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Exploring the diverse racialised responses to the 'Ashwin Willemse incident' through theories of race and coloniality of being.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Television Journalism and Media Studies

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By

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I hereby declare that this is my own work. I have acknowledged all other authors' ideas and referenced direct quotations from their work. I have not allowed anyone else to borrow or copy my work.

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Abstract

On 19 May 2018 Ashwin Willemse, a coloured Springbok rugby player walked off the SuperSport set, a DSTV sports program, during a live broadcast. He accused his white co-hosts Nick Mallet and Naas Botha (two white apartheid-era Springboks) of patronising him (*SABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News, 2018*). Responses to the Willemse incident reflected racial divisions in the country. It appeared that many white South Africans criticised Willemse's behaviour, while many black South Africans stated that they could identify with his response to the subtle racisms experienced in everyday life, and which he claimed to have experienced on the SuperSport program (*SABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News, 2018*). The racialised media outcry led Professor Jonathan Jansen, to ask: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities" (Maleka, 2018: 4)? This thesis probes possible answers to Jonathan Jansen's question regarding the Ashwin Willemse walkout. The thesis explores and analyses the diverse racialised responses to the 'Willemse walkout' through race theories and 'coloniality of being'.

Qualitative research methods were used in the form of a reception analysis involving two racially homogenous (black and white) focus group interviews, two in-depth individual interviews with black research participants, three in-depth individual interviews with white research participants, and a sample of tweets from black and white commentators who had opinions about the 'Willemse walkout'.

The thesis concludes that most black research participants supported Willemse's actions and most of the white people in the group disagreed with Willemse's behaviour. Their various opinions were largely due to their different lived experiences which were a consequence of South Africa's colonial history, apartheid, and racial discrimination.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter provides a small context of my study. This is followed by a discussion of the workings of a *SuperSport* rugby broadcast and investigates the now infamous Ashwin Willemse incident. Mr Willemse, a former Springbok rugby player walked off the set during a live rugby analysis broadcast on 19 May 2018, when he and two former Springbok rugby players and coaches discussed a rugby match. As the incident occurred on *SuperSport*, a DSTV channel, which is a product of MultiChoice, the chapter also briefly describes MultiChoice, DSTV and S*uperSport*. The chapter then discusses the goals of the research, the research methods involved in the study and an outline of the thesis chapters.

Context of research

South Africa's apartheid regime formally came to an end in 1994, when the first democratic elections took place that saw Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC), become president (Cottrell, 2005: 114). The first post-apartheid government strived to reunite South Africa (Cottrell, 2005: 113). To do so it introduced the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1996 allowing perpetrators to confess their apartheid crimes in exchange for amnesty for their crimes (Stanley, 2001: 526).

The ANC also took legislative steps to redress some of the inequalities of the past. Some of this legislation included the Employment Equity Act of 1998 which allowed 'affirmative action' to be taken regarding the employment of individuals if they belonged to one of the 'specified groups' and had similar qualifications and skills required for the advertised job (Government Gazette, 1998: 12; Cottrell, 2005: 112). In effect, this meant that if two people were equally qualified, then preference should be given to those described as 'previously disadvantaged', which included all black people[1], and women (Alexander, 2007: 3; Adam, 2000: 50).

Before the end of apartheid, black people were not considered for selection for national sports teams (Miller, 2017: 1). As a result, South Africa as a sporting nation was sanctioned by many other sporting countries, which meant that they were not allowed to compete internationally. By

[1] "Black people is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Government Gazette Act No. 55. 1998 Employment Equity Act 1998, 1998: 6)

the end of apartheid, these sanctions were lifted, and black sportspeople started representing South Africa. Sports organisations were pressured to find ways of incorporating black players into national teams (Mnyanda, 2016: 1). Subsequently the government introduced a quota system, as a form of affirmative action. The quota system was put in place to provide opportunities for subordinate groups to be recognised in national sports teams and is an attempt by the government to undo the injustices of the past, but it was contested (Mnyanda, 2016: 1; SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1).

Despite the attempts to undo the injustices of the past, most South Africans still felt the effects of the apartheid regime. But most of these negative effects are felt by black people (Hickson & Kriegler, 1991: 1). These experiences of racism and other forms of oppression can be understood through theories of coloniality, racism, and Whiteness that can be used to make sense of Professor Jonathan Jansen's question: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities?"

The injustices of the past, coupled with attempts to undo these injustices through affirmative action policies and a quota system leave room to question whether black people who acquire employment in their respective fields deserve their positions (Durrheim et al, 2007: 114-115). In other words, are they (black people) being selected based on merit or are they being employed so that their companies or teams abide by the countries affirmative action and quota system policies?

The questions over black competence also derive from coloniality of being that left behind racial stereotypes about black incompetence. For example, 1995 rugby world cup hero, Chester Williams, the only black player in the Springbok squad, proved that he deserved to represent the country (*The Guardian,* 2019: 1). However, he only got the opportunity because of the country's quota system (Richards, 2019: 1). As a result, people, including his own team-mates questioned whether or not he truly deserved his position despite doing well (White, 2002: 1). The doubts about Chester Williams' abilities followed beyond his playing career, as he struggled to find work as a recognised international rugby coach, despite having the qualifications and the reputation of a good Springbok player (Fisher, 2019: 1). Former Springbok coach Peter de Villiers was another black coach who had to maintain perfection or else questions about his competence as Springbok coach would be raised (IOL, 2009: 1). The success of de Villiers was argued to be due to his having inherited already tried and proven players and not because he was a good coach, despite having

won against all the major rugby nations (IOL, 2009: 1). Another former black Springbok coach Allister Coetzee did not always have the best results on the field, but he was under immense pressure as society questioned his appointment before his first game (Moore, 2016: 1; The Citizen, 2016: 1). Allister Coetzee was made to feel that he was appointed as head coach of the Springboks to avoid any controversy regarding transformation and a strategy:

> A strategy was developed to use me as a coloured person to conceal the end goal – by offering me the job as Bok coach – but to not equip me with the necessary resources to adequately perform my tasks. It would lead to me vacating my position earlier in order for Rassie [Erasmus] to eventually be appointed. (Coetzee in *Pundit Arena* article by McMahon, 2018: 1).

Some of the "necessary resources" Coetzee refers to allude to the lack of experience of the backroom staff and assistant coaches appointed alongside him. Coetzee noted, "It's distasteful, to say the least, to use me as a black South African as a pawn in such an untenable manner" (Coetzee in *Pundit Arena* article by McMahon, 2018: 1).

Black ex-players and coaches who are now experts on sporting shows are judged differently from their white counterparts. For example, the way they present their opinions, conduct themselves, and their analyses are a scrutinised. They have to be 'flawless'. Their accents also come into question. People do not take them seriously if they pronounce something differently from their white counterparts (Chew, 2010: 202; (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 98-99). Society questions how the black pundits acquired their positions based on entrenched racial stereotypes about black people being incompetent, lazy, lacking intelligence etc. (Durrheim et al, 2007: 114-115; Chang & Kleiner, 2003: 1-2; Verwey and Quayle, 2012: 551).

For the purposes of this research, I discuss the relevance of social media involved in this incident. Some of the characteristics of social media such as the ease of accessibility, freedom, openness and the speed at which you can reach many people simultaneously facilitate the creation of challenges (Wu et al, 2019: 80). These challenges involve what is known as 'catfishing', defined as "a deceptive activity involving the creation of a fake online profile for deceptive purposes" (Reichart et al, 2017: 33), and the spread of misinformation which is defined as "false or inaccurate information that is deliberately created and is intentionally or unintentionally propagated" (Wu et al, 2019: 80). There are different kinds of misinformation. Relevant to this research is trolling, that

aims to "cause disruption and argument towards a certain group of people [and] to increase the tension between ideas and ultimately to deepen the hatred and widen the gap" (Wu et al, 2019: 82). The other form of misinformation relevant to this study is hate speech, abusive content that targets certain groups of people, expressing prejudice and threats that cause imminent harm to the victim (Delgado & Stefancic, 2009: 361-364; Wu et al, 2019: 82). I particularly noted catfishing and misinformation because of the speed at which people took to social media to voice their concerns about the Willemse incident, not knowing the full story thereby opening the door for assumptions and misinformation. Some of the users expressed derogatory, potentially racist comments to their opposing groups depending on the stance they took regarding the incident, and some of them may even have done so under false names.

Ashwin Willemse Walkout

On 19 May 2018 Ashwin Willemse, a coloured Springbok rugby player, shocked television viewers when he unexpectedly walked off the *SuperSport* set, a DSTV (Digital Satellite Television) sports program, during a live broadcast. He accused his white co-hosts Nick Mallet and Naas Botha (two white apartheid-era Springboks) of patronising him (S*ABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News*, 2018). Willemse stated that during his Springbok career he was labelled a 'quota player' (*SABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News*, 2018). 'Quota player' implied that his selection was not based on merit, but rather on post-1994 politics that required that black players be included in national sports teams (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008: 810). Willemse appears to have experienced Mallet's and Botha's treatment of him on *SuperSport* as akin to his treatment as a 'quota player', that is, as not being a rugby analyst based on merit.[2]

DSTV is a Sub-Saharan African direct broadcast satellite service owned by MultiChoice (MultiChoice, 2021: 1). Launched in 1995, the service provides multiple channels and services to their subscribers.[3] In 1986 pay-television came to South Africa when an analogue, single-channel service, M-Net, was launched by Naspers (MultiChoice, 2021: 1). For almost seven years, all of

[2] The first time Willemse opened up about the incident was on the 10th of July 2018, in an interview with Eusebius McKaiser, where he explained why he had remained silent on the matter up to that point.
[3] Subscribers are mainly from South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Uganda, Mauritius, Malawi, Tanzania, Lesotho, Ethiopia, Rep of the Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Gabon, Eswatini, and Botswana.

M-Net's operations were handled by a single company. In 1993 a second subsidiary company, MultiChoice, was created by Naspers (MultiChoice, 2021: 1). The decoder sales, subscriber services, account management and other business-related matters were handled by MultiChoice (MultiChoice, 2021:1).

The broadcast dynamics in the *SuperSport* studio are significant. Before each rugby season, a workshop is held to explain and plan a proposed rugby program to the employees (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). After the workshop the executive producer has the final say regarding the rugby program that will be used to help run the rugby broadcasts (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). The production manager decides which anchors and analysts should be paired together for a live studio broadcast (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). On the Monday following each rugby broadcasting weekend, the producers provide the selected anchors and analysts with documents containing the running order of their next rugby broadcast (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). The anchors and analysts provide their inputs on the running order, the studio producers oversee this procedure and finalises this running order, taking into consideration the inputs of the anchor and analysts, ready to be implemented for the next rugby broadcast (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). By Thursday of that week, the final version of the running order is given to the selected anchor and analysts for the Saturday rugby broadcast (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). The anchor and analysts are expected to prepare for the broadcast. This includes doing research on the teams and players and making comments about the players involved in the rugby game (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). On the day of the rugby broadcast, the selected anchor and analysts are expected to arrive at work at least an hour before the match starts so that they can do last-minute preparations such as make-up and ensuring that the technological elements used in the broadcast are all in place (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). At this stage the anchors and analysts understand that the broadcast will commence in line with the running order (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). This is how the planning of a rugby broadcast by *SuperSport* works and on 19 May 2018, it was no different.

The anchor and analysts involved in the rugby broadcast of May 19, 2018, were Motshidisi Mohono (anchor), Ashwin Willemse (touch screen operator and rugby analyst), Nick Mallet and Naas Botha (both rugby analysts) (Maleka, 2018: 1). On a previous occasion, 06 October 2016, Mallet had written an email to the executive producer at *SuperSport* stating:

> I really enjoy working with 'Bobs' and Xola, Scott. They are a real pleasure. Xola asks very good questions and Bobs knows enough about rugby to produce interesting clips for discussion. Unlike with the complex, Ashwin, there are no agendas. It would be great if Ashwin could be moved to the morning show where we don't have to work together. I think he talks garbage, we irritate the hell out of each other and the working environment is just unpleasant and tense. I am very happy to work with Breyton, Shimmy or Bobs instead as, unlike Ashwin, I respect their hard work and rugby opinions. (Nick Mallet in the Maleka report, 2018: 23)

As the researcher, I did not manage to personally interview Mallet, to find out what he meant by "the complex Aswhin". However, one assumes that he refers to Ashwin as complex, because the two of them do not get along. This is evident in another one of Mallet's comments: "It would be great if Ashwin could be moved to the morning show where we don't have to work together. I think he talks garbage, we irritate the hell out of each other and the working environment is just unpleasant and tense" (Nick Mallet in the Maleka report, 2018: 23). One could also assume that the "agendas" Mallet refers to, are the planned topics of discussion that were agreed upon by the producers and panel.

Furthermore, on page 39 of the Maleka report, it notes that on a previous occasion Mallet had corrected Willemse's use of the English language (Maleka, 2018: 39). The producers claimed that the tension between Mallet and Willemse created robust analysis which makes for good television for the viewers and the show, so they did not take Mallet's request into consideration (Maleka, 2018: 40). Regarding policy, the report notes:

> …*SuperSport* took the view that black analysts should be preferred to operate the touch-screen because of its sophistication and in order to undermine the publicly held view that they do not have the technical skill-set or craft to operate the sophisticated equipment such as the touch-screen and to telestrate through it… (Maleka, 2018: 47-48).

Willemse was on touchscreen duty on the day of the incident (Maleka, 2018: 6). According to the running order, the broadcast was broken up into three sections. The first was the pre-match commentary (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). The anchor introduced this segment, and all the analysts were under the impression that they had enough time to give their views. But only Mallet and Botha spoke during this time, while Willemse stood by the touch screen and listened to the conversation

led by the anchor (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). The second segment was the half-time analysis of the match. This segment was also introduced by the anchor, who invited Willemse to provide his analysis so far, and he did along with providing illustrations on the touchscreen (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). Willemse, according to the running order of the day, knew that while the illustrations were going on, he should invite both Mallet and Botha to give their input on the games and video clips. He did so, and they accepted (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). During a commercial break, just before the 3rd segment commenced there was an off-air discussion between Mallet and Botha over Willemse not having had time to express his views on the match (Maleka, 2018: 25-27). They therefore verbally insisted that Willemse should speak first at the post-match analysis (Maleka, 2018: 25-27). Willemse was not impressed with this suggestion, stating that he did not find the gesture "amusing" (Maleka, 2018: 25), as Botha and Mallet laughed while insisting that he speaks first. They later claimed that they did not know Willemse was being serious and thought that their conversation was jovial (Maleka, 2018: 25-28).

As per the program's, running order, the third segment was the post-match analysis which again was introduced by the anchor who invited Willemse to comment (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). Willemse stood by the touch screen, with the running order in his right hand and turned to Botha and asked him to provide analysis (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). As a result of Botha and Mallet's off-air discussion where they insisted Willemse should speak first, Botha declined the invitation stating that he had already spoken too much during the earlier segments and that Willemse should have a fair chance to provide his analysis (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). Willemse responded that there was no need to "patronise" each other, and invited Mallet to provide analysis, which he did (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). Botha then added a few comments following Mallet (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). The anchor then invited Willemse to provide his thoughts on the game, at which point Willemse walked off the set.

Responses to the Willemse incident seemed to reflect the racial divisions in the country. From preliminary interviews and surveys of *Twitter* comments on *Eyewitness News* and *SABC news* websites, it appeared that many white South Africans criticised Willemse's behaviour. On the other hand, many black[4] South Africans stated that they could identify with his response to the subtle racisms experienced in everyday life, and which he claimed to have experienced on the *SuperSport*

[4] Black South Africans, refer to all the oppressed racial groups during the periods of colonisation and apartheid. This includes black Africans, Coloureds, and Indians etc.

program (*SABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News*, 2018). The racialised media outcry in interviews, online news articles, *Twitter,* and *Facebook* about the 'Willemse walkout' led well-known academic and public intellectual Professor Jansen, to ask: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities" (Maleka, 2018: 4)? The two groups of people Jansen refers to are black and white South Africans. In his view,

> … [white South Africans] launched into Ashwin for being disrespectful and unfairly charging his co-presenters, Nick Mallet and Naas Botha, as being patronizing bigots. Black South Africans, in the main, instantly expressed solidarity with Ashwin… So far, black and white South Africans played dutifully to their historical script – blacks saw white racism, whites saw black petulance. That split in opinion is not unexpected in our divided country (Maleka, 2018: 3-4).

Following a media outcry, *SuperSport* investigated the incident to see whether racism was involved (Maleka, 2018: 4). The investigation was led by a black advocate, Vincent Maleka, instructed by Webber Wentzel Attorneys. Maleka, referred to the work of Jessica Walton et al (2013: 75) who defined racism as:

> A phenomenon that maintains or exacerbates avoidable and unfair inequalities in power, resources, or opportunities across racial, ethnic, cultural or religious groups in society

Furthermore, Maleka, again referring to the work of Jessica Walton et al (2013), and now Colleen Sheppard (2013) adds:

> Racism manifests itself at institutional, interpersonal and individual levels. At a personal level racism can be expressed through beliefs such as negative or inaccurate stereotypes; or through emotion such as fear or hatred; or through behavior or practice such as unfair treatment or through unconscious bias. (Maleka, 2018: 29-30).

Lastly, Maleka, acknowledging the work of Hsin-Ya-Liao (2016) noted:

> Scholars also acknowledge that the old form of racism, manifested through naked or overt conduct, has now been replaced with new forms of racism, variously called "everyday racism, "subtle racism" or "contemporary racism". (Maleka, 2018: 30)

Despite these definitions and insight to racism, Maleka found no evidence of overt, nor subtle racism in the incident (Maleka, 2018: 29-33). However, racism was not Willemse's accusation.

Willemse's accusation was that "he felt undermined and patronised" by his fellow panelists, Nick Mallet and Naas Botha (Desai, 2018:1). The Maleka report is significant because it can be interpreted in more than one way. As I will explain in the findings chapter of this thesis, and as Desai (2018: 3) argues, the methods of the investigation were controversial as the experts spent more time looking for overt racism than addressing Willemse's accusation, which is likely to be rooted in subtle racism. Desai also argues that Professor Adam Habib's view, the person consulted on what constitutes racism and what it entails, "is delinked from context and expressed in generalities and does not purport any evidence" (Desai, 2018: 5). Willemse's accusation of being patronised and undermined by his co-hosts could well mean that their treatment of him is subtly racist, which is difficult to detect and provide evidence of (Goldberg, 1990: ix; Downing & Husband, 2005: 8; Chew, 2001: 201; Leach, 2003: 432; Corlett, 1998: 28; Moore, 2008: 139). *SuperSport* referred the incident to the Human Rights Commission for further investigation between the 25th of February 2018 and 1st of June 2018.

Role of the researcher

I decided to embark on this research to find out whether any kind of racism could have been a possible cause of the 'Willemse walkout'. Despite South Africa having celebrated 26 years of freedom and democracy in 2020, it is difficult for me to forget and move on from the past because for many black people not much has changed.

I grew up and still live with my parents in an underprivileged township area in Makhanda, Eastern Cape, South Africa. My parents struggled to make ends meet to raise three children without us feeling that we had chips on our shoulders. But this was not good enough when I entered white spaces. I was made to feel uncomfortable intentionally when white children stereotyped me, for instance, and unintentionally when they had good sports gear and I had none, as I could not afford it. To this day I deal with issues like these. We tried to find ways of getting out and chose education as an option, but during my time at university, I struggled to pay for my tuition. I could have chosen sport as an option, but early on I realised that this would be a tough choice to make since at an early age I felt that my competence as a cricketer was questioned because of the colour of my skin. I felt my competence was questioned because at school I was involved in an incident when I was selected to represent my provincial u13 cricket side. But I was not given a fair chance to showcase my talent because when given the chance to play I batted as low as 9 and did not bowl

at all. This was not only surprising to me, but also people close to me, such as my family, school coaches, teachers and friends, because they knew that I was a talented and proven cricketer. In my community, many other people share similar experiences. We often feel that injustices like the one I experienced is due to the colour of our skins, because when our white counterparts do worse, they are not faced with the same hardships. My initial thoughts resonated with the following statement:

> Racial divisions, polarisation and tensions are on the rise in South Africa today. A democratic dream of a rainbow nation remains just a dream with racism continuing to raise its ugly head in the democratic South Africa, to the detriment of the rainbow dream of a united South Africa. (Mashau, 2018: 1)

My thesis attempts to answer Jansen's question, drawing on the theory of coloniality, focusing coloniality of being, Whiteness, race, and racism.

I will do so by analysing the diverse responses to the 'Willemse walkout'.

Methods

Qualitative methods are the basis of my research. One of the main aims of qualitative research is to conduct research from the insider's perspective. Using purposive sampling methods, this research used a reception analysis consisting of focus group interviews, individual in-depth interviews, a qualitative content analysis of the segment, and purposive sampled tweets from *Twitter.*

Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. This initial chapter is a brief general background to the study. It includes a context of the study, a discussion of the Ashwin Willemse incident, an explanation of MultiChoice and DSTV, some of the findings of advocate Vincent Maleka's report, a discussion of the role of the researcher and what drew him to the research, a discussion of the methods and methodology used in the study, and the structure of the thesis and a conclusion.

Chapter 2 is the Literature Review chapter. This chapter provides an overview of colonisation and coloniality and then discusses how they manifested in South Africa. In this South African historical context, attempts to undo the injustices of the past are discussed, such as affirmative action policies

and the South African sports quota system. The remnants of colonisation and apartheid are then discussed in the form of Whiteness theories and what it entails and how it continues to be present.

The third chapter is the Research Design chapter. This chapter explains the research design/methodological procedure, methods, sampling procedure and research participants used in this study.

Chapter four is the Discussion and Findings chapter. Here, there is an analysis of The Willemse walkout and an analysis of the research participants' responses to the Willemse walkout. These analyses are then followed by a critique of some of the findings in the Maleka report.

Chapter five is the concluding chapter, summarising the key findings of this research and its limitations and makes some recommendations.

Conclusion

This chapter provides the reader with the background details of the processes involved in a *SuperSport* rugby broadcast that locates the events that unfolded on the day of the walkout. I also explained the aim of my study, which is to provide an 'answer' to Jansen's question regarding the walkout and a brief discussion of the methodological frameworks used to conduct this study. The next chapter lays the foundations of the theoretical frameworks used to make sense of how the participants selected for this study made sense of the Willemse walkout.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

As noted in Chapter one, this study probes the question posed by Jonathan Jansen regarding the Willemse walkout: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities" (Maleka, 2018: 4)? My research explores the diverse racialised responses to the 'Ashwin Willemse incident' through theories of race and coloniality of being. Understandings of race in contemporary South Africa are shaped by colonial history and therefore my research is framed by the history of colonialism in this country. This history also informs South African sport. Research of this nature requires a theoretical understanding of the concepts of colonisation and coloniality; the historical context of apartheid; the resistance to apartheid; the legacy of apartheid in South Africa; perspectives on race, Whiteness and racism. To engage the 'Jansen question' it is important to know what racism is and to understand the history of racism unique to South Africa. First, I discuss colonisation and coloniality and how the notions of race emerged. This is followed by a discussion of the colonisation of South Africa, focusing on apartheid and the treatment of black people[5] by successive apartheid governments. Given that Ashwin Willemse was classified as 'coloured', it is important to unpack the notion of Coloured identity to provide a context for Willemse's interpretation of the incident. Next, I examine the end of apartheid. The key points from this section are the efforts to undo the injustices of the past in the form of affirmative action policies and the quota system. I will also discuss the legacy of apartheid on the South African population elaborating on theories of Whiteness and racism.

Colonisation and Coloniality

European colonisation started in the fifteenth century at the time of 'the Great Discoveries' of America, West Indies, India, Asia, and Africa (Ferro, 1997: 1; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 243). South Africa was colonised by the Dutch in 1652, but after their defeat by the British in the 1805/1806 Battle of Blaauwberg, they finally ceded the colony to the British in 1814 (Cottrell, 2005: 14, 20; Worden, 2012: 14-15; Eastman, 2016: 32-33). South Africa's history of colonialism

[5] "Black people is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Government Gazette Act No. 55. 1998 Employment Equity Act 1998, 1998: 6)

can be understood through the lens of contemporary Latin American theories of colonisation and coloniality. Coloniality is central to this study as it shapes how people make sense of their realities. From this perspective, coloniality can be described as the remnants of colonisation (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 243). Driven by imperial expansion, colonisation was a force of 'development' and 'modernisation' (Mignolo, 2007: 464; Dussel, 1993: 66; Jaffe, 1985: 45; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244; Maldanado-Torres, 2016: 11). This 'development' and 'modernisation' was based on racialisation, control of labour, the development of capitalism (Ferro, 1997: 23; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 243-244; Jaffe, 1985: 45), and was at the expense of the colonised, leading Mignolo (2007: 464) to describe coloniality as "constitutive of modernity, in the sense that there cannot be modernity without coloniality." But there are two sides to modernity (Dussel, 1993: 66-67; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244). On the one hand, it enabled the capitalist system (Dussel, 1993: 67, 68, 75; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244), and on the other it came at a great cost to the colonised people who were racialised, dispossessed of their land, exploited as workers, and not regarded as human enough to be franchised citizens (Dussel, 1993: 65-66; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244-248). Coloniality is thus the 'underside' or 'darker side' of modernity (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244; Mignolo, 2011: 2-3). It exists in all facets of our lives including the colonial structures that maintain inequalities between the colonised and colonisers (Mamdani, 2001: 663; Maldanado-Torres, 2016: 1; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244). Coloniality is related to power, being, and knowledge (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 242). Coloniality of power is the interrelation between modern forms of exploitation, domination, and colonisation; coloniality of knowledge is the interrelation between different areas of knowledge production and colonisation; and coloniality of being is the interrelation between people's lived experiences and colonisation (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 242).

Colonisation produced power structures between the indigenous people and the conquerors (Maldonado-Torres, 2007: 243). The basis of this relation was the scepticism about whether the indigenous people whom the Europeans encountered were 'true men or not'. This was based on religious beliefs (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:245; Hernandez, 2001: 95). The inhabitants of the colonies were regarded as less than 'human', and therefore were 'enslavable' and the object of violence which was sanctioned and naturalized by the 'non-ethics of war' (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 247; Hernandez, 2001: 98-99). These relations between the coloniser and the colonised were the basis of the creation of zones of being (for the colonisers) and non-being (for the colonised)

(Maldonado-Torres, 2016:13). The perception and differential treatment of non-Europeans was based on the theological and ego-logical politics of knowledge: a "historical and dominant frame of knowledge in the modern/colonial world" based on Christianity (Mignolo, 2007:459; Ferro, 1997: 36; Hernandez, 2001: 95-99; Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 244-247). This perception of colonised peoples became a "platform for the control of knowledge and subjectivity" (Mignolo, 2007:460). Moreover, within this philosophy, 'the darker side of modernity' is revealed: the colonisers naturalised the 'non-ethics of war' using "racism [as] an epistemic operation that institutionalised the inferiority of the 'other'" (Mignolo, 2007: 579).

The categorisation of the colonisers and the colonised into races is known as racialisation, from which developed the idea of racialism (Goldberg, 1990: 4; Appiah, 1992: 13; Downing & Husband, 2005: 4). Racialism assumes that humans possess genes shared by people called 'races' demonstrable in similar traits, phenotypical features, and particular cultural or social 'tendencies' (Appiah, 1992: 13; Goldberg, 1990: 4-5). These ideas have been debunked, as evidence shows that greater genetic differences exist between people of the same 'racial group', than those from different groups (Wieviorka, 1995: 24; Evans, 2019: 10-15). Race is thus not biological, but a social construct (Andreasen, 2000: 653-654; Sarich & Miele, 2004: 4, 9; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017: 9; Downing & Husband, 2005: 2). Racialism enables racism, "a set of irrational prejudices" based on skin colour, ethnicity, language, culture, or religion, held by one individual about another (Goldberg 1990: ix, xiv; Grosfoguel, 2016: 10; Corlett, 1995: 24-25; Doane, 2006: 264; Back & Solomos, 2000: 64). Racism is inseparable from the advent of what Cornel West calls the Age of Europe:

> White supremacy and racism are but expressions of measures European adventurers and colonisers deemed necessary to colonise, expropriate and exploit and rule colonised peoples. In the colonies the structural injustices of foreign domination produced a cultural system of beliefs and images that inflicts 'ontological wounds' on colonised humanity, wherever they are in the 'white' world. It attacks their intelligence, ability, beauty, and character in subtle and not so subtle ways. (1993: 18)

It can be argued that West's remarks resonate with what happened in South Africa when the Dutch and the British colonised the Cape. Till this day the remnants of colonisation and racism permeate our modern societies (Worden, 2011: 104; Cottrell, 2005: 4).

Contemporary "racism is taken now to be expressed increasingly in terms of isolationist national self-image; of cultural differentiation tied to custom, tradition, and heritage; and of exclusionary immigration policies, anti-immigrant policies and criminality" (Goldberg, 1990: xiv). Moreover, all racisms share inclusionary or exclusionary characteristics (Corlett, 1995: 25; Back & Solomos, 2000: 164-165). Some of these forms of racist expression are subtler than others and have not yet been universally recognised (Goldberg, 1990: ix; Downing & Husband, 2005: 8; Chew, 2001: 201; Leach, 2003: 432; Corlett, 1998: 28; Moore, 2008: 139; Wieviorka, 2013: 4).

Racism, as the means of differentiating between coloniser and colonised, has a long history, as seen in the history of South Africa. Coloniality of being is a way of understanding how the residues of colonization have shaped, and continue to shape, South African identities (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 242; Maldanado-Torres, 2016: 1). Understanding coloniality goes a long way to help 'answer' the 'Jansen question'.

South African historical context

South Africa has a history of colonisation and racism which enabled apartheid: "a systematic and legalised discrimination against [black people] shaping the economic, social and political structure of the whole country" (Worden, 2012: 73). The history of racism in South Africa is evidence of how the treatment of black people during colonisation filtered through into the segregation (1910-1948) and apartheid (1948-1994) eras. From the time the Dutch arrived in South Africa in 1652, black people were subjected to violence, dispossession, enslavement, and exploitation (Worden, 2012: 11-15; Cottrell, 2005: 14-23). Based on discussions that follow, it can be argued that during apartheid, black people were legally stripped of their basic human rights, and this impacted their social standings and how people perceived them.[6] Apartheid was a system deeply rooted in South Africa's colonial history that saw the continual oppression and subordination of black people in the country. The apartheid government ensured racial segregation and continued to enforce laws for white supremacy to prevail (Worden, 2011: 104; Cottrell, 2005: 4). The Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No 41 of 1950) ensured that racial segregation occurred in living spaces (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). It also implemented the grand design of physical separation of the 'races' (Coloureds, Indians, Africans and Whites). It specified separate residential areas for the different

[6] Based on the readings by Cottrell (2005) and Worden (2011), this is how I perceived and experienced their literature.

racial groups. Buffer strips separated the residential areas (Jacobs, 2010: 7). Black people were forcibly removed from their homes especially in cities and towns and deposited away from urban areas (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87; Lemon, 1991: 11). The Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950 made it compulsory for "people to be identified and registered from birth as one of four distinct racial groups: White, Coloured, Bantu (Black African), and other" (Suzman, 2009: 1). "It was one of the pillars of Apartheid. Race was reflected in the individual's Identity Number" (Suzman, 2009: 1) The Act was implemented by humiliating tests which determined race through perceived linguistic and/or physical characteristics (Posel, 2001: 105). The wording of the Act was imprecise, but was applied with great enthusiasm:

> A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white – and not generally accepted as Coloured – or who is generally accepted as White – and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu..." (Suzman, 2009: 1)
>
> A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa... (Suzman, 2009: 1)
>
> A Coloured is a person who is not a White person or a Bantu... (Suzman, 2009: 1)

In some instances, it led to families being split up and individuals belonging to one family were placed in different race categories (Suzman, 2009: 1).

The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 ensured social segregation of public facilities, such as sports grounds, schools, transport services, restaurants, etc. (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 "prepared students for little more than manual labour" (Worden, 2011: 104-105). These laws were put in place for white people to reign supreme, causing black people to suffer personally and socially (Worden, 2011: 104-108). The "systematic oppression and economic exploitation of people who were not classified as white" (Appiah, 1992: 16) has led to major differences regarding the "life chances" between white and black South Africans (Goldberg, 1990: 10). Lemon (1991) provides a key component in what was the Nationalist Party's reasoning behind the establishment of the Group Areas Act:

> Group Areas exemplify the fundamental tenet of apartheid ideology that incompatibility between ethnic groups is such that contact between them leads to friction, and harmonious relations can be secured only by minimising points of contact (p. 8 cited in Jacobs, 2010: 7-8).

The apartheid government ensured that only one race could determine the political direction the country would take. Numerous Acts of apartheid legislation prescribed what black people were to be taught at school, where they should live, what jobs they could have access to. For more than 350 years black people in South Africa were denied a sense of humanity and pride, culminating in their development of various anti-colonial and anti-apartheid organisations

As coloniality shaped all aspects of life, sport too was an important area where racial discrimination and racism were practised. This impacted black people's experiences of sport, and people's perceptions about black sportspeople. Throughout the segregation era (1910-1948), only white people were allowed to compete nationally (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998: 611; Murray & Merrett, 2004: 29-49). In other words, only white sports-men and women represented 'the nation'. A key example of this during the colonial and segregation eras in 1894-1896, was when two coloured cricketers, 'Krom' Hendricks and C.B. Llewellyn, were eligible for selection to the national side (Murray & Merrett, 2004: 3-4). 'Krom' Hendrickswas overlooked because his complexion was darker than his counterpart (Murray & Merrett, 2004: 3-4), while Llewellyn was selected because he could 'pass' for white, despite not being completely accepted in white circles (Murray & Merrett, 2004: 3-4).

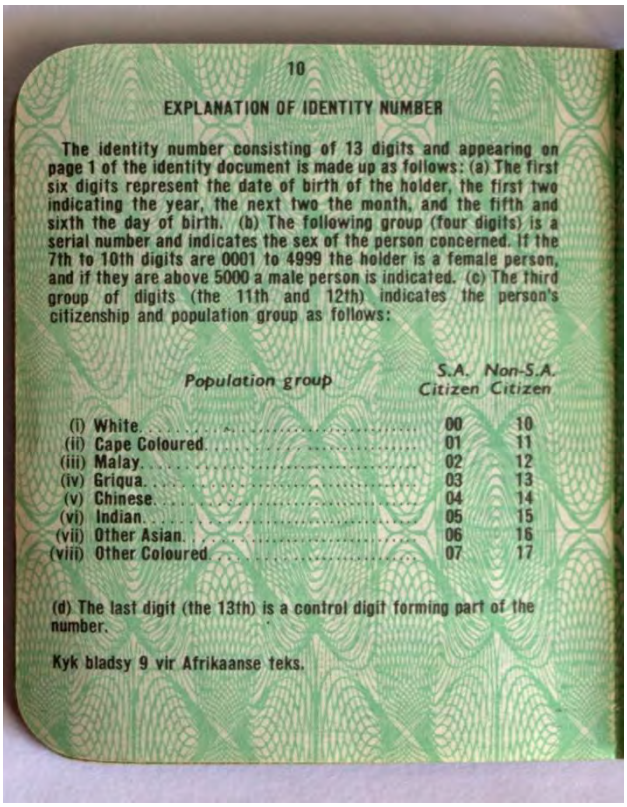
Another example of discrimination against black sportspeople is evident in what has been coined, the 'Basil D'Oliveira affair'. Basil D'Oliveira was a South African born coloured cricketer, who played for England in the 1960s (Murray, 2001: 667). In 1968 the British MCC (Marylebone Cricket Club) team included D'Oliveira in the squad to tour South Africa, but the tour was cancelled by the South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster who stated, "we are not prepared to receive a team thrust on us by people whose interests are not [of] the game but to gain political objectives which they do not even attempt to hide" (Murray, 2001: 667). In other words, Vorster did not want black people playing international cricket in South Africa, as it undermined the policy of apartheid. This placed the racialisation of sport into the international spotlight. Until then Western countries had participated in competitions that excluded blacks in South African 'national

teams' and saw 'nothing wrong in inviting all-white teams from South Africa to their own countries' (Corrigall, 2019: 1). South Africa was banned from the Commonwealth and subsequent sporting events due to its racialised sporting codes and the exclusion of black players (Corrigall, 2019: 1).

The treatment of the coloured cricketers like D'Oliveira, Hendricks, and Llewellyn was a feature of coloured people under apartheid that had a major impact on coloured identity (Adhikari, 2005: 3; Brown, 2000: 202; Adhikari, 2013: 51-56; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92-97). This does not exclude how black people in general were treated, such as being evicted from their homes, and the inferior education they received during the apartheid regime. As part of the example used of the coloured cricketers, it is paramount to express how the apartheid government perceived Coloured people and how this impacted on their identity. One can look at coloured identity as being shaped by racist European ideology, that:

> through its binary logic, cast people deemed to be of mixed racial origin as a distinct, stigmatised social stratum between the dominant white minority and the African majority. In colonial society, effect was given to this ideology through both official and customary discrimination. The colonial state, in its drive to classify and control people, played an important role in demarcating social identities by imposing racially based legal categories and segregatory policies on the population. Colouredness was also partly shaped by colonial social relations in that both settler and indigenous communities helped determine how people of mixed racial heritage were accommodated in these societies. (Adhikari, 2013: ix)

The Population Registration Act of 1950, consolidated segregation and informally constructed racialized identities. The apartheid government compiled a register of the entire South African population (Posel, 2001: 104) dividing into three racial groups: 'White', 'Black' ('African', 'Native' and/or 'Bantu') and 'Coloured'; the last of which was further subcategorised into 'Cape Malay', 'Griqua', 'Indian', 'Chinese' and 'Cape Coloured' (Adhikari, 2005: 14). Classification was determined according to physical appearance and social acceptability. Anyone who contested their classification could appeal in the first instance to a special board set up for that purpose headed by a judge or magistrate, present or former, and then to the law courts (Posel, 2001: 106-107).



10

EXPLANATION OF IDENTITY NUMBER

The identity number consisting of 13 digits and appearing on page 1 of the identity document is made up as follows: (a) The first six digits represent the date of birth of the holder, the first two indicating the year, the next two the month, and the fifth and sixth the day of birth. (b) The following group (four digits) is a serial number and indicates the sex of the person concerned. If the 7th to 10th digits are 0001 to 4999 the holder is a female person, and if they are above 5000 a male person is indicated. (c) The third group of digits (the 11th and 12th) indicates the person's citizenship and population group as follows:

Population group	S.A. Citizen	Non-S.A. Citizen
(i) White	00	10
(ii) Cape Coloured	01	11
(iii) Malay	02	12
(iv) Griqua	03	13
(v) Chinese	04	14
(vi) Indian	05	15
(vii) Other Asian	06	16
(viii) Other Coloured	07	17

(d) The last digit (the 13th) is a control digit forming part of the number.

Kyk bladsy 9 vir Afrikaanse teks.

Coloured identity is very complex as it comprises of various groups of people, their identities, and backgrounds that all form a part of what it is to be coloured (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 88; Adhikari, 2005: 2). Petrus and Isaacs-Martin argue that coloured identity is:

> a dynamic and fluid identity belonging to a specific group in South Africa, most often attributed to persons popularly perceived as being of mixed racial and ethnic descent who, over time and due to specific historical, cultural, social and other factors, have undergone various changes in their perceptions of their identity as Coloured people. (2012: 88)

Furthermore, Adhikari views coloured identity as:

> a product of human agency dependent on a complex interplay of historical, social, cultural, political and other contingencies…The creation of Coloured identity is … an ongoing, dynamic process in which groups and individuals make and re-make … their personal and social identities. The fundamental concerns of social constructionists are thus to explain how and why coloured identity came into existence and to unravel the intricate ways in which it has found expression. (2005: 9)

The diverse constructions of coloured people make it extremely difficult to define Coloured identity (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 89). Due of the complexity of coloured identity, it can be argued that when the apartheid government enforced the Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950, coloureds were left devastated (Adhikari, 2005: 3; Brown, 2000: 202; Adhikari, 2013: 51-56; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92-97).

The apartheid government judged coloured people mainly on their phenotypical features and traits (Brown, 2000: 199-200; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92). Coloured people who closely resembled the phenotypical features of white people were accrued more privileges than other coloureds (Brown, 2000: 199-200; Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92). This caused tension because coloureds who were reclassified as being in accordance with the ethnic and physical characteristics of white people were frowned upon by the coloureds who did not (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 93-94, Brown, 2000: 199-200). The 'white coloureds' disassociated themselves and discriminated against the other coloureds, leading to superiority complexes for 'white coloureds' and inferiority complexes for other coloureds (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 93-94, Brown, 2000: 199-200). This led to segregation within the coloured group in two areas:

> [t]his had the effect of not only splitting up families and communities, but it also introduced an internal racism, where coloured people began to discriminate against each other. (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin stated, 2012: 93)

Coloureds belonging to one family, who possessed different phenotypical features, were forcibly segregated and were treated differently to those who were phenotypically closer to whites who were favoured by the government (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 92). This was also in line with the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act No 41 of 1950) which specified separate residential areas for the different racial groups. This entailed removing black communities living in 'white' areas to their own separate areas (Jacobs, 2010: 7). Another example of racial classification amongst coloureds stems from the colonial period in the case of the two coloured cricketers mentioned above.

Given the diverse constructions of coloured people, they could associate themselves with other race groups, however, "they were never fully accepted into any of them" (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 93). Furthermore, the heterogeneity of coloured people and the stratification methods imposed by the apartheid government led to coloureds feeling like rejects as they were stereotyped

as a group with no pure language, culture, race, identity and history (Petrus & Isaacs-Martin, 2012: 93; Adhikari, 2005: 24-35; Brown, 2000: 202). One could argue that the Population Registration Act created a negative identity for people designated coloured,:

> The coloured people, historically defined as persons of mixed racial and ethnic heritage, still find themselves struggling with issues of identity, particularly the meanings that have been attached to their identity. The meanings of coloured identity are often interpreted solely in terms of racial or ethnic characteristics, cloaked in negative stereotypes of coloured people as a group. (Petrus and Isaacs-Martin 2012: 87)

Apart from The Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950, employed by the apartheid government to segregate black people there was also The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 that was used to ensure social segregation of public facilities, such as sports grounds and equipment (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). It favoured white people, giving them access to the best facilitates so that they had a greater chance of developing better sports skills (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). Such policies proved to be detrimental to anyone who was not considered white (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998: 611). South African national sporting culture was dominated by white people, with cricket and rugby, being closely associated with English imperialists and Afrikaner nationalists respectively (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998: 610).

The first democratic elections took place in 1994, and Nelson Mandela, a leader of the ANC, became the first black president of the country (Cottrell, 2005: 114). Mandela foresaw a future where South Africa became “a democratic, non-racial, and unitary” country (Cottrell, 2005: 113). This was a vision shared by Arch-Bishop Desmond Tutu who described South Africa as the “rainbow nation” (Baines, 1998: 1). This phrase was used to represent “the diversity of South Africa's usually unspecified cultural/ethnic/racial groups” (Baines, 1998: 2). Since the abolition of apartheid in 1994, legislative steps were taken to redress the inequalities of the past. Significant for this study is the Employment Equity Act of 1998 which allowed ‘affirmative action’ to be taken regarding the employment of individuals if they belonged to one of the ‘specified groups’ and had similar qualifications and skills required for the advertised job (Government Gazette, 1998: 12; Cottrell, 2005: 112). In effect, this meant that if two people were equally qualified, then preference should be given to those described as ‘previously disadvantaged’, which included all black people,

and women (Alexander, 2007: 3; Adam, 2000: 50). Significantly, the allocation of sporting quotas was not part of this legislation.

Although South Africa celebrated 26 years of freedom and democracy in 2020, vast inequalities between black and white people remain. In an *AP News* article Cara Anna (2019) quotes the World Bank:

> South Africa is the most unequal nation on the planet, a fact that former President F.W. de Klerk, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, called "the deepest national shame."

The same article quotes President Cyril Ramaphosa saying that, "Ours is still a deeply unequal country."

A quota system was introduced in some South African sports codes, rugby and cricket for example, as a form of affirmative action as black people were not considered for selection for national sports teams (Miller, 2017: 1). Sports organisations were pressured to find ways of incorporating black players into national teams (Mnyanda, 2016: 1). The quota system was put in place to provide opportunities for subordinate groups to be recognised in national sports teams and is an attempt by the government to undo the injustices of the past, but it was contested (Mnyanda, 2016: 1; SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1). South Africans in favour of it argue that without it black sportspeople would have found it difficult to represent their country (SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1). But those opposing it argue that it casts doubt on the competence of black sportspeople, leading to inferences that their selection is not based on merit (SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1).

Despite the attempts to undo the injustices of the past, most South Africans feel the effects of the apartheid regime. But most of the negative effects are felt by black people (Hickson & Kriegler, 1991: 1) in relation to 'whiteness'.

Whiteness

The study of the positions of power bestowed on white people is known as 'Whiteness', which can be understood in relation to white racial superiority as one of the ideological bases of colonialism and persists in coloniality. As an ideology Whiteness is often represented in relation to the 'other' (Dyer, 1997: 2; Green et al, 2007: 395-397). Dyer (1997: 2) argues that white people are seen as non-raced because that is regarded as 'the norm' for all people. The non-racing of white people stems from colonial times when Europeans differentiated themselves from non-Europeans

(Goldberg, 1990: 4; Appiah, 1992: 13; Downing & Husband, 2005: 4). This way of thinking has resulted in Whiteness being the 'norm' or being human and what is not white is different, 'other' or non-human; the kind of thinking that is central to Whiteness (Dyer, 1997: 2). Dyer also notes that "there is no more powerful position than that of being 'just' human" (1997: 2). Once you have this power you are in a position to speak on behalf of humanity, but only non-raced people possess this power (Dyer, 1997: 2). It is therefore critical to study Whiteness and racialise white people so that one can view and loosen the grip of their positions of power in society that include, "inequities, oppression, privileges and sufferings" (Dyer, 1997: 2). This will also facilitate the disempowering of the authority with which they speak and act in the world (Dyer, 1997: 2).

Whiteness can be defined as: "…the production and reproduction of [white dominance] rather than subordination, normativity rather than marginality, and privilege rather than disadvantage" (Green et al, 2007: 390). It allows us to view white identities as shaped by racist culture, placing less emphasis on the false pseudo-scientific explanations of why white people are superior, shifting the focus to the racism involved in discourses embedded in Whiteness (Green et al, 2007: 390; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 57). This enables us to discover the "subtle or unconscious practices of racial discrimination, which are generally accepted as 'normal'" (Green et al, 2007: 390). These subtler forms of racism, as James and Lever put it is "modern racism: sporadic, everyday incidents and rearguard actions in association and community life" (2001: 50). A study conducted by Verwey and Quayle (2012: 551) found that some of the white discourses in post-apartheid South Africa continue to involve black incompetence and white people being under threat. Whiteness is often related to positive things that include wealth, lifestyle, education, "orderliness, rationality, and self-control" (Green et al, 2007: 397). To the extent that black people are regarded as successful, affluent, and educated, they are referred to as "abalungu abamnyama" (white, black people) (Green et al, 2007: 395). In contrast, black people are associated with "chaos, irrationality, violence and lack of self-control" (Green et al, 2007: 397). Furthermore, Verwey & Quayle (2012: 552) note that Afrikaans author, Annelie Botes's perception of black people as "angry, violent, uneducated, unskilled, incompetent, baboon-like and criminal", were common amongst many white South Africans, albeit that many disagreed with her. This explanation of Whiteness recognises Whiteness as something that places white people in a superior position, embodying what is "truth, knowledge, merit, motivation, achievement and trustworthiness" (Green, 2007: 397), accruing privileges to them. But these privileges seem to be invisible or unrecognisable to

white people, because to them it appears 'natural' (Green et al, 2007: 390; Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 116; Steyn & Foster, 2008: 30; Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Moodely & Adam, 2000: 58; Steyn, 2001: 88; Dyer, 1997: 2; Matthews, 2012: 174). White privilege

> is the notion that white subjects accrue advantages by virtue of being constructed as whites. Usually, this occurs through the valuation of white skin colour, although this is not the only criterion for racial distinction. Hair texture, nose shapes, culture, and language also multiply the privileges of whites or those who approximate them. (Leonardo 2004: 137)

Furthermore, Alison Bailey (1998) discussed the difference between privilege and earned advantages. She defined privilege as, "unearned assets conferred systematically" (Bailey, 1998: 107). Bailey (1998) also stresses that the relationship between privilege and earned advantages is complex, because white privilege can easily come across as earned advantages (Matthews, 2012: 174). This complex relationship makes it more difficult for those who are privileged to perceive their privileges as a result of their Whiteness (Matthews, 2012: 174).

Whiteness in apartheid South Africa meant that you could move around freely without caring about being racially discriminated against (Green et al, 2007: 394). White privilege, a micro form of Whiteness, is maintained through institutions and practices that provide white people with "psychological entitlements" or (Green et al, 2007: 398), a benefit of the doubt. This includes the assumption that they are competent for a job and acquired the job through meritocracy and not having to safeguard their children against racism (Green et al, 2007: 398). It is also maintained through economic privilege and capitalism. In other words, class as evidence, shows that black people are amongst the most unemployed and impoverished people in South Africa (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 63; James & Lever, 2001: 40). Although overt white political power has been lost in the country, most white people continue to have access to power and privilege in the form of affluence (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556, 568; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 63; James & Lever, 2001: 30, 40).

Steyn (2001 in Green et al 2007: 395) argues many white people in South Africa still believe that they are distinguishable from 'other' races and that they need to assist black people to help them become more 'white', a sign of white arrogance (Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58; Green et al, 2007: 399). White arrogance also appears through knowledge construction: whose word is final and

whose words are valid and legitimate (Green et al, 2007: 399; James & Lever, 2001: 29; Steyn, 2001: 86-87). An issue that falls within the validity of knowledge is language, where the English language is favoured for the production of knowledge (Green et al, 2007: 401; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 61; James & Lever, 2001: 51; Hunter & Hachimi: 552; Chew, 2010: 202). This is known as biased linguistic profiling and is significant as our country is diverse and has 11 official languages and an array of accents. According to Chew's 2010 study, people with English accents were given preferential treatment when inquiring about available apartments (Chew, 2010: 202). In South Africa, White English (Standard English) symbolises "[…] established social capital…" (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 91). Speaking English well increases your chances of access to education at institutions that were previously only available to the white people (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 98). Antoinette Muller (2018) writes: "…for many, the barometer of intelligence is still how well somebody speaks or enunciates English, despite South Africa having over 10 official languages". Black speakers of English are often undermined unless their accents are in accordance with white English-speaker accents (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 98-99). This notion contains elements of cultural racism. Cultural racism does not necessarily target and discriminate against so-called biological race factors, but rather cultural differences between people (Rodat, 2017: 134). As Fredrickson (2011: 232) points out, "culture can be essentialised to such an extent that it has the same deterministic effect as the skin color". Leach (2003: 433) argues that those in favour of New/Cultural racism want to maintain white supremacy. Another form of racism is institutional, which

> [c]onsists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (Anthias, 1999: 1)

Institutional racism can occur without the organisation being aware that it is discriminating against people of other races (Anthias, 1999: 2). Unwitting racism, a component of institutional racism, stems from a lack of understanding of another race group or a lack of familiarity with the practices of other races (Anthias, 1999: 2). Similar to benevolence-based racism, unwitting racism can stem from "well-intentioned patronising words or actions" (Anthias, 1999: 2).

An example of patronisation within Whiteness is evident when discussions about certain black people are given praise by white members of the society, when their actions are more accommodating to standards of white culture, or if they are more accommodating to white people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 34). In contrast, less accommodating black people are regarded as 'confrontational', and are denigrated. In this way, Whiteness pits 'good blacks' against 'bad blacks', where the 'good' ones are those white people feel comfortable with (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 34).

White people's cultural and racial identity is not something that they have to contend with in the world, because their whiteness and culture is the norm and therefore not visible to them (Green et al, 2007: 390, 395; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58; Dyer, 1997: 2; Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 116; Steyn & Foster, 2008: 30; Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Matthews, 2012: 174). This forms part of white privilege that I spoke about earlier. On the other hand, many black South Africans are concerned with how they are viewed by others, which results from a history of derogatory terms like 'kaffir' and racial stereotypes, imposed on them during apartheid (Dommisse, 2016: 53, James & Lever, 2001: 51).

Racisms found within the discourses of Whiteness include colour-blindness, which disregards the impact racialisation has on people, enabling racism (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 29; Van Dijk, 1992: 96; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 56). But when race is acknowledged in Whiteness discourses it refers to fairness and non-discrimination exemplified in affirmative action policies and the quota system (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 29). Moreover, denying or rather taking the effects of racialisation out of context allows Whiteness discourses to perceive racism as "overt acts of blatant discrimination, vicious oppression [and] hate crimes" (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 31) (Green et al, 2007: 406). This conceals the subtler forms of racism found within Whiteness, based on the unspoken and unacknowledged privilege and advantage over others (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 31), making black people feel undermined (Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58).

Steyn and Foster further argue that Whiteness distributes blame, rather than acknowledging and accepting the role it played during colonisation. In so doing it makes black suffering seem trivial (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). The trivialisation of black suffering enables white people to feel less remorseful or rather less empathetic and sympathetic to the experience of black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32).

More forms of subtler racisms within Whiteness include ethnic prejudice which is expressed by "acting, omitting to act, or attempting to act towards or against another based on one's ethnic prejudice" (Corlett, 1995: 25; Appiah, 1992: 18-19; Goldberg, 1990: 13). An important component of ethnic prejudice is racial stereotyping, "the generalised attribution of a set of personal characteristics to members of a racial/ethnic group" (Bigler and Liben 1993: 1507), These characteristics are often negative. The stereotypes that many white people have of black people include that black people are "lazy [and] unintelligent" (Chang & Kleiner, 2003: 1-2). Such stereotypes are because the genes that account for someone's phenotype, part of what race categories are determined by, are not the same ones that determine intelligence, competence, athletic ability, culture, or morality (Back & Solomos, 2013: 66, 80, Delgado & Stefancic, 2017: 9). Racial stereotyping can also have psychological effects (Back & Solomos, 2000: 608; Major & O'Brien, 2005: 394-395). Racial stereotypes "disregard the full humanity and uniqueness of people. When perceptions of different races are distorted and stereotypical, it is demeaning, devaluating, limiting and hurtful to others" (Chang & Kleiner, 2003: 5). The victims of stereotyping may develop feelings of inferiority and self-fulfilling prophecies which refer to someone believing that they are the way they are portrayed and behave in that manner (Chang & Kleiner, 2003: 6).

Inferential racism refers to representations of race, based on racist premises that have been normalised by society and enable racism (Chew, 2010: 201; Hall, 2000: 162). Racism need not be intentional. Someone could commit a racist act without necessarily knowing or perceiving their actions to be discriminatory or prejudiced (Corlett, 1995: 31; Chew, 2010: 209; Moore, 2008: 140). For example, benevolence-based racism is apparent when someone does something they believe is 'good' for someone else because of their ethnicity, but these prejudicial actions turn out to be racist (Corlett, 1995: 28; Araeen, 2000: 59).

Conclusion

This chapter attempted to lay a foundation of complex theories about coloniality, race, racism, apartheid, and Whiteness. The chapter discusses colonization as the origin of race, and how racialisation enables racism. It notes how these ideas filter through generations to the apartheid era. Even after the abolishing of apartheid we are left with coloniality, the remnants of colonisation. The chapter also delves into the history of sport under apartheid and demonstrates affirmative

action policies as well as South Africa's sports' quota system as attempts to redress the issues of the past.

In short, the chapter provides an overview of selected frameworks that allow us to make sense of, and find answers to, Jonathan Jansen's question about the Willemse incident. The next chapter discusses my research design.

Chapter 3: Research Design

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology and various research methods used to conduct my research. I start by providing an overview of qualitative research: what it entails, and how and why it is relevant for this study. I then discuss a major method, used in qualitative research, namely reception analysis, and its usefulness to this study. In this regard I discuss focus group interviews, individual in-depth interviews, and tweets selected from *Twitter* about the Willemse incident, as the main sources of data I also discuss the sampling methods used to select participants for the focus groups, individual in-depth interviews, and tweets.

For this study I also applied a qualitative content analysis to the interview data to find themes for the interview data. I also used this qualitative content analysis to find themes in the televised account of the Willemse walkout. Finally, I discuss my role as the researcher during the course of my data collections, and the steps I took to gather my data ethically.

Qualitative research method

This study makes use of a thematic analysis and reception analysis methods as part of the qualitative research method. This section will outline the underpinnings of these two methods and why it is important to use this method.

The philosophical foundations of qualitative research are characteristically credited to phenomenology which uses the individual's point of view as the starting point (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 271; Aspers, 2009: 1). Lindloff explains:

> For the qualitative researcher, humans infuse their own actions, and the other actions and worlds to which they have access, with meanings. Meanings are not mere accessories to behaviour. Rather, it is the fact that we reflect on our own completed actions and imagine possible future actions that make what we do meaningful. (1995: 6)

The meanings which Lindloff (1995: 6) refers to can be explored phenomenologically, in other words, the meanings can be explored using the emic approach (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270). Central to qualitative research is the emic approach, which refers to the 'insider's view' of the

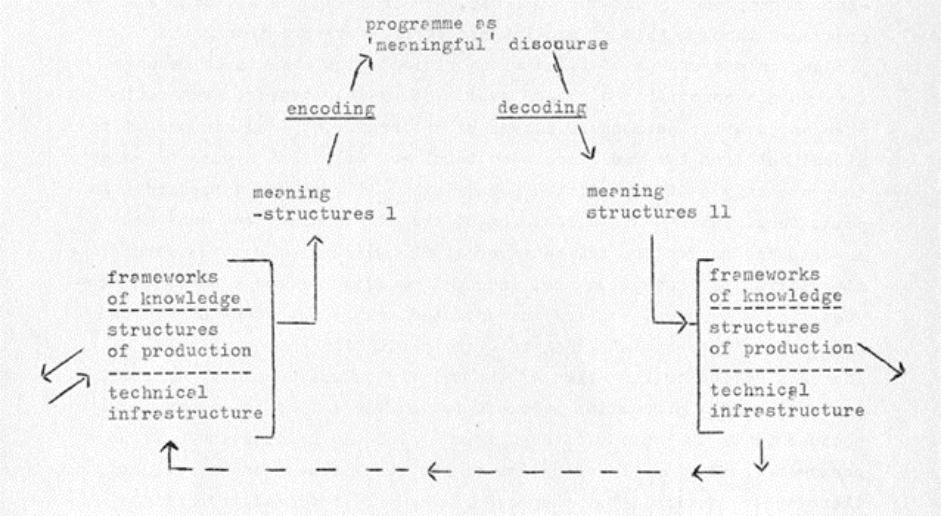
people being studied (Priest, 1996: 103). A feature of qualitative research is that it tends to focus on making sense of, rather than explaining the social world (Babbie
and Mouton 2001: 270).

This study seeks to answer Jonathan Jansens's question: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities?" (Maleka, 2018: 4). For this reason, it uses a qualitative methodology of exploration (Taylor, 2005: 91) to help understand the positions taken by the audience. Qualitative research falls within the interpretivist paradigm and stresses the understanding of the social world through analysing the interpretation of the social world by its participants (Bryman, 2012: 380; 1988: 61; Trumbull, 2005: 101). As people exist within social relations, rather than separate from the people involved in their social construction, their identities, opinions, and lifestyles may be shaped by their social circumstances (Bryman, 2012: 380; Moores, 1993: 33). Qualitative research involves the collection of empirical data through interviews, personal experience, case studies, interactional, and visual texts (Trumbull, 2005: 101) and has been used to study the relationship between the media and people's social settings. In other words, qualitative research adopts an inductive approach to research to understand and explain people's different realities. Qualitative researchers need to understand and explain what observed behaviours or verbal comments mean in a particular context (Trumbull, 2005: 101).

Reception analysis method

One of the ways to analyse an audience's understanding of a text is through the method known as reception analysis. Taking a culturalist perspective, it involves the exploration of choices, uses, and interpretations that readers make of given texts. The foundations of reception analysis are found in Stuart Hall's (1973) 'encoding and decoding' model that argues that the theory of communication has four stages: production, circulation, use and reproduction (Hall in During, 1993: 507). Reception analysis suggests that the message interpreted by the receiver could be controlled by the sender, but that it does not occur in a transparent way (Hall in During, 1993: 507). At each of these stages the possibility exists that the interpretation of a message could be subjected to what he refers to as "power-relations" (Hall in During, 1993: 507). Hall also argues that although there is room for messages to "be used or understood at least somewhat against the grain" (Hall in During, 1993: 507), a message can only be received at a particular stage if it is "recognisable or appropriate" (Hall in During, 1993: 507). This means that encoding a media text

does not always mean that the media text will be decoded with the same meaning (Hall in During, 1993: 507). Hall states that the power-relations present at its production would "loosely fit those at the point of consumption and in this way the communication circuit is also a circuit which produces a pattern of domination" (Hall in During, 1993: 507). In simpler terms encoding is not equal to decoding (Hall in During, 1993: 507). This model suggests two very distinctive moments in the communicative process. On the one end of the spectrum a message is produced (encoded) and at the other end it is de-coded (received and used). My study deals with the different views taken of the Willemse incident after it happened hence my focus on the decoding aspect of the televisual message. A televisual broadcast, like the *SuperSport* program, operates according to prescribed guidelines and criteria and when it is presented as "meaningful discourse" it is already encoded with "structures of production" (Hall, 1973: 4). "Production, here, initiates the message: in one sense, then, the circuit begins here." (Hall, 1973: 4). For this reason, I also provided a reading of the encoded televisual message. Below is a diagram that shows the processes involved in the circuit (Hall, 1973: 5)



This diagram also shows how the same televisual message could be re-encoded by other "structures of production and frameworks of knowledge" when it is de-coded (Hall, 1973: 5).

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the *SuperSport* rugby broadcast of the Willemse walkout (May 19, 2018) followed the guidelines discussed by the producers, staff, and directors of the program. The Willemse walkout was not meant to be part of the rugby broadcast. When it was received by viewers, their understandings were influenced by what Hall (1973) describes as

the structures of production and the frameworks of their knowledge and this is what gave rise to the differences in opinion about the incident. The product we see on the television screen becomes real, transparent and natural, and the viewer "pick(s) up its visual-perceptual code" (Hall, 1973: 12). This visual sign is also connotative and the level of connotation of the visual sign, of its contextual reference, of its position in the various associative fields of meanings, is precisely the point where the denoted sign intersects with the deep semantic structures of a culture and takes on an ideological dimension (Hall, 1973: 12).

It is through this lens that I wish to look at the differing views of two sets of people looking at the same incident. The discursive form from the encoder of a message to when the audience receives and decodes the message is influenced by many factors such as events of the past, people's histories, their social relations, or their overall socio-economic or socio-cultural situations (Durham & Kellner, 2006: 165-166; Willis, 2018: 6). Reception involves active sense making, says Dahlgren (1992). He further argues that people are by no means passive recipients they make sense of the world and their place within it (1992: 17). If audiences cannot make meaning from a message there is no consumption and the process of meaning making has no effect, it will not "influence, entertain, instruct, or persuade" behaviours (During, 1993: 508, 510). Having occurred on live television, the Willemse incident was signified through aural-visual television codes. As all signs are meaningless until 'taken up' or 'read' by a subject, this aural-visual set of signs needed an audience 'to make sense' of it. The audiences are likely to have made sense of the Willemse television discourse through connotations shaped by their inscribed subject positions shaped by colonialism, apartheid, their gender, and class positions. Audiences are characterised by their strategies of understanding, what is sometimes referred to as interpretive communities and these communities may criss-cross socio-economic categories, thus contributing to what appears to be a wide variety of decoding possibilities. (Jensen, 1988: 3-4). The 'interpretive communities' that Jensen speaks about refers to audiences who share similar inscribed subject positions that influence how they make sense of media messages.

Audiences interpret media texts not only through their denotative meaning, but also through the many connotations attached to them. Unlike the term denotation which refers to the literal, universally recognised meanings of a sign, connotation refer to 'other' possible meanings that a sign might refer to (During, 1993: 512). These other possible meanings are attached by audiences

and are influenced by their cultures, knowledge, histories (During, 1993: 514; Morley & Brunsdon, 1999: 293-295). Ang states that:

> [T]he meaning of media texts is not something fixed, or inherent, within the text. Rather, media texts acquire meaning only at the moment of reception, that is, when they are read, viewed, listened to, or whatever. (1990: 160)

This implies that the audiences viewing the 'Willemse incident', for example, have read different connotations into the polysemic aural-visual signs from the incident, and produced various meanings that have been influenced by their cultures, histories and knowledge.

Sampling for the focus group interviews

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research uses smaller samples to get information (Gentles et al, 2015: 1782). This study made use of focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews with individuals for further in-depth conversations.

The purpose of a sample group in qualitative research, says Gentles et al., (2015: 1782) is to acquire information that is useful for understanding the complexity, depth, variation or context surrounding a phenomenon, rather than to represent a population as in quantitative research. According to Tonkiss (2004: 199) research involving focus group interviews tends to lean towards using purposive sampling methods in which participants are selected based on their significance related to the research question, and the potential data they will provide. In light of this, I selected participants supportive of Willemse using a snowball sampling method which involves asking initial participants if they know anyone with similar views or situations as them to participate in the research process (Naderifar et al, 2017: 2). I used the same snowball sampling method to gather participants critical of Willemse's walkout. The participants were aged between 20 and 55, helping me gain perspectives on the incident from diverse generations. They were limited to Grahamstown residents who have sporting backgrounds. This made my data collection more convenient as I am also based in Grahamstown. The participants were limited to people who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the 'Willemse incident', and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa. The participants were selected on the basis of these criteria because this would provide the researcher with the most relevant data to achieve the goal of answering Jonathan Jansen's question. As mentioned in my introduction, the two groups that

Jansen referred to are black[7] and white people in South Africa. For this reason, I purposely selected black participants in favour of Willemse, and white participants against Willemse, and probed why they took the positions that they did. But, having divided my focus group participants racially does not imply there would not be diverse responses in each group. When I set out to select my research participants I intended using three focus group, two would have been racially homogenous, one would have been racially diverse and each of them would have comprised of six participants. I conducted my first focus group interview with six black participants supportive of Willemse on the eve of South Africa's national lockdown for the COVID 19 pandemic. As a result of the lockdown and the levels of restriction, I battled to find willing participants for my research. I then felt it necessary to reduce the number of focus groups from three to two, leaving out the racially diverse group. I continued struggling to find white focus group participants critical of Willemse. I was reluctant to use virtual or telephonic platforms for the interviews as I thought it would affect the validity of my data since the first focus group had been conducted face to face. Eventually the COVID 19 restrictions eased somewhat and I managed to find four white participants critical of Willemse. In order to gather further data I coupled the focus group interviews with two in-depth individual interviews with black people and three in-depth individual interviews with white people' This somewhat evened out the numbers between the two homogenous focus groups in which the white group critical of Willemse were fewer in number than the one supportive of Willemse. I also used snowball sampling for the individual in-depth interviews. It is recommended that in social research one data collection method should be coupled with another to gather enough relevant data for the study to be reliable (Macun & Posel, 1998: 132). These interviews provided me with further information on the significant topics that were not raised during the focus group discussion.

I also used *Twitter* as an additional source for more data and to see what people people, other than the research participants had to say about the Willemse incident. I sampled tweets relating to the Willemse incident from the 19th of May 2018 to the 31st of December 2018. I chose this time frame because the incident occurred on the 19th of May 2018 and carried on trending[8] on social media until the end of the year on the 31st December 2018, thereafter the trending of 'Willemse

[7] "Black people is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Government Gazette Act No. 55. 1998 Employment Equity Act 1998, 1998: 6)
[8] "being discussed a lot on social media" (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

incident' had slowed down. I also felt that within that seven-and-a-half-month time frame there were enough responses to the Willemse walkout that I could use for my research. Although there were white people in favour of Willemse and black people against Willemse, I again purposively selected tweets in favour of Willemse from black commentators and tweets against Willemse from white commentators, because it falls more in line with the aims of this research, which is to help provide answers to Jonathan Jansen's question: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities?"

But before we derive any inferences from tweets one needs to consider and be wary of the characteristics of social media. Some of the characteristics of social media such as the ease of accessibility, freedom, openness, and the speed at which you can reach many people at once, facilitates the creation of 'challenges' (Wu et al, 2019: 80). Some users may express derogatory, potentially racist comments to their opposing groups depending on the stance they took regarding the incident and some of them may even have done so under false personas. Wood also notes that:

> *Twitter* has always had an accuracy problem. It's a lot of voices, its information flows quickly, and in all fairness, it was never meant to be a medium for reliable delivery of news. (2013: 2)

That being said, I am aware of the danger of people on social media platforms posing as something they are not. For example, a black person posing as a white person and running mis-information or dis-information campaigns on social media to serve political and other agendas. One way I mitigated this was by going into the commentators' profiles on *Twitter* and looking at their photo albums. This helped me identify their race because I could see them featuring more than once in these photo albums. There is no guarantee that one always authenticates successfully, but to the extent that I was able to, I tried to make a judgment call based on the profile, photos, and history. I acknowledge that this is not one hundred percent fool proof, but I am satisfied that within the scope of this thesis, I was able to take those steps to have some sort of guarantee that the *Twitter* accounts were authentic.

The sample sizes for the focus group interviews and in-depth individual interviews sufficed to provide me with enough information to conduct my research as well as to attain saturation, which is what is required when choosing a sample in qualitative research (Gentles et al, 2015: 1776, 1782). In qualitative research, scientific validity is obtained through a methodical approach to the

collection and making sense of data, not by generalising findings to other groups, nor quantifying it into an overall truth. You do not need to know all the facts to make sense of an issue. In other words, qualitative research allows you to select a sample group, based on your research question and make sense of and understand the findings from that specific sample group, relevant to your research question (Geertz in Pitout 1998: 74; Drotner in Pitout, 1998: 74; Ruddock, 2001: 133).

Qualitative content analysis

Given that my research question involved the exploration of how and why people interpreted the 'Willemse incident' in the ways that they did, I needed to conduct a qualitative content analysis on the televised Willemse walkout, which gave rise to themes that I analysed in chapter 4. The content analysis comprises basic textual analysis elements such as gathering and analysing texts (McKee, 2001: 3), in this case, the Willemse incident, *Twitter* responses to the incident and responses to the incident by the research participants. I also conducted a thematic analysis on the data gathered from my interviews, sample of *Twitter* comments and the Willemse incident. Thematic analysis:

> is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis in Braun & Clarke, 2006: 6).

In my study I used the six-phase strategy Braun and Clarke (2006) mention to conduct my thematic analysis. Phase one required me to familiarise myself with my data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 16). I did so by immersing myself into my data by transcribing verbal data and actively reading the data multiple times in search of patterns and meanings (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 16-17). After completing phase one, phase two required me to generate codes. Codes refer to aspects of the data that the researcher identifies as significant to the study and can appear in the form of a word in the data, for example (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 18). Phase three required me to identify themes. I analysed the codes from the previous step and found codes that could be grouped together under a broader unit of analysis, called a themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 18). Phase four required me to refine the themes in phase three. During this phase the researcher reviews the themes from the previous phase and makes sure that the data in the themes are relevant to that specific theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 20-21). In phase 5 the

researcher defines and names the themes. During this phase I further refined the themes and defined them in terms of what their purposes are. I assessed whether or not the theme was relevant to my study and how and why it was useful to the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 21-22). Phase six required me to produce a report Braun & Clarke, 2006: 23). In this phase I analysed data from my themes to help produce findings for my study.

These methods help the researcher to explore how people make meaning of the media and how they choose to embody it (Schroder et al, 2003: 122).

Researcher's role during the interviews

As the researcher I ensured that each one of my participants was as comfortable as I could make them. By doing this I increased the chances of the participants expressing themselves with ease and not feeling constrained by their environment (Shroder et al, 2003: 143). I conducted the focus group interviews at a venue that I thought was neutral, the (council chamber at the Monument?). I conducted the individual in-depth interviews at either the homes of the participants or at their offices. I thanked them for their time and assured them that their participation was crucial to my research.

Seeing that reception encompasses 'active sense-making' (Dahlgren 1992: 12), to enable discussion and help link the audience's 'inscribed subject positions' to their responses to the 'Willemse walkout,' I presented video footage of the Willemse walkout to my interview participants. This was to simulate them watching the 'walkout' on television and it also helped refresh their memories of the televised incident. To ensure that I got as much information as possible from these interviews I asked semi-structured questions relating to the research topic (Appendix A). This involved a 'funneling process' which required me to ask general questions (Moody, Will, Blanton, 1996: 129), like what is your name? Where did you grow up and who are your sporting heroes? This was also aimed at making the participants feel comfortable and to ease them into the more specific research questions that were aimed at getting relevant data for the study – Why they held the views that they did regarding the 'Willemse walkout' (Schlesinger et al in Ruddock, 2001: 135). I voice recorded the discussions with their consent, and was thus able to transcribe the data accurately. The transcriptions were used to refer to for my data analysis chapter, chapter 4.

Ethics

Babbie and Mouton state that it is essential to remain ethical during the research process. Among other things, this includes the acquisition of informed consent, the right to privacy and protection from harm (2001: 273). To ensure I was in line with ethical protocols I completed the compulsory ethics form provided by Rhodes University on the *Ethical* Review Application System. I also made sure my research participants voluntarily agreed to be a part of my research through verbal and written consent. I made sure that all the participants involved were 18 years old and above. I provided the participants with information about what my research entails so that they were not caught by surprise during the interview processes. I constantly reminded them about the voice recording apparatus that I used to collect my data, and I ensured that the participants in the study remained anonymous, by using pseudonyms.

Triangulation

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, triangulation is helpful to qualitative research as it reinforces the study's validity. In this study I tried to achieve this by using Data Source triangulation which "involves the collection of data from different types of people, including individuals, groups, families, and communities, to gain multiple perspectives and validation of data" (Cope, 2014: 545). This is evident in the diverse nature of my purposefully sampled participants. I also used method triangulation which "involves the use of multiple methods of data collection about the same phenomenon" (Cope, 2014: 545), this is evident in my use of focus group interviews, individual in-depth interviews, and *Twitter* to collect data.

Conclusion

This chapter mapped the research design of this study. The methodological approach chosen for the study was mainly qualitative reception analysis and qualitative content analysis. The study used triangulation as a qualitative approach to enable a comparative empirical analysis of the content of the responses to the 'Willemse incident' in the reception analysis and qualitative content analysis. This triangulation comprised of focus group interviews, individual in-depth interviews, and comments made on *Twitter*. This allowed inferences from one data source to be followed up by another and the data thus gathered were thematically analysed. Particular attention was also

given to the theoretical and epistemological issues entailed in qualitative research in general, and reception research in particular. The chapter also highlighted the sampling procedures employed in the study. The next chapter presents and analyses the findings of the research.

Chapter 4: Discussion and Findings

Introduction

The key objective of this study was to investigate Jonathan Jansen's question regarding the 'Willemse walkout': "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities" (Maleka, 2018: 4)? It sought to unearth the audiences' perspectives on the 'Willemse incident', which account for the way in which they responded and reacted to the incident. Importantly, there is the recognition that audiences come to texts already inscribed in subject positions. Davies and Harre define a subject position in the following way:

> A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines, and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned. At least a possibility of notional choice is inevitably involved because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that each person could engage in. (1990: 46)

For this research the subject positions are influenced by social and historical factors, namely apartheid and colonisation (Morley & Brunsdon, 1999: 293-295).

In this chapter I will provide themes of the televised Willemse walkout that derived from the qualitative content analysis of the televised Willemse incident. I will then report on the a reception analysis of focus group interviews, in-depth individual interviews and *Twitter* comments, based on the themes identified in the qualitative content analysis. The themes will be interpreted, discussed, and analysed using the theoretical considerations and literature review in Chapter two. In this chapter I will also provide a critique of the findings in the Maleka report of 2018 to strengthen the possible arguments that account for Jonathan Jansen's question. These findings will be informed by the literature reviewed for this research.

Analysis of the televised incident

During the walkout Willemse stated:

> I think it's important for me because, I've played this game for a long time. Like most, like all of us sitting here, you know. As a player, I was labelled a 'quota player' for a long time. And I've earned hard and worked hard to earn my own respect in this game. So, I'm not going to be patronised by two individuals that have played in an apartheid, a segregated era and come and want to undermine, you know. And so, I think for me, I've had my fair share. So, I can't work with people who undermine other people. And you can sit and laugh about it (Nick Mallet laughing), but you know exactly what happened. It's fine, I don't mind being ridiculous, I'm glad it happens on air so that people can see, because you two sit here, no its fine. (Maleka, 2018: 2)

The following themes became apparent from the qualitative content analysis of the words Willemse spoke during the televised incident: Apartheid; Labelled a quota player/ undermine/patronise; Trivialisation.

Theme 1: Apartheid

South Africa has a history of racism and colonisation which enabled apartheid: "a systematic and legalised discrimination against [black people][9] shaping the economic, social, and political structure of the whole country" (Worden, 2012: 73). A lot of this discrimination was enforced by laws such as The Group Areas Act of 1950 which ensured that racial segregation occurred in living spaces (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). Black people were forced away from their homes especially in cities and towns and deposited away from urban areas (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 ensured social segregation of public facilities, such as sports grounds, schools, transport services, restaurants, etc. (Worden, 2011: 105; Cottrell, 2005: 87). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 "prepared students for little more than manual labour" (Worden, 2011: 104-105). These laws were put in place for white people to reign supreme and it caused black people to suffer personally as well as socially (Worden, 2011: 104-108). During these periods black people were also not considered for national selection of sports teams, because they

[9] "Black people is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Government Gazette Act No. 55. 1998 Employment Equity Act 1998, 1998: 6)

were not white (Steenveld & Strelitz, 1998: 611; Murray & Merrett, 2004: 29-49). This discrimination was demeaning, patronising, angering and hurtful, among other things (Steyn & Foster, 2008). As Willemse noted, "I'm not going to be patronised by two individuals that have played in an apartheid, a segregated era and come and want to undermine, you know". Willemse's perception of the attitudes towards him adopted by Mallet and Botha is that they are rooted in apartheid and segregation era ideologies.

Theme 2: Labelled a quota player/ undermine/patronise

A quota system was introduced in South African sport codes as a form of affirmative action. As previously noted, during the segregation and apartheid era's black people were not considered for selection for national sports teams (Miller, 2017: 1). In 1994 sports organisations were pressured to find ways of incorporating black players into national teams (Myakayaka-Manzini, 2003: 1; Mnyanda, 2016: 1). The quota system was put in place to provide opportunities for subordinate groups to be recognised in national sports teams and was an attempt by the government to undo the injustices of the past. But the policy was contested (Mnyanda, 2016: 1; SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1). South Africans in favour of it argue that without it, black sportspeople would have found it difficult to represent their country (SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1). But those opposing it argue that it casts doubt on the competence of black sportspeople, leading to inferences that their selection is not based on merit (SA Rugby Mag, 2019: 1).

The argument that the quota system creates doubt about the competence of black sportspeople is arguably what Willemse alluded to when he mentioned that he was labelled a quota player. It can be argued that Willemse likened his experience in the studio of being labelled a quota player to his treatment by his white colleagues.

Theme 3: Trivialisation

Trivialisation is a subtle form of racism within Whiteness theory. It occurs when Whiteness underestimates the role it played in causing black suffering (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). The trivialisation of black suffering may enable white people to feel less remorseful or rather less empathetic and sympathetic to the experience of black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). For example, Willemse responded, "And you can sit and laugh about it, but you know exactly what happened", referring to Nick Mallet's laughter during the walkout. It is not clear what Mallet was

laughing about: he could have laughed because he was in an awkward position. But given the context of Willemse's walkout, it can be argued that Willemse perceived Mallet's laughter as a trivialisation of the event.

Racism continues to be a major issue in South Africa. This could be ascribed to how Colonialism and the system of apartheid in South Africa contributed to how some South Africans perceive their lived experiences. These deep-seated historical processes live on in people's present experiences: a process described as 'coloniality' (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 243). Differences in opinion between people on pertinent issues are often perceived as racial prejudice. It was evident from the interviews that the black participants thought that racism had a role to play in the Willemse walkout. They used this perceived racism as justification for their support of Willemse and the cause of the walkout. Some of the white participants in the study also felt that racism was at play, but their perception of racism justified their criticism of Willemse. More will be said in this regard later in my findings.

As mentioned in the research design of this thesis, Jensen (1998: 3-4) argues that:

> Audiences are characterised by their strategies of understanding, what is sometimes referred to as interpretive communities and these communities may criss-cross socio-economic categories, thus contributing to what appears to be a wide variety of decoding possibilities. (1988: 3-4)

In this regard, it is important to note how the Willemse walkout connects with the interviewees' racialised identities that were shaped both by the deep historical structures of colonialism and apartheid as well as the way these colonial ideologies persist in post-apartheid South Africa (coloniality). The participants' differing responses to the Willemse footage will help explore this issue. This requires me to explore how it is that the different respondents held the views they brought to this text (in this case, views around race and racism).

The results of the qualitative content analysis on the interviews revealed 3 themes relevant to the study: Lived experiences/Racism/Prejudice/Being undermined; Language/Voice; and Victim mentality/Unprofessional conduct. These themes will be analysed using the theoretical understandings of coloniality of being and racism discussed in Chapter 2, to understand why the participants held the positions they did regarding the Willemse walkout.

Theme 1: Lived experiences/Racism/Prejudice/Being Undermined

I will use coloniality of being, Whiteness theory and theories of racism to discuss how the interviewees understood their lived experiences of racism, prejudice and being undermined. Coloniality refers to the ways in which systems of knowledge, power and being remain in place years after the coloniser has left the country it colonised, shaping contemporary world views and patterns of behaviour. Coloniality of being refers to the relationship between people's lived experiences and colonisation, shaping contemporary racialised identities (Maldanado-Torres, 2007: 242- 243; Maldanado-Torres, 2016: 1). Colonisation in South Africa resulted in a history of segregation (1910-1948), and apartheid (1948-1994) which Worden describes as "a systematic and legalised discrimination against [black people] shaping the economic, social, and political structure of the whole country" (2012: 73).

Theories of colonisation refer to Eurocentricism as a key ideology that informed the attitudes of the colonisers towards the colonised (Dussel, 1993: 65-67). These attitudes involve the superiority of 'white' people, marked by their skin colour (Leonardo, 200: 137). More recently, the concept of Whiteness views white identities as shaped by the development of racist culture, focusing less on the refuted pseudo-scientific explanations of why white people are superior and shifting the focus to the racism involved in discourses embedded in Whiteness (Green et al, 2007: 390; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 57; Dyer, 1997: 2; Green, 2007: 397). Some of these forms of racist expression are subtler than others, and have not yet been universally recognised (Goldberg, 1990: ix; Downing & Husband, 2005: 8; Chew, 2001: 201; Leach, 2003: 432; Corlett, 1998: 28; Moore, 2008: 139). These subtler forms of racism, as James and Lever put it, constitute "modern racism: sporadic, everyday incidents and rearguard actions in association and community life" (2001: 50). Referring to Willemse's unscripted walk-out, Odwa, a black research participant expressed his understanding of Willemse's response as relating to the way in which everyday racism occurs:

> I felt he had that feeling, because we have all had that feeling before, where you know someone is insulting you. If you hang around white people enough, you'll know when they're insulting you, without them actually insulting you. Or, when they're sharing a joke but they're trying to make the joke about you. Willemse had that feeling and, in that moment, he realised that they didn't actually respect him as a person, as a work colleague and that it had been happening for a long time… I felt great, I felt proud of him because,

> that moment will be there forever for us to see… Because those are two white guys, sitting down and laughing, trying to calm the situation down, to make Ashwin look like the one out of line, they're trying to make him look like the angry one. But because we understand how he feels, makes me feel proud of him… like thank you for doing that for all of us.

There is no concrete evidence to support Odwa's argument about the nature of Botha and Mallet's laughter, as they could have laughed because they were feeling uncomfortable or caught by surprise by Willemse's actions that were not part of the scripted running order of the day (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). I am highlighting Odwa's response to this aspect of the Willemse incident as an example of how prone people are to perceptions of racism based on their lived experiences. He predicates his response to my question in his opening statement: "I felt he had that feeling, because we have all had that feeling before…" The concept of coloniality of being has been discussed extensively in the literature review. In Odwa's case, it seems that the negative experiences of black people during apartheid and colonialism influenced the way he perceived the walkout.

White privilege is a component of the coloniality of being for white people and when exercised, it has the potential to come across as racist and make black people feel inferior. Monde, a 28-year-old, black participant from the so called, 'Coloured area', of Grahamstown speaks about his experience of white privilege:

> We had a good headmaster who organised sports games for us against the likes of St Andrews [a private school] etc. Now, going to those facilities… you feel small. We practised our rugby on gravel, whereas these people are out here on grass. Even the kits for example, we wore mix and match outfits, whereas they wore uniformed kits. Also, we had to share our clothes amongst the players, taking off your jersey and lending it to another player on the field, you feel that! It doesn't feel nice.

Monde's example derives from his experience as a scholar at an underprivileged township school in Grahamstown. He mentioned that he felt "small" and that it was not a nice feeling when he compared his circumstances to that of St Andrews' boys. This is an example of how his lived experience may have the power to influence his perspectives. In his response to the Willemse walkout, Monde mentioned, "props, he did us proud", showing his support of Willemse.

Another example of the black experience of white privilege is expressed by Xola, a black 27-year-old, who initially attended a township school, but then moved to a private school:

> You go to St Andrews, and you have an inferiority complex, you realise you're actually way behind here. I realise that I'm entry level, I'm far from anything. Sometimes they make fun of how I speak or if you don't have something, they're shocked they expect you to have everything.

Xola mentioned that at this private school one is expected to have "everything", and when one does not, they are surprised. Private schools are expensive institutions and for this reason, they are predominantly accessible to those who have money. Although white people no longer have overt political power in South Africa, most white people continue to have access to power through affluence (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556, 568; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 63; James & Lever, 2001: 30, 40). It is then fair to assume that the majority of people who were "shocked" to find out that Xola did not possess 'something' were white, which resonates with the idea that white people are not aware of their privilege, because their whiteness is the norm (Green et al, 2007: 395; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58; Dyer, 1997: 2).

Tando, a black 29-year-old teacher, from a township community in Grahamstown presented the following example of his experience regarding white privilege:

> I'm head of hockey and tennis, but I'm getting micromanaged. Other people are allowed to fuck up, right, constantly, but because my skin colour is not the same as theirs, I get watched.

Tando's experience can be made sense of through the lens of white privilege. The "other people" he mentions are his white colleagues at the school where he teaches. This example involves aspects of white privilege that assume white people are adequate at their jobs, whereas black people are not granted that same privileged assumption (Green et al, 2007: 398).

These examples regarding their experiences of white privilege seemed to have influenced the way these black participants made sense of the Willemse walkout. Xola mentioned, "I was happy, because I knew in that moment, that he became independent, and he found his own path". Tando's response to the incident was similar:

> We have been programmed to keep quiet. We have been conditioned to know that when we speak up, we will be targeted. Ashwin nailed it on the head, it became a public discourse. It's not gonna stop until we fight back, and we must fight back.

Coloniality of being for black people also involves blatant acts of racism directed towards them. This is evident in the examples below.

Ludwe, a black 26-year-old student teacher and rugby coach, spoke about the nicknames he and his black friends were given at the Model C school he attended: "'zeft heads', 'you monkeys', 'peanuts and raisins'". Khaya, a black 27-year-old university student, recalls a comment a white teacher at his high school when he entered the class: "Please open the windows? Oh, never mind, the blacks melt in the cold."

Tando remembers an incident that occurred at university:

> Overt racism that I experienced was on a night out with my friends. I was called a Kaffir by a white Zimbabwean student at Rhodes. It made me really angry, but luckily my friends were there to help calm me down.

These blatant forms of racism are just as likely as the subtle forms of racism to have swayed these black participants to support Willemse's walkout.

Another form of everyday racism is experienced by black people as 'not being heard or seen'—what Dyer refers to as the invisibility and 'ubiquity' of whiteness (Dyer, 1997: 3). A black 26-year-old university graduate from Fingo Village in Grahamstown explains his experience:

> I found at university during tutorial discussion that when I speak and make a point, no one takes note, but when the white guy next to me says the exact same thing, everyone listens, and they acknowledge it and then you sit there thinking but I just said that same thing right now.

Afika's tutorial discussion resonates with the concept of coloniality of being. Black people in South Africa are often undermined and overlooked because of apartheid attitudes. Despite the eradication of the apartheid system, Afika experienced a similar occurrence in his tutorial discussion when he felt that his opinion was overlooked. Afika used his lived experience to make sense of the Willemse incident:

> I understood what was happening to Ashwin Willemse because it's something that I've experienced before, and I could understand why he reacted in the way that he did. It's like you saying something legitimate, but then it gets taken for granted or it doesn't get taken seriously.

Further incidents of black people not being heard or seen are evident in the following examples. Tando, referring to the treatment of black children at the institution where he works noted:

> It's the same with the kids. The white kids can be as mediocre as they want and they'll get praised, but children of colour have to work twice maybe three times as hard to get recognised.

Xola, referring to his experience of his reception of award ceremonies during his schooling career recalled:

> So, you get to a point where you see these guys are all getting awards, but what do they have in common? They're all white. The criteria for awards changes for white people. The black guys meet the criteria in the book, but they still don't get awarded the awards they should be getting.

While there is no evidence to support the claims made by Tando or Xola, this is their experience of these occurrences shaped by their coloniality of being. These examples suggest that the black children feel they do not get the recognition that they deserve. They believe that to get accolades, or some sort of recognition they need to go above and beyond the general criteria for white children to receive praise. These experiences seemed to have influenced their support for Willemse, regarding the incident.

White arrogance is a typical form of racism in which white people perceive and treat black people as inferior to them, (Dyer, 1997: 2; Green, 2007: 397). This is evident in some of contemporary white South African discourses about black incompetence and irrationality (Verwey and Quayle's 2012: 551-552). White superiority and privilege are maintained through institutions and practices that provide white people with "psychological entitlements" such as the benefit of the doubt regarding their competency in employment or sport situations (Green, 2007: 398). The underside of this for black people is that they feel undermined because they have to 'prove' their worth: it is not assumed (Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58). They feel they do not 'belong' in certain social, work,

and sport situations, suffering feelings of insecurity and being undermined. This is evident in Odwa's experience of playing tennis:

> So, I played tennis at school, as you know tennis is a white sport. With tennis they already think that you can't do it before you've even played. This prejudice would start within your own team when it comes to the rankings. As a black player it's more difficult for you to get higher up the rankings… My white coach who didn't want me to play against a top-ranked white player, because she didn't want that white player to lose their ranking, in case they get beaten because they like that person better.

Although we don't know whether Odwa's experience is rooted in racial prejudice, as the white players may have deserved their ranking and had more talent than he did, he perceived this experience as racial prejudice based on his accumulated experience of 'not being good enough'. So, his tennis experience was filtered through his past experiences of apartheid racism and this becomes his default explanation. In his words, "With tennis they already think that you can't do it before you've even played".

Sethu, a 51-year-old, PhD scholar, originally from "Manenberg, a gang-infested area" in Cape Town's Cape Flats, but is currently living in Grahamstown, explains his lived experience involving white arrogance:

> My staff challenged me and said I got more degrees than you. I kept having to prove myself at the workplace. Until they accept you as a peer, you'll always be undermined.

Khaya, speaks about his experience of white arrogance at the institution he studied at:

> I always had to make sure I worked twice as hard. I had to ensure I knew my story, and the one thing that can never be disputed is if the work is there. If the proof is there, no matter how much they don't like you, at least you brought your side of the story.

Referring to his experience in a sporting environment Odwa asserted that he also had to work harder to "get a foot in the door":

> As a black person I feel like I don't have the leeway to mess up. I always have to prove myself. I can't afford to get complacent. That's something you learn at a very young age. I mean, for example, you going back to practise and trying over and over and over: that just

> proves that you have to work twice as hard as everyone else just to get a spot in the team or just a foot in the door.

The "everyone else" Odwa refers to is white people. In other words, as a black person if he gets an opportunity or chance to excel and he does not meet certain requirements, he is deemed not good enough.

It is reasonable to deduce that the lived experiences involving white arrogance has shaped the way these participants responded to the Willemse walkout. Sethu, supporting Willemse, commented: "this treatment is rubbish! I don't need this scrutinisation. Those guys… they challenge! They always challenge, they think they're the gods of the game". White arrogance also entails what constitutes valid and legitimate knowledge construction (Green et al, 2007: 399). In other words, Whiteness theory asserts that white people possess valid and legitimate knowledge. The legitimacy of the white voice is also present in white privilege (Leonardo, 2004: 137). This is evident in Sethu's experience:

> I worked at an institution where my white colleagues could say whatever they wanted, they can question, they can call things to order, with no repercussions. But as soon as you do it, you're going against the grain, you're not collegial, so it's an unfair setup. I don't blame Willemse for what he did, because why do I still have to prove myself? The fact that he mentioned quota in the walkout, is very significant.

The view presented by Xola, is evidence that his experience influenced his perception of the Willemse walkout:

> As soon as I saw that, I was like 'awe' (South African colloquial term for something positive/greeting/yes). I watch a lot of post-match interviews and analyses. I don't think it was a coincidence that Ashwin asked Naas about his thoughts on the game. First, because Naas tends to want to make the last point in every discussion. Nick Mallet has the same tendency, so that they have the last word. I think it got to a point where they felt that for anything to be valid around the topic they have to speak last and have the last word.

Although there is no evidence to support Xola's views, it suggests that he has experienced not having his experiences taken seriously by white people. He likened this to Willemse's experience, and this shaped his stance in support of Willemse.

The remnants of South Africa's sporting history also played a role in the way in which the participants in this study perceived the Willemse incident. Examples of sporting experiences from the black participants were shared, and their feelings resonated with the treatment of black sportsmen in South Africa during the segregation and apartheid eras, both of which were discussed in Chapter Two. These experiences translated into perceived everyday racism that black people face, such as the negative connotations attached to the label 'quota player', black people not having the competence to be involved in the sport, and black people being overlooked as part of the ubiquity of whiteness in sports considered as 'white sports'.

High School teacher and rugby coach, Xola, referred to observations of the sporting structures he was involved in:

> In the rugby teams that I've played for or have been a part of in some way, I've noticed that a white player has to just do one thing well, to make the team. But as a black player, you can do so many things well, but they will look for faults in your game. For example, a white player can just know how to kick well and be in the team, but a black player can pass, run, tackle, but if his kicking isn't up to scratch, he won't make it. They will look for that one thing that they don't have and use it as an excuse to (sic) why he isn't good enough to be in the team. He has to be the complete package all the time.

There is no evidence to corroborate the observations or arguments presented by Xola, but his perceptions suggest that they were influenced by the treatment of black sportspeople in South Africa's past. The contemporary feelings of past racisms, coloniality of being, can be argued to have shaped the way he perceived the Willemse walkout.

Referring to his experience of attending a Model C school, Monde recalled:

> I got to Graeme, and I played rugby, I could play, I was good. So, I get to Graeme, and we were meant to have trials, but before trials even started the team already got selected and my name was not on the list. This in essence made me lazy, because I thought, "What's the point of trying, when you know the team is already selected".

Considering the context of South African sport and apartheid and given that the school is a Model C school, Monde's perception of being overlooked without getting a fair trial, is arguably

influenced by coloniality of being. This experience is likely to have swayed his opinion in favour of Willemse: "I could really understand what the Willemse must have been going through. If someone is racist towards you in a subtle manner you will get angry".

Tando who also attended a Model C school, added:

> This year [2020] was my 10-year high school reunion and traditionally there's always an Old Boys VS scholars cricket match. I was shocked to hear that I didn't get selected. It's my special day, I played first team at school, and I wasn't asked to be a part of the reunion team. The team mostly consisted of white old boys. Boys that I play against in local league and guys that my team punishes.

Tando's experience is another example of how the politics of South Africa's sporting history continues to influence people's perceptions of events. He mentions that the team was mostly white, suggesting perhaps that he did not get selected because he was not white. It is also likely that Tando's race-related perception influenced his perception of the Willemse walkout.

Cricket enthusiast Khaya, describes what he observed while watching the South African national cricket team:

> If we look at Rassie van der Dussen and we compare his run in the Proteas team, with the run of Reeza Hendricks. Rassie was allowed to play himself into form, he used this time to play himself into form and he did well. Reeza wasn't given this opportunity.

What Khaya does not mention in his observation is that Rassie van der Dussen is a white cricketer, while Reeza Hendricks is not. His reading of the situation is based on his understanding of the racialised politics in sport which is likely to have coloured his opinion in favour of Willemse.

Some subtle racist discourses that defend Whiteness are *blame spread* and *racial stereotyping* (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32; Dommisse, 2016: 53, James & Lever, 2001: 51; Chan & Kleiner, 2003: 5). Blame spread occurs when white discourses make acts of racial prejudice against black people seem common and insignificant (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). This results in the trivialisation of black experiences that enable white people to be less sensitive, sympathetic, and empathetic towards black suffering (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). Racial stereotyping is "the generalised attribution of a set of personal characteristics to members of a racial/ethnic group" (Bigler & Liben, 1993: 1507) which "disregard the full humanity and uniqueness of people. When perceptions of

different races are distorted and stereotypical it is demeaning, devaluating, limiting and hurtful to others" (Chang & Kleiner, 2003: 5).

Sethu explained his experience of both these forms of racism (blame spread and racial stereotyping) which subsequently shaped his response to the Willemse incident:

> I worked for a predominantly white newsroom. Being from a Cape Flats township, I was deemed only good enough to write township stories which were always gang related. But I said that I'm better than this, I can write about more. (stereotyping)
>
> The thing is when you react in the manner that Ashwin did, people make you feel as though you're the one in the wrong. You feel like you've overreacted, because they're saying, 'jisty' this isn't even an issue, yet we know… it's the undertone, the subtleness, it's not overtly racist. (blame spread)

Sethu's perception was that he was "only good enough to write township stories" relates to how the exercise of perceived white privilege has the potential to undermine black people. Having lived in Manenberg made him assume that he was stereotyped in a particular way, hence his assignment to cover township stories, as if that were all he could do. He interpreted this experience as 'trivialisation', a subtle form of racism (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32).

Other stereotypes about black people are that they are chaotic, irrational, violent and lack self-control (Green et al, 2007: 397). These stereotypes resonate with Khaya's description of an aspect of what subtle racism entails regarding his experience, that he likened to the Willemse incident:

> It's like when they're being subtly racist, they are setting you up, for you to respond in a way that they think is gonna be, 'a typical black response', the same way they did with Ashwin Willemse. It makes me angry because I can see what they are trying to do and what response they are trying to get from me.

Sethu mentioned something similar to Khaya when referring to a previous experience of his and the Willemse walkout:

> This is an emotional issue and it's real. The Willemse thing was a build-up of lots of other events. Once they get the reaction out of you, then they brand you, as look there, that's how they act. I was being collegial but look at how they act.

It is not clear that what Khaya and Sethu refer to were the intentions of Mallet and Botha, but their experiences enabled them to relate to Willemse during the walkout, and their perception that he was being set up to respond in a manner that would be deemed chaotic, irrational or lacking self-control. It can be argued that Khaya perceived Willemse being set-up by Mallet and Botha by the events that unfolded before Willemse's statement, which I discussed in the Introduction. This discussion involved Mallet and Botha insisting that Willemse should speak first when Willemse did not want to speak, or was not required to speak first, to which Willemse stated that he did not find that gesture "amusing" (Maleka, 2018: 25). Willemse also invited Botha and Mallet to speak, which they declined. Willemse then expressed that there was no need to "patronise" one another (Maleka, 2018: 5-9). This is arguably what Khaya referred to when he mentioned that Willemse was being "set-up".

Verwey & Quayle (2012: 552) note that Afrikaans author, Annelie Botes's perception of black people as "angry, violent, uneducated, unskilled, incompetent, baboon-like and criminal", was common amongst many white South Africans, although many disagreed as well. In a previous quote, Odwa referred to Mallet and Botha and said:

> Those are two white guys, sitting down and laughing, trying to calm the situation down, to make Ashwin look like the one out of line, they're trying to make him look like the angry one.

As a result of his experience and considering the perceptions about black people in white discourses, Odwa seems to have perceived Mallet and Botha's conduct in this way, rather than seeing their laughter as them feeling uncomfortable and awkward at the sudden confrontation. The next quote from Ludwe also resonates with the subtle racist stereotypes found within Whiteness:

> It's like assuming you stole something when you actually didn't just because you were the only black person in the room. Also, the way that situation is handled, instead of asking me something you rather accuse me, your tone would be an accusing one.

Xola refers to his experiences of being perceived through a stereotypical lens:

> At school we get judged. At university we get judged by the school you went to; you get treated a certain way until they hear you actually have a Masters or PHD, and then they're surprised. They give you little respect, until they realise he knows what he is talking about.

Many theorists have argued that subtle racism is ingrained in Whiteness and white privilege (Green et al, 2007: 390; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 57; Dyer, 1997: 2). For the next few quotes, it is important to remind the reader that coloniality of being for white people and Whiteness has accrued advantages to white people (Green et al, 2007: 390; Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 116; Steyn & Foster, 2008: 30; Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Moodely & Adam, 2000: 58; Steyn, 2001: 88; Dyer, 1997: 2; Leonardo, 2004: 137). White privilege involves assuming that white people have the ability to do certain things (Green, 2007: 398), and their skin colour allows them the benefit of the doubt when it comes to meritocracy (Green, 2007: 398). The unwitting exercise of this privilege and advantage over black people tends to be perceived as disrespectful and or insulting by black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 31). This includes the assumption that white people have the skills required for a job or that they earned their jobs on merit (Green et al, 2007: 398). This privilege also entails affluence which is possessed by the majority of the white people in South Africa (Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556, 568; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 63; James & Lever, 2001: 30, 40). Subtle racism is often maintained through institutions enabling institutional racism:

> …the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people. (Anthias, 1999: 1)

Institutional racism also contains elements of ethnic prejudice, which is "having a negative belief about or attitude toward someone because that person belongs to a certain ethnic group" (Corlett, 1995: 25). It is expressed by "acting, omitting to act, or attempting to act towards or against another based on one's ethnic prejudice" (Corlett, 1995: 25; Appiah, 1992: 18-19; Goldberg, 1990: 13).

Tando provides an example of what seems to be perceived institutional racism at the Model C school he works at:

> Let's take a practical example, Tennis… tennis is a dying sport. There are 16 kids playing tennis, how can a school that is 95% black invest in tennis? Why not soccer instead? Soccer is more popular. We are holding onto the tennis and things that were established back then.

Tando considers tennis an historically white sport. He perceives that this institution continues to push for tennis to hold on to its colonial heritage even though the majority of the school, being black, would rather play soccer.

The following quotes from Tando, Ludwe, and Afika have much in common. They speak about their experiences regarding a lack of transport at school sporting events, including when sporting events end late and their no public transport to take them home. This can be seen as institutional racism, i.e., the institutions' reluctance to change sporting codes (from tennis to soccer), or their failure to provide transport for scholars after matches.

> Ludwe: I'm a 10-year-old, I'm new to the school, I just got told I have to go to the gala, night falls, the gala ends, people get in their cars and go home. They don't arrange transport for us who don't have cars.
>
> Afika: So, at this private school I attended most of the black children did not have private transport. We have to take public transport taxis etc. And sometimes our transport would arrive late and for the school to respond to our transport being late or maybe phone our parents they took long they were even reluctant to take us home. I mean this is a private school. Our parents pay a lot of money to attend that school and they were reluctant to take us home because we lived in the location. If it were the white kids, which happened before, they would phone the white kids' parents or even take them home themselves because they know where these kids live, and they are on a friendly basis with their parents.

These black participants' experiences are further examples of the everyday racisms. These forms of subtle racism are arguably what influenced them to be supportive of Willemse. They are more prone to view an occurrence and identify possible racism because of their lived experiences. The next quote is a Tweet from Matshidiso. There are no details about her lived experiences regarding racial prejudice, but her comment suggests that she has had experiences of racial discrimination and likened this to what she perceived Willemse felt. Her comment resonates with the quotes from other black participants on the issue of institutional racism:

> …I believe Ashwin Willemse. I believe these anchors. I applaud them for standing up for their truth. Micro aggression & racism in corporate SA, in media houses is a thing! They are not crazy.

The "micro aggressions and racism" she refers to are arguably subtle racisms such as white privilege, institutionalised racism, and ethnic prejudice, which in this case go hand in hand.

A few of the white participants in the study also felt that race was at play but used their perception of this as a justification to be critical of Willemse. For them, whiteness is 'the norm', and what is not white is different, 'otherness' or non-human: the kind of thinking that is central to Whiteness (Dyer, 1997: 2). Looking at Whiteness from this perspective enables the discovery of "subtle or unconscious practices of racial discrimination, which are generally accepted as 'normal'" (Green et al, 2007: 390Jared, a white 50-year-old, successful salesperson, from the suburbs in Grahamstown, who attended a Model C school, said the following when asked about his experiences regarding racism:

> No, I haven't had racist experiences. I don't think I have as far as I can remember. Unfortunately, I really think we have become too sensitive to everything around. I think we could get along better if we laughed at each other more. For example, if you want to call me, "hey whitey or cracker" I'm going to laugh at you. I think a lot of people have become indoctrinated into believing something that's not really there. Apartheid ended about 30 years ago and white people are still getting blamed for all the problems that are going on which is unfair, I mean you can't blame… well there is maybe still racism that goes on. But it's not only white people who are racist, black people are racist too. And believe you me, if you understand the language, they're a lot more racist than we are.

Not having experienced racism relates to the privilege white people have of being able to move around without being concerned about racial discrimination. This coloniality of being is normal to him and leads to his perception of being labelled a whitey or cracker, equitable to the derogatory terms used to discriminate against and dominate black people in the past. But it can be argued that due to coloniality of power, the impact of such references is not equal. It is reasonable to assume that Jared's lack of racist experiences, has disregarded the likelihood of possible perceived racism against Willemse.

Brendan, a 49-year-old white school principal from the Western Cape, but currently living in Grahamstown, said the following about his experience of race relations:

> I would be honest having been born under apartheid and even if we were seen as 'white liberal', my father and my family, we still treated people like racists would. Looking back now and I realised even if we had the best intentions, how we did it practically, was wrong.
>
> I have not spoken to any amaXhosa person, until I came to Grahamstown and then for the first time, I had to move out of my comfort zone. Because my comfort zone… that's another thing about racism, it creates a comfort zone and an excuse for your actions. You can blame other people; you can hate other people and blame them for everything that is wrong. Now you get to meet people for who they are and then suddenly you realise the hurt you've caused in the past and even now you have to realise that it's institutionalised. The racism is much deeper seeded in the sub-conscience of everyone that we don't even realise our racism, we don't want to acknowledge it. Very often in conversations with teachers and learners I stand amazed at how insensitive I am towards racism and the definition of racism. Somehow, I don't think I can even really understand the impact of it and the way my conduct even now still today. I wish I could say I wasn't being racist in my conduct or in what I say. But I have learned that if somebody else feels that your conduct is undignified to them then that's what it is.

Brendan clearly has not been on the receiving end of racial prejudice. He mentions a "comfort zone", which refers to Whiteness and the discourses within Whiteness about the 'other'. This is arguably why he only realised his perceived discriminatory practices when he moved out of this comfort zone. But despite this 'realisation' he was critical of Willemse because his experiences and upbringing did not enable him to view the matter from Willemse's perspective.

Brendan:

> I thought it was a bit inappropriate from Ashwin to do that at his workplace…I did think that it was wrong of him to just walk off set like that.

A subtle racist discourse within Whiteness is the concept of colour-blindness, which was discussed in depth, in the literature review. The following quote from a white, 48-year-old teacher and coach, Tom, refers to how he felt connected to the Willemse incident when he watched it:

> For me the whole issue was that in South Africa, we love to look at things through the lens of race. So, in Ashwin's mind, he thought to himself these two arrogant 'white' guys, while they were just arrogant guys. But it's so easy in South Africa to look at any incident in the lens of race because of our history. For me that's the difficulty and that's where you can get it wrong. So, I have no bones if Ashwin said, "Nick is the most arrogant guy I have ever met", I will agree with him. But what Ashwin said was, or what he actually thought is that he is the most arrogant 'white' guy has ever met and it is his 'whiteness' and his 'white arrogance' that I have a problem with, and this is the only personal connection.

Tom's argument about South Africans tending to view things through a race lens can be made sense of through colour-blindness. As previously mentioned, white people are often 'non-raced' and perceive themselves as superior to the other (Dyer, 1997: 2; Green et al, 2007: 395-397). White people only acknowledge their race when they feel as if they are losing a grip on the power that they hold. An example of this is when the affirmative action or quota system policies get exercised, which seems to favour black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 29). White people assert that after colonialism and apartheid everyone is on equal footing. In this regard Steyn & Foster (2008) argue that white people believe that after apartheid ended - everyone is equal before the law (SA Constitution), and therefore everyone should be picked to a national team on merit. But this does not address the issue of blacks always having to catch up, be better. The same issues that the Employment Equity Act, affirmative action policies and quota system are trying to address. Apartheid ending did not end racism, views of Whiteness, entitlement, and being abused/sneered at as a black person. It does not take into consideration what black people endure to be picked, promoted and viewed as an equal. Being a white person, Tom may have felt like a victim, as he assumed that Willemse perceived Mallet and Botha as "two arrogant 'white' guys". Understanding how colour-blindness works makes Tom's relation to the Willemse incident reasonable, and it helps readers understand why he was critical of Willemse. White travelling salesman, Jared, speaking about his experiences regarding race and racism noted:

> I mean you've had racist experiences, but I'm not I have had many. Look we all get upset. In my work you drive and travel, and in the Transkei, for example, most drivers are black, and you throw your zap signs. It's not because I'm racist, it's because the guy is driving like shit. But the thing is they would say I'm a racist because I'm white and because they

> have an inferiority complex. Unfortunately, it is ingrained and indoctrinated still to this day that it's our fault and unfortunately you can't live like that anymore.

Jared's argument is typical of apartheid era rationalisations of racism. Not experiencing racial prejudice is part of white privilege that also allows white people social and geographical mobility without worrying about racial discrimination (Green et al, 2007: 394). These privileges are the norm for white people (Green et al, 2007: 390; Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 116; Steyn & Foster, 2008: 30; Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Moodely & Adam, 2000: 58; Steyn, 2001: 88; Dyer, 1997: 2). This perception is another way in which colour-blindness is evidenced. It may not have been a racial issue, but people are informed by their histories and therefore receive or decode messages differently. This experience led Jared to believe that black people have an inferiority complex leading to them accusing white people of being racist in certain circumstances. Jared's understanding of his own experiences is arguably why he was critical of Willemse during the walkout.

The black and white participants have had different lived experiences regarding race and racism. It is also reasonable to assume that these have impacted on the ways they perceived the Willemse walkout. The differences in coloniality of being for black and white people in this study also influences how they perceive what racism is. On the one hand, many black participants identified a lot of the subtle racisms discussed in the literature review of this chapter, whereas the white participants did not. This is arguably a result of the differences in coloniality of being for black and white people. Whiteness serves as a protective barrier that allows white people to maintain their status in society. One of the dangers of colour-blindness and other discourses, such as white privilege and white arrogance, is that it enables white people to perceive racism as "overt acts of blatant discrimination, vicious oppression [and] hate crimes" (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 31) (Green et al, 2007: 406). This conceals the subtler forms of racism in Whiteness, which privileges the white self while (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 31), undermining black people (Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58). This has the potential to lead to the trivialisation of black suffering and enables white people to feel less remorseful and less sympathetic to the experience of black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). Referring to the Willemse incident, Garth, a white 28-year-old business owner noted:

> …to find subtle forms of racism that are actually racist and not someone simply being a prick like Nick Mallett or someone having a bad day or something like that, but being seen through the lens of race, is actually very difficult.

It is quite possible to assume that Willemse might have been having a bad day and took offense at Nick Mallet being a "prick". But if we bring Whiteness theory into the equation, it can be argued that Garth's quote is an example of how, as a white person, he is less accustomed to noticing subtler forms of racism, and that white people often reduce racism to overt acts of racism. It makes sense that Garth criticised Willemse's actions as he did not perceive the situation as being rooted in racism. The next quote from Wayne, a white, 24-year-old teacher and rugby coach can be similarly understood:

> That's what confuses me, if there were so many experts involved and they did find nothing, unless it was the way Nick and Naas were unknowingly being racist, then I think that blatant racism might not have been there then. Then again if it was the unconscious racism, for Ashwin to then react in that way, I can't sympathise with him and say it has been going on for months. Because if you bring in so many experts to find something surely, they would have found something if it was blatant out there and obvious. I think if it was unconscious racism but not blatant then you should have taken a step back and be like ok let me decide on a platform what to do with the situation. I think it's unfortunate that it sorts of backfired for Ashwin a little bit.

Wayne's argument is reasonable, because there is evidence to support his claim: 'experts' were brought in and no racism was found in the incident (Maleka, 2018: 29-33). But as mentioned before, subtle racism is difficult to detect and to perceive as racist (Goldberg, 1990: ix; Downing & Husband, 2005: 8; Chew, 2001: 201; Leach, 2003: 432; Corlett, 1998: 28; Moore, 2008: 139). The same argument can be made for Rick, a 20-year-old, white university student and rugby player:

> I'm leaning towards what Wayne was saying on this. It's a very controversial thing to say, but in a country like South Africa where there are acts of blatant racism that occur, I think one has to be careful not to play the victim too easily and playing the race card. If you do so, you are kind of diminishing the value of that for other people who are actually experiencing racism. If Ashwin is truly guilty of not doing his bloody job and getting

> annoyed because Nick called him out for this, he is doing a disservice to everybody who has suffered that sort of discrimination against them.

Given that no evidence of racism was found in the incident, Rick's argument seems reasonable. But, once again, it can be made sense of through the argument that white people are less sensitive to subtle racism as they reduce acts of racism to blatant racism. It is no surprise that both Rick and Wayne did not perceive racism during the walkout, because their Whiteness and privilege has protected them against racism. Their experiences influenced their perceptions of the Willemse walkout. It made them less prone to perceive subtler forms of racism.

During a conversation about the differences in opinion between black and white people about racism, Brendan a white 49-year-old school principal noted:

> I think also I feel that white people in our country, and myself included, do not understand racism. And I believe that that is part of the problem, and we are defensive, and we tend always to be defensive about it, maybe it's because the way we were brought up.

A similar discussion was held with white, 24-year-old teacher and rugby coach, Wayne and white 28-year-old business owner, Garth, who mentioned the following when talking about the different perceptions of black and white people about the issue:

> I think a reason why most people of colour wouldn't have reacted differently is because in South Africa the chances of a black person having experienced some form of racism is more than of a white person experiencing racism. I don't think white people even know if they have had racist experiences or not. I'm sure if a person of colour experiences racism they will know immediately.
>
> Obviously black people would be able to relate to the situation and think about a time where they were in a similar position. Like how Wayne was saying, maybe Naas and Mallet did say something racist… or what the hell happened off air. Most white people would not be able to relate because they would have had subtle racism happen to them. Or if it does happen to them, it's not in a way that denies them something. It could be name calling or whatever, but it doesn't stop you from doing something as in the case of racism directed at people of color.

All three white participants mentioned that white people are less likely to recognise possible racism directed at them. But on the other hand, black people are more likely to notice racism. This relates back to the lived experiences of black and white people that have influenced their perceptions of certain events. Brendan mentioned that perhaps it was the way he was brought up to get defensive when race issues are discussed. This part relates to white privilege perceived as the norm for white people: they do not perceive the possible racial discrimination it entails and therefore do not perceive that their actions may be offensive to some. Garth mentioned white people would be able to relate to an incident involving possible subtle racism, and Wayne mentioned white people would not know when racism happens to them. Both those statements relate to the safety bubble that is Whiteness and white privilege that protect white people against racial discrimination. For these reasons it is reasonable to assume that black and white people perceived the Willemse incident differently due to the differences in their lived experiences of race and racism.

Theme 2: Language/Voice

Some of the participants in this study also felt that language possibly played a role in the Willemse walkout. They likened their experiences with language to what Willemse may have felt during the walkout and used this as justification for supporting Willemse. For this theme it is important to remember that coloniality of being influences people's perceptions of all events. While black people are faced with most of the negative effects of colonisation and apartheid (Hickson & Kriegler, 1991: 1), Whiteness theory tells us that the colonial and apartheid ideology of white superiority (Dyer, 1997: 2; Green, 2007: 397) is maintained by the privileges that accrued to white people. One of these is the ability to speak and act with authority (Dyer, 1997: 2) and have people believe that they are competent just because of their skin colour (Green et al, 2007: 398). This perceived sense of superiority is described as white arrogance (Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58; Green et al, 2007: 399). An aspect of white arrogance that I did not discuss earlier is that it is prevalent in knowledge construction: whose word is final, valid and legitimate (Green et al, 2007: 399). The apartheid system in South Africa followed hundreds of years of colonialism which created a knowledge system that was predisposed to whites and their way of life, culture and dominance over blacks (James & Lever, 2001: 29; Steyn, 2001: 86-87). In the production of knowledge in South Africa, the English language is favoured, validating speakers of English (Green et al, 2007: 401; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 61; James & Lever, 2001: 51; Hunter & Hachimi: 552; Chew, 2010:

202). This is known as biased linguistic profiling which is relevant for this study because our country is diverse and has 11 official languages and an array of accents. According to Chew's 2010 study, people with fluent English accents were given preferential treatment when inquiring about available apartments (Chew, 2010: 202). In South Africa, White English (Standard English) symbolises "[…] established social capital…" (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 91). Speaking English well increases your chances of access to education at institutions that were previously only available to the white people (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 98). Antoinette Mulller (*Daily Maverick* 2018) writes: "…for many, the barometer of intelligence is still how well somebody speaks or enunciates English, despite South Africa having over 10 official languages". Black speakers of English are often undermined unless their accents are in accordance with white English-speaker accents (Soudien & Botsis, 2011: 98-99).

Afika spoke about what he picked up on, observed, and experienced regarding language and voice in conversations involving white people:

> We also, in our home languages have these languages and tones and meanings and things but the impact of it is not the same because of South Africa's historical past. My banter for example has no power, this all dates back to colonial times and apartheid and the treatment of black people etc. The simple example would be you'll laugh at a Nigerian English accent but you won't laugh at a German English accent or a European English accent for that matter. The European English accents are romanticised, they're romantic but an African English accent it's like we can't speak English or, we're stupid. It becomes comedic relief; we are taking away its legitimacy.

Afika's observation and experience can be made sense of through the lens of colonial white superiority and the sense that English and other European languages possess more value than African ones. From this perspective one could argue that Afika likened his experience to Willemse's, as Willemse speaks with a different accent to that of his white colleagues. Another black participant, Khaya, mentioned the following when speaking about how he perceived being in conversations with white company:

> …as you grow older, you realise that the better English or the more fluent in English you are, the less chances people take with you. Maybe they won't be as overt, as if, let's say I

> couldn't speak English properly. So, the better English you speak the less condescending people are towards you.

Again, there is no evidence to support Khaya's argument. But in the past, black people's intelligence was based on how well they spoke English (Muller, 2018). He likened this treatment of black people as justification to support Willemse. Monde related his experience of how some white teachers responded to the singing of isiXhosa songs during war cries at rugby matches:

> At school we weren't allowed to sing certain war cries, we were told not to sing toyi toyi or protest songs.

Monde perceived being told not to sing toyi toyi songs as a devaluation of isiXhosa, since many songs of struggle during the apartheid regime were sung in Nguni languages. Monde's perception was that some of the white teachers did not understand the lyrics of the isiXhosa songs and assumed that they were protest songs, because they were in isiXhosa and involved dancing. Ludwe, responded to Monde:

> It goes back to the linguistic profiling I spoke about. They wanted us to sing Swing low, sweet chariot. First of all, we are majority black.

Ludwe's perception resonates with aspects of Whiteness theory regarding white arrogance and biased-linguistic profiling. He assumes that more value was placed on English songs than that of isiXhosa songs. Khaya's experiences of how his home language was received by some of the white teachers at the two schools he attended was similar:

> At St Andrews for example, I feel you going back to liberal views, as opposed to blatant racism. If you speak isiXhosa at St Andrews, they'll say to you very nicely that, this is an English school, we encourage you to challenge yourself to start speaking English. At Graeme on the other hand, you speak isiXhosa, and you get told "Hey! Don't come speak that language here! detention!" It gets treated as 'that' language, that tribalist, animalistic, uncivilised language.

Odwa's perception of previous observations involving the treatment of panelists who speak with different African English accents, seem to resonate with Khaya's perception:

> Ntini and Ashwin share something, because of their accents and because they make a point in a certain manner, they don't get taken seriously. People don't listen to Ntini.

Odwa is referring to Ntini, a former Protea cricketer and now a cricket commentator, who speaks with an isiXhosa accent. He infers that because Willemse and Ntini speak with accents, their analyses are treated as mundane. This is arguably another example of how their different accents and versions of English are devalued.

Khaya also mentioned the following in reference to his observations of being in a majority white company:

> I found that you always have to find your legitimacy in white spaces, like in class meetings accent is one of them and when they hear you speak English their attitudes change, they become nicer.

This experience arguably influenced the way he perceived the Willemse walkout:

> The thing is they're undermining Ashwin. Perhaps they wouldn't undermine someone who was exactly like them, someone who speaks English like them, if not better. Because Ashwin speaks different, for example, he says 'Sarks' instead of 'Sharks', now they're using that as a marker of his intelligence and knowledge of the sport.

In the previous quote, Khaya mentioned that the attitudes of the white people in the company changed when they hear certain black people speak English with white fluent accents. He perceived that the black people in the white company were undermined because they did not have white, fluent English accents. This is possibly why he related it to the Willemse incident and why he supported Willemse.

Theme 3: Victim mentality/Unprofessional conduct

Many white participants in this study perceived reasons other than race to be the cause of the Willemse walkout. These other reasons include Willemse having a victim mentality, being silly, or simply being 'unprofessional' in the workplace. These white participants used these reasons to justify their critique of Willemse. I would like to argue that these alternative reasons for the Willemse walkout are also influenced by lived experiences and the differences of coloniality of being between black and white people. We have seen in previous quotes that many of the white participants in the study have not been victims of racial prejudice; we have also seen that they have difficulty recognising subtle racism. This could be because of white privilege that allows white people social mobility without the threat of racial discrimination

(Green et al, 2007: 394). This has enabled white people to feel comfortable and content with their cultural and racial identity, because their whiteness and culture is perceived as the norm and therefore not visible to them (Green et al, 2007: 395; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 58; Dyer, 1997: 2). In contrast, many black South Africans are concerned with how they are viewed by others, a consequence of a history of subordination sustained by derogatory terms like 'kaffir', and the imposition of other racial stereotypes (Dommisse, 2016: 53, James & Lever, 2001: 51).

Another reason why the white participants would perceive the incident through a lens other than race is because of the subtle racism of colour-blindness and blame spread, both of which are explained in the literature. To recap, colour-blindness occurs when Whiteness asserts that after colonialism and apartheid everyone is on equal footing. "Morally unequal positions are treated as if all parties carry equal accountability; the damage caused to white psyches by their racism creates an equal victim status for the perpetrators as the deep wounds inflicted on black South Africans through apartheid and colonialism" (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 29-30). Colour-blindness disregards the impact racialisation had on South African people, enabling racism (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 29; Van Dijk, 1992: 96; Moodley & Adam, 2000: 56). What Whiteness also does is spread blame, rather than acknowledging and accepting its role in colonisation. This makes black suffering seem trivial (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). The trivialisation of black suffering enables white people to feel less remorseful and sympathetic to the experience of black people (Steyn & Foster, 2008: 32). In the live television broadcast, the anchor, a black woman (Miss Motshidisi Mohono), seemingly pronounces that the discussions between the trio of experts (Willemse, Botha and Mallet) was proceeding according to plan.

This can be seen in an interview with white participant, Brendan:

> Taking into consideration the lady's response, at the end she said, "Things went well up to now", I was prejudiced by that comment, and I immediately took the stance that maybe Willemse is overreacting, or he is defensive, and he is now using the race card to cover.

Brendan's being influenced by Miss Mohono's statement at the end of the broadcast is reasonable. It can be argued that he had no reason to look past the evidence that was portrayed on television as his white privilege did not allow him to notice anything other than what was presented to him. This white privilege makes it difficult to detect possible racial discrimination. It can also be argued

that Brendan's understanding that Willemse played the race card as a defensive reaction, was Willemse playing the victim. These reasons resonate with blame spread which is rooted in Whiteness. A similar view was taken by Ryan, a white 59-year-old school principal, during a discussion about the Willemse walkout:

> I'm sorry to say this but I will be quite honest about it, I thought Willemse was being foolish, to walk off the stage like that. It's really not a very good example for *SuperSport*, as I love *SuperSport*. And at that stage I really think it was foolish.

It is reasonable to assume that Willemse's reaction may have been foolish as it was not part of the running order of the day (Maleka, 2018: 19-20). It can be argued that Ryan perceived the incident this way due to white privilege, as it protects white people from racial discrimination, making them less sensitive towards what is perceived as racial prejudice.

The following five quotes are from white participants who provided possible insight to the stances they took against Willemse.

Garth noted:

> Well, my initial reaction was that that is a hell of a strange way to behave. I didn't form an opinion straight away. I had the same inclinations as Wayne and thought maybe something had happened before. But then as it turned out, it was like, you know a school kid, who is part of a group project, who didn't do any work and gets put on the spot and gets defensive as a reaction.

There is no evidence to support the implication Garth makes that Willemse did not do his job correctly, but this was his perception of the incident. He also perceived Willemse to be childish. It is arguable that Garth's white privilege arguably prevented him from seeing anything other than Willemse being childish and incompetent in the workplace

Wayne took a similar stance:

> How I understood it, it seemed that Ashwin had been quite unprofessional leading up to the incident, in terms of taking extended lunch breaks and not coming back on time. And when it was his turn to speak in studio, he would always pass it on to Nick Mallet and Naas Botha, just to get himself out of trouble so that he doesn't look unprepared when it is his turn to speak. I think the reason for him reacting in that way I mean you'll hear Mallet

saying, “Ashwin you speak” and Ashwin thought “oh no, I came in late and I'm unprepared and I'm gonna be seen as unprepared”. I thought that's why he reacted like that to get himself out of it. So initially I was on Ashwin’s side but retrospectively I think it was just an ugly excuse because you are unprepared and because of you being unprofessional going that route to cover up your errors.

Tom agreed:

I can 100% see someone acting the way Ashwin did purely on a heated moment of reaction without prior thought. There was probably some prior build-up, I mean we read the emails saying that Nick doesn't want to work with Ashwin, so perhaps Ashwin did feel a level of victim mentality, feeling picked on because Nick Mallett didn't want to be in the same team as him. Whether it was right or not, I'm leaning towards saying I'm still on Nick Mallett’s side, for saying, “look mate if you're not doing your job I don't want to be on the same team as you”. I think, then him playing the victim, is incorrect, rather than looking at yourself and saying, “shit maybe I shouldn't take a smoke break while I'm getting paid to watch rugby, it's by the grace of *SuperSport* that I still have a job”.

Rick assumes the position of Nick and Naas unquestioningly:

I think Nick and Naas are quite intense professional people. They have run a pretty tight ship their whole lives and I think they operate in a certain way and if you don't fit in the way that they operate they gonna let you know about it. I think that they'll be very vocal about things that don't sit well with them. Even if they had been vocal about stuff that led up to that week, this is the way it's gonna be done and this is how you're gonna do it and if you don't want to do it this way, we don't want you to be part of our team. And I know they aren't the ones meant to make that call but it is also their reputations on the line because it's their faces on TV, they are there as the public image and I mean it's two very respectable people. Naas was one of the best rugby players South Africa's ever produced and Mallet was one of the best coaches we have ever had.

Jared unquestioningly uses ‘professionalism’ as a reason to support Botha and Mallet:

I just felt that coming out and doing it on live TV, it was just really unprofessional, and it brought *SuperSport*, Naas Botha and Nick Mallett into disrepute. Because nobody really

had a grasp of the full story and most people's initial reactions were something racist was said so I just felt that there were better ways to deal with it than outing them on live TV.

The above four quotations present reasonable arguments about why some of the white participants were critical of Willemse's behaviour. But if one analyses them from the perspective of Whiteness theory one could argue that white privilege and colour-blindness underpin their positions. There is no clear evidence to support Willemse's claims. Notwithstanding this, the black participants were able to relate to his feelings, whereas the white participants, for the most part, could not identify racial prejudice or racial discrimination towards Willemse. This is arguably due to the differences in their coloniality of being. White privilege possibly blinded white participants to Willemse's experiences.

Critique of the Maleka report

Following the Willemse incident media outcry, *SuperSport* carried out an investigation of the incident to see whether or not racism was involved (Maleka, 2018: 4). The investigation was led by a black[10] advocate, Vincent Maleka, instructed by Webber Wentzel Attorneys. He found no evidence of overt nor subtle racism in the incident (Maleka, 2018: 29-33). However, Willemse's accusation was that "he felt undermined and patronised" by his fellow panellists, Nick Mallet and Naas Botha (Desai, 2018:1). Desai (2018: 3) argues that the methods of the investigation were controversial, as the experts spent more time looking for overt racism than addressing Willemse's accusation, which is likely to be rooted in subtle racism. One of the experts on race and racism that Maleka relied on was Professor Adam Habib (Maleka, 2018: 15-16). After reviewing the audio-visual footage of Willemse Walkout, Maleka asked Habib, "whether the conduct of Messrs Botha and Mallet manifests subtle racism?" (Maleka, 2018: 18, 33) Professor Habib mentioned that subtle racism manifests itself in two ways, "there are two subtle versions of this. One that is intended and one that is not" (Habib in Maleka report, 2018: 33). Habib went on to mention that intentional subtle racism occurs when "malevolent intent" is involved in the conduct of the accused (Maleka, 2018: 33). Unintentional racism occurs when the accused is not implicitly aware that

[10] "Black people is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Government Gazette Act No. 55. 1998 Employment Equity Act 1998, 1998: 6)

they are exercising their white privilege, accrued to them, as a result of South Africa's historical past (Maleka, 2018: 33).

Desai (2018:5) critiques Professor Adam Habib's role in the investigation, stating that his answers regarding the Willemse incident and the question posed by Maleka, "[were] delinked from context and expressed in generalities and does not purport any evidence." It appears that Professor Habib only described, in his opinion, how subtle racism manifests itself. Therefore, Desai's critique suggests that Maleka used Professor Habib's explanation about what subtle racism is, to conclude that no racism was found in the incident (Maleka, 2018: 34). Willemse's accusation of being patronised and undermined by his co-hosts could well mean that their treatment of Willemse contained subtle racism which is difficult to detect and provide evidence of (Goldberg, 1990: ix; Downing & Husband, 2005: 8; Chew, 2001: 201; Leach, 2003: 432; Corlett, 1998: 28; Moore, 2008: 139).

The report disclosed that there was no prior antagonism between the panelists that could have caused Willemse to walk off set, despite evidence of the email that Mallet wrote to the executive producers of *SuperSport*, about Willemse, on the 06 of October 2016, nearly two years prior to the walkout, stating:

> I really enjoy working with 'Bobs' and Xola, Scott. They are a real pleasure. Xola asks very good questions and Bobs knows enough about rugby to produce interesting clips for discussion. Unlike with the complex, Ashwin, there are no agendas. It would be great if Ashwin could be moved to the morning show where we don't have to work together. I think he talks garbage; we irritate the hell out of each other, and the working environment is just unpleasant and tense. I am very happy to work with Breyton, Shimmy or Bobs instead as, unlike Ashwin, I respect their hard work and rugby opinions (Nick Mallet in the Maleka report, 2018: 23).

Based on Mallet's email, one could argue that there are unresolved issues between him and Willemse, despite the findings in the report. Based on the theories covered in the literature review, one could argue that there are undertones of white privilege involved in the email. For example, what does he mean by describing Ashwin as 'complex' or 'having an agenda'? The black participants, supportive of Willemse, could perhaps notice these undertones from the perspective

that all the names that Mallet mentions in the email, besides Scott, are black people that Mallet would rather work with, other than Willemse. This infers that Mallet feels comfortable with 'Bobs', 'Shimmy', Breyton, and Xola, but not with Willemse. From this perspective, the Willemse supporters in this study, arguably perceived Mallet's email as pitting 'good blacks' against 'bad blacks'. Perhaps Willemse is the kind of black person that does not fit into Mallet's view of what a black person 'should be'. Furthermore, you could argue that those supportive of Willemse perceived Mallet's email as a sign of white privilege, because he has no place making these suggestions about personnel allocation: it is the job of the producers of the show (Maleka, 2018: 19). On the other hand, based on the view that white privilege is invisible to white people, one could argue that the white participants in this study critical of Willemse simply perceived the email as a voiced concern over a poor working relationship with a colleague, unaware of the possible subtle racist undertones that the black participants perceived (Green et al, 2007: 390; Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 116; Steyn & Foster, 2008: 30; Verwey & Quayle, 2012: 556; Moodely & Adam, 2000: 58; Steyn, 2001: 88; Dyer, 1997: 2).

Page 39 of the report notes that Mallet had corrected Willemse's use of the English language (Maleka, 2018: 39), illustrating further hostility between Mallet and Botha. In my opinion, one could argue that the Willemse supporters in this study perceived Mallet's correcting of Willemse's English as evidence of biased linguistic profiling and white arrogance. This perception infers that Mallet places his version of English as the dominant, more valuable version, thereby undermining Willemse's version of English. But the white participants critical of Willemse could perceive Mallet's actions as a kind and helpful gesture. The white participants may be oblivious to the subtle racist undertones due to the contrasting lived experiences between black and white people in the South Africa. As Antoinette Muller writes: "For many, the barometer of intelligence is still how well somebody speaks or enunciates English, despite South Africa having over 10 official languages" (*Daily Maverick* 2018).

Another point of interest in the report is that prior to the walk off, Mallet and Botha both expressed concern over Willemse not having had time to express his views on the match (Maleka, 2018: 25-27). As a result, they insisted that Willemse should speak first at the post match analysis (Maleka, 2018: 25-27). Willemse was not impressed with this suggestion, stating that he did not find the gesture "amusing" as Botha and Mallet laughed at him while making the suggestion (Maleka,

2018: 25-27). Informed by the theories of whiteness, racism, and colonialism covered in this study, it's possible to infer that Mallet and Botha had their own agenda in asking Willemse to speak first--which Willemse was aware of. Willemse may well have perceived their suggestion as benevolence-based racism, and facetious given that they laughed while making the gesture, despite Willemse indicating that he did not find any of it funny. Furthermore, Mallet and Botha's suggestions were ones only the production manager and studio directors should make (Maleka, 2018: 19), but perhaps their sense of white privilege made it possible for them to make these suggestions to their superior, despite all three analysts possessing equal authority during that broadcast. Not recognising their white privilege, the white participants critical of Willemse could perceive Mallet and Botha's suggestions as generous and kind.

Another significant point from the report comes towards the end:

> …*SuperSport* took the view that black analysts should be preferred to operate the touchscreen because of its sophistication and in order to undermine the publicly held view that they do not have the technical skill-set or craft to operate the sophisticated equipment such as the touch-screen and to telestrate through it… (Maleka, 2018: 47-48)

Although the message in the quotation above has good intentions, it could come across as undermining and humiliating. If one looks at it from the perspective of the black touch-screen operator, one could argue that s/he would feel uncomfortable if the only reason they are there is to prove to people that they have the competence to do the job. On the other hand, her/his white colleagues are assumed to have the skills to operate the touchscreen. This too can be argued to be rooted in benevolence-based racism.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the responses of the participants regarding their perceptions of the Willemse walkout. Informed by the theories of whiteness, racism, colonialism, responses were discussed to help make sense of why black and white participants in this study were either supportive or critical of Willemse, regarding the walkout. The chapter also theoretically critiques the Maleka report that forms a major part of this study. The next chapter will conclude by providing an overall discussion of the findings of this research project.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis is a critical reflection on what transpired on 19 May 2018 when Ashwin Willemse, a coloured Springbok rugby player, shocked viewers by unexpectedly walking off the *SuperSport* set during a live television discussion. He accused his white co-hosts Nick Mallet and Naas Botha of patronising him (*SABC News, 2018; Eyewitness News*, 2018). In the live broadcast, Willemse said that during his Springbok career he had been labelled a 'quota player' (*SABC News*, 2018; *Eyewitness News*, 2018), implying that his selection was not based on merit, but rather on post-1994 politics that required that black players be included in national sports teams (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008: 810).

I probed possible reasons why "…two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities" (Jansen as cited by Maleka, 2018: 4)? I explored and analysed the diverse racialised responses to the 'Willemse walkout' through theories of race and coloniality of being.

Purposive sampling enabled me to investigate possible differences in opinions from a racial perspective. When analysing the data, I discovered that most black participants supported Willemse's actions, and most white participants disagreed with his behaviour. This became apparent when I explored the subjectivities the interviewees brought to their engagement with the *SuperSport* text and explored how these could be a consequence of their past experiences and socialisation. Responses to the Willemse incident reflected racial divisions in the country. From the interviews and surveys of *Twitter* comments, it appeared that many white South Africans criticised Willemse's behaviour, while many black South Africans stated that they could identify with his response to the subtle racisms experienced in everyday life, and which he claimed to have experienced on the *SuperSport* program (*SABC News*, 2018; *Eyewitness News*, 2018). This could be ascribed to our racialised experiences based on the histories of colonialism and apartheid that shape our interpretations of social events.

Due to the reference Willemse made regarding the "quota system" in South African sport I also tried to probe the views of the two racially different interview groups in this regard. Since the legal end of apartheid in 1994 legislative steps were taken to redress the inequalities of the past. Sports organisations were pressured to find ways of incorporating black players into national teams (Mnyanda, 2016). The 'quota system' was regarded by some as a means of redressing the non-

selection of black players in national sports teams (Mnyanda, 2016), but it was contested (SA Rugby Mag, 2019). South Africans in favour of it argue that without it black sportspeople would have found it difficult to represent their country (SA Rugby Mag, 2019). But those opposing it argue that it raises questions about the competence of black sportspeople, implying that their selection is not based on merit (SA Rugby Mag, 2019). The views of my two interview groups are consistent with the statements contained in *SA Rugby Mag 2019*. Very interestingly, both groups were of the view that the quota system mostly benefitted black learners attending Model C and private schools.

While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to explore all the ways in which we are socialised and how these inform our political beliefs that in turn shape our consumption of journalistic content including rugby analysis on television, it is important to remark on the relationship between race and class. Black and white participants suggest that even if a quota system existed in practice, poor and working-class black South Africans remain excluded from opportunities for self-realisation and development.

Willemse is not, of course, someone who comes from a well-off family. But many of the professional black players in South Africa, at provincial and national level, are either from middle-class families or were given opportunities through rare sporting bursaries to attend private schools, such as Springbok captain, Siya Kolisi. Future research into the broader issues that this thesis has uncovered would require dedicated focus on how racialised identities intersect in a more textured way with other identity markers, such as the issue of class prejudice, which often plays second-fiddle to race in both academic and public discussions about South African life. It was not the aim of this thesis to offer that intersectionality here, but it is important to note the opportunity for future research and thereby do justice to the complexity of the viewpoints of all focus group participants. The views of my interviewees cannot be *reduced* to race even if racialism was evidently an important shadow.

I also tried to find out whether racism could have been a possible cause for the Willemse walkout. My data suggested a major difference in opinion between the two groups. The black participants detected elements of racism in the Willemse incident, whereas most of the white participants identified other possible reasons that led to Willemse walking off the *SuperSport* set. The groups had a common understanding of racism and were able to express their views from an informed point of view.

Education, however, does not make one immune to the influences of socialisation. It is difficult to resist inferring those different opinions – all reasonably expressed - existed in large part *because* of the subjectivities of blacks and whites, with few exceptions. The opinions if the participants in the study are still largely formed in ways that re-inscribe the racialised identities and differences of the colonial and apartheid eras in post-apartheid South African public discourse. Our racial history, if the responses of my interviewees are taken as a small but not unimportant snapshot of the society within which they are embedded, still haunts us. It is a separate question whether this or that group has the "correct" set of convictions about Willemse. My first duty, as researcher, was to understand the formation of these differences and to offer critiques of the content of the responses. To that end, it was crucial, as I did in the middle chapters, to walk a mile in the shoes of all the participants and thereby tell the stories of how they came to hold the starkly different viewpoints that they have.

The findings based on the views of my two interview groups did not suggest that either of the two were correct, but rather that their respective realities and histories accounted for their differences in opinion.

I did, however, point out that the final die in this matter had not been cast, because despite the Maleka report (2018: 2-3), this matter has now been referred to the Human Rights Commission (HRC) and much will still be said in this regard. Discussion about racism is contested, even at the level of academic debate about what racism is, and so the findings of even a reputable lawyer are almost certainly unlikely to be taken by everyone as the only authoritative, let alone final, take on the matter.

Odwa, one of the black participants in the study, may well be prophetic when he says the incident offers a public marker of the forces at play:

> … that moment will be there forever for us to see. Even if we don't see the significance of it now, these things, history repeats itself. This will happen again, and we can look back at the walk out and say it's a significant moment in our history.

That response from my interviewee has also, upon reflection at the end of this project, led me to an insight that I could not have had at the beginning of this academic journey. The findings and analysis of the Willemse incident in this study will themselves not be static, and in future research it will be interesting and important to make sense of media content and to analyse apparent or alleged racism.

Reception analysis, qualitative content analysis, and the consideration of the respondents' 'inscribed subject positions' allowed me to examine the different perspectives that could arise from interacting with the respondents (Mabweazara, 57: 2006). These bolstered the methodologies and findings I described above.

Possible importance of this study?

This research is important for several reasons. I will mention two that particularly stood out for me. The first one is that interracial relations will continue to be a matter that society grapples with for a long time to come. This is based on the evidence of the young interviewees, showing evidence of how the histories of colonialism and apartheid, could make us interpret the same event, such as the 'Willemse walkout', so differently.

The second point I would like to note is that black and white people need to have a lot more open and honest conversations about issues of race and racism. During these conversations they should allow each other to speak; they should listen to one another carefully and attempt to understand one another. They will become more sensitive and sympathetic towards one another. If these conversations do not take place, destructive and discriminatory race ideologies will continue to exist in the daily lives of black and white people. Of course, dialogue is necessary, but not sufficient. Participants noted that mostly the privileged will continue to get opportunities to develop themselves and be picked for top sporting sides, unless the state and non-state actors such as business and civil society organisations, pay attention to material inequities and close those gaps. Racialised differences of opinion will find fertile ground in a South Africa that is not economically just and equitable.

And so, I concur with Mashau (2018) who argues:

> something which is missing in our public square where it is almost difficult to talk about race issues without evoking the 'us' and 'them' divides. (Mashau, 2018: 2)

In proposing a way forward, Snyman (2015: 421) encourages:

> '…white people [and black people] to engage in a journey [together] where they are able to critically analyse the power of whiteness within whiteness itself'.

Limitations

There are a few noteworthy limitations that I would like to mention. I acknowledge that there are possible biographical details that may have influenced the way I conducted and interpreted this research. I am classified coloured and have a working-class or lower middle-class family background that may have made my white interview participants less open and honest during interviews, thinking that their honest opinions about the 'Willemse walkout' might be offensive to me. However, I tried to make them as comfortable as possible by asking funneling questions at first, and so forming a rapport that enabled them to experience the setting as a 'safety container' within which they could be authentic.

Having attended a multi-racial, former Model-C school, I am fluent in the cultural grammar of South Africans of different backgrounds and so I could connect with many interviewees in ways that are not awkwardly mediated or constrained by our superficial identity differences.

Another limitation involved the COVID 19 pandemic. I had to reduce the number of focus groups from three to two. I first started interviews with respondents on the 26th of March 2020. At this stage South Africa was on the verge of implementing a lockdown in response to the COVID 19 pandemic. By the time I got to my second focus interview, the lockdown restrictions progressed to level 4. This meant that people were reluctant to meet in groups, face to face, to prevent the spread of the virus. The first focus group interview I did was face to face, and I wanted to maintain the consistency in that regard.

The reluctance of people wanting to meet face to face also meant that I could only manage four willing participants for the focus group against Willemse. Whereas the group in support of Willemse had six participants. Nevertheless, the findings recorded and analysed in the last two chapters reflect a granular analysis of the viewpoints that still allowed for substantive academic work to be done during the study

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Appendices

Appendix A – Interview schedule

Focus Group Interviews

1. Please tell me your name and age?
2. Where did you go to school? In which area?
3. Do you enjoy sport? What do you like most about it?
4. What sports did you play at school? Why did you choose to play this particular sport?
5. Do your parents play sports?
6. What sports do you like to follow?
7. Who are your favourite sports players?
8. How do you follow sport through radio? TV? Who are your favourite presenters and why?
9. Do you watch SuperSport? If so, when do you most watch this sports channel?

Desai
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xV65gX5N8fE&t=92s

Mckaiser 702
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UjTCP_vAF8c

Mallet*

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uIokAKGLSGE

play the video
https://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/ashwin-willemse-walks-off-supersport-set-after-clash-with-nick-mallett-naas-botha-15060968

https://www.iol.co.za/weekend-argus/ashwin-willemse-walks-off-supersport-set-after-clash-with-nick-mallett-naas-botha-15060968

10. What was your initial reaction when after you saw the Willemse walkout?
11. How do you guys make sense of what happened in this particular incident? In your understanding, what do you think triggered Willemse's response?
12. Do you feel connected to the incident? If so, in what way?
13. Given your understanding of the incident, give me your thoughts on the way Willemse conducted himself? What are your thoughts on the way Willemse handled the situation?
14. How would you have handled the situation if you were in Willemse's position? Why?
15. Are you aware of how SuperSport as a broadcaster handled the situation?
16. Why do you think SuperSport handled the situation in the way that it did?
17. How should SuperSport have handled the situation?
18. What is your opinion of affirmative action in SA and the quota system?
19. How could these policies be improved?
20. Why do you think black people felt one way about what happened?
21. Why do you think white people felt another way about the incident?
22. In what way is this incident representative of South Africa?
23. What do you think can be done to improve the racial divisions in the country?
24. Do you think sport has unified SA or is that a myth?

Individual interviews

1. What city were you born in, describe your childhood home and where it was?
2. What was your schooling/university/work experiences like, regarding racial divisions and the treatment of black students and yourself?
3. Have you had people doubting your competence in the workplace, academically or on the sports field, because of the colour of your skin and can you talk us through such an encounter?
4. How did these doubters make you feel as a person and as a person?
5. How did you deal with …or overcome these types of perceptions about yourself?
6. In your opinion how much more difficult is it for people of colour to succeed professionally/as a sportsperson in this country and why?

7. Do you feel that you always have to prove yourself in the classroom, workplace or sports field, feeling that you as a black player are easily replaceable?
8. Was there ever a time when you forgot about race, when you felt that you are not being judged based on skin colour, when was this and what was your outlook on life back then compared to now?
9. Have you encountered overt racism (racial slurs) and if so how did this make you feel as a person and how did you react and deal with it?
10. How did this impact on you as a black person?
11. Talk me through some of the significant racist experiences in your life?
12. What inequalities between black and white people have you observed in your lifetime?
13. What do you think white privilege is? How does it work?
14. Why does white privilege exist, what maintains white privilege, despite the end of apartheid?
15. What can be done to eradicate the negative perceptions people have about black people in the country?
16. Do you think the quota system and affirmative action policies have positive or negative effects on black people and can you elaborate on your answer?
17. Have you had any encounters or experiences that made you feel that you are a quota player, can you talk us through this please?
18. Do you ever feel that you are being treated differently from you white colleagues and can you talk me through an example?
19. What do you think the future holds for young black people in this country?
20. How do you think their experiences will be different from yours when you were their age?
21. In your opinion why are subtle forms of racism difficult to detect and warrant as racist?
22. How do you think this impacted on the way you responded to the Willemse walkout?

Appendix B - ERAS

Important Information

Please complete this application form if:

- You are a Rhodes staff, Post-Doctoral fellow, student or Honorary appointee (with a Rhodes login);
- Your research involves human participants;
- You have read the RUESC Handbook and are aware of the requirements for ethical approval;
- You have not applied for ethical approval from an ethical approval body external to Rhodes;

If you have applied to an ethical approval body external to Rhodes, please complete the **External Ethics Approval check form** first, and wait for an outcome from RUESC-HE before completing this form.

NB: ALL FIELDS ARE MANDATORY AND MUST BE COMPLETED. WHEN COMPLETING THE FORM REFER TO THE "INFORMATION BUBBLE" PROVIDED ON THE TOP RIGHT-HAND CORNER OF SELECTED QUESTIONS. THESE PROVIDE GUIDANCE ON HOW TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION.

External Ethics Approval

Have you applied for ethics approval from an external ethics approval body?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

Project Title

Title (max. 20 words)

Exploring the diverse racialized responses to the 'Ashwin Willemse incident' through theories of race and colonialty of being.

Type of Research Project

Indicate the type of research project

- ○ Rhodes University Staff Research Project
- ◉ Student Research Project

Level of Student Research

Masters

Funding Source

How will the research be funded?

- [x] Self-funded
- [ ] Publicly funded
- [ ] Privately funded

Project Duration

Approximate Date when data collection will commence

27/03/2020

Duration in number of months

7

To continue

Please click on the NEXT arrow in the left hand panel

Principal Investigator Details (Supervisor)

Rhodes University Principal Researcher (Supervisor)

Title	First Name	Surname
Prof.	Larry	Strelitz

Organisation	Rhodes University
Department	Journalism and Media Studies
Faculty	Humanities
Qualification	PhD
Telephone	0828056995
Email	l.strelitz@ru.ac.za

Student Details

Title	First Name	Surname
Mr	Abner	Accom

Organisation	Rhodes University
Department	Journalism and Media Studies
Faculty	Humanities
Qualification	BJourn
Telephone	0836594579
Email	abneraccom@gmail.com

Collaborator Details (Co-Supervisor)

Are there any collaborators?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Does the proposed research involve other Rhodes staff as collaborators?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Title	First Name	Surname
Prof.	Lynette	Steenveld

Organisation	Rhodes University
Department	Journalism and Media Studies
Faculty	Humanities
Qualification	PhD
Telephone	0825890885
Email	l.steenveld@ru.ac.za

Does the proposed research involve collaboration with external research partner(s)?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

What is the scope of this collaboration?

- ☑ Local
- ☐ National
- ☐ International

To continue

Please click the NEXT arrow in the left hand panel

Description of the Research

Please select the primary departmental/faculty associated with this research:

Journalism & Media Studies

Provide an abstract indicating the purpose and rationale of your proposed research (300 words exclude any references)

This thesis aimed to suggest a probable answer to Jonathan Jansen's question regarding the Ashwin Willemse walkout: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities?" The thesis anticipated this by exploring and analysing the diverse racialised responses to the 'Willemse walkout' through race theories and coloniality of being.
Qualitative research methods were used in the form of a reception analysis involving two racially homogenous (black and white) focus group interviews, and in-depth individual interviews with black focus group participants. The reception analysis was coupled with a qualitative content analysis on tweets from black and white commentators who had opinions about the 'Willemse walkout'.

List each method of data collection

A qualitative methodology was used, as its interests lie in the processes of meaning making (Bryman, 2012: 380). The qualitative methodology combined focus group discussions, in-depth individual interviews, and a qualitative content analysis of a sample of Twitter comments that appeared in the media after the incident. Two purposefully sampled focus groups were used in a reception analysis to probe how different groups of individuals came to different conclusions about the 'Willemse walkout.' Reception analysis argues that interpretations are produced by audiences who circulate their meanings in society (Jensen, 1988: 3). Importantly, there is the recognition that audiences come to texts already inscribed in subject positions, which are shaped by social and historical factors - in this case apartheid and colonisation (Morley & Brunsdon, 1999: 293-295). Reception analysis links the audiences' 'inscribed subject positions' and their responses to the 'Willemse walkout', allowing the researcher to compare the "media discourses and content structures with the structure of audience responses regarding the content" (Mabweazara, 2006: 56).

I conducted a qualitative content analysis on 11 purposively selected tweets that I first came across in the comments section of the articles on the SABC websites, from May 2018, available at: http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/support-pours-in-for-ashwin-willemse/. These tweets were from black and white Twitter commentators and it gave me an idea how they perceived the 'Willemse walkout'.

Using reception analysis, qualitative content analysis, and considering the respondents' 'inscribed subject positions' allowed me to examine the different perspectives that could arise from interacting with the respondents, and how the text might inform them (Mabweazara, 57: 2006).
Purposeful snowball sampling was used to select subjects supportive of Willemse's actions and subjects critical of his actions. The subjects were limited to Grahamstown residents who have sporting backgrounds, who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the Willemse walkout incident, and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa. Two focus groups were used, those who opposed the actions of Ashwin Willemse and those who supported his actions.

To enable discussion and help link the audience's 'inscribed subject positions' to their responses to the 'Willemse walkout,' video footage of the 'Willemse walkout' was made available. In the second stage of the reception analysis, I conducted two in-depth individual interviews with members of the focus groups to probe their responses more deeply.

To continue:

Please click the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Research Activities of the study

Which of the following activities does this research involve:

- ☑ Interaction with human participants
- ☐ Observation of public behaviour
- ☐ The collection of personal artefacts
- ☐ Accessing personal records containing private and/or confidential information (e.g. Student records, Medical records, Facebook posts)
- ☑ Accessing information already published in the public domain (e.g.Newspaper articles)
- ☐ Other

Interaction with human participants

Provide a comprehensive description of: (a) the nature of the interaction(s); (b) their frequency and duration; (c) the procedure(s) involved (max 500 words)

a) Two purposefully sampled focus groups will be used in a reception analysis to probe how different groups of individuals came to different conclusions about the Willemse walkout. Snowball sampling will be used to select subjects supportive of Willemse's actions and subjects critical of Willemse's actions. The subjects will be limited to Grahamstown, to those who have sporting backgrounds, who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the Willemse walkout incident and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa. A sample size of five individuals per focus group will be used. The two focus groups will be racially homogenous. In the second stage of the research I will conduct two in-depth individual interviews with members of the focus groups to probe their responses more deeply.

b) I intend on meeting with each of the focus groups once for about 4 hours. For the individual interviews I intend on meeting each one of the subjects once for about two hours.

c)To enable discussion in the focus groups, video footage of the Willemse walkout will be shown to the focus group participants. In an attempt to get the best responses from the participants, the researcher selected a setting that he deemed to be impartial, accessible, and comfortable. My role as the researcher involved helping the participants feel relaxed in their surroundings before starting the interviewing process. I made sure I got consent from all of my research participants.
Before the interviews started, I explained to the participants both the interview process and what was required of them. I also reminded them that they still had the option of not participating.

As the researcher, I will play a facilitative role and ask semi-structured questions. During the individual interviews I will conduct one-on one interviews with members of the focus groups to probe their response more deeply.

Attach a draft copy of the proposed interview schedule and/or survey questionnaire and/or description of the assessment task and/or copy of the observation schedule etc. as applicable

Documents

Type	Document Name	File Name	Version Date	Version	Size
Schedule	Interview schedule	Interview schedule.docx	10/03/2020	2	23.5 KB

How will subjects be recruited? (max 100 words)

Purposeful snowball sampling was used to select subjects supportive of Willemse's actions and subjects critical of his actions. The subjects were limited to Grahamstown residents who have sporting backgrounds, who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the Willemse walkout incident, and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa. Two focus groups were used, those who opposed the actions of Ashwin Willemse and those who supported his actions.
I already have initial respondents in mind that I have identified whilst playing sports with them. Initial contact with them will be made in the following way: face to face, through Whatsapp, Facebook, Email or phone-call.

Indicate the Minimum/Maximum sample size required. Clearly motivate for the sample size interval you have chosen, e.g. by providing a relevant literature reference. (max 500 words)

The purpose of a sample group in qualitative research is to "acquire information that is useful for understanding the complexity, depth, variation or context surrounding a phenomenon, rather than to represent a population as in quantitative research" (Gentles et al, 2015: 1782). In this light, my sample size of six individuals for the group supportive of Willemse and four individuals for the group against Willemse was appropriate for the study. As I progressed with my data gathering, so did the levels of COVID 19 restrictions. At time I conducted the interview with the focus group supportive of Willemse, COVID 19 restrictions did not exist. This made it easier to gather participants. By the time I conducted the interview with participants against Willemse, the country was under level four of COVID 19 restrictions. People became reluctant to partake in face to face focus group interviews. Therefore I could only manage four participants for the group against Willemse.

Due to the unforeseen COVID 19 pandemic, I had to reduce my number of focus group interviews from three to two. Two purposefully sampled focus groups were used in a reception analysis to probe how black and white groups of individuals came to different conclusions about the 'Willemse walkout'. To gather participants for the focus groups I used Snowball sampling. Snowball sampling involves asking initial participants if they know anyone with similar views or situations as them to participate in the research process (Naderifar et al, 2017: 2). This sampling method was used to select participants supportive of Willemse's actions and participants critical of Willemse's actions.The participants were limited to Grahamstown residents who have sporting backgrounds, who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the 'Willemse incident', and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa. The participants were limited to these criteria because this would provide the researcher with the most relevant data to achieve the goal of answering Jonathan Jansen's question.

I decided to conduct two in-depth individual interviews with members of the black focus group. The participants were purposively selected based on their articulation and enthusiasm during the focus group discussion. These interviews provided me with further in-depth information on the significant topics that were not raised during the focus group discussion.

Researchers suggest a minimum of six focus groups should be used to gather data, for saturation to occur - "reaching a point of informational redundancy where additional data collection contributes little or nothing new to the study" (Hansen et al, 1998) . However, for this research, it sufficed to only use two focus groups. I noticed that saturation occurred during the two focus group interviews as participant responses became redundant. It became apparent after having interacted with only one group of white and one group of black participants.

The sample sizes for the focus group interviews and in-depth individual interviews sufficed to provide me with enough information to conduct my research as well as to attain saturation, which is what is required when choosing a sample in qualitative research (Gentles et al, 2015: 1776, 1782). "It is perhaps necessary to reiterate the fact that in qualitative research, scientific validity is obtained through systematic collection and interpretation of data, not by generalising findings to other groups, nor quantifying into an overall truth. In other words, you do not need to know all the facts in order to make sense of an issue (Geertz in Pitout 1998: 74; Drotner in Pitout, 1998: 74; Ruddock, 2001: 133).

Accessing information already published in the public domain (e.g.Newspaper articles)

Provide a comprehensive description of the precise nature of the information that will be accessed (max 500 words)

I conducted a qualitative content analysis on 11 purposively selected Tweets from Twitter regarding the 'Willemse incident'. I selected comments in favour of Willemse's actions and against Willemse's actions.

Will the research involve the use of anything (e.g. a procedure/ technology/therapy etc.) which constitutes Intellectual Property (IP) and for which particular protections or permissions apply?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

Does any aspect of the research require the involvement of an appropriately trained and/or accredited and/or registered professional?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

To continue:

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel.

Participant group

Are particular characteristics of any kind required in the participant group (age, culture, background, experience, physical characteristics, disease states etc.)? (max 500 words)

I will purposefully select participants in favour of Willemse and participants against Willemse. The subjects will be limited to Grahamstown, to those who have sporting backgrounds, who are knowledgeable about South African sport, who have followed the Willemse walkout incident and who have strong political opinions about sporting codes in South Africa.

Are participants drawn from RU students?

- ◉ Yes ○ No

Are participants drawn from RU staff?

- ◉ Yes ○ No

Are participants drawn from a school population?

- ○ Yes ◉ No

Are participants drawn from an Institutional population other than a school or Rhodes University? (e.g hospital, prison, mental institution, private business)?

- ○ Yes ◉ No

Will any records be consulted for information?

- ○ Yes ◉ No

Are all participants over the age of 18?

(•) Yes ( ) No

Will any information be obtained from sources located in an institutional setting? (e.g. hospital, school, university, prison)

( ) Yes (•) No

Will any part of the project be conducted on private property (e.g. participants' homes, shopping centres)?

( ) Yes (•) No

To continue

Please click the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Gatekeeper permission

Because your research involves Rhodes students you need to obtain permission from the Registrar.

Because your research involves Rhodes Staff as participants, you will be required to obtain permission from the Director: Human Resources.

Is any other gatekeeper permission required (not mentioned above) in order to access information and/or participants and/or research sites?

( ) Yes
(•) No
( ) Request gatekeeper permission waiver

Will data be collected from other Universities or Institutions?

( ) Yes
(•) No

Please note:

Only once the Ethics Committee has reviewed your application can you obtain gatekeepers permission.

Download your application as a PDF document and send the application and outcome letter to the relevant gatekeepers. (see User guide, or go to Home and download from Project list)

The INTERNAL Gatekeepers permission/s are:

For Rhodes Staff members - HR- Human Resource Director: susan.robertson@ru.ac.za with emails copied to z.nqoloba@ru.ac.za

For Rhodes Students as participants- Registrar - Registrar@ru.ac.za with emails copied to m.apollis@ru.ac.za

If the research involves the Counselling Centre, gatekeepers permission is also needed from the Director: Student Affairs, Ms Mrwetyana at n.mrwetyana@ru.ac.za

The Gatekeepers Permission letter/s must be emailed to ethics-committee@ru.ac.za along with the applicant's name and the application reference number.

Only once all the gatekeepers' permissions are received can the application receive final approval.

A final approval outcome letter will be sent out.

TO CONTINUE, click on NEXT in the left hand panel.

Alternatively, click on SAVE to save and return to your application later.

Informed Consent

Does any aspect of this research require obtaining informed consent and/or assent?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Will consent be written or verbal?

- [ ] Written
- [x] Verbal

Upload templates of all information letter(s), consent and assent form(s). (separate clearly labeled files, in which the file title describes the content must be uploaded) (Template documents are available on the RU, Research Office, ethics webpage).

Documents

Type	Document Name	File Name	Version Date	Version	Size
Consent/Assent form or Information sheet	Personal release form	Personal release form.doc	10/03/2020	2	44.2 KB

Describe the process by which consent (and, where necessary, assent) to participate in the research will be negotiated and obtained. (max 300 words)

As mentioned before, I am familiar with initial respondents for my study as I interact with them through sports and other social events. Through socializing I have acquired their phone numbers and can contact them on Whatsapp or give them a phone call. I will use these initial respondents as a snowball sample to find further respondents. I will ask my contacts to get other sportspeople, who they think would be interested in participating in this research, to contact me. I will ask these respondents to meet me face to face. During these meetings I will give further details about my study and go through my consent forms so that they can decide whether or not they would like to participate in my study. Alternatively, I could email them details about my study and send them the consent forms and they can decide whether or not they would like to participate.

Is there any legal reason why participants cannot effectively give informed consent ?(e.g. under 18 years; declared insane by a court of law; unconscious)?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

Do any of the participants operate in an institutional environment which may cast doubt on the voluntary aspect of consent?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

Will participants receive an honorarium or reimbursement for their participation?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in left hand panel

Participant Recruitment

How will potential participants be contacted and notified about the research? (max 500 words)

As mentioned before, I am familiar with initial respondents for my study as I interact with them through sports and other social events. Through socializing I have acquired their phone numbers and can contact them on Whatsapp or give them a phone call to explain to them what my research is about. I will use these initial respondents snowball sample to find further respondents (snowball sample). Once they contact me via email, Whatsapp or phonecall, I will ask them to meet me face to face. During these meetings I can provide them with details about my research.

Will any sort of public notice be used to advertise the research to potential participants and/or gatekeepers and/or legal guardians?

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

Is the information about the study provided to participants and/or gatekeepers and/or legal guardians prior to obtaining their consent complete and accurate?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Will any of the information be obtained from, or pertain to, people who may be considered vulnerable?

- ( ) Yes
- (•) No

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Feedback to the participant/s

How will you disseminate the results of your research for academic purposes? (max 100 words)

Participants can ask for transcripts of the recordings. Rhodes University will have my MA thesis in the library, and I will email my participants when my study is complete so they can access it if they want to.

How will you provide feedback of your research to participants ? (max. 300 words)

I intend to provide my research participants with feedback by either emailing them or setting up a face to face meeting where I provide a short summary of the study and the findings, how their contribution to the study was helpful, how they can access the full thesis, let them know that their participation will be credited and acknowledged in my thesis.

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of data

Explain the provisions to be made to protect participants rights to privacy and anonymity and to preserve confidentiality. If these conditions cannot or should not be met, provide a motivation. (max. 500 words)

The participants participation will be competently voluntary. I will get written/verbal informed consent from each participant before conducting any research. As the researcher I will have the best interests of my participants at heart. One way of seeing to this is to ensure that the consent forms have all the necessary information on them to protect each participant and to ensure their rights to privacy and anonymity are adhered to. Furthermore, I will thoroughly go through each and every step of the research to make sure that they understand what their role is and what their rights are.

Will mechanical or digital methods of observation or data collection be used (e.g. Video and audio recordings, bio-metric monitors etc.)? NB- Please ensure that permission to use such devices has been sought in the relevant informed consent.

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Explain

I intend on using voice recordings of my interviewing processes, but not without the consent of my participants. Voice recordings are necessary to collect the detailed data that I need for my analysis.

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Data management, storage and use

Data must be stored for 5 years by the PI in a location (physical or digital) accessible to RUESC upon request. How will you ensure that information is captured, transferred and stored securely? (max 500 words)

I will store my data on a pass-word protect external hard drive, including the voice recordings, transcriptions of the focus group and individual interviews, the notes that I have made during the interviews, any field notes and a copy of my thesis.

Will stored data be made available for reuse in another research study, that goes beyond the scope of this application (e.g. longitudinal survey follow up)?

- ( ) Yes
- (•) No

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Risks and benefits of the research

Level of risk

- [x] Low
- [ ] Medium
- [ ] High

Describe the risk (however slight or temporary to participant(s) and/or any third parties and/or to a particular social group or institution or a community or society at large) and how these will be mitigated (max. 1000 words) NB- Risk considerations are an important part of the ethics review process and not a hindrance to approval. Please use discipline specific knowledge and standards as applicable.

The potential risks involved are:
1. Embarrassment - embarrassment can come from a participant feeling self-conscious about taking a certain position, say, Willemse's reaction was attention-seeking.
2. Offense - Someone could be offended when someone else strongly disagrees with their position, especially in the mixed focus group discussions. For example, a black participant could offend white participants by stating that all white people have white privilege and therefore they cannot understand Ashwin Willemse's reaction.
3. Bias - there is a risk of the researcher taking a position which will have an impact on the data collected. This will cause the research results to be biased.
4. Unintended disclosing of information, for example, a name.
5. COVID 19

What provisions will be made to minimize the potential of these risks occurring during project activities? (max 500 words)

In order to minimize potential harmful risks:
1. I will ensure that the participants feel as comfortable as possible. I will reassure them that their opinions are for my research purposes only and that they are in a safe space to freely express their views and feelings.
2. I will remind my participants that the information discussed and shared mean no harm to anyone and that they should not feel attacked. It is a space where we are sharing our ideas, feelings knowledge for research purposes and differences in opinions are going to be useful. The discussions will commence in good nature and no one should feel personally offended.
3. As the researcher I will be neutral and constantly remind myself to remain neutral and that I am a part of the discussions as a facilitator, asking questions and not giving my opinion on the topic discussed.
4. If someone accidentally mentions a name of an organization or person, i will ensure their safety by not mentioning the name of the organization or person in my research.
5. Participants will be reminded that they can withdraw from the research process at any time without repercussions.
6. All participant's identities will be anonymised in the transcripts and thesis.
7. Sanitizing, voluntary participation, face masks, social distancing.

Has the person administering the project previous experience with the particular risk factors involved?

- (•) Yes
- ( ) No

Are there alternative approaches available that have lower risk but you have opted not to use. Provide motivation (max 500 words).

The approach taken has few risks, and is the only way that I can collect the data necessary for the research.

Which benefits, if any, are expected to accrue to individual participants, and/or third parties, and/or a particular social group and/or institution and/or community or society at large as a result of the research? (max 500 words).

The research will provide answers to Jonathan Jansen's question , referring to the Ashwin Willemse walkout: "why do two groups of people, staring at the same event 'see' two different realities?" Furthermore, people will benefit from this research by getting a better understanding of the social, racial and political dynamics of South Africa.

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

Conflict of interests

Do you and/or any of the research partners have a potential or actual conflict of interest in this project's conduct or outcomes? Carefully consider any potential bias and your positionality in the context of the research.

- ○ Yes
- ◉ No

To continue

Please click on the Next arrow in the left hand panel

NOTE: BEFORE SIGNING THIS APPLICATION, PLEASE SHARE THE FORM WITH YOUR SUPERVISOR/COLLABORATORS FOR COMMENT.

Researcher declaration and signatures

Please confirm each of the statements below:

All of the information provided in this application is complete and accurate

This research will not proceed before ethical approval is obtained

Only authorised persons will have access to the data

The information collected will only be used for the purposes for which approval has been obtained

This research project will only be conducted if funding is adequate to enable it to be carried out according to good research practice and in an ethical manner

Any and all additional information required by the RUESC either before approval is obtained or as the research progresses will be provided immediately upon request

The RUESC will be immediately notified in writing of any proposed change to the project which would in any way alter the risks associated with doing this research and await approval before proceeding with the proposed change

The RUESC will be immediately notified in writing of any proposed change to the researchers involved in the project and will be provided the names and contact details of new and/or departing researchers

The RUESC will be immediately notified in writing and within seven days of any serious adverse event that occurs in the course of the research

As the student on this research project, I agree to the above declaration.

Signed: This form was signed by Abner ACCOM (g13A5403@campus.ru.ac.za) on 17/02/2021 2:31 PM

As the Principal Investigator and / or Supervisor, I agree to the above declaration

Signature Request: Signature requested from PROF Larry Strelitz on 17/02/2021 2:32 PM

As Rhodes staff collaborator on this project, I agree with the above declaration

Signature Request: Signature requested from PROF Lynette Steenveld on 17/02/2021 2:32 PM

LAST STEPS

Once the last signatory signs the application, the application will be submitted.

You can monitor the Form Status by clicking on HOME (top banner) and then selecting your Project (under Project Title).

The Status will read SUBMITTED once all signatories have signed.

Please note:

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORTS ARE REQUIRED

Ethics approval is given for a one year period. Thereafter, an **Annual Progress Report form** needs to be completed before ethics approval can be extended.