy with the ‘Rwanda mass-genocide’ tragedy, as well as the ‘Siener van Rensburg visions’. Nicolaas Pieter Johannes *Siener* van Rensburg was a Boer (farmer) prophet who accurately predicted various events before his death, including the political transition of South Africa. His visions mainly concerned the wellbeing of the Boers and Germany. Hence, he was given the nickname *Siener* which means ‘soothsayer’ in Afrikaans (*Siener van Rensburg: Visions of the Future*, [Online]). The concept of victimhood is reinforced by the explicit referencing of the victims and perpetrators within the fearful commentaries. For example:

**82. HelenC:**

*“This whole political situation upsets me so much. I have family who were murdered on their farm. Besides that, I did research on the subject (a couple of years ago) and found the theory of the Siener van Rensburg visions (long story short- theory goes **all whites will be murdered a la Rwanda**). (16 September, 2011, 4:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**83. HelenC:**

*“I think the constant **"threat"** makes me feel like I'm on borrowed time. It makes this waiting game feel even more urgent and I wonder if Malema and co ever think about the consequences of their actions on individuals.” (16 September, 2011, 4:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**85. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“If i was previously 80 percent sure that the **Threat** of Violent Land grabs was real- i am now four hundred percent certain. People be prepared- i have heard it said that there was an attck planned for before June- and i strongly think that a large farm*

*attack may occur during the world cup itself...*” (May 4, 2010, 2:47pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

In commentary 83 as well as commentaries 76-78, Julius Malema is explicitly mentioned as the perpetrator. The various commentaries in which Malema is explicitly mentioned (commentaries 76-78 and 83) foreground Malema and construct him as the violent and aggressive participant, which in turn constructs the victims as passive victims. This means that Malema is the active antagonist whereas the online participants are the passive and helpless recipients of this onslaught.

## **5.5. Malema is dangerous**

### **5.5.1. Malema is dangerous because he is powerful**

The manifestation of power is embedded in many of the previously discussed organizing themes (see Appendix A for further examples). Similarly, the basic themes *Malema is dangerous because he is powerful*, *Malema has a mass of uneducated followers*, and *Malema is destroying the country*, are dominated by the fear of the demise of the country if Malema came into power. This cluster of basic themes once again has the effect of denigrating Malema and serves to reinforce the broader fear of ‘black power’. This is realised through aforementioned strategies which draw on Wodak’s (2006) strategies associated with *blaming*. However, the commentaries also speak to the work of De Cillia *et al.* (1999), in terms of *opposing strategies*, where a barrier or in-group (participants/victims) and out-group (Malema and the ANC) are created within the commentaries which aim to exclude Malema. This barrier of exclusion is further realised through pronouns such as “they” and “you”. This can be seen in the following analysis.

Malema is constructed as a powerful individual across the online commentaries through various discursive strategies such as the pervasive negative analogy with Mugabe, the reference to Malema’s ANC backing and the support from the “uneducated masses”, as well as the exemplification of Malema as destroying the country and so forth. The participants also make use of various linguistic strategies in order to realise Malema’s power, which include various forms of denigration as well as an analogy with Robert Mugabe. The analogy between Julius Malema and Robert Mugabe is once again evoked by the participants, *psychic*

*duck* and *Mark Hurlin Shelton*, in order to construct Malema as a powerful but despotic individual like Mugabe.

In the commentaries below, *psychic duck* and *Mark Hurlin Shelton* occupy a similar position constructing South Africa as in a state of despair. This is reinforced through words such as, “saved” and “The Awful shameful terrible Truth”. The participant, *Mark Hurlin Shelton*, constructs Malema as having the backing of Mugabe through the phrases, “best friend basis with Robert Mugabe”, as well as “dangerous close Alliance with Malema” which reinforces the implied support from Mugabe.

In commentary 36, the phrases “crazed demagogue” and “angry-malcontented mob behind him”, not only once again reinforce Mugabe’s support as a leader, but also suggest that Julius Malema is using his power to manipulate volatile and impressionable crowds, who are in most cases the “uneducated masses”. Malema is constructed as appealing to the emotions and prejudices of these masses. In essence, the aim of these linguistic and discursive constructions is to realise not only the various negative positions of Malema, but also to emphasize Malema’s power thereby reinforcing the broader social discourse of fear of the participants within the data. For example:

#### **34. *psychic duck*:**

*“is South Africa now permanently saved from **Mugabe** take two?” (11 November, 2011, 1:34pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

#### **36. *Mark Hurlin Shelton*:**

*“Malema is scot free- and one of the most powerful people in the ANC- he has a **angry-malcontented mob behind him, Robert Mugabe behind him** (with Red China –behind Him-!! and he stands like a **crazed demagogue with Southern Africa doused in Gasoline, and JuJu Boy holding the matches!!!**” (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm) (<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)*

**37. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“The Awful shameful terrible Truth is that our government actually admires and are on a best friend basis with **Robert Mugabe**- and he is in a **dangerous** close Alliance with Malema (lets call it the M and M-) for a **forced violent take over of White owned South African land.**”* (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

**5.5.2. Malema has a mass of uneducated followers**

The participant known as *Skер* has an overtly aggressive response towards Malema. *Skер* is clearly fearful of Malema’s power (“Yeah it's really worrying...”) and at the same time he creates a polarizing position between himself and the Malema supporters through the use of exclusive pronouns, such as ‘they’. This polarization aims at distancing himself from those who back Malema and is realised through the phrases, “the uneducated masses”, “they simply won’t listen”, and “They still believe the ANC is some messiah”.

**86. Sker:**

*“Yeah it's really worrying to see that he actually is hugely popular among **the uneducated masses** because these are the guys who vote for the ANC. It’s frustrating as well because no matter what you do or say **they simply won’t listen** or be persuaded otherwise. **They still believe the ANC is some messiah** that will free them from poverty and discrimination.”* (11 October, 2011, 9:33pm)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**87. psychic duck:**

*“I’ve heard worrying things that this guy Julius Malema the ANC Youth Leader, has a **massive following** among the unemployed black people in South Africa...”*(11 October, 2011, 5:48pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

### 5.5.3. Malema is destroying the country

The next basic theme under discussion is *Malema is destroying the country*. The online commentaries below evoke the same concerns of safety, as well as the overriding fear of Malema. This *constructive strategy* of ‘sameness’, which speaks to the work of De Cillia *et al.* (1999), is once again used. The theme explores the hypothetical fear of Malema attaining presidential power and transforming the country into a tyrant-driven South Africa. The use of negative labelling and negative analogies not only reinforce Malema’s power, but also realises the underpinning fear of ‘black power’. For example:

#### 61. Mark Hurlin Shelton:

“...malema supporters are confident that Julius will be voted in as **next President**- people forget your little Pet party- you have to vote for the largest Opposition party that will make a difference to Stop him...” (4 May, 2010, 2:58pm) (<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

The above comment evokes a bleak dismissal of hope through the use of phrases such as, “make a difference to Stop him”, and “malema supporters are confident”. These terms emphasize the well-being of South Africa by preventing Malema from attaining presidential power, which draws on the broader fear of ‘black power’.

The above commentaries, stretching across the three aforementioned organizing themes, emphasise Malema’s power in the form of tyranny and also exemplify Malema’s backing from Mugabe and the unemployed black people in South Africa. The participants produce various racialised and denigrating discourses with the aim of constructing Malema in a negative light and as a dangerously powerful individual. These discursive and linguistic choices in turn shape how the text is perceived and internalized.

In terms of how the commentaries link to the broader social context, I would argue that they index a broader fear (among certain racial groups or classes) of ‘black power’. Malema is the signifier of this power. The participants produce the texts by drawing on various racialised discourses which draw on a hypothetical fear that Malema might come into power and ruin South Africa. In this way, their discourses resemble that of Steyn (2004) and Verwey &

Quayle (2012) who identify various racialised discourses associated with ‘white talk.’ This includes *dislocation*, which looks at the Afrikaner’s fear of losing their socio-economic and political position in the ‘new’ South Africa, as well as their fear of genocide and construction of black people as the out-group threat.

## 5.6. Fear of victimization

### 5.6.1. Genocide

The fear of Malema is construed with the organizing theme, *Fear of victimization*. This organizing theme not only highlights the participants’ fear of genocide at the hands of Malema, but also explores the broader issue of race in South Africa. The first basic theme which I will be exploring is entitled, *Genocide*. This theme is similar to the aforementioned basic themes as the commentaries express racialised discourses which reinforce the hypothetical fear of Malema attaining presidential power, which will have negative consequences such as the destabilization of South Africa. I identified the following phrases, “the Holocaust”, “fear”, “killing” and “the Nazis” as significant. This basic theme, along with the basic theme entitled, *Racism in South Africa*, both contain commentaries which once again speak to Wodak’s (2007) *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy* and which in turn express *discourses of victimhood*.

The theme entitled ‘Genocide’ focuses on the way in which the participants express their ‘fear’ of being persecuted because of their race and succumbing to mass genocide, should Malema attain more power. This is evident in the following analysis. The commentaries are dominated by only two participants namely, *Alchemist* and *Gwen*. The use of *negative analogies* is once again used to express fear by not only comparing the current situation in South Africa to the Holocaust, but also to the Rwandan genocide. This strategy links to Wodak’s (2007) model of context known as *knowledge maintenance*. This looks at how participants make sense of their reality through knowledge, remembering and so forth. In the case of the commentaries below, *Alchemist* makes use of his subjective knowledge of past events to substantiate his argument. For example:



**97. Alchemist:**

*“NOTHING justifies **murdering of farmers**....NOTHING and any song that promotes and justifies it, is plain WRONG. I am jewish and i relate strongly to this...” (16 September, 2011, 10:10am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**98. Maryna: (In reply to Alchemist)**

*“I wonder what would happen if some older Germans (and their political leaders) were to get together at a public rally and then sing "**Kill the Jews**", saying they're just reminiscing about the past..?” (18 September, 2011, 4:50pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**99. Alchemist:**

*“Have to say, **killing** is an aboration [aberration] to the jewish belief. Even killing animals is v strict and laws governing how its done. As much suffering and genocide that was done to us, we have never had a song saying "kill the germans and poles" for **killing** us????” (18 September, 2011, 9:50pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**92. Alchemist:**

*“I don't think anyone can compare **the holocaust** to apartheid, but they can to Rwanda and let's b honest, it was just a few yrs back when a minority of a million Ppl were slautered [slaughtered]. So its not so far from our reality esp when ppl in power start saying that whites r rapists and entice ppl to kill them?”(19 September, 2011, 3:02pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

In the commentaries 97, 99 and 92, *Alchemist* reinforces the *discourse of victimhood* by referring to the persecution of the Jews during World War II. The commentaries speak to De Cillia *et al.*'s (1999) *constructive strategies* which are evident through the use of inclusive pronouns such as “we”, “us” and identifying himself as Jewish. This is evident through the phrases, “As much suffering and genocide that was done to us”, and “we have never had a song saying”. This form of self-identification is similar to my previous analysis of the basic theme *Malema causes rifts*, where the participant *Maryna* self-identifies as white.

However, this position of victimization constructed by *Alchemist* is countered by *Gwen* who comes with a strong counter position and argues that the whites cannot be compared to Jewish victims as they are not innocent and “do not have such clean hands”. The participant *Gwen* further extends this counter position by stating that black people should not be stigmatized as being inclined to murder. This is evident below in the commentaries 94, 95 and 100.

**94. Gwen:**

*“One of the reasons **the Holocaust** is exceptional is scapegoating – Jews were targeted and blamed things that were not in any way of their making. White South Africans do not have such clean hands and I find the attitude of self-pity held by many white South Africans these days to be quite inappropriate.” (19 September, 2011, 10:13am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**95. Gwen:**

*“It is important to remember the **fear** of genocide is not the same thing as being the victim of genocide, and that **fear** is not always rational. Perhaps we could stop to consider how insulting it is to black South Africans to imply that they are so easily moved to commit mass murder, let alone to compare them to Nazis. (19 September, 2011, 10:13am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**100.Gwen:**

*“What I meant to say is that in the context of South African history, the people singing the struggle songs are the oppressed, not the oppressors. In any analogy with **the Nazis**, I’m afraid white South Africans must be compared with **the Nazis** and not with their victims.* (19 September, 2011, 10:13am) (<http://www.ferticare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

The study done by Wodak (2007) draws on participants’ experiences of World War II in Germany and how they responded to various questions about the war. Similarly, the German online newspaper, *Spiegel Online International*, conducted an interview with a German psychoanalyst and World War II survivor known as Harmut Radebolt. The interview was entitled *Nazi Childhood Memories: ‘It’s all still very present’* and focused on questions around the trauma of living in and surviving Nazi-Germany. This is similar to the position occupied by **Gwen** in the above commentaries as sympathy portrayed toward the perpetrators, which in this case are the white South Africans, who are now the ‘victims’, is prohibited.

This is reinforced by reflecting on the interview done with Harmut Radebolt as he denies pity towards Nazi-German soldiers and is quoted as saying, “Coming to terms with one’s own history doesn’t mean that one is automatically exonerated” (*Spiegel Online International*, 2013). Hence, just as many South Africans seek sympathy because they feel ‘under threat’ as a minority, they still need to take into account the actions of white people during the apartheid era. In the exploration of the above commentaries, the Holocaust and Rwanda genocide analogies are used to reinforce the racialised discourses of victimhood against white individuals. The *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*, reflected within the commentaries, focuses on the various farm murders which took place in South Africa as a result of ‘violent land-grabs’ supposedly instigated by Julius Malema, leaving farmers feeling vulnerable (*Shoot the Boer: ‘That’s how a genocide can start’*. (n.d.) [Online]). The participants **Alchemist** and **Maryna** are of assumed white ethnicity and construct themselves as helpless victims awaiting mass slaughter from the out-group threat which is Julius Malema. Hence, the broader discourse of fear is interwoven with various racialised *discourses of victimhood* and discrimination.

### 5.6.2. Racism in South Africa

The next basic theme which I will discuss is entitled, *Racism in South Africa*. The commentaries express various racialised discourses with the focus shifting from South Africa to South African citizens in general. This theme explores the issue of racism in South Africa and how it mainly affects white people. This theme also explores the *discourse of victimhood* where whites who were the former perpetrators of racial discrimination, are now positioned as victims. However, here the counter voice of *Nqaba Nqaba*, like *Gwen*, offers an opposing point of view. Other prevailing discourses include the *mismanagement of South Africa*. This will be explained in the analysis which follows.

#### 104. *Happily Emigrated:*

*“I am so glad I left SA, the racism towards white people is just shocking.”* (12 September, 2011, 1:47pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

#### 105. *Nqaba Nqaba: (In reply to Happily Emigrated)*

*“The racism against black people is equally shocking to me. I don't know about you.”* (15 September, 2011, 1:25pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

#### 106. *Happily Emigrated: (In reply to Nqaba Nqaba)*

*“I totally agree, however, south Africa is a hypocritical country, where racism towards black people is condoned [condemned], as it totally should be, racism towards white people is widely and publicly accepted, that is why south Africa is considered a complete political joke or banana republic in the international world.”* (16 September, 2011, 10:01am) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

#### 101. *Maryna:*

*“Considering the way things are going in SA society, it is little wonder that so many SA citizens end up emigrating elsewhere, taking their families and tax contributions with.”*

(13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

The effect of these discursive constructions is to denigrate South Africa under a black government and simultaneously to exhibit the vice of race within South Africa. In the above commentaries, the discourse of the *mismanagement of South Africa* is realised through *negative labelling*, such as referring to South Africa as a “banana republic”, as well as referring to South Africa as a “complete political joke” (commentary 106). This discourse of mismanagement is further realised in commentary 101, where *Maryna* claims many South African citizens are emigrating due to the current socio-political conditions. Similar to the previously discussed themes, the aim of this denigration is to construct the South African government as incompetent and unable to properly govern itself and make adequate decisions. Once again, these discursive statements construct South Africa in a negative light by construing the country as unstable and uninhabitable for ‘decent’ individuals.

However, the participant *Nqaba Nqaba* in commentary 105 provides a counter position by challenging the notion of victimization toward white people, by stating that racism in South Africa is bidirectional.

*Gwen* also provides a counter voice to the notion of victimization toward white people. *Gwen* also makes use of *negative analogies* by drawing on the ‘Skierlik killer’ incident, as well as the aforementioned ‘Rwanda genocide’ to reinforce her position. The ‘Skierlik killer’ incident took place on 14 January 2008 and involved Johan Nel in a racially motivated killing of a family of four within the Skierlik informal settlement near *Swartruggens* in the North West Province of South Africa (Staff Reporter, 2008).

In commentary 108 below, *Alchemist* also argues the issue of racism is bidirectional by stating, “...it happens both ways, not just **white hatred.....**” Thus, *Alchemist* presents a fearful voice as he feels threatened because his mother was attacked. The aforementioned Jewish self-identification and Holocaust analogy presented by *Alchemist* further reinforces this position.

**107. Gwen:**

“...continually painting people with the “mass murderer” brush is also a form of hate speech. The unpleasant truth is that in this country, when some madman guns down a bunch of random strangers because they are the wrong race, it is usually a **white man behind the trigger**. I'm thinking in particular of the **Skierlik killer**. His bewildered parents insisted that they and he were not racists, but what became very clear is that the boy was **terrified of black people**. One can only speculate as to how many times he heard predictions of genocide and **Rwanda type killings** as he was growing up.” (21 September, 2011, 11:14am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**108. Alchemist: (In reply to Gwen)**

“Yes, maybe **black ppl** havent done the above, but two **black men** broke into my house, tied up my mom, and bit [beat] the cr\*p out of her (she now has a permanent brain injury and is handicapped). they were so busy being violent and hurting her, they never landed up taking anything.....so yes, it wasnt the above, but hello???it **happens both ways, not just white hatred.....**” (21 September, 2011, 12:12pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

### **5.6.3. History**

This section of my research data is similar to the previously explored basic theme entitled, *Genocide*. In the previous section of my data analysis, a specific reference was made to white individuals seeking self-pity and remorse in relation to the hate-crimes perpetuated through various farm killings. The online commentaries explore blaming the crime of apartheid and utilizing this piece of South African history as a ‘scapegoat’ for the current socio-economic disposition of black people. In contrast to the theme *Genocide*, the online commentaries in this theme construct black individuals as the victims seeking self-pity. The participant **Maryna** is a dominant voice in this section of the data, with the commentaries expressing a sense of ‘disguised racism’ as **Maryna** presents a simplistic and distorted perspective on history.

113. **Maryna:**

*“Even though the **legacy of apartheid** (= colonization = whites) **still seems to get blamed** daily by the likes of Malema for all the misery and despair ever experienced by previously disadvantaged South Africans since practically time immemorial, Africans from all over the continent continue to stream across our borders daily - from countries that experienced a lot less oppression.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

114. **Maryna:**

*“As for the lack of education under previously disadvantaged South Africans (I already regret what I’m about to say ): When Van Riebeeck first started a Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, Oxford and Cambridge Universities were already 400 – 500 years old (I’m not of British descent, so this I’m not taking credit here). Before **colonialism** surely there were equal opportunities to all nations on God's earth? Or, as ‘**cradle of mankind**’, Africa might have had a head start. **Nobody could blame Apartheid** or claim to be **previously disadvantaged** back in 1652.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

115. **Maryna:**

*“So without denying any of the **atrocities of the Apartheid regime (1948 - 1994)**, I honestly don't understand at what exact point in time over the past 400 years did it become the responsibility of a **small white minority of colonialists** to teach the alphabet, along with their views on science, philosophy, medicine, law, etc. to the rest of **Africa**? Isn't that a very '**unAfrican**' solution to an **African** problem? **Missionaries** who taught their religious beliefs to **black Africans** have received a lot of blame for 'forcing' their views onto Africa as it is.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

Similar to the commentaries associated with the basic theme *Genocide*, the above commentaries by *Maryna* are also a reflection of Wodak's (2007) *knowledge maintenance strategy*. In the commentaries, the 'disguised racism' is reinforced through *Maryna's* subjective understanding of history. The commentaries pick up on how apartheid is not to blame and that Africans should be grateful toward colonialists. This strategy is also a reflection of Van Dijk's (2003) *disclaimers* as *Maryna* justifies her particular position by framing her comments with statements which distance her from any racist talk. This strategy also allows the commentary to evoke a sympathetic tone, which further attempts to reinforce *Maryna's* assumed position as non-racist. For example, in commentary 114 and 115, *Maryna* states that "I already regret what I'm about to say", and "I honestly don't understand at what exact point in time..."

Similarly, the scholar Camara (2002) suggests that history is always used as the basis for any racist argument. In this case, *Maryna* draws on her understanding of history to justify and strengthen her argument regarding colonialism and apartheid. *Maryna* selectively draws on historical facts to present a narrative about colonialism which constructs whites as benefactors and blacks as beneficiaries and also argues that the blaming by black individuals is 'misplaced' and that they should rather be grateful.

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## 5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the various organizing themes which underpin the global theme, *Fear of Malema*. My main argument is that the emerging discourses evoke a fear of 'black power' in which Julius Malema is the signifier of this power. Participants express a hypothetical fear of what would happen should Malema attain presidential power and ultimately rule South Africa. The broader discourse of fear is similar to the previous chapter of analysis where organizations and individuals such as Afriforum, Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU SA), Freedom Front Plus (FF+) and Judge Colin Lamont feel the song is a form of incitement towards a minority group and share the same fear for the safety of white individuals. However, this data provides insights into a different public space in the form of internet forums, where the *Shoot the Boer* song and related issues are once again entextualized. The online public space also allows for the data to be mediated, as the online forums provide a platform for discussion among participants in relation to the *Shoot the Boer* song and related issues.



I have made use of ideas and concepts proposed by scholars such as Wodak (2006, 2007) and De Cillia *et al.* (1999) as the main theoretical framework for my analysis, as Wodak's (2006, 2007) strategies of *blaming and denying*, as well as the *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy* which constitute the broader *discourses of justification*. Wodak's (2007) *knowledge maintenance* and Van Dijk's (2003) *disclaimers strategy* are rather similar and were most prevalent in the commentaries presented by **Maryna**, as she attempted to be non-racist through presenting a subjective understanding of history.

The various forms of alignment and opposition which I identified were also interesting as they aimed to create alignments between participants who share the same concerns of fear, while simultaneously creating a barrier by excluding and 'othering' Malema and his actions. This is significant as it reflects the four macro-discursive strategies proposed by De Cillia *et al.* (1999). These strategies are; inclusion in the form of *constructive strategies* and exclusion through *destructive strategies*, as well as *perpetuation* and *justification strategies* which were used to maintain positions presented by participants within the text. However, I have also added my own strategies as suggested by my data such as, *negative labelling and evaluations*, *highly emotive vocabulary*, as well as *negative analogies*.

I have identified numerous discourses in my data which are interrelated as they reinforce the broader discourse of fear, of Julius Malema. The dominant discourses from my data include *racialised discourses* as well as *discourses of denigration* which are realised through the various strategies mentioned above. I have also identified *discourses of victimhood* where white individuals construct themselves as the oppressed and 'under threat'.

Malema is denigrated through various racialised discourses which include the mismanagement of South Africa, black incompetence and reverse racism. The reverse racism discourse is a reflection of Wodak's (2007) idea of *victimhood* associated with the *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*. These discourses are realised through the basic themes *Malema causes rifts*, *Malema is dangerous because he is powerful*, and *Malema is destroying the country*. Malema and the ANC are also denigrated and belittled in order to portray them as powerless and insubordinate. This form of denigration is realised through the basic themes *Malema is stupid*, *Malema is trash*, as well as the *ANC is stupid*. These themes are associated with Wodak's (2006) *conflict talk* and forms part of the broader *discourses of justification*. Another basic theme realising the broader discourse of fear includes *Malema is racist*. This theme explores Malema threatening white individuals through inciting violent farm murders,

as well as the fear of being forced to leave South Africa because of these violent farm murders and also forms part of the *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*.

The broader discourse of fear is also underpinned by the threat of Malema's power. This manifestation of power is often realised through negative analogies by comparing Julius Malema with Robert Mugabe and Eugene Terreblanche, the support Malema has from the ANC and from the "uneducated masses", as well as comparing an imagined South African meltdown with the Holocaust, the 'Rwanda genocide' and the 'Skierlik killer' incident. In most cases, the discourses of fear are pervasive and are interrelated with the various racialised discourses such as *discourses of denigration* and *victimhood*, which are in turn underpinned by apartheid ideologies and shared concerns among the middle-class (predominantly white) identities. This is evident in the commentaries produced by participants such as *HelenC*, *Mark Hurlin Shelton*, *Sker*, *Alchemist* and *Maryna*.

Wodak (2007) uses a theory of context to analyse a text on four different levels, which is rather similar to Fairclough's (1992, 2001) model of discourse. Similar to Fairclough's (1992, 2001) first dimension of discourse, emphasis is placed on the linguistic choices made by participants in the online commentaries, as well as the topic of discussion. A common phenomenon throughout the data analysis was the use of *negative labelling/evaluations* and *offensive analogies*. The participants also make use of *knowledge maintenance*, which is part of the second level of Wodak's (2007) contextual model. The participants draw on their subjective knowledge by creating certain offensive analogies, such as analogies with Mugabe and the 'Siener van Rensburg visions' which express discourses of victimhood but also reinforces Malema as a threat to white individuals and South Africa as a whole. This *knowledge maintenance strategy* was particularly prevalent in the *Genocide* and *History* themes, as participants *Alchemist* and *Maryna* referenced the Holocaust as well as South African history to justify their various positions.

The third level explores various patterns, themes and motives stretching across the data. The commentaries also speak to the work of Wodak (2006) regarding *conflict talk*, as the participants use various discursive strategies to justify and legitimize the denigration and belittlement of Malema. The third level of context explores organizing themes which evoke various racialised and denigrating discourses, as well as the underlying fear of black power which threads through the research data. The discourses of denigration where Malema is directly and personally defaced are realised through organizing themes such as *Malema is*

*stupid, ANC is stupid and Malema is trash.* These strategies also speak to Wodak's (2006) *three modes of argument*, as Malema is not only personally denigrated, but his credibility as a political leader is also placed under scrutiny.

Other basic themes that have the effect of 'othering' include *Malema causes rifts, Malema is racist, Malema is dangerous because he is powerful, Malema is destroying the country, and Malema has a mass of uneducated followers.* The discourse strategies that realise these themes include *negative labelling, offensive analogies, negative evaluations* and the most salient technique is the highly emotive voices which evoke an explicitly aggressive talk about Malema.

The final level of context explores the social context of the text and explores the involved participants. In relation to my data, certain voices were more dominant and in certain instances more aggressive than others. In the data chapter analysis, particular participants such as *LordHope, heineken, and psychic duck* were more dominant than others in relation to the online commentaries evoking the overriding *Fear of Malema*. These participants assume a white-male online identity and evoke offensive and antagonistic discourses towards Julius Malema and the ANC and place more emphasis on Malema and the ANC than the actual construction of the *Shoot the Boer* song as 'hate speech'. Similar to the study done by Verwey and Quayle (2012), the participants in the data exhibit a fear of losing their identity of 'whiteness' which links to the issue of losing their sense of power and privilege associated with white identities in the apartheid era.

The context of the commentaries encapsulates a shared ethnicity which creates an alignment with the participants who share the same concerns of victimization and discrimination, which is in turn underpinned by the broader fear of 'black power'. This speaks to the work of De Cillia *et al.* (1999), as a barrier is created among the participants where Malema is belittled and 'othered' through the use of various linguistic and discursive strategies such as exclusive pronouns and negative emotive comparisons. This barrier created between the participants and Malema can be seen as what De Cillia *et al.* (1999) defines as a 'macro strategy' of discourse. The participants create an alignment with one another through the use of constructive strategies such as inclusive pronouns, as well as highlighting and emphasizing shared concerns among each other, such as the fear of victimization and discrimination which links to the broader fear of 'black power' (as mentioned before). Hence, the participants

utilise this strategy to maintain and preserve their position of victimhood and the negative construction of Malema as the antagonist.

Wodak's (2006) framework states that the genre and formality of the context also shape the manifestations of the various forms of justification strategies. This proved relevant as the data is derived from online commentaries where participants are able to assume various identities with preferred pseudonyms. The informal context of online discussion forums allow participants to 'speak their minds' and allow for less censored talk and, in this case, the emergence of racialised and denigrating discourses.

The group of comments derived from [www.fertilicare.org](http://www.fertilicare.org) not only produced predominantly white discourses, but also assumed a number of female online identities, for example *Babyshev*, *Maryna* and *Alchemist*. It was interesting to note how the website origin of the online commentaries shapes the context of the various comments. For example, *Fertilicare* focuses on providing a public discussion platform for individuals who have problems with natural conception. Therefore, the website's predominantly female audience evoke a fear of the future of their country for their future children. The commentaries derived from the website [www.therugbyforum.com](http://www.therugbyforum.com) were predominantly male identities evoking white discourses and were generally more confrontational in nature. However, the counter voices indicate that there are other discourses circulating which offer an alternative perspective on the issues under discussion. For example, participants such as *Alchemist*, *Gwen* and *Nqaba Nqaba* state that racism is bidirectional and not only oppressive toward white people.

The next chapter of my research project provides a discussion of the two previously explored chapters of analysis. Chapter Six aims to explore the various findings that were interesting and dominant, such as the various discourses which are prevalent across both Chapters Four and Five and how these discourses not only show the interrelated link between the two chapters but also how they link to the broader social context.

## Chapter 6

### 6.1. Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis has illustrated a fear of ‘black power’ from the many commentaries and assumed white minority groups within the research data. The analysis of the various linguistic and discursive choices made by participants not only allowed for the uncovering of various racialised and denigrating discourses, but also led to the uncovering of a broader fear of ‘black power’, with Julius Malema as the signifier of this ‘black power’.

The study not only allowed for the uncovering of various issues of race, power and fear, but also illustrated the importance of context, as the *Shoot the Boer* song and the term *’ibhunu*, have acquired different meanings across two time-space frames stretching from the apartheid era to the current democratic South Africa. Judge Lamont concluded that the song is a form of ‘hate speech’, as the term *’ibhunu* literally refers to *boers* or white Afrikaners within both the apartheid as well as the contemporary South African time-space frame. Hence, the song entitled *Dubul ’ibhunu*, or *’Shoot the Boer*’, literally calls for the killing of white minority groups within both contexts. However, Malema and the ANC attempted to justify their opposing position by providing rather inconsistent arguments as they claim the song should be understood in the context of apartheid as a form of struggle history but also claim contemporary significations which negate any link to the targeting of whites.

Blommaert’s (2005) concept of *entextualisation* proves fundamental as it highlights the way in which the phrase *Dubul ’ibhunu*, is ‘misplaced’ because it carries two different meanings across two contextual spaces and is interpreted differently by the contrasting audiences. What I found interesting in the data is that not only does the physical context across the two time-space frames play a role, but the social context of the actual audience who interpret the song within these two time-frames plays a role as well. From the analysis, it is evident that context proved to be very important as various social and cultural values are linked with the audience interpreting the song within the two time-frames. Thus, the effect of the words of the song is problematic because the physical and social context has changed as the song has transitioned between the two time-frames.

The CDA framework was also useful as Fairclough’s (1992, 2001) dimensions of discourse not only showed how the various racialised discourses from the data link to the broader social context, but also how these two sets of data from Chapters Four and Five are related. In

Fairclough's (1992, 2001) first level of description, we explored the different meanings of the terms *boer* and *'ibhunu*. The second level of interpretation was very similar to the first level of description as this level explores how the participants within the data interpret the various words and the *Shoot the Boer* song. Therefore, in the second level we see how the song was interpreted as either 'hate speech' by Judge Colin Lamont and various powerful organizations such as AfriForum, FF+, PRAAG and the Afrikanerbond, but also as a piece of struggle history by Malema and various members of the ANC. Discursive strategies, such as *negative labelling*, are the most dominant features in Chapter Four, as the song is constructed as 'hate speech'. In Chapter Four we also see how the signifier (*Shoot the Boer* song) has various signifieds attached to it and is the main area of scrutiny, as the song is not only interpreted as 'hate speech' but also as a form of 'freedom of speech' as the data stretches across two chronotopic spaces, namely the apartheid and democratic South African time-space frame.

In Chapter Five, the analysis switches to an online forum, in which the participants also draw on various discursive strategies such as forms of *negative labelling*, *offensive analogies* and *emotive vocabulary* to negatively construct Malema as well as the *Shoot the Boer* song. The various themes from the data illustrate discourses in which participants feel that their overall wellbeing and the wellbeing of the country is under threat. Participants construct Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song in a negative light through various discursive strategies which I identified as *negative labelling*, *offensive analogies*, *negative evaluations* and *highly emotive vocabulary*.

Fairclough's (2001) *member's resources* (MR) plays a pivotal role in this level of interpretation and production as individuals draw on their personal values and beliefs to interpret the *Shoot the Boer* song. In the context of apartheid, individuals would use personal factors such as values and beliefs to interpret and understand the song as a struggle song used to resist oppression. However, in the current post-apartheid South African context, there are contrasting perspectives of 'hate speech' and 'freedom of speech' in relation to the song. Malema and members of the ANC, such as Gwede Mantashe and Jackson Mthembu, attach various signifieds to the song which not only aim to understand the song as a form of struggle history, but also provide contemporary meanings which pertain to black and white individuals which references them as cowards, as well as individuals who are beneficiaries of apartheid. This justification is rather inconsistent as the ANC claims that the song needs to be understood as a product of apartheid, yet they attach contemporary meanings to the signifier which negate any association with struggle history.

In the current context, Judge Lamont argued that both intentional and unintentional meanings of the term *'ibhunu* and the *Shoot the Boer* song need to be considered as this constitutes its meaning. Therefore, the song was declared as 'hate speech' as Judge Lamont considered the meaning of the song for all audiences, including a white minority (Afrikaner) audience.

Similar to Chapter Four, Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song is also negatively constructed in Chapter Five of my research data within the various internet forums as the fear of Malema is realised through various racialised and denigrating discourses which in most cases link to apartheid ideology. In the study done by Verwey & Quayle (2012), the participants reproduce Afrikaner identity while simultaneously disassociating themselves with South Africa, whereas in my study, many of the participants construct Malema as the 'out-group' threat but claim an unconditional love for South Africa. This is evident within the commentaries produced by *Babyshev* and *Maryna*. It was evident that participants within the research data were not overtly racist toward Julius Malema, but want him removed from power because of his actions and malevolent intent towards white people.

Similar to Verwey & Quayle's (2012) study, the emerging discourses from my data are racialised discourses which are underpinned by old-apartheid ideology, such as the failure of the black government, the overall moral decay of South Africa, intrinsic criminality of black people and the hypothetical fear that one day Malema will ultimately eradicate white people. These racialised discourses not only serve to highlight Malema's power and potential for destruction, but also to cut Malema down and construct him as less powerful. Thematic analysis also aided at this discursive level by categorizing the data from Chapter Five and allowing me to identify the various discourses and strategies which thread and emerge across the various themes.

What I also found interesting was the way in which many of the participants within the data exhibited Wodak's (2007) *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*. This is particularly dominant in Chapter Five of my analysis. This discursive strategy is associated with victimhood, as the participants positioned themselves as the victims or minority group and Malema as the perpetrator. In a sense, the discourses link to apartheid ideologies with the positions of the groups now reversed. This victim position and broader discourse of fear was realised through many different offensive analogies, such as comparisons between Julius Malema and Robert Mugabe/Eugene Terreblanche, South Africa and the 'Rwanda genocide', the Holocaust and the 'Skierlik killer'.

Fairclough's (1992, 2001) final level of explanation shows how the data not only links to the broader social context, but also shows the link between Chapters Four and Five as both sets of data express similar concerns, such as the negative construction of Malema and the song. These denigrating and racialised discourses are further extended to not only refer to a fear of Malema as a person, but also to a broader fear of 'black power'. The ANC secretary-general, Gwede Mantashe, refers to the fear of Malema as 'Malema-phobia', which was dominant across all my chapters of analysis.

In Chapter Four of my analysis, I explore two chronotopic spaces which reflect how text not only shapes context, but also how context shapes the text. The apartheid chronotope shapes the text as the song was produced during this period as a form of fighting oppression. However, as Malema had recently sung the song on various occasions, the song was recontextualised and entextualised and made to 'fit' into the new contexts. In the data, the song and Malema are negatively constructed. Malema is denigrated and the song is viewed as a form of incitement to violence by various groups such as Judge Lamont, AfriForum, The Afrikanerbond, PRAAG, as well as members of the DA. By contrast, the song is seen as a form of 'freedom of expression' by those who were part of or understand the apartheid era and the production of such struggle songs. This is an example of how context shapes the text, as the struggle song was declared as a form of 'hate speech' by Judge Colin Lamont as the song links to various racialising talk and discourses.

This speaks to the broader South African context as the singing of the song took place during the same time period and area (Polokwane) as the violent farm attacks on white people. For example, Judge Lamont was quoted saying that "...it reignites hatred for white people. Today in South Africa, the majority of the land is still in white people's hands..." Hence, the underlying theme of many of the commentaries speak to a form of 'reverse racism' which is very much similar to Wodak's (2007) *victim-perpetrator reversal strategy*, where the white individuals are now the victims. PRAAG director, Dan Roodt, was also quoted saying, "The racist hatred exemplified by all anti-Afrikaner and anti-white songs cannot be regarded as heritage or culture..."

The singing of the song by Malema also draws on apartheid ideology as it brings back memories of the struggle period in South African history about which South Africa as a country is still attempting to reconcile. Judge Lamont was quoted saying, "It brings back



memories of suffering and oppression under white rule...” (Mnguni, 2010). These racialised discourses and talk surrounding threat and victimization link to the fear of Malema, which further extends to the broader fear of ‘black power’.

Similarly, in Chapter Five of my research data, various participants within the internet forums debate about how problematic the issue of race is within South Africa. Thus, it is evident to note how issues of race surrounding Julius Malema and the *Shoot the Boer* song link to the broader socio-political context of South Africa as race is a prevailing problem within the country. Similar to many of the commentaries in Chapter Four which link to apartheid ideology, *Maryna* predominantly makes use of what Wodak (2007) would refer to as *knowledge maintenance strategy* to draw on her subjective understanding of history to justify her view on apartheid and colonialism. These commentaries show the link between racism and the broader social context, and also give rise to various counter positions. Many of the counter voices debate the severity of the issue of racism either toward white or black people in South Africa and in some instances, certain participants mention crimes done to them or known individuals, as well as emigration. This is particularly evident in the commentaries presented by *Nqaba Nqaba*, *Happily Emigrated* and *Alchemist*.

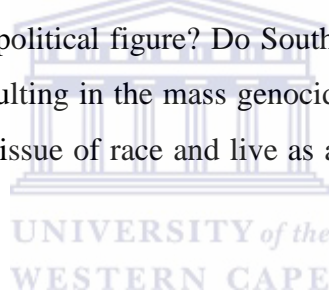
Camara (2002) explores ideology and racism as two interrelated issues which cannot be separated from society as they are embedded in various areas of real life. In the case of Camara’s (2002) study, racialised discourses and historical ideologies are used as justification for the acts of apartheid. In the case of my research, issues of race and the past are uncovered through various forms of justification within the online data. The participants draw on their subjective understanding of history to rationalize and justify why apartheid should not be blamed for the current socio-economic position of black people in South Africa. This form of ‘disguised racism’ constructs Africans as ‘backward’ and unable to progress without the aid of colonialism. This form of ‘othering’ and negative stereotyping is what Edward Said (1979 cited in Camara 2002) coined as ‘orientalism’.

Like many research studies, my research project also posed a few advantages as well as limitations. One of the few advantages of my study is the format of the data. The data is derived from a public online space in the form of commentaries from internet forums and, in one case, the social networking application known as *Facebook*. Similar to the work done by Bampton & Cowton (2002), this space allows for a sense of anonymity through the use of

pseudonyms which allows the participants within the discussion to be more open in their arguments and thus not hindering the overall density of the data, as this space allows participants to ‘vent’ in a way they might not in a face-to-face interview. In the case of an interview, participants would more likely be conservative and careful in their answers.

In essence, my research draws on very similar arguments as presented in the work of the authors Verwey & Quayle (2012), Camara (2002) and Steyn (2004). These similarities mainly refer to the reproduction and survival of ‘white talk’ or ‘racist talk’, as the data draws on various racialised discourses of denigration and fear which are similar to the discourses and ideologies present during the apartheid era.

I conclude by mentioning a few lingering thoughts as to why one liberation song can cause so much of an uproar in a post-apartheid South Africa. The data proved that many participants view Julius Malema as racist, anti-white and divisive. Perhaps it is because Malema’s power and prominence is growing as a political figure? Do South Africans really fear that Malema will one day rule the country resulting in the mass genocide of minority groups? Will we as South Africans ever see past the issue of race and live as a rainbow nation as envisioned by Nelson Mandela?



Regardless of these questions, Malema’s recent singing of the *Shoot the Boer* song at the aforementioned occasions elicited many racial stereotypes, discourses and ideologies which are still prevalent even though we have transitioned into a post-apartheid South Africa. Therefore, Twala (2013: 3) states, “Without doubt, in South Africa, the reification of cultural diversity and identity politics mask a multitude of deep fault lines in the society.” This suggests that Julius Malema singing the *Shoot the Boer* song exposed the latent racial tensions and fault lines that are still prevalent in South Africa and that the end of apartheid did not demarcate the end of the singing of liberation songs or racial thinking, as well as racist discourses or ‘white talk’.

## Appendices

### Appendix A

#### *Fear of Malema*

*Malema is stupid*

*idiot*

**1. heineken:**

*“...and everywhere I go you hear more and more people saying he's an idiot and stuff like that... To me it looks like people's eyes are slowly opening up...”* (1 March, 2012, 1:25pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**2. LordHope:**

*“Julius Malema is an idiot, it is mind staggering if you listen to things he says...”* (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)



**3. LordHope:**

*“...either is a very very intelligent man (which I fear, I really hope he is the idiot that he seems, otherwise he is really, really dangerous) or the biggest idiot in politics.”* (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**4. LordHope:**

*“Then again if he is a harmless idiot I hope he stays right where he is, we don't want a harmful idiot with his power...”* (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**5. psychic duck:**

*“...tell me if this idiot has a chance of getting into power and turning all Nelson Mandela's good work into another Zimbabwe.” (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**6. heineken:**

*“It's just a matter of time before this idiot falls... he dug his own grave a long time ago, he just has to slip into something more comfortable like a coma, and fall to his death! “ (11 October, 2011, 6:30pm)* (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

*clown*

**7. callsign.springbok:**

*“it's not just Malema, it's the whole group that he represents - gormless, corrupt, nouveau riche. yes, he is the clown in the political circus - and he's already done damage but lowering the bar so far and making JZ look good.” (11 November, 2011, 2:42pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

*three brain cells*

**8. Garyvdh:**

*“I suspect that pretty (pretty) much any rational thought Malema might have had amongst his three brain cells has been drowned out by the incessant chanting and revolutionary singing that is going on in his mind like a buzzing bee since the day he was born.” (13 April, 2011, 3:13pm)* (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

*dumb*

**9. John Bond:**

*“Black lawyers (for Malema, the ANC and the State - all funded by the State) will get rich proving that Malema is dumb...” (12 September, 2011, 7:03pm)*  
*(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)*

*broken English*

**10. Garyvdh:**

*“It's a wonder that he can even strong three syllables together let alone attach any meaning to them... in Pedi or in his broken English. Must be like a customer trying to book a flight while standing next to the runway at JFK.” (13 April, 2011, 3:13pm)*  
*(<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)*

UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

*fool*

**11. psychic duck:**

*“is this TOTAL FOOL out of the picture for good?” (11 November, 2011, 1:34pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

*ANC is stupid*

*feeble-minded*

**12. Les Wil:**

*“Perhaps the feeble minded and illiterate Winnie Mandela can take some lessons from this judgment. She's the one that needs to be educated, not the court.” (12 September, 2011, 2:28pm)*  
*(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)*

*dim-witted*

**13. Les Wil:**

*“To the dim witted senior ANC members who testified in court. You have got to be dumb and thick not to realize that the song constitutes hate speech and is racist in it's intent.”* (12 September, 2011, 2:28pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

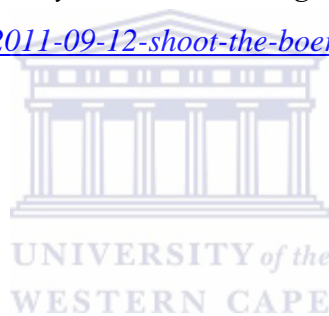
*dumb and thick*

**14. Myth Os:**

*“If they were not dumb and thick they would not belong to the anc.”* (12 September, 2011, 4:28pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

*Malema is trash*

*trash*



**15. Zyzzyva:**

*“I must say i found the "chanting" and speeches outside the courthouse by Malema and Winnie quite disturbing. Can't believe trash like that are allowed to lead anything. Circus i tell ya.”* (13 April, 2011, 5:24pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

*disgrace*

**16. TRF Ezequial:**

*“Malema is a disgrace for humanity and nothing better than Mugabe”* (1 March, 2012, 12:36pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

wannabes

**17. callsign.springbok:**

*“there are lots of other wannabes like him with mansions in sandton, with wives who stuff breadrolls into their LV handbags at party conferences. “ (11 November, 2011, 2:42pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

egomaniac

**18. Dixie:**

*“It's going to take months for that egomaniac to shoot himself in both feet again...” (14 April, 2011, 7:48pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)*

judgment



**19. Garyvdh:**

*“Malema will just ignore the judgment as he has ignored all other judgments against him. He will refuse to make any amends or apologise.” (13 April, 2011, 8:32pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)*

**20. Rod Baker:**

*“Darren Scott immediately apologised for swearing at a fellow employee, it will be interesting to see if Malema has moral guts to match, now that a court of law has found him guilty of hate speech.” (12 September, 2011, 12:54pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)*

*Malema causes rifts*

*rift*

**21. Alchemist:**

*“I fear Malema is acheiving what he has set out to acheive becuae the reality is that the more he causes the rift between blacks and whites, the more he gains.....in a very simplistic outlook.”* (13 September, 2011, 11:40am)

*(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

*thorn*

**22. Alchemist:**

*“...Malema is a thorn even in the ANCs side i think....they just cant publically state that as they want to portray a united front.”* (13 September, 2011, 9:41am)

*(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

*drive me away from here*

**23. Babyshev:**

*“I love this beautiful country and I will die here and I will not allow people like Julius Malema to drive me away from here.”* (13 September, 2011, 4:52pm)

*(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*



*I don't belong*

**24. Maryna:**

*“My point is just that as a white person in South Africa, it seems as if people like Malema and his followers and even members of the ANC are forever saying I don't belong here and that I should pack my things and leave.” (13 September, 2011, 4:55pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**25. Maryna:**

*“I hate the thought of ever having to leave the country of my heart, ancestors and passport behind to become pieces of flotsam and jetsam in a place I don't belong.” (13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*



**26. Maryna:**

*“Then again, the government seems to be trying pretty hard to make me feel like driftwood that doesn't belong in SA in any case.”(13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

*Malema has no respect for the judicial system*

*disciplinary hearing*

**27. jean wright:**

*“Also, as (once again) the ANC disciplinary hearing was delayed to accommodate this 'gentleman' and he didn't bother to attend Court (why not? - much too important business elsewhere??) (12 September, 2011, 12:17pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)*

**28. Das H:**

*“So Malema asked that his disciplinary hearing be postponed due to the hate speech judgement, but does not even appear when said judgement is given. Maybe he was out buying a new rolex or something.”* (12 September, 2011, 12:37pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

western law

**29. Picard:**

*“Because formal law is irrelevant to him. African politicians operates on African politics. Western law and politics are despicable to them.”* (14 April, 2011, 8:34pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)



**30. Picard:**

*“...black people know that they are wrong wrt (about) black politicians actions. But they see it as a necessary evil for black people's greater good. Yet white see black Africans' actions as despicable in the light of humanity's greater good.”* (14 April, 2011, 8:34pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

court

**31. NickG\_RSA:**

*“He was probably not in the court room as he over slept, languishing in his luxury home, while the majority of our citizens sleep in fear in their shacks!”* (12 September, 2011, 12:20pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

**32. v\_3:**

*“He wasn't in court or at the hearing because this ex Jacob 783 supporter caught terminal illness from Shaik (Jacob 783's EX-pal)” (12 September, 2011, 12:37pm)*  
*(<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)*

*Malema is dangerous because he is powerful*

*Malema is like Robert Mugabe*

**33. psychic duck:**

*“...and is basically a Robert Mugabe take two, who I've heard he's great friends with as well.” (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**34. psychic duck:**

*“is South Africa now permanently saved from Mugabe take two?” (11 November, 2011, 1:34pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**35. Kam267:**

*“It's probable that someday Malema will come into power. Will he go the route of Mugabe? Well we live in a democracy. And I'd like to believe that there are too many intelligent people in this country to ever let that happen.” (21 September, 2011, 6:38)*  
*(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

*Malema has Robert Mugabe support*

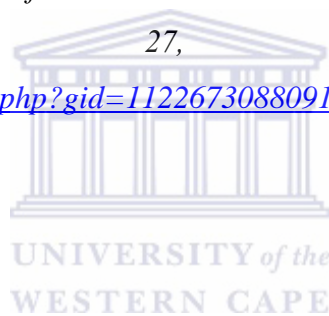
**36. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“Malema is scot free- and one of the most powerful people in the ANC- he has a angry-malcontented mob behind him, Robert Mugabe behind him (with Red China –behind Him-!! and he stands like a crazed demagogue with Southern Africa doused in Gasoline, and JuJu Boy holding the matches!!!”* (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

**37. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“The Awful shameful terrible Truth is that our government actually admires and are on a best friend basis with Robert Mugabe- and he is in a dangerous close Alliance with Malema (lets call it the M and M-) for a forced violent take over of White owned South African land.”* (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

Malema has ANC support



**38. Maryna:**

*“...chilling to see the ANC's renewed support of Malema after yesterday's ruling.”* (13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**39. stormer2010:**

*“Disrupt meetings and tell top members they are replacable = unacceptable. Tell a minority ethnic group that they are going to be killed, their land taken and raped = get ANC support.”* (11 November, 2011, 5:49am)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

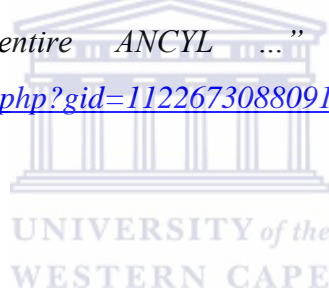
**40. Gwen:**

*“...and perhaps Julius Malema has been handed a big, shiny get out of jail card, a golden opportunity to ingratiate himself with the ANC rank and file by getting arrested for singing the song.”* (13 September, 2011, 10:25am)  
(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*Malema cannot be disciplined by the ANC*

**41. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“THEA ANC and Zuma claimed that they would discipline him- but then Zuma let it be known that they could not discipline Malema because he was not expressing solely his views but the views of the entire ANCYL ...”* (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)



**42. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“It is now known (off the record) that Zuma could not prosecute Malema without being himself exposed- for Malema has claimed that he did not sneak out of the country on his recent visit to Zimbabwe (where he sang the Kill the Boer)-song...”* (April 27, 2010, 9:49pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

**43. Dean Carlson:**

*“...do you really believe that there is any other way other than court action to silence Melema. Not even our President Mr Jacob Zuma seems to silence him. No Sir make it punishable by a lengthy jail term.”* (May 22, 2011, 11:17pm)  
(<http://www.facebook.com/groups/147861048621079/>)

*power*

**44. callsign.springbok:**

*“I just think Malema and his cronies have too much power in their greasy paws and too many important parts of the system are already like putty in said paws” (11 November, 2011, 2:42pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**45. LordHope:**

*“So whilst the fear of him coming to power is justified, at the rate he is endearing himself with past political allies, I think his chance of coming to power wanes by the day.” (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**46. Dixie:**

*“Malema was well on his way to self-destruction. Now they have exalted his status to the realm of Demi-god. I have no more words...” (14 April, 2011, 4:04pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)*

**47. psychic duck:**

*“Most worrying of all I've heard he has a real chance of getting control in South Africa one day in the future.” (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**48. LordHope:**

*“If it were to come down to a popular vote, I would have my money on Malema coming out on top.” (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**49. psychic duck:**

*“...and has already got in far higher positions than he should have been allowed, if he gets in power he would ruin South Africa and turn it into Zimbabwe take two .”* (1 March, 2012, 1:15pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**50. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“...malema supporters are confident that Julius will be voted in as next President...”* (May 4, 2010, 2:58pm) (<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

**51. The Finest:**

*“Individuals like Malema always end up in politics... even running the country. SA had better resolve this problem before all hell breaks loose.”* (11 October, 2011, 13:57) (<http://www.jamiiforums.com/international-forum/191268-south-africas-anc-sacks-youth-leader-julius-malema.html>)

**52. Ricard:**

*“Malema is going to win... look at the precedents before... Zuma argued the technical definition of RAPE. Shabir is ‘Terminally ILL. Those are the obvious ones... there are plenty more of such rulings if you dig deeper.”* (13 April, 2011, 7:47pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**53. SEF:**

*“i personally cannot see how malema is going to lose this case...”* (14 April, 2011, 7:49pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**55. Ricard:**

*“Malema is going to win... look at the precedents before...”*

**56. Garyvdh:** (In reply to Ricard)

*“Even if Malema loses the court case... he will still win due to several other factors...”*

1) The members of ANCYL will now sing this song at every opportunity daring people to sue them. It will become their rallying cry.

2) Malema will just ignore the judgment as he has ignored all other judgments against him. He will refuse to make any amends or apologise. And of course nothing will happen to him.

3) The Government will just change the law to allow for the singing of "struggle songs"... in fact they will most likely make it the national anthem.” (13 April, 2011, 8:32pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**57. Picard:**

*“I've yet to hear other black people condemning this song/chant as racist. This means that all blacks are giving Malema their tacit approval.”* (14 April, 2011, 7:49am) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**58. Nanu:**

*“It may seem that Malema is over with ANC but his views and what he was advocating especially land issues, sharing of national cake, will not go away.”* (10 November, 2011, 15:35) (<http://www.jamiiforums.com/international-forum/191268-south-africas-anc-sacks-youth-leader-julius-malema.html>)

**59. LordHope:**

*“Aye, I doubt that any appeal would succeed, but like Zuma's court cases shortly before his election as ANC head, and then the president, all Malema needs to do is delay the process, and that could give him time to make alliances and deals, just as Zuma's did against Mbheki. Then, the cases/ suspension can be magically dropped upon evidence that evidence previously obtained shouldn't have been obtained because the method of obtaining the*



*obtained evidence was illegal and non- conclusive... Next step you are elected as the leader of your country. :/” (11 November, 2011, 2:49pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

*Malema is destroying the country*

*next President:*

**60. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“...malema supporters are confident that Julius will be voted in as next President- people forget your little Pet party- you have to vote for the largest Opposition party that wiill make a difference to Stop him...” (4 May, 2010, 2:58pm)*  
*(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)*

**61. psychic duck:**

*“Please can the South African members of this forum tell me if this idiot has a chance of getting into power and turning all Nelson Mandela's good work into another Zimbabwe. I truly hope that he will never get the chance to have anything to do with South Africa. For all those in South Africa, Please do not vote for him.” (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**62. lucky number 7:**

*“Would some good Samaritan not knock him out of the picture... I recall a certain man in 1930's Germany with a similar attitude.” (11 November, 2011, 10:16am)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**63. gingergenius:**

*"I know this is easier said than done, but surely SA needs a major political party other than the ANC in order to make their democracy work... just to give them some competition, hold them accountable... Are there any parties that could swing the black vote away from the ANC?"* (11 November, 2011, 9:28am)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**64. LordHope:** (In reply to gingergenius)

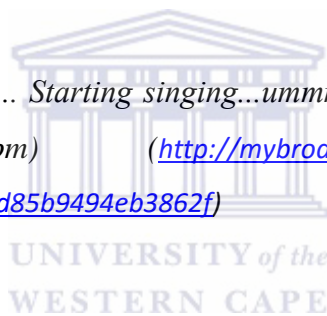
*"The DA runs the Western Cape, and has the majority in a couple of cities. The coloureds there are slowly migrating their way, so unless the ANC ramp up their admittedly small operations of bussing in voters from other areas to shore up their votes, it shouldn't be too far in to the future that we see the DA have the majority in the Cape."* (11 November, 2011, 9:28am)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**65. gregmcc:**

*"One more time... everyone now... Starting singing...ummm chanting....Shoot malema!"* (13 April, 2011, 1:15pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/archive/index.php/t-326479.html?s=58bdd0f8ecf132794d85b9494eb3862f>)

**66. heineken:**

*"The DA even won a ward in Polokwane 2 weeks ago from the ANC, which is a big deal for the Limpopo Province"* (1 March, 2012, 1:25pm)  
(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)



**67. stormer2010:**

*“While I appreciate the fact that he got suspended it is very worrying to me that it only got acted upon once he started targeting the ANC top brass. Remember he got found guilty of every charge (insulting top ANC members, unruly behaviour etc) except for ‘inciting racial division.’ (11 November, 2011, 5:49am) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**68. heineken:** (In reply to stormer2010)

*“Well at least they took action... What I think happened was, they saw he's making some trouble and slowly started to build his case, just as the Hawks are building the criminal case against him now. and as soon as they had enough evidence, they launched their attack. Either way, it finally happened!! that Masipa is out of the picture...” (11 November, 2011, 9:35am) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*



UNIVERSITY of the  
WESTERN CAPE

**69. heineken:**

*“I think he knows the end is nigh, and everywhere I go you hear more and more people saying he’s an idiot and stuff like that... To me it looks like people’s eyes are slowly opening up...” (1 March, 2012, 1:25pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

**70. heineken:**

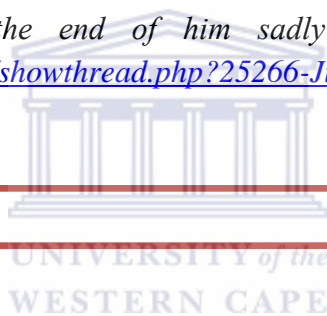
*“Yesterday Afternoon, Julius Malema was EXPELLED from the ANC after defence attorneys successfully argued aggravating circumstances regarding the allegations which Malema was previously found guilty on. Malema's Attorney's couldn't successfully argue mitigating circumstances which led to the Expulsion. According to Radio Reports this morning, Malema and the ANCYL will appeal the expulsion to the National Disciplinary Committee of the ANC where the appeal will be heard at the end of the year when the ANC have their annual Meeting. This is Malema's last stop before going into the political abyss, but all sources say, he's already hanging on the ledge with 2 fingers slipping...” (1 March, 2012, 8:33am)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>

**71. TRF Ezequiel:** (In reply to heineken)

*“If I was there close to that ledge, I would personally step on those 2 fingers with which he is hanging on.” (1 March, 2012, 12:36pm)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>

**72. psychic duck:** (In reply to heineken)

*“hope so, but unfortunately even if he does not have the ANC he still has his mass of uneducated followers, don' think it will be the end of him sadly” (1 March, 2012, 1:15pm)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>



**73. psychic duck:**

*“is this TOTAL FOOL out of the picture for good?” (11 November, 2011, 1:34pm)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>

**74. LordHope:** (In reply psychic duck)

*“Unfortunately not. He has been handed a five year suspension from all things ANC, however... He can appeal the decision. If that doesn't work, then he can appeal the decision within another ANC panel. Then he can do another appeal to another body. Then he can appeal through the legal system. Then he can appeal at the ANCs national conference next year in Manguang. Then, and only then, can SA breathe a relative sigh of relief. It will take some time, and it has yet to be revealed whether he will be suspended during the appeals process. (He has actually been nailed for three things, however the suspensions run concurrently)” (11 November, 2011, 1:43pm)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>

**75. heineken:** (In reply to LordHope)

*“TRUE BUT The ANCYL announced that they are only going to appeal based on mitigating circumstances... based on that, I assume that they just want the suspension period reduced. A political analyst said this morning on the news that the appeal is highly unlikely to succeed. The ANC system is also of such a standard that if the first appeal is not granted, the chances for the next few becomes less and less as it gets dragged on... Either way, Juju is going to be out of the picture in some sort of way.” (11 November, 2011, 2:37pm)*  
<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>

Malema is racist

revenge

**76. Fatik Superblademan Nomangola:**

*“The likes of Malema are more interested in getting their revenge more than bridging the gap between the rich and the poor.”* (April 12, 2011, 1:18pm) (<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)

racist

**77. Just Wondering:**

*“I've said it all along, Malema is just as much a racist as Eugene Terreblance was. Good judgment by our courts.”* (12 September, 2011, 12:42pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

**78. psychic duck:**

*“...he is an absolute racist who wants depose white people of their land and has given several hate speeches on white people...”* (11 October, 2011, 5:48pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**79. psychic duck:**

*“the guy is a dangerous racist, and has already got in far higher positions than he should have been allowed...”* (1 March, 2012, 1:15pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**80. LordHope:**

*“But in all serious, Malema is a racist dick. Plain and simple. Its also not as if he just hates white people, he despises Indians and Coloureds too, just doesn't have the same 'material' to work with.”* (11 October, 2011, 6:39pm) (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**81. Les Wil:**

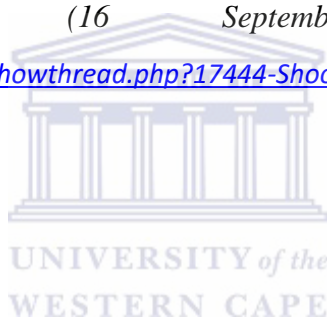
*“Congratulations to Afriforum on your victory. Indeed, it is a victory for South Africa. The court has proved that Malema is a racist and guilty of hate speech.”* (12 September, 2011, 2:28pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

*all whites will be murdered*

**82. HelenC:**

*“This whole political situation upsets me so much. I have family who were murdered on their farm. Besides that, I did research on the subject (a couple of years ago) and found the theory of the Siener van Rensburg visions (long story short- theory goes all whites will be murdered a la Rwanda).”* (16 September, 2011, 4:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*threat*



**83. HelenC:**

*“I think the constant "threat" makes me feel like I'm on borrowed time. It makes this waiting game feel even more urgent and I wonder if Malema and co ever think about the consequences of their actions on individuals.”* (16 September, 2011, 4:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**84. HelenC:**

*“Last night I dreamt that hubby and I were in Europe. We came across a fortune teller. She told hubby that he would have difficulty in life, but in the end be happy. I asked her what about me, she told me that there's not much to say. I won't live much longer, I will die in a horrible way.”* (16 September, 2011, 4:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**85. Mark Hurlin Shelton:**

*“If i was previously 80 percent sure that the Threat of Violent Land grabs was real- i am now four hundred percent certain. People be prepared- i have heard it said that there was an attck planned for before June- and i strongly think that a large farm attack may occur during the world cup itself...” (May 4, 2010, 2:47pm)*  
*(<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=112267308809123>)*

*Malema has a mass of uneducated followers*

*the uneducated masses*

**86. Sker:**

*“Yeah it's really worrying to see that he actually is hugely popular among the uneducated masses because these are the guys who vote for the ANC. It's frustrating as well because no matter what you do or say they simply won't listen or be persuaded otherwise. They still believe the ANC is some messiah that will free them from poverty and discrimination.” (11 October, 2011, 9:33pm)* (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

*massive following*

**87. psychic duck:**

*“I've heard worrying things that this guy Julius Malema the ANC Youth Leader, has a massive following among the unemployed black people in South Africa...”(11 Ocotber, 2011, 5:48pm)* (<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)

**88. psychic duck:**

*“... unfortunately even if he does not have the ANC he still has his mass of uneducated followers, don' think it will be the end of him sadly” (1 March, 2012, 1:15pm)*  
*(<http://www.therugbyforum.com/forum/showthread.php?25266-Julius-Malema>)*

*voice of the poor*

**89. The Finest:**

*“Julius Malema... gone, but i think he will not be forgotten. His followers see him as a charismatic figure who dared test the highest authority in the land... the President. He promotes himself as the voice of the poor who have been forgotten by the government.”*

*(10 November, 2011, 13:57) (<http://www.jamiiforums.com/international-forum/191268-south-africas-anc-sacks-youth-leader-julius-malema.html>)*

**90. Nanu:**

*“Yes, Malema is a critics and has a slogan which the majority young South African loves.”*

*(10 November, 2011, 15:35) (<http://www.jamiiforums.com/international-forum/191268-south-africas-anc-sacks-youth-leader-julius-malema.html>)*

*Genocide*

*the Holocaust*



**91. Alchemist:**

*“...once you allow a sect to publically degrade and dehumanise another, its a slippery slope to mass discrimination and worse, genocide. so yes, freedom of speech is a constitutional right BUT not at the cost of the above NO WAYS!!!!” (16 September, 2011, 10:10am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**92. Alchemist:**

*“I don't think anyone can compare the holocaust to apartheid, but they can to rwanda and let's b honest, it was just a few yrs back when a minority of a million Ppl were slautered. So its not so far from our reality esp when ppl in power start saying that whites r rapists and entice ppl to kill them?” (19 September, 2011, 3:02pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*



**93. Gwen:**

*“That said, I believe that all Holocaust comparisons to South African conditions are spurious and distasteful and dilute the significance of the Holocaust, and I regret having become embroiled in this one.”* (19 September, 2011, 10:13am)  
(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**94. Gwen:**

*“One of the reasons the Holocaust is exceptional is scapegoating – Jews were targeted and blamed things that were not in any way of their making. White South Africans do not have such clean hands and I find the attitude of self-pity held by many white South Africans these days to be quite inappropriate.”* (19 September, 2011, 10:13am)  
(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*fear*



**95. Gwen:**

*“It is important to remember the fear of genocide is not the same thing as being the victim of genocide, and that fear is not always rational. Perhaps we could stop to consider how insulting it is to black South Africans to imply that they are so easily moved to commit mass murder, let alone to compare them to Nazis.”* (19 September, 2011, 10:13am)  
(<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**96. Alchemist:**

*“I also think fear is v bad, but prevention is always better than a cure. So ya, do I believe Malema is capable of enciting genocidal violence? Yes, and do I think he should b stopped, definately!!!!”* (19 September, 2011, 3:02pm)

<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*murdering of farmers, kill the Jews*

**97. Alchemist:**

*“NOTHING justifies murdering of farmers....NOTHING and any song that promotes and justifies it, is plain WRONG. I am jewish and i relate strongly to this...”* (16 September, 2011, 10:10am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**98. Maryna: (In reply to Alchemist)**

*“I wonder what would happen if some older Germans (and their political leaders) were to get together at a public rally and then sing 'Kill the Jews', saying they're just reminiscing about the past..?”* (18 September, 2011, 4:50pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)



**99. Alchemist:**

*“Have to say, killing is an abomination to the jewish belief. Even killing animals is v strict and laws governing how its done. As much suffering and genocide that was done to us, we have never had a song saying "kill the germans and poles" for killing us????”* (18 September, 2011, 9:50pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*the Nazis*

**100. Gwen:**

*“What I meant to say is that in the context of South African history, the people singing the struggle songs are the oppressed, not the oppressors. In any analogy with the Nazis, I'm afraid white South Africans must be compared with the Nazis and not with their victims. (19*

September, 2011, 10:13am) (<http://www.ferticare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

*Racism in South Africa*

*South Africa torn apart by race*

**101. Maryna:**

*“Considering the way things are going in SA society, it is little wonder that so many SA citizens end up emigrating elsewhere, taking their families and tax contributions with.” (13 September, 2011, 10:53am) (<http://www.ferticare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**102. shakenbake:**

*“Here's a brief list of things that I really don't care about. Because I got give a rats toss about racial issues. People singing songs about other races. People banning songs about other races...” (29 November, 2010, 3:16pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/content.php/1625-Judge-defends-order-to-ban-shoot-the-boer-song>)*

**103. blunomore: (In reply to shakenbake)**

*“Unfortunately for you, you live in a country torn apart by race and for a long time to come, you will see this issue being relevant. You may not care about it, but it matters to most Saffers. “ (29 November, 2010, 3:16pm) (<http://mybroadband.co.za/vb/content.php/1625-Judge-defends-order-to-ban-shoot-the-boer-song>)*

**104. Happily Emigrated:**

*"I am so glad I left SA, the racism towards white people is just shocking."* (12 September, 2011, 1:47pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

**105. Nqaba Nqaba:** (In reply to Happily Emigrated)

*"The racism against black people is equally shocking to me. I don't know about you."* (15 September, 2011, 1:25pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

**106. Happily Emigrated: (In reply to Nqaba Nqaba)**

*"I totally agree, however, south Africa is a hypocritical country, where racism towards black people is condoned (condemned), as it totally should be, racism towards white people is widely and publicly accepted, that is why south Africa is considered a complete political joke or banana republic in the international world."* (16 September, 2011, 10:01am) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-its-hate-speech-says-judge/>)

History

Heritage



**107. Gwen:**

*"...continually painting people with the "mass murderer" brush is also a form of hate speech. The unpleasant truth is that in this country, when some madman guns down a bunch of random strangers because they are the wrong race, it is usually a white man behind the trigger. I'm thinking in particular of the Skierlik killer. His bewildered parents insisted that they and he were not racists, but what became very clear is that the boy was terrified of black people. One can only speculate as to how many times he heard predictions of genocide and Rwanda type killings as he was growing up."* (21 September, 2011, 11:14am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**108. Alchemist: (In reply to Gwen)**

*"Yes, maybe black ppl havent done the above, but two black men broke into my house, tied up my mom, and bit the cr\*p out of her (she now has a permanent brain injury and is handicapped). they were so busy being violent and hurting her, they never landed up taking anything.....so yes, it wasnt the above, but hello???it happens both ways, not just white hatred....."* (21 September, 2011, 12:12pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**109. Aralia:**

*"I understand that it is a struggle song that is a part of SA's cultural heritage..."* (12 September, 2011, 3:29pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**110. Maryna: (In reply to Aralia)**

*"I might have taken this argument seriously if the ANC hadn't removed names like "Pietersburg", "Ellisras", "Potgietersrus" and (the truly offensive) "Warmbad" from SA's map (well, kind of). so only some of SA's cultural heritage and history should be preserved?"* (13 September, 2011, 10:32am) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**111. suetopham:**

*"Jesse Duarte says the ANC left the Voortrekker monument standing as part of history and so it should be but this monument depicts S African history from a certain period and is not screaming out 'Kill' at every rally..."* (12 September, 2011, 8:09pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

**112. Muluvhu Ntshavheni V:**

*"It is interesting to go through how people give the reasons of the judgement. But question is: is it wrong to preserve one's legacy? I am quite certain that the song is the reminiscent of the ANC's long walk.* (12 September, 2011, 3:47pm) (<http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-12-shoot-the-boer-thats-how-a-genocide-can-start>)

*Apartheid is not to blame*

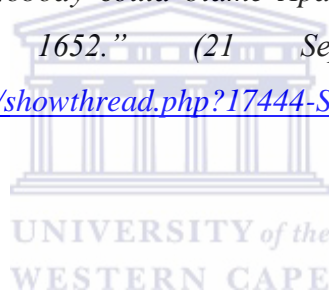
**113. Maryna:**

*"Even though the legacy of apartheid (= colonization = whites) still seems to get blamed daily by the likes of Malema for all the misery and despair ever experienced by previously*

*disadvantaged South Africans since practically time immemorial, Africans from all over the continent continue to stream across our borders daily - from countries that experienced a lot less oppression.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

**114. Maryna:**

*“As for the lack of education under previously disadvantaged South Africans (I already regret what I’m about to say ): When Van Riebeeck first started a Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, Oxford and Cambridge Universities were already 400 – 500 years old (I’m not of British descent, so this I’m not taking credit here). Before colonialism surely there were equal opportunities to all nations on God’s earth? Or, as ‘cradle of mankind’, Africa might have had a head start. Nobody could blame Apartheid or claim to be previously disadvantaged back in 1652.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*



**115. Maryna:**

*“So without denying any of the atrocities of the Apartheid regime (1948 - 1994), I honestly don't understand at what exact point in time over the past 400 years did it become the responsibility of a small white minority of colonialists to teach the alphabet, along with their views on science, philosophy, medicine, law, etc. to the rest of Africa? Isn't that a very 'unAfrican' solution to an African problem? Missionaries who taught their religious beliefs to black Africans have received a lot of blame for 'forcing' their views onto Africa as it is.” (21 September, 2011, 12:47pm) (<http://www.fertilicare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)*

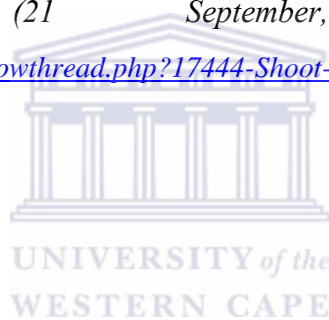
**116. Maryna:**

*“As ghastly an argument as this is (as it won't build us a better future), you have to admit that things would have panned out differently if local South Africans built their own Oxfords*

*and Cambridges back in the 11th and 12th century, documented their own history, built their own ships, navigated the Indian and Atlantic oceans, etc. In terms of current education policies in SA, I think it's a stretch to blame the dismal failure of Outcomes Based Education on Apartheid.”* (21 September, 2011, 1:34pm)  
(<http://www.fertiliCare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)

**117. Maryna:**

*“It is convenient to blame leaders that have been democratically elected (over multiple elections too), rather than to take responsibility for having voted them into power. I think it's perfect irony when people who seems to be blaming all SA whiteys of all generations for Apartheid then choose not to take responsibility for the actions of leaders they themselves voted into power. (The strikes and protests by government workers are another example of this mindset.)”* (21 September, 2011, 1:34pm)  
(<http://www.fertiliCare.org/forum/showthread.php?17444-Shoot-the-boer-It-s-hate-speech-says-judge>)



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