



UNIVERSITY *of the*
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**A hashtag analysis of racial discourses within
#ColouredExcellence:
Case of Wayde van Niekerk**

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

The research study takes into account the apartheid legacy of racial hierarchization and ‘separate development’ (cf Raynard, 2012) which penetrated all aspects of social life. Particularly, it is the sporting domain and the categorization of race and identity which is investigated. In this regard, it is the re-entry of South African athletes of colour at the Olympic Games which are of keen interest.

At the 2016 Rio Olympics South African Wayde Van Niekerk (WVN) became a household name when he broke the world record in the 400 meter men’s division. His win however, was represented in different ways online and it is through investigating trending hashtags on Facebook & Twitter that new and well-worn discourses of identity emerge.

A critical analysis of the online representations of WVN is undertaken so as to speak to normalized discourses of race within a South African context. A particularly contentious and provocative hashtag i.e. #ColouredExcellence is investigated in its ability to speak to an online debate on race and identity which took hold at the time of his win. This study therefore investigates the online representations which locate WVN within an arguably racially divided post-apartheid setting where vestiges of apartheid are still present.

By drawing on Ahmed’s (2004) work on ‘affective economy’ this study investigates how emotions emerge online in the form of memes, Twitter hashtags and Facebook posts, and which indexes larger discourses on race and identity. The main aims of this research is to: a). investigate normalized discourses of race online, and their relation to the on-going issues of race and identity in a post- apartheid South Africa and b) To examine the emotions emergent in varying representations of WVN online.

Keywords: Rio Olympic Games, Wayde van Niekerk, racial discourses, identity, hashtag analysis, emotion, multimodality.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualizing sport in SA

Sport in many countries around the world, is often seen and used as a tool for nation building, and social cohesion (Höglund & Sundberg, 2008). During the apartheid era, however, sport was one way used to promote white superiority and also to exclude people of colour in the country's history. Thus, only White South Africans were allowed to participate in sports nationally, which meant that people of colour were never allowed to compete for their country in any national or international sporting event. As mentioned previously, due to this lack of racial integration, South Africa was subject to various sporting boycotts' and eventually excluded from the Olympic Games in 1964-1992 (Posel, 2001). Thus, the country was absent from the sporting scene for most of the apartheid era, due to sanctions against them, but continued competing internationally again with the end of apartheid (post- 1992).

It can be seen clearly that in the domain of sport especially, nations and anti-apartheid activists expressed their main form of resistance to apartheid through boycotts. In this way, it can be said that politics and sports were intrinsically connected concepts during apartheid, and also played a big role in the eradication of the racist system (Mail & Guardian online, 2007). Internally, protest was led by the non-racial South African Council on Sport (SACOS), while externally it was the exiled South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) that was in the forefront of organising resistance to the racist sports policies of the apartheid government (Mail & Guardian, 2007).

Although sport at a higher level (national) is important to document, what is perhaps equally important is the way sport was regulated at school level. This also adds to the notions of how racial hierarchization was institutionalized from an early stage.

1.2 Sport and education

With regards to the educational domain, coloured and black schools were educated using the Bantu Education policy. Schools were thereby divided into those which were exclusively available for white students, known as model c (semi-private) or private schools, and those which were open to people of colour were known as ‘government’ schools. The Bantu education system showed enormous disparities in funding and student-teacher ratios, which negatively affected the quality of education for black and coloured schools (Moore, 2016). The coloured schools were arguably benefitted more than black schools, and this is partially how apartheid was able to create tensions and differences between coloured and black communities. Much of the same problems still exist today in government schools (Moore, 2016).

The Model C¹ and private schools were semi-funded by the government, through its General Revenue account (Hartshorne, 1992). They received additional funding by their school governing bodies (made up of alumni, parents, and so forth) that raised funds and attained sponsorships for the respective ‘white’ schools. This body also ensured that some teachers were paid from this source, thus more funds could be spent on maintenance of facilities and improving the curriculum offered, as well as the extra-curricular activities offered at the school (Pink& Noblit, 2007). In effect, these schools had strong subject curriculums, and even advising pupils on which subjects to continue taking to better future prospects. Private schools offered additional subjects such as foreign languages, drama, amongst other privileges. With regards to their extra-curricular activities, these schools offered a much larger selection than government was able to fund, such as debate, chess, swimming, hockey, water-polo, etc. Their teams also sported the latest amenities, equipment, and received specialized training to nurture sporting skill (Pink& Noblit, 2007).

For the person of colour, their schooling relied solely on funding from a government, whose agenda at the time, was to keep people of colour uneducated and their talents unrecognized and underdeveloped (De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). Thus, black schools were funded by the general poll tax collected from non-white South Africans, and received roughly one tenth of

¹A semi-private structure used in the governance of whites-only government schools in South Africa, introduced in 1991 by the apartheid government.

that amount allocated to the Bantu education account (Hartshorne, 1992). Official rand values were placed on learners, depending on their race under the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The amount per capita spent on education by government as late as the 1980's was for White pupils approximately R1211 per learner; where Coloured pupils received R498 and Black pupils R146 per annum (Ntombela, 2013). The rest was used to populate the General Revenue Account which was used to fund white schools (Hartshorne, 1992). Government schools had poorly maintained school buildings, grossly overcrowded classrooms, inadequate instruction, poor teacher training, and a lack of textbooks and many other basic amenities needed to run a healthy schooling environment. These were but a few of the problems which plagued education for people of colour (Hartshorne, 1992), however while both coloureds and blacks were marginalized and received much lesser support for education than their white counterparts, black learners still fared the worst. Students struggled to learn under such conditions, and only the very basic subjects were offered, and the basic sporting codes such as cricket and soccer (are still popular today) amongst coloured and black communities.

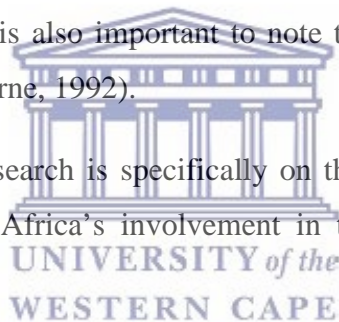
Interestingly certain sport, such as netball, was seen as sport for the 'low' class; and it was popular (especially at Coloured schools) because it was the cheapest to play (Hargreaves, 2001). Athletics was practiced by most schools who could afford the expense, although still divided and racially policed. Black schools had the least access to such sporting events, due to their lack of adequate funding and no sporting amenities, to the extent that Black learners often felt that sports was for Whites only (Archer & Bouillon, 1982). However, some schools did not offer sports at all and instead local community clubs could be joined for some extra-curricular enjoyment if members could afford it, or sponsorship was obtained. Sporting facilities at government schools were extremely poor compared to their white counterparts (Veriava, 2012), and Black schools were the most disadvantaged where they had "little beyond the shell of their buildings" (Lemon, 1999: 96). Although clubs could be joined, and inter-school athletics took place annually. These aspects were still racially policed, and local coloured sports clubs would never compete with white clubs. Similarly, white schools would never compete with their coloured counterparts in the inter-school Olympics (Vosloo, 2014).

White schools would have their inter-school athletics at affluent stadiums or arenas, and more often than not, government schools were given the stadium nearest to their school to compete at. At this point, the difference between coloured and black learners become clear as there was no stadium built in a black township during apartheid so there would be no way for them to really enjoy and participate in sports. This means that black learners would have

to travel to a coloured area if they wanted to use their amenities, and often they did not have the funds to do either of these things. Thus, people of colour were not able to fully test their potential and abilities by competing at a higher level, because they could only compete with one another. This again went a long way in the interiorization of white superiority, especially in the sporting capacity. In addition, the resources which the apartheid government gave to coloured schools, may have gone a long way in stopping them from being too virulent in the struggle. It is one of the methods the apartheid government used to control and divide the majority, and is also why the ‘Coloured Excellence’ hashtag was found to be so disgraceful by some of the social media users seen in the analysis section.

It can be seen that every aspect of life was racially dominated, even basic social life. During apartheid, race determined which beaches, malls, and cinemas you could frequent. It determined which schools you could attend, which residential areas you were allowed to reside in, which sports you played, and even which section of the train, bus or taxi one was permitted to use. Thus, the person of colour was a ‘body out of place’ and unwanted member of society (Ahmed, 2004: 4). It is also important to note that skin colour was very closely related with social class (Hartshorne, 1992).

Since the actual focus of my research is specifically on the Olympic Games in relation to sport, a brief history of South Africa’s involvement in the Olympic Games is provided further.



1.3 Rio Context

South Africa’s appearance at the Summer Olympic Games held in Rio de Janeiro, on the 5th to the 21st August 2016, presented many highlights and important events for the status of Olympism in South Africa. This also marks the site of inquiry for the research study. The event mentioned above marks the nation’s seventh appearance at the Olympic Games in the post-apartheid era, and the nineteenth overall in Summer Olympic history (SASCOC, 2016). South Africa did exceptionally well in the Olympics, amassing an impressive 10 medals across categories, gaining a ranking of 30th in the world. In total, there were 207 countries which participated so this is a tremendous feat.

For this study the 2016 Rio Olympics is especially important as it brought a highly mediatized South African gold-medal winner and record-holder, namely WVN into the spotlight. The Olympian has sparked a flurry of media coverage regarding his Olympic win

and racial orientation in recent years, and this has laid the foundation for larger discussion on the issue of race in post-apartheid South Africa, a crucial matter within the country and the larger global community.

WVN became a global sporting figure when he won the men's 400m race and simultaneously broke a 17-year long world record in this division at the 2016 Summer Olympic Games held in Rio de Janeiro (5-21 August 2016). It is this win by WVN which sparked an especially interesting discussion and debate on race relations within South Africa. This lively online engagement was epitomized by trending hashtags which stood as virtual positioning of perspectives on race and identity in South Africa.

WVN is described in many online sites as a 'coloured' South African male, whose ethnicity and/or race has been at the centre of the media spotlight. It is however important to note that these are representations of the athlete, and it is unknown whether he identifies with either of these representations. As mentioned previously, the apartheid legacy brought to the fore the racial hierarchization of race, which discriminated against references people of colour. This was done by marginalizing people based on the colour of their skin, and thus the term *coloured* has much more currency in South Africa. Significantly, it is not easily conflated with 'black' as is done in America for instance (McWhorter, 2016) where coloured is used as a (derogatory) term for black. Looking at the very prominent and highly discussed athlete WVN, it is evident that he has elicited diverse reactions to the way he 'looks' and it is the discourse exemplified by trending hashtags which this study investigates.

1.4 The contemporary sporting landscape in South Africa

Bearing in mind the situation athletes of colour found themselves in during the apartheid era, and taking into account this perceived sense of social advancement post-apartheid, the study investigates the category of race through social media platforms and online publications regarding South African Olympian, WVN. He is a foregrounded figure for this study because of the fact that his racial and social identit(ies) have become contested in the media, and have arguably in some way impacted the way in which his abilities as an athlete is perceived.

Specifically, in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, a largely patriarchal hetero-bias society (Hassim, 1991), the study critically analyses online representations of WVN to uncover normalized discourses of race within South Africa. In particular, with him making headlines the study aims to investigate the online representations through a hashtag analysis.

This study firmly locates WVN within a racially divided post-apartheid setting, where contestations are still present online. Furthermore, the way in which the online representations get taken up within society and how that leads to hegemonic discourses emerging is also investigated, through analysing various Twitter and Facebook comments. The role of emotion as it emerges in trending hashtags and accompanying comments on those threads, are also extremely important.

What follows is a brief introduction of the South African Olympian WVN.

1.5 Wayde van Niekerk (WVN)

Wayde van Niekerk was born on July 15th 1992 in Cape Town, South Africa. Son of Odessa Swartz and Wayne van Niekerk, he is the oldest of two children. The van Niekerk family are South African natives, and followers of the Christian faith. His parents are divorced, and his mother is currently married to Stephen Swartz (EWN online, 2015). WVN's linguistic background has not been mentioned anywhere online, although the geographical account of the area he resides in will be put forth as an indication of his linguistic repertoire. WVN grew up in an area in Cape Town called, Kraaifontein, a predominantly 'coloured' area, where both English and Afrikaans are the most commonly spoken languages, often with the non-standard variety 'Kaaps'. Kaaps is a non-standard dialect of Afrikaans, it is often spoken by Coloured communities residing in the Western Cape, predominantly on the Cape Flats and is generally perceived as a low-status vernacular (van Heerden, 2013). Lately it has become elevated through academic contributions such as Dyers & Hendricks Kaaps book, called *Kaaps in Fokus*, as well as through works by Williams, such as *Kaapse styles: Hip Hop, Art and Activism in Cape Town South Africa*.

Notably, WVN's mother was also a champion athlete (sprinter) during the apartheid era. However, due to the political climate of the time, she was un-able to compete nationally/internationally and chose instead to participate in non-racial, anti-apartheid sport under the non-racial sports organization- South African Council on Sport (SACOS). Although Odessa Swartz longed to test her international capabilities, she sacrificed her sporting career and stood diligently and unselfishly with anti-apartheid sport (IOL, 2015). Importantly, if you were a member of SACOS, this meant that you decided to play sport with the express purpose of pursuing sport for freedom from oppression and apartheid (Rio Olympics selection criteria, 2016).

WVN is currently a South African track and field sprinter, who became well-known for his achievement in the 2016 Rio Summer Olympic Games, where he won the men's 200m and broke the long-standing world record for this category as well, by completing in 43.03 seconds (BBC, 2016). He is described in many online sites as a coloured South African male, whose ethnicity and/or race has been at the centre of the media spotlight with regard to his Olympic victory (Moraes, 2016). The apartheid legacy brought to the fore the concept of race, which references people of colour, and thus has much more currency in South Africa. Hence, a spotlighted issue. Looking at WVN, a very prominent and highly discussed athlete in South Africa at the moment, it is evident he has elicited diverse reactions to the way he 'looks'; and it is the representation of him online which this study investigates.

1.6 Research Problem

As discussed previously, the apartheid government grouped people by distinctive physical features and ascribed a limited set of 'capabilities' upon each group – except the white group. What is important is that the system of racial hierarchy is also mirrored by the perceived hierarchy of capabilities for each racial group. An observable effect of this systematic hierarchization and years of separate development is evident in the persistent inequalities in South Africa's private sector (cf. Raynard, 2012). Whites' still occupy some of the top employment positions (CEO's, etc) with coloureds in middle management and the black employees forming the vast majority of junior staff (Raynard, 2012). It is also important to note that the coloured identity in South Africa, especially in Cape Town, has been one of subjugation and very strongly associated with negative connotations such as drugs, gangsterism, and violence (Dissel, 1997). Using racial categorization as a reference point, the study problematizes online representations of WVN as part of a greater dialogue of static social categories in post-apartheid South Africa.

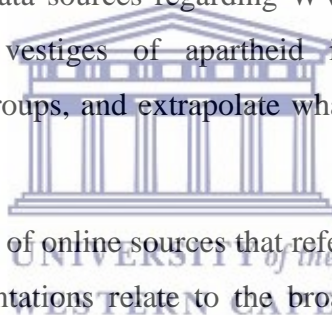
In a society with very deeply-rooted racial issues, WVN makes for an information-rich subject, as he is known both known locally, nationally and internationally due to his performance *par excellence* at the Olympic Games. The research study aims to critically analyse how WVN has been represented online and the kinds of racial discourses emergent from these representations. This study problematizes implications these warring representations pose in the 'new' South Africa. Online studies of identity is undertaken through a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA), which is reframed as a hashtag analysis of

the online data collected for the study. The specific details for these methods employed are elaborated on in the theoretical framing for the study.

1.7 Research Aim and Objectives

The study critically analyses the social constructs of race in a largely racialized South Africa. In order to conduct the research, well-known contemporary Olympian, WVN will be used as a social gauge of normalized discourses of race in South Africa.

The study aims to offer a new perspective into what sporting life is like in South Africa, especially for persons who excel in their sporting careers in post-apartheid South Africa. Specifically, this study aims to situate sports as an under-researched domain of analytical enquiry regarding narratives of race in post-apartheid South Africa. By critically analysing online representations of WVN, the study investigates a multitude of responses to race in the South African context particularly. Furthermore, the study aims to create a multi-semiotic archive of the different online data sources regarding WVN. Finally, the overall task is to investigate possible lingering vestiges of apartheid ideologies about race and the accomplishments of particular groups, and extrapolate what this means for a post-apartheid framework in a rainbow nation.



In addition to creating an archive of online sources that refer directly to WVN, the study also investigates how online representations relate to the broader discourses of race in South Africa. Furthermore, this research offers a critical multimodal analysis into how online representations of WVN have scrutinized notions of race in South Africa. Lastly, the study attempts to investigate tensions (if any) caused by athletes of colour exceeding expectations.

1.8 Research Objectives

The objectives for this research study are:

1. To create an archive of online representations of WVN's identity
2. To identify what racial discourses emerge from postings online
3. To explore what identity tensions emerge once WVN's Olympic victory
4. To explore what roles emotions play in the online space

1.9 Research Questions

The study focuses on four overarching research questions:

1. What online resources (e.g. comments, press releases, memes) of WVN's identity was collected?
2. What discourses of race emerge from hashtag postings online?
3. What contestations/ tensions regarding the coloured identity emerged once WVN became a gold-medalist?
4. What role does emotion play in the expression of posts online?

1.10 Feasibility of study/ contributions to larger body of knowledge

With apartheid's legacy of 'separate development' many aspects of social life were regulated across racial lines, and the domain of sport is no exception. Post-1994 saw the disbandment of racial sanctions with all South Africans (including athletes), now considered to be on equal footing. Bearing in mind this perceived social advancement in South Africa, this study investigates categories of race through social media platforms and online publications regarding sporting athlete, WVN.

In the context of post-apartheid South Africa, a largely racialized, hetero-bias society (Hassim, 1991) the study critically analyses online representations of WVN to uncover normalized discourses of race and gender in South Africa. In particular, with the Olympian making headlines, the study aims to investigate the online representations locating WVN within a still racially divided post-apartheid setting, where contestations are still present. By drawing on Ahmed's (2004) work on 'affective economy' the study looks at how emotions are drawn into three forums, specifically in the form of memes, twitter hashtags and Facebook posts.

The study offers a unique perspective into the sporting industry in South Africa, and the ways in which individuals speak about issues and reveal ideas relating to race and gender. Furthermore, the study investigates the ways in which these discourses circulate forming my interpretation of what Ahmed (2004) terms the 'affective economy'. Effectively, the study contributes an overview of the emotions circulating around particular representations of WVN, and how these discourses/ emotions may align individuals with communities

(grouping), and in turn stratify bodies, identity in particular with social spaces. Furthermore, the study addresses social issues (race) in an apartheid (historic), and post-apartheid (current) context, in order to investigate whether any apartheid ideological praxis are still present, and the effect this may have on reform or transformation in the ‘new’ South Africa.

1.11 Significance of the study

The study offers an investigation into media representations of race using WVN as a catalyst for research of this kind. The study hopes to offer a contemporary perspective into the legacy of apartheid as it pertains to the South African sporting industry and explore how it resurfaces in the post-apartheid online space.

The research study calls for a critical examination of the way in which people of colour are being represented in the media (especially in the sporting domain) and if there remains any apartheid vestiges in the way they are spoken about (both by the media, and the broader society- social media users). This research study is important as it aims to document the development of the sporting industry during apartheid, and establish an archive of the representation of sport in South Africa, especially the Olympic Games. Bearing in mind this aforementioned foundation, the research focus is on the investigation on apartheid vestiges in recent local online material circulated concerning WVN, and probes the destabilization and re-imagining of societal categories in the post-apartheid South Africa.



Summary

This chapter introduces the apartheid context of South Africa, highlighting in particular the racial classifications of the regime and the regulations within the sporting context, with a focus on the Olympic Games. Furthermore, the research area and one prominent South African athlete is introduced as being tied, through their representations online to issues of race within a South African context.

This background information allows for the establishment of the research problem statement, which is followed by the research aims and objectives, specific research questions, significance and feasibility of the study.

Structure of the thesis

Chapter one is the introductory lecture which provides a detailed contextual description of South Africa's history, mainly centres on *apartheid* and the political and economic landscape of the country. The study focuses on issues pertaining to race, and racial discourse(s) which circulate the sporting domain in South Africa, specifically the country's involvement in the Olympic Games (Rio 2016 summer Olympics). This included the context shaping the research problem, and establishing the research aims and objectives. The significance of the study and research questions is discussed in the final section.

Chapter two is the Literature Review section and provides an overview of all the literature necessary to develop an understanding of the legacy of apartheid and how it affects sports and social ordering in contemporary South Africa. This chapter reviews literature on *inter alia* identity (*coloured*) identity, ideologies, race, Afrikaans and Kaaps, the role of emotion in the construction of an 'affective economy' (Ahmed, 2004). In addition, as this study is based on online platforms, this chapter reviews work on social networking sites, Facebook, Twitter, critical media theories, multimodality and accounts for the creation of a hashtags analysis.

Chapter three is the Theoretical and Analytical framework section which give an outline of the theories which inform the study, these topics are namely: social representation theory, critical race theory and the 'affective economy'. The analytical framework is informed by *inter alia* discourse analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, and representation.

Chapter four is the methodology section which provides a detailed description of the data collection approach. This includes a written, as well as a diagrammatic description of the data collection process. The methodological approach is discussed, and data sources/ analysis and interpretational context is specified. Ethical considerations are provided, and the contribution of the research study to the broader field of study.

Chapter five is the first data analysis chapter focussing on racial discourses, and discusses emotions of pride in the hashtag #ColouredExcellence online conversation.

Chapter six is the second data analysis chapter focussing on the dismantling of the *coloured narrative*, where historical discourses seem to emerge, revealing discourses of anger, pain and shame.

Chapter seven is the third data analysis chapter focussing on national discourses, whereby issues pertaining to racial exclusion seem to materialize.

Chapter eight is the discussion chapter which revisits the objectives and research questions set out in this introductory chapter.

Chapter nine is the concluding chapter which offers final insights and puts forth recommendations for future research.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will give an overview of the literature important for contextualizing the manner in which sporting achievements by athletes of *colour* is consumed online, with specific reference to the post-apartheid context, discourses of race and identity, role of emotion and Ahmed's (2004) 'affective economy'. This chapter also provides an overview of the 'demand generation' which use social media networking sites and specifically discusses Twitter and Facebook as important social media sites in this study. Both platforms are discussed as have a particular culture, with its own characteristics and limitations. Confluent concepts such as *inter alia* multimodality, hashtags and critical media theories are also provided here.

2.2 South Africa – an apartheid² context

South Africa is a nation home to many different cultures, ethnic origins and religions. It is a country with eleven official languages, and is often described as the 'rainbow' nation. This description is tied to the many people of all types, colours and creeds live together seemingly harmoniously as one diverse and colourful nation. This depiction of an inclusive 'rainbow nation', albeit clearly riddled with inconsistencies (cf. Buqa, 2015) was nonetheless clearly not the desired vision for the country during the years of apartheid and the many hundreds of years of colonial rule that preceded it. The historical era which is significant to my study is the time period between 1948 and 1994, a time when non-white citizens of South Africa suffered racial discrimination, persecution and oppression through state-run legislation, a time well known as 'apartheid' (Afrikaans for 'separate'). The man, considered the architect of this unjust system was Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, a Dutch-born, South African politician and leader of the National Party (ruling party during apartheid). During his ruling, he heavily repressed anti-apartheid activism. Due to his efforts in placing firmer legal and theoretical

²The word apartheid is not capitalized throughout this thesis as a deliberate strategy to dismantle and disempower this oppressive system.

basis to the apartheid system, in particular his resistance to even the limited form of integration known as “baas-skap” (*boss-ship*), have led him to be labelled the *architect of apartheid* (Coombes, 2003: 22). I argue that by deeply understanding the apartheid regime and its affect is on oppressed people of colour³, one can better appreciate the 2016 Olympics win by WVN which is the main unit of analysis for this thesis.

Although apartheid became the official system of government in 1948, arguably these laws date back to the colonial era (Posel, 2001). During apartheid these colonial laws were largely legislated by the National Party who won power and enforced their laws under the apartheid administration (Posel, 2001). The main aspect of this system was the racial segregation-which became institutionalized within the country. During this time there was a distinction made between citizens based on their race, this was done using racial hierarchization. Essentially, apartheid was a system of institutionalized racial oppression of the white minority over the black majority, with the distinct objective of creating division across racial lines. This belief was reinforced by the Population Registration Act of 1950, which effectively grouped people into strict racial groups imposed under apartheid law.

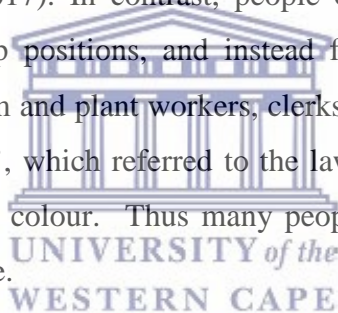
The Act required that each citizen of South Africa be registered in accordance with their racial categories. Social rights, political rights, educational opportunities, and economic status were tied to the racial group to which an individual belonged (Posel, 2001). There were three basic racial classifications under the law: White, Coloured (mixed-race) and Black. A ‘Coloured’ individual is defined as someone with mixed racial, ethnic and cultural heritage due to their diverse ancestry (Dutch, Khoi-san; and so forth). This racial group is thus not a homogenous group of people, and are made up of sub-groups which may have distinctive language backgrounds, physical characteristics, religious practices, traditions, and so forth (cf. Petrus & Isaacs-Marlin, 2012). Indians, many of whom came to the Cape as indentured workers, were added as a separate classification as they were seen as having “no historical right to the country” (Posel, 2001: 1). This is an example of the arbitrary criteria established to separate people from other race classifications, specifically from white citizens. Other categories included *inter alia* Malay (with ancestry originally from Southeast Asia), Griqua

³ I use this term to describe all people that are not deemed as white under apartheid law. Notably, I do differentiate between the black and coloured populace as this distinction is important to understanding the issues that plague South Africa currently.

(subgroup of South African's, descendent from the San and Khoi-khoi people) and Chinese (Posel, 2001).

With the white racial group at the top of the hierarchy, this group had more opportunities (economic, educational and social) afforded to them, as well as greater access to basic amenities across all domains of social life (McIntosh, 1989). This category was followed by the Coloured/Indian population and although they were also discriminated against, they were assigned a 'higher' status than black people. The latter group was by far the most oppressed during apartheid and had the *least* prospects across every domain (work, education, social spheres). The important factor here is that there was a clear distinction made between White persons and people of colour (Posel, 2001).

With regard to economic opportunities, white people were privileged in the sense that they were given the highest paid jobs (such as managers, supervisors, CEO's, to name a few) which ensured that they would be able to afford access to luxury amenities and maintain a comfortable lifestyle (Sibiya, 2017). In contrast, people of colour were never allowed to occupy managerial or leadership positions, and instead formed the large majority of the working class force (factory, farm and plant workers, clerks, etc). This is better known as the notion of 'separate development', which referred to the laws governing the movements and economic activities of people of colour. Thus many people of colour, even today, can be seen living below the poverty line.



Having said this, it was not unheard of for Coloured and Indian individuals to be given slightly 'higher' positions in the labour sector, which went a long way with the interiorization of superiority of Coloured and Indian persons over Blacks, and played a pivotal role in further dividing people of colour (Rondganger, 2006). Although the population registration act was repealed by the South African parliament in 1991, the racial categories defined in the act remain arguably ingrained in South African culture (Rondganger, 2006). It is the subtle (and insidious) way that it seeps into current South African culture which this study is especially interested in, specifically in the domain of sport, which was also part of the separate development practice.

2.2.1 The turning tide: political boycott's and sanctions

During this period of intense social discrimination in South Africa, various countries, considered pivotal in the development and sustainability of economic well-being in South Africa, imposed political sanctions on the country in order to pressure the apartheid government to put an end to their oppressive regime (Hefti, et al., 2011). These sanctions were applied in the mid 1980's and covered trade, finance and sport. In the trade sector, the European Commission (EC), Japan and the US sanctioned the import of the Kruger rand and certain steel and iron products. The sanctions also covered import of products from partially state-controlled enterprises, such as uranium, coal, textiles, agricultural products, and food as well as export of petroleum products. Germany and Great Britain made recommendations but imposed no binding sanctions on South Africa (Hefti, 2011).

Perhaps the most important of the sanctions imposed on South Africa, was that of Australia/New Zealand. The Australia–South Africa relations are namely foreign relations between Australia and South Africa. Australia has a High Commission in Pretoria, and likewise South Africa has a High Commission in Canberra (Australia's capital). Both countries are former British colonies in the southern hemisphere and share similar cultures in terms of sports and language, and are also both members of the Commonwealth of Nations. It was estimated, in 2010 that around 155,690 South Africans reside in Australia (Politics Web, 2012).

When Australian Prime Minister at the time, Gough Whitlam came to power in December 1972, his Government quickly acted to eradicate all legacy of racism and to implement a more independent position on foreign policy. One of its first actions was to restrict the entry of racially selected sports teams and individuals, and instead initiated an apartheid sports boycott. In 1977, Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock said that it was not possible to separate politics from sport because the South African Government had enforced a political doctrine on its sportsmen and sports associations (Cashman, 1977). Following the inauguration of the first democratically elected Government of South Africa, in May 1994, normal relations between Australia and South Africa resumed.

In 1997, the Australia-South Africa Joint Ministerial Commission (JMC) was established, and is chaired by Trade Ministers. The JMC is the top forum for talks about and the consolidation of the trade and economic relationship between South Africa and Australia (Trademinister.gov.au, 1997).

This section has laid out the foundation of what life in South Africa was like under apartheid, and the various domains affected by the racist system. To follow is a brief introduction into South Africa's sporting context, and the implications posed to the sporting arena during apartheid.

2.2.2 The Olympic Games within the post-apartheid context

South Africa's first appearance in the Olympic Games was in 1904 and the country continued to participate internationally until 1964. During which time, the IOC delegates questioned whether South Africa's mixed-race participation prohibitions violated their ban on discrimination (Espy, 1981). After some deliberation, the United Nations General Assembly, in response to the lack of inclusion of South African athletes, barred the nation from participating in the Olympic Games. After the commencement of negotiations regarding the disbandment of apartheid in 1990, the nation then re-joined the Olympic Games.

The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) was subsequently created in 1991, and South African athletes were then able to compete for their country in 1992, this time regardless of racial categorization. In the same year, South Africa competed at the 1992 Summer Olympics, previously they had last participated in the Winter Olympics in 1960 (cf. Posel, 2001).

With the end of apartheid, sporting bodies rapidly ended their boycotts against South Africa. For example, the European Community announced its member governments' ending of the boycott in June 1991 (Thakur, 2004). In that same year, as part of the changeover to multi-racial equality, a new National Olympic Committee (NOC) was formed and was admitted to the International Olympic Committee (IOC), and South Africa competed at the 1992 Summer Olympics (Tempest, 2013). Since then, South African athletes have excelled at their various sporting professions, and won various medals for the country.

While progress has been made on the inclusion by POC, the actual identity politics is still rife and it is to this concept of social life that I turn.

2.3 Identity

Howarth (2011) defines identity as an individual's understanding of who they are in relation to other people around them. Howarth (2011) maintains that identity incorporates an idea of belonging and shared knowledge; as well as a sense of difference and individuality. Having said this, it is evident that different forms of identity and thus, different types of social groups, lead to different ways in which people speak about identity issues. This refers to ways of speaking about events, people and issues; specifically these narratives are the focal points of the research. This is an objective that the researcher will try to uncover in the analysis of online material on Olympian, WVN.

Erikson (1951; 1968) used 'identity' in ways similar to what other scholars in the field have labelled "self-concept" (Leary and Tangney, 2012: 73). However, the term identity can also be conceptualized as "a way of making sense of some aspect or part of self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). As people try to find or define their identity, they attempt to emphasize their individuality, but also connect with others (Buckingham, 2008). Buckingham (2008) argues that people work to preserve their sense of status or self-esteem, and in doing so, the formation of identity often involves a process of stereotyping. This process allows people to differentiate between the self and other, and also to define themselves and their group in positive ways (Buckingham, 2008). The research study is aimed at identifying collective notions on race in South Africa as they are tied to representations of WVN's online identity. More on representational theory is provided in the next chapter.

Jenkins (2004) draws on this above mentioned approach; and argues that social identity should not be seen as an immobile possession but as a social process, where the individual and the social are inseparable, related concepts (Buckingham, 2008). This means that the individual and well as their social experiences and interactions help to create the person's view or understanding of their individual identities. It would be very interesting and relevant to the research study to discuss how WVN has been represented in the virtual space; and what understanding this gives to their perceived identities. For example, WVN has been represented as a Coloured South African sprinter, although whether or not he identifies himself as a Coloured person is unknown.

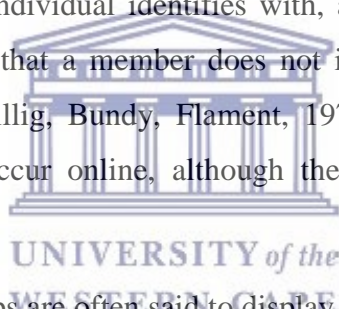
This above-mentioned notion brings to the fore, the importance of social identity theory. Social identity theory is defined as "a social psychological analysis of the role of self-conception in group membership, group processes, and inter-group relations" (Burke,

2006:111-112). The theory is framed by the view that collective phenomena cannot be adequately explained in terms of remote individual processes or interpersonal interactions alone (ibid. Burke, 2006). Thus, the online representations of WVN is documented; including the ways in which followers have commented on the various online materials and the deeper discussions on race these elements unfold.

Social identity theory is one that provides a core from which psychologists and sociologists can understand the associations and interactions between individuals and the social worlds which they occupy (Liu & Laszlo, 2006). In order to understand the concept of identity in the virtual space, it is important to discuss the many ways identity may emerge online and the affordances and limitations which they may have.

2.4 In-groups and out-groups

The concept “in-group” typically refers to the idea of being a member of a social group or community, in which case the individual identifies with, and forms part of the ‘in-group’. Whereas, “out-group” indicates that a member does not identify as a member of a social group or community (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, Flament, 1971). This type of ‘in-group’ and ‘outgroup’ memberships also occur online, although there remains a dearth of research conducted on these features.



Within social behaviour, in-groups are often said to display features of ‘In-group favouritism’ (Tajfel, et al., 1971). This refers to the inclination for individuals to work better with in-group members than with out-group members. Examples of such behaviours online can be seen on social media sites, whereby closed group pages or profiles can be created, which users need to request access to. Another example is that users are afforded the ability to restrict their profile’s on social media sites like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram; this mean that only those they have accepted as ‘friends’ may view their profiles, and content. In terms of online practices on social media sites, the use of hashtags may also be used to express group membership, or group bodies together, for example #ColouredExcellence, #BlackLivesMatter, to name a few.

A concept in out-group theory, and which often accompanies in-group favouritism, is “out-group derogation” (Zhong, Phillips, Leonardelli, & Galinsky, 2008). This refers to the phenomenon where a member of, or the entire out-group is perceived as threatening to the in-group. The phenomenon also includes instances where an out-group is seen as “blocking or

hindering the goals of an in-group” (Zhong, et al., 2008). It can be argued that such phenomena are the result of categorization practices in general (ie. racial categorization).

The process of categorizing people into social groups reinforces the idea that in-group members are similar to one another, or must have commonalities. This leads to another phenomenon, which is known as the ‘outgroup homogeneity effect’ (Jackson, 2011). The concept refers to the act of identifying members of an out-group as being homogenous, whereas; members of one's in-group are perceived as being diverse (Jackson, 2011). Such practices are often expressed with regard to negative characteristics. In certain contexts, in-group members may also be perceived as being similar to one another (in-group homogeneity). This often occurs with regard to positive characteristics (Jackson, 2011). My research argues that these practices may arguably result in various discourses (ie. racial, national) which may reveal emotive responses.

In the next section, I discuss the development of online identities and the way they operate in the virtual space. Notably, issues of in-group and ‘outgroup’ membership operate just as effectively online.



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2.5 Online identity

Much like identity, the affordances of the digital space created the capacity for users to create their own *online identities*. The concept is also known as an ‘internet identity’ or ‘persona’, and refers to a social identity that a user creates for themselves in a digital setting (Marcus, Machilek, Schütz, 2006). Similarly, the online identity showcases the individual’s presentation of themselves, or what they would like to appear as online (Markus, et al., 2006).

Typically, in online settings (ie. social media profiles), users are able to name/rename themselves. This could be the individuals real name or a creative choice, which may be used to anonymize themselves or present a different idea of ‘self’ (Markus, et al., 2006). For example- @naturelover112. These made up ‘names’ are often referred to as ‘handles’ and are commonly used on Instagram and Twitter (Siibak, 2007). Users are also afforded the ability to have a profile picture or avatar, as well as upload photographs online. Due to technological developments, these images can also be edited to accentuate whatever characteristics the user wishes to present online.

This leads to an interesting phenomenon that has begun occurring online in contemporary online interactions, due to the contact by many different people and the circulation of their opinions, beliefs, and so forth. The concept of ‘trolling’ or an internet *troll*, is a term from urban slang and refers to “the deliberate act of making unsolicited and/or controversial comments on various internet forums” intending to provoke an emotional reaction, or to engage in a fight or argument (PCMAG.com, 2009).

Early accounts of *trolling*, were considered to be the same as instances of ‘flaming’. Flaming refers to the act of posting insults, often laced with profanity or other offensive language on social networking sites (Humphreys, 2016). Although, this view has since changed and considers trolling to be any piece of content created to target another person (Humphreys, 2016).

A confluent concept contributing to the analysis of identity, albeit in the physical world or the virtual space is that of race. It is to this particular dimension of identity which I now turn.



2.6 Race

Race, according to Wolf & Le Guin (2006), is a socially constructed concept that categorizes people based on visual differences. These differences often include characteristics such as colour of skin, colour and type of hair, shape of eyes and nose, etc (Hornby, 1995).

A recent study conducted by James (2012) has concluded that the most powerful driver of race awareness is when the state takes an interest in and funds the counting of its citizens along lines of appearance and descent. He argues that this ideology supports a heightened concentration on particularly skin colour differences, by giving unwarranted and unjust value to an “inherited and unalterable biological human characteristic” (James, 2012: 1). This idea of the state taking interest in racial categorization resonates strongly with what is already known of the apartheid era in South Africa, where racial hierarchization and racism were institutionalized. Apartheid was a racist political system, which classified citizens based on racial categories, which afforded them different political and social rights and these discriminatory practices could be seen in every domain, including sports.

Many studies on the topic of apartheid reflect that policies of systematic racial discrimination and separation had a deep and enduring effect on inequality in South Africa. However, it can also be argued that inequality predated apartheid, and the core components of its distributional command existed before the system itself (Seekings & Natrass, 2005). By 1948, the South African state had established a set of policies regarding welfare, the labour market, and the growth path that controlled patterns of inequality. According to Seekings (2005) state policies shaped but did not all-together determine the massive social and economic changes within South African society.

According to the census of 1946, 11.4 million people lived in South Africa, of whom 2.4 million were classified as European (white), 1.2 million Coloured or Asiatic (Indian), and 7.8 million as Native (African). The population was increasing by a bit more than 2 percent yearly, resulting in the population growing by more than one million by the 1951 census (Seekings, et al. 2005). This meant that almost two out of three South Africans lived in the rural areas, the statistics being 4.4 million living in cities and towns, against 7 million in the rural areas. Regardless of the rapid urbanization that had occurred during the early 1940's, the majority of Coloured, Indian, and white people lived in urban areas, but only “one-quarter of the African population lived in the towns or cities” (ibid, 2005: 53).

More than one-half of the economically active population worked in agriculture (in the commercial and the subsistence sectors) and many workers in urban areas were migrants who often paid part of their income to dependents remaining in the rural areas (Seekings, 2005). The journey from countryside to town was a crucial part of the lives of most African men (but few African women) but, generally, South African society was still overwhelmingly rural in 1950 (ibid, 2005).

All the literature compiled on apartheid, show that South African society was transformed during those four decades. Developments of class formation re-formed the urban and rural landscape, and the economy grew rapidly with industrialization and the advancement of services (including those in the public sector). The result, a large, settled urban African working class was formed, and a significant African middle class emerged (Seekings & Nattrass, 2005). Also important to note is that large numbers of African families lost access to land and became entirely dependent on wages (ibid, 2005). During this period inequality stayed at a high level, and this was due in part to the direct effects of public policies of systematic racial discrimination and segregation (ibid, 2005).

Studies show that in the 1970's, the South African apartheid state began slowly retreating from direct racial discrimination in public policy and interracial inequality began to decline, but the overall level of inequality and discrimination remained largely unchanged (ibid, 2005). However, inequality under apartheid was not the product of public policy alone, but also stemmed from the relations of public policy and the dynamics of capitalist development in the country.

Race is therefore an important concept for the study because it looks at the social representation of Olympian, WVN, who has had considerable media speculation and various public reactions concerning his racial identity. These media and public discourses can both be analysed for traces of apartheid vestiges in the post-apartheid era. Furthermore, an important avenue to relate these components of identity and representation is to investigate just how emotion and affect come into play, this is conducted through Ahmed's (2004) work on language, the body and emotion.

Since the concepts of race and the emotions circulating racial discourse have been so

prevalent in the literature important for this study, what will follow is some literature on the ‘coloured’ racial identity and emotion.

2.6.1 Races in South Africa

The concept of Race, and related concepts of ethnicity and language, has been central to South African history, politics, society, and culture, since colonial times. South Africa remains a multi-faceted blend of races, cultural identities, languages and ethnic bonds (Nengwekhulu, 1986).

Race and ethnicity were considered especially controversial ideas during the apartheid era. During this time, the government used it strategically for political gain; although racially discriminatory policies and segregation had been in place long before the beginning of apartheid in 1948. The apartheid government created four official racial categories: Black, Coloured, White and Asian/Indian (Nengwekhulu, 1986).

Modern-day South Africa is considered a multi-racial, democratic society; which officially embraces its diversity. The image of the ‘Rainbow Nation’, made popular by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in 1994 is often used to describe the post-apartheid South Africa. Symbolically, it is the most common of a number of symbols used to promote the idea of a free, multi-racial and democratic society (Ramutsindela, 1997). Other symbols within the South African context include, the recognition of eleven official languages, the post-1994 flag and the country’s unique national anthem which combines the traditional African song *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika* with the apartheid-era anthem (*Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*).

Apartheid distinguished individuals on the basis of racial categorization. Although these categories are reorganized on different names and referred to as ‘population groups’, they are still officially used in statistical publications and census data (Ramutsindela, 1997). The act of officiating, registration and classification into racial groups has generally been replaced with racial self-identification. “Government affirmative action policies such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Employment Equity make use of these official racial categorizations” (Ramutsindela, 1997). These are a few realities which add to the continued difficulty with building a ‘Rainbow Nation’ or single South African nation (Ramutsindela, 1997).

According to the 2011 Census, 79.2% of South Africans (41 million) were considered ‘Black Africans’, 8.9% were Coloured (4.62 million), approximately 8.9% were white (4.59 million), 2.5% were ‘Indian or Asian’ (1.29 million) and only 0.2% (280.4 thousand) who declared themselves as another race (Census, 2011).

Below is a table reflecting the various races in South Africa. The statistics are tabulated according to province.

Province	Black	Coloured	White	Indian	Other
Eastern Cape	86.30%	8.30%	4.70%	0.40%	0.30%
Free State	87.60%	3.10%	8.70%	0.40%	0.20%
Gauteng	77.40%	3.50%	15.60%	2.90%	0.70%
KwaZulu-Natal	86.80%	1.40%	4.20%	7.40%	0.30%
Limpopo	96.70%	0.30%	2.60%	0.30%	0.20%
Mpumalanga	90.70%	0.90%	7.50%	0.70%	0.20%
North West	89.80%	2.00%	7.30%	0.60%	0.30%
Northern Cape	50.40%	40.30%	7.10%	0.70%	1.60%
Western Cape	32.80%	48.80%	15.70%	1.00%	1.60%

2.6.2 Coloured, Cape Flats and Kaaps

The population registration Act of 1950 classifies the term ‘coloured’ as referring to persons who are not white individuals, and also not native Africans, due to their diverse ancestry. This definition of the term, ‘coloured’ detaches this group from the racial or aboriginal tribes native to Africa. Another definition for the racial categorization during apartheid included other ‘groups’ considered to be part of the coloured ancestry. These groups were Khoisan, Bantu, Afrikaner, English, Austronesian, East Asian and South Asian. This was mainly due to the “combination of ethnicities, different families and individuals within a family may have a variety of different physical features” (Posel, 2001). This shows division by race, country of origin, language as well as spatiality/geography. Coloureds reside predominantly in the western part of South Africa (Western Cape). In Cape Town, they form 45.4% of the total population, as is seen in the population table shown above (Census, 2011).

Adhikari (2006) in his publication on expressions of the coloured identity in white supremacist South Africa takes an affective turn, whereby the focus is on the emotive responses to the coloured identity during apartheid. The research seeks to identify the basic impulses for ‘coloured exclusivity’ (cf. Adhikari, 2006) in white supremacist SA. The study also seeks to highlight important points in the continuity and changes outlining coloured self-definition. The argument made is that coloured identity remained stable throughout the apartheid era. This was derived from a core of “enduring characteristics” that formed the manner in which ‘colouredness’ functioned as an identity marker during this period (Adhikari, 2006: 467). The coloured community is still a minority population in South Africa, although the majority of Coloureds reside in and around the Western Cape area. These groups are generally labelled ‘Cape Coloureds’ (Posel, 2001).

In South Africa, some Cape Coloured groups are affiliated with Cape Malay culture. Coloureds are generally seen as bilingual. Whilst some may only speak Afrikaans, others are English-speaking and most have been known to code-switch which brings to light other vernacular- such as cape slang, “kombuis” Afrikaans and Kaaps dialect (Dennis, 2008). This dialect is often referred to as the language of the Cape Flats or *Kaapse Afrikaans*, and is said to be spoken by approximately 70% of the coloured communities residing in and around the Cape Flats areas (Williams, 1996).

The main narrative that plays a pivotal role in the objectives for the underlying research is the new interpretations of *colouredness* in the transformation of SA. It is well-known that South

Africa's culture was forged in an intense and ruthless struggle (Barber, 2001). Though the new South Africa, through political liberalization and cultural reinvention, is reinventing itself and encouraging transformation and behaviours, apart from the influences of economics. What is marked as the biggest transformation above all is in terms of identity and self-representation (Barber, 2001). Barber (2001) and Adhikari (2006) argue that in turn, such transformation requires new scholarly analysis.

The journal article provides ideas that depict “a loose amalgam” of prospects to think about such issues in a new and critical light. Their agenda is to consider new phenomena, such as the digital revolution and efforts from citizens and the media to promote a rainbow nation. They maintain that it is “through expressive forms that the political revolution can most be lived out” (Barber, 2001: 177). They also maintain that “in the refashioning of personal and collective identities and in the rediscovery of a common humanity” can the notion of the rainbow nation and the new South Africa be realized (Barber, 2001: 177).

In South Africa, the term *coloured*, has a specific meaning. The reason for this being that it signifies an individual of racial ancestry, rather than the internationally recognized term for a person that is Black. Adhikari argues that the marginality of coloured communities was central to the manner that the coloured identity manifested itself socially and politically (Adhikari, 2009). Other features marking the coloured identity is the title as an intermediate position within the racial hierarchy, and the negative racial stereotyping which is commonly associated with the coloured community (Adhikari, 2009). The authors state that although these racial stereotypes were much more noticeable under white supremacy, they are still present, albeit subtly, today.

Adhikari's study attempts to cover contemporary, ground-breaking work on the coloured identity within South Africa, and presents a series of papers emphasizing common conceptions on the origin of coloured identity, as well as the stimuli shaping of “historical trajectories of the colonial conquest, segregation and resistance” (Adhikari, 2009: 10). Perhaps the most interesting and relevant chapters cover the reconfiguration of identities in the context of the defeat of white rule. The challenge posed to such work lies in explaining how and why identities come into being and evolve over periods of time and circumstances.

The main arguments made here include the re-imagination of post-modernist narratives of identity, especially that of the ‘coloured’, and secondly they highlight the fluidity and complexity of the coloured identity. Included here is also the trauma and impact of apartheid

on identity formation, whereby the authors focus in particular on the forced removals of people of colour during apartheid (cf. Adhikari, 2009). It is the forced removals which took place, whereby large populations (of especially Coloured individuals) were moved to urban suburbs, away from the city centre that lead to the establishment of the Cape Flats. The coloured identity is one of profound complexity, and often interpreted as an “ambiguous and in-between” identity (Nikolaeva, 2013: 4). It is in this ambiguity that multiple meanings and articulations emanate. The research conducted by Nikolaeva (2013) examines how multiple discourses are produced by coloured youth within a post-apartheid context, with the purpose of understanding how they reconstruct and negotiate identities while adjusting to various social contexts daily. The findings elicited various discourses and practices commonly found with minoritized groups, which can be realized as ‘instrumental agency’, as it challenges dominant discourses on their identities (cf. Nikolaeva, 2013:4).

Interestingly, Nikolaeva’s research aims study aims to revive the term ‘coloured’ as an “ethnic/hybrid cultural identity” whilst simultaneously rejecting the coloured identity “as a product of apartheid social engineering” (2013: 4). The dominant view with the youth is that they do not feel that their identities as ‘coloured’ have been tainted by South Africa’s past, but rather that it has given them the opportunity to transform past narratives and reclaim agency and voice in the new South Africa.

Similarly, in a study conducted by Meadows (2008) the frequency of racist frameworks and discourses among coloured persons are explored, in an area called Wentworth (located in Durban, South Africa). The researcher employs a discourse analysis as the methodology and theoretical frame, and the data for the study is compiled of focus-group and interview data. The purpose was to evaluate the socio-political relevance of such discourse in the context of the participants’ identities (coloured), especially they have residual links to racial hierarchies derived from the colonial era.

Sample groups data were chosen for analysis and reflection of Wentworth’s socio-economic spectrum, which elicited discussion on the ways in which colouredness and ideals are reflected by different socio-economic groups (Meadows, 2008). The findings of the study showed that participants felt that there were multiple ways to express the coloured identity, which seemed to differ significantly between the sampled groups. Some narratives expressed deeply-rooted pessimism toward being coloured. However, the basic consensus was that the coloured culture is an amalgamation of various “South African customs, traditions, cuisines

and linguistic characteristics” (Meadows, 2008: 44). This aligns with the general notion that coloured identity is quite fluid and complex. In the new SA, a popular effect of coloured individuals is that they are ‘not white enough’ and ‘not black enough’ (Meadows, 2008), this is also aligned with the idea of marginalization, and that the coloured narrative has not much been transformed post-apartheid.

Another paper written by Adhikari (2004) explores the reconstruction of the coloured identity in a post-apartheid framework. The main argument posed here is that the coloured narrative has remained remarkably stable throughout apartheid, as well as after its abolition. However, currently there is evidence of transformation in the coloured identity, especially as a social identity (ibid, Adhikari, 2004). Due to new affordances of mobility and freedom of association, previously barred under apartheid law, most basic assumptions sustaining the apartheid coloured identity have come under scrutiny and questioned. This has in turn, created a new space for conceptualizing colouredness and allowing for diverse and creative responses that shows exactly how fluid the coloured identity is within the rainbow nation. This has given rise to both the idea of voice and agency, and the coloured community being actively involved in the transformation and re-imagination of the coloured identity, and its social role within the new South Africa (Adhikari, 2004).

What is evident here is that the coloured narrative is one of reconstruction, for both identity and social history. Dannhauser (2006) in his research study analyses two films about Westbury (an area located in Johannesburg, South Africa) to examine representations of “community, identity, culture and historic memory” (Dannhauser, 2006: 1). The author argues that the ambiguous nature of the coloured identity, paired with the lack of recorded histories and the “unambiguous identification of collective cultural codes” (ibid, 2006: 1) results in the representation becoming undermined, contested and marginal.

The aim here is to sketch the full spectrum of coloured identity and culture, and through this to challenge the dominant stereotypes and disrupt discourses of “otherness and difference” (ibid, 2006: 1). Interestingly, findings showed that the coloured community (from the sample) reverted back to stereotypical ideas to represent their shared history, which lead to the argument that documentaries do not always play an effective role in the representation of lived experiences and remembered history (ibid, 2006). In order to understand the history of the ‘coloured identity’ and how it came to be understood as an ‘identity’, literature on the Cape Flats is especially important.

2.6.3 The Emergence of the Cape Flats

Giesecking, Mangold, Katz, Low & Saegert (2014) maintains that place and identity are inseparably bounded concepts, thus space can often evoke emotions of belonging, or not belonging. In so doing, determines the dynamics of in-group and out-group relationships. The relationship between these concepts are shaped as people come to identify with where they live, they shape their environments and are in turn also shaped by it (Giesecking et al, 2014). Giesecking terms this ‘environmental autobiographies’ (cf. Giesecking, et al, 2014), which refers to the narratives we produce from the memories of the spaces that played a role in shaping us.

Returning to Giesecking, et al. (2014) notion of ‘environmental autobiographies’ and the effect of place on identity, the reference to Cape Flats conjures up a particularly hopeless image. Having said this, it becomes easier to understand how apartheid narratives of people of colour were shaped by their living conditions, and thus shaped their sense of identity through the memories of their past.

In 1948, the National Party (NP) ran for election on its policy of racial segregation, a system which would later become known as apartheid. After successions of court and constitutional battles, the already limited voting rights of the Coloured communities within the Cape Province were revoked. This led the NP to have much more free reign, and less legal backlash from oppressed citizens. In 1966, the District Six area (home to many Coloured people for centuries) was demolished and declared a “whites-only area” (Soudien, 1990). This and many similar declarations under the Group Areas Act lead to entire communities being up-rooted and relocated to the Cape Flats (Dawood, 1994).

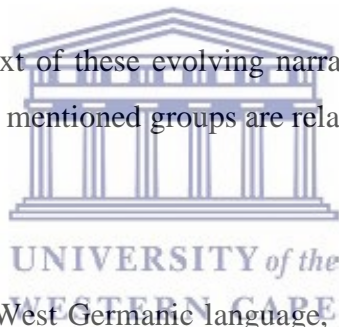
Under apartheid, the Cape was considered a preferential area for Coloured labour, much to the exclusion of Black Africans. The apartheid government tried for decades to eliminate largely Xhosa squatter camps, such as Crossroads, which played a pivotal role for black resistance in the Cape area. In the last forced removal, between May and June 1986, an estimated 70,000 people were banished from their homes (SA history online, 2000).

This mass-scale displacement of Coloured communities, are what gave rise to the formation of the Cape Flats, which has also been labelled “apartheid’s dumping ground” (SA history online, 2000). The Cape Flats is a vast area of land, mostly populated by residents living in

flats as part of the apartheid government's low level housing schemes. The general Cape Flats area is situated on the southeast of Cape Town's CBD (central business district). Although it covers quite a vast expanse of area, which ranges from southern suburbs areas, like Athlone, to areas further toward the northern suburbs, like Mitchell's Plain (Williams, 1996).

Coloured stereotypes have been an issue amongst the coloured community, as the result is often that this diverse population group becomes seen as a homogenous group; and many individuals do not conform to the limited characteristics set by these stereotypes. Some stereotypes attempt to dictate what a 'coloured' looks like, such examples include the 'passion gap'⁴ (Morris, 1998), the idea of being a *bruinmens* (brown-skinned person), and the stereotype of being considered lazy (February, 2014). Other stereotypes reflect notions on what the lifestyle of a 'coloured' is. This thinking includes coloured people having a high-likelihood toward drug-use and abuse, involvement in gangsterism (February, 2014).

In order to understand the context of these evolving narratives of identity, research on the language repertoires of the above mentioned groups are relayed.



2.6.4 Afrikaans and Kaaps

Afrikaans is considered to be a West Germanic language, spoken in South Africa, Namibia and is a minority language in Botswana and Zimbabwe (Heese, 1971). The language evolved from the Dutch vernacular of South Holland, which was spoken by Dutch settlers who came to the Cape in 1648 (Heese, 1971). Afrikaans then slowly began to developing distinctive characteristics during the course of the 18th century. The language was formerly known as Cape Dutch, a term also used to refer collectively to the early Cape settlers (Coetzee, 1948). Another term used was *kitchen Dutch*, which was a derogatory word for *Afrikaans* in earlier years. This is especially interesting as *Kaaps*, is also called *kombuis Afrikaans* (kitchen afrikaans). Whilst not necessarily understood as derogatory, the Kaaps language does have a lot of stigma attached to it (Hamman, 2005).

⁴The act of removing the front teeth (usually four) to reveal a front gap in the mouth

Whilst the Afrikaans vocabulary has many adopted words from other languages, including German and the Khoisan languages, an estimated 90 to 95% of Afrikaans words are of Dutch origin (SA history online, 2000). Differences often occur with regards to the analytic morphology and grammar of Afrikaans, spellings and pronunciation rather than standard Dutch. There is a large degree of mutual intelligibility between the two languages- especially in written texts” (Sebba, 2007). Today, Afrikaans continues to evolve, with contact from other local dialects and vernaculars.

Kaaps, also known as Cape Dutch in previous years, is a language considered to carry much controversy that exists surrounding this language’s right to be respected and its role in the evolution of Afrikaans (Hamman, 2005). Historically, Kaaps came before the official form of Afrikaans accepted today. This language (Kaaps) was mainly used by the slaves and workers of past, and due to this was undermined and stigmatized by a people who considered this a ‘low-class’ dialect (Hamman, 2005). This vernacular is still very commonly spoken throughout the Western Cape, and today, coloured communities are labouring to revive and re-establish Kaaps speakers and restore their dignity (Hamman, 2005).

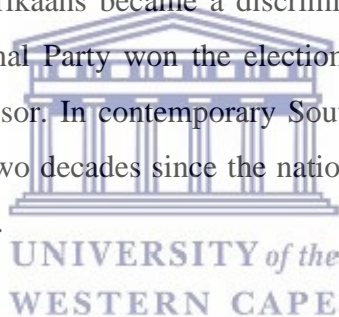
The Kaaps dialect was born in the 17th century due to communication with locals and Dutch settlers in the Dutch-dominated colony, known as Cape Town. In these years, the region was filled with many different cultures from all over the world. These cultural groups included the Khoisan and Malays to West African and Madagascan people (Hamman, 2005). These groups were enslaved, mostly by the Dutch East India Company, and as a form of revolt they refused to adapt and speak the language of their oppressors. They then created a new creole, both to communicate with one another and also to keep their conversations private (Hamman, 2005). Under these circumstances, the Kaaps dialect was formed. The language had much influence from the large and devout Cape Muslim (*Cape Malay*) population, “the first recording of this language was written in phonetic Arabic and dates back to the early-to-mid 1800’s” (Hamman, 2005).

The Dutch term often used to refer to Kaaps was *kombuistaal* (kitchen language). During these early days, this ‘slave tongue’ carried very little status in the social hierarchy, and some may argue the same attitude remains today (Adhikari, 2004). Interestingly, *kombuis* means ‘kitchen’ in modern-day Afrikaans, although in Dutch it refers to a galley- indicating its use on the ships (Hamman, 2005). Regardless of the fact that the Cape colony at that time was

largely comprised of slaves, the language became prevalent. This resulted in Kaaps gradually becoming the mother tongue of newer generations, and eventually overtaking Dutch as a primary language in the area.

In 1875, one of the first attempts at standardizing the language was made by a descendant of the first Europeans to colonize the Cape, who had started referring to themselves as Afrikaners (people from Africa). However, distancing themselves from the language's origins in the slave quarters, instead a new standardized dialect (Afrikaans) as the pure language of the Afrikaners. In turn positioning Kaaps as being based on slang vocabularies, and thus characterizing it as a second-class tongue (Hamman, 2005). The stigma around Afrikaans is still mentioned today. Afrikaans today is still littered with words, like *eina*, *gogga*, *kwagga*, *aitsa*, which originated from the Nama languages spoken by the Khoisan; and words like *piesang* from the Malay (Hamman, 2005).

This standardized version of Afrikaans became a discriminatory tool, even though slavery was abolished. When the National Party won the election of 1948, Afrikaans became the symbol (language) of the oppressor. In contemporary South Africa, this stigma still exists, even though it has been nearly two decades since the nation's liberation from the *Apartheid* regime (SA history online, 2000).



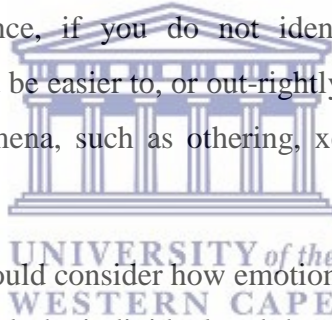
It is evident that the coloured narratives is deeply situated in *place* and *language* and that both evokes a highly emotive response from many that self-identify or is classified as coloured in South Africa. For this reason, the role of emotion and its relationship with racial representation is discussed below.

2.7 Emotion

Ahmed (2004) explores how emotions work to characterize the 'surfaces' of individual and collective bodies. Ahmed (2004: 1) maintains that "bodies take the shape of the very contact they have with objects and others". Her work conceptualizes emotion as being 'beneath the faculties of thought and reason', as she states that "to be emotional is to have one's judgement affected" (Ahmed, 2004: 3).

The key ideas presented in her work on emotion is the notion of the collective body, signalling those who form part of a group; and those who do not fit in (ie. group dynamics), here the concept of ‘othering’ comes into play. Ahmed (2004) states that the logic involved in othering is ”those who are other, threaten to make us other or threaten what is ours” (Ahmed, 2004:3-4). This becomes a source of negative emotion, often how emotions are bound up with the securing of social hierarchy (Ahmed, 2004). Such emotions are those that make claims about an individual or collective body, and is dependent on relations of power to be able to bestow meaning or value on others. Emotions shape what bodies can do “as the modifications of the body by which power of action on the body is increased or diminished” (Spinoza, 1959: 85)

Thus, the relationship between emotion, bodily sensation and cognition, in other words, emotion, feelings and thoughts, are directly related (Ahmed, 2004). Sartre (1962: 9) argues that “emotions involve a specific manner of understanding or viewing the world”. This explains why societal constructs can affect emotion and in turn, how people view individual and collective bodies. In essence, if you do not identify with or understand another individual’s perspective, it would be easier to, or out-rightly cause feelings of alienation. This leads to various societal phenomena, such as othering, xenophobia, homophobia, religion, among others.



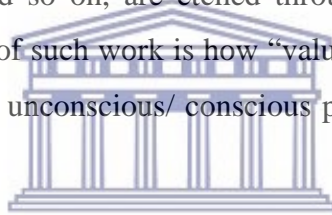
Ahmed (2004) argues that we should consider how emotions work to mediate the relationship between the psychic and the social, the individual and the collective; rather than perceiving it as psychological dispositions. Thus, this section focuses on emotions and how feelings work to make the collective appear as a body or unit, for example, the *nation*. Many scholars have written or commented on how emotions play a vital role in establishing a social bond. Examples of such kinds of discourse are discourses of fraternity or discourses of patriotism.

This thesis endeavours to explain not just the textuality of emotions, but also the emotionality of texts- a very interesting aspect for the overarching research study. This angle of discussion on emotion can be related to ‘global feelings’, involving the “resurfacing of bodies” (ibid, 2004: 34) to reflect how the global body comes into being, or is felt. This idea suggests that emotions do not need to be directed to individuals in close proximity, but that they can also occur when individuals are remote (Ahmed, 2004).

For explicit purposes of the underlying research study, emotions of pride and shame, and emotions regarding ‘class/race’ are especially important, thus these emotions are further explored.

Power, Dillain, & Devereux (2014) explores whether and how popular music, or the text of individual songs can inform us about society, or “question dominant discourses” (2014: 1) in both the political and public domain. Thus, counter-hegemonic discourses are also being circulated, which have certain power over hegemonic discourses (Power, et al. 2014). This phenomenon is explained through music icon, Morrissey, who is known for representing the struggles of the marginalized groups, and often expressing them in “subtle, provocative” ways (Power, et al. 2014: 1).

This thesis aims to contribute to an emerging body of work seeking to make sense of hegemonic discourse in popular culture, and its impact on issues concerning politics of class, identity, etc. An important part of this research is how counter-hegemonic discourse concerning social class race, and so on, are etched through semiotic, musical/ contextual means. Another important focus of such work is how “value systems” (Power, et al, 2014: 3) are established, which can be an unconscious/ conscious process, reproduced and circulated to global communities.



Emotions here are conceptualized as “embodied” and “functional” to facilitate action (ibid, 2014: 3). Furthermore, it has been extended to include the mind and body as one “somatic entity” (ibid, 2014: 3). Rosaldo (1984: 137) argues that feeling is contextualized and conceptualized through thought, and that the process of thinking is loaded with emotional meaning (ibid, 2014: 3).

Koivunen (2017) explores affect within societies and how they influence new narratives. Work of this kind is extremely influential in understanding how hegemonic discourses come into being, and the impact of individual feelings in creating collective discourses. New narratives are described here as “stories about living with, managing and rejecting shame” (Koivunen, 2017: 50). Thus, in order to be a cultural agent or audience of new narratives, one needs to engage with an “affective legacy of shame” (ibid, 2017: 50). This is especially important taking into account the narrative of ‘coloured individuals’ - a focal point in the overarching research study. The Coloured community is highly sensitive to issues of race (Adhikari, 2004). This emotional response stems from their marginality, making them feel

vulnerable in a society where race maybe be a primary form of social identification; and of social and political solidarity (Adhikari, 2004).

The sociological perspective is about recognizing constraint, which are related as ideas and tendencies not developed by self, but from external experiences or impositions of others upon us (Durkheim, 1966: 4). This may become internalized by people, which is how normalized discourse becomes apparent. Having said this, an important concept related by Ahmed (2004) is that of the *affective economy*, an important concept for the purposes of the overarching research study.

2.8 Affective Economy

Ahmed (2004)'s work on the *affective economy* namely, deals with emotion and how they operate within society; how they work to align or divide for example, or how they “move between bodies” (Ahmed, 2004: 117). She argues that emotions play a pivotal role in the “resurfacing of bodies” (ibid, 2004: 117), whether individual or collective and that this is done through emotions and how they label or describe bodies and different signs (Ahmed, 2004). This often leads to the expression of narratives that are often projections of collective responses to certain issues. “Affect is the name we give those unconscious or visceral forces that can serve us to drive toward movement (toward thought and extension) or suspend us” (Ahmed, 2004: 207). There is evidently a distinction made between affect and emotion. It is argued that affect should be privileged over emotion as it enables us to delve beyond subjective emotion into deeper force relations of what drives or maintains these affective stances/ responses (as will be discussed in the forthcoming analysis chapters).

Thus, the concept of the affective economy, asserts that emotions does not reside within the subject/object, but that it is “circulated between signifiers” (2004: 119). Thus, emotions have the power to “do things” (ibid, 2004: 119), for example they can align bodies with communities; bodily space with social space, etc. This works to create collective bodies, and the “non-residence of emotions is what makes them binding” (ibid, 2004: 119).

The chapters included in this section are: 1). economies of hate, which looks at how hate works to exclude some, and align others with the ‘national body’ (Ahmed, 2004). Also included is the concept of fear, bodies and objects, which explores how fear materializes within societies, through which emotions, and how bodies materialize. It also discusses fear

as an object. The section also covers the global economy of fear, which looks closely at the processes through which fear works to maintain or secure collective bodies. What seems to have been expressed a lot here is the notion of ‘collectives’ as aligned with emotion, so it would only be fitting to include a section on collective emotions.

Research on collective feeling/ emotion is undertaken by Ahmed (2004), and relates to how emotion works to secure collectives, or the impressions left by others. In other words, it explores the ways in which emotions “read the bodies of others” (Ahmed, 2004: 2). Since emotions can work to align or divide bodies, Ahmed (2004) argues that emotions are not private, rather they belong to individuals, but “define the contours of the multiple worlds that are inhabited by different subjects” (Ahmed, 2004: 25). Narratives or dominant discourses, show us how the production of the ordinary is possible, and how collective bodies come to exist.

New narratives require a sense of history, and a repertoire of representations, of which a “politics of pride” (James, 2017: 50) is a good response. Drawing on Ahmed (2004)’s *affective economy*, the study aims to highlight how affect is practiced, the patterns associated with economies of pride and shame, and how it is mobilized for identity construction and community building (James, 2017).

Following a study on Finnish migrants who moved to Sweden annually; and a campaign which used the trending hashtag #vågafinska; promoting the speaking of the Finnish language. A trending hashtag is one which becomes commonly used in relation to an event. In the research study, s/he found that children and grandchildren of that generation started investigating their complex identities, scrutinizing national legacies and the particulars of cultural differences (James, 2017: 51). In addition, these findings promoted yield new, heterogeneous and vibrant cultural points. The campaign both foregrounded positivity and invited the audience to participate in the reclamation of their home language and Finnish identities. The campaign achieved this through mobilizing memories and awareness of the Finnish language as a site of shame.

This economy of shame and pride mirrors the familiar dynamic of GLTBQI movements (which deals with the resisting of shame and the affirmation of self-pride. Thereby characterizing new narratives and sketching the image of “affective citizenship”; and the importance of emotion in the construction of citizenship (James, 2017:52). All these

mentioned points have specific relevance for the ‘coloured narrative’ in the South African context for the overarching research study.

At this point it is important to turn to the online space itself as it is the juncture upon which multiple people are able to level highly emotive opinions on identity politics in a post-apartheid South Africa, particularly through their hashtags. I begin with a discussion on ‘nationalism’ which is one major theme emerging from the debates/discussions surrounding #ColouredExcellence.

2.9 Nationalism

Nationalism, as an ideology refers to the idea that ‘the people’ is the nation. It is also considered a “form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation” (Smith, 2010: 9). It emphasizes the collective, and moves away from individual groupings. The concept of ‘nationalism’ is centered around supporting an individual’s nation. The notion of African nationalism forms part of a political movement which strives to unite Africa and for national freedom (Smith, 2010). African nationalism is an attempt to transform the identity of Africans to a national identity. Whereas many South Africans may classify themselves as Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, etc, this ideology encourages Africans to view themselves as South Africans (Smith, 2010).



The ideal society for South Africa is a multi-racial, democratic society, giving space to the broadest and most inclusive kind of nationalism, which operates with equality and equity. The idea is that this way of thinking would lead to an end to discrimination, inequality and barriers based upon colour, or race. African nationalism attempted to find a means to unite all the indigenous groups of South Africa in the fight against racism and discrimination, and freedom (Smith, 2010). Over time, this movement has transformed to include the promotion of conditions for an inclusive South Africanism (Smith, 2010).

The tensions between this nationalism and African exclusive nationalism, which is based on racial politics, is an issue which is currently still being addressed by different schools of thought. In South Africa, African nationalism and white Afrikaner nationalism were developed, and these ideologies slowly transformed over time. African nationalism needed to handle the context that it was faced with -a heterogeneous and a racially divided society (Kuper, 1970).

The turning point in this period was strongly influenced upon the notion of Ubuntu. The literature regarding this concept is given below.

2.9.1 Ubuntu

The word, Ubuntu, has roots in the Nguni Bantu language. The term means *humanity*, although this term is often also translated as: "I am because we are," or "humanity towards others". Apart from this, the term is also commonly used more philosophically to reflect that "the belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity" (Christian & Gade, 2012). In Southern Africa, for the word *Ubuntu* has a kind of humanist and ethic philosophy, also known as *Ubuntuism* propagated in the transition to democratic societies and 'black' rule during the 1980s and 1990s. Since South Africa's transition to democracy, during Nelson Mandela's presidency in 1994, the concept has become more popular outside of Southern Africa (SA history online, 2000).

The concept was popularized in terms of a philosophy or world-view, rather than a quality attributed to an individual. *Ubuntu* began to be characterized as a specific kind of "African humanism" during the 1970's (Louw, 2006). During the period of decolonization, *Ubuntu* was for a term describing a specifically African (or Southern African) kind of humanism found in the context of the transition to black majority rule (Louw, 2006).

2.9.2 First Nation Groups⁵

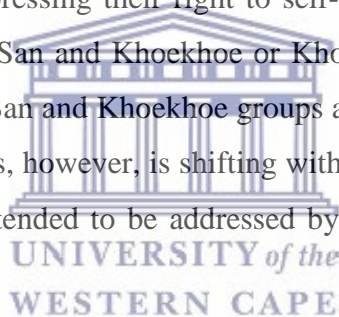
First Nation groups, refer to the indigenous people of a nation. In the South African context, the terminology refers to the Khoe-San groups (Barnard, 2007). South Africa has a total population of approximately 50 million. Indigenous groups make up around 1% of the total population of South Africa. The Indigenous groups in South Africa are collectively known as the Khoe-San. This group is made up of two families, known as the San and Khoekhoe. The San groups include the Khomani San people, who are found mainly in the Kalahari region.

⁵Groups which identify themselves as having aboriginal ancestry of a particular area. For example, the Khoi-San are considered indigenous people of South Africa

They also include the Khwe and the !Xun people who are predominantly found in Kimberley (Barnard, 2007).

The Khoekhoe tribes are comprised of a few groups, who reside in various areas. These groups are the Nama people, residing mainly in the Northern Cape. The Koranna people are mainly found in Kimberley and the Free State. The Griqua people are quite a vast group, and they generally reside in the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State and Kwa-Zulu-Natal provinces (Barnard, 2007). The Cape Khoekhoe resides mainly in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape, with an increasing number of Cape Khoekhoe in Gauteng and Free State Provinces.

In modern-day South Africa, the Khoe-San groups are increasingly displaying a range of socio-economic and cultural lifestyles and practices. The socio-political changes in the current political climate of South Africa has allowed for the deconstruction of apartheid social categories such as the "coloured" (SA history online, 2000). Today, many previously labelled coloured people are expressing their right to self-identification and taking on their African heritage and identity as San and Khoekhoe or Khoe-San (SA history online, 2000). First Nations, or the indigenous San and Khoekhoe groups are not officially acknowledged in terms of national legislation. This, however, is shifting with the pending National Traditional Affairs Bill 2013, which was intended to be addressed by parliament in 2015 (Le Fleur & Jansen, 2013).



2.9.3 'Ghatvol Cape Town'

The name, Gatvol Capetonian⁶, continues to attract attention in Cape Town, with protests which the group has conducted over land appropriation across the Cape. This newly formed organisation has been behind quite a bit of controversial issues recently (Andersen, 2018).

Ghatvol Capetonians were only established recently (on 30 April 2018), but already has many goals that it wants to achieve. The group identifies themselves as a "group of gatvol

⁶Name of a Facebook 'community' group, established in 2018, whose members have declared that they are fed up with the state of South Africa's economy, government and public affairs, etc. They have begun a movement to isolate issues affecting South Africans, and discuss ways to overcome these obstacles. Gatvol Cape Town (Fed up Cape Town) is an indignant group which has emerged in the last two years and have been calling for land to be returned to coloured people.

[fed up] Capetonians who are sick of ‘racist’ B.E.E policies, poor service delivery and crime” (Andersen, 2018). Looking at the groups Facebook page, their main goal is listed as ‘achieving Cape independence. The group was founded by three coloured men, residing in Cape Town. Their names are Oscar Lyons (the Media Liason), Fadiel Adams (the National Spokesperson) and Ebrahiem Davids (the Chairperson). Already, the group has been receiving increasing criticism regarding their comments about black South Africans who come to Cape Town from the Eastern Cape, although they deny any racist tendencies (Andersen, 2018). Regarding this, Adams commented: “I am not a racist. We have never shown hatred towards blacks. This is about fairness, justice and equality. We have welcomed people from the Eastern Cape until we discovered they don’t want us here. They want our land,” Adams said. He further adds that: “65 year-old grandmothers are living in wendy houses while 25-year-old black youth from the Eastern Cape have been here for six months and get title deeds” (Andersen, 2018).

Aside from Cape independence, the group’s goals also encompass “raising awareness” in the minority community. They also seem to show no political allegiance to any party. The group’s main concerns have been that Coloured communities are suffering at the hands of black oppression and black racism, because Coloured individuals are not considered ethnically black citizens. The group, in their manner of address of certain issues often reveal the fractured relationship existing between black and coloured South Africans. However, it also shows that the issue of land is much more complex issue (Andersen, 2018). Another concern for this group is the lack of employment opportunities for, especially coloured youth. Their statement on this is: “80% black representation in an area where I live and where we [coloureds] spend our hard earned money. And they say to our matriculants: ‘there’s no work for you here.’ See, the economy doesn’t want our youth, but the gangs do and the prisons do.” (Ghatvol CPT, in Andersen, 2018). Whilst disapproval of the group continues to grow on a national level, the group’s leaders are determined that they are growing their support base amongst the coloured community.

2.10 Social Networking Sites (SNS’s)

Scholars from varying fields have investigated SNS’s to identify practices, implications, culture and meanings of social networking sites, as well as users’ engagement with them (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). However, all these research methodologies exclude the use of SNS to promote individual brands, and how emotions circulate the different discourses that

emerge from SNS (especially with regard to a South African perspective on sport). Bearing this in mind, it is evident that the overarching research project is an extremely important one, with the potential to fill many gaps within the existing literature.

Social networking sites (SNS) can be defined as web-based services which allow people to construct a public or restricted profile “within a bounded system”, connect with various other users (whom they may share a connection with), as well as viewing and traversing their usual connections to that of others within the system (Boyd & Ellison, 2007: 2). The nature and language practices of these connections may vary from site to site (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Examples of such sites are Facebook, Twitter, which are also the sites used to collect the data for the principal research study.

Since its introduction, SNSs has attracted millions of users, many of whom have incorporated these sites into their daily activities (ibid, 2007). There are hundreds of different SNSs, each offering various technological affordances, and supporting a widespread range of interests and practices. Whilst the key technological features of these platforms are consistent, the online cultures emerging around these SNSs seem to vary in nature (ibid, 2007). The fact that cultural groups can be identified online is interesting, as it is racial discourses online that the overarching research is interested in exploring and discussing.

According to Boyd & Ellison (2007) most sites support the maintenance of pre-existing social networks, but others help strangers connect with users outside of their usual social circle, based on shared interests, political views, or activities, etc. This becomes really meaningful as the social media users obtained for the principal study are all part of a social circle that discussed the Rio Olympics in some way, using either of the hashtags aforementioned (like #ColouredExcellence #BlackExcellence, etc). Some sites accommodate diverse audiences, while others attract people based on shared language or mutual racial, sexual, religious, or nationality-based identities. These sites also vary with regard to the degree to which they integrate new information and communication tools- such as mobile connectivity; blogging and photo or video-sharing (ibid, 2007).

Boyd & Ellison’s (2007) research paper provides a conceptual, historical and scholarly context for literature on SNS. It provides an introduction into what is meant by the term SNS, as well as the historical development of the fore-mentioned over time. They argue that the use of SNSs may pose potential risks to users, although most research regarding possible internet-related harm relates to risky contact rather than content- primarily that involving interaction

with other internet users (cf. Lenhart & Madden, 2007). This found a number of studies that addressed the risk of inappropriate contact- such as cyber-bullying – for which much research exists, and also includes online contact with strangers. The research suggests that such interaction “may put users at risk of harm, either directly (as in meeting strangers in dangerous situations) or indirectly, from the consequences of their online behaviour” (ibid, 2007: 58-59).

The research paper draws on empirical data gathered from personal interviews and public accounts of various sites and their respective transformations over time. Their sample is approx. 7 participants, all of whom are younger than 25 years. Their research (ibid, Lenhart & Maden, 2007) instead of offering specific findings, give a contribution to the on-going dialogue about the importance of SNS. The authors argue that large gaps within the literature still remain and that this is mainly due to the fact that there is a lack of experimental and longitudinal studies on the topic.

Literature on social networking sites are very relevant to the research study as the study focuses on circulating discourses and commentary by users from the sites, Facebook and Twitter. The ways in which people are represented on these sites are of particular importance to this study. Having said this, the study looks at the emergence of online identities, and the construction of those various identities. With regard to the concept of ‘online identities’ Boyd (2006) sees SNS profiles as “digital blank slates that members use to write themselves into being” (Boyd, 2006: 17). This is an extremely interesting notion for the study’s discussion on the various interpretations of #ColouredExcellence online.

Boyd (2006) argues that SNS profiles can be translated as ‘identity performances’ in the same way as choices of clothing are often a conscious part of re/presenting a desired image to others. Identity(ies) can be articulated in various ways, for example, with profile appearance customization, the content of profile pages, music, video and picture selection, and so on (Thellwall, 2009). Furthermore, relatively little research has investigated the language use in SNSs, but much is known about other electronic communication styles (Thellwall, 2009). These styles are possibly all found to some extent in a typical SNS, such as shorthand, hashtagging, etc. The Internet and other forms of computer-mediated communication have brought about numerous spellings and other language variations.

Kent (2008)’s study draws on the historical record of the development of SNS proposed by Boyd & Ellison (2007). However, Kent (2008) argues that more research is needed to realize

the gratifications delivered through SNS culture and how users react / establish a sense of identity through it. The article focusses on various notions regarding the cultural implications that digitization has brought to society, through a discussion on the historical and contemporary innovations within social networking. Kent (2008) argues that the main factor driving the growth of social networking is the maintenance of friendships, thus solidifying offline relationships. Adding to this argument, he includes differentiating factors between identity established by means of a network, and that established through personal data broadcasting/ photo-publishing (ibid, 2008).

Liu and Ying's (2010) research paper offers a perspective on defining SNS, each research paper has offered this as there seem to be clear differences in opinion on what constitutes an SNS. For the purposes of the publication under review, the authors specifically relate it to public, semi-public and friend profiles (ibid, 2010). In addition, the research study offers an overview of the development of SNS globally, and discusses its various implications. The study concludes with a description of the research subjects and areas that are considered open for future research opportunities. These topics include research on impression management, friendship performance networks, online/offline connections, new technologies and mobile SNS's.

Liu and Ying's (2010) findings indicate that the rise of SNS's show a change in the organization of online communities. Whereas websites dedicated to the community will continue to prosper. They argue that "SNS are more focused on people than interests" (ibid., 2010: 752). They argue that the individual is the center of their own community and that this accurately represents the notion of the "mediated social structures" (cf, Lui and Ying, 2010: 752).

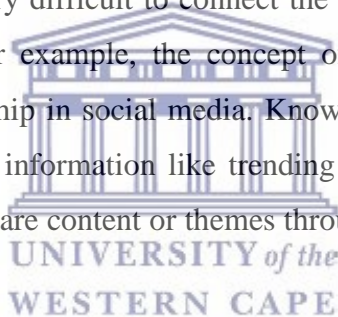
2.10.1 Facebook & Twitter

Facebook is an American online social media, and social networking platform, which was launched in 2004, founded by Mark Zuckerberg and roommates, Eduardo Saverin, Andrew McCollum, Dustin Moskovitz and Chris Hughes. Since its inception, it has become a popular means of social networking, used by approximately 2.13 billion global users. Similarly, Twitter is an online news and social networking application where users are able to post publicly, known as "tweets" and interact using direct messaging features. These messages are

no longer than 280 characters. As of the end of 2017, the global user statistics accounted 330 million active users currently making use of the service.

2.10.2 Social Media Analytics

Social media analytics refers to the process of gathering data from stakeholder discussions around digital media. The term also encompasses “processing into structured insights leading to more information-driven business decisions and increased customer centrality for brands and businesses” (Tinati, et al, 2011). The scope is considered an inter-disciplinary field of research that is used in the fields of social science and computer sciences. It offers a wide range of data in already well-established social science subjects, such as political sciences and sociology. Social media is often seen as a major shift in underlying assumptions of the social theory. Political scientists can follow unfolding political protest online (Tinati, et al, 2011) and the exchange of information between communities of different languages (Tinati, et al, 2011). Meanwhile, it is very difficult to connect the social scientific understanding of social to social media data. For example, the concept of conventional friendship hardly applies to the concept of friendship in social media. Knowledge of the analytics of a social media site can help obtain vital information like trending or popular posts, the number of posts which exist, those which share content or themes through the use of similar or the same hashtags, and so forth.



Another important observation to make about social media is its emancipatory potential. Where mainstream media has often come under criticism is in its nature to write subjectively in an effort to create newsworthy stories. This competition for newsworthiness, it has been argued, sometimes leads to stories having little factual evidence for its claims (Raczkowski, M.K, 2010). The role of social media has created the platform whereby news can be shared instantly as it unfolds, thus eliminating the chance for media houses to repaint stories on their own terms. As a result, main stream society is given the opportunity to develop their own opinions and responses to issues affecting them, without the inputs of media who has the power to strongly influence how news is read and interpreted by readers.

The above mentioned strongly relates to the concept of *citizen journalism* and is the process whereby ordinary citizens are afforded the opportunity of “playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing, and disseminating news and information”

(Bowman & Willis, 2003: 9). It is argued that the alternative news sources which can be found on the Internet, such as blogs, web portals and social networking sites offer good competition to the mainstream media (Noor, 2017).

2.10.3 Shorthand communication styles, “emojis”/emoticons

For some context into user- behaviours and texting practices, the recent work by Bock, Dalwai and Stroud (2016) is consulted. According to Bock, Dalwai & Stroud (2016) social media sites are popular platforms for identity performance, and that in this regard, there has been rapid evolution in the ways that people employ texting styles and use digital communication. Examples of such features include emoticons, and short-hand ‘texting’ styles. Although, there remains a dearth of work done on the impact that changing technologies have on texting style. These changes are due to global developments in technology, such as, with regard to platform design and upgrades in features and affordances (Bock, et al., 2016).

Emoticons and *emoji*'s generally refer to the same thing, which are understood as pictorial representations of facial expressions and/or other activities and objects. However, there is a slight distinction between the two concepts. Emoticons are slightly older inventions, and are depictions of facial expressions; designed using characters typically found on a computer keyboard (see examples in appendix, **figure 2.10.4a**). Whereas, an emoji is a fairly new invention; and refers to actual pictures representing the examples given above. See examples of these in the appendix, **figure 2.10.4b**).

Mobile phones as a medium for telecommunications are quite popular in Africa, especially amongst teenagers- who use their mobile phones as a primary tool for communication (Bock, et al, 2016). With regards to this and the increased developments in technology, there have been significant shifts in texting styles and practices. For example, the affordance of most applications and digital media platforms to allow the use of various multimodal features, like emoticons may likely lead to the increased use of such devices for texting (Bock, et al. 2016). Other factors affecting texting practices and styles are: context - what platform is the texting/posting occurring on; and what the purpose of the communicative encounter is, participant age, and evolving identities and ideologies (ibid, 2015). This invites a critical examination of the way in which social media and other digital platforms became a site for ‘debate’; where contentious issues are discussed.

2.11 Critical Media Theories (CMT)

Since the study aims to critically analyse the notions of race in the online space, it is very relevant to this study to account for the various work conducted on CMT, and how the study might be approached with online material in order to gain critical perspectives. Various authors have written on the theory of critical media, however definitions for CMT is not clear due to the different historical contexts and meanings encompassing the notion of media and critical media. Instead, existing research offers broad categories of “methodologies, approaches and theoretical assumptions” (Pendakur, 1995: 67).

McChesney (1993: 98-104) defines the concept “critical” as an inquiry into the way things are, and which usually harbours scepticism toward dominant institutions, ideologies and social relations. This is especially relevant to the principal study as the research aims to uncover racialized discourses stemming from apartheid ideologies. In addition, how this affects social relations within the online space and society is also a research objective.

This viewpoint also has a long-standing tradition with radical mass media criticism, which is not only concerned with critically analysing categories, but also with “social change and emancipation” (Ampuja, 2004: 60). One objective for the research study is to understand and transform the way that notions on race is understood and discussed within a hetero-bias society. This article gives an overview of the status of critical research in contemporary analysis of the media, drawing on Jameson (1981) conceptualizations. The article also includes a brief historical overview of the evolving research and theoretical development of CMT research since it began. The research further discusses the ways in which critical perspectives relate to contemporary discourses on the media and globalization.

The main argument presented by the author is that the media has become commercialized and has neglected critical economic considerations, which must be re-introduced. Ampuja (2004) argues that there is a significant relationship between global capitalism and the media. The research study calls for an investigation into the media and its interconnectedness with the economy, social life, cultural factors and communal activities. The overarching study aims to do exactly this, except within a much narrower frame, using only the racialized discourses surrounding WVN’s Olympic victory.

According to McLuhan (1995) the media creates “technological environments” which has a direct impact on cultural values (Taylor & Harris, 2008: 85) or the way that society views

cultural factors, such as perspectives on race ideologies, etc. The media facilitates the functioning of societies by aiding societies' collective sense of self-realization, co-ordination, self-management, social integration, stability and adaptation (Curran, 1996). Interestingly, mainstream research lacks interest in power structures in society, and the role that the media plays in maintaining existing power relations (Ampuja, 2004).

Many seminal political economists of the media have made the argument that the media was not an example of neutral social communication, but rather that they reinforce certain agendas. These agendas, they argue, worked in the interests of corporate and class power, which operates both locally and internationally (Ampuja, 2004). Examples of CMT also include looking at the media in terms of their strategies for sharing information, and the results thereof. Furthermore, CMT deals with issues such as the growth of the media; the extension of corporate reach in the media, the privatization, commodification and commercialization of the media and information, as well as the social, political and cultural consequences of such issues (ibid, 2004).

The current research study looks at categories of race, and its representation within online media in South Africa, through the representation of South African athlete, WVN. This renders literature on critical media theories an important component for this research, because the research aims to explore how these notions have been re-semiotized through discourses of race. Whilst, there is extensive literature to be found of the power structures and agendas of mainstream media, very little shed light on the South African context; and how this influences discourses in South African society.

For purposes of the data sets applicable to this type of research study, it is important to review literature on multimodality, as it accounts for the various compositions that online materials may take. To follow is an overview of the literature on multimodality.

2.11.1 The role of the media

The news media often play an implicit, but highly significant and controversial role within issues of public opinion. McCombs, et al (2014) argues that the media has a very crucial role in setting national agenda's during a critical phase of a country's political transformation. During South Africa's changeover from a once oppressed country, who discriminated citizens based on their skin colour, it is especially interesting that during the transformation to a 'new' South Africa, heated debates regarding people of colour are finding their way to social media

platforms, where deeply-rooted tensions are emerging. Here we see apartheid doctrines finding its way into discourses in contemporary South African society nearly a quarter century after liberation.

We might wonder what the media would have to gain from these discourses circulating South African society, post-apartheid. One of the things that made the liberation struggle successful was the connecting of ethnicity, uniting toward a common goal- which was freedom, whereby people of colour fought together to oppose oppression. However, these ethnic differences was also something the apartheid government exploited to be able to divide the nation and rule people of colour, in smaller, more controllable groupings.

The use of the hashtag #South African can be described as a call for action, specifically the need for a more inclusive South Africa, one where every person has equal rights and opportunities, regardless of race.

2.12 Multimodality

The data sets for this research study is made up of various online content, such as news posts (IOL- seen in chapter 5) as well as various posts from Facebook and Twitter, relating to WVN and using particular hashtags, as will be seen in the analysis chapters. These posts are varied in nature and all of them employ language as well as other semiotic elements. For this reason, literature on multimodality is very relevant to this study.

Kress (2010) in his research article, attempts to conceptualize multimodality through a discussion on modes and semiotics. The author argues that where there seems to be multiple issues around defining ‘multimodality’, it is in fact a simple process. The literature includes an account of the historical development of semiotic systems and resources employed in various technological capacities. The research in particular highlights the cultural dimensions of communication by discussing the ‘theory of modes’ (Kress, 2010). The research study calls for a focus on the social elements impacting contemporary communication, as well as the fluidity of language and meaning (ibid, Kress). The method of analysis reciprocates a social- semiotic approach to representation, which includes a linguistic and pragmatic perspective on contemporary communication.

Included is an investigation into the use of media research that proves especially important for the analysis of multimodal features. The author contends that technology is a cultural

resource that is either accepted or rejected by social agents (ie. the online community⁷). Kress (2010) further states that this is done so according to actual/affective social requirements and constructions. He argues that affordances of these resources often instantiated far-reaching global trends (cf. Kress, 2010). The literature maintains that there is a lack of research undertaken with an interest in the social effects of technologies reach across many social domains.

Multimodality, according to O'Halloran (2011) is a developing model in the field of discourse studies. The term 'multimodality' extends the focus of study to not only language-based, but looks at the combination of other semiotic elements. These elements integrate to create meaning in various multimodal materials, such as videos, websites, etc which is extremely relevant as the data collected for this study has all been found online. Different social media sites may have different climates or cultures, which are informed by the functionality of the site itself.

Culture is defined as a set of "semiotic systems of meaning", all of which are inter-related (Halliday & Hasan, 1985: 5). Halliday (1978) maintains that semiotic resources are frames which constitute various cultural meanings, and realities (in the online culture) and those mediums such as television, computer, etc is the means through which these multimodal phenomena materialize. MDA is concerned with the theory and analysis of semiotic resources, and various other semantic developments occurring as semiotic choices combine in multimodal materials (O'Halloran, 2011).

O'Halloran (2011), states that multimodality is interested in the design, production and distribution of multimodal resources. The study investigates how issues of a racial nature are circulated in the media, and the various discourses surrounding such topics in South African society.

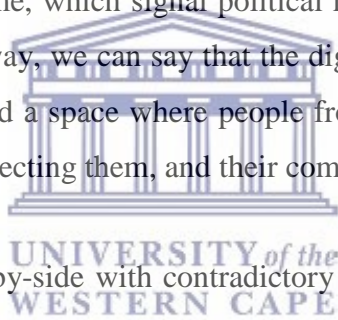
2.13 Hashtags

Hashtags can be defined as a type of meta-data tag, much like the concept of a hyperlink. The concept of the hashtag was invented by a man by the name of Chris Messina- who proposed that Twitter adopt the hashtag function (Parker, 2011). In the beginning, it was actually not

⁷Also *internet community*. A virtual community, whose members interact with each other primarily through online resources.

considered a popular idea, and initially Twitter did not buy into the idea- but its use amongst social media user quickly caught on and became extremely popular. Today, it is often used on social media sites, like Twitter, but has also become fairly popular on Facebook as well. A hashtag (#) sign usually goes in front of the word or phrase, for example #AllLivesMatter. The purpose of hashtags are generally to apply user-generated tagging, grouping content and allowing users to easily find content on social media sites with specific themes or context. In other words, hashtags are a tool for filtering posts (Parker, 2011). Although their functions have broadened since its inception, and it is these functions that has added to its popularity within social media.

Due to the nature of social media users to add to and evolve the way platforms work, and use various communicative and technological resources available, the hashtag has become used in different ways to what it was originally established for- although still acting as a filtering tool. Hashtags are now also used as a tool to attract attention to various causes and issues, ie. much like the idea of picketing. This idea is especially evident in the use of hashtags like #StopRacism and #NotInOurName, which signal political movements and also represent the idea of ‘taking a stand’. In this way, we can say that the digital space has become a platform for revolutionary movements, and a space where people from all locations and backgrounds can speak openly about issues affecting them, and their communities.



Hashtags can also be used side-by-side with contradictory hashtags to widen dialogue or to create tension, or irony. This is one of the ways in which I analyse the use of hashtags to elicit emotive responses.

Dadas (2017) following the hashtag #yesallwomen that was created on Twitter in response to a killing spree in Isla Vista, California, whereby the killer uploaded a video to social media, expressing his hatred of women. This kind of conversation, in protest of such horrific events, can be conceptualized as ‘hashtag activism’ which can be defined as “the attempt to use Twitter’s hashtags to incite social change” (Dadas, 2017: 17). In this instance, the hashtag was used to call attention to the misogynist origins of the Isla Vista tragedy. The hashtag means ‘yes all women’ - suffer under a culture of male aggression toward them, In a broader context the hashtag is used to direct attention to the social and political causes of such events. Other examples of such hashtags are: #kony2012; #bringbackourgirls; #notinourname; and #blacklivesmatter, #metoo amongst others. The focus of this research is on attention as the motivating force behind hashtag activism related to WVN.

Lai, et al. (2015) focuses his research on political debates about reformation, which may spark national controversies by encouraging the community to express their views and opinions online. This both lead to increased agency and voice on issues, and also has exposed people to a wider range of viewpoints, opening up a platform for debate and reform of dominant or overarching discourses, or ways of thinking that are not necessarily well informed.

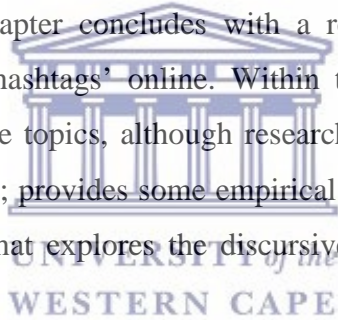
The aim of this research is to investigate the “communicative behaviours” which emerge when political debates occur amongst users with “different roles in society and different political sentiment” (Lai, et al., 2015: 1). Recent work seem to focus more on lexical resources developed according to cognitive models, but another important aspect to investigate would be subjective opinions and sentiments reflected in online conversations. A ‘hashtag analysis’ is thus, a detailed analysis of a dataset, driven by a hashtag. Such research is mainly undertaken to set a framework for investigating various aspects of online communication. In addition, much research of this nature is done to analyse politics.

Another example of a ‘hashtag analysis’ and perhaps the most important or the purposes of the overarching research study is research paper by Blaszk, et al. (2012), whose work follows a major sporting event, by examining the hashtag #worldseries to investigate how the hashtag was being used, and by whom. The findings suggest that these kinds of hashtags (ie. #worldseries) are predominantly used by laypersons to express fan-ship, as well as interactivity. Findings discovered that when users were interacting online with this hashtag, they did so mainly with MLB/league officials and other ordinary social media users, and “most of these interactive tweets were expressions of fan-ship” (Blaszka, 2012: 435). The overarching research aims to prove that there are more possible reasons that could be added to using hashtags for a major sporting event (Rio Olympic Games, following the hashtag #ColouredExcellence). It is important to note that #ColouredExcellence was created prior to WVN’s Olympic victory to celebrate other ‘coloured’ achievements, although due to his Olympic success, the hashtag started trending to discuss his achievements online.

Summary

The above literature review, reviewed the conceptual engagement with various notions important for the context and objectives of the current study, such as literature pertaining to South Africa's historical context and the context of the Olympic Games, both during this period and post-apartheid. The concepts relayed here lead the discussion for literature on identity, race and the concept of 'colouredness'. The roots of the 'coloured identity is expressed in literature on the emergence of the Cape Flats, *Kaaps*, and the emotive aspects which surround race in South Africa (the *Affective economy*). Nationalism, *Ubuntu* and First Nation Groups are important context for understanding the idea of the 'Rainbow Nation' and 'the new South Africa'.

In post-apartheid South Africa, social network sites have become a site for socio-political debate, making literature on this context vital to the study. The aforementioned include: social media sites, analytics, short-hand communication styles, media theories, and the role of the media in societies. This chapter concludes with a review of literature pertaining to multimodality and the use of 'hashtags' online. Within the discipline, there is a lack of empirical work on much of these topics, although research by Dworkin & Messner (2002) and Ahmed (2004) among others; provides some empirical context to the study. Beyond this there is no published research that explores the discursive constructions of athletes in the virtual space.



CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical & Analytical Framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the different theories important for the current study, with special emphasis on social representation theory, critical race theory and the ‘affective economy’. The specific methods used for analysis involve a Virtual Linguistic Ethnography (VLE); Discourse Analysis, multimodal discourse analysis (MDA). Representation is discussed as the analytical frame, with the explicit focus on a hashtag analysis to elicit discussion surrounding discourses emerging from online data.

3.2 Social Representations Theory

The theory of *social representations* was first framed by Moscovici (1984) and has influenced researchers from varying disciplines, but is still quite unknown to media researchers. The theory offers a contemporary approach for studying “how the media and citizens construct societal and political issues affecting our age, or some specific time period” (Hoijer, 2011: 3).

Social representations are about processes of collective meaning-making that result in common perceptions producing social bonds which unite or divide societies, organizations and groups. It thus focuses on phenomena that become subject to “debate, strong feelings, conflicts and ideological struggle, and changes the collective thinking in society” (2011: 4). As a theory of communication it links society and the individual, the media and the public.

Following Howarth (2011: 2) social representations refer to the classification of common “values, ideas and practices” that permit people to understand each other and communicate about like issues. It also includes a degree of personal interpretation which often lead to variances in understanding, different comprehensions of texts; and thus the motivation to communicate. She further argues that representations may be “hegemonic, negotiated or oppositional” (Howarth, 2011: 2).

The theory is relevant for media and communication research in several ways:

- a). it specifies a number of communicative mechanisms which explain how ideas are communicated and transformed into what is perceived of as common sense, or ‘normalized discourses’
- b). it looks at how the media naturalizes social thinking and generates collective perceptions,
- c). it offers the possibility to develop a theoretically based model for analysis of the above mentioned phenomena.

3.3 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

According to Delgado & Stephancic (2006) the critical race theory (CRT) is predominantly a movement, made up of activists and scholars concerned with studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (2006: 1). The movement takes into account much of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but situates them within a broader perspective that includes economics, history, group and self-interest, and also includes individual feelings and the unconscious (Delgado & Stephancic, 2006). In addition, CRT questions the very basis of the “liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law” (Delgado & Stephancic, 2006: 1).

Today, many in the field of education consider themselves critical race theorists who use the theory’s ideas to better comprehend issues of school discipline and hierarchy, controversies over curriculum and history, and IQ/ achievement testing (Delgado & Stephancic, 2006). Political scientists may also use these ideas to ponder voting strategies, which were coined by critical race theorists. Unlike some academic disciplines, CRT contains an activist dimension, or a link to social action. It not only tries to understand our various social situations, but to change it. It sets out not only to understand how society organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies, but to transform that model for the better of global societies.

The key views of CRT theory are that:

- a). racism is ordinary, the usual way society operates, the everyday experience of most people of colour in South Africa,
- b). racism is difficult to “cure or address”,

c). most would agree that the system of “white-over-colour ascendancy” serves important purposes (both psychic and material). Whereby they mean that racism advances the interests of “white elites” materially, which was/is seen in the discrepancies of the basic living amenities each group enjoys. While on the other hand, mentally and emotionally (psychically) justifying racism to “non-elite” persons, thus portraying racial issues as a “social norm” and allows racism to become more difficult to cure (Delgado & Stephanic, 2006).

3.4 Affective Economy

Within the virtual space, a domain often thought to be largely devoid of real human interaction, Ahmed’s work is especially important as it draws out just how emotions work, or are taken up by other individuals online. Since the study is particularly interested in investigating how the emotions circulate online as a key element of online identity and discourses of race, pride and belonging, the inclusion of the ‘affective economy’ is salient.

The ‘affective economy’ describes that “emotions work as a form of capital” or has some kind of ‘exchange value’ attached to it. It suggests that affect does not lie directly in the sign or commodity (in this case WVN), but that it is produced as a result of its circulation, and how it is then taken up by others in society (Ahmed, 2004). So again, while the question of who WVN ‘really is’ can never be truly uncovered, this approach allows the researcher to take serious account of the emotive responses that online users make/create regarding him.

These theories are extremely relevant for the study as it allows us to investigate how different people are represented in society (social representations theory) and with what consequences, also bearing in mind the political climate and our contentious historical background (Critical race theory). In addition, the work of Ahmed (2004) allows to delve deeper into the societal implications of such work, looking at how news is circulated amongst the public, and what kinds of emotions are elicited from such topics on race, and so forth (affective economy).

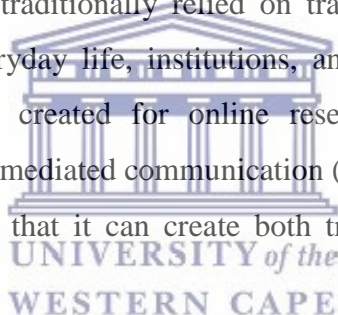
In like fashion, this study investigates how emotions are played up (or down) on different hashtags which ostensibly appeal to a particular representation of WVN.

Analytical Framework

3.5 Virtual Linguistic Ethnography

Hine (2000) addresses the topic of ethnography, which has been adapted for virtual space research. She argues that in order to produce an adequate analysis, researchers must share in the culture (technological/online culture). In doing so, we may shed light on what we assume to be special about that particular research space and the assumptions of our analytic practices (2000: 1-2). Furthermore, this study explores the extent to which conventional ethnography ignores certain aspects of technological culture, thus bringing into perspective the new approaches used to analyse situations involving online communities.

The research study takes into account every aspect of the online space, and its affordances for online representation, thus a virtual linguistic ethnography is employed. According to Hine (2000: 44) while ethnography “traditionally relied on travel, experience and interaction”, ethnographic approaches to everyday life, institutions, and indeed the media are all well established. A space has been created for online research, which has given way to acknowledgement that computer-mediated communication (CMC), is no less meaningful than face-to-face communication and that it can create both transient and lasting communities (2000: 18).



The researcher will observe the online representation of WVN, through posts on Facebook & Twitter circulating around the 2016 Rio Olympics, primarily around the hashtag #ColouredExcellence; as well as the commentary by online users and online publication sources found in the hashtag clusters (IOL).

3.6 Discourse Analysis (DA)

‘Discourse’ is the general idea that language is structured according to diverse patterns that people’s utterances follow when they participate in activities from various domains of social life (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Moreover, ‘discourse analysis’ is defined as “the analysis of these patterns” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). It is an extremely well known method for analysing written, as well as spoken data.

Brown (1983) argues that discourse analysis is the “analysis of language in use” and includes all aspects of communication, both verbal and non-verbal (Brown, 1983: 1). Brown states that the investigation of the functions which language serves in conversation can be seen as ‘transactional’. Those which express social relations and personal attitudes are termed ‘interactional’ (cf. Brown, 1983).

Dworkin & Messner (2002) in their study on sports and gender, employ a discourse analysis to investigate the ideology that there exists the idea of ‘natural superiority’ of men over women in sport. This ideology dates back to the 19th century, where the idea of sport was thought to have started by middle-class white men (Dworkin & Messner, 2002: 17). Moreover, Fearon & Laitin (2000) published work on ‘violence and the social construction of ethnic identity’ in which they employ discourse analysis as a method. They argue that “discursive formations are the agents that construct ethnic identities” (Fearon & Laitin, 2000: 1) and thus add constructivist explanations for ethnic identities, which they feel are created both by elites and the mass public (2000: 2).

It is thus clear that discourse analysis as a theory and method for analysing utterances are well known and thoroughly used. However, very little work in this regard has been employed with data from a South African context, which is what this research study aims to undertake. Judging by the existing literature, it is evident that discourse analysis methods are especially helpful for analysing patterns of speech, and also linking them to broader issues such as racial and gender inequalities.

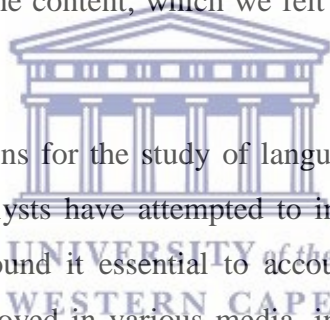
Due to the nature of the data material used for this research study, a better suited methodology for this study is a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) as the materials used employ the use of language, imagery, videos and a combination of these modes.

3.7 Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA)

According to O’Halloran (2011) MDA is an emerging paradigm in the field of discourse studies, and one which extends the study of language. MDA investigates language in combination with other meaning making resources, such as images, gesture, action, sound and music (O’Halloran, 2011: 1). Moreover, they refer loosely to concepts and approaches in this field as well.

MDA is interested in the theory and analysis of semiotic resources (sound, image, etc) and the semantic developments which occur as semiotic choices combine in multimodal phenomena (O’Halloran, 2011: 2). Since the data for the study is comprised of social media data, they encompass text and imagery and for a full and meaningful analysis; require an MDA approach.

For researchers, the inter-semiotic (or inter-modal) relations resulting from the interaction of semiotic choices, known as inter-semiosis, is a principal area of multimodal research (Jewitt, 2009). According to key theorists in the field, MDA is also concerned with the design, production and distribution of multimodal resources in social settings (van Leeuwen, 2008), and the “resemioticization of multimodal phenomena which takes place as social practices unfold” (Iedema, 2003). This is especially important in the context of the *affective economy*, a key concept used in this research study. In order to analyse how emotions are circulated within societies and how people come to ‘feel’ a certain way about a topic of discussion is dependent on a full analysis of the content; which we felt would be best captured through a MDA analysis of the data.



There are two very crucial reasons for the study of language and its integration with other resources. Firstly, discourse analysts have attempted to interpret the wide range of human discourse practices, and have found it essential to account for the meaning arising from multiple semiotic resources deployed in various media, including contemporary interactive digital technologies (O’Halloran, 2011: 3). Secondly, technologies used to develop new methodological approaches for MDA, have become available and affordable (Rohlfing, Loehr, Duncan, Brown, Franklin, & Kimbarra, 2006).

Finally, the inter-disciplinary research has become more common because researchers from various disciplines are seeking to solve similar issues (linguistics, sociology, humanities, etc). These various disciplines each have its own field, its own perception of theory, and its own body of method. Halliday (1991) maintains that the twentieth century has emerged as an age of themes (Halliday, 1991: 39) aimed at addressing specific issues.

Van Leeuwen (2008) in his research study on visual literacy and new forms of writing, two critical issues are discussed in the domain of social semiotics and visual communication. The first, being the change from accounts of specific semiotic modes toward a more integrated

multimodal approach to visual communication. He argues that, the analysis of images becomes less essential than the analysis of semiotic resources (ie, composition, movement and colour). The second reflects on the new importance given to discourses, practices and technologies that standardize the use of semiotic resources, and on studying the use of these semiotic resources by users in relation to these standardized discourses, practices and technology (van Leeuwen, 2008: 130).

This article, authors urge, should be read as one where the authors' viewpoints on the topic can be obtained rather than any methodological information. Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that the move towards multimodality is necessary, not as a correction to previous theories, but due to the fact that visual communication itself has changed (2008: 130). He maintains that the image is gradually becoming less important and that other, previously borderline modes of communication such as typography and colour are becoming more important in the field of communication (cf. van Leeuwen, 2008).

Similarly, a research study conducted by Zhao, Djonov, and van Leeuwen (2014), which has also been co-authored by Van Leeuwen, investigates semiotic technology and practices through conducting a multimodal semiotic approach to Microsoft PowerPoint. This article proposes a model for exploring the interaction between the software's design and use. Specifically, it presents a multimodal social semiotic approach to studying PowerPoint as a semiotic practice, which is comprised of three dimensions (the design, multimodal composition of slideshows, and their presentation). In addition, two semiotic artefacts are addressed, the software and the slideshow.

The research paper discusses the challenges each of the mentioned dimensions presents for discourse analysis and social semiotic research, and focuses specifically on the need to move away from the notion of text and rather to develop a "holistic, non-logocentric and adaptive multimodal approach to researching semiotic technologies" (Zhao, et al. 2014: 349). The article, using PowerPoint as a case study, attempts to develop a social semiotic multimodal theory of the links between what is termed 'semiotic technologies', or technologies for making meaning, and semiotic practices (Zhao, et al. 2014).

O'Halloran (2011: 1) defines MDA as a model which encompasses the study of language, but also studies language which incorporates other resources to create meaning, such as images, symbols, gesture, action, music and sound. Citing Halliday (1978) O'Halloran explains that

semiotic resources are “systems of meaning that constitute the reality of a culture” (O’Halloran, 2011: 123). There are various means through which multimodal phenomena emerge, such as newspaper, television, computer or material objects or events.

This study does not merely employ the use of discourse analysis (DA) for the simple reason that DA as a theory for analysis does not account for the “wide range of human practices in meaning- making” (O’Halloran, 2011). In addition, DA does not have the analytical resources to account for the multiple semiotic resources employed by media and modern digital technologies, which forms the bulk of the data collected for this study.

Kress & van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) have provided a theoretical foundation for conducting multimodal research, which draws on Halliday’s (1978) social semiotic approach to language. The aim of this approach is to model the meaning potential of words, sounds and images as sets of inter-related systems and structures (cf. O’Halloran, 2011). Kress & van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) explore images and visual design to apply a functional model to Halliday’s (1978) semiotic analysis of visual art (O’Halloran, 2011: 4). Halliday’s (1978) concerned with both text and context; instance and potential, is reflected in these foundational works (ibid, 2011: 4).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) employ a ‘top-down’ contextual approach, with a specific focus on ideology, developing general principles of visual design which are illustrated via text analysis (ibid, 2011: 4). On the other hand, O’Toole (2010) develops a ‘bottom-up’ grammatical approach by working with specific textual data (i.e. paintings, architectural designs and sculptures) to develop frameworks which can be applied to other like works (ibid, 2011: 4).

Later research has built upon these two approaches and extended them into new fields of research. For example, contextual approaches have been developed for speech, sound and music (Leeuwen, 1999), scientific texts (see Lemke, 1998), hypermedia (see Lemke, 2002), and action and gesture (see Martinec, 2000).

3.8 Representation

Representation, according to Hall (1997) refers to the description, depiction or symbolic representation of something, thus involving the use of wording as well as imagery. Hall (1997) contends that words stand for represent concepts and can be used to reference or designate real or imagined objects in the world. He argues that this is how humans give meaning to things through language (Hall, 1997). Thus, representation is the production of the meaning of concepts as it occurs in our minds, through language.

The literature focuses on the practices of representation, and why it is understood as being important for studies on culture. According to Hall (1997) representation also “connects meaning and language to culture” and involves the use of language, signs and images, which stand for or represent different things (ibid, 1997: 15). The research sample employs various theories about how language is used to represent the world, which draws a distinction between three perspectives.

Hall (1997) introduces three concepts, which explain how language is used to represent the world and its various ideologies. These notions are seen as either reflective (as reflecting the existing meanings of ‘what is known’ in the world); intentional (intended meanings or views which people have inferred); and constructionist (meaning which is constructed in and through language or dialogue). All of these notions are interesting for the study’s analysis of representations of race, and how they are circulated within South African society.

Culture is primarily concerned with “the production and the exchange of meanings” (Hall, 1997: 2). Franks & Bauer (2011: 2-3) bring in the cultural dynamic of representation by maintaining the view that there are a common “set of values, ideas and practices” which enable people to understand each other and to connect and transfer knowledge regarding similar issues, such as race and identity. This may give insight into the notion of race identities, and the possible causes of naturalized discourse regarding such topics.

This notion is especially relevant to the research study, as the researcher is interested in investigating how WVN has been represented online (through various materials, such as articles, images and memes), as well as online commentary by online users.

It becomes important to discuss literature on identity, and its various meanings in an ever-changing society, as well as issues around identity construction, due to the meanings surrounding these topics being so broad and context-fluid.

3.9 Hashtag Analysis

The proposed method of analysis for the research study can be termed a ‘hashtag analysis’ as it deals primarily with the different ways in which WVN has been portrayed online, through the various discourses emerging from primarily the *#colouredexcellence* ‘conversation’ on social media. Although many different kinds of data materials are used for the analysis, they have all originally emerged from the hashtags presented in the data analysis. In many ways this can be seen as a traditional ‘document analysis’ as well, except that related to online documents collected within the *#colouredexcellence* conversation online, it seems more fitting to term it a ‘hashtag’ analysis.

As has been previously mentioned, a hashtag should be imagined as a shell or kit, containing multiple and varying materials all related to an online conversation (ie. *#colouredexcellence*-being the most frequently used hashtag concerning WVN in the 2016 Rio Olympic context). The sources found within a hashtag may be combination of materials, ranging from material published in refereed journals, to personal accounts of social media users’, to materials compiled from blog entries and other relevant sources, including journalistic material.

The hashtag was originally created on the Twitter platform as a topic marker to make tweets searchable. However, today the symbol is gaining popularity not only on social media platforms, but also offline (Caleffi, 2015). Hashtags are increasingly appearing in the linguistic landscape (e.g. headlines, advertising, and even political slogans). Thus, the relevance of this phenomenon has become not only used for social means, but for political activism as well. Due to their capacity as a form of social tagging –or folksonomy (cf. Caleffi, 2015) and as a tool aiding the spread of information, hashtags make extremely interesting research material.

Hashtags are also related as a way to join public discussions occurring online, categorize messages or build online communities around a specific topic of interest (Ferragina, 2015). Regarding the meaning of hashtags, there are two challenging problems- namely, hashtag relatedness and hashtag classification (Ferragina, 2015). The relatedness between two hashtags is the core operation in various applications which concern hashtags, both directly and indirectly via tweets, such as clustering, classification or recommendation (Ferragina, 2015).

Detecting relatedness between hashtags is a challenging task for various reasons. Any verdict on relatedness needs to draw on extensive common sense and knowledge background regarding the meaning/s of a hashtag (Ferragina, 2015). Moreover, there is an inevitable subjective aspect, due to the value or belief system of the observer; and finally, some hashtags are polysemous and so they can be associated with many different meanings (ibid, 2015). The additional key difficulties with hashtags are that hashtags have different roles in Twitter than tags in other social media (ibid, 2015).

The classification of hashtags lie in the clustering of hashtags, in order to isolate a pattern amongst different categories of hashtags contained in each tweet (ibid, 2015). These findings rely on lexical and pragmatic features “which describe how a hashtag is used over time by a large group of users” (ibid, 2015).

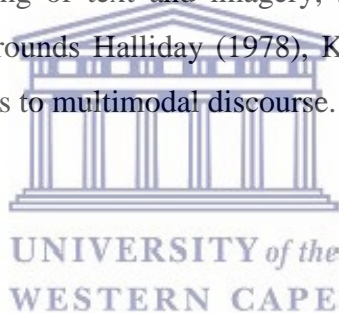
The importance of hashtags for social media lies in the fact that they play a pivotal role in creating and maintaining interest in your social media accounts, thus they are used on a number of social media platforms, most commonly, Twitter and Instagram. As previously mentioned, hash-tagging your posts help to “categorize content for your audience” (McDonald, 2017). Whereas a social media user, would hashtag posts to allow people for finding posts that are related to their interests (and also to interact with other users who may share those interests) by joining the conversation occurring within a specific hashtag. From a business standpoint, hash-tagging social media content creates the opportunity to be noticed in a specific online conversation, and to establish your business as a voice for certain topics (McDonald, 2017). It is clear that hashtags have taken over the social media by storm, and have impacted all aspects, whether social, business related, and may also be seen as a reason why it has gained so much currency, even though it is not a new feature in social networking.

These aspects also describe the reach hashtags enable social media posts to gain, thus explaining why it is a popular feature, used often on most social media platforms. In addition, it can also be argued that it is for this exact reason that hash-tagging posts are not only being used for social content, but also by politicians in order to reach as many as possible. This leads us to the politicization of the hashtag, an extremely important topic, as this is often how hashtag conversations become viral (spreading extremely fast all over the world, and receiving responses, as well as opening up debate).

Summary

This above chapter depicts the different theories which are important for the study, with special emphasis on social representation theory, critical race theory and the ‘affective economy’. These theories situate the study within a racial framework which scrutinizes the representations of social groups, and discusses in particular the discourses, ideologies and emotions that can be read in relation to race and sociology.

The analytic framework focuses on the theories used to analyse the relevant data materials to elicit discussion on race and representation. This is done using three main approaches, namely: a virtual linguistic ethnography (VLE), multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) and hashtag analysis. VLE is an important approach when conducting online research as the process is comprised of making detailed records of the online data collection process, recording all dates, and changes to posts, statistics –such as amount of likes, comments, etc and information regarding the culture of online interaction. MDA is a method of analysis used for analysing data consisting of text and imagery, such as the online posts seen in chapters 5-7. This section foregrounds Halliday (1978), Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) and O’Halloran’s (2011) contributions to multimodal discourse.



CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

4.1 Research Design

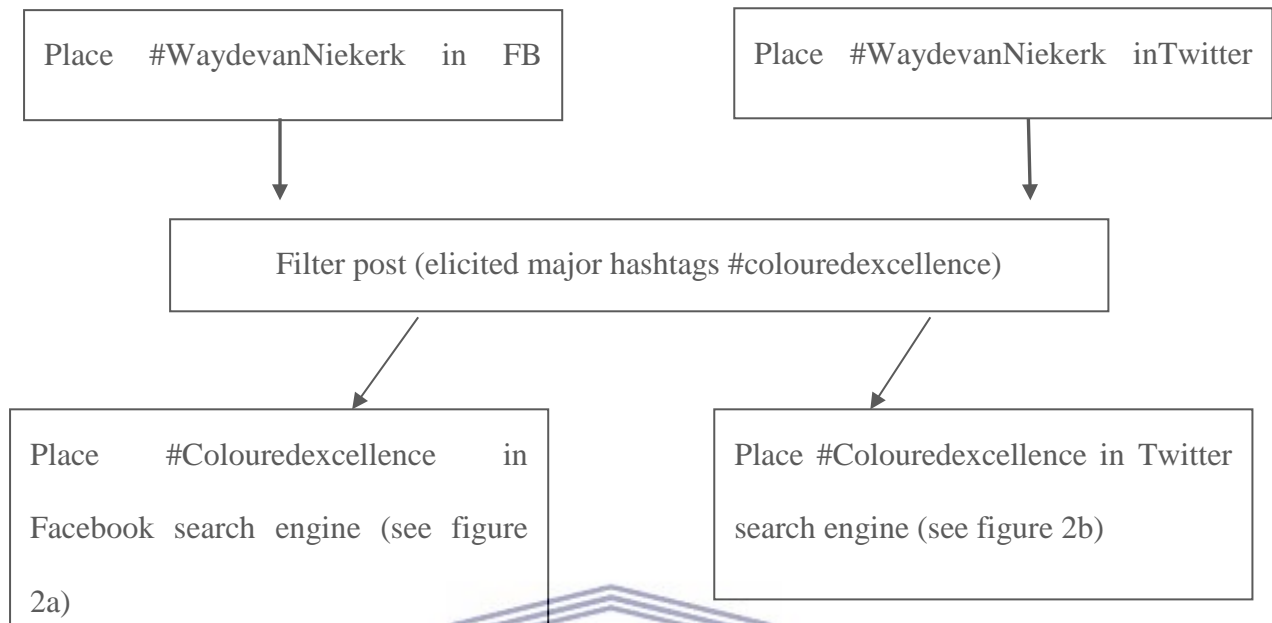
For this study, a mixed-method approach which draws on both quantitative and qualitative research methods is used. According to Tewksbury (2009) researchers conducting qualitative research, collect their data directly from people (whether it be through observation, or interacting with them or talking to them). Such qualitative methods centre around social aspects of the discipline, and also on gaining a full understanding of issues, such as how people understand, experience and operate (Tewksbury, 2009). Qualitative approaches are employed to gain an understanding of the behaviours, ideologies, as well as the reasons behind certain beliefs, values and emotions people may have (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1987).

The researcher creates an 'archive' of the various ways in which WVN has been represented online. The data is collected in two ways, by employing a virtual linguistic ethnography (VLE) approach to the various data sets online. Secondly, a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) is conducted on select materials obtained online, of which data emitting from online commentary is used for analysis as well. This form of analysis, I endeavour to term a 'hashtag analysis' as it is an analysis of online materials obtained via the use of a hashtag search function on social media networks, Facebook and Twitter, in order to investigate specific material relating to an online conversation using a hashtag to filter specific posts.

The data is analysed using Ahmed (2004)'s theoretical frame, the *affective economy* to elicit discussion on race, and the various affective responses and reactions to such topics by social media users within a South African context. Furthermore, the theory is used to explore and discuss the various manifestations of emotion within South African racial discussions, and the representation of WVN online.

4.2 Online data collection

What follows is a diagram showing in detail all the stages involved in the data collection process.



The first step involved in the data collection process was the creation of an 'archive' of material relating to WVN. This was done using the *#waydevanniekerk* hashtag to search and filter these posts (see figure 1). Filtering involves a process whereby specific posts can be searched and obtained. The advantages of filtering are that it allows the user to filter through unnecessary data online, and get access to necessary data threads. This method was used for both Twitter and Facebook platforms, which elicited.

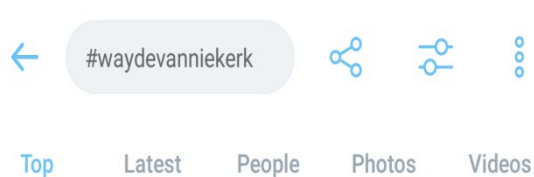


Figure 1a (Twitter, left)

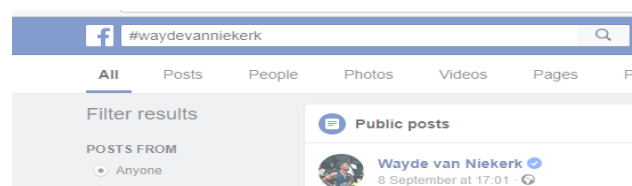


Figure 1 b (Facebook, right)

Thereafter, specific data relating to racial discourses and the Rio Olympics were discerned from the data pool, which elicited three major hashtags, namely: *#colouredexcellence*, *#blackexcellence*, *#kaffirexcellence* and lastly, *#southafrican*. Excerpts of posts using these

hashtags are shown below (see figure 2). The right –hand side of figure 2 also shows how posts can be easily filtered on Facebook.

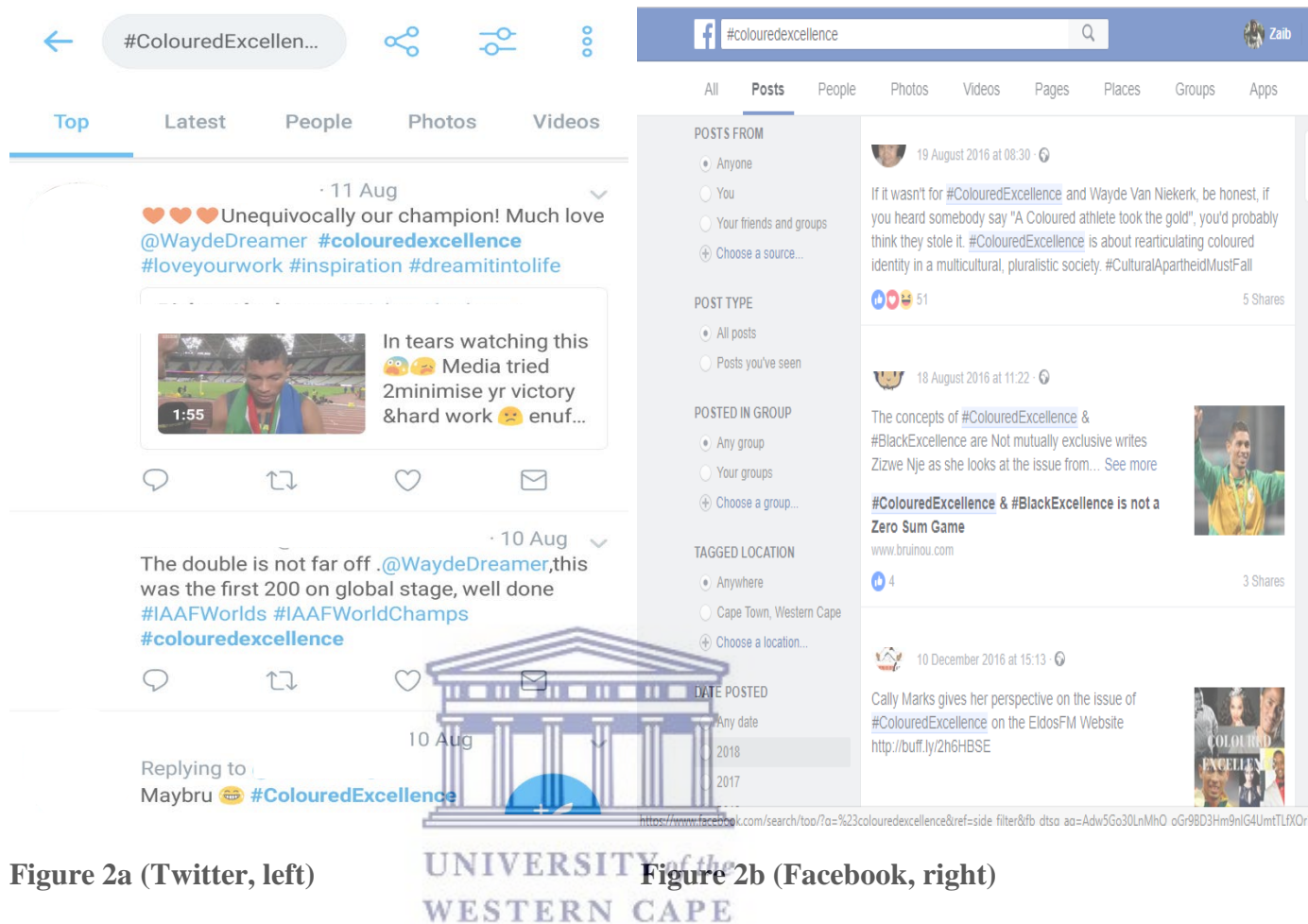


Figure 2a (Twitter, left)

Figure 2b (Facebook, right)

The researcher begins the analysis by conducting a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) of WVN’s representation online with a particular interest in how representations of WVN has been re-semiotized within new media. The researcher explores material eliciting discussion around race regarding WVN, in order to obtain the specific online materials. All data was found using the hashtags #waydevanniekerk to form the archive. In addition, specific hashtag trends pertaining to significant events regarding WVN was used as well, such as #ColouredExcellence, #KaffirExcellence and #SouthAfrican. Note also that all personal information pertaining to the social media users were ‘blacked out’ to maintain anonymity.

These records were saved on separate word documents for Twitter and Facebook posts. See figure 3 below.

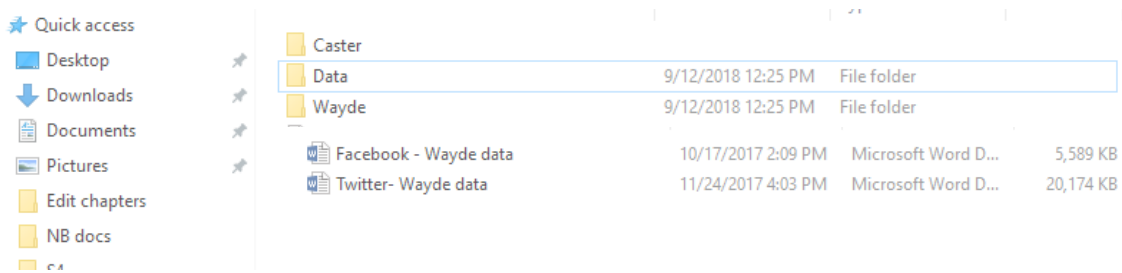


Figure 3

Since the data for the study is sourced online, it is especially important to conduct a virtual linguistic ethnography (VLE) of the various platforms, in order to sufficiently engage with the data. VLE looks specifically at how people are represented online, and in doing so, requires the researcher to immerse him/herself in the online culture, which is the core of ethnographic studies. Part of conducting a VLE also involves keeping detailed records of the posts, hence the archive created. In addition, all information pertaining to the posts selected for analysis were recorded, such as dates, number of comments, reactions to comments (like, reposts, etc) which can be seen in figure 4a (Twitter) and 4b (Facebook).



Figure 4a (Twitter, above) each Tweet is posted with this appearing at the bottom, the first icon indicates the number of comments appearing for the post, followed by number of retweets, number of likes and lastly, the option to send a direct message to the person uploading the post.

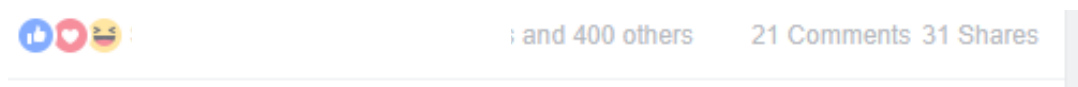


Figure 4b (Facebook, above) each Facebook post shows this strip below every post, the first icon indicating the number of reactions ranging from likes to other varying emoticons, followed by the number of comments and amount of times the post has been shared by other users.

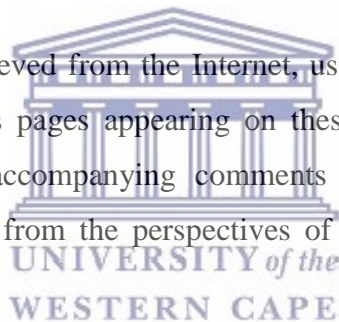
The study then goes into the analysis method for the study, employing a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) of a range of online sources (online newspapers -IOL, trending hashtags from Facebook and Twitter, and memes and other materials found with these hashtags, as well as user generated news materials). The methodology employs an MDA, and

not just discourse analysis (DA) because the study's interests lie in investigating the way the Olympian has been represented in a range of online materiality's (image, memes, text) and not just text-based materials using language. The specific analytical approach can be seen as a hashtag analysis, as the main themes presented in the analysis arise from the major hashtags used online surrounding the 2016 Rio Olympics.

The aim of this study is to analyse the differing types of representations of WVN which has emerged online, and the role other internet users' play in configuring these representations, by analysing selected comments. Data for the study is taken from a range of online material all to be found on the social networking sites, Facebook and Twitter. In addition, the accompanying comments is analysed in order to examine what role Twitter followers' and Facebook users play in the configuration of the athletes' online representation, and the affective dimensions these representations and responses have.

4.3 Data Sources

The data for this study was retrieved from the Internet, using social media sites (Facebook, Twitter) as well as online news pages appearing on these respective platforms (IOL). In addition, where relevant, the accompanying comments for the data are used to elicit discussion on the topic of race from the perspectives of the social media users/ ordinary citizens.



Independent Online (IOL) is a South African online news source, publishing local as well as international news, on various topics, such as sports, business, finance, entertainment, technology, to name a few. Twitter and Facebook, are prominent social networking sites, where users can upload content, images, and interact with one another, share opinions, and so forth.

4.4 Data collection techniques

All data for this study will be retrieved by searching online sites Facebook & Twitter, including any online news pages on these sites (ie, IOL) as well as employing a browser search engine to filter searches. Additionally, the researcher sourced data by using the *hashtag* function in order to quickly and effectively retrieve data relating to WVN. This method is known as purposive sampling, which is elaborated on below). The use of user-

generated sites and commentary is also used to gain a better understanding on what ordinary people think or feel about these societal issues. The accompanying commentary for all these sources used also contributes to the data needed for the study. The data collection technique is therefore a multi-sited source based approach to collecting data. This is done to obtain as great an understanding as possible on the online culture of users and the various representations and discourses circulating Facebook, Twitter and popular news platforms.

4.5 Sampling techniques

The data sampling technique chosen for this study is the purposive sampling technique. Using the hashtags online, elicited specific data, specifically looking at the issues surrounding race (coloured excellence) was chosen as part of the data collected. The total sample for this study consists of over 5000⁸ sets of data on WVN from Facebook, and approximately 8000 posts from Twitter- of which 15 is used for analysis (approximately 4-6 posts per analysis chapter). The hashtag function generated over a thousand posts for WVN using the #WaydeVanNiekerk and within that hashtag prominent hashtags appeared within the Rio Olympic context, namely #ColouredExcellence, #KaffirExcellence and #SouthAfrican hashtags (which simultaneously act as themes for the analysis of the data). The nature of the Internet is such that posts are constantly being updated, deleted; and are thus ever-changing. For this reason it is better to speak in approximate terms.

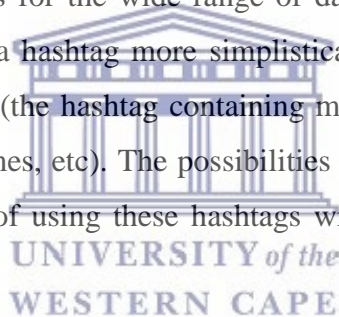
The accompanying commentary for these data sets is reviewed (the total data set for analysis is 15 posts, which includes commentary of approximately 5-6 comments in a selected piece). As is the nature of internet research, the data collection period took 3 weeks. As new information becomes available online, I add to the data of the archive, to keep the records current. Statistical data (e.g. likes, retweets and comments) have been tabulated and can be found in appendix under platform analytics.

⁸Actual data sizes could not be apprehended, due to the privacy policies of the various social media sites which restrict users' capacity to access such information in real-time

4.6 Data analysis and Interpretation

A mixed-method approach is used to analyse the various sourced data. For image-based data, a multimodal analysis is employed. For text-based data, a discourse analysis is used to analyse such data. In addition, the three analysis chapters each address a different hashtag (derived from the #ColouredExcellence thread), and subsequent representational component regarding WVN. The overall analysis is classified in this thesis as a *hashtag analysis*, and is discussed at length in the analytical framework section.

The qualitative aspect of the research deals with the in-depth investigation into the data material and accompanying commentary, and what discussion this elicits about race in a post-apartheid. This is done through applying a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) of online representations of WVN, complemented by the online discussions/commentary of the selected online data material (derived from trending hashtags⁹), as well as other select materials (memes, images, etc) used in relation to WVN. It is important to use this method, as opposed to others, as it accounts for the wide range of data found within each hashtag. In order to explain the concept of a hashtag more simplistically, a visual example could be a make-up kit, the actual kit/ box (the hashtag containing multiple layers of varying kinds of materials (ie, posts, images, memes, etc). The possibilities are endless and contingent on the creativity of the users. The act of using these hashtags within a message/post, can also be linked to the idea of picketing.



The quantitative component deals with the numeric data for the study, such as the amount of likes, comments, times a post has been shared/reposted, etc. This statistical data is mentioned in the analysis section, where necessary.

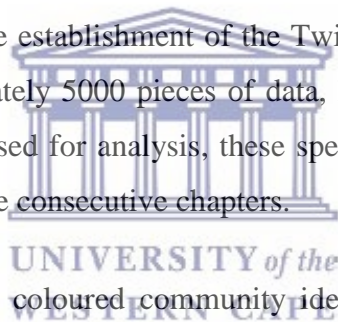
The analysis of the data material collected are split into three categories, and based on the hashtags they fall under. These hashtags each suggest a specific discourse, and with it emotive response to ‘racial’ matters (ie. #colouredexcellence). The categories are namely: (1) Acceptance of the term ‘coloured’ (discourses of pride), (2) Rejection of #colouredexcellence (discourses of anger and/or shame), in which the hashtag #KaffirExcellence is a hashtag used to protest this. Lastly, (3) Racial exclusion in #colouredexcellence (discourses of nationalism), where the prominent hashtag used seems to be #SouthAfrican. It is important to

⁹A type of metadata tag used on social networks, such as Twitter; allowing users’ to keep track of a conversation or easily find messages (posts) with a specific theme or content. It can be thought of as a formal mark-up language as well.

note that these hashtags are all in relation to the main hashtag ‘#ColouredExcellence’. The analysis takes on an affective frame, whereby discourses and contestations depict various emotions circulating the *affective economy* (Ahmed, 2004).

The hashtag #ColouredExcellence has been used before in relation to other issues regarding race, however the hashtag went viral in relation to WVN’s Olympic victory in 2016. This goes to show that within online communication, it only takes a moment in history, a singularity in time for an event to occur, that lights a fuse and for an event to become meaningful. This is how the already existing hashtag became conflated with WVN.

The analysis chapters deal with emotion in terms of race. The research hereby examines and analyses a total of 15 posts (4-6 per chapter of analysis) and approximately 2-3 posts per platform, by conducting a multimodal discourse analysis (MDA) in order to elicit discussion on racial discourse surrounding the sporting domain, post-apartheid. The analysis also examines the ways in which the conventional ‘coloured’ narrative is dismantled through WVN’s Olympic victory, and the establishment of the Twitter hashtag #colouredexcellence. This hashtag contains approximately 5000 pieces of data, however, for the purposes of this thesis only 15 of them will be used for analysis, these specific data sets further categorized into themes and presented in three consecutive chapters.



The first theme shows how the coloured community identifies with the term ‘coloured’, which mostly reveals discourses of pride. The second theme shows, other racial groups’ discontent with the use of ‘coloured excellence’ to describe a national victory, mostly drawing on historical discourses to deconstruct the term ‘coloured’. This is read as either discourses of shame or anger, using Ahmed’s (2004) framework within the *affective economy*. Finally, discourses of nationalism are depicted, following the ‘#colouredexcellence’ conversation, where contrasting hashtags are used by social media users’ to show how WVN and other athletes are held together (for example Caster Semenya, with the hashtag #TeamSA), but also to emphasise that WVN’s victory was a national one as is shown in the analysis of posts tagged #SouthAfrican.

4.7 Social media analytics

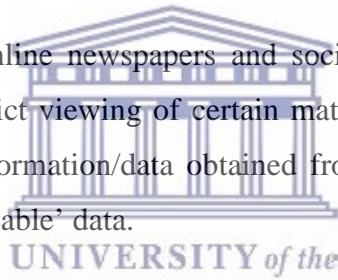
The statistics for the Facebook and Twitter data are as follows:

Statistics	Facebook	Twitter	Reactions	Comments	Shares/retweets
#ColouredExcellence	±5000	±8000	±20000	±500	±300
#BlackExcellence	±10 000	±12 000	±25000	±600	±500
#SouthAfrican	±7000	±9000	±22000	±200	±400

*Cumulative scores are shown for all columns presented in the above table. Data sets are approximate due to real-time data changing constantly; and exact information not being easily acquired due to the privacy policies on Facebook & Twitter.

4.8 Ethical considerations

The 'locus' or site of study (online newspapers and social media sites) are considered a public space- as users may restrict viewing of certain material by making use of the direct messaging feature. Thus, all information/data obtained from the internet and social media sites are considered 'ethically useable' data.

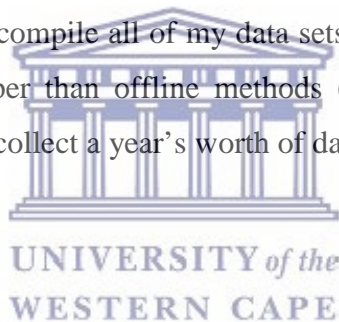


The Association of Internet researchers (AoIR) describes the internet as a social phenomenon, tool, and field for research. Originally, the internet was a term for computer networks which made the transmission of information possible. Today the term is used to acknowledge numerous technologies, devices, capacities and social spaces. They clearly outline the ethical practices that need to be adhered to by internet researchers.

The principles they deem fundamental to ethical internet research are that if an online community, author or participant is deemed 'vulnerable', the researcher is obliged to protect that community, author or participant. Moreover, the AoIR states that the researcher needs to weight the 'rights of subjects' (author, participants, et) with the social benefits of research. In which they add that the researcher may find that the rights of the subjects used in the research may outweigh the benefits of the research. Lastly, they characterize ethical decision-making as a deliberative process, whereby the research should consult as many people and resources as possible to establish ethical boundaries, and make their research interests known.

The athlete being used in the study is WVN, efforts will be made to contact him via social media to make him aware of his position in the study. The social media users who have commented in the comments section will be informed via social media that their comments are used for research purposes. No personal information is obtainable from these persons, other than what they have chosen for us as followers/ social media users to see. In addition, their personal information is not required for the study and will not be accessed or documented. The comments by followers are taken to investigate the role of followers in representation of public figures, and thus also needs to be taken in its context without defence from the commentator. For this reasons, the names of the individual commentators on both Twitter and Facebook will be kept anonymous, however, the sporting athletes will not as they are public figures.

The above mentioned study has been piloted, and the researcher is thus confident of its feasibility. With regards to the time and cost of the study, this study is significantly more efficient in duration and expenditure over that of traditional data collection as it took place online. I was able to collect and compile all of my data sets within a span of 3 weeks, which is considerably faster and cheaper than offline methods (collection period typically takes approx. 4-8 weeks to effectively collect a year's worth of data).



Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the research design and methodology used to conduct the research. I have explained the qualitative and quantitative aspects of my research, discussed the data collection and sampling techniques, as well as the data analysis and interpretation strategies employed in the research study. I have included a table, showing the social media analytics per platform, and outlined the ethical considerations important for online research.

To follow, is three consecutive chapters, accounting for the analysis of the data for the study, these chapters discuss a total of 3 data sets (represented as hashtags), comprised of 4-6 posts per chapter. The chapters are also themes of discourses emerging from the analysis, and are discussed accordingly.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRIDE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as the first of the analysis section, and deals with emotion in terms of race. The analysis depicts a discussion on the hashtag #ColouredExcellence in relation to 'coloured pride', using 4 posts from both Twitter and Facebook to elicit discussion on ethnic pride. During the course of the data collection period, the hashtag had approximately 5000 posts on both Facebook, and on Twitter in relation to WVN in the 2016 Rio Olympics. Information, like the exact amount of posts, for Facebook and Twitter is not easily obtainable. Due to the platforms privacy policy, users are unable to access much of other (users) data. In addition, in order to get real-time data analytics, you need to pay for a decent program, although these programs only process a percentage of posts a day, so there is a loss of context. The number of posts elicited from this hashtag, shows just how popular this hashtag was on both Twitter and FB, as the hashtag began trending again after WVN's Olympic victory. The analysis is conducted by use of MDA, taking into account both visual, as well as textual resources to discuss the online posts from Facebook and Twitter.



Post One. Source: Twitter

Figure 5.1

This first post above was tweeted by a Twitter user, 2 days after WVN's Olympic victory (14 August 2016). This post is important for the purpose of the research study, as it begins with the hashtag #ColouredExcellence and also seems to express pride with the coloured narrative (at least at present), and also seems concerned with coloured youth, so it can be assumed that the person who posted this is likely a parent, who identifies as a coloured person.

The text within the post shows use of shorthand, which is conventional in online communication (figure 5.1). The post reads "Thank U #WaydevanNiekerk4 giving coloured youth hope, kids need role models like U! So proud & teary eyed at the same time". The tweet is ended with a heart emoticon¹⁰, which in this context seems to be expressing love or joy.

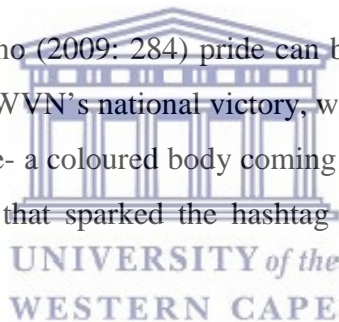
The post begins with the trending hashtag #ColouredExcellence, and also references "coloured youth" (figure 5.1), this aspect seems to express a racial alignment with the coloured identity. The conventional narrative of the coloured body is a stereotypical one, whereby 'coloured' individuals are seen as being lazy, not contributing to society, involved in

¹⁰ A pictorial representation of a facial expression or image depicting a thing (flags, nature, symbols, etc) to express a person's feelings or mood, or as a time-saving method to represent something meaningful as expressed above.

gangsterism, and criminal activities, and so on. The identity is highly tainted with negative connotations. The manner in which the post is written clearly shows discourses of ethnic pride, which can also be seen in the discursive text. This affect is likely a response to a ‘coloured’ body achieving excellence, an achievement not originally associated with the coloured identity. This is especially expressed in the lines where it states “kids need role models like you”. This expresses the idea that what WVN represents is not the conventional idea of a ‘coloured role model’. This implies that there aren’t many good role models, like WVN within the coloured community.

Collective pride is both a complex and positive emotional practice in the behaviour of groups, which have the potential to lead to negative forms of collective arrogance in which other groups are devalued or dominated (cf. Sullivan, 2014). However, he argues that this cultural pride may also be attributed to “positive feelings of unity and solidarity” (Sullivan, 2014: 1). This latter notion seems to be more what relates to the context of an Olympic win.

According to Williams & DeSteno (2009: 284) pride can be seen as an “adaptive emotion”. As can be seen in the context of WVN’s national victory, whereby a community’s response is adapted to fit a new circumstance- a coloured body coming into contact with first place and a world-record. This is the event that sparked the hashtag #ColouredExcellence to go viral online.



In addition to this, the *affective economy* can be tied to historical narratives of the coloured body, where these communities were conditioned to be ashamed of their cultural heritage and their non-white bodies (cf. Ahmed, 2004). Their affective response to this being pride in a culture and race once discriminated by, but evidently not tainted by the apartheid regime as the coloured body is now one that can be associated with sporting excellence, etc.

The feeling of hope is expressed in the post where it states: “Thank U #WaydevanNiekerk 4 giving coloured youth hope...”. The feeling of hope is also associated with WVN’s victory, especially amongst the coloured community. Hope can also be tied to emotions of pride, as in order to express pride for something (ie the coloured body) you must have hope that the coloured community can, through their individual actions transcend themselves from the apartheid narrative created about them.

Crapanzano (2004: 9) states that “hope shares the same direction as expectation –towards the future present” and “separates us from immediate contact with ambient becoming”. This idea is very relevant for the coloured narrative historically, as well as presently, and expresses the same sentiment as stated previously. During apartheid, people of colour were labelled according to their capabilities, which were highly restricted by the apartheid regime and the social conditions placed on these communities. Thus, the coloured body was positioned as being criminal, involved in gang activity, drug-use and many other negative attributes and activities. This links back to the idea of the need for ‘good’ role models within the coloured community, and in effect WVN is represented as a sign of hope, as he is achieving successes previously not associated with coloured individuals. By breaking a world-record and making world history, WVN is allowing for new narratives to be created, especially for coloured individuals who see WVN as a beacon for ‘coloured excellence’.

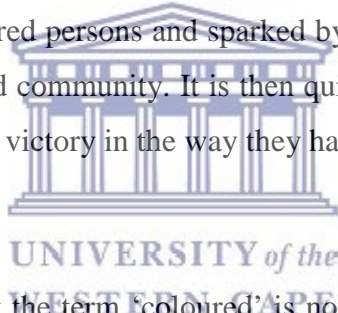
WVN is seen as a beacon of hope, this being due to the fact that the stereotypical view of ‘coloureds’, does not include success and achievement. By using the ‘salute’ gesture (common on the Cape Flats) as a sign of respect, coupled with the Kaaps Salute ‘my bru’ we see the Cape Flats lifestyle garnering social capital which may arguably make it easier for ‘coloureds’ to live in that space. The fact that WVN is also from the Cape Flats may reinforce this point even more so. In other words, the symbolic meaning of the salute gesture may have been re-contextualized due to it happening at the Olympic Games, by a star athlete of colour. With WVN’s win, we see the ‘new’ discourses being created by the coloured community and youth as those not being incapacitated by their pasts, but instead inspired to create completely new trajectories, previously not associated with the coloured identity. Instead of memories of apartheid experiences, social positioning and identity ‘capabilities’ may well have been destabilized by WVN’s win. With the ways the social media users selected for this study have articulated themselves; it appears as though they have a stronger sense of self-awareness than of breaking down the idea of who they are by society. This is then of course an issue of overcoming demeaning circumstances, and invites feelings of pride to be associated with it.

This idea of hope being a means of looking toward the future and separating oneself from the immediate surroundings of one’s circumstances is extremely meaningful, and required to build a new future. This also brings into account the idea of voice and agency, whereby previously disadvantaged communities are not using their own voices to re-narrate apartheid

narratives about them; and in turn coloured individuals are expressing through achievement, etc this ‘new narrative’.

Furthermore, Lazarus (1999) argues that hope is an important coping resource against despair, which is especially interesting if we think about the context of apartheid and how little institutional transformation there has been in terms of the social circumstances for people of colour, and the ‘coloured narrative’ in general. The fact that the coloured narrative has not much changed post-apartheid should be expected to cause feelings of. However, some, and especially the youth have been re-invigorated and seem to be expressing a keen spirit to be the narrators of their own identities in the new South Africa. This reclamation of their identity, and it’s narratives, is something to be proud of, something to revere.

Ahmed (2004: 12) argues that “figures of speech are crucial to the emotionality of texts”. There is evidence then of (at least in this case) a shifting away from the apartheid narrative of the coloured body, to a future contemporary narrative of the coloured body. This narrative has been re-constructed by coloured persons and sparked by WVN’s achievement, while also being tied racially to the coloured community. It is then quite evident as to why the coloured community responded to WVN’s victory in the way they have, why his win has sparked pride within the coloured community.



It is important to understand that the term ‘coloured’ is not a homogenous group, but rather that there are different kinds of coloured communities. Specifically, the coloured community who would latch onto this kind of discourse, or produce it, would be the groups hardest hit by the apartheid era, the living conditions (ie. cape flats residents), and those who are accepting of the identity as ‘coloured’. For example, this becomes an interesting point when looking at how the poster positions themselves in relation to WVN, indexing “coloured youth” and in this way her position as a coloured individual allows her to make this type of comment.

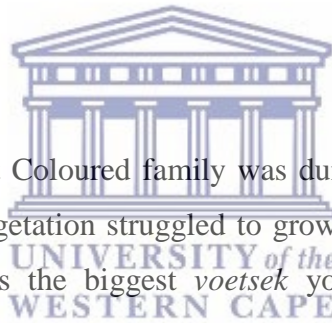
Post Two. Source: Twitter

This second post (posted 10 November 2016) was sourced off the Twitter page called *Vannie Kaap* (an Afrikaans phrase roughly translating to ‘from the Cape’), thus alluding to the idea of being localized. *Vannie Kaap* is a well-known Twitter community page depicting various content relating to the Cape Coloured community, especially popular are their memes about

coloured sayings and experiences. The post from this page depicts a highly emotive message, and alludes to the apartheid narrative of coloured society, with strong links to the struggle of people of colour. This post received 15 “retweets” which is usually seen as equivalent to agreeing with the post, and then re-posting it. In addition, 36 Twitter users loved the post (see below, figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2



The post reads: “Before the first Coloured family was dumped there, the Cape Flats was a barren wasteland where even vegetation struggled to grow. When you blossom and achieve something with your life, that’s the biggest *voetsek* you give to the apartheid regime. #colouredexcellence #stillwerise” (figure 5.2). Significantly, the post refers to a specific geographic locale which speaks to the struggle, hardship and living conditions of the average person of colour during apartheid can be perceived in the words “dumped” and “barren wasteland” (figure 5.2).

This idea of emerging victorious in the face of adversity and being proud of it, is expressed in the lines: “When you blossom and achieve something with your life, that’s the biggest *voetsek* you give to the apartheid regime”. The word italicised is an offensive slang term, associated with profanity and originating from the Kaaps’ Afrikaans dialect and roughly translates to ‘get lost’ and is synonymous with a raised middle finger. This idea seems to propose a rewriting of the apartheid legacy of people of colour, and a moving to new, fresh narratives, which will rewrite the futures of these populations and allow for recognition of these marginalized communities.

The affect described in this post can arguably be read as pride (ethnic pride) and is used in the same way as the previous post, although it can be seen that more emotive wording is used than in the previous post. This post seems to refer to pride in the face of adversity. Here, success and achievements are seen as tools for discrediting the apartheid regime, this is seen in the lines: When you blossom and achieve something with your life, that's the biggest *voetsek* you give to the apartheid regime". This is significant because the apartheid narrative of coloured bodies were not associated with either of these attributes (ie. success and achievement). The apartheid education system was rigged against people of colour through laws of separate development, so that their chances of success were either hindered or very slim. In general, people of colour had less and far inferior access to quality education, job opportunities, and access to amenities such as sports training, and the like.

In the same way, it can be seen that, historically, the social activities and especially the participation in sport was barred, thus achievements and talents were not recognized. Although, this post highlights the struggles faced by people of colour during, the discourse seems to reiterate the idea that not much has changed for the coloured community and that the struggle in a sense- continues. This is expressed in the use of the hashtags following the post "#still we rise". This is a political slogan, and also the title of a famous poem written by Maya Angelou, which indexes the struggle to overcome oppression and injustice. The poem is seen as an anthem; or beacon of hope for the oppressed (Spacey, 2018). This idea is also the same value that social media users have ascribed to WVN, in their use of the hashtag #ColouredExcellence to express ethnic pride.

The contestation with the apartheid narrative of people of colour, seems to be in the struggle to prove oneself as an individual versus as a coloured individual, and what 'colouredness' means in the post-apartheid context. The narrative expressed here is that the coloured body still needs to fight for recognition post-apartheid. There is a sense of understanding through experience expressed in this post. The poster expects the reader to know what the Cape Flats is, and what it is emblematic of, by presupposing some 'insider' information in the post about the coloured community. Similarly, the speaker uses Kaaps terminology and expects that the reader understands the use of the term *voetsek* in this context.

Post Three. Source: Facebook



Figure 5.3 (Facebook, above)



This next post was displayed on the Facebook platform on August 17th 2016, just five days after WVN’s Rio Olympic victory, and clearly here the ambiance of pride and triumph is still seen in the way that people were speaking about the event. The post was posted by a Facebook user (who arguably identifies with the coloured identity). The caption is of interest as well as the still screenshot of the video link. The original post was of the video shown in the post above, with the caption highlighted below it. The post was by a Cape Town skate team known as 20sk8. They consist of a group of skateboarders who most likely identify as coloured, as will be demonstrated through an analysis of their post below. This is followed by the caption, which states: “Against all odds. Salute mybru!!!”. The insert is then seen in figure 5.3 and is a still screenshot of the video link. The original post showed the video in the post below, depicting WVN’s performance in the 400m sprint.


The video depicts the final moments of the race as well as the reaction of WVN to making sporting world history¹¹, by winning the men's 400m sprint, as well as breaking the world-record for this race. The image depicted in the post shows WVN making a salutation gesture, which goes well with the caption displayed above it, "Against all odds. Salute mybru". The latter part of the caption is derived from the *Kaaps* dialect, which roughly translates to 'big ups, my brother' or 'respect, my brother'. The statement arguably indexes kinship and camaraderie, and also respect and pride for the achievement of a fellow 'coloured', which is arguably even further enhanced by it being encoded in Kaaps.

The gesture is especially interesting, as it has significant meaning in the cape flats culture. The gesture is an ambiguous one and may index a gesture expressing respect (as is evident with WVN), although it also holds meaning in the context of gangster culture on the cape flats, namely the 'numbers gang'. This is a term representing prison gangs within South Africa, which has a significant influence on coloured culture as these areas are heavily associated with and affected by gangsterism. The "*salut*" also refers to a gesture, representing a sign used by gangsters to make their rankings within the gang known to other gang members. This group seems to have a lot of insider knowledge, whilst making reference to life on the Cape Flats, which seems to indicate strongly that these members associate with the coloured identity.

The caption can also be suggestive of the apartheid struggle, as the phrase "against all odds" seems to allude to the experiences of people of colour. As discussed previously, in the context of sport during apartheid, people of colour were banned from national and international sporting events, thus they were not allowed to represent their country or showcase their talents in any major sporting events. The phrase "against all odds" is highly suggestive in terms of a mixed-race individual representing South Africa at the Olympics; and going on to win gold and break a long-standing world-record. The caption is packed with symbolic attachment, and seems to express that in the face of a system rigged against people of colour, he was still able to achieve sporting excellence, and that is an achievement to be revered, and to be proud of and motivated by. Hence, these responses seemingly show pride for this victory, and respect for him as a 'coloured' athlete as well.

¹¹ A transcript of the video commentary is given in the appendix

As stated previously, Hemer (2008) maintains that history is a great forger of national identity. Since this victory by WVN will go down in history, it is an event which has become realized as one which is extremely important for the way in which people of colour are seen in South Africa, and the impact they can have within society. This has become a trend, especially through the #colouredexcellence posts online, in response to the apartheid narrative of people of colour, and the fact that in the new South Africa, they want to create new narratives for themselves, and transform the everyday realities of the new generations. Below is analysis of the caption found just under the video, it reads: “South Africa was almost robbed and raped again for its potential and success. They know what you are capable of and saw it coming, they tried to undermine you by placing you in the 8th lane to run blindly, then commenting that you are beginning to tire” (figure 5.4, below).



South Africa was almost robbed and raped once again for its potential and success. They know what you are capable of and saw it coming, they tried to undermine you by placing you in the 8th lane to run blindly, then commenting that you are beginning to tire.



Figure 5.4

The caption (figure 5.4) is significant as it makes reference to South Africa’s historical context for people of colour. The first line, stating: “South Africa was almost robbed and raped once again for its potential and success”, expresses a history or past event of injustice against the nation. This idea of being “robbed and raped” (as in above post) is highly emotive and may allude to the opportunities for development and success taken away from people of colour during the apartheid era.

During this time period, people of colour were systematically oppressed so that their talents were not nurtured to reach their full potential, and thus, the success of the majority of the nation was hindered. The individual success of the oppressed during apartheid were not noticed, and they were not associated with national triumph or achievement, but rather as something to despise, or to be silenced. This idea is however overshadowed by WVN’s victory, where it is described as an event which ‘saved’ the nation from a repetition of this oppression, through achieving sporting excellence in an international event, formerly not designed for people of colour to compete in. This seems to be expressed with the use of the word “almost” (figure 5.4).

The word “almost” is especially interesting because it makes reference to the fact that WVN was undermined as an athlete of colour, in an event with the magnitude of the Olympic Games. An athlete from a third-world country; having been trained by a 75-year old women, was not expected to achieve such success in the face of other world- renowned athletes, such as Kirani James, a British sprinter, and LaShawn Merritt, an American athlete. The result was the success and par excellence title being removed from WVN; robbing him of his achievement and simultaneously South Africa of a gold medal victory.

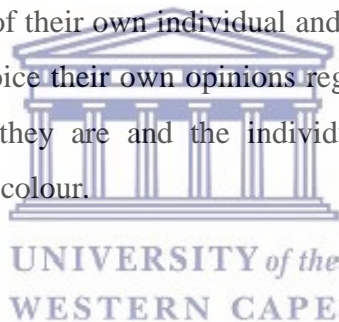
The second part of this insert speaks directly to WVN and almost sounds like a conversation between two close friends. This is a common feature of social media as there is a narrowing down of social intimacy (Sutcliffe, et al., 2018). In the lines “They know what you are capable of and saw it coming, they tried to undermine you by placing you in the 8th lane to run blindly”. The text seems to express that WVN’s athletic abilities were undermined, by having him placed in the “8th lane to run blindly”. To understand this assertion, more context of how the athletic track is configured is needed.

An athletic track is structured in such a way that the starting positions differ according to the lanes, so as to ensure that each athlete runs the same distance (as the innermost lanes would understandably cover less distance if everyone had the same starting position). The 8th lane is the outermost lane, and also the most undesired lane in athletics because you begin in front, and cannot see your competitors and thus you are unable to pace yourself accordingly (which clarifies the idea of ‘running blindly’) (Boylan-Pett, 2016).

It also seems to express that being a coloured athlete from a third–world country, was a factor for his abilities to be undermined, not expecting much from him and so he is placed in an disadvantageous lane. Although, this is mere speculation, as lane positions are allocated based on qualifying times. It would perhaps make more sense to say that his athletic abilities may have been undermined, based on his qualifying times and subsequent placement in the 8th lane. The reason that WVN’s victory was seen as so extraordinary was because of the lane positioning. Running in the outside lane requires discipline and sticking to your training times, because you would not be able to pace yourself accordingly during the race. In addition, due to the extreme curvature of the outermost lane, you would not run as fast as you would in a straight line. Vigil (2016: 3) states that in this lane “you are fighting forces of gravity and physics, as you try to maintain speed”.

The idea of ‘placement’ also seems to allude to the geographical placement of people of colour during apartheid, where they were forced to move from their original places of residence to areas often on the outskirts of the city, or in un-desirable areas not wanted by the ‘white elite’. This idea also suggests the social conditions placed on people of colour, whereby their positions and significance in society were undermined, and undervalued. The idea of pride is reiterated through the idea of achievement and success despite limitations and obstacles placed before an individual. This idea of pride resonates with an entire community (coloured) because they have had similar experiences with the apartheid system, and see WVN as having ‘beaten the odds’ placed against him, as individuals of colour have had to during apartheid and some would argue, they still do today.

This idea of ‘place’ and ‘placement’ can be translated into people of colour striving to create a new place/space within society for themselves; that have not been forged by the apartheid regime. Interestingly, the Cape Flats, home to the large majority of the Coloured population of the Western Cape (Williams, 1996), and is also situated on the outskirts of the city. A space where they are the agents of their own individual and collective narratives, and a space where they have the power to voice their own opinions regarding the complex and dynamic nature of ‘colouredness’, who they are and the individual potential and capabilities of individuals, apart from their skin colour.



Post Four. Source: Facebook

This post is uploaded to Facebook on the 16th of August, by a user who seems to identify corporeally with the coloured identity, judging from the caption stating: “This article makes me proud to be in my skin and proud to be COLOURED #WaydeVanNiekerk” (figure 5.5). Here, the idea of pride is used to describe the kind of feelings associated with being oneself, being a coloured individual, as well as referencing WVN by using his name in the hashtag, thus linking him to the caption stated. The achievement by WVN in the Rio Olympics has created these kinds of discourse around race, especially for the coloured narrative. This post was fairly popular, since it received 33 reactions, and also 28 people shared this post (roughly equivalent to ‘retweeting’).



Figure 5.5 (Facebook, above)

The past narrative of people of colour was one of subjugation, about which there have been arguments made regarding the psychological effects of apartheid on people of colour, with the notion often described as the ‘aspiration toward whiteness’ or ‘internalized racism’ (Hall, 1989). This belief included ideas that their race made them inferior to the ‘white elite’ and thus, the idea of being “proud to be in my skin and proud to be coloured” is extremely meaningful, given the context. This new sense of pride is now towards themselves, a fate which was withheld from these communities during apartheid, and replaced instead with negative ideas and feelings toward themselves and the ‘place’ they occupied within society.

Ahmed (2004: 218) argues that “the sociality of affect is contagion”, meaning that the ways in which people associate with one another on an affective level is dependent on it spreading through contact or association. This idea is relevant in terms of how a collective body (the coloured community) has come to express a uniform response toward an event (WVN’s Olympic victory). These shared historical experiences, memories and views on apartheid narratives of the coloured community, has allowed for the collective affective dimension we see expressed in the online conversation depicted within #colouredexcellence.

There is a change in narrative, sparked by the Olympic victory of WVN wherein histories of negative emotions and feelings toward a collective body is transformed to reflect positive narratives, previously not associated with them. The event seems to have been a trigger for

these kinds of responses, this pride and confidence to achieve in the face of a system designed to keep you from succeeding, or realizing your own self-worth and potential. Ordinary citizens latched onto this victory and claimed it as a vessel containing the proof of coloured potential and greatness, which played out online in the form of the conversation, tagged #colouredexcellence.

The caption leads us to the article attached to the post, by Independent Online (IOL) in which shows an opinion article written by Carla Bernado, a journalist and writer at IOL, in which she explains her view on why this Olympic victory is important for the coloured community in South Africa. This is an important article because it seeks to clarify the very question every reader may have been wondering- why is this coloured pride? Why does it exist?

Why Wayde's gold is a win for coloured identity
News / 15 August 2016, 11:50am
OPINION

Now see, I have recently started proudly identifying myself as coloured. This was something I fought for many, many years. I was taught to resist society's attempts to box me, to resist feeling defeated when asked "What are you?" every day for as long as I can remember. If I was to

Figure 5.6

The extract shown above is from the article previously mentioned by Carla Bernado (IOL), in which an opinion is expressed as to why many coloured individuals have collectively responded with pride in terms of WVN's victory, and labeling it as a 'coloured triumph'. The first meaningful expression in this article is the title: **"Why Wayde's gold is a win for coloured identity"**, stating that WVN's victory had a positive impact on the coloured identity.

As previously indicated, the apartheid narrative of the coloured identity did not include features indicating potential, achievement and success. Thereby stating that this win, in terms of its stature- an international event, a world-record, and a gold medal, this completely transforms the character of the coloured body. This time, coloured people were not being discussed in terms of their gang-related activity, their drug-related issues or their hazardous impact on society, but instead as participating in a prestigious sporting event, and excelling in it.

The article goes on to state: "... I have recently started proudly identifying myself as coloured. This was something I fought for many, many years". This idea of distancing

oneself from one's identity is highly meaningful, because many coloured individuals were socialized to believe the apartheid narrative enforced on coloured individuals, and disassociated from them because they had different aspirations, and beliefs about who they were. This is something that can still be seen in society today. In addition, the desire to be a part of society, manifested in attitudes of not having the burden of 'colouredness' to hinder one's development socially, economically, etc. The coloured identity can be termed, a 'multiple' identity and thus is highly complex and fluid and is not meant to be bounded.

Furthermore, the extract goes on to state: "I was taught to resist society's attempt's to box me, to resist feeling defeated when asked, What are you?" This shows that the coloured narrative was one of resistance since the apartheid era, scrutinizing the restriction of their identities, and rejecting the idea that being "mixed" is something to be overwhelmed by. In the new South Africa, they are using this power they have developed and are now creating transformation in terms of self-identifying and not being shaped by a restrictive and oppressive system.

The fact that the coloured community is chastised for their coloured pride (which will be shown and discussed in more detail in the following chapters) can be attributed to the erasure of the experiences of the coloured community during apartheid. Their responses are labelled as self-serving and exclusionary, however, this chapter argues that instead of having a one-dimensional viewpoint on the online responses of #colouredexcellence, there is multiple ways that it should be understood, especially taking into account the apartheid effects on how this online conversation on race and identity has become manifested within society.

Summary

In this chapter, four select posts were analysed in relation to discourses of pride expressed with the hashtag #ColouredExcellence. This referenced specifically ethnic or collective pride, and the manifestations of this emotional response was identified as a marker for identity recognition, by labelling 'coloured' achievements and calling for successes by 'coloured' individuals to be recognized. These responses had strong ties to the apartheid era, and the narrative of the coloured community, which was mainly comprised of negative attributes, identifying the need for the recognition of coloured successes, and subsequently rewriting old narratives. Here, WVN becomes a symbol of hope for the coloured community, who feel as

though their circumstances during apartheid have not improved. He is also represented as a role model for ‘coloured youth’.



CHAPTER SIX

DISGUST

6.1 Introduction

Disgust is defined as bad taste, arousing revulsion or strong indignation and is a highly performative emotion (cf. Ahmed, 2004). It is closely associated to shame in that it can be used as a tool to align or divide bodies from one another. This chapter focuses on the dismantling of the ‘coloured’ identity through discourses of disgust regarding #ColouredExcellence. The posts are taken from Twitter and Facebook; providing a nuanced view of the emotion of disgust, as it is positioned by the individual user’s uploading these posts depicted below.

Post One. Source: Twitter

This post was uploaded by a user on August 16th 2016, two days after WVN’s Olympic victory. This post did not have any interactions by social media users online, as can be seen in figure 6.1 below. It reads: “I didn’t know there was something called #colouredexcellence until #WaydeVanNiekerk ‘won’ gold from Gauteng mines. Verwoed must be proud” (figure 6.1, below).



Figure 6.1 (Twitter, above)

This post requires contextual knowledge of Verwoed, the architect of apartheid. By drawing on this particularly contentious figure, the Twitter user evokes a particularly painful time in South Africa's history which requires 'insider knowledge' Firstly, there is confusion around why WVN's success on the Olympic track is labelled a win for coloured people in particular. This is indicated by the statement "I didn't know there was something called #ColouredExcellence". The Twitter user begins by calling into question the validity of 'coloured excellence in relation to the eponymous #WaydeVanNiekerk which was also trending at the time. This skilful use of hashtags shows how users can invalidate a hashtag through use and is not always merely a positive affiliation to a particular cause. It is also interesting to see that the verb *won* is written between two single quotation marks which usually imply that the word or phrase is dubious. It can be assumed that there is a definite questioning and uncertainty regarding WVN's win, and it being labelled a "coloured victory".

Where the historic context enters more prevalently is toward the end of the post where the user references "Gauteng mines" and "Verwoed" (the South African apartheid prime minister between the years 1958 and 1961). Saliently, Hendrik Vervoed was also known as the architect of apartheid (Coombes, 2003), so by the user claiming that #ColouredExcellence would make Vervoed proud, we can surmise that this particular ethnic pride is seen as misguided and racist/ discriminatory, something which Vervoed himself would be proud of. Here we see 'pride' subverted as the user appears to be disgusted with the use of the phrase 'coloured excellence' and associates apartheid doctrines with such discourses.

Gauteng has much significance in the apartheid context, as it was the area where the majority of people of colour (especially the black population was employed in the mining sector and exploited). Today the mining sector is still seen as a vestige of the legacy of apartheid, and the symbolic relationship between mining and apartheid is palpable. Gauteng itself also has historic significance as it was the site of many political events, such as the Sharpsville Massacre and the Rivonia trials. This resulted in freedom fighters such as Nelson Mandela being imprisoned; and other highly momentous historic events central to apartheid, and consequently South Africa's road to freedom. Here we see that, not unlike the Cape Flats, different spaces in South Africa signal 'insider' knowledge of a place which is laden in emotion and memory.

Ahmed (2004) describes that texts both name and perform different emotions, and that “emotions are performative and involve speech acts which depend on past histories” (Ahmed, 2004: 13), this notion is derived from her work on the emotionality of texts. Thus, the final statement in the post “Verwoerd must be proud” carries significant emotion and history, and in effect, implies that something causing pride for an apartheid dictator cannot be pride for the people who suffered under apartheid. Clearly there is contention expressed here for the use of #colouredexcellence.

It is also interesting that all of these apartheid references are being linked with discussion about a person of colour, a system that was against people of colour and both marginalized and excluded them (ie. the sporting domain). The emotion which seems to emanate here is disgust for the use of the hashtag #colouredexcellence. The user appears to be implying that WVN had been given the ‘gold’ by their oppressors, which is meaningful and vastly symbolic as mining ownership remains the same as during the apartheid regime. The user also suggests that the racialization of his win is in essence the result of apartheid’s indoctrination (hence, the statement that the apartheid president would be proud). This brings to mind a famous quote by anti-apartheid activist, Steve Biko who stated that “the most potent weapon of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed” (Biko, 1978). In this vein, the user is expressing that the most powerful legacy of the apartheid regime, is how lasting its doctrines are in the mentalities of the oppressed citizens, and its impact on their relation and behaviours toward one another.

Ahmed (2004: 83) discusses the “performativity of disgust” whereby she maintains that through disgust, bodies recoil from their proximity, as a proximity that is felt as nakedness or as an exposure on the skin surface”. This point is interesting here, because it exposes something which is quite evident in the ‘new’ South Africa today, the racial tension between the black and coloured community. In this way, ‘proximity’ is used in a slightly different sense, whereby it suggests the remoteness of people of colour in their approach to one another. It can be argued that this in fact exactly the result of years of systematic division of people of colour, the result is their inability to understand, relate to or share experiences with one another in a way that expresses unity. Perhaps the way in which the media discussed this news story also played a role in creating and endorsing these stereotypes and negative responses amongst people of colour.

Louw (2016) has called for the media to understand the role they have played in reinforcing destructive stereotypes regarding the coloured community. Louw (2016) maintains that situating news events through thorough analysis of data and history has the capacity to achieve an understanding of the complexities of race needed to point out the origins of long-running racial disparities (Louw, 2016) and change them for the good of society. In South African media, where the notion of the "black diamond" emerged a decade ago, black professionals can be found on the cover of magazines and business sections of newspapers, which reveal their success in the face of gross adversity. This has created a huge impact on the psyche of the black community, predominantly the youth, "because these are people who grew up like them, and have made it" (Louw, 2016: 1-2). Regardless, while they are in the spotlight and considered aspirational, they are still very much in the minority as the majority of the black still live in poverty.

However, we see the same thing being depicted as ethnic exceptionalism when associated with the coloured community arguably seen in the form of #colouredexcellence. "The people labelled coloured are mostly excluded from the narratives of nationhood that South Africa is constructing" (Vollenhoven, 2016: 53). What does this say about the historical relationship between people of colour in the post-apartheid context? This is especially relevant in the context of the post to follow, and the accompanying commentary, whereby this disparity and disconnection between people of colour especially reveals itself.



Post Two. Source: Twitter



Figure 6.2 (Twitter, above)

This above post (20 Nov 2017) shows much of the same emotions mentioned above, also seems to be tied to a historic context. The Twitter user expresses his/her disgust at the use of

the #colouredexcellence hashtag and equating its use to a derogatory apartheid reference used for black persons ('*Kaffir*'). The post (above) states: "Ya'll need to stop using the hashtag #ColouredExcellence. It is basically like saying #KaffirExcellence. We are people above everything" (as seen above). The term *Kaffir* comes from the Arabic word *Kafir* meaning disbeliever (Glasse, 1989), and is an apartheid, offensive term which was used by imperialists to refer to black persons. The term originates from the pre-colonial era and is the colonial equivalent of the term 'negro'. The K-word is so bad that people have been fined or even imprisoned for using this word (cf. Joubert, 1981). The user goes on to say "We are people above everything" and suggests the need for South Africans to stop seeing issues in terms of colour (racially) but instead to embrace the idea of the rainbow nation- meaning that we are an extremely diverse, multiracial and multicultural society, and that citizens should be conscious of this and live more inclusively.

Ahmed (2004) states that the language of pain; operates through signs which conveys histories involving injuries to bodies. The signs here again seem to imply the reference to the terms coloured and *kaffir* (figure 6.2), both these terms carry histories, and with that histories of injury to people of colour. In essence, the main point lies in the final lines of the post "We are people above everything". This echoes the previous posts idea that freedom is in the unity of the previously oppressed people of South Africa, and that through racial division, racial categorization and labelling of a national victory through race; we repeat apartheid principles which is both destructive and debilitating in the process of transformation.

The above post appears to evoke the feeling of anger (perhaps also pain), considering the equation of the term coloured with the term *kaffir*. The word *kaffir* is highly emotive and holds with it years of history of racial discrimination and oppression of black South Africans. According to Ahmed (2004: 20) "the pain of others is continually evoked in public discourse, as that which demands a collective as well as an individual response". The collective responses are discussed here in the compilation of discourses shown in the analysis of social media posts, such as the pride behind #colouredexcellence and the contempt for its use as seen in this chapter. The individual response (from this post) is that through a history of suffering and injustice, racial discrimination between people of colour is shameful.

Post Three. Source: Facebook

This post is a selected section of the full post (see full post in appendix), and was uploaded to Facebook on the Khoi Liberation Movement page, by a user on 11 September 2017. It is quite a lengthy extract, but the very first line already depicts contempt for the trending hashtag #colouredexcellence. In addition, there is a highly socio-political debate which unfolds in this post.

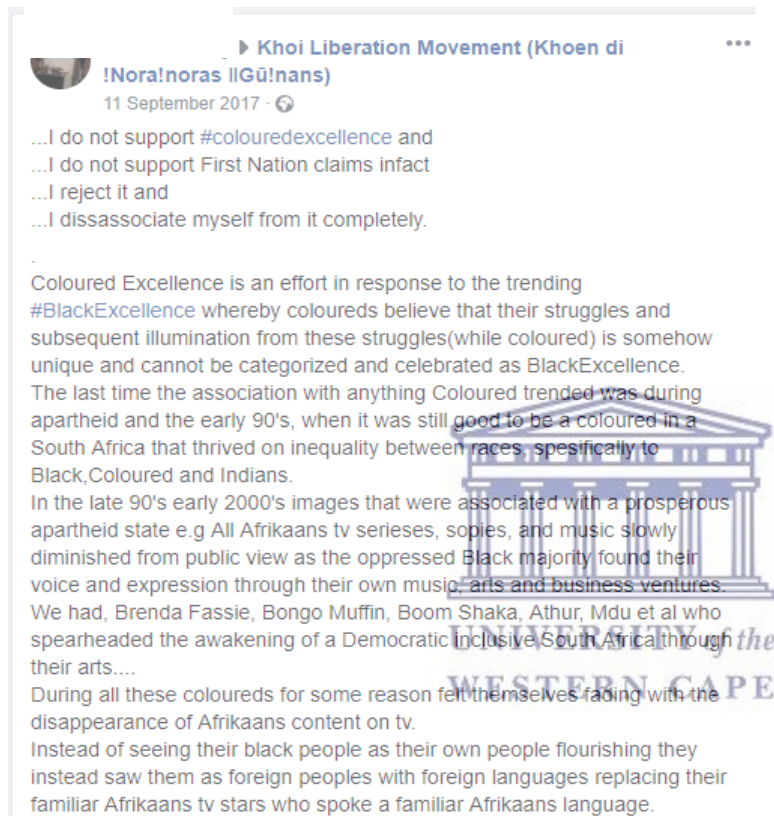


Figure 6.3¹²

The first lines are: “I do not support #colouredexcellence and I do not support First Nation claims, in fact I reject it and I disassociate myself from it completely” (lines 1-4). Clearly, the user is distancing themselves from racial labelling and also the idea of “first nation claims”. ‘First nation claims’ refer to the claiming of things (particularly land) based on indigenous heritage, and the fact that it is posted on an official page for the liberation of Khoi people,

¹²Lines numbered in appendix

gives it a certain humanitarian/ activist energy. As stated previously, South Africa has seen the emergence of local group claiming to be descendants of people native to Cape Town, specifically “Gatvol Cape Town”, meaning ‘fed up Cape Town’.

It is also interesting to note that the Khoi, is a name given to the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa and Namibia, and that ‘coloured’ individuals are said to have ancestral ties with them. In fact, it can be said that they shared the same national identity because under apartheid, the Khoisan people were forced to register as ‘coloured’ under the population registration act of 1950. However, it is evident that the majority of South Africans do not agree with the racial term, ‘coloured’ in the post-apartheid context. This is where the notion originates that the term ‘coloured’ is an apartheid construction. This also corroborates the fact that many of the posts in this section makes reference to apartheid and the use of the term ‘coloured’, often depicting discourses of shame or disgust for the pride around ‘coloured excellence’.

They go on to state that “Coloured Excellence is an effort in response to the trending #BlackExcellence whereby coloureds believe that their struggles and subsequent illumination from these struggles (while coloured) is somehow unique and cannot be categorized and celebrated as BlackExcellence” (lines 5-8). Here, the user pits #BlackExcellence against #ColouredExcellence to arguably exemplify the problem of coloureds not accepting their blackness. Specifically, the user maintains that the use of Coloured Excellence is a reaction to the earlier trending online conversation, #BlackExcellence, which originated in the U.S to celebrate African-American achievement, but has been used to promote other black achievements outside the U.S as well. The post goes onto express that coloured individuals accept and support this reaction because they feel they have unique struggles and unique methods of illumination and thus, should classify their achievements apart from ‘black’ achievements. This idea is reminiscent of, and can be linked to the apartheid strategy of differentiation through hierarchization.

It is interesting that this view is expressed, because it is exactly the same notion that #BlackExcellence was built on, and still it is not recognized as an exclusionary marker. It can also be argued that all racial categories, black, white and coloured are constructions of a system designed to divide people and categorize them in an exclusionary manner. At the same time, the #BlackExcellence hashtag can also be seen as a response to white privilege

and discrimination against blacks. The interesting aspect of this data is that it reflects how hashtags fuse, or are synergized with others online. In this post, we see the user has disavowed the #ColouredExcellence hashtag, and has instead positioned #BlackExcellence as the valid or relevant hashtag to be used instead, as it allows for people of colour to be grouped together.

The above mentioned post/article resonates with Ahmed's (2004:31) view of emotion as she argues that "pain involves the sociality of bodily surfaces" and that "pain is involved in the production of uneven effects". Thus meaning that pain does is subjective to experience, and thus is not homogenous, which can then be implicit in the process of creating 'uneven effects' (cf. Ahmed, 2004: 31). This is especially meaningful in the context of the tension apparent between black and coloured communities. There seems to be a sense of division evident, despite the fact that both communities experienced the oppression of the apartheid system. There seem to be specific political and social causes for these tensions, namely the extent of involvement in the apartheid liberation struggle¹³, and subsequently the social spaces people occupy within a post-apartheid context.

The post further corroborates this idea of 'coloured' being an apartheid legacy, where it states: "The last time the association with anything coloured trended was during apartheid and the early 90's, when it was still good to be a coloured in South Africa that thrived on inequality between races, specifically to black, coloured and indian" (see lines 9-12). The lines mentioned seem to depict the term 'coloured' as being ancient, outdated and originating from the apartheid system. Ironically, they depict the apartheid regime, and early 90's as being a good era for the coloured community, which is very interesting and may be where the roots of the tension lie between the black and coloured communities. There is evidence in these above quoted pieces, which suggest that the user feels that the coloured community had not identified with the struggle of the black communities, and in turn had not done enough during the struggle to support their allies; or to redeem themselves adequately post-apartheid.

Furthermore, there is a sense that quite recently 'coloured' communities held themselves separately from their black counterparts, and in some sense identified better with the

¹³Also termed the 'liberation struggle; referring to the resistance of the apartheid regime by those oppressed under its rule.

apartheid regime, than with their black brothers and sisters. This is expressed in the lines: “In the late 90’s, early 2000’s images that were associated with a prosperous apartheid state e.g All Afrikaans TV series, soapiers, and music slowly diminished from the public view as the oppressed black majority found their voice and expression through their own music, arts and business ventures” The user goes on to name a few prominent black artists, musicians and authors, etc, and then adds that these individuals all “spearheaded the awakening of a democratic inclusive South Africa through their arts...”. This passage shows that there were tensions which arose from the resistance, and which had strong ties to the expression of previously oppressed cultures, identities, and other similar phrasing.

The user goes on to say that “During all these coloureds for some reason felt themselves fading with the disappearance of Afrikaans content on tv. Instead of seeing their black people as their own people flourishing they instead saw them as foreign people with foreign languages replacing their familiar Afrikaans tv stars who spoke a familiar Afrikaans language”. Here the main tension is revealed, the fact that coloured communities do not equate themselves with their black brothers and sisters, but instead have adopted many of the apartheid traits which black communities despise, eg. The language of Afrikaans used to hinder black education, the looking down on the black communities as something distant and unfamiliar. It has also been documented that part of the tensions between black and coloured people stem from the idea that black communities see ‘coloureds’ as “closet whites” (Foster, 2012: 4).

Arguably, the objective of the apartheid regime -i.e. to make sure that the oppressed people of South Africa were treated differently so that they would find it extremely difficult or impossible to identify with one another once even after the fall of apartheid, may have been realized through the prominence of the #ColouredExcellence. Also, these racial groups do not share many experiences in the struggle due to them living separated from one another, a policy documented in the Group Areas Act of 1950. It is well-known that the black and coloured communities in South Africa have had many tensions, stemming from the apartheid era and that this is mainly the reasons for their disunity, still evident today.

The coloured identity has ancestral ties with many more, and varying sub-groups (e.g Khoisan, Malay, etc) which is the reason for the coloured identity having such a complex nature. This shows that ‘black’ and ‘coloured’ should be seen more as an identity marker, than a racial category (as cultured during apartheid) and that it should be recognized that

these groups have varying cultural and linguistic repertoires. Even though these differences exist, these groups still share South African heritage and they share experiences of oppression, as they formed the population of the category Coloureds and Blacks during apartheid. These differences should not mean that they are unable to unite in an effort to overcome oppressive regimes. This is why the apartheid system was so formidable, its method of eradicating resistance was cognitive, and was aimed at indoctrinating the masses against one another, of which its effects are still noticeable within society today (cf. Seekings, 2003).

To sum up, the above mentioned post has many elements expressing anger toward coloured excellence on various levels, most pertaining to past histories and in the analysis, some of these tensions were highlighted and elaborated on, drawing on the apartheid experiences of people of colour.

The discussion emanating from this topic by social media users will follow. This is especially interesting because it depicts comments on the above mentioned post, and gives some insight into what ordinary citizens think and feel. This gives an account of the role social media users' play in the configuration of racialized discourses. The comments also add more context to the tension residing between people of colour. This also brings to the fore the idea of the 'affective economy', whereby the emotions of South Africans, circulating these tensions are explored more fully. The comments will be labelled so that they can be easily followed.

Post Four. Source: Facebook



Figure 6.4 & 6.5

The comments above follow on from the long post in figure 6.3. Although it is a short exchange between Twitter users, it is nonetheless meaningful. One Facebook user notes “The media got people thinking that we as coloured didn’t fight oppression and didn’t have any revolutionary artists. Sad” (figure 6.4). Here, the media is implicated in producing negative discourses regarding the lack of coloured involvement in the apartheid liberation struggle. It is also important to note that six people viewing this comment, ‘liked’ it; meaning that it is a shared view of at least six people who viewed this conversation.

This point regarding the level of involvement of the coloured community in the liberation struggle has already been identified as a causal factor for tensions between people of colour. By associating the contemporary media in this ideology is very interesting, because contrary to post-apartheid media agenda overly creating division between all people of colour, one would assume that these periods would be more about integration and inclusion. This brings into account an interesting point made about the media, agenda setting and public attention.

Leppanen, Kytölä, Jousmäki, Peuronen, & Westinen (2013: 3) argue that “resemiotization and entextualization” are essential resources for identity performance in social media. Entextualization is also a crucial process of power and authority, which are research areas well established in the context of media. These resources are great tools for producing “identification, commonality, connectedness/ groupness”, but can also be used to produce ideas or discourses of “(dis)identification, separateness and difference” (Leppanen, 2013: 1). This implies that the media statement in Figure 6.4; through various resources available to them are able to manipulate news to reflect information which result in separateness, and a disjointed ‘affective economy’ reflecting many tensions and misunderstandings. This point is especially important for the news relating to apartheid and the bodies involved in them in the post-apartheid era.

The second comment states: “Yes the media did that not fellow Africans” (figure 6.5). This statement implies that although there may be tensions, it can be agreed upon that the media is implicated in the cause for these tensions. It also implies that the erasure of ‘coloured’ histories is the work of media corporations. The phrase “not fellow Africans” seem to express that an ‘olive branch’ is being extended to the coloured communities, saying that the pain or tensions they are experiencing were not caused by African people, but by the people in charge of creating and spreading news, and those authorities above them. In so stating that

coloured, and African communities should not be enemies, but instead realize that they share a common enemy, hindering their freedom. This is an extremely interesting notion that unravels here in the above post, as well as the accompanying commentary.

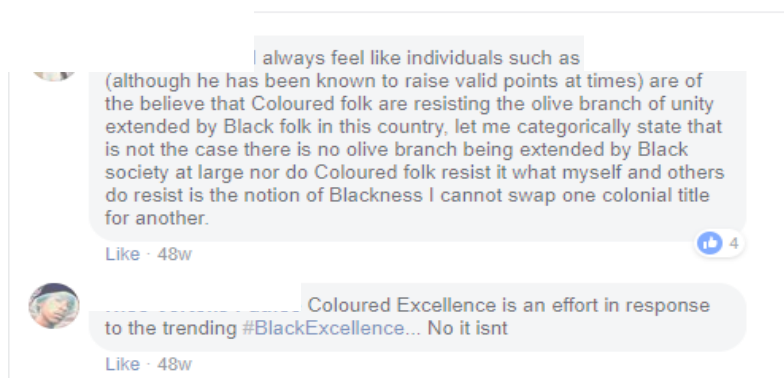


Figure 6.6¹⁴ & 6.7

The conversation is further engaged with by two other social media users. The first comment in the sequence is in response to the second comment (figure 6.5), and says: “I always feel like individuals such as *Participant X*¹⁵ (although he has been known to raise valid points at times) are of the believe that Coloured folk are resisting the olive branch of unity extended by Black folk in this country, let me categorically state that is not the case there is no olive branch being extended by Black society at large nor do Coloured folk resist it what myself and others to resist is the notion of Blackness, I cannot swap one colonial title for another”.

This comment has no punctuation, which indicates that the person may have been in a hurry to type the response, and may also have been frustrated in typing it, leaving very little thought to grammar and spelling. This response expresses that although the first comments may have revealed that Black communities have tried to establish a form of unity (“olive branch”), this is not in reality the case. It also expresses the view that, if the term ‘coloured’

¹⁴ Lines numbered in appendix

¹⁵ Pseudonym/ alternate name given to protect users’ identity

is described as an apartheid/colonial construct, then the term ‘black’ is the exact same thing. As can be seen in the image, four people have also responded positively to this comment with 4 likes.

This notion, post-apartheid, also ties in with the previously mentioned idea of the ‘coloured’ affective economy in which- during apartheid, coloured individuals were not white enough, and today they feel as though they are not black enough. Coloured people feel like they do not have a place in society to express their individual identities (Danhauser, 2008). The tensions shown here thus far seem to depict racial groups blaming one another for their disunity. There is also a sense that history and the past have created these tensions, and they are still present long after the abolishment of apartheid.

The second comment (figure 6.7) in the sequence is a response to the post, and states: “Coloured Excellence is an effort in response to the trending Black Excellence. No it isn’t”. This comment was not responded to, or liked by other Facebook users. This line plausibly shows a coloured individual expressing their belief that coloured people have a mind of their own, their own identity (apart from the black communities), and their own ways in which they can express ‘coloured achievements’ (i.e. through the use of the hashtag Coloured Excellence). This perception, paired with the various narratives expressed in the previous chapter on ‘coloured pride’, shows that the coloured community (still a minority population in SA) may be calling for recognition in the post-apartheid South Africa.

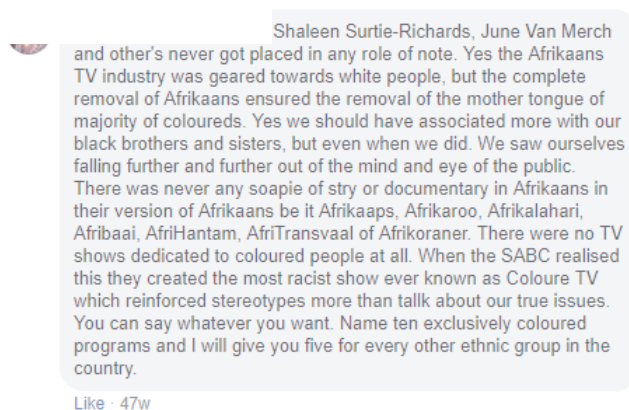


Figure 6.8¹⁶

¹⁶ Lines numbered in appendix

This comment was posted in response to the original post mentioned above, and is a response mainly to the point made about coloured tv stars. The user comments: “Shaleen Surtie-Richards, June van Merch and others never got placed in any role of note. Yes the Afrikaans tv industry was geared towards white people, but the complete removal of Afrikaans ensured the removal of the mother tongue of the majority of coloureds” (figure 6.8, lines 1-5). The names stated at the beginning are names of prominent ‘coloured’ South African tv stars, whom have actually achieved quite astounding achievements within the film industry. This point may be relevant to a topic that is discussed more deeply in the comments to follow, where the dialects of Afrikaans, spoken by the coloured community is unacknowledged within film/ documentary materials.

The latter point, identifying Afrikaans as the majority of the coloured population’s mother tongue is especially interesting. The coloured (mixed-race) population in South Africa, born from the union of Western European men and Khoisan women (colonial era) had adopted many of the linguistic histories and language repertoires formed from Afrikaans/Dutch/English languages (for South Africa)¹⁷, or dialects of these languages spoken by Western European men.

This idea links with the erasure of the history of Coloured people, and the later call for recognition within South African society. It is completely forgotten that although the Afrikaans language is seen as an oppressive (apartheid) language, it is also the native language of the majority of the coloured communities residing on the Cape Flats¹⁸, approximately 8.8% of the total population of South Africa- with the majority residing within the Western Cape region (Stats SA, 2018).

The comment goes on to state that as coloured people “Yes we should have associated more with our black brothers and sisters, but even when we did we saw ourselves falling further and further out of the mind and eye of the public. There was never any soopies of *stry* or documentary in Afrikaans in their version of Afrikaans be it Afrikaaps, Afrikaroo, Afrikalahari, Afribaai, AfriHantam, AfriTransvaal or Afrikoraner. There were no tv shows

¹⁷Other parts of Africa, being colonized by different European countries, find that their language repertoires include the native languages of the slave masters (i.e. French, Spanish, Italian; etc).

¹⁸Large urban settlement, stretching from the northern to southern areas of Cape Town, and was formed as part of the housing projects, to house displaced people of colour during the Group Areas Act of 1950 (official/written law sanctioning the separation of business and residential sections of urban areas for whites only/ people of colour) .

dedicated to coloured people at all”. This point seems to express that through the association with blackness (black culture and ethnicity), coloured people felt their individual identities being erased from the public space.

This brings into account a point made by Ahmed (2004: 1), where she states that “bodies take the shape of the very contact they have with objects and others”. Arguably, this idea can be related to the fact that for these coloured bodies, those who have come into contact with Afrikaans, has identified it as a linguistic artefact, which they assimilate with. Thus, it can be said that with the disappearance of Afrikaans on TV, coloured communities felt a part of their linguistic identities disappearing as a result.

The section which follows, ties in with the point of recognition of the histories of coloured communities, whereby their languages; or their versions of Afrikaans is not used in film and broadcast materials. Thus, they feel that their histories and cultures are not recognized within the film industry, and subsequently the wider South African audience. This speaks to the idea of an affective economy of fear, whereby the black body is seen as the signifier for fear, and that fear “re-establishes distance between bodies”. What is fascinating is that the emotion of fear “involves relationships of proximity” (Ahmed, 2004: 63) which was central in creating the notion of ‘apartness’ of white bodies, and involved the repetition of stereotypes. This is meaningful because it is well-known that there are many stereotypes about coloured and black communities, which exist and are used by many of these racial groups about one another. The phrase “of stry” (translating roughly to ‘or argue’) is an Afrikaans phrase, basically challenging a person to argue against a point made.

The user goes on to further explain the extent to which coloured communities have been marginalized, by stating that “When the SABC realized this they created the most racist show ever known as Coloured TV which reinforced stereotypes more than talk about our true issues. You can say whatever you want. Name ten exclusively coloured programs and I will give you five for every other ethnic group in the country”. This corroborates the idea that the media may be the driving force behind reinforcing stereotypes between groups. Also, it speaks to the idea that instead of addressing every-day ‘coloured’ concerns, these issues are overlooked within film and media, and rather stereotypical representations of the coloured body are exemplified. These responses highlight the reason for coloured communities fighting for recognition, as well as the racial tensions existing between black and coloured

groups.

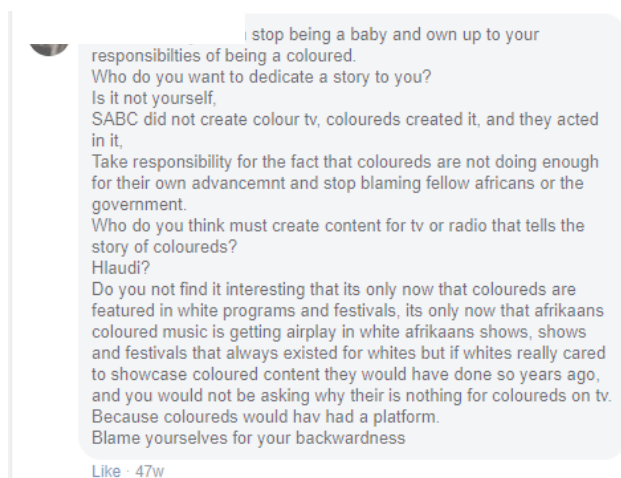


Figure 6.9¹⁹

The comment seen above (figure 6.9) is a response to the previous comment and seems to be a discussion mainly around self-liberation, and the idea of creating opportunities for recognition. Essentially, what the user above says is that the “responsibilities of being a coloured” (line 2) is that coloured communities need to come together and create the content used to shape who they are on television, and address their social issues. They should not look to fellow Africans to give them a platform, or to government for aid. This latter statement is implied through saying: “Who do you want to dedicate a story to you? Is it not yourself. SABC did not create colour tv, coloureds created it, and they acted in it. Take responsibility for the fact that coloureds are not doing enough for their own advancement and stop blaming fellow Africans or the government” (lines 3-9). The idea expressed here is that recognition and the addressing of community issues should come from the community, and not from other sources (i.e government or the wider society).

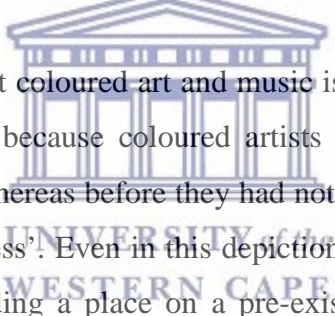
The user goes on to say that: “Who do you think must create content for tv or radio that tells the story of coloureds? Hlaudi²⁰?” (lines 10-12) which ties in with the idea that coloured

¹⁹ Lines numbered in appendix

²⁰Hlaudi Motsoeneng, was the acting C.O.O of the South African Broadcasting Corporation for the period 2011-2013, currently the CEO of SABC.

communities need to create a space to speak about their cultures, and to create their own content to represent who they are for film and industry. This would perhaps clear the stereotypical aspect of ‘coloured tv’ that was expressed in the previous comment. By posing the question Hlaudi, the user is intimating that the power to create content is not only the decisions of broadcasting officials (Hlaudi Motsoeneng is the CEO of SABC), but also the people being portrayed on television.

The comment above (figure 6.9) shows a viewpoint which challenges the respondent to think about the situation of coloured people in post-apartheid South Africa. The user states: “Do you not find it interesting that’s its only now that coloureds are featured in white programs and festivals. It’s only now that Afrikaans coloured music is getting airplay in white Afrikaans shows, shows and festivals that always existed for whites but if whites really cared to showcase coloured content they would have done so years ago, and you would not be asking why there is nothing for coloureds on tv. Because coloureds would have had a platform. Blame yourselves for your backwardness” (lines 13-20).

The logo of the University of the Western Cape is centered in the background of the text. It features a classical building facade with a pediment and columns, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' overlaid in a blue, serif font.

The above comment explains that coloured art and music is now being showcased “in white shows and festivals” seemingly because coloured artists have now created content to be showcased on those platforms, whereas before they had not and so there was no platform for them to express their ‘colouredness’. Even in this depiction there is no outright platform for coloured people as they are finding a place on a pre-existing white space. In addition, it implicates white authorities (i.e the apartheid government) in the erasure of coloured content within the film and broadcasting industry, and states that “years ago” there was already no platform for coloured individuals, not only post-apartheid when black television programs gained status. The final line “Blame yourselves for your backwardness” equates coloured people with being passive and hesitant in their approach to achieving status and creating their own platforms for showcasing coloured content.

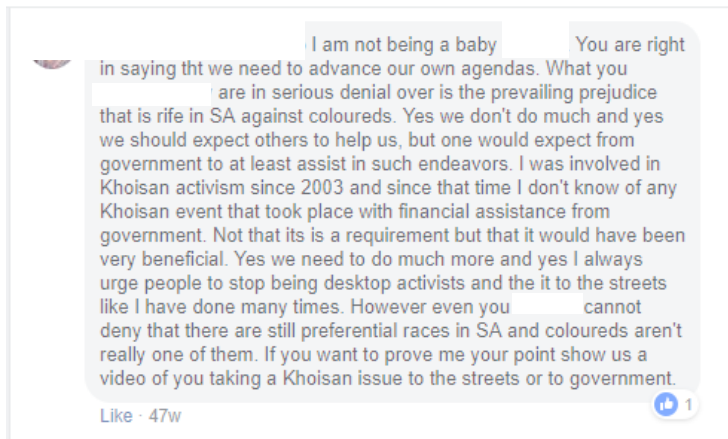


Figure 6.10²¹

Once again, a socio- political debate is started and very strong opinions are expressed throughout the comment section shown here. This comment is also from the same person who commented in figure 6.4 and 6.6 (Participant Y²²). *Participant Y* agrees with part of the comment above by saying “You are right in saying tht we need to advance our own agendas”. Although, he goes on to add that “What you *Participant X* are in serious denial over is the prevailing injustice that is rife in SA against coloureds” (figure 6.10, lines 2-4). Here, the point is made that although coloured people should create their own opportunities for growth and recognition, the injustices apparent against coloured communities within SA are hindering them from achieving these goals. This is the same idea of ‘separate development’ identified here, whereby certain groups are advanced, and others not within societies.

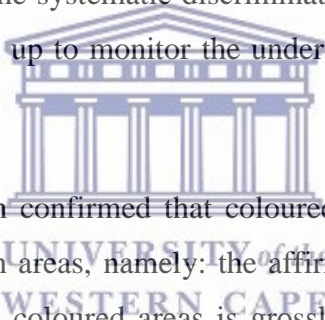
Participant Y further states: “Yes we don’t do much and yes we should expect others to help us, but one would expect from government to at least assist in such endeavors.” (lines 4-6). Firstly, it is important to note that the word “should” in the comment was probably meant to be “shouldn’t”. Here *Participant Y* expresses that he agrees that coloured people have not done much to elevate their circumstances, and also that they cannot expect help from other social groupings in this regard. Although, the individual also makes a point that despite the aforementioned, communities looking to undertake such endeavours have always had, and

²¹ Lines numbered in appendix

²² Name given for ease of reference

should continue to have support from its local government. In this vein, the emotions tied to this chapter are disgust with using an apartheid construct ‘*coloured*’. Similarly, coloured communities are blamed for not having done enough to emancipate themselves post-apartheid. Here #BlackExcellence is linked to #ColouredExcellence to express this ‘disgust’ and ‘blame’.

Participant Y goes on to give a personal account to build up credibility in his own activism, stating that “I was involved in Khoisan activism since 2003, and since that time I don’t know of any Khoisan event that took place with the financial assistance from government” (lines 6-9). In the past, as well as recently, there have been many activist-driven groups rallying for support, and these groups have often appealed to government for support. It is well-known that some groups do gain the support of the government, and even NGO’s work with government to help groups from poor communities and the like. However, for example, in 2015 the Coloured People Right’s Group appealed to the United Nations Human Right’s Council (UNHRC) to recognize the systematic discrimination of coloured people. Whereby, they requested a system to be set up to monitor the under-development of coloured people, post-apartheid.



The findings of this investigation confirmed that coloured individuals were being unfairly treated, with regard to three main areas, namely: the affirmative action policy (they do not benefit), housing development in coloured areas is grossly disproportionate, and that state media is not equal in their representation of the coloured population (Whittles, 2017). With regards to this, the Advocates for Human Rights stated that “The denial of equal access to state-funded media for coloured people violates the Right to Freedom of Expression under Article 19(2) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” (Whittles, 2017: 1).

With regard to the support of government, *Participant Y* states: “Not that it is a requirement but that it would have been very beneficial” (lines 9-10). Whereby, he makes it known that he is not saying that support from government is a prerequisite for succeeding in alleviating oppressive conditions, but that the issues coloured communities are currently facing would be better offset by government if the ty invested in their group.

Participant Y further argues that “Yes we need to do much more and yes I always urge people to stop being desktop activists and take it to the streets like I have done many times.

However even you cannot deny that there are still preferential races in SA and coloureds aren't really one of them" (lines 12-14). The main point made here, despite expressing the fact that coloured communities have a lot of work to do, before their goals can be realized, is that of "preferential races". This terminology is indexical of the apartheid system, whereby the racial system was a hierarchical system and placed one race over another. The user is expressing a view that coloured people in the new South Africa are the racial category that is still being undermined and discriminated against after apartheid, as well as being victimized during apartheid. The reference made to "desktop activists" (figure 6.10) is especially interesting, and could be seen as mocking *Participant X*, who has until this point not given any indication that he is more than simply 'active' online. This idea is further emphasized where the user asks *Participant X* to "show us a video of you taking a Khoisan issue to the streets or to government" (figure 6.10, lines 14-15), especially since he has already proven his own credibility as an activist.

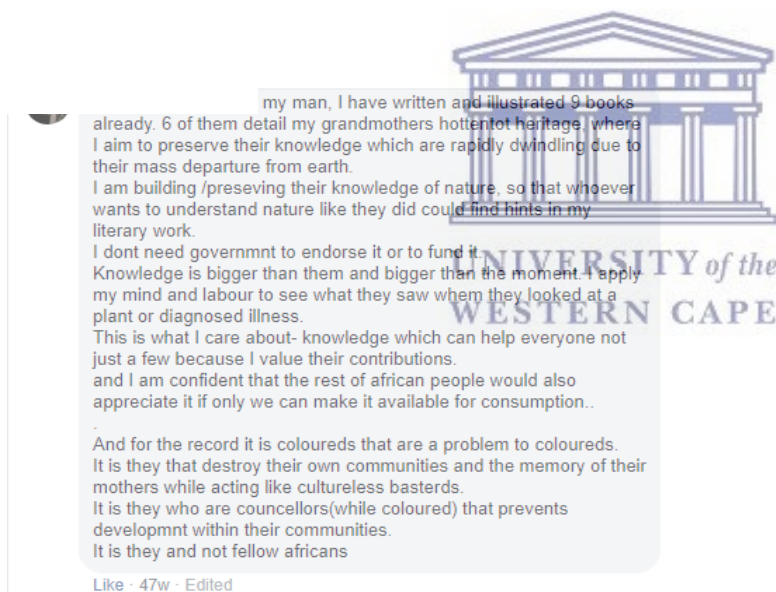


Figure 6.11²³

The post above comes from Participant X as seen in figures 6.3 and 6.5 and 6.9. The user, taking up this challenge expressed in figure 6.10- lines 14-15 replies (almost smugly), "my man, I have written and illustrated 9 books already, 6 of them detail my grandmothers

²³ Lines numbered in appendix

hottentot heritage” (figure 6.11, lines 1-2). In the very opening line *Participant X* outlines his involvement in the documentation of coloured history, there in showing that he has ‘done his part’ and has credibility. He now responds that he has written extensively on the ‘coloured’ heritage which he terms “hottentot²⁴ heritage” (line 2). *Participant X* expresses that their reasons for amassing literature of this kind is that they “aim to preserve their (hottentot) knowledge which are rapidly dwindling due to their mass departure from earth” (figure 6.11, lines 3-4). He states that he is trying to capture the roots of coloured heritage in literature, because the erasure of coloured heritage will be certain due to the high number of deaths occurring among the elders of the coloured/Khoisan communities. This user also adds a personal account stating that “I am building/preserving their knowledge of nature, so that whoever wants to understand nature like they did could find hints in my literary work” (figure 6.11, lines 5-7).

Regarding these works, *Participant X* adds “I don’t need government to endorse it or to fund it” (line 8). This is interesting because he seems to be likening the recognition of coloured heritage within post-apartheid society, to that of reading a book in order to gain insights into a specific topic or not- and saying that he does not need the permission or financial support from government to achieve it. Whereas, the recognition goes much farther than book knowledge, and also the support from government in a humanitarian endeavour such as this, is much more important and valuable to the long-term well-being of coloured individuals and also to democracy within South Africa. This comment (line 8) can arguably be read as a jab at the previous user’s plea for funding from government.

The last part of this comment is particularly interesting, because it offers an alternative view regarding the circumstances of coloured individuals. The comment states: “And for the record it is coloureds that are a problem to coloureds. It is they that destroy their own communities and the memory of their mothers while acting like cultureless *basterds*. It is they who are councillors (while coloured) that prevents development within their communities. It is they and not fellow Africans” (figure 6.11, line 21).

²⁴ Also termed ‘khoisan’ (hotentot is understood as derogatory) refers to member of a group of pastoral people of Namibia and South Africa (including the Nama). Also refers to any of the Khoisan languages of the Khoi. In both senses also called *Khoekhoe*.

Participant X uses quite crude terms to describe the coloured community at large, where it is said that “coloureds destroy their communities...while acting like cultureless basterds” (figure 6.11, lines 17-18). This could be referring to the destruction of coloured communities due to drugs and gangsterism, although it is not blatantly stated in the comment. The term used to describe the coloured community as ‘cultureless basterds’ is a particularly hurtful label, as it is a narrative which has been noted by others who have stated that ‘coloureds do not have culture’ (SA history online, 2000). Significantly, this was also an apartheid strategy of alienating coloured individuals, and hindering their participation in the fight for their land, as it indoctrinated them to believe that the land did not really belong to them (Steenkamp, 2013). This links to the beliefs of certain coloured communities today, that under apartheid they were not white enough, and today under ANC-ruling they are not black enough- thus stifling their political participation (Kolade, 2016). Here we see a type of hopeless ‘no man’s land’.

Furthermore, the comment also implies that coloured councillors, who are corrupt, prevent development from occurring within their own communities- this is quite an interesting viewpoint. This assertion regarding coloured councillors being corrupt may play into the stereotypes already rampant regarding coloured people in general. A councillor refers to a member of an administrative body, which could be a number of institutions (local municipality, government, civic authorities, etc) in this regard because of the statements implicit nature. This label most likely refers to ward councillors, who are responsible for the representation of the people living in different suburbs they are allocated to. The user then repeats a statement he has made previously “It is they and not fellow Africans” (line 21).

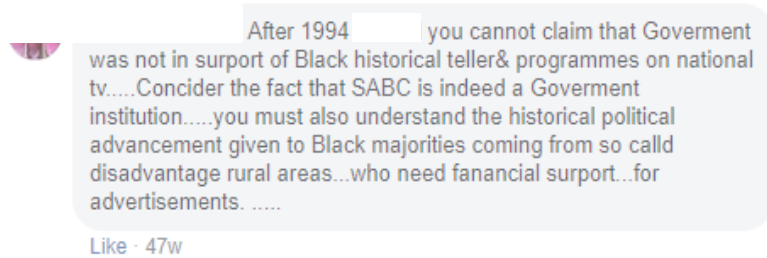


Figure 6.12²⁵

The previous comment is replied to by *Participant Y*, whereby the comment says: “After 1994 you cannot claim that Government was not in support of Black historical teller and programmes on national tv. Consider the fact that SABC is indeed a government institution. You must understand that the historical political advancement given to Black majorities coming from so called disadvantaged areas... who need financial support... for advertisements” (figure 6.12, lines 1-7).

Here the user states that after liberation (post 1994) Black communities were endorsed by government in the advancement of those Black communities, because of the limitations the apartheid system had inflicted on them. In this same way, coloured communities are calling for recognition and appealing to government for support for the advancement of coloured communities. It is not unlikely for government to become involved in issues involving humanitarian aid, as it is such activities that positions them as being a government that is ‘for the people’.

Summary

This chapter discusses the dismantling of the term ‘coloured’ as an apartheid construct, and one which should be viewed as derogatory and threatening to the goal of achieving equality and the idea of a ‘rainbow nation’. Expressed in this chapter is shame in assimilation with the term ‘coloured’, this is used interchangeably with disgust and hopelessness evoked in the responses of social media users, to the coloured rejection of the black identity. The issue of blame is also ascribed with the views of ‘coloured’ participation in the liberation struggle.

²⁵ Lines numbered in appendix

CHAPTER SEVEN

NATIONALISM

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on discourses of nationalism emanating from #ColouredExcellence, and makes use of a contrasting hashtag to express this (ie. #SouthAfrican). In particular, this chapter focuses on issues of racial exclusion, and nationalism, specifically national pride.

Post One. Source: Twitter



Figure 7.1

The above post was posted two days after WVN’s victory, and shows another response to the way racial matters are discussed and taken up within South African society. The post states: “It’s rather disappointing to see #WaydevanNierkerk gold been marginalized to one race. He’s #SouthAfrican #ColouredExcellence is *BS*” (figure 7.1). The use of the hashtag #colouredexcellence is clearly disapproved of and is described as marginalizing and *BS* (shorthand for the profanity term *bullshit*, which in essence equates to the word ‘nonsense’ in this context). Here, instead a national discourse is taken on, whereby the viewpoint seems to be that instead of racial categorization, we should all see ourselves as “South African”. This

calls for the use of a national identity marker as South African, instead of the racial identifiers used to categorize South African citizens on meaningless characteristics, such as skin colour, race, etc. Secondly, the use of the word “disappointing” is of course highly emotive, and expresses that the fact that a national victory has been tainted as a racial one, and is rather disparaging for some people.

The part of “marginalized to one race” is an interesting way of speaking to the popularity of #ColouredExcellence. Marginalization is “the process of racial or social exclusion whereby people or groups are treated as insignificant or peripheral, and not allowing them an active voice in societal matters, identity or place in general within society” (Walsh, 2006:1). The result is that the groups or people affected are prevented from participating fully in the economic, social, and political cycle of the society they live in (Walsh, 2006). Usually those in power marginalize the powerless. In this case, the user is stating that WVN has been marginalized by his fellow South Africans when ascribing ‘coloured’ identity to him – an identity which the user feels is in fact disempowering.

The use of the hashtags #SouthAfrican and #ColouredExcellence seem to represent different sides of the spectrum on racial and national issues within South Africa. We see now that #ColouredExcellence is resemiotized to fit a different intention. Thus, showcasing a skilful and timely use of the hashtag function, to discredit rather than promote racial classifications, and the like. The hashtag #SouthAfrican expresses a national identity discourse, and is arguably used to oppose racialized discourses (such as in #ColouredExcellence). WVN’s achievements are classified as a national victory, as opposed to a racial one; whereas, #ColouredExcellence highlights the racial disparities within South Africa. The coloured identity has for decades been struggling with its recognition within the national body (Danhauser, 2008).

Racialized discourses are often linked with the “status of experience” (McBride, 2005). These discourses are often taken on by the subjects who wish to “destabilize” the political values of hegemonic discourses (McBride, 2005). In other words, this racialization of WVN’s Olympic victory can arguably be read as a call for recognition on one hand, through using #ColouredExcellence and a call for racial inclusion on the other, through #SouthAfrican. The hashtag #ColouredExcellence is also a way to ‘force’ people using that hashtag to be brought into a wider conversation on nationalism.

It is a commonly-held belief that one of the ways we can mend the damage to our society caused by apartheid is to address and transform race relations. Former South African politician, Makhosi Khoza, was quoted saying: “*We must move away from apartheid social constructs. Stop saying white, black, etc. Say South Africans of European origin, South Africans of Indian origin, etc, but prefix it with South African. We are all South African*” (Khoza, 2017). The aim of the prefix is to show unity, that we are all citizens of this country, and no individual holds any higher ranking in this society than the next. Social constructs are an apartheid construction, and the dispel them are part of working toward an inclusive society. Thus, in this viewpoint, any discourse including racial exclusion should be jettisoned.

Ahmed (2004) explains that multicultural love is of vital importance and works to construct a national ideal that others often fail and is realized both as an injury as well as a disturbance. Furthermore, the nation becomes an ideal through being imagined as being “open, diverse and welcoming to others” (2004: 133). The main point that this post seems to be expressing is this idea of multicultural love, that all citizens be treated as such and that the nation be respected as one harbouring many different cultures and communities-, should be created without apartheid group classifications. It is also interesting that “the multicultural nation can be taken away by the presence of others who do not reflect back the good image the nation has of itself” (Ahmed, 2004: 134). This point furthers the idea that those that assume a ‘coloured’ identity is more destructive to nation-building as it promotes difference, exclusion, ethnocentrism and possibly hate speech.

Post Two. Source: Twitter



Figure 7.2

The post seen above was posted by a user on the 18 August 2016 (four days after WVN's victory). By this time, the celebration of WVN's victory and the trending hashtags were well under way and the establishment of #ColouredExcellence had already started. The post reads: "It's not about coloured, white, black etc. He is #southafrican for fs sake! We are all proud" (figure 7.2). This post expresses the users position, that race should not be seen as a factor in this instance, stating that "[I]t's not about coloured, white, black..." (figure 7.2). This is arguably a jab at #colouredexcellence and #blackexcellence alike, and also including white citizens. Instead, the user says that in an event like the Olympics, athletes like WVN are, and should be considered, South African because "we are all proud" of such a victory. This user is clearly in favour of an inclusive discourse, and is highly perturbed by the racialization of bodies within this context.

The user expresses their frustration by stating: "for *fs* sake". The full phrase is '*for fucks sake*' and is a common expression used to signify frustration or irritation with a situation or event. The use of profanity may index frustration felt regarding the fact that this idea of racializing issues is not unusual in South Africa, and that sometimes people (who do not ascribe to racial discourse) become maddened by it. In which case, they often express their frustration and opinions on social media platforms in this way.

The user ends off the post with "#WaydevanNiekerk" (figure 7.2), thereby arguably representing WVN as the agent of his own success for South Africa, which all South Africans could be proud of – an individual and not a racial group.

Post Three. Source: Facebook



Figure 7.3

The above post was commented by a Twitter user on November 3rd, 2016- approximately four months after WVN’s Rio Olympic victory. This shows that the hashtag continued trending for quite a long period of time after the Olympic event. The post reads: “So #BlackExcellence #ColouredExcellence see now we have Basotho kids only. Wow next it will be Zulu kids. So not the *rd* [road] to unity I’d say” (figure 7.3). This post appears to reiterate the same ideas as the previous post, that racial exclusion is not the path to a united nation. It is also ironic that a national victory, which is supposed to create social cohesion is being spoken about in this way, when it should be obvious. Another way to read this post is within the context of South Africa, and could be a play on South Africa’s slogan of “unity within diversity”. Hence, by saying “not the road to unity” as the diversity- for example “Basotho” vs. “Zulu” is causing division and derision.

The comment makes reference to the trending hashtags #BlackExcellence (which began as an online movement, to recognize black achievements across various fields and international borders- see also ‘black Twitter’). #ColouredExcellence was also created before WVN’s Olympic victory, with the same intent, but only started trending when WVN achieved sporting excellence and the hashtag became viral discuss his success online.

The comment follows, saying: “see now we have Basotho kids only. Wow next it will be Zulu kids. So not the *rd* [road] to unity I’d say”. Here the speaker is claiming that the mix between the recognition of only black and coloured bodies produces only a space within society/ a future for “Basotho kids”, and next it will be “Zulu kids” (hereby affirming that he feels that the development and bettering of black and mixed-race people’s agendas are taking preference over South Africans). “Basotho” refers to a Bantu ethnic group who speaks Sotho and whose ancestors have lived in southern Africa since around the fifth century (Bundy

&Saunders, 1989). The label “Zulu” is an umbrella term for a large population (approximately 10-12 million) of Bantu²⁶ people, residing mainly in South Africa, and also parts of KwaZulu Natal (KZN). The comment ends with the line: “not the rd to unity I’d say”, implying that the creation of increasingly more groups does not benefit South Africans in terms of unifying toward a ‘rainbow nation’.

These fore-mentioned factors are highly relevant when discussing social cohesion, social relations, racial divisions and the like. Ahmed (2004) also maintains that the bond or “stickiness” of a group is dependent on the transference of love, or the return of love (2004: 130-131). Furthermore, Ahmed (2004) argues that a nation cannot become established and enduring without the development of a common sense of belonging amongst its citizens. Interestingly, it is not uncommon to hear South Africans say that not much has changed in the ‘new’ South Africa (South Africa post-apartheid), perhaps this is because of the fact that citizens still struggle with identity, belonging, and social relations with one another.

Post Four. Source: Facebook

This post was uploaded to Facebook by a social media user, on the 15th August 2016. This post was quite popular for a post by an ordinary user, as it received 60 reactions (either likes, ‘heart emoticons- meaning people ‘loved’ it). The post is quite short, and states: “Our national anthem finally played. Thank you golden boy *heart emoticon* #waydevanniekerk” (figure 7.4).

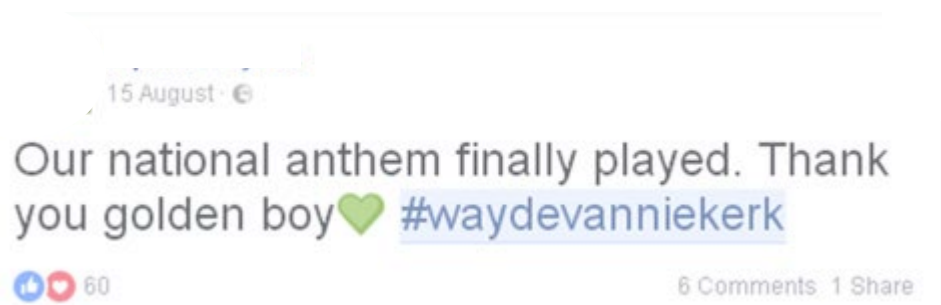


Figure 7.4 (Facebook, above)

²⁶Umbrella name for an ethnic family, of which Zulu forms part of, including the speakers of Bantu languages.

In the above comment, reference is made to the national anthem of South Africa, which shows that WVN's victory here is realized as a nationwide victory, and something to be celebrated by South Africans in general. In addition, what is specific about this reference to the national anthem is that it is plausibly referencing the *new* national anthem. This anthem was created post-apartheid, in an era where athletes of all racial backgrounds could freely participate based on merit. This is particularly true of the Olympic Games which is why WVN's achievement was so widely celebrated, and why such varying discourses are observed. The adverb "finally" indexes the anticipation of a hoped for event which has eventually come to pass and it may also signal a sense of relief. Additionally, it may indicate that South Africans were really proud of this achievement because it 'finally' put South Africa in the Olympic spotlight. It expresses an emotion of waiting, and hope, and WVN fulfilled this hope in those people. The user is clearly expressing gratitude, and pride in the achievements of a fellow South African. We are aware that a particular group (South Africans) are signalled as the user uses the possessive 'our' in 'our anthem', as opposed to the anthems of other countries participating in the Olympic Games.

Concomitantly, the last line "Thank you golden boy *heart emoticon*" expresses gratitude and appreciation for WVN's achievements and what it has done for South Africa's prestige within the Olympic arena. The post ends with the hashtag #waydevanniekerc which directly credits him as the main subject of the post, and not his racial status, nor his nationality. This representation of WVN is different to the narratives we've seen of him previously, where he is identified as either a 'coloured' athlete, or South African.

Post Five. Source: Facebook

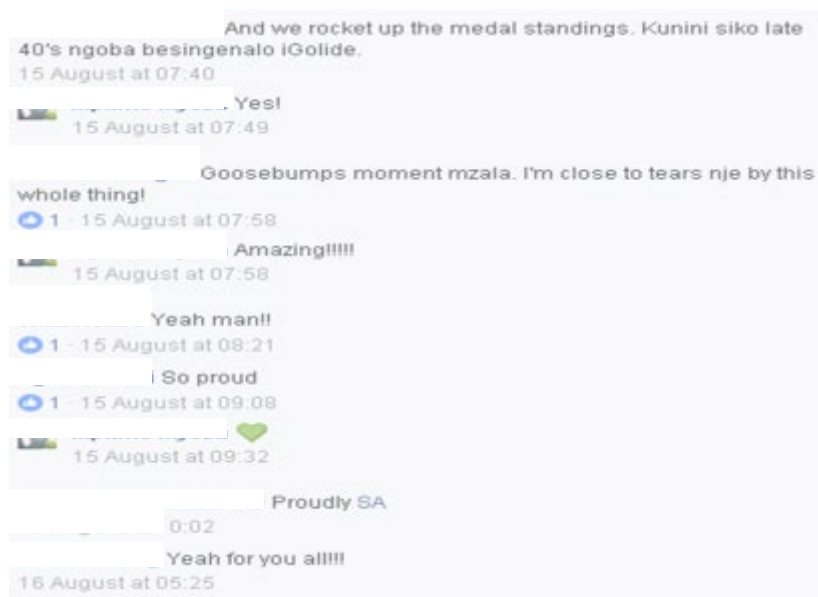


Figure 7.5

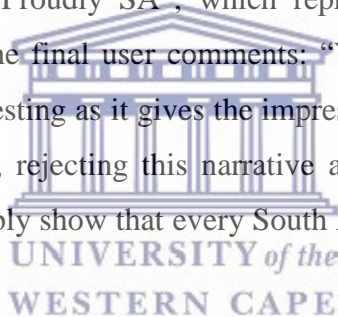
The comments shown below are in response to the post by the Facebook user depicted in Figure 7.3. Although most of the comments are expressed in English, some do have traces of informal isiXhosa mixed-in with the English commentary, which is conventional style for online language. The first comment states: “And we rocket up the medal standings. *Kunini siko late 40’s ngoba besingenalo iGolide*” (comment 1). This comment translates as: “how long have we been in the late 40’s, because we didn’t have gold”. This is an example of informal isiXhosa, and can be described as intra-sentential code-switching, as it occurs within the sentence or clause as seen in figure 7.4, comment 1). This statement is open to interpretation, and because this section deals with discourses of WVN’s achievement in a national sense. It would be fitting to say that the comment expresses that South Africa is amassing more ‘gold’ medals in the Olympics, than previously done, which is allowing for their ranking to move up from the late 40’s as South Africa is currently ranked 30th in the world.

The second comment is in response to the first comment, which states: “Goosebumps moment cousin. I’m close to tears *nje* by this whole thing!” Having “goosebumps” alludes to the idea that this event very highly impacted the user, by saying she had goosebumps, it expresses that the user likely had a feeling of intense excitement toward the victory. The word “cousin” could be used as a term of endearment or could imply that these uses are

related. The lines: “I’m close to tears by this whole thing” shows that in addition to being extremely proud and excited, this achievement has also brought out such joy in people, that it left them feeling rather emotional as well. These emotional feelings speak to the long way South Africa has come since the abolishment of apartheid, whereby people of colour are being recognized and achieving sporting excellence for their country. The word *nje* is a Cape Town/ South African term used colloquially to express multiple meanings such as ‘wow’ or ‘can’t you see’ or disapproval (thus, tying in with the intense feelings described in this comment).

Other comments which are related to this feeling of intense excitement for WVN’s victory are comments 4, where the user states: “Amazing!!!!”, comment 5, which states: “Yeah man!!” and 6, where it says: “So proud”. Here there is an overwhelming sense of pride evoked in the context of a national Olympic achievement.

The last two comments (comments 8 & 9), is where the discourse of nationalism is especially evident. The comment states: “Proudly SA”, which represents WVN’s victory within a national context. Furthermore, the final user comments: “Yeah for you allll” (comment 9). This comment is especially interesting as it gives the impression that it is a direct response to the use of #ColouredExcellence, rejecting this narrative as exclusionary, and emphasizing instead the word “allll” to plausibly show that every South African should be included in this celebration of a national victory.



It is clear that in this section, there is less discourses surrounding apartheid and racial histories, and more focus is put on a (unifying) national discourse, and representing WVN as an athlete, par excellence. This unifying discourse is further perpetuated by the multilingual use of languages as seen in the commentary above.

Post Six. Source: Facebook



Figure 7.6

The above post was posted to Facebook on the 16th August 2016, which reads: “And once again I’m proud to say I’m a #Coloured #SouthAfrican thank you #WaydeVanNiekerk. I missed the race due to work! But this man this!! Everyday onboard I need to explain what I am...and why I’m not black or white and that I’m from South Africa. That a girl of my complexion who apparently looks Brazilian can come from there. I’m a proud Capey!! A ColouredCapey...A girl with a very strong accent “which I never thought I had” thank you for putting the light on us! Time to shine...and leave our coloured mark! #ProudlySouthAfrican” (figure 7.6²⁷).

This post provides a different perspective on nationalism, one in which the coloured identity is seen as integral to understanding ‘unity in diversity’, The hashtags #Coloured #SouthAfrican #WaydeVanNiekerk have been used in a slightly different way to how they have generally been used in posts thus far, as ethnic and national identity is represented as alike, or in one idea. The user also seems to hold the position that ‘we’ can have a national identity, whilst still being ourselves (ie. a proud Coloured Capey). The post was fairly popular, as it elicited 22 reactions, 5 comments by other users, and it was also shared on Facebook. For ease of reference, the user will hereon be referred to as *Participant Z*.

²⁷ Numbered annexure in appendix

In lines 1-2, *Participant Z* states that “once again” they are proud to be known as a “#Coloured #SouthAfrican”, and thanks WVN for bringing about that opportunity. Here, arguably WVN is positioned as having brought feelings of pride and gratitude to both coloured people, as well as South Africans in general. This is something that can arguably be seen as a generally accepted idea, judging from the previous analysis chapters.

The post goes on to state, “...Everyday onboard I need to explain what I am...and why I’m not black or white and that I’m from South Africa. That a girl of my complexion who apparently looks Brazilian can come from there” (lines 3-6). This statement seems to express that there are other elements of identity in South Africa, apart from being black or white, that (like her) people may ascribe to. This can arguably be read as implying that outsider’s may only think of South Africa as being ‘black or white’ but that there are many other ethnic backgrounds forming this culturally-rich nation. This is corroborated by the line which states: “That a girl of my complexion who apparently looks Brazilian can come from there.” This also brings in the idea of nationalism because, although *Participant Z* states that they identify as “#Coloured”, they still feel that they are a part of the nation by also identifying as #SouthAfrican.

Participant Z further emphasizes their multi-layered identity by claiming: “I’m a proud Capey!! A ColouredCapey...A girl with a very strong accent “which I never thought I had” thank you for putting the light on us” (lines 7-8). The word “*Capey*” refers to a person who identifies with the Cape Coloured community, or as a coloured individual residing in the Cape Province²⁸. The coloured accent is also represented as being something quite distinct, that people immediately pick up on, although speakers may be unaware that they had ‘an accent’. “Thank you for putting the light on us” implies that through WVN’s Olympic victory, more recognition has been placed on South African coloured bodies. The post ends with the hashtag “#ProudSouthAfrican, which again speaks to the idea of identifying with the national body, whilst still maintaining your core cultural heritage and beliefs.

²⁸ Referring to the Western Cape area

Post Seven. Source: Facebook

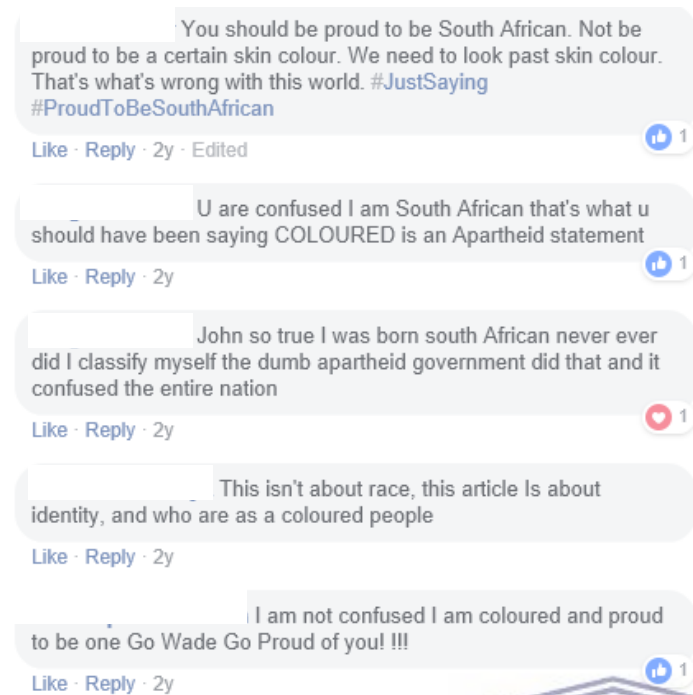


Figure 7.7²⁹

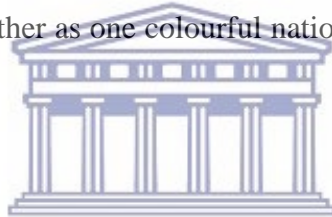
These comments above are all from Facebook, and are in reply to *Participant Z*'s post (figure 7.6). A Facebook user (*Participant V*) comments: "You should be proud to be South African. Not be proud to be a certain skin colour. We need to look past skin colour. That's what's wrong with this world #JustSaying" (figure 7.7, comment 1). Here *Participant V* strongly expresses contempt for racial positioning and instead suggests that *Participant Z* position his/herself as South African, rather than through racial categorization. This is further corroborated in the lines: "That's what's wrong with the world". *Participant V* seems to be saying that the global societal ills plaguing us stem from such thinking. The post ends with the hashtag "#ProudToBeSouthAfrican" which seems to be given as an example to *Participant Z* as to what kinds of hashtags are better alternatives to use instead.

The second comment and third comments are all from *Participant P*. Comment 2 states: "U are confused I am South African is what you should have been saying COLOURED is an Apartheid statement". Again, *Participant P* expresses their disapproval of racial labelling and

²⁹ Numbered version in appendix

prefers the idea of nationalism to be considered instead. *Participant P*, then replies to Participant V's comment (figure 7.7, comment 1) and says: "Participant V so true I was born South African never ever did I classify myself the dumb apartheid government did that and it confused the entire nation" (comment 3). Again the idea is expressed that South Africans should classify themselves as part of the national body, and not in terms of the apartheid system of classification.

Another Facebook user comments on the above mentioned comment by *Participant P*, and says: "This isn't about race, this article is about identity and who [we] are as a coloured people" (comment 4). This comment specifically mentions that there is a distinction made between race and identity that must be considered, and that the use of racial labelling is actually discourses of identity. Here the user expresses the same ideas that Participant Z did in her post (figure 7.6). The idea that, we can all identify as South Africans on a national scale; but that on a smaller scale there are individual, ethnic and cultural distinctions that diversify South Africans. Here we see an argument made for the idea that uniqueness should not separate us, but bring us together as one colourful nation, which links back to the concept of 'Unity in diversity'.



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Summary

This chapter deals with the hashtag #SouthAfrican as a national marker, and source of pride in relation to WVN's Olympic victory. It also deals with the representation of WVN as the architect of his own victory by using #WaydevanNiekerk. The emotions which are represented through this hashtag is also pride, but takes a more inclusive national approach to the celebration of WVN's success. The responses evident in this chapter are especially linked to ideas of racial inclusion, which seem to identify WVN as a South African athlete who has done his *country* proud. The responses also seem to reject discourses of racial categorization of any kind, and instead present a call for all South Africans to be more unified in their approach to one another.

CHAPTER EIGHT

DISCUSSION

8.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the broader context of the research study, addressing tensions around identity which emerge from online discussions by social media users. It reviews in broader context the use of the hashtags to frame specific discourses outlined in the analysis chapters. This chapter also attempts to answer the research questions set out in the introductory chapter, and make more apparent the role of emotion and the notion of the *affective economy* in the overarching research study.

8.1 What online resources (e.g. comments, press releases, images) of WVN's identity was collected?



The resources collected online for WVN, and those which were used for analysis were mainly Facebook and Twitter posts, by social media users. Some of these posts also contained articles by online news pages, such as seen in Chapter 5 (article from IOL-Independent Online). In addition, comments of selected posts on Facebook and Twitter were used to elicit discussion on the various racial issues surrounding the context of the posts online. All of the posts in some way responded to WVN's Olympic victory, which also expressed ideas of identity, mainly through the hashtags they chose to use in the posts, namely #ColouredExcellence, #BlackExcellence, #KaffirExcellence and #SouthAfrican.

8.2 What online discourses of race emerged through the trending hashtags?

#ColouredExcellence

A common lament in coloured communities, is that during apartheid they were not 'white enough' and today they are not 'black enough' (Adhikari, 2004; Magubane, 2007; February, 2014). Adhikari maintains that the coloured identity has remained "remarkably stable and

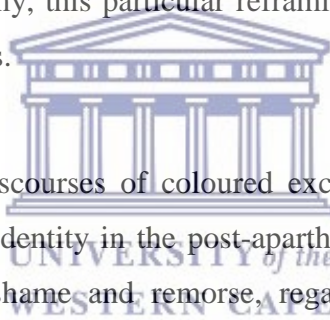
received little fundamental change in the way it functioned as a social identity” throughout the period of white supremacy, as well as after the abolishment of apartheid (cf. Adhikari, 2004: 167). This explains the creation and subsequent popularity of the hashtag #colouredexcellence as an identity marker, and all for recognition to the achievements and capabilities of the coloured community. In addition, this probe into the coloured identity, aims to bring attention to the issue that coloured communities feel they have been, and remain, marginalized within the ‘new’ South Africa. The use of the hashtag has also been branded as a tool for the re-writing of the apartheid narrative of the coloured community, an identity which was highly stigmatized, and associated with drugs, gangsterism and criminal activity.

The term ‘coloured’ has also been negatively stigmatized post-apartheid, where it can be seen that social media users’ express contempt for the use of apartheid racial constructs. However, what seems to be expressed by the users identifying as coloured online, is an *acceptance* of their own identit(ies), cultures and heritage and a more willing nature to express it within society. Coloured communities are expressing that they have not been tainted by their past, but are instead re-constructing the apartheid narrative of themselves, and re-negotiating their own cultural niche within post-apartheid society. Since the emergence of the term ‘coloured’ in the late 19th century, the coloured identity has been central to racial thinking in South Africa. The nature of ‘colouredness’ (as with race in general) is a highly emotive and contentious topic, as it symbolizes many of the racial resentments, “ambiguities and derogations prevalent in the subcontinent” (cf. Adhikari, 2009: 1). The coloured identity is one often riddled with negative attributes which is why Post 1 felt the need to position WVN as a ‘hope’ for coloured youth.

Hemer (2008) states that history is a great forger of national identity and that this struggle for individual recognition may be closely linked to this notion; as there are so many different cultures and practices encompassing the coloured identity. The term ‘coloured’ is thus not to be considered a term for a homogenous group. With the disbandment of the racial hierarchization and the apartheid regime, “intergroup relations have become more complex and expressions of social identity more fluid” (cf. Adhikari, 2004: 167). Thus, there are new ways of conceptualizing colouredness, which prompted various responses to questions regarding the nature of coloured identity and its role in South African society (Adhikari,

2004: 167). These responses can be seen in the analysis of the posts, and comments from various South African/African social media users’.

Ahmed (2004: 12) argues that texts have emotion, especially in the use of nouns, which is a way of describing how texts are circulated (through naming) and how they generate effects. In other words, in the data analysis, there is a lot of evidence of naming (mainly through racial categorization) and these texts (in the form of online posts) have received much emotional responses by the public. In relation to colonial powers “the national subject by witnessing its own history of injustice towards others can, in its shame, be reconciled to itself” and that reconciliation is done through witnessing the pain of others (Ahmed, 2004: 77). It is then likely that for a person of colour, having witnessed or witnessing injustice themselves, can in the expression of pride, merge apartheid categorizations of mixed-race people (coloureds) with new representations previously thought not to be equated with ‘colouredness’. Thus, creating new discourses, generating new effects of old circulated topics; and cultural representations within online ‘affective economies’ (cf. Ahmed, 2004). When using the affective economy, this particular reframing of ‘colouredness’ sees it as no longer in the domain of whiteness.



It can be said that, localized discourses of coloured excellence is central to the issue of transformation for the coloured identity in the post-apartheid era. In so doing, moves away from traditional discourses of shame and remorse, regarding the apartheid depiction of coloured(ness), and instead re-constructs new narratives for themselves. In this narrative, there can be seen a reclamation of the term ‘coloured’ by coloured persons, and a recovering of voice in articulating colouredness, as well as agency through actively discussing and debating coloured issues and struggles online.

8.2.1 Colouredness: An evolving affective economy

What does the term ‘coloured’ actually mean? Does it refer to ‘brown-skinned’ people? Does it refer to people predominantly from the Cape Flats? Does it refer to people speak Kaaps? Adhikari (2004) argues that the term ‘coloured’ is not about skin colour, it is not about language, it is more complex than that and should rather be viewed as a ‘multiple identity’. People from coloured communities, range from the wealthy, to the very poor, their ancestry ranges from African, to Indian, to Indonesian, to European – and so they do not even look alike, or necessarily share the same home languages. Thus, to limit the coloured identity to

physical attributes, would be a complete mistake and is exactly what the apartheid classification of the 'coloured' denoted. It tried to 'box in' this highly complex identity, into a few essentialized- dimensional characteristics.

These narratives enforced on people of colour, and their realization that they did not fit into this 'box' lead many to experience identity crises, which was long-lasting and psychologically damaging and the effects can still be seen today. Many coloured individuals still struggle with their identity as 'coloureds' due to the demeaning place it occupied within apartheid society, and arguably still today. This marginalization has severely restricted their opportunities for social and political action, and is often the cause of this frustration expressed amongst the coloured community, and the narrative that they are intermediary citizens with not much agency in political transformation.

However, these novel narratives which are being established is creating a platform for this community to have new associations that can evoke feelings of pride, and not just negative emotions or frustrations. Identifying the term 'coloured' as being highly complex and fluid, and not meant to be bounded, introduces the idea of an evolving affective economy. Ahmed (2004) describes the idea of the 'affective economy', in lay terms as a family of emotions, which can have adverse functions, depending on the ways in which issues are interpreted emotionally. She argues that "emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities- or bodily space with social space" (Ahmed, 2004: 119). With the understanding of the coloured identity and the complexities of 'colouredness'; the emotional equation of 'coloured' could be largely transformed, both as a social marker, and politically.

With regard to emotion and the concept of the *affective economy*, it is evident that the online racial debate surrounding WVN is an emotional one which creates a platform for vibrant discussion on the racial politics surrounding present-day South Africa and its history. In the analysis of the online posts, there can be seen a wide range of responses with varying emotional fervency; such as pride, disgust and national discourses (unity). It is through these affirmations that the idea of the affective economy is more clearly understood; where South Africans showcase online their varied responses to the term 'coloured'. The affective economy is in essence the term Ahmed (2004) uses to describe the demonstrative responses to topical issues by societies; and how news is circulated to bring these responses to the fore.

#BlackExcellence

This #BlackExcellence was especially important in the reorganization of the *affective economy* by bringing to the fore apartheid ideologies of racial difference based on physicality. In particular, this hashtag allows us to investigate how South Africans ‘feel’ about one another (specifically on a racial level) has extreme restrictions (or extensions) on how communities are formed, and thus how spaces can include people, or alienate them. These notions are mainly highlighted in the use of the contrasting hashtags used in the analysis of the online posts, namely #BlackExcellence and #SouthAfrican, whereby the term ‘coloured’ is positioned as an exclusionary one. The use of these hashtags arguably stigmatizes the use of racial categorization, and a larger discussion on apartheid comes through strongly in this debate.

The discourses which emerge in the use of #BlackExcellence are strongly tied with political discourses, and with close ties to apartheid. Apart from the racial politics, often still prevalent in South African society, there is also the issue of everyday normalized racism, which often goes unnoticed because it has been committed so frequently. These issues include: the *Luister* saga, which only became noticed once black students spoke up about their treatment within Stellenbosch University. Also the Pretoria Girls and Sans Souci Girls’ High School issues regarding marginalization of black bodies and hair, which only became public after the students publicly protested and became viral on social media, etc (cf. Hiss and Peck, etc).

The concern around racializing issues and why race matters in South Africa is situated mostly within politics, but also has a social and cultural undergirding. The transition to democracy in South Africa, seemingly empowered people of colour politically, however it did nothing to raise most of them from poverty (McDonald, 2012) which is true, even today. When much of a society’s circumstances have not changed, the narratives surrounding racial groups and their perceptions of one another will have very little transformation as well. This will dramatically impact how groups ‘feel’ about one another and subsequently their alignment with one another as a community(ies). In the online space, the same rules and issues of racial discrimination and cultural prejudices prevail and the struggle to move on from the past and create new narratives surrounding race and racial integration is highly desirable and simultaneously greatly contested.

Given South Africa’s history of division and racial exclusion, we see that discourse of race, is still challenging when addressing the utility of the hashtag #colouredexcellence. This hashtag

allows the user a social platform for South African's to raise, discuss or debate the concept of the 'rainbow nation'. This addresses various issues, namely the need to classify societal issues and events racially, and also the fact that many South Africans struggle to consciously live out the concept of 'the rainbow nation', which is why such labels become stigmatized, especially online as is seen in this study.

#SouthAfrican

The discourses prevalent in the use of the #SouthAfrican indexed a national discourse which attempted to unify South Africa's citizens through the omission of racial labels created during apartheid. The narrative which is expressed here is that every citizen is required to make the concept of the 'rainbow nation' a reality, notably by jettisoning labels such as 'coloured'. This brings in various affective dimensions as well, which is elaborated on below.

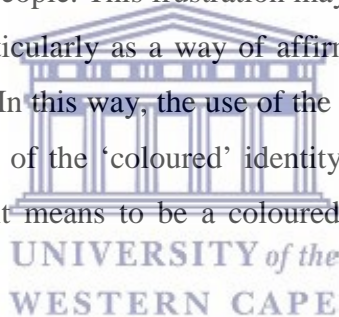
The affect, love is what ties a nation together, and allows for social cohesion which is maintained by the identification of the nation as an object of love (Ahmed, 2004). It [love] is a crucial element to cohesion within multiculturalism, and becomes the joint characteristic uniting the nation. It can be argued that this lack of love (and understanding of the complexities underlying individual circumstances) amongst groups and communities within the country, is the very reason for the division within the nation. It is also the cause that racial division still thrives so many years after the abolition of apartheid, thus, "love becomes the object that is put in the place of the ego or of the ego ideal" (Freud, 1922: 76). In other words, what is needed to maintain consistency in the social cohesion of South African society is that its citizens dispose of their egos in dealing with one another, and as an alternative replace this ego with love for our fellow citizens. Ahmed (2004) argues that it is multicultural love, and not history, culture or ethnicity which binds the multicultural nation together. This idea may come across as cliché, or utopian, but this is something South Africans should think very strongly about if there is to be hope of a united South Africa.

It is especially important to consider the role of local news media in creating a platform for these alternative responses to be brought to light, and also to break down the stereotypical notions South Africans have of one another, which vastly hinders social progress.

8.3 What contestations/ tensions regarding the coloured identity emerged once WVN became a gold-medalist?

To elaborate, the analysis of the online resources regarding WVN definitely highlighted racial and identity tensions prevalent in the country. These tensions can be framed according to various affective dimensions.

Chapter five discussed the expression of pride in the context of #ColouredExcellence. In particular, we see that ‘coloured’ individuals in South Africa struggle to assume an identity within a national framework, mainly because they were a marginalized group during apartheid and they feel that little has changed for the social positioning of coloured communities since then. Apropos this particular argument, we see groups like ‘First Nation’³⁰, and ‘Gatvol Cape Town’³¹, both attempting to claim recognition within the broader national reform currently happening in post-apartheid South Africa. While varying in group membership and manifesto, both groups feel that very little social and economic changes have been realized for coloured people. This frustration may be emblematic of the attachment to WVN’s Olympic victory, particularly as a way of affirming a positive coloured identity, not only nationally but globally. In this way, the use of the hashtag #ColouredExcellence can be seen as a call for recognition of the ‘coloured’ identity, its place within society and the complexities surrounding what it means to be a coloured in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.



Tensions especially emerge, in the expression of shame/disgust regarding the use of #ColouredExcellence, whereby contrasting hashtags such as #KaffirExcellence is used. Here, there seems to be a huge debate around the use of colonial/apartheid terms being used in a post-apartheid setting. These tensions mainly situate the term ‘coloured’ as a repugnant apartheid label, and stigmatize coloured individuals who use it to express pride in their racial labeling. Furthermore, it is highly prevalent in the analysis of the posts, that there arguably large disparities and tensions between black and coloured communities. These tensions center on the fact that 1). Coloured persons fail to see/ categorize themselves as ‘black’, thereby

31 Considered the indigenous inhabitants of a land, area or region.

being seen as racist by fellow black South Africans; 2). Coloured individuals are seen as reigniting apartheid doctrines through using terms such as 'coloured', previously used to classify and control people of colour. These tensions are all highly evident of a country in the midst of social and political reform, amongst citizens who were previously separated and are now in the process of transforming to a more united nation.

8.4 What role does emotion play in the expression of posts online?

The construction of identity took place online in various ways. Firstly, a personal identity from the perspective of WVN is unknown, and so therefore is not constructed for us online. Furthermore, the social construction of identity online can be looked at in terms of the various hashtags (shown in the analysis chapters). In the use of #ColouredExcellence, there is a social construction of identity, whereby a group/ community identity is constructed. This 'coloured' identity all seem to assume the identity of being previously marginalized group(s), who feel that today, they are still not able to express their identities as they would like. In addition, they are a group who feel that the achievements of their group have gone unrecognized and have been overshadowed by stereotypical representations of what it means to be 'coloured'. Here WVN is arguably represented as a coloured from the Cape Flats.

The use of the hashtags #BlackExcellence and #KaffirExcellence are a portrayal of the black community online, and also a derogatory term these populations were called during apartheid, thus referencing a group that was previously marginalized, and also oppressed to a large extent.

The identity as 'black' references the resistance of the oppressed community, the opposing of the apartheid system of racial categorization. Furthermore, a national identity is constructed online, through the use of the hashtag #SouthAfrican, referencing a narrative of uniting South Africans. In these constructions WVN is represented as a South African, neither black nor coloured. Here we see the hashtags take place through the language used to construct the various posts, online (ie. the specific information and language use). It also takes place through the strategic use of the hashtags (#ColouredExcellence) alongside #BlackExcellence to show conflicting ideas of race and identity. Combined with #KaffirExcellence the idea that coloured is a derogatory word is reinforced.

Summary

This chapter has elaborated on the broader context of the research study. It has included possible answers to the objectives and research questions. The online space is seen as an expansive platform for thousands of users (many self-identifying as locals) who can affirm or contest notions of identity. Affective economy shows how WVN's win destabilized static notions of coloured, but also revealed that this group, especially living on the Cape Flats feel the need to represent him as an inspirational 'insider'.

Rebuking these overtly 'proudly coloured' users also occurred which showed the need by some to 'get through' to coloured users who persist in using this label. They saw the proudly coloured other as those 'mentally trapped' as ignorant 'cultureless bastards'. It is particularly this imagery of coloureds being stuck in 'no man's land' which may encourage coloured users to find their place as coloured in contemporary South Africa. Clearly the conversation is ongoing and vibrant, but notwithstanding the contrasting views, and even the derogatory terms (rudeness and trolling), the ability to engage in this discussion at all is indicative of South Africa being a democratic country.



CHAPTER NINE

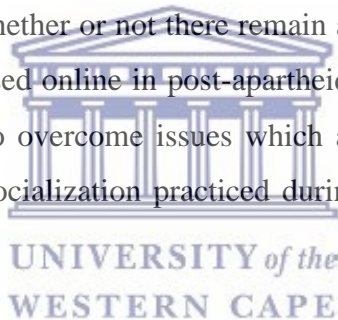
CONCLUSION

9.0 Introduction

To encapsulate the concepts and ideas presented above, and to situate them within a South African context, final thoughts on the salience of this thesis and the possible future research emanating from this study is provided. Important questions and hypothesis are explicated below.

9.1 What is the main research question which the study aims to answer?

The main research question is whether or not there remain apartheid vestiges in the way race in the sporting domain is discussed online in post-apartheid South Africa. The hypothesis is that in order for South Africa to overcome issues which arose from its historical past, we need to rethink the politics of socialization practiced during apartheid and which pervaded every aspect of social life.



9.2 What were the major findings of the research study?

The notion of the affective economy (cf. Ahmed, 2004) reveals that affect does not reside within a sign or figure; thus does not originate within the human psyche but is rather often unconscious. This notion becomes particularly interesting when discussing racism and racial prejudice amongst South Africans toward an individual that has attained the highest sporting honour. In addition, this idea that affect does not reside within a subject, means that the subject is then only one aspect within the *economy*, and there are other elements at play as well. In line with this I would say that there is a political dimension to the racialization of bodies, that during apartheid it kept the oppressed majorities divided into manageable groups, separated and therefore less of a threat up until the liberation movement and anti-apartheid struggle. Today, while the discriminatory laws have been removed, it appears as though many self-identified South Africans are still grappling with their identity in a post-apartheid context.

One may venture whether subtle decisions made at government level to develop some groups over others may have something to do with need to seek out solidarity from an apartheid racial grouping. Do economic factors have the same implications? What is the driving force behind the racialization of WVN's national Olympic victory? What about social factors, like the politics of who we socialize with, who we trust, who we fear? These are all aspects of social life that were ideologically indoctrinated into mainstream society creating well-defined silos of racial groups with particular 'capabilities' attached. One way to address this phenomenon is to assume that racism and racial prejudices still remain and it is just the administration that has changed (since apartheid). This change in the political frame of the country is not enough to end historical injustices; it must be lived out in everyday life for the transformation to be completed.

Twenty-six years post-apartheid, South Africa is still a nation harboring many racial biases and division amongst its citizens, and we have not yet discussed and acknowledged these issues enough to come up with viable solutions. The highly emotive responses online, and the emergence/observance of subtle visceral tensions, both index the need for more engagement amongst South Africans online to address societal issues.

Overall, the main discourse expressed from social media users is that the road to freedom is in unity, and not through division based on racial categorization. This implies that citizens are aware of the socio-political issues facing them today. Many expressed that through racial categorization and labelling; apartheid vestiges are revived and is damaging to a society in the process of transformation. It can be argued that as much as South Africans have been trying to overcome the scars, attitudes and stereotypes that apartheid has left them with, psychological scarring still remains in the way people *think* about and interact with one another. This is palpably realized in online discussions. While apartheid divided people spatially, this is not doable in the virtual space. So while there may be many negative drawbacks to his space, I argue that there are more advantages due to the reach and influence of this global stage.

The concept of 'collective feeling' invites us to consider how others create impressions or imprints on the surface of bodies (Ahmed, 2004) and suggests that how we react to others in inter-corporeal encounters creates the impression of a collective body. Thus, how we as South Africans relate to one another and interact with one another in the virtual space speaks volumes about South Africans as a collective body, much more than the racial and class

divisions many have split into. In other words, how we feel about other people is what aligns us with a collective, and the fact that many racial slurs and biases still exist, indexes the reality that there is a lot of work to do. This may be a good reason as to why, for many South Africans, there remains a struggle to live out the rainbow nation ideal, i.e. living side-by-side harmoniously.

Yet again, it becomes evident that what brings about these problems (mentioned above) within society are the lack of love for, or understanding of differences in culture, race, opinions, remembrances of history. It has been reiterated throughout the analysis of these posts that what is needed is an acknowledgment and acceptance of difference, and hence a more inclusive society. However, it should not be omitted that many reasons for racial representations are rooted in the past exclusion of certain minorities and majorities, and the attempt at erasure of the histories, injustices and accomplishments of these groups.

9.3 What does this social media study suggest about present-day South Africa, and the socio-political climate of this country?

The fact that social media users are discussing such pivotal topics online is especially important, because it creates a space for differences in opinion to be heard and debated. This communication amongst citizens, all having experienced the same historical injustices and are ready to change, is especially important because it allows for us to feel the experiences of others and not live with only our own biases. This shows that the online space is increasingly becoming a platform for revolutionary movements by the people who want to take a stand for issues affecting the future of this country (James, 2017).

The socio-political climate is thus also in a state of transformation, whereby people are beginning to call for a more inclusive South Africa, other than the one they have known previously. Online users may be realizing that South Africa can be a place for all South Africans to live in, peacefully, in harmony, and without any racial prejudice. They may also realize that as much as government can be relied upon to bring about change, it is also up to us as citizens to create that change in the way we live, interact and speak about one another. This active engagement by the citizens of South Africa to bring about change is potentially what will bring about positive transformation in a country once tarnished by racial segregation.

The expression of national discourses are prevalent within South Africa, whereby some citizens appear to prefer to be classified as South Africans, instead of by race. It is plausible that these days, the notion of ‘race’, whilst remaining a contentious topic, has less significance amongst South Africans who wish to move into a new era. This era is what is envisioned as the ‘rainbow nation’, a concept which South Africa has struggled with following liberation, but that citizens may eventually come to embrace. In the wise words of Nelson Mandela, a freedom fighter, former South African president and custodian of democracy: “No one is born hating another because of the colour of his skin, or his background or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite”.

9.4 Recommendations for future work

This thesis thus calls for an affective turn in social media studies as, in discussing materialities affecting race relations during apartheid, and what remains today. In addition, what also needs to be considered with more significance is the intentionality of citizens and the state in overcoming various social and racial barriers to a new South Africa.

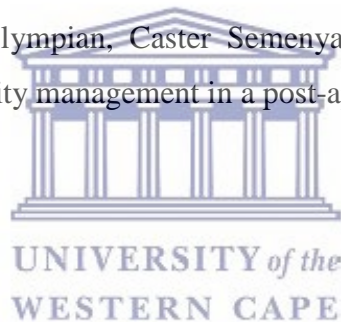
Government engagement with social media in a nation-building manner which allows for emotions/opinions to surface and be addressed which will hopefully effect change – goes back to Ahmed’s (2004) idea of multicultural love. Possibly the most important aspect of this concept of multicultural love is the idea of pluralism, which refers in this case to a nation in which people of more than one culture, race, religion and ethnic background can co-exist. The transformation of the idea into consensus is through “telling” (Ahmed, 2004: 138) so these issues and their emergence online is phenomenal and *necessary* in transforming race relations within South Africa. This idea is brought forward particularly in the reference to the hashtag #SouthAfrican, as it reveals ideas of nationalism and the intricacies of South African culture. We could then argue that a multicultural nation posits that a nation not bound by race alone, will move the nation away from simply ‘tolerating’ one another, but moving together as a nation that loves one another. This is a lofty assertion, but perhaps its utility can be reckoned by the fact that it is the exact opposite of the underlying framework of apartheid i.e. to be hateful, fearful and suspicious of others based on their outward appearance.

What is required here is *love*, and it is both an ethical and social responsibility to open personal and public spaces in which otherness and difference can be articulated (Oliver,

2001). Loving and being accepting of one another's different racial and ethnic backgrounds is what a country in the midst of reform needs. In *group psychology*, Freud (1922: 38) argues that love "is crucial to the formation of group identities". Since racial exclusion involves prejudice and marginalization, it cannot harbor feelings of love in any form. It is salient for the reason that it impacts how South Africans derive a sense of belonging through being citizens, and also the social influences and interactions of these citizens.

I firmly believe that future studies which engage with WVN himself will go a long way in deconstructing the multitude of representations of him online. This will add an important dimension to the representations we have seen of him in the analysis of the data sets. A complimentary angle for a future project may also be how WVN can be seen as a commodified brand.

In addition, there needs to be more studies conducted on sports in the digital age in post-apartheid South Africa, especially since sports was a domain heavily affected by apartheid laws and policies. A study which includes how gender is represented in sports, particularly with another record-breaking Olympian, Caster Semenya, who could very well serve as complementary research of identity management in a post-apartheid context.



Appendices

Figure 2.10.4a

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
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M	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
N	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
O	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
P	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
Q	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
R	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
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U	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
V	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
W	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
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Y	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
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c	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
d	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)	:~)
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Figure 2.10.4b

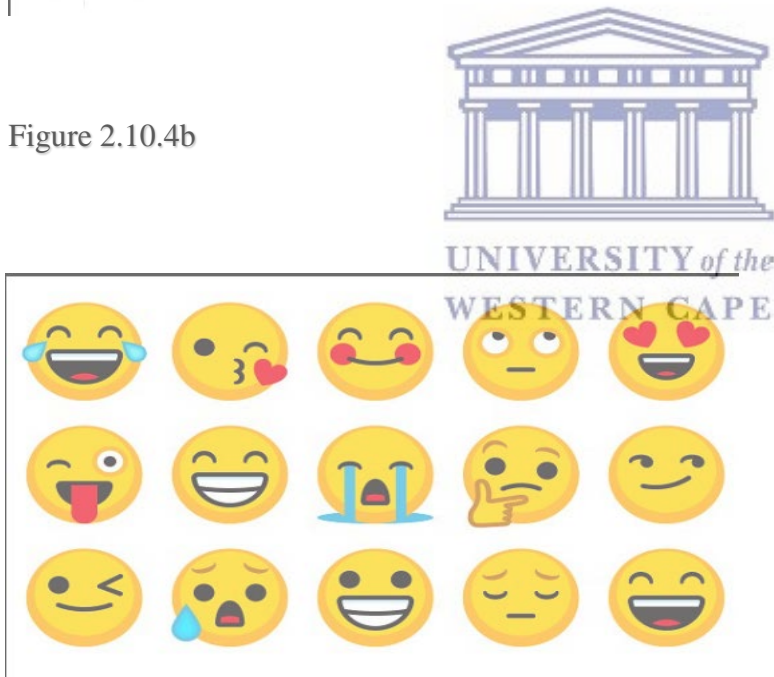


Figure 5.3 (Source: Facebook; video commentary)

“So who’s going to succumb to the adrenaline first...

van Niekerk is running blind on the outside, and his set off really quickly...*Kirani James* in hot pursuit, he’s already off onto the shoulder...

Matthew Hudson-Smith... and *Merrit* is tracking the grenade...the American, *LaShaun Merritt* closing the gap on *Kirani James*... and *van Niekerk* still wide on the outside...

These three are away...[inaudible]...and *LaShaun Merritt*, coming back at *Kirani James*...it’s *van Niekerk* gaining at the moment, the South African *crowd cheering*...now beginning to tire, or is he?! He’s pulling away...it’s an unbelievable victory!! by a huge margin!!...a century of history! And 43.03!! I can’t believe it! He has obliterated *Michael Johnson*’s world-record”...*crowd cheering*



Figure 6.3 (Source: Facebook; full post by Participant X)

► Khoi Liberation Movement (Khoen di
...

!Nora!noras !Gū!nans

11 September 2017 · 🌐

...I do not support #colouredexcellence and

...I do not support First Nation claims infact

...I reject it and

...I dissassociate myself from it completely.

.

Coloured Excellence is an effort in response to the trending #BlackExcellence whereby coloureds believe that their struggles and subsequent illumination from these struggles(while coloured) is somehow unique and cannot be categorized and celebrated as BlackExcellence. The last time the association with anything Coloured trended was during apartheid and the early 90's, when it was still good to be a coloured in a South Africa that thrived on inequality between races, spesifically to Black,Coloured and Indians. In the late 90's early 2000's images that were associated with a prosperous apartheid state e.g All Afrikaans tv serieses, sopies, and music slowly diminished from public view as the oppressed Black majority found their voice and expression through their own music, arts and business ventures. We had, Brenda Fassie, Bongo Muffin, Boom Shaka, Athur, Mdu et al who spearheaded the awakening of a Democratic inclusive South Africa through their arts.... During all these coloureds for some reason felt themselves fading with the disappearance of Afrikaans content on tv. Instead of seeing their black people as their own people flourishing they instead saw them as foreign peoples with foreign languages replacing their familiar Afrikaans tv stars who spoke a familiar Afrikaans language.

Forgetting that through apartheid history non of the people in leadership looked anywhere close to them,

Steve Hofmeyer - White

The cast of Spies en Plesier-White

Balade vir n enkeling - White

Vetkoek Paleis(though extremely entertaining) -White

Telefun Quiz- White

iTuba- White

Vyster-White

Namakwalanders- white

Yet;

The cast of Generations, Lusilo, Dynamite Diepkloof Dudes, Pure Monate, Sarafina are seen as different to them and as such must counter these "foreign black images" with ColouredExcellent images, because(what)?

Apartheid invested in Coloured arts and images and excellence (When)?

Because I never saw that,

I only saw coloureds(me included) glorifying the images produced by whites.

Therefor colouredexcellence se gat since all attainmnts, henceforth, by coloured for the veiwing pleasure of all will be regarded really as;

Black Excellence

Praise Biko!!

11

23 Comments 1 Share

Like

Share

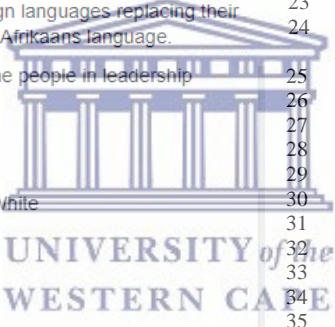


Figure 6.6 (Source, Facebook)

All the posts to follow are from a Facebook comment thread, and generally are replies to one another (can be read as a debate, conversation, etc)

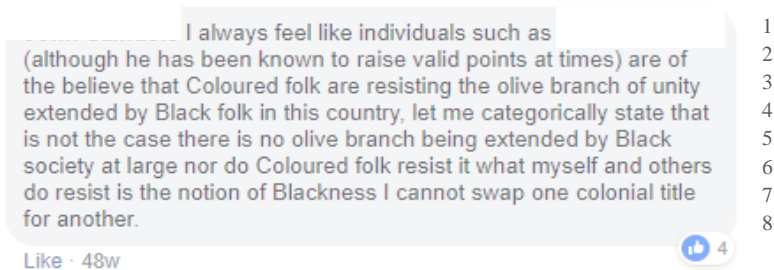


Figure 6.8 (Source, Facebook)

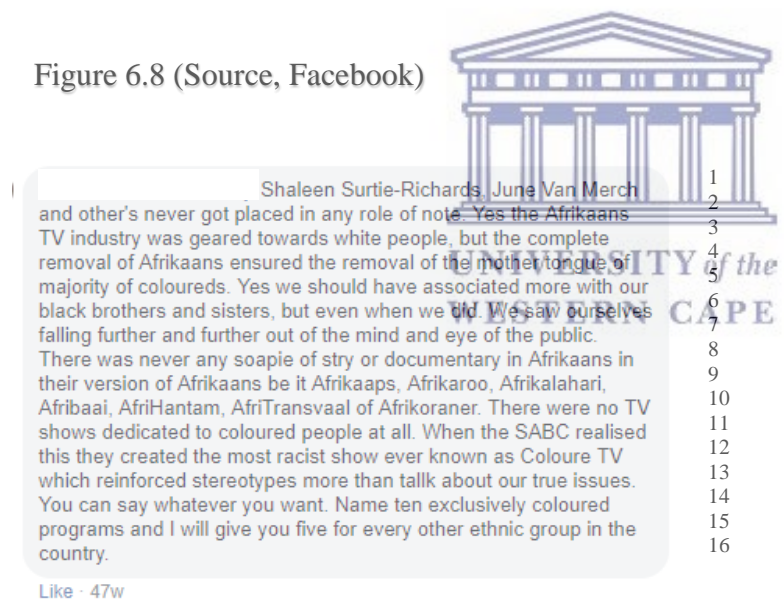
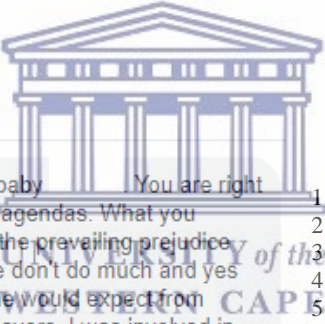


Figure 6.9 (Source, Facebook)

stop being a baby and own up to your
 responsibilities of being a coloured. 1
 Who do you want to dedicate a story to you? 2
 Is it not yourself, 3
 SABC did not create colour tv, coloureds created it, and they acted 4
 in it, 5
 Take responsibility for the fact that coloureds are not doing enough 6
 for their own advancement and stop blaming fellow africans or the 7
 government. 8
 Who do you think must create content for tv or radio that tells the 9
 story of coloureds? 10
 Hlaudi? 11
 Do you not find it interesting that its only now that coloureds are 12
 featured in white programs and festivals, its only now that afrikaans 13
 coloured music is getting airplay in white afrikaans shows, shows 14
 and festivals that always existed for whites but if whites really cared 15
 to showcase coloured content they would have done so years ago, 16
 and you would not be asking why there is nothing for coloureds on tv. 17
 Because coloureds would have had a platform. 18
 Blame yourselves for your backwardness 19
 20

Like · 47w

Figure 6.10 (Source, Facebook)



I am not being a baby. You are right 1
 in saying that we need to advance our own agendas. What you 2
 are in serious denial over is the prevailing prejudice 3
 that is rife in SA against coloureds. Yes we don't do much and yes 4
 we should expect others to help us, but one would expect from 5
 government to at least assist in such endeavors. I was involved in 6
 Khoisan activism since 2003 and since that time I don't know of any 7
 Khoisan event that took place with financial assistance from 8
 government. Not that it is a requirement but that it would have been 9
 very beneficial. Yes we need to do much more and yes I always 10
 urge people to stop being desktop activists and take it to the streets 11
 like I have done many times. However even you I cannot 12
 deny that there are still preferential races in SA and coloureds aren't 13
 really one of them. If you want to prove me your point show us a 14
 video of you taking a Khoisan issue to the streets or to government. 15


Like · 47w  1

Figure 6.11 (Source, Facebook)

my man, I have written and illustrated 9 books already. 6 of them detail my grandmothers hottentot heritage, where I aim to preserve their knowledge which are rapidly dwindling due to their mass departure from earth. I am building /preseving their knowledge of nature, so that whoever wants to understand nature like they did could find hints in my literary work. I dont need governmnt to endorse it or to fund it. Knowledge is bigger than them and bigger than the moment. I apply my mind and labour to see what they saw whem they looked at a plant or diagnosed illness. This is what I care about- knowledge which can help everyone not just a few because I value their contributions. and I am confident that the rest of african people would also appreciate it if only we can make it available for consumption..

And for the record it is coloureds that are a problem to coloureds. It is they that destroy their own communities and the memory of their mothers while acting like cultureless basterds. It is they who are counsellors(while coloured) that prevents developmnt within their communities. It is they and not fellow africans

Like · 47w · Edited

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Figure 6.12 (Source, Facebook)




After 1994 you cannot claim that Government was not in surport of Black historical teller& programmes on national tv.....Concider the fact that SABC is indeed a Government institution.....you must also understand the historical political advancement given to Black majorities coming from so called disadvantage rural areas...who need financial surport...for advertisements.

Like · 47w

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*Thread of replies and comments for chapter 6 ended.

Figure 7.5 (Source, Facebook)



A screenshot of a Facebook post with several comments. The comments are as follows:

- Comment 1: "And we rocket up the medal standings. Kunini siko late 40's ngoba besingenalo iGolide. 15 August at 07:40"
- Comment 2: "Yes! 15 August at 07:49"
- Comment 3: "Goosebumps moment mzala. I'm close to tears nje by this whole thing! 1 - 15 August at 07:58"
- Comment 4: "Amazing!!!! 15 August at 07:58"
- Comment 5: "Yeah man!! 1 - 15 August at 08:21"
- Comment 6: "So proud 1 - 15 August at 09:08"
- Comment 7: "15 August at 09:32" (with a green heart icon)
- Comment 8: "Proudly SA 15 August at 10:02"
- Comment 9: "Yeah for you all!!! 16 August at 05:25"

Figure 7.6 (Source, Facebook)



UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

16 August 2016 · 🌐

And once again Im proud to say im a #Coloured #SouthAfrican thank you #WaydeVanNiekerk.

I missed the race due to work! But this man this!! Everyday onboard I need to explain what I am... and why I'm not black or white and that I'm from South Africa. That a girl of my complexion who apparently looks Brazilian can come from there.

I'm a proud Capey!! A ColouredCapey.. A girl with a very strong accent "which I never thought I had" thank you for putting the light on us!

We doing this!

Time to shine.. and leave our coloured mark!

#ProudSouthAfrican

*This posts lines could not be numbered, unfortunately. Lines range from numbers 1-11.

Figure 7.7 (Source, Facebook- accompanying commentary to figure 7.6)

- ██████████ You should be proud to be South African. Not be proud to be a certain skin colour. We need to look past skin colour. That's what's wrong with this world. #JustSaying #ProudToBeSouthAfrican

Like · Reply · 2y · Edited 1

Comment 1
- ██████████ U are confused I am South African that's what u should have been saying COLOURED is an Apartheid statement

Like · Reply · 2y 1

Comment 2
- ██████████ John so true I was born south African never ever did I classify myself the dumb apartheid government did that and it confused the entire nation

Like · Reply · 2y 1

Comment 3
- ██████████ This isn't about race, this article is about identity, and who are as a coloured people

Like · Reply · 2y

Comment 4
- ██████████ I am not confused I am coloured and proud to be one Go Wade Go Proud of you! !!!

Like · Reply · 2y 1

Comment 5



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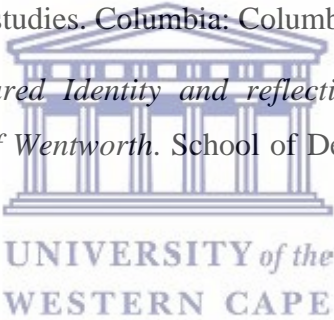
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