

**PERPETRATORS' PERSPECTIVE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS
CONTRIBUTING TO RACIALLY-MOTIVATED HATE CRIMES IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

By

WILMIE HEYNEKE

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN PSYCHOLOGY (RESEARCH)

in the

FACULTY OF HEALTH SCIENCES

at the

NELSON MANDELA UNIVERSITY

Supervisor: Dr Yaseen Ally

2018

DECLARATION




DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

NAME: Wilmie Heyneke
STUDENT NUMBER: 210027150
QUALIFICATION: Master of Arts in Psychology (Research)
TITLE OF PROJECT: Perpetrators' Perspective of the Psychological Factors
Contributing to Racially-Motivated Hate Crimes in South
Africa

DECLARATION:

In accordance with Rule G5.6.3, I hereby declare that the above-mentioned treatise/
dissertation/ thesis is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for
assessment to another University or for another qualification.

SIGNATURE: 

DATE: 2/11/2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to convey my sincere appreciation to all those who have assisted and aided me with their intellect, inspiration and motivation, without whom this dissertation would not have materialised. In particular, I would like to thank the following people and institutions:

- To the National Research Foundation's Innovation Masters Scholarship, for its funding that enabled me to embark on this research.
- To the Department of Correctional Services for granting me permission to conduct my research within their facilities, and for providing me with assistance and support whenever I requested it. Special thanks are extended to all the personnel who so patiently assisted me with the data collection process.
- To my supervisor, Dr. Y. Ally, for his invaluable intellectual assistance, guidance and encouragement. Thank you for facilitating opportunities for my growth and for your invaluable mentorship.
- To my wonderful support network of family and friends for their love and ongoing encouragement.
- To my parents, Anton and René Scholtz, for their endless love, support and encouragement throughout my studies.
- To all the participants in this project, who entrusted me with their thoughts and experiences. Without your contributions this project would have remained a mere dream.
- And finally, to my husband for his unconditional love and support. Thank you for your continuous belief in me and my abilities, even beyond my own comprehension.

DEDICATION

For a future shaped by hope,
created and re-created by us.

For every day is a new opportunity to begin again.

ABSTRACT

This study set out to explore and understand racially-motivated hate crimes from the psychological and emotional standpoint of the individual who perpetrated them. The focus on the perpetrator was essential given that most research conducted on hate crimes have honed in on the elements concerning the victims. By virtue of its focus, the study offered a perpetrator's perspective, providing a more holistic understanding of hate crimes in South Africa. Such information could be used to develop violence interventions in order to help prevent future hate crimes. A qualitative research design was used and constructionist grounded theory employed as the research tool. The sample consisted of five individuals currently imprisoned in the Eastern Cape. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews and journal entries. Supportive data was obtained from official prison documents. The findings from this study guided the formulation of the frustration deconstruction theory (FDT), the theory generated in this study. FDT indicates that the link between historically and socially constructed negative racial cognition and emotion may find expression through violence, which can be labelled as hate crimes. Interventions aimed at deconstructing the motives that underpin hate can result in positive behaviour. The findings of this study contribute to an understanding of the nuances that define and characterise the perpetrators of racially-motivated hate crimes in the South African context. The research is a valuable contribution to the field of hate crimes as it provides evidence of the psychological and emotional underpinning of hate crimes.

Keywords: *crime, hate crime(s), perpetrator(s), race, racism, South Africa, violence.*

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Phases of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87).....	149
Table 2: Data Extract with Code Applied.....	150
Table 3: Initial List of Codes	151
Table 4: Initial Refinement of Possible Themes.....	152
Table 5: Final Refinement of Themes	153
Table 6: A 15-Pont Checklist of Criteria for Good Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 96)	154

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Graphical representation of the Frustration Deconstruction Theory (FDT).....	156
Figure 2: Graphical representation of the Frustration Deconstruction Theory (FDT) compared to existing bodies of literature.....	157

LIST OF APPENDIXES

	Page
APPENDIX A.....	158
APPENDIX B.....	160
APPENDIX C.....	162
APPENDIX D.....	168
APPENDIX E.....	173
APPENDIX F.....	175
APPENDIX G.....	179
APPENDIX H.....	185
APPENDIX I.....	187

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DECLARATION	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
DEDICATION	III
ABSTRACT	IV
LIST OF TABLES	V
LIST OF FIGURES.....	VI
LIST OF APPENDIXES	VII
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VIII

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1	PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
1.2	SCOPE AND AIMS OF THE STUDY	2
1.3	CONTEXTUALISATION.....	2
1.4	LOCATING MYSELF IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF STUDY	7
1.5	OUTLINE OF THE STUDY	9

1.6	DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS	10
1.6.1	<i>Hate</i>	10
1.6.2	<i>Hate crime</i>	10
1.6.3	<i>Perpetrator</i>	11
1.6.4	<i>Victim</i>	11
1.6.5	<i>Bias motivated crime</i>	11
1.6.6	<i>Bias</i>	12
1.6.7	<i>Discrimination</i>	12
1.6.8	<i>Prejudice</i>	12
1.6.9	<i>Stereotype</i>	12
1.6.10	<i>Racism</i>	13
1.6.11	<i>Race</i>	13
1.6.12	<i>Grounded Theory</i>	13
1.7	A LAST NOTE	13

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA

2.1	INTRODUCTION.....	14
-----	-------------------	----

2.2	THE STORY – A LEGACY OF SEPARATION, PREJUDICE AND VIOLENCE	14
2.2.1	<i>Early Humans of South Africa</i>	14
2.2.2	<i>The Khoisan</i>	15
2.2.3	<i>Explorers at the Cape, 1652-1806</i>	16
2.2.4	<i>The First Meetings Between Black and White People</i>	21
2.2.5	<i>New Masters from Britain, 1806-1834</i>	21
2.2.6	<i>Migrations That Shaped the Future – the Mfecane/Difaqane and the Great Trek</i>	22
2.2.7	<i>State-Building and Struggle, 1850-1900</i>	23
2.2.8	<i>The Two Anglo-Boer (South African) Wars</i>	24
2.2.9	<i>Union, the Rise of Nationalisms, and Resistance Movements</i>	26
2.2.10	<i>The Rise of the Afrikaners and the 1948 Elections</i>	26
2.2.11	<i>The Pan Africanist Congress and Sharpeville – the 1960's</i>	27
2.2.12	<i>The 1970's and 1980's</i>	28
2.2.13	<i>The 1990's</i>	29
2.2.14	<i>Forces in Opposition</i>	30

2.2.15	<i>Current State of Affairs</i>	32
2.3	CONCLUSION	35

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	INTRODUCTION.....	36
3.2	PROBLEM STATEMENT	36
3.3	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	37
3.3.1	<i>Research Design</i>	37
3.3.2	<i>Theoretical Framework</i>	39
3.3.3	<i>Theory and the Literature Review in Grounded Theory</i>	42
3.3.4	<i>Participants and Sampling</i>	44
3.3.5	<i>Research Procedure</i>	45
3.3.6	<i>Data Collection</i>	50
3.3.6.1	<i>Interviews</i>	50
3.3.6.2	<i>Documentation</i>	51
3.4	DATA ANALYSIS	52
3.4.1	<i>What is thematic analysis?</i>	53

3.4.2	<i>Inductive versus theoretical thematic analysis</i>	55
3.4.3	<i>Latent themes</i>	55
3.4.4	<i>Epistemology: constructionist thematic analysis</i>	56
3.4.5	<i>Thematic analysis and grounded theory</i>	56
3.4.6	<i>What counts as a theme?</i>	56
3.4.7	<i>Phases of thematic analysis</i>	57
3.4.7.1	<i>Phase one: Familiarising yourself with your data</i>	58
3.4.7.2	<i>Phase two: Generating initial codes</i>	58
3.4.7.3	<i>Phase three: Searching for themes</i>	59
3.4.7.4	<i>Phase four: Reviewing themes</i>	60
3.4.7.5	<i>Phase five: Defining and naming themes</i>	61
3.4.7.6	<i>Phase six: Producing the report</i>	62
3.5	STRATEGIES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS	62
3.5.1	<i>Credibility</i>	63
3.5.2	<i>Transferability</i>	63
3.5.3	<i>Dependability</i>	63
3.5.4	<i>Conformability</i>	64
3.6	ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	65
3.6.1	<i>Avoidance of harm</i>	65

3.6.2	<i>Voluntary participation</i>	65
3.6.3	<i>Informed Consent</i>	66
3.6.4	<i>Deception of participant</i>	66
3.6.5	<i>Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity</i>	67
3.6.6	<i>Compensation or reciprocity</i>	67
3.6.7	<i>Debriefing of participants</i>	67
3.6.8	<i>Release or publication of research results</i>	68
3.7	CONCLUSION.....	68

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1	INTRODUCTION.....	69
4.2	OPERATIONALISATION OF THE STUDY.....	70
4.3	DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS.....	70
4.4	PRELIMINARY THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT.....	71
4.4.1	<i>Normalcy</i>	71
4.4.2	<i>Deterioration</i>	72
4.4.3	<i>Growth: The Development of Moral Conscience</i>	74

4.5	THE ANALYTIC NARRATIVE	76
4.5.1	<i>Theme 1: A Deflection of Personal Responsibility</i>	77
4.5.1.1	<i>“It’s an inborn thing”</i> : <i>In the beginning</i>	77
4.5.1.2	<i>“We know what we have been told”</i> : <i>Upbringing</i>	79
4.5.2	<i>Theme 2: (White hegemonic?) Power, Positionality and Privilege</i>	83
4.5.2.1	<i>“Life on the outside demands money”</i> : <i>Needs justification</i>	84
4.5.2.2	<i>“I was furious”</i> : <i>Emotional turmoil</i>	88
4.5.2.3	<i>“Anger leads to violence”</i> : <i>Militant masculinity</i>	90
4.5.3	<i>Theme 3: Choice</i>	97
4.5.3.1	<i>“I had a chance to decide”</i> : <i>Maturity</i>	97
4.6	FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY.....	99
4.7	CONCLUSION	104

CHAPTER 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY AND EXISTING THEORIES

5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	105
5.2	FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY.....	106
5.3	EXPLAINING HATE CRIME PERPETRATION.....	106

5.3.1	<i>Scapegoating and Relative Deprivation</i>	106
5.3.2	<i>Psychological Factors</i>	107
5.3.3	<i>Power, Fear and Identity</i>	108
5.3.4	<i>Political Discourse</i>	110
5.4	CRIMINOLOGICAL BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE THEORIES	111
5.4.1	<i>Social Learning Theory</i>	111
5.4.2	<i>General Strain Theory</i>	114
5.4.2.1	<i>The strain is seen as unjust.</i>	116
5.4.2.2	<i>The strain is seen as high in magnitude</i>	117
5.4.2.3	<i>The strain is caused by or associated with low social control</i>	117
5.4.2.4	<i>The strain creates some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping</i>	117
5.5	ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY	118
5.6	FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION THEORY	121
5.7	THE RATIONAL CHOICE PERSPECTIVE.....	124
5.8	CRITICAL RACE THEORY	126
5.9	INTEGRATED DISCUSSION	128
5.10	CONCLUSION	132

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1	INTRODUCTION.....	133
6.2	IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS	133
6.3	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	133
6.4	STRENGTHS OF THE RESEARCH.....	135
6.5	FUTURE DIRECTIONS.....	136
6.6	CONCLUDING COMMENTS.....	136
	REFERENCES.....	138

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

No one should be excluded from our love, our compassion or our concern because of race or gender, faith or ethnicity - or because of their sexual orientation....But a wave of hate is spreading across my beloved continent.

(Desmond Tutu, In Africa - a step backward on human rights, 2010)

1.1 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Recent events in South Africa demonstrate that the society is grappling with its racist history. Although it has been 24 years since the end of apartheid, combating racial hatred is an ongoing project. Using a constructivist grounded theory approach, this dissertation investigates the factors that contribute to racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa. The focus is on the perpetrator (rather than the victim), which is essential. Research on hate crimes that primarily focusses on characteristics of the perpetrators is limited, especially in South Africa. It has been proposed that the only way to truly change society is to undo the structural inequalities that persist directly due to the legacy of colonialism and apartheid. Research is essential to inform hate crime prevention interventions in South Africa. The current South African study explores the factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes and the importance of violence prevention interventions for perpetrators. The current study is on racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa and explores the contributing factors and the important role of interventions for perpetrators in the light of violence prevention.

1.2 SCOPE AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

This research explored perpetrators' psychological and emotional understanding of racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa.

The primary aims and objectives of the research were:

- to explore and describe perpetrators' perceptions of psychological and emotional factors of racially-motivated hate crimes,
- to identify possible themes and/or categories between perpetrators of racially-motivated hate crimes, and
- to contribute to the knowledge base of the Hate Crimes Working Group (HCWG).

1.3 CONTEXTUALISATION

Ratele and Duncan (2003) suggests that social systems may be considered as living organisms capable of adapting to and resisting change and challenges. They represent groups of individuals with similarity and shared interests. This process enables individuals to function effectively and has resulted the most challenging social phenomenon known to humankind. Stereotypes about groups will present the relevant individuals with opportunities for either a privileged life or a disadvantaged life. The intersection of influences such as race, gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and context present individuals with unique behavioural dispositions towards behaving violently.

Everyone's human rights should be respected and no one should be told what to believe. This, however, entitles everyone to hold stereotypes, have prejudices, and feel hate. Hate that stems partly from prejudicial beliefs does not cause direct harm. When individuals act on their stereotypes and prejudices hate finds behavioural expression in the form of harm (Nel, 2007). Ongoing patterns are reportedly evident in crimes targeting individuals based on

specific factors like race, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation. These crimes, albeit those based on prejudicial beliefs, are known as *hate crimes*. Amongst other consequences, hate crimes weaken social cohesion and have traumatic effects on their victims (Nel, Van Wyk, & Mbatha, 2013). South Africa's current legal framework has been unsuccessful in addressing hate crimes. Hate crimes are yet to be legally acknowledged.

One of South Africa's legacies is apartheid. Race as motive for crime in the country is relevant. During apartheid, racism against non-whites was institutionalised, legalised, and internalised. It justified repression and violence. White control was maintained by stereotyping black people. They were seen as inferior and only worthy of certain forms of labour. Their otherness meant that they often had to endure everyday forms of discrimination (Mark Walters, 2015). Political motivation furthermore complicates the understanding of race and violence (Harris, 2004).

The South African post-apartheid society is still characterised by racial prejudice. Although the society is 24 years into the post-apartheid system and has a constitution that outlaws racism, hate crimes still occur. Various videos of conflicts between black and white individuals have been posted online with massive public outcry and reactions. For example, the Spur incident (Raborife, 2017), the Centurion crèche plagued by allegations of racism (Ndlazi, 2016), and the H&M incident (Petersen, 2018). As a direct result of the legal system not acknowledging these acts of violence as hate crimes, the term *hate crime* is not commonly used in South Africa. In light of this, its definition is steeped in differing meaning, interpretations and explanations. Harris (2004) suggested that hate crimes be interpreted relative to South Africa's unique racial history, transition to democracy, and ongoing expression of violent prejudice today.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe defines a hate crime as a criminal act committed with a bias motive (as cited in Nel et al., 2013). It is perpetrated against people, property, or an organisation. Hate crimes are different from other crimes for three reasons. Firstly, the perpetrator is motivated by prejudice toward the victim's alleged or actual membership to a group. Secondly, they are seen as message crimes. These messages can be intentional or unintentional and affect the victim and his or her community. Thirdly, they take place in an environment where discrimination against a particular group is socially accepted (Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, 2013).

The definition of a hate crime may seem well articulated and clear; however, it becomes complicated when applied to real-life events (Nolan III, McDevitt, Cronin, & Farrell, 2004). The crimes do not simply remain as a bias, prejudice or hate. Instead they escalate to behaviour with the intention to harm; therefore, they are twofold. Firstly, the act must constitute a crime under existing criminal law. Secondly, there must be some form of specific bias involved in the selection of the victim.

Without legal acknowledgement hate crimes are documented under broader categories of bias and prejudice that motivated the crime, such as rape or homicide. They are also often underreported due to the victim's fear of persecution by the perpetrator(s). This leads to difficulties in assessing and fully understanding the extent of the occurrence (Nel et al., 2013). International studies on brutal acts of racially-motivated violence provide insight to the global society that continues to fracture. For example, in Charleston, nine African Americans were massacred by a young man who was determined to start a "race war"; this sent shock waves across the world (Mark Walters, 2015). Accurate data on the prevalence, nature, and impact of hate crimes on individuals, communities, and society are needed for

efficient laws of protection. Pressure to focus on eliminating hate crimes in South Africa stems from local and international organisations.

In August 2006, the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination called on South Africa to introduce measures to address hate crimes as required by Article 4 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Locally, the South African Human Rights Commission has also called on government to address this matter, and in addition, informed by the needs of their respective constituencies, Civil Society Organisations have for many years been advocating for interventions to specifically address hate crimes in South Africa. (Nel et al., 2013, p. 5)

The recognition of hate crimes in South Africa can assist in gaining human rights and safeguarding individuals against discrimination. In order to eradicate hate crimes there is a need to advise legislation and policies. Relevant decision makers require accurate understanding through data on the prevalence, nature, and impact of hate crimes in South Africa (Nel et al., 2013). The importance of this understanding is crucial to the design of interventions that respond effectively to hate crimes. This involves understanding preventative measures and ways to respond to them.

South Africa's bill on hate crimes and hate speech, The Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill (the Bill), was revealed in the Government Gazette on 24 October 2016 (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2016). This took place after Parliament announced their approval of a new bill that would make hate crimes and hate speech criminal offences. The Bill was published for public comment (eNCA,

2016). Earliest talks around the formation began in 2009. The original intent was to solely address the offence of hate crimes. It was only in 2015, spurred partly by the public outrage of the infamous Penny Sparrow incident, that the offence of hate speech was included as part of the Bill. Sparrow, a former KwaZulu-Natal estate agent, wrote a Facebook post likening black people to monkeys. The idea of the Bill was for offences motivated by factors such as sexuality, gender identity, race, and religion to become uniquely classified crimes. The implementation of the Bill furthermore intended for government and civil society to monitor the frequency and nature of hate crimes, and provide the opportunity to respond accordingly. Since late-2016, invitations to comment on the Bill have been postponed due to the public's need for more engagement. Tuesday 31 January 2017 was the final submission date. After public debate the hope was to move on with legislation building on a consensus that had been reached (eNCA, 2016). The Bill did not pass (Dube, 2017), and could still be salvaged through further engagement with stakeholders (Wasserman, 2017).

The HCWG plays a central role in the promotion of legislative changes regarding hate crimes. It is a multi-sector working group that was established in 2009. They claim that their goals will successfully deal with hate crimes. These goals are to:

- achieve broader recognition of the nature of hate crimes and the need for hate crimes policy and legislation,
- inform and develop advocacy efforts that contribute to ensuring government enacts and implements hate crimes policy and legislation, and
- facilitate the collection of data and research regarding hate crimes to contribute to improved prevention and effectiveness of a criminal justice response. (Nel et al., 2013, p. 5)

With the development of the Bill in South Africa, progress by firstly acknowledging that hate crimes are escalating and are requiring attention is being made. Secondly, the victims of hate crimes will benefit from the Bill, as well as through the services that will be made available to them; this includes the reporting of crimes and the reporting of perpetrators.

A factor that should not be wavered are the perpetrators of hate crimes. Research answering the question of who perpetrators of hate crimes in South Africa are is scarce. This research focuses on perpetrators of hate crimes and seeks to explore their psychological and emotional points of view.

1.4 LOCATING MYSELF IN RELATION TO THE FIELD OF STUDY

It is important to note that I am a white, well-resourced, educated, Afrikaans-speaking, South African female. I was born in 1991 and did not grow up during apartheid; I was only three when South Africa became a democracy in 1994. I was born into privilege. I never focused on the struggle in South Africa, because ignorance, to me, was bliss. I was a part of the *born-free* generation, a growing population of South African youth born into a free and racially-undivided South Africa. I was unaware of the history of the struggle that made freedom and desegregation possible, as many others my age were.

I attended a predominantly white, Afrikaans-medium primary school and high school. I understood this as an honest and fair representation of the South African population. My first real encounter with the rainbow nation was in my first year (2010) of tertiary education at Nelson Mandela University as a psychology student. I must admit, it was a shock. I was definitely not in the environment that I had known for the past 12 years. I have a specific memory of the day I came across a post about the racial distribution of students in the

university while browsing through our student portal. I was shocked to read that the distribution of white students was only 9%. That was the moment I realised my ideas about the world were flawed and (my knowledge was) full of holes. I was part of the minority, but lived as though I was part of the majority.

I felt disillusioned and scared. I found myself in a bunker outside my boundaries of certainty. These uncomfortable and awkward moments, thoughts, and realisations were the birth place of my critical thinking. This situation demanded that I be courageous, that I step out of ignorance, and that I make a choice to be brave and engage with the unknown.

This seemingly insignificant event shaped a lot of what was to come in terms of my interests and understanding of the world around me. I attempted to step out of my bubble of protection and began volunteering at various community organisations and initiatives. My compassion for people grew and it definitely made me realise that no one's story is just black and white. People's lives are infused with various colours and their lived experiences are richer than one could ever imagine. This inspired me to engage in this research and tell the stories of individuals' who have been labelled as outcasts and may have been misunderstood. This study is not a justification, but an exploration of what was, what is, and what could be done better in the future to improve the lives of all South Africans.

I hope that this research further inspires individuals similar to my former self to look past their elitist ideologies and see our beautiful rainbow nation for what it is – brokenness, with so much potential for vulnerability leading to a sense of true belonging.

1.5 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2, *A Historical Overview of South Africa*, provides a description of instances of racial hate throughout the history of South Africa, which is contextualised. This chapter sets out to locate the origination of racial hate and its escalation into a life of crime.

Chapter 3, *Research Methodology*, provides a description of the research methodology utilised in the present study, namely constructivist grounded theory. This description includes the details of the research design, the participants and the sampling procedure employed, the data collection method used, the research measure used, the research procedure followed, and an explanation of the data analysis techniques used.

Chapter 4, *Results and Discussion*, is a discussion of how the data-driven theory was built through the constant comparison of themes and categories using a constructivist grounded theory approach.

Chapter 5, *Relationship Between the Frustration Deconstruction Theory and Existing Theories*, highlights major existing theories relating to change and behaviour. A comparison is made between the new theory (frustration deconstruction theory) and existing theories. The methodological framing of the study, constructivist grounded theory, required the researcher to conduct a search only once a theory had been developed.

Chapter 6, *Conclusion*, contains the conclusion and evaluation of the present study. The limitations of the study are discussed and suggestions for future research are offered. The practical and theoretical contributions made by the present study are summarised in the concluding remarks.

1.6 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1.6.1 Hate

According to Royzman, McCauley and Rozin (2004), “hate is a self-destructive impulse turned outwards” (p. 30). Kressel’s (as cited in Royzman, McCauley, & Rozin, 2004) “mass hate” (p. 8) paints a picture of what hate should look like and states that hate serves as motivational force that leads to acts of violence.

1.6.2 Hate crime

The following definition for hate crime is put forth by the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (2016):

A hate crime is an offence recognised under any law, the commission of which by a person is motivated on the basis of that person’s prejudice, bias or intolerance towards the victim of the hate crime in question because of one or more of the following characteristics or perceived characteristics of the victim or his or her family member:

- Race;
- gender;
- sex, which includes intersex;
- ethnic or social origin;
- colour;
- sexual orientation;
- religion;
- belief;

- culture;
- language;
- birth;
- disability;
- HIV status;
- nationality;
- gender identity;
- albinism; or
- occupation or trade. (p. 6)

1.6.3 Perpetrator

A perpetrator is a person who has been found guilty of a crime according to the law (Nel et al., 2013).

1.6.4 Victim

A victim is a person who has suffered various ordeals of an actual or attempted criminal offense by another person (Nel et al., 2013).

1.6.5 Bias motivated crime

Bias motivated crime is “an illegal act involving intentional selection of a victim based on a perpetrator’s bias or prejudice against the actual or perceived status of the victim” (Nel et al., 2013, p. 31).

1.6.6 Bias

Bias refers to the predisposition of making unstable judgements (Nel et al., 2013). There are several reasons for this. Some biases occur as a result of cutting through vast amounts of information to reach a satisfactory conclusion. It often happens when individuals just want to satisfy their own needs and motives. Bias has an enhancing effect on individuals' self-esteem and gives them a sense of control. It can be concluded that bias comes from cognitive and motivational needs (Taylor, Peplau, & Sears, 2006).

1.6.7 Discrimination

Discrimination is behavioural in nature and refers to behaviour that disadvantages individuals because they are disliked because of the group(s) they belong to (Taylor et al., 2006).

1.6.8 Prejudice

Prejudice refers to negative beliefs and attitudes held about others that are more-often-than-not based on unsupported information. Prejudice is affective in nature and takes place when a group or members of a group are negatively evaluated without even being considered as individuals (Taylor et al., 2006).

1.6.9 Stereotype

Stereotypes are cognitive in nature and are beliefs individuals hold about the typical characteristics members of a certain group should carry (Taylor et al., 2006).

1.6.10 Racism

Racism is the belief that a specific race is superior or inferior to another race (Nel et al., 2013).

1.6.11 Race

Race refers to “the classification based on physical characteristics into which human kind was divided” (Nel et al., 2013, p. 41).

1.6.12 Grounded Theory

According to Neuman (2011), grounded theory is “a type of inductive social theory often used in qualitative research that builds toward abstract theory, often by making comparisons of empirical observations” (p. 60).

1.7 A LAST NOTE

It should be clarified that the researcher conceptualised race, by adopting the explanation that “the binary of Black and White does not even scratch the surface of the range of human diversity” (Boucher, 2014, p. 8). It merely promotes and enables a discussion of race, being a social reality rather than biological fact (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017).

CHAPTER 2

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA

Reading these pages, one cannot help but conclude that this had been a barbaric century.

(Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xii)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Twenty-four years into South Africa's democracy, the people are probably faced with the greatest challenge related to race. Although apartheid has been overthrown, racial tensions and violence have increased. The South African social system is extremely complex due to its political, cultural, economic, and violent history. It is challenging to capture all the history in one chapter. This chapter focusses on racially-related historical events and provides a condensed version for the history to be captured.

2.2 THE STORY - A LEGACY OF SEPARATION, PREJUDICE AND VIOLENCE

2.2.1 Early Humans of South Africa

South Africa's human history originated millions of years ago (Nattrass, 2017). The most ancient representative of the human genus is known as *Homo habilis*, known as *able man* or *handy man*. They inhabited parts of Eastern and Southern Africa from around 2.4 to 1.8 million years ago (Pretorius, 2012). The first human species in Southern Africa practiced a primitive form of hunting and gathering. Later in time, they also started using crude stone tools (Pretorius, 2012). Large parts of Africa were later inhabited by *Homo erectus* or

upright man (2.2 to 1.9 million years ago) and *Homo sapiens* or *wise man* (500 000 to 100 000 years ago). It has been speculated that it is not just the transitional stage in the evolution to modern man but also in the final stage – that of *Homo sapiens* – that originated in South Africa and in other parts of the African continents about 100 000 years ago (Nattrass, 2017). About 10 000 years ago, the Later Stone Age period in Africa was discernible by sophistication in the use of stone, bone, and ivory tools and ornaments. About 8 000 years ago, some of these Later Stone Age people migrated into Southern Africa from areas further north. These were the ancestors of the San or Bushmen. They shared the same genetic origins as the Khoikhoi and Bantu-speaking people who came later (Nattrass, 2017). The early immigrants to South Africa were all from within Africa.

2.2.2 The Khoisan

The historically well known Khoisan consists of two closely related groups: the San or Bushmen and the Khoekhoe or Khoikhoi. The Khoisan are descendants from people of the Later Stone Age period and were able to partially preserve their cultural traditions into modern times. However, over the last few centuries they have disappeared from large areas of Southern Africa (Pretorius, 2012).

The San led a nomadic existence as hunter-gatherers and sometimes fishermen, living in small bands composed of family units. Anthropologist, Elizabeth Marshall, called them *the harmless people*, referring to their shy and peaceful nature. They were confrontation avoiders, rather than seekers, and had nothing to barter. This kept them safe from being hunted and allowed them to exist into current times (Grütter & Van Zyl, 1981).

Traditionally the Khoikhoi were similar to the San. However, they were taller, nomadic herdsmen and hunters, and each tribe lived in its own area. Every member of the

tribe could live where he pleased and together they shared pastureland, water, and game. Each clan had a leader and the tribe as a whole submitted to the authority of a chieftain. The Khoikhoi also kept herds of domesticated animals, mostly sheep.

2.2.3 Explorers at the Cape, 1652-1806

The foundation of South Africa's patterns of society was laid in the 17th century when different groups of people came into contact in the subcontinent of Southern African. This was the origin of the South African society (Pretorius, 2012).

The indigenous inhabitants of the subcontinent had to make unique adjustments to survive the varying climate conditions, topography, and natural resources. There was limited contact between different communities as they were widely spread out and self-sufficient. Those who dwelled by the coast were greatly dismayed by the arrival of foreign visitors who wanted to acquire fresh water and meat by bartering. There were misunderstandings of each other's languages and customs, which in some instances led to violence. One such victim was the Viceroy of Portuguese-India, Dom Francisco de Almeida, who died during an altercation on 1 March 1510, at Table Bay. Detailed accounts of Almeida's defeat describe how a group of about 12 Portuguese accompanied a group of Khoikhoi inland, back to their village, after successful exchanges with them. The majority of accounts blame the Portuguese for intending to rob the Khoikhoi of their property, as well as trying to steal a cow. The Khoikhoi chased the sailors back to their ships and the sailors pleaded with Almeida to seek revenge. Although he acknowledged that "the fault lay with our people, whose habit it is to be disorderly and ill-conducted in strange countries" (Johnson, 2011, p. 11), Almeida went against his better judgement. He and about 150 men marched on to the village where they faced about 170 Khoikhoi. As they retreated to their ships, 65 of the

Portuguese were killed; including Almeida (Johnson, 2011). Death was a retribution (Vergunst, 2012). It is written that Almeida's story was meant serve as a lesson to future generations and that "God allowed this to happen as an example to the living, that they may learn to be more anxious to gain a good name than to acquire wealth" (Johnson, 2011, p. 11).

Sporadic contact between the indigenous inhabitants and voyagers from Western European countries continued throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries (Pretorius, 2012). The differences and unfamiliarity between groups was unsettling and they had difficulty communicating with other groups. This cultural gap became the basis for misunderstandings and hostilities. This phenomenon repeated itself with any contact between the, then superior, Europeans and the newly discovered peoples all over the world (Grütter & Van Zyl, 1981).

The standing of the Nieuwe Haerlem, on 25 March 1647, brought about the first period of prolonged contact between the European voyagers and the discovered peoples of the shores of Southern Africa. About 60 people under the command of a junior merchant, Leendert Janszen, were left at Table Bay to fend for themselves. They were required to report to the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or VOC) on the suitability of the Cape as a permanent base. The majority of the report focussed on local relationships. Janszen and Matthys Proot commented:

Others will say that the natives are brutish and cannibals, from whom nothing good is to be expected, and that we shall have to be on our guard continually; but this is only a scare story. It is indeed true that some sailors and soldiers have been killed by them, but the reason for this is always left unspoken by our folk. Without any doubt, the killing of our folk is rather in revenge for the taking of their cattle, than for eating them. If the proposed

for is provided with a good commander, who treats the natives with kindness, and gratefully pay for everything bartered from them, then nothing whatever would need to be feared. (Grütter & Van Zyl, 1981, p. 8)

There are however earlier reports testifying to the contrary, describing the indigenous people as being extremely hostile.

In 1650, VOC decided to establish a permanent settlement at the Cape. Jan Anthoniszoon van Riebeeck was appointed as commander of the settlement. Van Riebeeck made it clear that they had no intention of colonising the Cape. Instead, their main goal was to establish a secure base camp where passing ships could stock up on fresh supplies of meat, fruit, vegetables, and water (Knight, 1989). For their safety they build a fort. They were instructed to live on friendly terms with the indigenous inhabitants as they had to barter with them for sufficient livestock to meet VOC's needs (Pretorius, 2012). Self-sufficiency seemed unattainable and relations with the Khoikhoi became uncompromising. The Khoikhoi rejected manual labour and became disinterested in trade. The relationship soon degenerated into raiding and warfare (South African History Online [SAHO], 2011). This forced van Riebeeck to import slaves from Angola, Guinea, Madagascar, and the East. Eastern slaves may have arrived as early as 1652. They practised Islam and were known as Cape Malays. Soon more Dutch settlers arrived, followed by European settlers (SAHO, 2011). Between April and May 1660, after continuous petty thievery and various disputes concerning resources, the leaders from different groups came together and mutually agreed upon the allocation of group-specific borderlines and access routes. This was the first attempt at territorial separation.

In 1657, free enterprise at the Cape was allowed through the establishment of free burghers (Knight, 1989). This meant that men would be allowed to farm independently

through land grants from VOC. This was a changing in policy and meant that the staging post would become a colony. By the end of 1702, the number of free burghers stood at 1 368 (Pretorius, 2012).

The Khoikhoi were relatively prosperous farmers until the dawn of colonial times. They were the first people that the Dutch met on the shores of Table Bay in the mid-17th century. They had a prosperous economy that consisted of stock wealth; however, this was lost due to cattle disease and trade with the Dutch. As various of the Khoikhoi lost their cattle, their identity became blurred and they reverted to hunting and gathering. Initially, VOC officials merely distinguished themselves from the Khoikhoi based on religious grounds. By the mid-18th century the division was based on race (Nattrass, 2017).

As the Dutch expanded, the San and Khoikhoi communities started to break down. South Africa's first protest art were pictures painted by the San in the 19th century. They represent men on horseback with guns, and trains on railway tracks (Nattrass, 2017). Power shifted further as allegiances between the Dutch and groups of Khoikhoi (who were at war with one another) were formed. By the 17th century, the majority of the Khoikhoi were working for the Dutch; and by the 18th century many suffered from diseases that originated from the Dutch, such as smallpox. As the conflict spread further inland, the San communities who were living as hunter gatherers also joined the resistance against Dutch expansion. Despite these efforts, the San society virtually disintegrated.

After van Riebeeck's departure, the settlement continued to be ruled by VOC. The distance from the mother country (Batavia) and the distance from the source of policy decisions became inherent problems. The purpose of VOC was to engage in profitable trade and provide civil government; but, through the resolution of the former, the latter suffered.

In March 1681, several political deportees from the East arrived, greatly contributing to the cultural formation of South Africa. Economic heresies such as monopoly, market manipulation, selective preference, misuse of power, and corruption were rife.

The trekboers (seminomadic pastoral farmers of Dutch descent) virtually exterminated the Bushmen who refused to flee. They also had occasional disputes with the Xhosa about property, grazing, and cattle-rustling (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2012).

In the 18th century, slavery was a common social phenomenon that was regarded as a necessity for economic growth. VOC regarded slaves as a financial investment and slave owners considered it to be shameful to engage in manual labour. Slaves were robbed of freedom and status while shaping the freedom and status of others. They were the colony's most important source of labour. Crude racial and geographical stereotypes were used to define slaves. Slaves were addressed by their first name only; a reminder of their childlike status that they would never outgrow in society. Shortly after 1710, the slave population surpassed the number of civilians. Abscondence, stealing, and murder received heavy punishment. Good behaviour, however, was awarded with money and some level of freedom. Miscegenation between slaves and Europeans at the Cape resulted in an offspring known as Bastards. In 1685, marriages between civilians and slaves were banned and also heavily punished. Bastards did not fit into any groups at the Cape and their minority status made them prime candidates for prejudice. On 1 December 1834, after the French Revolution, The Abolition of Slavery Act ended slavery in the Cape. The emancipation of slaves created a lot of resentment and opposition from the Afrikaner farming community toward the British (SAHO, 2017). The abolition of slavery was one of the reasons for the Great Trek. Farmers suffered financial loss as they could not replace the labour of their slaves. The abolition did not solve the slave-master, black-white conundrum. The relations affected South Africa's

political, social, and economic structures for years to come. Democracy in 1994 was the only true emancipation from slavery. The period between 1652 and 1799 is largely characterised by Dutch colonial expansion through occupation of land and resistance against this by the indigenous inhabitants.

2.2.4 The First Meetings Between Black and White People

Around 1770, in the Eastern Frontier of the Cape, now known as the area of the Great Fish River, the Xhosa agricultural and pastoral peoples were the first to come into contact with the Cape colonists, the white people (Grütter & Van Zyl, 1981). This led to 100 years of intermittent warfare and confrontations consisting of skirmishes and hostilities, known as the Frontier Wars. The First Frontier War started in 1781. The final war was the Ninth Frontier War, which ended in 1878 (SAHO, 2018). Both the Xhosa and colonists were cattle-farmers and within time they started competing for grazing land in the same area. The white and black people did not understand the other's alternative system of land ownership. This led to misunderstandings in addition to plundering on both sides.

2.2.5 New Masters from Britain, 1806-1834

In 1795, the British took over the Cape, and in 1803 the Batavian Republic reassumed responsibility. The British then occupied the Cape for a second time in 1806 (SAHO, 2017), introducing British views and culture with firm autocracy. They were conservative and firm believers of keeping the common people in their place. The beginning of the 19th century was characterised by class segregation that gave rise to racial awareness. During this time race and class greatly determined an individual's status. The Dutch population was traumatised by British takeover. They developed sense of national identity that eventually led to the Great Trek.

The Industrial Revolution in Britain resulted in widespread unemployment and poverty, and many emigrated. The conflict at the Cape border between the settlers and the Xhosa became more dangerous. The first group of British settlers arrived in 1820. They were encouraged to settle in the frontier areas as defence against the neighbouring Xhosa people.

2.2.6 Migrations That Shaped the Future – the Mfecane/Difaqane and the Great Trek

Mfecane (or Difaqane) means forced migration (Walter, 1972). The period between 1815 and 1840 was characterised by warfare among indigenous ethnic communities in Southern Africa. The prelude to Mfecane was the militaristic Zulu Kingdom created by King Shaka, causing warfare in order to dominate new territories. During Mfecane, King Mzilikazi dominated the Transvaal. He removed all opposition, nearly depopulating the entire region by ordering widespread killings. He also reorganised the territory to establish Ndebele order (Hanson, 2002). It changed the demographic, social, and political configuration of Southern, Central and parts of Eastern Africa (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015).

Various population groups existed north of the Orange River between 1750 and 1835. In the mid 1830's, the Great Trek took place. This unique event was a source of social, political, and cultural forces that shaped South Africa. It was a large-scale emigration from the Cape and ended only in the mid 1850's. The Voortrekkers, also known as Boers or Afrikaners (descendants from Dutch settlers), decided to abandon British rule due to large scale dissatisfaction on the frontier (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2016). They had been severely affected by the emancipation of the slaves, the philanthropism-inspired regulations weakening control over non-white labourers, the losses from the wars, and the losses from the thefts at the border. In addition to great material loss, they felt that there could be no equality

between *us* and *them*. With most coming from the Eastern Frontier, 6000 people trekked to the interior. Piet Retief's party, the Voortrekkers, arrived in Durban and were welcomed by the British settlers as neighbours. Retief was advised that as a Voortrekker state they were safeguarded against King Dingane of the Zulu Kingdom, who was warned to be untrustworthy. Dingane had assured them an area between Tugela River and Mzimvubu River. Despite the warnings, Retief and his Voortrekkers visited the chief's main kraal where Dingane signed a treaty drafted by Retief. Retief and his unarmed party were then overwhelmed and killed at Dingane's command.

A second trek gathered momentum and the British were determined to control the trekkers. In 1852, the British recognised a Voortrekker republic for the first time and two Voortrekker republics existed. The Trek was the first serious estrangement between the British and the Afrikaners – the two main white allies in a black continent. The Voortrekkers had no port of their own, confrontations with black people persisted, and economic conditions were challenged.

On 16 December 1838, the Zulu Kingdom were defeated by the military superiority of the Voortrekkers at the Battle of Blood River. Despite the Zulu's quantitative advantage (20 000 over 470) they died in their thousands, turning the Ncome River red with their blood (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). It has been the largest single battle fought on South African soil.

2.2.7 State-Building and Struggle, 1850-1900

Between 1850 and 1900, South Africa had a dramatic transformation and started taking form. This was the outcome of political, economic, cultural, and demographic revolutions. About 20 independent communities occupied the land in the initial stage. Fifty years later the

entire area was divided into two British colonies (the Cape Colony and Natal) and two Voortrekker republics (the South African Republic and the Orange Free State). All black communities were subject to these authorities (Pretorius, 2012).

Before and after the Great Trek black community members were not given any political power. As years passed, the leaders of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State applied the policy of segregation in areas they considered their own. Black community members were also not allowed to own fire arms, as president Paul Kruger believed that white people could not dare it as they were outnumbered by black people (Pretorius, 2012).

2.2.8 The Two Anglo-Boer (South African) Wars

The Voortrekkers seized a discovery of the biggest diamond load in history, from Jagersfontein in the Orange Free State, where after the Brits annexed it. In the 1880's, the South African Republic made the mistake of discovering the biggest gold bearing body in the world, the gold reef in Johannesburg. Once again, the British saw this as pretext for war against the Voortrekkers. This led to the Anglo-Boer War in 1899. It was the biggest war that the British fought in comparison to the Napoleonic wars and the First World War. They deployed over 438 000 imperial troops. They conquered both territories and took over at the beginning of the 20th century; however, without an initial plan for these territories, they decided to keep some in and some out. The Union of South Africa was then established in 1910. The Zulus and the Xhosas were included in the new country; however, control was given to the whites. Political rights for black people were scarce throughout the globe (SAOH, 2016).

The Voortrekkers regretted accepting annexation by the British in 1877. This set off a chain of events that led to the First (1880-1881) and Second (1899-1902) Anglo-Boer Wars.

The Voortrekkers lost the war. The war was assumed to be fought by only the British and the Voortrekkers. However, as the war progressed, black, coloured, and Indian people played a variety of roles, in fighting and non-fighting capacities (Nattrass, 2017). They occupied the majority of both republics (Pretorius, 2012). The war was characterised by conflicting political ideologies of imperialism and republicanism, tension between political leaders, mining capitalists, and concentration camps (SAHO, 2011). It was the most destructive modern armed conflict in South Africa. The institutionalisation of apartheid is seen as a later stage in developments resulting from the settlement of the Boer War (Nattrass, 2017). Peace was signed at Vereeniging in 1902, and the British declared sovereignty over the former Voortrekker republics (Nattrass, 2017).

The war shattered the Afrikaners, as the Voortrekkers came to be called in the 20th century, economically, and psychologically. During the 20th century the Afrikaners took political power in South Africa. They were determined to gain independence from British rule. This fuelled an aggressive nationalism in pursuit of autonomy and overall control of South Africa. Coupled with their fear of the black majority, it partially explains the application of the apartheid policy in the 20th century. With the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961, Vereeniging was avenged (Pretorius, 2012).

Black people were equally shattered by the war and were frustrated without political acknowledgement. Shortly after the establishment of the Union of South Africa, the South African Native Congress emerged and became the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923. The black struggle persisted until 1994 with a democratically elected South African government; also avenging Vereeniging (Pretorius, 2012).

2.2.9 Union, the Rise of Nationalisms, and Resistance Movements

In 1910, the British and the Afrikaners formed the Union of South Africa. Referring to them, Jan Smuts (an Anglo- Boer War general) said that it was time to “forgive and forget, to bind up the old wounds and make the future happier than the past had been” (Nattrass, 2017, p. 138). Both of the groups believed it was essential they stand together to survive in a country where the black people outnumbered them five to one.

Events of preceding decades lead to stimulation of Afrikaner and African nationalism. Defeat and loss fuelled the growing nationalists fervour. Various black and white political organisations began to emerge.

The first Land Act was the Natives Land Act, in 1913. A native was defined as “any person, male or female, who is a member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa” (SAHO, 2013). This laid the foundation for subsequent Land Acts in 1923 and 1936, and then the segregated homeland policy in the 1950’s (Nattrass, 2017). The act reflected segregation and disadvantaged millions of people, creating social and economic problems that are still unsolved. It was illegal for black people (or Africans) to purchase or lease land outside specific areas, and their occupancy was restricted to less than 8% of South Africa (Nattrass, 2017).

2.2.10 The Rise of the Afrikaners and the 1948 Elections

In 1948, under DF Malan’s National Party government, the apartheid policy was implemented. His watchword was, “Join together those who belong together!” (Grutter & Van Zyl, 1981, p. 53). The idea behind apartheid was that whites and blacks were so culturally different they could never live in the same community; if they did, the white people would be outnumbered and overwhelmed by the black people. As a solution, they divided

the country between the whites and the blacks where both groups would have rights and citizenship. They further divided black people according to ethnic differences, not taking into account that all black communities are not equally culturally homogeneous. Under this policy black people were restricted to the reserves and still needed to work in white areas as they were unable to survive (Nattrass, 2017)

Ironically, the worst of the apartheid laws were made to sound as if they were based on human rights. A liberal Member of Parliament commented that it was a disappointment that the Afrikaners were treating the black people with the same discrimination the British treated them. Some apartheid policies included notices stating *whites only* or *non-whites only*, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act, and the Group Areas Act.

In 1949, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, and Nelson Mandela were elected to the ANC executive and adopted the ANC Youth League Programme of Action, calling for more decisive and militant action (Nattrass, 2017).

In 1953, members of different white, black, coloured, and Indian organisations came together at a massive Congress of the People at Kliptown, near Johannesburg. They adopted the Freedom Charter that stated South Africa belonged to all who live in it, including black and white, and the government could claim authority by the will of the people only. The government was alarmed by these communist ideas and responded by imposing stricter legislation (Nattrass, 2017).

2.2.11 The Pan Africanist Congress and Sharpeville – the 1960's

In 1959, ANC members who regarded the party as too moderate broke away and formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). This resistance movement gained serious

momentum. In the early 1960's, the PAC encouraged black people to go to the police station in Sharpeville and publicly burn their *dompas* (dumb pass). These were passes that required all black South Africans to carry documents that allowed them access into urban areas. An estimated group of 5 000 attended. There are various versions of what happened, some claiming the demonstrations were peaceful and others saying it was vicious. Police fired bullets that killed 69 and wounded around 180 people. This event became known as the Sharpeville massacre.

The ANC, PAC, and various other organisations regarded as subversive were soon banned. They went underground and established military wings; Umkhonto we Sizwe for the ANC and Poqo for the PAC. In 1961, South Africa became a republic. Between 1961 and 1963, Umkhonto we Sizwe were sabotaging buildings. From 1963 to 1964, the Rivonia Trial was held where key ANC leaders, including Mandela, were sent to prison on Robben Island for treason.

2.2.12 The 1970's and 1980's

Black labour responded with a series of strikes and the government faced problems defending its borders. The Black Consciousness movement, a resistance, also began in the 1970's. It encouraged black people to be proud of being black and to reject feelings of inferiority.

By the 1970's, black children were receiving schooling that was vastly inferior than what was determined by the government's Bantu Education policies. On 16 June 1976, 20 000 schoolchildren in Soweto marched against the decree that Afrikaans was the medium language of instruction in African secondary schools. It was seen as an act of further disempowerment. Many children lost their lives that day as police opened gunfire. With

many more lives lost as continuous violence spread to other townships, there is no doubt as to the brutality of apartheid (Nattrass, 2017).

2.2.13 The 1990's

On 11 February 1990, after 27 years of incarceration, Mandela was released. On various levels there was a sense of freedom that had never been experienced. Political prisoners were released and discriminatory laws were revoked; however, tension and dirty dealings still persisted.

In 1994, Mandela, leader of the ANC, became the first democratically elected president. Black, coloured, and Indian people had the right to vote. Mandela's aim during his presidency was to establish good race relations. In 1996, South Africa was given a new constitution. It is regarded as one of the most liberal constitutions in the world. Mandela's presidency (1994 - 1999) led South Africa on a path of reconciliation. He moved the nation forward and showed that a dark past can provide a bright future.

Most of South Africa's food needs are still supplied by white commercial farmers. Since the repeal of Land Acts in June 1991, the number of black farmers is increasing and government has been working towards redistributing appropriated land. Schemes are also afoot to develop small-scale farming, which should advance in time.

Black, coloured, and Indian children did not have the opportunity to attend Model C schools, which were whites-only government schools. It was only after 1994 when Model C schools accepted pupils from other races.

In 1998, people who had been victims of human rights violations during apartheid were invited by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to share their experiences. Perpetrators could also testify and request for amnesty. It was an attempt to heal the pain of the past.

Thousands of interviews were conducted. Testimonies included many cases of rape, torture, deaths in detention, political assassinations, and human burnings. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was criticised for not bringing killers to justice. Archbishop Desmond Tutu was appointed as chair and, although it was a painful process, he begged people to forgive and look to the future. It was a process of healing and social reconciliation for many who experienced the brutality of apartheid.

In 1999, Thabo Mbeki succeeded Mandela as president. He went on to serve two terms: from 1999 to 2003, and from 2003 to 2008. Mbeki emphasised transformation as part of an African Renaissance. He believed that Africa's problems had to be solved by Africans, and that economic rebuilding and growth were essential to become a significant player in geo-political affairs. Mbeki created employment in the middle sectors of the economy and encouraged the growth of a black middle class by implementing the policy of Black Economic Empowerment. Kgalema Motlanthe succeeded Mbeki and served as president between 2008 and 2009. Jacob Zuma succeeded Motlanthe as president and served from 2009 to 2018. He started the decade as a sacked deputy president and ended it as an elected president. His presidency has produced some of South Africa's most highly charged controversies. There was mounting criticism of Zuma from all quarters and it was clear that the ruling party was losing support.

2.2.14 Forces in Opposition

Since June 2000, the official opposition party to the ANC has been the Democratic Alliance. The Democratic Alliance has a large following in the Western Cape and traces its roots to the Progressive Party in 1959. They challenged political and business figures on issues of corruption, accusing them of being unpatriotic and embarrassing to the country.

The Economic Freedom Fighters was founded in July 2013, and is the most aggressive opposition movement yet. It is currently the third largest party in parliament. Members of the Economic Freedom Fighters wear distinctive red overalls and berets to identify with the working classes. Their demands include land redistribution, nationalisation of the mines, an end to retrenchments, and better salaries.

During apartheid trade unions provided support to the activities of the ANC and other liberation movements. In August 2012, an incident involving disputes between the South African Police Service, Lonmin security, members of the National Union of Mineworkers, and strikers (mine workers) took place at a Lonmin platinum mine, at Marikana, near Rustenburg in the North West. Workers were dissatisfied with the growing disparity in earnings compared to management, the poor living and working conditions for the workers, and the migrant labour system in general. Consequently, they went on an illegal strike that led to the Marikana massacre. There were about 3 000 striking miners and 718 armed police who claimed to have feared for their lives. The police opened fire and shot some miners in the back as they ran away. The Marikana massacre was the worst massacre since the Sharpeville massacre with 34 dead and 78 wounded.

There is concern that ordinary people have not benefited enough from the new democracy. The main beneficiaries of South Africa's hard-earned democracy have not been the workers, but the capitalists. As first president of the *new* South Africa, Mandela played a reconciliatory role and saw the country through a difficult changeover of power. Mbeki, Motlanthe, and Zuma were never as popular. Under these three presidents the ANC government has tended to put ideology ahead of practical decisions and efficiency.

2.2.15 Current State of Affairs

South Africa is a reminder of the proverb that the more things appear to change, the more they stay the same. There are many South Africans who struggle to move on from their experiences with disaffirmations, marginalisation, exclusions, discrimination, and violence. In addition, they have to deal with psychological distress, heal their wounds, and attempt to bridge the divisions of the past.

There is no question as to the severity of the issue of hate crimes in South Africa. Reports of incidents are seen in the media on a regular basis. In 2007, Jacobus Kruger, a former South African Revenue Services employee, was dismissed for using racist and derogatory language. In April 2015, Emmanuel Sithole, a street vendor, was the victim of xenophobic violence in Johannesburg's Alexandra township. Demanding payment from a group of youngsters who took a packet of cigarettes from his stall, he was killed. In February 2016, Vicki Momberg, a former estate agent, went on a racist tirade, verbally abusing a black police officer after she was the victim of a smash-and-grab incident. She was sentenced to three years in prison, with one year suspended, for the crime (Pijoos, 2018). In 2016, in what is known as *the coffin assault*, Theo Jackson and Willem Oosthuizen forced Victor Mlotshwa into a coffin and then threatened to set it alight with him and a snake inside. In January 2017, the iconic Cape Town mosque, Nurul Islam, was defaced with the blood and snout of a pig. In May 2017, Lerato Moloi, a lesbian, was raped, beaten, and stoned to death; the first act believed to have been corrective rape (Shange, 2018). South Africa is beset by deep-rooted racial inequality that continues 24 years after the end of white-minority apartheid rule. In recent years, social media platforms have erupted with racist behaviour.

Based on intensive research, South Africa has developed a comprehensive policy framework on combating hate crimes, hate speech, and unfair discrimination (Nel et al.,

2013). Media reports on incidents of prejudice-motivated hate speech and victimisation have increased sharply. Many countries consider hate crimes as priority crimes that justify special measures for anti-hate crime legislation.

The Hate Crimes Working Group (HCWG) conducted a five-year (2013 – 2017) longitudinal research study in five provinces of South Africa. The research study gauged the types, nature, and impact of hate crimes perpetrated against individuals and communities in the provinces of Eastern Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, and Western Cape. The full report of the Hate and Bias Crimes Monitoring Form Project indicated that prejudice is rife in communities across all socio-economic levels. It also facilitates discrimination that becomes the dehumanisation that preludes and accompanies hate crime. Furthermore, the report confirmed that hate and hate crime are still prevalent (Mitchell & Nel, 2017). Nationality (45%), sexual orientation (17%), and religion (14%) were the top three reasons (Shange, 2018), while race accounted for 9% of incidents (Mitchell & Nel, 2017).

Calls for hate speech law in South Africa have been increasing. On 6 January 2017, an article in the City Press recounted the most controversial racist posts from 2016. Both, 2016 and 2017 started off with racial slurs on social media (Lujabe, 2017). In October 2016, Justice Minister, Michael Masutha, announced the proposed Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill (the Bill). It served to combat hate crimes and hate speech and had been opened for public debate and consultation. Earliest talks around the formation of the Bill began in 2009. The aim was not to end racism, but create an instrument to hold guilty parties accountable before the law (Herman, 2016). It would first seek to the offence of hate crime, and then criminalising hate speech. On 7 March 2017, it was reported that the Bill would not pass. The primary cause of upset was the incorporation of the offence of hate speech (Wasserman, 2017). There is a need to address this legislative gap to ensure behaviour

change. The HCWG celebrated the drafting of explicit legislation that recognises hate crimes; however, they are opposed to the proposed criminalisation of hate speech. The reasons stated for the group's opposition were of legal, practical, and ideological nature (HCWG, 2017).

South Africa's particular history of marginalisation and exclusion needs to be viewed through the constitutional lens of openness, accountability, and transparency. This ultimately requires striking a balance between hate speech, freedom of expression, and non-discrimination. The Bill lacks such balance; however, may find redemption through the Equality Courts. The Equality Courts could narrowly define hate speech and provide defences to the charge of hate speech (Dube, 2017). In February 2018, the HCWG launched a petition calling for the Minister of Justice to legalise the Bill into law (Shange, 2018).

It is obvious that South Africa has complex and continuous challenges. Lately, debate has been dominated by inequality and race, occurring daily. Leading political commentator, Justice Malala, says that there is much analysis of South Africa's problems, but few offer solutions. He goes on to say that it almost feels like we are back in the 1980's or 1990's. Everyone wants to make their voice heard, but there are few indications as to what the next step is. Malala (2015) claims that the powerful, who sit in the Union Buildings, complain as if they are not in power, although they have been in power for several years.

Zuma resigned as president following a National Assembly vote on 15 February 2018. Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa, a South African politician, became the fifth president of a democratic South Africa. On 16 February 2018, he delivered his State of the Nation Address in Cape Town. He indicated hope and emphasised that the tide for corruption will turn. Ramaphosa reflected his thoughts on prejudice by saying:

We are building a country where a person's prospects are determined by their own initiative and hard work, and not by the colour of their skin, place of birth, gender, language or income of their parents... We should honour Madiba by putting behind us the era of discord, disunity and disillusionment. (Umraw, 2018, para. 9)

To take a step toward combating prejudice, South Africans must know the importance of Ramaphosa's words in his statement: "Now is the time for all of us to work together, in honour of Nelson Mandela, to build a new, better South Africa for all" (Umraw, 2018, para. 10). This is the time our country's leaders need to realise how crucial their voices are in the fight against hate crimes in all forms of intolerance, prejudice, racism, and discrimination.

2.3 CONCLUSION

South Africa has a long history of racial prejudice and discrimination, which continues to be felt and experienced today. While racism has not ended, the country has been stirred by individuals who express damaging views regarding certain population groups. Even though the justice system has charged some of these individuals, South Africans have a long journey towards non-racialism.

It is important to understand how negative attitudes result in various forms of violence and hate crimes. Since the negative behavioural implications of discrimination and racially-motivated hate crimes are far reaching, it becomes imperative to focus attention on reducing it.

In the next chapter, the theoretical framework of the study will be presented within the methodology chapter. As the study draws on constructivist grounded theory the inclusion of methodology and a theoretical framework in the research methodology chapter is relevant.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

No single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival casual factors...Because each different method reveals different aspects of empirical reality.

(Denzin, 1978, p. 28)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodology followed by the present research study. Provided is a detailed description of the research design and the assumptions upon which this choice is based. It details the participants, the sampling procedure, the research measure, and the research procedure of this study. The steps performed during the data analysis and verification are listed and discussed. Ethical considerations that underpin this research study are outlined. The chapter is concluded with a summary of the research methodology. Throughout the study the researcher aimed to base all decisions on informed reflections and methodological knowledge.

3.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The study was designed to identify the interpretations that perpetrators construct to understand racially-motivated hate crimes.

3.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.3.1 Research Design

It was important that the researcher choose a research paradigm that is congruent with personal beliefs about the nature of reality. In seeking a research methodology that would provide an ontological and epistemological fit for the position, the researcher was led to a qualitative, constructivist grounded theory approach. This would advance the researcher's social justice inquiry (Charmaz, 2011).

Qualitative research is positioned in a specific paradigm that acts like a lens through which one constructs reality to a particular worldview.

Paradigms represent what we think about the world (but cannot prove).

Our actions in the world, including the actions we take as inquirers, cannot occur without reference to those paradigms: As we think, so we act.

Paradigms are the vessels through which reality is interpreted. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 15)

Qualitative research allows for high levels of richness and depth. The researcher forms an integral part of the research process by becoming the instrument through which the data are collected, analysed, and interpreted; a process sometimes referred to as the interpretivist stance (Neuman, 2011; Wagner, Kawulich, & Garner, 2012). Nieuwenhuis (2007) highlights five assumptions of the interpretivist stance:

- Human life can be understood only from within. The interpretive stance focuses on people's subjective experiences.
- Social life is a distinctively human product. Interpretivists believe that reality is socially constructed.

- The human mind is the source or origin of meaning. It is only through the exploration of participants that researchers find true meaning of phenomena.
- Human behaviour is affected by knowledge of the social world. The relationship between theory and research are reciprocal. Theory influences one's understanding of issues, which in turn assists with the understanding of the world.
- The social world does not exist independently of human knowledge. Humanness guides the researcher through the research process and informs understanding of the investigation (p. 59).

There are three major components of qualitative research. Firstly, there are the data, which can come from various sources. Secondly, there are the procedures that the researcher uses, such as coding. Coding is an umbrella term that refers to conceptualising, reducing, elaborating, and relating. Other procedures include sampling, memo writing and diagramming. Thirdly, there are the written and verbal reports that can take various forms (Creswell, 1994).

The qualitative researcher aims to understand the processes and the social and cultural contexts that influence various behavioural patterns. The goal of qualitative research is to create, understand, and represent individuals' stories. This is done as they encounter, engage with, and live through situations (Wagner et al., 2012). It is concerned with people's lives, experiences, behaviours, emotions, and feelings.

The researcher chose the qualitative method to construct detailed, complex, and holistic descriptions of the social realities of the participants (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2011). This does not produce results by means of statistical procedures or other quantifiable means. The approach is unstructured and allowed flexibility throughout the research process.

It follows a nonlinear research path and includes detailed examinations of social phenomena (Neuman, 2011). The qualitative researcher seeks understanding, naturalistic observation, and subjective realities (Neuman, 2011). This research design was appropriate as it enabled the researcher to identify and investigate the interpretations that perpetrators construct to understand racially-motivated hate crimes.

3.3.2 Theoretical Framework

There are many different approaches to qualitative research. The researcher's interest in the social issue of hate crimes informed the choice of a constructivist grounded theory approach. Grounded theory is not a theory in itself. It is rather an investigation of social situations with the aim of producing a theory. Theory is not taken from the research literature, it is rather derived from the data that have been collected in the field (De Vos et al., 2011). The participants had all experienced a certain phenomenon. The development of a theory produced an explanation of a process, action or interaction, or provided groundwork for further research (Creswell, 1998).

Grounded theory was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Creswell, 1998; De Vos et al., 2011; Mills, Bonner, & Francis, 2006; Suddaby, 2006). They described it as a practical research method that focuses on the interpretive process. This is done through the analysis of the actual production of meanings and concepts used by social actors in real settings (Suddaby, 2006). New theories are born out of the contrast between the daily realities and the interpretations of those daily realities made by those who participated in them; the interpretations made by the actors (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The method, as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is built upon two key concepts. The first concept is *constant comparison*, where data are collected and analysed simultaneously to generate

theory. It also refers to the iterative process that continually compares data incidents and categories. The researcher constantly asks: “How does what I already have differ from what I now found?” (De Vos et al., 2011, p. 318). Theory is built by making comparisons and looking for similarities and differences. The researcher records ideas as the data are collected and analysed in a process called *memoing*. Consistencies in the data identify and produce a coded category or concept, which continues to be compared to other categories and new information. Categories are then grouped together to form themes. This leads to the second key concept of *theoretical sampling*. The researcher decides which data should be collected next. Decisions are based on the theory that is being constructed. When no new categories emerge, theoretical saturation has been reached. The theory can be presented as a diagram, hypotheses, or discussion (Creswell, 1998).

Suddaby (2006) suggests that grounded theory is not:

- an excuse to ignore the literature,
- the presentation of raw data,
- theory-testing, content-analysis or word-counts,
- simply routine (mechanical) application of technique to data,
- perfect (it is inherently “messy”),
- easy (it is inherently the product of considerable experience, hard work and creativity), or
- an excuse for the absence of a methodology. (p. 634)

He rather suggests that grounded theory is a methodology that is attentive to issues of interpretation and process, which does not bind one too closely to long-standing assumptions. It is a method that is more appropriate to use for some questions than others. It is best used to

understand the process where actors construct meaning out of intersubjective experience. For example, using grounded theory may be inappropriate if seeking to make knowledge claims about an objective reality; however, it may be appropriate if seeking to make knowledge claims about how individuals interpret reality (Suddaby, 2006).

The researcher adopted a constructivist approach to grounded theory, placing priority on the phenomena by emphasising the participant's situations and assumptions attached to it. Constructivist grounded theory was influenced by the work of Strauss and Corbin (Mills et al., 2006); however, Kathy Charmaz was the first researcher to describe her earlier work explicitly as constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000). Constructivist grounded theory has fundamental epistemological roots in sociological social constructionism. "A constructivist approach places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). A number of articles about constructivist grounded theory exist within the literature (Mills et al., 2006; Morse, Stern, Corbin, Bowers, Charmaz, & Clarke, 2016; Charmaz, 2011). Within the constructivist paradigm the existence of an objective reality is denied. Charmaz's use of constructivism assumes that reality can be interpreted in multiple ways and that individuals construct their worlds under specific historical and social conditions that shape their view and actions. Charmaz (2000) proposed that, "Data do not provide a window on reality," and that reality rather, "arises from the interactive process and its temporal, cultural, and structural contexts" (p. 524). She argues that constructivist grounded theorists are impelled to be analytical in their writing; however, their style of writing needs to be evocative of the experiences of the participants (Charmaz, 2001). A constructivist approach to grounded theory allows the researcher to address *how* and *why* questions while acknowledging the complexities of life. The method is also constructed

throughout the investigation (Charmaz, 2008). A constructivist approach highlights grounded theory as a method of innovation, rather than mere application.

A constructivist grounded theory approach allowed the researcher to learn about the participants' views and concerns, rather than merely applying a predetermined set of rules. The emergent character of the method and its flexibility provided the social justice researcher with the necessary framework of changeability. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) suggest that constructivist grounded theory is and will be a method for the 21st century.

Charmaz (as cited in Wagner et al., 2012) describes that the researcher must consider multiple social realities, co-construct meaning with the participants, and try to understand and interpret the various meanings that participants hold. Constructivist grounded theory challenges the researcher to set aside biased expectations about the outcomes of analysis to allow findings to be solely derived from the data collected. Historical and cultural contexts should be kept in mind when interpreting data.

Constructivist grounded theory keeps within the aims of exploring and gaining a greater understanding of the psychological factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa. The chosen research design allowed the data grounded in theory to emerge as the researcher engaged with the perpetrators' perspectives. By setting aside pre-existing ideas and keeping South Africa's unique racist history in mind, themes and categories were identified and a theory was generated.

3.3.3 Theory and the Literature Review in Grounded Theory

The area of literature and its uses are diametrically contested between traditional and evolved grounded theorists. Strauss and Corbin (1994) identified various uses for early engagement with the literature; however, Glaser (1992), Charmaz (1990), Creswell, and

Leedy, and Ormrod (De Vos et al., 2011), who have extensively written about grounded theory, agree that one only considers theory after data collection and analysis. It is suggested to rather make use of sensitising concepts that serve as a point of reference and guide for theory development (Bowen, 2008). It would be ironic to provide a theoretical framework, as the purpose of grounded theory is to produce theory. If the researcher wishes, a literature review can be included after a discussion of the research question. This review, however, would not provide as much value as in deductive research. For the current research study, a discussion of the relationship between the new theory and existing theories was included in the final section. As Charmaz (1990) indicates, it was important to merely delay the literature review rather than failing to include it. This allowed the researcher to develop a fresh set of categories and decrease the possibility of contamination by preconceived ideas. By delaying the literature review, the researcher compared the developed categories with concepts in the literature and orientated an appropriate stance (Charmaz, 1990).

Wagner et al. (2012) suggested nine ways to guide the use of literature. These were adopted in this grounded theory research whereby literature was:

- to be used as a source for making comparisons in data collected,
- to enhance sensitivity to subtle nuances in data,
- to give accurate descriptions of reality,
- to give an orientation to the field and material,
- to serve as a secondary source of data,
- to formulate questions for early interviews and observations,
- to stimulate questions during analysis,
- to suggest areas for theoretical sampling, and
- to confirm findings.

3.3.4 Participants and Sampling

A final number of five participants fit the necessary inclusion criteria (Appendix A) and were included in the study. Qualitative research is not prescriptive in nature and there are no rules regarding the ideal sample sizes. Sample sizes tend to be small due to the in-depth nature of data collected (Wagner et al., 2012). An article analysing 100 articles aimed to provide sample size requirements for grounded theory, and indicated that the sample size relies on the point of theoretical saturation (Thomson, 2010). In other words, the researcher continues expanding the sample size until no new data emerges. Conducting individual interviews with a smaller sample size allowed the researcher to undertake a deep and meaningful study. This was done through thorough scrutiny of each of the participant's account of the phenomena.

Non-probability sampling was used in the present study. The researcher did not predetermine the sample size and had limited knowledge about the larger group or populations from which the sample was taken. The participants were selected from a South African prison. Their cases were not randomly selected. They were gradually selected, based on specific criteria. The participants were selected according to their relevance for the study rather than their representativeness of the population (Neuman, 2011). This was achieved through prior examination of their prison records, which validated and provided the nature of the crimes. Biases were acknowledged as a general part of the qualitative research process and the researcher actively engaged with them (Wagner et al., 2012).

The present study had nuances that affected the sampling process. The sample size was dictated by the method of gathering data. This research proposed to make use of theoretical sampling that is one of the key concepts of grounded theory; however, due to logistical reasons, snowball sampling was used. As hate crimes are not categorised as a crime in South

Africa yet, identifying possible participants using theoretical sampling was challenging. Snowball sampling was identified as a more suitable method as it was able to inform the study. It is used when members of a special population are difficult to locate. During the first phase of sampling, a few relevant individuals were approached. Selecting the individuals who were potential participants for the study was greatly dependent on the assistance of key individuals or gatekeepers from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS). These key individuals or gatekeepers facilitated participation once they were informed about the research. Thereafter, snowball sampling came into effect and the first suitable participant provided the details of other individuals who were possibly suitable participants. The DCS obtained the individuals' case files and then determined their suitability. Snowball sampling is being used more frequently in South Africa as it provides access to difficult to reach populations (De Vos et al, 2011).

3.3.5 Research Procedure

The researcher first obtained the necessary permission to conduct the proposed study from the Faculty of Health Sciences Research Technology and Innovation Committee (FRTI) and the Ethics Committee – Human (REC-H) of Nelson Mandela University (H16-HEA-PSY-008) (Appendix B).

Following FRTI and REC-H approval, the researcher submitted a formal application to the DCS. According to DCS policy, conducting research within any DCS facility requires the approval of an application that must be submitted to the Research Directorate. An application was submitted and included a detailed research proposal, ethics clearance letter from the university, research tools, certified copy of identity document, completed G179 application form (Appendix C), completed DCS agreement form (Appendix D), and proof of

registration from the university. It was then presented to DCS-Research Ethics Committee (for human subject) during the REC-H meeting, held every quarter. After a thorough review of the application to conduct the proposed research study, the REC-H granted permission (Appendix E).

Written approval that the permission was granted was obtained from DCS policy coordinator. Once this was received, the researcher was referred to the Human Resource Development Manager who assisted with obtaining permission to access the establishment and its inmates from the Area Commissioner. The researcher was then referred to the Head of Centre, where psychologists and social workers were made available to assist with participant identification and venue allocation. The individuals who met the necessary inclusion criteria were identified from the DCS database and narrowed down through snowball sampling. The psychologists and social workers assisted with the sampling process. They ensured that the possible participants were the actual holders of the required information (Wagner et al., 2012).

Following the snowball sampling procedure, the researcher had a list of names for five possible participants. Due to time constraints and the prison being short staffed, the allocated time frame for data collection was only one week. Each participant provided informed consent during the first interview. This was the first of a three-session semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix F). Interviews were conducted individually and in an office behind a closed door with a guard outside for security purposes.

The first consultation with each individual started with the focus on informed consent. The nature, purpose, and ethical considerations of the study, and the commitment requirements of a participant were outlined and discussed in detail. This was done in relation to an information sheet and informed consent form provided (Appendix G). To avoid

misunderstandings or misinterpretations, asking questions relating to the consent form or getting any information clarified was encouraged during this time. A language barrier between the researcher and one of the participants was mediated through an isiXhosa translator. The participants provided written informed consent by signing the consent form and were provided with an outline of the days and times of their interviews. The participants were informed that all information will be kept confidential and that a pseudonym will be allocated to represent them. The informed consent process emphasised the voluntary nature of participation in the study. The participants were given opportunity to refuse participation at any time and were ensured that there were no consequences in doing so. The first interview also provided the researcher with the opportunity to develop rapport with the participants and gain their trust (Wagner et al., 2012). In retrospect, this process allowed them to reflect on the research study and their unique contribution to the it.

During the first consultation, once the participants had provided informed consent, the first semi-structured interview was conducted. The purpose of the interview was to gather rich descriptive data to help the researcher see the world through the eyes of the participant (Wagner et al., 2012). All interviews were guided by the interview schedule that contained a basic structure on how to conduct the interview. The interview schedule included valuable questions to gather useful information to possibly fill the identified research gap (Wagner et al., 2012). The researcher was interested in information about the participants' personal, social, and family history. All individuals are influenced by their history and cultural context, which, in turn, shapes their view of the world, the forces of creation, and the meaning of truth (Mills et al., 2006). The researcher chose to use open-ended questions to allow opportunity for self-expression (De Vos et al., 2011). This provided a comprehensive

account of the background of the participants, contributing to the holistic interpretation of the data. A rich description of the participants was provided.

Participants were also required to record journal entries. Writing materials were provided at the end of the first consultation and they were allowed to keep their journals with them for the duration of data collection. The materials were provided to each participant in a sealed envelope that was marked with their assigned number, which was used to protect their confidentiality. The journals included comprehensive instructions that the researcher read to and explained to each participant (Appendix H). The instructions indicated the amount of information that was expected to be recorded and the type of content, such as emotions and thoughts, that it should entail. The journals provided a richer description of the participants as their entries were recorded outside of interviews and in their own time. This also allowed time for self-reflection (Neuman, 2011). The participants' personal insights, which were unobtainable through other means, were recorded in their daily journals. The data supplied through the journal entries broadened the researcher's insight of the participants' understandings, experiences, personal meanings, and interpretations of themselves. It was a means to build onto the verbal data from the interviews, clarify possible ambiguities, and highlight discrepancies. To become better acquainted with each participant and nurture a feeling of trust, the researcher utilised the remaining interview time to develop rapport and to answer any questions that had emerged. It was important to establish a relationship of trust as the foundation for information to be shared comfortably (Wagner et al., 2012).

The subsequent interviews followed a set of predetermined guidelines and questions that were structured to investigate four areas related to the participants. These included:

- childhood and family life,
- progression into becoming a perpetrator of hate crime,

- hate crimes and the emotions that they attach to them, and
- perceptions of his acts.

The final interview allowed the researcher to conclude the study in an orderly manner and to clarify any ambiguous data. After the conclusion of the entire interview process, the journals were collected.

Interviews were recorded using a voice recording device. This allowed the researcher to give the participant complete attention and to observe and make notes of non-verbal communication and cues that could be taken into account during the data analysis phase. Data was collected under the assumption that the participants' responses were drawn from their own truthful recollection of events or behaviours. This was also a term stipulated and agreed to in their consent form. The audio files were labelled with each participant's pseudonym and assigned number to ensure confidentiality. Following the interview process, the audio data was transcribed by an independent transcription company and a hard copy was made available for analysis. To ensure confidentiality the transcribers signed confidentiality agreements (Appendix I). The disks and journals were stored in a secure environment only accessible to the researcher. The researcher coded and analysed the data, which was verified by the supervisor of the research study. All data including disks and journals are stored for a minimum of five years.

Recalling the act of violence was potentially traumatic for both a participant and the researcher. The participants were informed that should they encounter this, debriefing sessions would be made available on their request.

3.3.6 Data Collection

3.3.6.1 Interviews. The primary data collection strategy, which produced the majority of the research information, were semi-structured interviews. It was appropriate due to the complex, controversial and personal nature of the study. Interviewing is a rich source of data and is a two-way conversation aimed at collecting data about ideas, experiences, beliefs, views, opinions, and behaviours (Wagner et al., 2012). It allows the researcher to see the world through the eyes of the participant. The interviews provided valuable information and to ensure this, a sustaining trusting relationship was crucial.

The researcher developed an interview schedule, which is a set of predetermined open-ended questions based on the topic under investigation, to guide to the process (Appendix F). The interview schedule first included an introduction pertaining to ethical issues, informed consent, and permission to audio record the interviews. This was followed by the main questions and a concluding statement. The questions assisted in building an informed understanding of the participants. It also provided the researcher with an extensive background of the participants, contributing to a more holistic understanding of the phenomena and assisting in the identification of common themes that the participants share. The interview schedule was flexible, allowing the participants – the experts – to lead. Most of the interview questions arose naturally as the participants shared their stories. The semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to adapt and follow avenues not listed on the interview schedule.

Each interview was opened with a greeting and a brief, casual update on how the participant was coping. This put the participants at ease and allowed the researcher to gain their trust. Thereafter the researcher re-informed the participants of certain features of the research, which included confidentiality, the recording of sessions, and the outline of the

session. The researcher then enquired whether the participant is ready to start and informed the participant when the recording began.

A semi-structured interview usually lasts for a considerable amount of time and the researcher must be able to adapt the conversation as it develops. This type of interview allowed the researcher to explore interesting avenues as they emerged and the interviews often became intense and involved. The researcher allowed the interview schedule to guide, rather than dictate the interviewing process. As the experts of the subject, the participants were allowed the necessary time they required to tell their stories. They also introduced topics the researcher had not thought on several occasions.

Interviews are not only rich in verbal communication, but also rich in non-verbal cues. Non-verbal cues are cultural, so it was important that the researcher responds appropriately. Making use of an audio recorder was advantageous as it ensured that the researcher was fully attentive to the participants during the interviews. It also provided full record of the interviews, which were transcribed at a later stage (Wagner et al., 2012). All interviews were audio recorded with a high-quality battery-operated voice tracer. By doing so, all the details of the participants' lived experiences were recorded and nothing was omitted. All of the participants were comfortable to be recorded and the audio recorder was placed inconspicuously, not to distract the participants. The digital audio-recording device used was tested prior to each session to ensure its functionality. As a precautionary measure the researcher always carried spare batteries. Each participant had a different coded file on the recording device that was backed up at the end of every day of data collection.

3.3.6.2 Documentation. The documentation used during the data collection included personal records. These personal documents are subjective interpretations and can be used to a certain extent for research purposes. The personal records involved individual journals that

the participants were encouraged to make entries in during their own time, throughout the week of data collection. “In the social sciences, documents serve as receptacles of evidence for claims” (Wagner et al., 2012, p. 141). The journals were an additional source of the participants’ representations of events. This kind of information had to be seen in its social context and was employed as a secondary source to ensure reliability. Babbie and Mouton (as cited in Wagner et al., 2012) describe the usefulness of incorporating personal documents to be used for the evaluation of theories, hypotheses, and assumptions. It allows researchers to investigate the core of human phenomenon.

The data recording by personal documentation was planned in advance by the researcher. At the end of the first session, all of the participants received a sealed envelope containing a journal, two pens, and clear written instructions for their journal entries. The instructions were discussed with participants. They were given the opportunity to ask questions and receive clarification of uncertainties, which the researcher would respond to.

The journals provided the participants with the opportunity to record information they might have forgotten during the interview or they wished not to verbalise in person. It allowed the participants with the opportunity to further describe how their lives were lived, how their lives continue to be lived, and what their social world looks like (Wagner et al., 2012). The sensitive nature of personal documents are to always be treated with the utmost care, keeping ethical implications in mind.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

According to Strauss and Corbin (1994), the grounded theory research tool, depends upon “systematic asking of generative and concept-relating questions, theoretical sampling, systematic coding procedures, suggested guidelines for attaining conceptual (not merely

descriptive) density, variation, and conceptual integration” (p. 274). The responsibility rests on the researcher to develop possible relationships between concepts. Through the exploration of each new situation the researcher determines whether or not the data fits the developing theory. There is a constant back-and-forth movement as the researcher constantly compares data sets to each other and to the developing theory at the same time. Creswell (as cited in Fenlason, 2009) refers to data collection and analysis as a zigzag process. The researcher goes out to the field to gather information, analyses the data, goes back to the field to gather more information, analyses the data, and so this process continues until the categories are saturated. Grounded theory involves coding processes, simultaneous collection and analysis of data, the constant comparison of data, memo-writing, sampling, and the integration of theory during the write-up stage of the research (Wagner et al., 2012).

After the data had been collected, it was analysed using appropriate methods. The method of analysis chosen for this study was thematic analysis. The researcher achieved this by identifying patterns in the data. This approach complemented the research questions by allowing for themes to emerge direct from the data using inductive coding. Thematic analysis, as grounded theory, focusses on the use of codes and categories (Wagner et al., 2012). This qualitative method of data analysis is widely used within psychology. It allows the researcher to analyse data in a flexible manner (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is in keeping with the purpose of the study, which is to generate theory.

3.4.1 What is thematic analysis?

For the purpose of this study the researcher followed the thematic analysis guidelines suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). They describe thematic analysis as a process that can be used with qualitative information and allows for the conversion of qualitative information

into quantitative data. Boyatziz (1998), and Ryan and Bernard (2000) argue that it should not be viewed as a specific method, but as a tool or process that can be used across different methods. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) counterargue that thematic analysis should be considered a method in its own right. Their argument is that the majority of analysis is thematic in nature. Thematic analysis is a poorly defined, rarely acknowledged, and commonly used qualitative analytic method.

Thematic analysis is put forward as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It is commonly used, but there is some uncertainty as to what it is and how it should be done. It is important that qualitative researchers explicitly indicate what, why and how they did their analysis. It is important that the process and practice of the method is stated clearly. It is not yet considered a standardised analysis in the same way that other methods are, such as grounded theory. Its basic function is organising and describing a data set in rich detail.

Researchers often claim that they have discovered themes or that several themes emerged from the data, which is a passive interpretation of the analysis process. It robs the researcher of the active role in identifying themes, choosing those of interest, and then reporting on them (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis is considered to be very flexible in nature. In grounded theory, among others, there are different recipes that guide analysis. There are no clear and concise guidelines concerning the use of thematic analysis, thus the *anything goes* critique applies in some instances. It is compatible with essentialist and constructionist paradigms and provides theoretical freedom which makes it a valuable research tool (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Willig (2013) differs from Braun and Clarke (2006). Willig (2013) suggests that it would be more appropriate for thematic analysis to be characterised by theoretical flexibility rather than

freedom. Thematic analysis still requires theoretical and epistemological commitments from the researcher. However, these are not indicated by the method and need to be chosen by the researcher. It is relatively easy to use thematic analysis, even for researchers who are still learning qualitative techniques.

3.4.2 Inductive versus theoretical thematic analysis

There are two primary ways in which themes can be identified in thematic analysis. Firstly, through an inductive or bottom-up approach. Secondly, through a theoretical or deductive or top-down approach. This study employed an inductive approach that is similar to grounded theory in some instances. It means that the identified themes strongly correlate with the raw data and the emerging themes are *grounded* in the data (Willig, 2013). The researcher engaged in a data-driven process of coding without any preconceived ideas. With that being said, it is important to remember that researchers are bound by certain theoretical and epistemological commitments and cannot code data in a space of nothingness.

3.4.3 Latent themes

Themes were identified at a latent level. This means that analysis went deeper than the semantic content of the data and focused on the “underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations – and ideologies” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 84) that supported the semantic content of the data. It is the reflection of the researcher’s interpretation of what the participant said and is also referred to as a *suspicious* approach to data analysis (Willig, 2013). The latent approach can be seen as a three-dimensional figure that goes beyond the surface to include motivation for particular form and meaning. It involved interpretative work and the produced analysis served as the built theory.

3.4.4 Epistemology: constructionist thematic analysis

Epistemology guides the researcher to describe the data and meaning within. Analysis within a latent level tends to be informed by a constructionist paradigm. This means that an individual's meaning and experience does not essentially exist within them, but is the result of the society wherein they exist. Thematic analysis within this framework attempts to propose the sociocultural contexts and structural conditions that inspires that content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.4.5 Thematic analysis and grounded theory

The researcher needed to ensure that the theoretical framework and methods correlated with information desired. Thematic analysis differs from grounded theory as it seeks patterns in the data and is theoretically bound. Nevertheless, “the goal of grounded theory analysis is to generate a plausible – and useful – theory of the phenomena that is grounded in the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). The use of grounded theory has been watered down as a set of procedures for coding data very similar to thematic analysis. This is not on par with the true commitments to grounded theory that directs analysis towards theory development.

3.4.6 What counts as a theme?

“A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Most definitions constitute that a theme refers to a “particular, recognizable configuration of meanings which co-occur in a way that is meaningful and systematic rather than random and arbitrary” (Willig, 2013, p. 181).

It was important that the researcher considered what constituted a theme and what size the theme needed to be. Preferably, there were a number of occurrences of the theme across the data. However, more occurrences do not necessarily add more weight to the theme. There are no standardised guidelines as to what proportion of the data is required to provide evidence for the theme to exist. It was the role of the researcher to determine the themes, while retaining some flexibility and keeping in mind that rigid rules do not apply. A theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures, but rather on the relationship with the research question. Consistency had to be maintained as the researcher determined themes and prevalence. The researcher considered the emergence of a theme when it was consistent in three of the five transcripts.

3.4.7 Phases of thematic analysis

The researcher followed the phases of thematic analysis (Table 1) as prescribed by Braun and Clarke (2006). When considering the phases of thematic analysis, it is important to bear in mind that it is flexible in nature and that the phases are guidelines, as opposed to rules. The analysis is also not a linear process, but a process that requires continuous back-and-forth movement throughout the phases. It is a timeous process and should not be rushed.

The phases of thematic analysis are not all necessarily unique as some contain similarities to other qualitative research. The process of thematic analysis may commence during data collection and will occur when certain themes and noteworthy issues become consistent in the data. The goal is to reach the point of reporting on the content and meaning of the themes in the data. A component of thematic analysis is a constant back and forth movement between the entire data set, the coded extracts, and the analysis of data that is being produced. Writing is a crucial part of the process and should commence in phase one

and continue through the analysis process. Ideas and hunches regarding coding schemes should always be noted.

3.4.7.1 Phase one: Familiarising yourself with your data. The researcher mostly worked with the verbal data from the interviews. This data required transcription. Although this provided the researcher with the ideal opportunity to become familiar with the data, the transcriptions were done by an external company. It remained the responsibility of the researcher to check the transcripts back against the original audio recordings for accuracy and to become familiar with the content of the data. The accuracy of the transcripts as a reflection of the verbal information was imperative. The researcher had to be immersed in the data through repetitive and active reading, during which patterns were constantly searched for. Braun and Clarke (2006) recommended that it would be ideal for the researcher to read through the data set at least once before coding the data. The aim is to become very familiar with all aspects of the data. Reading and re-reading the data was very time consuming, thus the smaller sample size allowed for thorough scrutiny of the data. This phase was highly important as it laid the foundation of all subsequent phases. The researcher also took notes during this phase.

3.4.7.2 Phase two: Generating initial codes. Phase two commenced after the researcher had read through the data, become familiar with the data, and created a preliminary list of ideas about what the data contained. This phase required the production of initial codes from the data. The purpose of producing codes is to identify certain elements of the data that represents the most basic pieces of the raw data. It is the process of recognising an important element and encoding it (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis includes coding as it organises raw data into meaningful ideas. “A good code is one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon” (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 4).

It is important to note that the coded data are not the themes. Themes are much broader and only starts its development in phase three. Table 2 provides an example of codes applied by the researcher to a short segment of data.

The most important part of this phase is to ensure that all transcripts are coded and then organised together relative to each code. The researcher followed the advice provided by Braun and Clarke (2006):

- Code for as many potential patterns as possible (time permitting) – a researcher never knows what might be interesting at a later stage.
- Code extracts of data inclusively – include surrounding data if it seems relevant, a common criticism of coding is that the context is lost
- Remember to code individual extracts of data in as many different themes as they fit into – an extract may be uncoded, coded once and coded many times. (p. 89)

Contradictions, tensions, and inconsistencies might also exist; therefore, it is important to keep the central story in mind when coding.

There are numerous ways to code transcripts. In this research, the researcher coded manually and systematically, and worked consistently through the entire data set. In this process, interesting ideas of possible themes were identified. The use of highlighters, coloured pens, and sticky notes were made to indicate certain elements in the data. Following the coding process, the researcher's supervisor was invited to also code the documents. The results were compared and no modifications were required.

3.4.7.3 Phase three: Searching for themes. Phase three commenced after the researcher had coded and organised the data, and then produced list of the different codes. The development of themes took place in this phase. This included a broader interpretative

analysis of the data by organising the different codes into potential themes and assembling all the coded data extracts within the identified themes (Table 3). The researcher decided to utilise visual representations such as tables and mind maps to distinguish the relationships between codes, themes, and the different levels of themes. Some codes were discarded at the end.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the following questions need to be considered in this phase:

- What does this theme mean?
- What are the assumptions underpinning it?
- What are the implications of this theme?
- What conditions are likely to have given rise to it?
- Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)?
- What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic? (p. 94)

This phase ended off once the researcher had identified themes and sub-themes, and organised elements of data that had been coded in support of these. Nothing was discarded, as themes could still take different forms as the process progressed.

3.4.7.4 Phase four: Reviewing themes. This phase involved the refinement of the possible themes identified in phase three. It will become apparent that some emerging themes do not become finalised as themes, some might merge into each other, and some might need to be broken down into separate themes. Themes should clearly differ from each other and the data within the themes should be supported meaningfully.

This phase involved two levels. Level one is the reviewing process that focusses on the coded data extracts. The researcher read all the organised extracts for each theme and

decided whether or not it formed a meaningful pattern. Once satisfied that the themes encapsulate the content of the coded data, the researcher moved to level two. Level two is similar to level one, but speaks to the entire data set. The researcher had to verify the validity of the themes in relation to the data set and also whether possible themes were a true reflection of the data set. This was achieved through re-reading the entire data set. Re-reading the data set allow the researcher the opportunity to discern whether the themes work in relation to the data set and to code any overlooked data, keeping in mind that coding is a continuous process.

The reviewing and refining of coding continued until the researcher was satisfied with the identified themes and had enough data to support them. Coding data and generating themes could be a never-ending process. When refinements are no longer significant the recoding process can be discontinued. At the end of this phase, the researcher more or less identified the different themes, how they fit together, and the overall story they tell about the data. The outcome of this refinement process can be seen in Table 4.

3.4.7.5 Phase five: Defining and naming themes. During this phase of analysis, the researcher defined and further refined themes, and analysed the data within them (Table 5). The researcher did not merely paraphrase the content of the data extracts, but identified what and why these pieces were noteworthy. Each theme had to tell a story and relate to the initial research question. Themes were considered in relation to each other to avoid overlap. Themes also include sub-themes, which assisted in organising larger themes. Table 5 outlines the final refinements of the researcher's thematic map.

At the end of this phase, the researcher was able to clearly explain what the themes included and excluded. This is done when the content of the themes can be successfully described in a few sentences. The researcher considered what names would be given to

themes in the final analysis. Names need to be brief and specific, and clearly state what the theme is about.

3.4.7.6 Phase six: Producing the report. After thorough analysis, the identified set of themes was finalised. The researcher then engaged in the final analysis and write-up of the report. The aim of this phase is to narrate the complexities of the data in such a way that it convinces the readers of the soundness of analysis. The analysis must always provide a “concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive and interesting account of the story the data tells” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 93). In the write-up, all themes were supported by sufficient evidence. This was achieved by providing extracts as examples. These extracts captured the essence of what the researcher was bringing forth. The write-up goes beyond the mere provision of data. Extracts simply forms part of a broader analytic narrative and illustrates the story being told. The analytic narrative goes beyond the description of the data, and makes an argument regarding the research question. All statements need to be grounded in and go beyond the face value of the data. The researcher carefully considered Braun and Clarke’s (2006, p. 96) 15-point checklist of criteria for good thematic analysis. This checklist is outlined in Table 6.

3.5 STRATEGIES OF TRUSTWORTHINESS

It was important to assure the validity of the results of a research study. In qualitative studies this is referred to as trustworthiness of the data. A rich and thorough description of data is encouraged to convince the reader that appropriate methods were used and results were sufficiently interpreted. As suggested by various authors, including Lincoln and Guba (as cited in Wagner et al., 2012), the researcher closely considered the following four criteria to ensure trustworthiness of the data:

3.5.1 Credibility

This is an alternative to internal validity. It is considered to be the most important criteria for trustworthiness. This term is used to ensure that the research activities were conducted in such a manner that the subject has been accurately identified and described. It refers to the link between the participants' views and how these views were constructed by the researcher. The strength of a study lies in its credibility. In this study increased trustworthiness and credibility was ensured by carrying out unobtrusive measures, using multiple methods of data collection, peer checking, and triangulation (Wagner et al., 2012).

3.5.2 Transferability

This is an alternative to external validity or generalisability. Here the researcher is concerned with whether the results of the research can be transferred from the current study to another situation. This can be very problematic and pose various challenges. To combat these challenges, the researcher referred back to the original theoretical framework and triangulated multiple sources of data. Transferability can be achieved by maintaining the original forms of data and providing thick descriptions (Wagner et al., 2012). The researcher involved multiple cases and more than one data gathering method, which strengthened the usefulness of the study for other settings (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.5.3 Dependability

This is an alternative to reliability. The researcher is concerned with whether the research process is logical, well documented, and audited. Throughout the entire study the researcher aimed to base all decisions on informed reflections and methodological knowledge.

3.5.4 Conformability

The researcher is concerned with whether or not the research findings made by the researcher can be confirmed by other researchers. It focuses on the concept of objectivity. The researcher's supervisor independently peer reviewed all the transcripts and results to increase the objectivity of the findings.

De Vos et al., (2011) outlines, "The notion of management of the research process, transparency with specific reference to the auditing trail or research story and reflexivity have become more important strategies for ensuring quality research than the four criteria offered by Lincoln and Guba" (p. 422). An auditing trail is a continuous documentation process and critical analysis of all decisions and actions taken by the researcher. It does not only explain the what of the study, but also the how. Reflection of having the role of the interpreter and the author enhances the trustworthiness of the research.

For the current study, the researcher attempted to take equally great care in how the data was analysed and how the steps were described, relative to the actual application of techniques and procedures (De Vos et al., 2011). It was important that the researcher recognised personal subjectivity and biases, considered the impact of these on the findings, and used strategies to counter them as far as possible. The researcher attempted to use unobtrusive measures to get as close to the authentic data as possible. This was done by creating a safe and non-threatening environment as far as possible. The participants were continuously reassured that all information revealed will be treated confidentially and with the necessary sensitivity. The researcher used multiple methods of data collection. This included interviews and document analysis, which increased the trustworthiness and credibility.

3.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Researchers who turn their backs on ethical issues might be negligent towards society (De Vos et al., 2011). The researcher had a moral responsibility to strictly consider the rights of the participants who were the source of information. It is important to develop rapport with participants and respect them as autonomous beings. Due to the sensitive nature of this study, possible risks needed to be examined in order to minimise possible anxiety in the participants. Ethical measures taken included ethical conduct towards the participants' information, honest reporting of the results, consent, confidentiality, anonymity, privacy, distribution of results, and the participants' right to withdraw from the study at any time.

3.6.1 Avoidance of harm

The researcher was fully aware that the participants were not to be physically, psychologically, or emotionally harmed in any way. The participants were informed about the precise focus of the research and the information required prior to the commencement of the study. Arrangements for support during and after the research were made with the participants. Researchers conducting research about traumatic events need to be fully aware of the nature and effects of trauma prior to commencing the research (De Vos et al., 2011). Strategies for dealing with incidents where the participants may become extremely distressed would be dealt with. In these instances, advice and counselling would only be provided by trained researchers.

3.6.2 Voluntary participation

The participants were informed of the voluntary nature of participation and that they would not be coerced to participate. The participants were informed that they could freely

withdraw from the study at any time either temporarily or permanently without giving a reason.

3.6.3 Informed Consent

Voluntary consent of all the individuals prior to their participation was requested in an understandable language and given by all of the participants. They were informed about the purpose of the research, the time involved, and what was expected of them. Written and verbal consent was needed. It was made clear to the participants that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any time and that any recorded data would then be destroyed. The participants were also made aware that the research might have an effect on their emotional welfare. Consent for the use of audio recorders was also requested and given by the participants (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.6.4 Deception of participant

Information was not misrepresented or deliberately withheld from the participants. This was to ensure that they had all the information at their disposal to make an informed decision regarding their participation. There are researchers who feel that some level of deception is necessary to conduct meaningful studies. It is common to come across the misrepresentation of research purposes, especially in the case of small qualitative projects. It is almost impossible to hide the fact that one is doing research; however, it is appropriate to hide one's purpose (De Vos et al., 2011). Deceit can take many forms. In this study, deceit took the form of shielding personal feelings to appear neutral to the participants (Wagner et al., 2012). The researcher examined an unpleasant aspect of life namely, racially-motivated hate crimes. By entering the research setting with biased thoughts, the researcher would have gone against the principle of maintaining a neutral stance in data collection.

3.6.5 Privacy, confidentiality and anonymity

Information obtained from the participants was not be made public or available to others. Appropriate measures were taken to store the research data. Raw data obtained was used in such a way that only the researcher will know the source. According to De Vos et al. (2011), privacy refers to agreements between persons that limit the access of others to private information. Codes were attached to the information instead of the participants' names. The participants were informed that they were free to decide what information they wished to share and should not feel obligated or pressured to discuss matters they did not wish to discuss.

3.6.6 Compensation or reciprocity

Monetary compensation could have affected the outcome of the study as some fabrication of events could occur, which could raise ethical concerns or jeopardise the validity of the findings (Wagner et al., 2012). The participants were thus not compensated for their participation in any way whatsoever. The researcher's intention was to avoid the participants feeling obligated to share information, which they thought was wanted from the researcher in exchange for money.

3.6.7 Debriefing of participants

Debriefing of the participants took place immediately after the last interview session and was done to clarify any misconceptions and to make sure that the relevant participants received the appropriate counselling (De Vos et al., 2011). The participants were referred to the DCS counselling department and put in contact with a social worker or a psychologist.

3.6.8 Release or publication of research results

The results will be distributed in the form of a research report. Participants will be given feedback regarding the research. The report should stimulate readers to want to study it and also determine its feasibility for implementation (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.7 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 provided an outline of the research methodology relating to this study. A qualitative, constructivist grounded theory research design was used. The participants were asked to participate in interviews and complete journal entries. Data was analysed by means of thematic analysis, which guided the identification of themes and categories and allowed for the development of a new theory. This study aimed to contribute to the knowledge-base of racially-motivated hate crime perpetration. The research methodology allowed the researcher to investigate the nuances of the lived experiences of the participants. In the next chapter, the results will be presented and discussed.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

By emotionally binding together people who had the same experiences, whether in touch with each other or not, the collective story overcomes some of the isolation and alienation of contemporary life. It provides a sociological community, the linking of separate individuals into a shared consciousness. Once linked, the possibility for social action on behalf of the collective is present, and, therewith, the possibility of social transformation.

(Richardson, 1990, p. 26)

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the study as obtained from data analysis. Searching for themes by using Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis, the researcher re-focused the analysis at the broader level of themes. Three broadly held templates and three core themes with sub-themes were identified. The thematic analysis process that was applied to the transcripts elicited key themes that were evident in the data. These themes are viewed as essential in determining the understanding of all the participants. Through the application of the processes of constructivist grounded theory namely, thematic analysis, frustration deconstruction theory (FDT) was formulated. A coherent graphic representation of the factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes was constructed by the researcher and provides a simplified version of the various systems and relative functions. The researcher allowed the data to lead the research outcome, avoiding any bias or preconceived ideas. A detailed description of FDT using textual language was developed.

4.2 OPERATIONALISATION OF THE STUDY

The total time of the audio recorded conversations was approximately 6-hours and 30-minutes. Following the interviews, the audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. The researcher also captured additional notes and observations in as much detail as possible. Subsequently, the researcher conducted thematic analysis by adhering to the guidelines of Braun and Clarke (2006), which was in accordance with the principles of constructivist grounded theory.

4.3 DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Snowball sampling was employed and five participants were selected and consented to take part in the study. As hate crimes are not categorised as a crime in South Africa yet, identifying possible participants was challenging. The participants were all black, male South African citizens. Four of the five participants were proficient in English. One of the participants required the use of an isiXhosa interpreter to assist with the interview process.

The participants were between the ages of 34 and 55 during data collection. The participants' prison sentences being served during the data collection were imposed between the ages of 24 and 30. Their sentences were for crimes involving murder, robbery, armed robbery, theft, car theft, housebreaking, rape, possession of dagga, and pointing a firearm. The participants all had a history of criminal behaviour prior to their sentencing. The length of the participants' sentences ranged from 10 years to life imprisonment. None of the participants were due for release during the research.

Relevant extracts from the participants' interviews (transcripts) and journal entries have been included in the sections below. Each extract has been assigned either a letter-number code or a letter-letter code. The transcript extracts are indicated with a letter and a number.

The letter refers to the specific participant and the number refers to the page number the extract was taken from, for example, A1 concerns the participant assigned as “A” and the extract is a transcript from page 1. The journal extracts are indicated with a letter and then *J*. The letter refers to the specific participant and *J* refers to a journal extract, for example, AJ concerns the participant assigned as “A” and the extract is a journal entry.

4.4 PRELIMINARY THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

The initial combination of different codes into themes lead to the formation of three broadly held templates:

- Normalcy,
- Deterioration, and
- Growth.

The following represents a synopsis of these templates about the psychological factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes. These yield specific social functions and ideological outcomes or effects.

4.4.1 Normalcy

All of the participants described their racially-motivated hate crimes as an extension of events pertaining to racial hate, criminality, and violence, that was present in their lives. There was a sense of normalcy in the participants’ descriptions of these events and they did not consider their experiences as out of the ordinary. Most of the participants described their transgressions as a logical extension of their lives:

But because I was used to crime I just took it, it is going to be okay, it is going to be normal.

(B2)

What I found strange was the fact that stealing or hijacking a car of white person looks normal. Community will respect you for that because you don't steal from them. But it's okay to steal from a white person.

(BJ)

Because I had dropped out of school, we were people that would always burn government cars. You see? We would burn cars. We would organise meetings, kangaroo courts. We would plan to throw petrol bombs at police cars and cars that were owned by white people. Those things were not considered a big deal, you see.

(EJ)

It is clear that the core elements of the narratives are the normality of violence and racial hate in the participants' societies. Words and phrases, such as "normal" and "used to" captured this experience.

4.4.2 Deterioration

For all of the participants, the racially-motivated hate crimes that led to incarceration were the result of "an error in judgement", a "momentary lapse" in thinking and feeling, or even a "downward spiral". Their incarceration interrupted their dreams and plans for a future of freedom; their deterioration was indicated:

Our parents had a dream about all of us at home, therefore they wanted to see us becoming university graduates, teachers, police officers, doctors, etc., but due to circumstances which prevailed, I could not finish school just as it was expected. I just discovered myself deviating from the straight path which my beloved parents taught me about and joined the underground ranks and criminal forces consisting of predominantly young and adult black males emanating from different black townships.

(AJ)

I had ambitions, I thought one day I will be a Judge. But unfortunately, I couldn't. As they say, "the long arm of the law" can catch up with you, that is what happened to me.

(B20)

Mom and pop actually wanted me to be a doctor and I wanted to be one also.

(C12)

Remember that I was a boy with ambitions and dreams back then, so crime was not really something within which I committed just for the sake of doing it. I was a bright kid with a brighter future up my way.

(DJ)

References to "dream", "ambitions", "bright future", "university graduates", "teachers", "police officers", and "doctors" all indicated the presence of the participants' hopes and plans for the future. These were all interrupted by a downward-spiral or tipping-point into a life of

crime. Ironically, the participants' dreams and fights for freedom deteriorated into a life of incarceration.

4.4.3 Growth: The Development of Moral Conscience

While most shifted the blame of their crimes to external forces, several of the participants also took responsibility for their crimes. The participants' stories contained evidence of remorse and rehabilitation. It seemed that the event that led to their incarceration also served as a realisation and turning point in their life. Most of the participants made references to a feeling of regret for their actions:

And I felt guilty, guilty for, for having killed two people because it was my first experience in life to, I never killed anybody, anybody in my life.

(A17)

Yes, this is a bad thing because God didn't create us to kill one another. God created us to love one another. I felt remorse and I am still currently feeling highly remorseful. It is bad because to kill someone you are snatching out the soul of God. Because the soul is coming from God, you don't have to kill.

(A24)

But when I became matured, understand politics because most of the things, lack of understanding the politics can push you to extreme roots you know? Now that I am politically matured, I understand now okay why someone does something like this you know? It was the failure

that this person was taught like this and this growing up. Imagine the way I was taught by my uncle, if I didn't change what he told me what kind of a person or a man I would be in the future if I adopted everything he told me? I was going to be a ruthless kind of a person. I am not proud of all the crimes I committed.

(B23)

But now that I am grown up I do understand things a bit differently.

(C8)

I hope God, he will forgive me and my victims because I did something wrong to the people in my community and I am a good man. I used to do these things, you see. At that time, I thought they were right. But at this time, in this rainbow nation, these things are not right.

(EJ)

References to “guilty”, “bad thing”, “remorse”, “not proud”, “forgive me”, and “wrong” all indicated a sense of transformation, growth, and a process of maturation. One of the participants described themselves as having “matured” and another described that they have come to “understand things a bit differently”. They also conveyed great eagerness to provide possible solutions to combat racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa. They possess a rite of passage and strongly advocated that their stories can also provide lessons for fellow South Africans, especially the youth. They wanted to not only keep the value of their experiences for themselves, but also wanted to share their stories in the hope of inspiring a unified South Africa.

We must have some workshops you know to discuss about those major issues of racism. How are we going to attend the matter, how are we going to reduce it you know, to make the people to have the common understanding, you know?

(A24)

So as long as people don't want to speak out about it, it is still going to continue. If you keep your problem inside you will keep on hating people. You know, but if you sit down and talk we will realise same blood that comes out your skin is the same with mine, you know? It is only the skin colour that is different, you understand? It is about time we forgive and move on.

(BJ)

4.5 THE ANALYTIC NARRATIVE

In order to address the research problem, to identify the psychological factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa, the researcher had to formulate an argument that went beyond the mere description of the data and beyond the three broadly held templates. This was achieved by providing extracts that captured the essence of the theory being developed by the researcher.

The researcher became immersed in the data through repeated and active reading, while constantly searching for meanings and patterns. The raw data was organised in a meaningful way to form codes. The development of themes followed the analysis of codes. Each theme

required analysis and write-up. And each theme had to tell a story and relate to the initial research question. The codes were categorised according to three core themes, namely:

- A deflection of personal responsibility,
- (White hegemonic?) power, positionality and privilege, and
- Choice.

4.5.1 Theme 1: A Deflection of Personal Responsibility

The first core theme included several sub-themes that served the broad function of the participants distancing themselves from their racially-motivated hate crimes and making references to their own victimisation.

4.5.1.1 “It’s an inborn thing”: In the beginning. The first sub-theme of Theme 1 relies on the historical writings and storytelling of South Africa. The majority of the participants described preconceived historical facts as truth. Most of them assumed that racial hate among humans is a predetermined course of development to be fulfilled by society. They believed that racial hate originated centuries ago and that human beings are inherently orientated to hate those of a different race. The participants’ narratives centred on the essentialist nature of racially-motivated hate with reference to being born with such characteristics. All of these ideas were encapsulated in either the interviews or journal entries:

So, it is an inborn thing, it cannot be helped because it goes back to the Bible whereby Cane assassinated his black brother but in the past it is being assumed in the Biblical perspective that Cane was a white guy and Abel was a black guy although the father was Adam and the mother was Eve. So, I am trying to make an example of that racism come from

a long way you know, in those Biblical stories you know? It is an inborn thing, it was divinely created purpose to make racism to exist because it existed before we were created. So, it is an inborn thing, you cannot be, but it must just be reduced but it will never vanish because it is just, you know, you are born with it.

(A23)

All such crimes of this nature are actually being triggered by the so called racial hatred of some decades ago which actually originates from Cape Town whereby we have been taught historically that the forces of Jan van Riebeeck took away all the private property of the Hottentots who lived there in peace and harmony enjoying the wild fruits and vegetables of the forests. I am talking about their cattle, sheep, and goats that were forcefully taken away through a barrel of a gun, the ninth Xhosa and Boer Wars and the total difference of our political ideology, political background and the negative attitude towards one another is also one of the causes.

(AJ)

Well it (racial hatred) has been planted long time ago if we go back to history. Fortunately, at school I did Jan Van Riebeeck when the white people came to South Africa I started to understand race started right there...that was the root of racism because when Jan Van Riebeeck came to South Africa they started a refreshment station at Good Hope. So, if you

listen to those stories you can pick up from there, there was a problem.

(B14)

According to my knowledge it started from somewhere and that somewhere it was over the seas. Ja, because remember in Africa there were no whites before, it was simply black and then upon the arrival of the whites that is when the issue was started.

(D2)

References to “inborn thing”, “divinely created”, “will never vanish”, “racial hatred of some decades”, “planted long time ago”, and “taught historically” were presented as explanations for the continued occurrences of racially-motivated hate crimes into the 21st century. These descriptions allowed the participants to assign the locus of control for racial hatred with the natural composition of men. Their stories also minimised their responsibility for the events. Most of the participants commented on the parallel nature of the past and present. They noticed little, if any, growth and change in a democratic South Africa. From the participants’ narratives, it became apparent that the origin of racism or racial tension is rooted in the realisation of different races centuries ago.

4.5.1.2 “We know what we have been told”: *Upbringing.* The second sub-theme of Theme 1 involves a common feature within the participants’ accounts for their actions. The participants’ environments are a determining factor for their actions. Most of the participants ascribed their actions to insufficient parental involvement, social learning, role models, and peer pressure. The participants highlight these as contributing factors to their racially-motivated hate crimes:

We, the youth of that era, were taught in politics almost every day by all those former Robin Island political prisoners who strongly hated the white rule of minority government.

(AJ)

I don't think a white guy can just run to a black guy in town and assault him, there is something that motivates that person to do that. It is not something that he woke up and have it, it is something he grew up with it.

(B17)

Growing up from a nearby farm I was exposed at racism even though I was too young to understand its dark side. I sat down with my uncle who was an ex Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadre. I told him what happened and he started to tell me about South African history. He opened up my mind about politics and how cruel white people are. He taught me about African National Congress (ANC) and its military wing. I got more interested and started to hate white people. New ventures in history which was about arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and white missionaries, added more interest and eager to join this military wing.

(BJ)

Growing up then what I was being told by those before me, meaning the generation before me. Mothers and fathers, actually my society that actually is no crime in taking from the white guy because it is what they are doing to us. We don't know much about what took place before us, but we

know what we have been told. By those before us. So, I would say it, whatever that motivated the crime is what we were fed, this is what you do in order for us to be free. In my understanding the situation was hatred, so I think what motivated it is what, what we have been told before, yes. All the elders there was to say, watching television with us they will opinion on whatever is on television and we listen to them, and we will record them obviously and we actually practiced what we heard from them.

(C10)

There are those who are older than me, you see that would teach me these things.

(E6)

These extracts clearly demonstrate that some of the participants' understandings were developed by the examples made by significant individuals. This is evident in some of the participants' understandings. The application of knowledge gained through education is often facilitated by role models, such as family members, who reiterate this information through example. Role models play an important role in the concepts described by all the participants, for example, all of the participants reported that their exposure greatly shaped their view of the world around them. Given their environments, the participants were faced with limited choice, if any. It was evident that a great deal of what the participants believed about other races was instilled by role models from a very young age. Role models, by their nature, provided the examples for the participants' psychological make-up, beliefs, and behaviour. The participants had a variety of role models, which included parents, grandparents, peers, and community members. An important factor that became evident was

that the participants had an opportunity to view the nuances of race through the eyes of others. In this study, this was typified in the participants' accounts of how they grew up and what they were told by significant others. It appears that these close and active relationships allowed the knowledge to grow. Allowing children the opportunity to apply their knowledge and see the steps taken by a role model towards someone from a different race translates such knowledge into behaviour. The political, social, and psychological arena became the motivating factor for the generation of discourse that has placed all white people as the source of black suffering.

The influence of peers and group memberships also played a substantial role in most of the participants' worldviews. Group affiliations contributed to the participants' behaviour. Seeking approval and acceptance from peers had an impact on what behaviour was conventional and normative:

Now friends I got this money pop gave, okay you know what, before we go home we must take things from the White guys and go back home with them, which I agreed on.

(C6)

Okay so I would say my life of crime began trying to please others and then it grew. Usually you live by the knife your friends will also be the guys who live by the knife. I got introduced to hijacking by a friend.

(C15)

But there were lots of us, you see. We did these things in groups. We

manipulate each other.

(E8)

References to, “it is something he grew up with”, “tell me all the stories that were painful to black people”, “what I was being told by those before me”, “we know what we have been told”, “whatever that motivated the crime is what we were fed”, and “we actually practiced what we heard from them”, all implicates environmental determinism as a causal factor for the accounts of racially-motivated hate crimes. The key finding of this theme is that through exposure, for example, the influence of role models, peers, and experiences, the participants formed their worldviews, the filter the world is viewed through around them. Their exposures continuously shaped their mentality, choices, behaviour, attitudes, mind-sets, and assumptions.

4.5.2 Theme 2: (White hegemonic?) Power, Positionality and Privilege

The second major theme included sub-themes that referred to the justification or rationalisation of the participants’ racially-motivated hate crimes as the result of their position in society. Racism and oppression form an integral part of South Africa’s history, which is rich in its struggles against oppression and is tied to colonialism and imperialism. This theme strongly critiques racism, and how power and privilege was purely an ideology and discourse based on skin colour. The construction of *whiteness* (being a white person) as a correct ideology places those who are not white in situations where they are stripped of power, position, and privilege. In South Africa, hate crimes are fuelled by such ideologies. Various systems of oppression existed to strengthen those in power. This category depicts stories of needs justification, emotional turmoil, and a search for emancipation.

4.5.2.1 “Life on the outside demands money”: *Needs justification.* The first sub-theme of Theme 2 was regarding basic human survival. All of the participants described their actions as a means of ensuring material survival for themselves and their dependents. All of the participants mentioned material gain as a compelling factor contributing to their racially-motivated hate crimes. The link between money and their racially-motivated hate crimes was closely related to their justification for unmet basic needs. The participants were compelled to act in order to avoid future financial catastrophe. This theme refers to the participants’ perspectives of those unmet fundamental requirements that serve as the foundation for survival:

The one who encouraged the crime to escalate was the late communist leader and MK Commander in Chief, Mr Chris Hani’s political speech which stated that “All black people should intensify the political struggle on all fronts by taking away exactly what actually belonged to them as their birth rightful owners of the land”. He said we had to fight side by side until the last drop of our blood and victory is attained by those who are willing to sacrifice in body and soul. In addition, the political influences, political conditions which ultimately resulted into poverty, misery and scarcity of employment led to the commission of various sorts of crimes and criminal elements so most black people, especially the underprivileged class wanted to survive financially.

(AJ)

So again on the following week on Tuesday I reminded them about what they actually asked them, that man, that former employer said to me that “no you will

receive R120-00 per week”. I said no this is not going to afford my basic needs because now my girlfriend is now you know, pregnant, is about to go into labour and now I got my own basic needs that buying myself you know some valuable items of the house as I was now occupying a two roomed house in Queenstown. So I had to buy a bed you know, and all that stuff. Kitchen, kitchen unit and all that you know? So how am I going now to manage buying those things now because they are quite expensive, they won’t afford this money, also to be need to be attired on weekend you know? So now my privileges were not actually to be considered. As I actually raised my, my concerns. So he said to me that no are becoming now you a nuisance now and I don’t employ people like you because me I don’t work like that. You have to accept what I say to you, and I said to him that I have got also rights no matter whether whom you regard me but I have my basic human rights therefore I am supposed and I forced and bound to demand my privileges and rights. Because now I am, I am sweating here and you are with me. You are the one who was supposed to take care of me because I am here now and this is self-sacrifice to work these long working hours. Otherwise it wouldn’t have happened, this case if ever I was paid quite adequately or sufficiently.

(A2)

I was in need of cash and not just cash, fast cash.

(B1)

Everybody wants to make money and everybody wants to make a living.

(D15)

The participant's positionality and experience of privilege were that black people do not have access to the wealth of white people. White people were viewed as the source of resources. They indicated these views in their interviews or journal entries:

The fact that blacks believe that 70% of economy is still with whites increases that hatred.

(AJ)

People are angry, and they feel entitled to white people's assets.

(BJ)

Okay so I grew up in that mentality so taking from the white person is no crime.

(C5)

What caused us to cause trouble for them (white people) was that we could respect black people because they did not have nice things. Now the people we could bother were people who had nice things, you see, white people, you see. But we could not take things from the township because black people's things were old. Now you find that people want to be part of the latest things, you see. People want to wear expensive tekkies. You know of Adidas and such, these Nikes. People want those things. White people can get these things the quickest, if we are telling the truth. Now Xhosa people don't like to see these things on white people. So they take them, you see.

(EJ)

The participants spoke about having money and resources for the sake of not only themselves, but also for others who were their responsibility. Most of the participants

described themselves as the breadwinner or the providing-father. This served as justification for their racially-motivated crimes as they had to provide for their families. It became apparent that most of the participants experienced some degree of social pressure to provide and fulfil their responsibilities to their families. References to “familial responsibilities”, “maintain our households”, and “support” portrays these participants’ drive to fulfil their roles. By fulfilling these roles or pressures, the participants were able to justify their actions:

I had the responsibility of myself, responsibility of the house and where I was residing, responsibility of my girlfriend who was expecting to go into labour, so I was confused really, I needed you know someone to you know rescue me financially.

(A25)

I couldn’t support the mothers of my kids together with the kids before they were born. So, I had so much pressure.

(B1)

Having too much responsibilities required drastic decisions which meant to take the route of crime.

(BJ)

I had to make ends meet and the only choice and idea that I had was that of crime. Shoplifting was my main crime when luck was by my side. That was until my mother got sick from double pneumonia and I had no other choice but to commit a bigger offence just to assist pay her medical expenses because of medical aid could not cover up for all the medical costs. As a result, I ended up engaging to house

robbery trying to save a life that had carried me for 9 months in the womb.

Therefore a Chinese was robbed all due to the fact that I was frustrated as I was scared and not ready to lose my mother from the fatal ailment from which she was succumbing here.

(DJ)

The extracts above indicate the likelihood that the options available to the participants were limited. By using the role of the breadwinner or the providing-father as justification for racially-motivated hate crimes, the participants are almost placed on a moral high ground, lowering the level of judgement taken against them.

4.5.2.2 “I was furious”: Emotional turmoil. The second sub-theme of Theme 2 frames racism as a marker of pain, fear, anger, isolation, and anxiety in the participants’ lives. The participants recalled numerous instances when they experienced racism and stereotyping; explicitly blaming the old and new South African bureaucracy systems. Hegemony constructed and maintained racism, and hegemonic discourses created the ideal environment for racism. Those in power constructed race to become oppressive through the language of difference. Racism furthermore positioned individuals into different social sites based on their access to privilege and power. The participants formed part of a group of South Africans who were unhappy, disgruntled, struggled to find employment, and felt that the status quo did not resonate with them. The participants beheld situations of injustice and waited for redress. With no redress and seeing the former perpetrators benefitting in a society that was meant to be equal, their anger and resentment grew to a point of implosion. Racism manifested in the lived experiences of the oppressed, fuelling their hate and militant anger. After many years of reconciliation, emotional scars are still evident:

So, we grew up with that anger, especially during the '70's and '80's, you see. We had that anger because we were the youth of that time, you also know about that youth, you see. You have been taught about it, you see. That youth grew up with anger, they could even burn other people. They could make petrol bombs and throw them at white people's cars.

(EJ)

Well my uncle is a former activist, he is a MK member, he is the one who pushed me to join MK. So, when I was growing up he used to tell me all the stories that were painful to black people you know? Being done by white people. In a way, it made me to be, I don't want to say I was a racist, but I developed hatred towards White people because of what they were doing. As a result, at school I was doing Afrikaans, I decided to stop at standard 4 due to the influence of the stories. I said I am not going to do this language because this language belongs to the oppressors, yes, I did all the other languages except Afrikaans.

(B21)

Because I was angry due to empty promises from leadership, I did few robberies and found myself deep in crime.

(BJ)

But sometimes when some things happen they actually make me activate the hatred which I am trying not to dwell upon I would say. Actually it depends, let us say I am watching television and then comes something

that maybe degrades my own race committed maybe by a white guy, that thing then it makes me, it makes me like, it actually activates hatred.

(C8)

But when I got into politics, you see I realised that were things to be spoken about. That white people would take cattle owned by black people, you see. As we got older we saw these things and would say: “Hey, these people, these things they are doing are not right. They live in nice places and have lots of cows. They have a lot of nice things”, you see. That caused us to have anger. That white people were not right for black people, you see because white people are oppressing black people, you see. We saw then also saw white people’s schools. Everyone would agree with me that the apartheid regime is the real cause of the escalation of crimes in south Africa precisely because black people were deprived of almost everything and had wanted a better lifestyle like their counterparts, the white people, who lived in luxury, harmony, and enjoyed full democratic and human rights in the presence of the rightful owners of their fatherland, South Africa, which I believe belongs to all of us who was born and bred in South Africa.

(AJ)

4.5.2.3 “Anger leads to violence”: *Militant masculinity.* The third sub-theme of Theme 2 speaks to how South Africa’s legacy of racism and political mismanagement led to the participants expressing their disposition. They behaved in a militant manner that was fuelled by external situations. Violence served the purpose of advancing militarised goals

and hate crimes were associated with dissatisfaction over government services and racial prejudice. It seems as though a *militarised masculinity* was being presented by the participants, which reflected the struggles during apartheid as men were mobilised toward aggressive expressions of emotional experiences. A militant approach to politics gave disgruntlement articulation. The fight was in search of emancipation and against the shackles that bind. The participants wanted to see change and have their voices heard in government. They fought against the status quo to ensure black liberation:

I joined MK in order to liberate my people.

(BJ)

So, we grew up into politics precisely because the whole South Africa was in political crisis everywhere. It was school uprisings, political violence, everywhere people opposing racial oppression and racial discrimination and some other apartheid illegal forms of laws which were discriminative in nature. I got arrested with the majority of other rebelling students opposing Bantu education which instilled and belittle the status of a black man to that of an animal, which also degraded us in order to accept an inferiority complex and white community to occupy the highest status of superior supremacy.

(AJ)

I've seen man and woman burned by tyres at the young, very young age, some even stoned to death on claims that they were spies – “izimpimpi”.

Back then violence was so right because it was justified by freedom for all.

(CJ)

They (the former MK cadres) will inspire the people to react violently in order to oppose the former apartheid government. So, it was chaotic almost everywhere and the Casspirs and the Hippos were ruling our streets in our townships you know, so it was not bad, it was, I mean it was not bad it was worse.

(A10)

A lack of education politically leads to poverty, poverty leads to anger, anger leads to violence and violence leads to crime.

(BJ)

Anger was militarised through political anti-racist or anti-apartheid training. Some hegemonic depictions of masculinity within the military involved dehumanising the enemy in order to be emotionally prepared for war. Masculinity and manhood became synonymous with aggression, courage, violence, sacrifice, and control over emotions. The participants' stories encapsulated their emasculation and their actions served as justification once again. The participants' reflections on their actions indicated that it served the purpose of protection in different circumstances. Some of the participants referred to self-defence as a crucial component in their competitive social contexts. In some instances racially-motivated hate crimes were necessary to construct masculine identity, construct a sense of self, achieve success, and survive. The participants could not bear to lose their self-respect, the respect from others, and honour. They used racially-motivated hate crimes as defensive strategy. It

was evident that there exists a certain set of attributes, behaviours, and roles generally associated with boys or men and that one has to keep to these rules in order to deserve the title *man*. A sense of self was clearly linked to comparison and affiliating oneself with other men. Having preconceived ideas of themselves and their masculinity, the participants regard authority as being vital to the preservations of their self-concept. Most of the participants defended their reputation by using violence. The participants responded to situations with violence when they sensed that their authority or self-image was being threatened in some way. Some of the participants described their involvement in racially-motivated hate crimes as a necessity for physical protection when facing another who seemed powerful in some way. In the face of physical intimidation, masculine power was on the line.

A critical examination of the transcripts revealed that the participants had a strong definition of their identity, not only by their sense of masculinity, but also by belonging to a particular race or ethnic group. These racial identities were dependent on how much they had processed and internalised the sociological, political, and other contextual factors within that group. Identity is thus constructed as a dualism of masculinity and race.

In the face of a challenge, the participants were forced to maintain their status, reputation, name, respect, and honour in relation to others. The participants framed their actions as a response to a test wherein their status was questioned by an external source. They needed to defend their honour in the face of humiliation and embarrassment. The participants reflected on various related events:

So I was wondering and I had to defend myself because I was being now called by names and I was being now you know, discriminated in that fashion so I had to fight for my own dignity now. And I actually assumed

that I was innocent, this man was just taking me for a ride, let me fight back, I am also a man, I cannot allow another man to take advantage or to bully me in that manner. And you know calling me, undermining me you know, disgracing me you know in a racial manner you know? So I grabbed that hammer with my right hand side now and I hit him right here on the head.

(A5)

I was a fat kid while growing up and my peers would associate every silly joke with me and I hated it. That made my self-esteem so weak that I never trusted myself in anything. Ended up living the life of trying to prove a point, of I can do anything, anything a skinny guy would do. That was the element I think introduced to the life of crime. For my mind was vulnerable to any influence. I started drinking and smoking at young age and walking around with a knife in my pocket. I've stabbed many and got knifed too a number of times, but yes, I did get the recognition I believe I deserved. For many now feared and respected me.

(CJ)

The unique South African disposition, based on the peaceful transition into a democracy, was not an anticipated output for many black South Africans. These people felt that their experiences and pain were not appropriately expended.

So when I came back from the military I was still raw and wild you know and my blood was hot. I wanted something to do with the gun because the fact that I went for military training, the aim that I had when I went to exile

was to make sure that I deal with white people who are busy practising this apartheid once and for all. But he came the icon and said, let us lay down the arms, it is time for negotiations. Many people especially in South Africa they don't understand what it caused to all those people who underwent the training and prepared to fight, but all of a sudden, we were told we are no longer going to fight. Because now let us go back and look at the number of people who received military training, what are they doing outside at the moment? They are unemployed but that skill you cannot take it away, one way or another that person is still having issues, if he went to exile because he was against white domination when he looks at white people that mentality comes back again because nothing has been done. No psychologist or social workers gave counselling to that person after experiencing all those things in the military. Because being in the military is not the child's play, when you come back you need to be conditioned and how to live with people because you live more like an animal when you are a soldier you know? That is why I found myself now in this situation because I used my skills of military wrongfully in committing crime you know?

(A22)

I am talking based on experience that I am a former member of MK so it is something that is very close to me because the reason why I decided to join MK in the first place was because of racism. I was disappointed with the

current party, that is the ANC, my party, with the way they treated us upon our return to the country.

(B1)

A critical analysis of the transcripts brought forth the participants' feelings of frustration and disillusionment towards the outcome. They bought into the idea of fighting for equality and freedom for all, only to realise that the powerful, the privileged, and the status quo would remain in power, making their efforts invaluable:

There were three, all of them white, then it is when they used those racial words. It became a problem and I was very much pissed off because now it brings the flash backs of where I am coming from, why did I join MK if South Africa is like this even today you know?

(B4)

People are running out of patience, you see. With the promises that were made, you see, you find that that the person who was promised a house, does not have that house after 20 years, you see. But the ANC is in power. It is the ANC that said we should put, going to school aside and fight against this thing, you see. Now these people stopped, they fought and they got freedom. Now you find that the ANC is also eating this thing, in high places, you see. That's how these things are. But now what happens here. Those that are benefiting, are in charge in high places. The government must think of those at the bottom because in the end. Look we are going to be badly affect by ourselves. Black person, white person now. Now- what will happen is. There is no one who won't have that thing. We can all see

that. In the end the Democratic Alliance will fight with the ANC - the black person, the white person, everyone you see. And the Economic Freedom Fighters, they will also fight. All those things. Because Malema and the others, do not consider people who have nothing. They hype these people up, to go and take by force other people's things.

(E9)

In the end, the fight for freedom was coerced into a fight for survival. The outcomes were not what they expected it would be and empty promises shattered the participants' ideologies. With military training being the only skill at their disposal, most of the participants entered into a life of crime.

Well I started by the way of getting the way of fast cash. And understand what I know best was the firearm, that is the military training. So I sort of used the military experience in crime, in order to get what I wanted and I was successful.

(B12)

4.5.3 Theme 3: Choice

The final core theme consisted of one sub-theme. The inclusion of this core theme provided a response to several of the participants' deflections, evident in two, initial core themes.

4.5.3.1 "I had a chance to decide": Maturity. This is the only sub-theme of Theme 3. This sub-theme is important to consider as several of the participants articulated a deflection of personal responsibility in the previous two themes. A particularly interesting

opinion held by most of the participants is that once a person has matured he or she has the power of choice. This is the power to choose against the worldviews of previous generations.

Such powers were described by the participants:

For I knew that doing whatever I was doing knowing that it was wrong,
but doing it anyway.

(CJ)

Whatever they told me I had a chance to decide what was right, what was wrong. If due to my lack of maturity I chose the wrong side of what they were showing me, now there comes the time whereby I must do corrections and understand, okay this was wrong. Because once you are old enough and mature enough you can see no this one was not right. Same applies someone who is a racist from growing up, at the mature age he or she is supposed to know, no my parents were wrong you know? How do you give me what is good for me, it is upon you with your discretion you know? I am a child, I will take whatever you are telling me but there is a stage whereby now I realise you were a little bit wrong here. Whatever you have been told in your childhood, but there is a time whereby now when you are, God created everybody to have that stage whereby now you know what is right and what is wrong.

(B25)

4.6 FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY

Frustration deconstruction theory (FDT) was the theory generated in this study. The development of this theory as the outcome of this study's methodological approach and theoretical framework is outlined and discussed in this section. The development of FDT was aligned with a constructivist approach to grounded theory. FDT was developed relative to the themes and sub-themes discussed in the above sections. The methodological approach also suggests that the development of a theory must be grounded in data. The development of FDT was guided by the six phases of thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006); these phases are outlined in Table 1. Figure 1 provides a model of FDT. It is a simplified illustration of the various FDT systems and their functionality. FDT is based on four premises. Existing theory was only considered after data collection and analysis, and will be discussed in the next chapter, Chapter 5.

The first premise of FDT was derived from the sub-themes, *In the beginning* and *Upbringing*, in Theme 1, and, *Needs justification*, in Theme 2. This premise is relative to negative cognition. The participants presented with a negative cognition constructed by the historical and social history of South Africa, which is depicted in numbers 1, 2 and 3 of Figure 1. Their lived reality was a negative cognition and could not be extracted from their mindsets. It was a normal phenomenon for a black male to feel that he was born into racial hate, which is further justified by social learning. A negative cognition was further inspired as the participants' basic needs were not met due to their perceived and experienced positioning in society. This implies that the black male in South Africa has been socially, politically, economically, and historically constructed as a man who is dislocated from a sense of well-being.

The second premise was derived from the sub-theme, *Emotional turmoil*, in Theme 2. This premise is relative to negative emotion. The participants presented with a negative emotion constructed by the belief that their anger and hate were acceptable as it was motivated by a number of factors, which is depicted in number 4 of Figure 1. This development of hatred lead to a state of internalised emotional turmoil for the participants.

The third and fourth premises are the behavioural outcomes dependent on choice: relative to Theme 3, *Choice*. The choice to respond with a negative behaviour was derived from the sub-theme, *Militant masculinity*, in Theme 2; and the choice to respond with a positive behaviour was derived from the sub-theme, *Maturity*, in Theme 3. The participants had the choice to respond in a negative behaviour (racially-motivated hate crime) or a positive behaviour (non-violently). Numbers 5 and 6 of Figure 1 indicate the participants' behavioural choices as an outcome of their cognition and emotion. All of the participants made choices to behave in certain ways, this choice led to a behaviour that led to their incarceration.

A strong sense of anger and hatred developed when the participants put together or realised that their current social and historical condition was linked to politics and that politics was about racial segregation. Consequently, as black South African men, they developed hate towards white people because they saw them as the cause of this tension. As one way to make sense of this space that they could not control, they entered a state of personal deflection. They were unable to control the feelings created by things they heard through narratives, speech, and discourse carried over generations, which had been told to them in a manner fuelled by emotion. The attitudes towards themselves, as well as the attitudes towards those who they believe caused black people's suffering, became internalised and caused conflict. Consequently, they sought out explanations for the discomfort that these

negative emotions brought about. In the given situation, the white person and often the political system of South Africa became the figure; the target of the interaction between cognitive and emotional forces.

The interaction of the participants' historically and socially constructed negative cognition and emotion caused a tension characterised by hate and anger. In order to diffuse this internalised tension they sought freedom that was guided by radical political ideologies. These ideologies led to the engagement in negative, but justified, behaviours such as violence and hate crimes. One participant described:

So the man was bleeding profusely and I hit him repeatedly because you know I was not in my senses I was furious.

(A5)

When cognition and emotion were combined there was a synergy that gave reason to the participants' situations. Race has been the primary justification for the participants' expressions of hate crimes. The participants expressed their feelings through hate crimes when in an opportunistic position or place; these hate crimes included murder, violence, stoning, robbery, and rape. The participants made use of logic-building or meaning-making from the interaction between cognition and emotion that resulted in a behaviour. Normalcy has almost become part of their collective unconscious. The participants were surrounded by individuals who engaged in racial hate and therefore it was real.

By implementing FDT, the researcher typically noticed synchrony when combining a negative cognition with a negative emotion pertaining to racially-motivated hate crimes. This very powerful interaction was key as the resulted energy (life force) needed to flow in some direction. An outlet of some sort was necessary to reduce the tension that the participants

experienced. Albert Einstein stated, “Energy cannot be created or destroyed, it can only be changed from one form to another” (Bledsoe, 2006, p. 247). The participants’ ideologies guided their choices, which was the determining factor for the direction of the flow of energy and the outcome.

From this study, a cognition filled with hate combined with hate as an emotional state resulted in a hate crime. The negative cognition and the negative emotion had become synchronised. This synchronisation was key to this study. If the participants had only one of either the cognition or the emotion the effect would not have been as significant. It was evident to the researcher that if a very strong negative emotion and a very strong negative cognition exist and combine, the output was likely to be a negative behaviour in the form of a hate crime.

FDT does not only speak to negative outcomes. The researcher also identified a positive outcome. A negative cognition combined with a negative emotion could result in positive behaviour if it is intersected by a rehabilitation or intervention, which allows the individual to understand and shift that hate and cognition. If people function from the perspective that a negative cognition and a negative emotion are socially constructed, a deconstruction of this connection could also be plausible. The participants demonstrated the first part of the equation. They had cognitions and emotions filled with hate that fuelled behaviour in the form of hate crimes. They further indicated that although they had hateful cognition and hate-fuelled emotion their incarceration was a form of rehabilitation or intervention. This outcome has resulted in forms of positive behaviour since they had come to understand things differently. The rehabilitation or intervention served a deconstructive purpose. The combination of negatives does not always remain and follows a prescribed pathway, which was demonstrated by the participants. If it is intersected with some form of

rehabilitation or intervention it can become a positive behaviour. There was always a choice, and that choice comes in the form of rehabilitation or intervention.

The researcher additionally noticed that these events did not take place in an isolated vacuum. This system of the oppressed operated within a larger system consisting of the powerful and the privileged. The participants attempted to fight against hegemonic discourses only to end up where they started, bound in shackles. The strong link between hate crimes and politics is not a new phenomenon. In 2016, Suzanne Barakat stated that it is no coincidence that hate crimes rise in parallel with election cycles. Statements from participants substantiated FDT:

You are able to see a white person here too. That this white person is suffering more than a black person, you see. Now your brain begins to think clearly and not one sided, you see. There is this thing that they say when you are a man they say, a man doesn't cry no matter how hard you have to hold on you know? It is the wrong mentality because we are all emotional, it is natural. It is okay for a man to cry, to release whatever anger that is inside of him. Because understand, if that person doesn't want to cry because he is ashamed, he gets in a car, he drives just because he is avoiding that scenario where he is going to cry in front of wife and all that. Along the way he comes across with someone maybe a White or a Black you understand, he is angry from what happened at home and now he is too proud to cry. How much anger will he take out to that particular person if there comes a conflict? It is going to be huge because that person from

where he is coming from he is having a problem. So from the way we were towards growing up, both White and Black, totally wrong.

(B23)

The development of FDT, depicted in Figure 1, was the outcome of the theoretical framing for the constructivist grounded theory approach of the study. FDT involves the synchrony of a negative cognition and emotion constructed by the historical and social history of South Africa. All of the participants showed negative behaviour based on choice. FDT, however, indicated that negative behaviour can be shifted if it is intersected by a rehabilitation or intervention.

4.7 CONCLUSION

FDT developed in this study holds that the participants were militarised due to their experience of and position in power. Their basic needs were not being met, they could not look after their families, and they felt stripped by the system. The white person was the marker of the system and white ideology became the symbol of oppression. They internalised this perceived lack of power in relation to white people and utilised violence as an attempt to regain power by engaging in hate crimes. FDT proposes that an intervention or rehabilitation aimed at reducing or deconstructing the motive of aggression could result in a positive behaviour; this was accounted for by the participants. Figure 1 was constructed by the researcher and provides a simplified version of the various systems and relative functions. Chapter 5 includes a discussion and comparison between existing theories of change and behaviour and FDT.

CHAPTER 5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY AND EXISTING THEORIES

No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.

(Mandela, 1994, p. 622)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The following section is a discussion and comparison of frustration deconstruction theory (FDT) and existing theories. FDT was developed by the researcher based on the themes and sub-themes discussed in Chapter 4. This theory was developed from the data as per the methodological guidelines set by constructivist grounded theorists. FDT was compared to existing theories of change and behaviour that were identified through an extensive literature review conducted post-data analysis. This is aligned with a constructivist grounded theory methodology, which suggests that existing theory should only be consulted after data collection, data analysis and once a new theory has been developed. The existing theories discussed in this chapter provide support for the premises of racially-motivated hate crimes and FDT.

5.2 FRUSTRATION DECONSTRUCTION THEORY

FDT is based on the premises that the link between a historically and socially constructed negative cognition and emotion forms tension, which requires counteractive action to release the pressure. Anger, hate, and ideology fuels action that often results in a negative behaviour such as hate crimes. This theory does not only speak to the negative, but also proposes that an intervention or rehabilitation aimed at reducing or deconstructing the motive to aggress can result in a positive behaviour.

5.3 EXPLAINING HATE CRIME PERPETRATION

There are various approaches to understanding hate crime perpetration. This discussion does not cover the entire spectrum of this massive field. It simply touches on some aspects within the literature providing insight to racially-motivated violence in South Africa. It is challenging to separate the causes and explanations of hate crimes from their qualities as they are all connected. Most available theory is based on tendencies of hate crimes in western societies. Racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa cannot be understood without considering the specifics of its history, its past of legislated racism, and its current process of transition.

5.3.1 Scapegoating and Relative Deprivation

Scapegoating and relative deprivation are valuable theories for hate crimes, but unfortunately cannot explain all instances of racial violence (Harris, 2004). Unemployment and poor economic conditions provides explanation for some incidents of hate crime perpetration. These explanations served as motivation for all of the participants in the present study. Studies have shown that racial and ethnic tensions increase as economic conditions

decline. Unemployment leads to anger and minority groups become the scapegoats for the outlet of such anger. This is in line with scapegoating theory, which explains violence as the product of displaced anger and frustration being targeted at vulnerable groups in society; these groups are targeted because of their vulnerable nature. It is also in line with relative deprivation theory that explains social unrest as a product of the sense of deprivation. This is a subjective feeling that emerges when an individual feels that he or she is receiving less than they deserve; this is a disjoint between aspiration and reality. In South Africa, scapegoating theories have been used to explain xenophobic hatred and racialised violent crime. The application of the language of relative deprivation is interesting: white individuals use their victim status to justify being victims and black individuals use their victim status to justify being perpetrators.

5.3.2 Psychological Factors

It is important to consider attitudes, prejudice, and fears as they might have a direct impact on the way circumstances are interpreted. Prejudice might be fuelled by the fear of change and losing tradition, especially during political transition. Ideologically- and politically-motivated hate crimes often also exist at the same time. Building onto this, perpetrators may manipulate their circumstances to justify certain violent actions. Patterns of violence in South Africa is likely to further divide communities. While a reconciled South Africa is characterised by racial integration, it also holds the potential for violence. The six techniques of neutralisation, developed by Alvarez (as cited in Harris, 2004), serve as possible explanation for perpetrators' resistance to change in the previously violent and racially-defined South African context:

- Denial of responsibility. Individuals deflect personal responsibility away from themselves and onto the collective group.
- Denial of injury. Individuals describe their actions through euphemisms such as, cleaning or special treatment. This technique was often used during apartheid through terms such as, permanent removal from society. It enables the user to deflect responsibility for death and murder and allows for the detachment between violence and meaning. This technique operates on a level of mass-violence and prejudice but can also be used by individuals justifying violence through the language of purification.
- Denial of victim. This technique puts forth that the victim is the cause for his or her own defeat. Perpetrators often use this technique to rationalise violent actions.
- Condemning the condemners. This is a technique whereby perpetrators thin out their violations by drawing attention to that of their critics.
- Appeal to higher loyalties. This technique is grounded in the justification of violence and prejudice through nationalism and patriotism. This is very common in the South African context. Ideologically-motivated perpetrators make use of this technique to justify their actions.
- Denial of humanity. This technique allows the perpetrator to see his or her victim as a sub-human. It is a technique of dehumanisation and part of the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. Many racial crimes are motivated by the denial of humanity (p. 67).

5.3.3 Power, Fear and Identity

Social order is governed by power relations and not made available to all members of society. In South Africa, it is impossible for individuals in the lowest levels of the social

hierarchy to directly step into the highest levels. This fuels prejudice. Power is the force that governs inequality and prejudice within society. Hate crimes and power are inextricably separate of each other and power is part of a system. For example, the South African Human Rights Commission defines racism as:

A systematic discrimination against, or exclusion or oppression of a group of people based upon a quality as in skin colour or hair texture, or ideology. It's not simply random acts. Racism is about having the power or capacity to translate prejudices and attitudes or feelings of superiority into practice, custom, policy or law. (as cited in Harris, 2004, p. 72)

Power can be displayed at a micro- or macro level and can be overt or covert. Power, discourse, prejudice, and emotions produced by these are highly complex. Prejudice is greatly motivated by fear and insecurity. Fear is seen as the relationship between history and learning. Hugo suggests that fear be expanded into a syndrome of fears that consists of a psychological category of fear and a physical category of fear, which aids rationalisation (as cited in Harris, 2004). The former is concerned with issues of identity and discrimination, while the latter is concerned with safety and violence. It is ironic that fear is created among victims of hate crimes and is also seen in perpetration. It can be deduced that perpetrators are also seen as the fearful victims. The perpetrator-victim dyad also forms part of social construction theory. The perpetrators in this study consisted of much more than their mere face value; they also had fears, making them victims of another kind. This idea is not put forth to justify violence, but merely to understand why violence occurs. Fear is but one of the variables contributing to hatred.

5.3.4 Political Discourse

In South Africa, the Constitution is based on human rights and serves as the governing vessel that provides a legal structure and shapes social attitudes. On a legal level, it supports vulnerable groups with its anti-prejudice framework. Its message is one of tolerance and non-discrimination. Unfortunately, there is a vast gap between these principles and practice. Experts suggest that the current South African law is unable to protect victims of hate crime.

Political attitudes greatly influence social discussions concerning hate and prejudice. Vote-gathering campaigns often use fear as a mobilising tool by highlighting prejudice that surrounds certain groups. Discrimination is often justified for political purposes. Influential public figures also contribute to discussions about hate and prejudice. Political statements, party membership, and the response of authorities to particular incidents can play a role in facilitating hate actions. In the same way that political and public figures can fuel the fire or racism, they can also challenge this notion. Prime examples of such figures in South Africa are Desmond Tutu and the late Nelson Mandela. Institutions can similarly involve themselves in anti-prejudice causes in the fight against hatred.

When considering South Africa's history of racial segregation and more recent victims of prejudice, it seems that the perpetrators of prejudice, rather than those fighting against it, have the advantage. When considering racial violence within the South Africa context, it is important to take into consideration the dynamic nature of the people and racism. During the present study it was clear that violence is politically interactive. What politicians say directly influences the activity at the community level. Politics influence the way people internalise the concept of aggression and frustration against others. It is also the process of othering with hate crimes, which is a process of differentiating between *us* and *them* by focussing on

differences. The political system and climate played an important role in the participants' lives, greatly contributing to institutionalised and political ways of thinking.

5.4 CRIMINOLOGICAL BEHAVIOURAL CHANGE THEORIES

Behavioural change theories offer various explanations to criminal behaviour and suggest possible methods of correcting such behaviour. Understanding behavioural change leads to effective criminal-behaviour correction-strategies, which will inform effective policy design and implementation. By understanding that criminal behaviour may be learned through reinforcers that are unrelated to criminal behaviour, social structures that address the issue rather than the presented behaviour can be developed. Social learning theory (or differential association) and general strain theory (or anomie) have been applied to criminology (Cullen, Wright & Blevins, 2011). In social learning theory, criminal behaviour is explained by the interaction between an individual and their environment. This exposure reinforces either socially acceptable or socially unacceptable behaviour. An associated theoretical explanation for criminal behaviour is differential association theory, originally developed by Edwin Sutherland. Differential association theory states that criminal behaviour is learned and employs social learning theory concepts. Additionally, general strain theory suggests that some types of strain will be related to crime (Agnew, 2001).

5.4.1 Social Learning Theory

Cullen et al., (2011) described social learning as:

A general theory that offers an explanation of the acquisition, maintenance, and change in criminal and deviant behaviour that embraces social, non-

social, and cultural factors operating both to motivate and control criminal behaviour and both to promote and undermine conformity. (p. 38)

The theory includes crime enabling, crime protective, and crime precautionary factors.

Crime is not only the result of influence in learning history, but also the result of influences at any given time.

The development and preservation of criminal behaviour, especially aggression, can be explained by social learning theory. Two prominent criminologists, Ronald L. Akers and Robert L. Burgess, combined reinforcement (operant conditioning) theory with differential association theory and created social learning theory, a complete theory for criminal behaviour. They argued that criminal behaviour is learned through direct reinforcement, vicarious reinforcement, explicit instruction, and observation, in social and non-social settings. Group norms play an important part in this theory. The main focus is the exposure to different criminal values through interaction with others. Through these interactions individuals learn criminal behaviour in the same way that lawful behaviour is learnt. The theory states that people become criminals because they are associated with and have absorbed pro-criminal definitions (Akers & Jensen, 2011).

Social learning theory focuses on four major concepts, namely; differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement, and imitation. Differential association refers to the individuals and groups (primary and secondary) with whom an individual identifies and interacts with. These individuals and groups engage in certain kinds of behaviour and expresses norms, values, and attitudes supportive of behaviour. The primary groups of family and friends are the most important interactions. Through this process individuals learn definitions, are exposed to behavioural models, and experience social reinforcement or punishment for behaviours. The groups that an individual is in differential

association with are the major suppliers of social contexts for social learning (Cullen et al., 2011). Definitions refers to attitudes, beliefs, and guidelines to what is socially acceptable. Differential reinforcement refers to the process of reinforcing a specific response in a particular context and not reinforcing other responses. More specifically, differential reinforcement provides either positive or negative reinforcement for a response, and withholds reinforcement from all other responses. An action is more likely to be repeated with greater reinforcement. The most important aspects of differential reinforcement are social reinforcement and punishment that occur through interaction with peers, parents, and significant others. Imitation refers to learning by observing role models and adjusting behaviour accordingly. Akers (2011) describes the setting wherein criminal and deviant behaviour occurs:

The probability that persons will engage in criminal and deviant behaviour is increased and the probability of their conforming to the norm is decreased when they differentially associated with others who commit criminal behaviour and espouse definitions favourable to it, are relatively more exposed in-person or symbolically to salient criminal/deviant models, define it as desirable or justified in a situation discriminative for the behaviour, and have received in the past and anticipate in the current or future situations relatively greater reward than punishment for the behaviour. (p. 50)

Akers (2011) furthermore describes the increased likelihood of an individual to commit crime when:

- He or she differentially associates with others who commit, model, and support violations of social and legal norms.
- The violative behaviour is differentially reinforced over behaviour in conformity to the norm.
- He or she is more exposed to and observes more deviant than conforming models.
- His or her own learned definitions are favourable toward committing the deviant acts.

(p. 51)

Individuals learn how to engage in crime through reinforcement and punishment.

Regular reinforcement and irregular punishment creates a favourable environment for crime to occur. The presence of reinforcement such as money, approval, or pleasure and little punishment, motivates crime even further. Crime is more likely to occur when it is reinforced more often than other behaviours. Certain minor forms of crime are viewed as acceptable, such as gambling, the use of certain drugs, and the use of alcohol. Certain forms of crime can be approved or justified even if an individual largely believes that it is wrong. Fighting, for example, might be considered to be wrong, until it is justified by the individual who was initially insulted. When considering crime against other behaviours, some individuals attach more favourable beliefs to the former (Crossman, 2017).

5.4.2 General Strain Theory

General strain theory is derived from Merton's anomie theory, a macro-level investigation of crime in lower-class urban areas (Akers, 2011). General strain theory describes the positive correlation between strain or stressors and negative emotions such as anger or frustration. To relieve the pressure, counteractive action is required and can occur in the form of crime that can reduce the strain. For example, an individual might steal

something they desire or seek revenge to rid themselves from negative emotions. There are many strains that are related to crime and delinquency. Agnew (1992) describes strain as, “Relationships in which others are not treating the individual as he or she would like to be treated” (p. 48). Akers (2011) compares strain to pressure and describes it as the process or means to success, even if it requires taking advantage of illegitimate or illegal means.

Objective strains are circumstances generally not favoured by most members of a group. Subjective strains are circumstances generally not favoured by the individual who is experiencing or has experienced them. Interestingly, when considering subjective strain, individuals have been found to differ in their interpretation of the same objective strains. This interpretation depends on various factors, such as individual traits, personal and social resources, goals, values, identities, and a range of life circumstances. The interpretation of objective strains changes over time as individuals deal with them.

There is a close correlation between emotional response and subjective strain. A fundamental element of emotion is an interpretation of or response to something, very similar to subjective strain. Emotions go even further and involve physical changes or sensations; this differentiates it from subjective strain. Different individuals may evaluate a circumstance in the same way by experiencing similar levels of subjective strain. However, the emotions that they experience may differ and are influenced by specific individual and environmental factors.

There is a greater possibility that strain will lead to crime in the absence of the necessary skills. Resources to sufficiently deal with strain are inclined towards crime; they lack social support, lack social control, and shift the blame onto others. Certain types of strain have a greater chance of resulting in crime than others. Only some coping strategies to remove strain involves crime. As an attempt to decrease the strain of the difficulty

experienced, individuals rely on various cognitive and behavioural strategies such as conventional behaviour or crime. Individuals may also rely on emotional coping strategies to decrease the negative emotions caused by strain. Once again, they may make use of conventional behaviour or resort to crime. Research shows that certain types of strain are more likely to result in crime than others. It has been found that strains are more likely to result in crime when they:

- are seen as unjust,
- are seen as high in magnitude,
- are associated with low social control, and
- create some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping (Cullen et al., 2011, p. 116).

5.4.2.1 The strain is seen as unjust. Strain is seen as unjust when there is an incoherence between just or fair outcomes and the actual outcomes. Strain seen as unjust is more likely to lead to emotions associated with crime, such as anger, which is more likely to lead to crime. Research suggests that there is a definite link between unjust treatment and anger that increases the probability of crime. Anger interrupts noncriminal cognitive pathways, adopting crime. Anger inhibits an individual's ability to resolve a situation or to appropriately express frustration. Anger also interfere with the estimated costs of crime. Lastly, anger is the fuel for action. It provides individuals with a sense of power and control, and a hunger for revenge; placing crime is more favourable light. The experience of strain mostly involves a perpetrator and a victim. The classification of a strainful event as unjust depends on various factors, for example, the characteristics of the perpetrator and victim, the actions of the perpetrator, the actions of the victim, the relationship between the perpetrator

and victim, and the setting. Injustice is further influenced by the interpretations of the circumstances by significant others.

5.4.2.2 *The strain is seen as high in magnitude.* A second characteristic of strain that is more likely to lead to crime is the perceived magnitude of strain. A highly perceived magnitude of strain is more likely to decrease the ability to cope in a noncriminal manner. On a cognitive level, it requires more effort to minimise the impact of severe strain. On an emotional level, coping techniques of a noncriminal nature might not effectively combat severe strain. Coping with severe strain on a behavioural level may also be extremely difficult. As strain increases, anger increases. With this, the likelihood to engage in criminal activities also increases.

5.4.2.3 *The strain is caused by or associated with low social control.* A third characteristic of strain that is more likely to lead to crime is the level of social control. A low level of social control can contribute to strain. Chances are that such strains are more likely to lead to crime as it reduces the costs of crime. It also lowers an individual's ability to cope in a noncriminal manner. Individuals who are low in direct control, conventional attachments, and conventional commitments generally lack the social support and resources that facilitate noncriminal coping.

5.4.2.4 *The strain creates some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping.* A final characteristic of strain that is more likely to lead to crime is the extent to which the strain creates some pressure or incentive to engage in criminal coping. The nature of strain influences the accessibility to coping options, which affects the engagement in criminal activities. The source of strain can also be from others who model crime, reinforce crime, and advocate beliefs favourable to crime.

Certain types of strains are associated with the link between models of criminal coping and the specific strain, or the link between favourable criminal coping and the specific strain. The only, most effective way to decrease perceived strain is possibly through criminal coping strategies. Violence is often a response or coping mechanism to a strain such as disrespectful treatment because of its proven efficiency. Cognitive or emotional coping strategies have proven to be ineffective for victims faced with strain. Some perpetrators of the strain typically escalate their level of abuse, while others regularly remind the victim of the disrespectful treatment they have experienced. Subcultural beliefs define such treatment as unjust and high in magnitude. Cognitive reinterpretation is therefore difficult. Violent coping, however, reduces feelings of injustice, reduces the likelihood of further disrespectful treatment, and allows the victim to protect or enhance their identity or status.

5.5 ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY

The ecological systems theory was developed by psychologist, Urie Bronfenbrenner, and finalised in the 1980's. The theory is also commonly referred to as the ecological systems framework. Bronfenbrenner (1979) compares the ecological environment with a set of Russian dolls - a set of structures each one nested inside the next. The deepest level or the core of the framework contains the developing person. This can be the home or the classroom. The next level goes beyond single settings, to the relations between them. The relations or interconnections can be as critical for the development of the events in specific settings. The third level goes further and states that events happening in settings where person is absent is critical for their development. Interestingly, specific settings within any culture or subculture tend to be alike; however, different between cultures. Each culture's alternative type of setting appears to be organised according to a blueprint. The blueprint can

be changed or altered, impacting the structure of the settings and also the society.

Consequently, this can lead to behaviour change and development.

Bronfenbrenner (1994) described each level as a specific system. The first level, the microsystem, is described as,

a pattern of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interaction with, and activity in, the immediate environment. (p. 39)

Settings such as family, school, peer group, and workplace bear these characteristics. These actors and events are external to the child and are proximal ecological influences; theoretically, these are social influences that are most proximal physically and psychologically to the child (Boxer et al., 2013). “Symbolic ordering of space and time provide a framework for experience through which we learn who we are and what we are in society” (France, Bottrell & Armstrong, 2012, p. 19). The setting thus plays a crucial role in people’s lives.

Following the microsystem is the mesosystem. The mesosystem is made up of the links between two or more settings that accommodate the developing person such as the relations between home and school. The mesosystem comprises of a system if microsystems (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

The exosystem follows the mesosystem. The exosystem is made up out of the links between two or more settings, where at least one does not include the developing person. The settings where events occur indirectly influences environment in which the developing

person lives, for example, the relationship between the child's the home and the parents' workplace. Three exosystems that are likely to affect the developing person are the parents' workplace, family social networks, and neighbourhood-community contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

Following the exosystem is the macrosystem. This system uses the micro-, meso-, and exosystems as building blocks of culture or subculture. It comprises of belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, life-styles, opportunity structures, hazards, and life course options. The macrosystem takes the role of societal blueprint (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). These principles, whether legal, economic, political, religious, or educational, endow an individual's life with meaning and value and control the nature and scope of the interactions between the various levels of the total social system.

The final system is the chronosystem that incorporates change or consistency in the person and environment over time, such as changes over the life course in family structure, socioeconomic status, employment, place of residence, or the extent of responsibilities that need to be managed and the ability to manage them in everyday life (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Influences at every level are bi-directional and, as reflected in Bronfenbrenner's conceptualisation of the chronosystem, influences change over time for reasons ranging from individual development to secular change (McHale, Dotterer & Kim, 2009).

France, Bottrell, and Armstrong (2012) expanded Bronfenbrenner's model and included the work of sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, by using a political ecology approach. France et al., developed an analytical framework that recognises the way that power operated across ecological systems and how social identities are constructed in the process. They recognised that the lived experiences of young people are a product of external political forces within micro-, meso-, exo-, and macrosystems. Central to this approach is the thinking that youth

crime recognises individuals as living in interrelated systems of social structures. Political ecology strongly influences individuals' experiences with crime, their identities as criminals, and their lives in crime. Crime has a significant political undertone. They furthermore argue that there is a strong link between criminality and social and political systems and relationships. This approach challenges models about individual motivation and crime (The University of Sydney, 2013). Political ecology goes beyond individual-level factors and single theoretical approaches to the interaction between social acts and social power, such as negotiation, power, and legitimacy. Political ecology contributes to the understanding and explanation of an individual's interaction with crime. There are definite social and political processes that shape individuals' personal and social development. Ecological structures mould the social actions of individuals; and power relations are rooted within them. These structures shape the lived experiences of individuals. It also contributes to the process of making sense of social order and control for individuals. Political ecology is an important vessel for social action. Individuals' lives are rooted in a multi-layered and complex ecology (McHale, Dotterer, & Kim, 2009).

5.6 FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION THEORY

The frustration-aggression theory originated as an attempt to conceptualise hostility and aggression. It was introduced as the frustration-aggression hypothesis or the frustration-aggression-displacement theory, by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears (1939). It was further developed by Miller (1941) and then by Berkowitz (1969), becoming the frustration-aggression theory. The theory originally stated that "all acts of aggression is the result of previous frustration, and all frustration leads to aggression" (Dill & Anderson, 1995, p. 360). Frustration referred to the act of being obstructive towards another for their expected

gratification; whereas aggression encompassed any behaviour with injurious intentions towards another. The theory of Dollard et al. (1939), was an attempt to link the Freudian notion of aggressive drives to the behaviourist's ideas of stimulus-response interactions. Freud suggested that aggressive behaviour could release repressed emotion out of one's system and thus be adaptive. He created the term *catharsis* to refer to the release of repressed emotion. Contradictory to Freud, studies have found that the notion of blowing off steam oftentimes tends to fuel more anger and aggression (Weiten, 2008). According to the frustration-aggression theory, aggression is an innate drive response to frustrating external stimuli from the environment. The frustrating stimuli can be any social condition that prevents satisfaction, such as poor housing and unemployment. The aggressive response can take many forms, for example, overt aggressive behaviour against the cause of frustration, indirect release through displacement of aggression onto scapegoats, or even aggressive fantasy. This theory explains scapegoating as a tool for deflecting blame for unpleasantness from one's own group to the designated group (Whitley & Kite, 2009). Frustration leads to aggression, which in turn alleviates negative emotions (Taylor, Peplau, & Sears, 2006). Economic problems produce especially high levels of frustration within families. Job-related problems are also among the greatest sources of frustration and anger.

Berkowitz (1969) reformulated the frustration-aggression theory into the Cognitive Neoassociationistic model of aggressive behaviour that explains how justified frustration leads to aggressive tendencies. In this model, he describes that the unpleasantness of frustration acts as a stimulus that evokes negative emotions by triggering cognitions that are associated with aggressive tendencies. It is an automatic process that produces aggression-related thoughts and motor impulses. Higher order cognitive processing may lead to the cause of unpleasantness being identified, which could result in adjustments of either

suppressing or enhancing further aggressive reactions, for example. Berkowitz stated an amendment to the frustration-aggression hypothesis as, "Frustrations produce aggressive inclinations only to the extent that they are aversive and give rise to negative affect" (Dill & Anderson, 1995, p. 361). The initial stages of the model, negative affect arises and aggressive cognitions are automatically primed. During these first stages some level of aggressive motivation is instigated. This may be followed by cognitive appraisals that justify the frustrating event, which could reduce motive to aggress. However, this reappraisal may not eliminate all automatically-primed aggressive tendencies, which arose from the negative affect that was produced by the initial frustration. Aggressive tendencies have been found to accompany proper frustrations and be directed at innocent individuals. Unjustified frustration leads to higher degrees of aggression than justified frustration. When compared to the absence of frustration, justified frustration results in higher levels of aggression (Dill & Anderson, 1995).

The infliction of an injury or insult in response to suffering one provides a considerable description of one's personal behaviour. Often an aggressive counterattack as a response to a mild aggravation exceeds the matching rule. These exceptions can be explained by the concept of triggered displaced aggression, an important and generally under researched phenomenon. Miller, Pedersen, Earleywine, and Pollock (2003) expanded the Cognitive Neoassociationistic model of aggressive behaviour proposing that unpleasant events produce negative affect that activates various reaction within an associative network. Miller et al., developed a theoretical framework of social and personality factors, which moderate and mediate the disjunctively escalated retaliation that can result from triggered displaced aggression.

In this model, the difference between provocation and frustration is important. The former refers to interpersonal features that provoke anger, whereas the latter refers to the interference of a task. The retaliation of a high-level provocation followed by a minor provocation can cause the latter to be excessively strong. This may serve as explanation for incomprehensible aggressive responses in everyday life. Simply put, displaced aggression is triggered when an individual experiences anger towards another that he or she cannot express to that person directly for fear of consequences. After some time has lapsed, a mild trigger of annoyance or irritation causes the individual to explode with anger due to the pent-up frustration that he or she could not express earlier.

5.7 THE RATIONAL CHOICE PERSPECTIVE

Clarke and Cornish (1986) developed a rational choice perspective on crime to understand human behaviour. This perspective focusses on the effect of incentives and constraints on behaviour (Gul, 2009). One of the very first premises of rational choice theory is that crime is chosen for its benefits. It states that crime will occur if the benefits of crime exceeds the costs. Hence, if the costs exceed the benefits crime will not occur. These statements imply that a rational offender will refrain from committing a crime when the costs are high. Gul (2009) indicated, “At the heart of the rational choice perspective lies the assumption that criminal and delinquent offenders are goal-oriented and seek to exhibit a measure of rationality on some level they consider the potential costs and benefits of crime and act accordingly” (p. 38). Rational choice theory claims its applicability to all forms of criminality. It seeks to explain how a criminal orientation becomes a criminal event. It has been an effective measure in crime prevention.

This analysis of criminal decision-making includes concepts from other disciplines, such as economics, increase trustworthiness, and give greater weight to non-instrumental motives for crime. The rational choice perspective assumes that crime is a meaningful behaviour purposed to meet the needs of the offender, such as money, status, sex, and excitement. Decisions and choices are required to meet these needs and are often constrained by limitations of time, ability, and the availability of information. There is a distinction between criminal involvement and criminal events. The three premises of criminal involvement include how individuals initially choose to become involved in crime, how they choose to continue in a crime, and how they choose to discontinue being involved in crime. Different factors influence the decision-making processes at each premise. Similarly, the decision-making process involved in criminal events is also influenced by different factors. This model is described as a wide perspective that intends to advance situational prevention. It is furthermore useful as it covers a variety of criminological phenomena (Clarke, 1997).

Rational choice theory is based on three assumptions; namely, individualism, where the focus on individual behaviour; individuals taking full advantage of their goals; and individuals as being self-interested. Gul (2009) states the central points of the rational choice theory:

- The human being is a rational actor.
- Rationality involves an end/means calculation.
- People (freely) choose behaviour, both conforming and deviant, based on their rational calculations.
- The central element of calculation involves a cost benefit analysis: Pleasure versus pain or hedonistic calculus.

- Choice, with all other conditions equal, will be directed towards the maximization of individual pleasure.
- Choice can be controlled through the perception and understanding of the potential pain or punishment that will follow an act judged to be in violation of the social good, the social contract.
- The state is responsible for maintaining order and preserving the common good through a system of laws (this system is the embodiment of the social contract).
- The swiftness, severity, and certainty of punishment are the key elements in understanding a law's ability to control human behaviour. (p. 37)

Recent economic based theories depict criminals as having rational decision-making abilities. They base their decisions to commit crime on a risk versus profit analysis, as opposed to being driven by their conditioning environment.

5.8 CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Derrick Bell, an African American, and Alan Freeman, a white American, were the pioneers of critical race theory in the mid-1970's. The theory was inspired by their deep concern about the slow pace of racial reform in the United States. They argued that new approaches were needed to understand the various forms of racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). Critical race theory is an "intellectual movement that is both particular to our postmodern (and conservative) times and part of a long tradition of human resistance and liberation" (Crenshaw, 1995, p. xi). Activists and scholars of this movement are set out to study and transform the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). It is a beacon of emancipatory hope that the law can serve as liberation rather than domination.

Firstly, critical race theory is based on the premise that racism is a normal phenomenon in American society due to its ingrained historical nature (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017). It is the everyday experience of most non-white people in the country. Laws that insist on equality can thus only remedy the extreme cases of racism; by remaining legally unacknowledged, little is done about the everyday forms of racism.

A second premise underlying critical race theory is that a culture constructs its own social reality. Race is not objective, inherent, fixed, or biologically or genetically constructed. Race is rather constructed by society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017). These scholars are thus out to construct a different social reality by challenging racial oppression and the status quo through words and stories in hope of contributing to a better society.

A third premise of critical race theory was developed by Bell and is interest convergence or material determinism, developed by Bell. This idea holds that black advances will only be supported by white elites when their interests are also promoted (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017).

Critical race theory writers emphasise the term *call to context* that refers to the importance of attention to context and the lived experiences of individuals (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017). Attention has been drawn to differential racialisation (the idea that each race has its unique origin and ever-evolving history), intersectionality, and anti-essentialism. People are to be seen as complex entities with overlapping identities.

The final premise indicates that this movement supports the voice-of-colour thesis. This thesis holds that the oppressed may be able to communicate to their white counterparts matters they are unlikely to know. Their positionality as minority thus gives them the competence to speak about race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000, 2017).

5.9 INTEGRATED DISCUSSION

FDT speaks to social learning theory by explaining socialisation and the subsequent effect on the development of the self (Figure 2). It focusses on the individual learning process, the formation of self, and the influence of society in socialising individuals. The section of historically and socially constructed negative cognition speaks to social learning by explaining that identity development is a learned response to social stimuli. Identity develops through modelling the expectations of others, rather than being a product of the unconscious. An individual's behaviours and attitudes are most importantly shaped by reinforcement and encouragement by society, as well as through childhood experiences. *Upbringing*, as discussed in Chapter 4, speaks to social learning theory by suggesting that individuals engage in crime because of their association with or exposure to others who engage in crime. Criminal behaviour is reinforced through the associated criminal models. Consequently, crime becomes sensible and justifiable. Social learning theory suggests that individuals learn to participate in crime by differential reinforcement, beliefs, and modelling. Social learning has been one of the major factors put forth as justification of racially-motivated hate crimes in the present research study. Both models agree that criminality is explained by interaction between the individual and their environment; family and friends being the most important interactions.

Apart from social learning, strain has also been one of the major factors put forth as justification of racially-motivated hate crimes in the current study. FDT was built upon participants' experience of strain, giving rise to negative emotions such as anger and frustration. To rid themselves from their negative emotions, the participants engaged in counteractive action leading to negative behaviour. The pathway from the historically and socially constructed negative emotion towards the negative behaviour, as discussed in

Chapter 4, speaks to strain theory (Figure 2). The combination of unjust treatment and anger fuelled participants to regain their power and control by means of negative behaviour. The sub-themes, *Emotional turmoil* and *Militant Masculinity* are in alignment with strain theory and explain how the pressure of negative emotions is reduced through counteractive action. Violent coping, however, reduces feelings of injustice and the likelihood of further disrespectful treatment, and allows the victim to protect or enhance their identity or status. Alternatively, FDT, differs from the notion that criminal coping strategies are the most effective way to alleviate strain. FDT has discovered positive behavioural outcomes of intervention or rehabilitation aimed at reducing or deconstructing the motive to aggress. Cognitive reinterpretation, although difficult to achieve, has proven to be successful.

FDT furthermore speaks to an ecological perspective by illustrating the complexity of the reasons individuals become involved in criminal activities. There are various influences, ranging from proximal contexts (family and peer group) to larger contexts (political, economic, legal, and cultural), and individuals all live in interrelated systems. In the current study, it was clear that Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was highly applicable. Placing a hate-filled individual in the centre was a direct product of the various layers of systems, with the political context or environment being the most fundamental factor. FDT strongly aligns with a political ecology, by recognising the way that power operates and that people are a product of external political forces. The participants all accounted for the link between their criminal behaviour and the social and political systems in which they were. Power, positionality, and privilege shaped the lived experiences and moulded the social actions of individuals.

FDT is significantly supported by the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Both describe that the unpleasantness of frustration leads to anger and aggression. The link between the

negative cognitions and negative emotions speaks to the link between the historically and socially constructed negative cognition and emotion described by FDT. Aggressive expressions alleviated the negative emotions experienced due to frustration regarding the participants' positionality in the South African context. FDT supports the flow of energy as stipulated in the frustration-aggression hypotheses. FDT furthermore speaks to triggered displaced aggression. The participants sat with pent-up historically and socially constructed negative cognitions and emotions that they never properly expressed. As white ideology became the marker and symbol of oppression, mild triggers caused the participants to act violently in an attempt to regain power and express pent-up frustration.

FDT is also supported by rational choice theory, which proposes that individuals are given the opportunity to choose between negative and positive behaviours regardless of their conditioning environment. The criminal thus engages in a cost-benefit analysis . Furthermore, the rational choice perspective supports the idea that choices are seen as attempts or efforts to meet the needs of the offender. Choices are seen as attempts to maximise individual pleasure. The participants of the current study may have been few; but, as stated by Frankl (2008), "They offer sufficient proof that everything can be taken from a man but one thing; the last of human freedoms-to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances" (p. 75). Every day man is faced with the opportunity to choose. This is determined by an inner state of freedom or the enslavement to circumstances.

Considering the premises of critical race theory, the present study was highly applicable due to South Africa's legacies of apartheid, such as socio-economic legacies. FDT supports the idea that race and racism are societal constructs established to advance the powerful and the privileged. FDT and critical race theory support the promotion of attention to context and the lived experiences of individuals with a strong focus on narrative data. Critical race theory

speaks to FDT's complex layers of constructed systems and the individual's positionality within those systems, especially the oppressed (Figure 2). Apartheid segregated people along the lines of constructed categories. After the fall of the system South Africans integrated into the same society. Despite the fusion of different races, harmful stereotypes seem to remain inflexible. Currently much uncertainty persists as how to best navigate this situation as a great deal of work towards equality still needs to be done. FDT also aims to question the unequal distribution of wealth that is rooted in historical structures. Although systemic racism ended in 1994, it has much bearing on the present. FDT speaks to critical race theory by challenging the idea that the final victory over racism has been achieved. The aim of FDT and critical race theory is to generate insights that can advance social justice.

The literature reviewed by the researcher did not explain *Maturity*, number 6, in Figure 2. The literature contained very little reference to intervention or rehabilitation in order to reduce or deconstruct the motive to aggress. Furthermore, the researcher did not come across information on the effectiveness of these strategies. There are various approaches to understanding hate crime perpetration.

The literature described the various systems that hate crime perpetrators are located in and the link between historically and socially constructed negative cognition and emotion. The path from frustration, to anger and aggression, to violence is also clearly indicated in the literature. Hence, in this study, the unique contribution of the researcher is adding the possibility of successfully reducing or deconstructing the motive to aggress into an already existing framework. Assuming that the hate between different groups of people because of who they are or what they believe is a human construct, change is possible. It might feel impossible to change, but because it is shaped, it can be changed. If a former Umkhonto we Sizwe member can learn to stop hating, surely more individuals can stop their habits of

demeaning and dehumanising others. Studies have shown that human beings are neither designed nor destined to hate, but rather taught to hate by the world around them (Kohn, 2017; Mandela, 1995). In this regard, it is important to continuously be aware of the positionality of racially-motivated hate crime perpetrators and the effect of the powerful and the privileged in their multi-layered systems.

5.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a discussion of and comparison between the newly developed theory, FDT, and existing theories relating to hate crime perpetration. It is evident that various existing theories speak to different aspects of FDT (Figure 2). The researcher furthermore indicated the unique contribution to the literature by showing the success of an intervention or rehabilitation aimed at reducing or deconstructing the motive to aggress. These findings prove that the only thing that cannot be taken away from an individual is the ability to choose the attitude toward circumstances. Human beings are thus more than their physical and sociological conditions, more than the forces beyond their control, and always have the freedom to choose how they will respond in any given situation. These findings contribute to the knowledge base of hate crime perpetration within the South African context. It could serve as a theoretical framework for developing rehabilitation or interventions aiming to decrease the motive to aggress resulting in positive behaviour.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

We will continue the long walk Madiba began – to build a society in which all may be free, in which all may be equal before the law and in which all may share in the wealth of our land and have a better life.

(Cyril Ramaphosa, State of the Nation Address, 2018)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The relevance of racially-motivated hate crimes in the current South African context cannot be overstated. This chapter is a reflection of the key elements that have emerged from this study. The extent and magnitude of racial hate continues to suggest that it is a major concern in society. This chapter focuses on a summary of the findings of this study as a potential contribution to theory building that can inform violence prevention interventions. It highlights its significance, limitations, and future directionality.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

The present study aimed to provide an understanding of the lived experiences of the perpetrators of racially-motivated hate crimes.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations are present in all studies and possibilities were considered prior to the commencement of this research. The limitations present in this research are relative to the methodology. The constructivist grounded theory approach was employed and required that one person, the researcher, code the data and identify the themes. Once this was completed,

the analysis was discussed with a supervisor. This process allowed for consistency but did not provide a variety of perspectives from a variety of people with differing expertise. The coding of data using this method should involve several individuals and the development of themes could involve discussions with other researchers, expert panels, or even the participants.

The sampling process posed a challenge of locating individuals who fit the necessary inclusion criteria as hate crimes are not yet defined as a crime category in South Africa. Locating such individuals required the assistance of various prison staff members and success was not guaranteed. A larger sample size may have been useful as the small sample size in this study may prevent the extrapolation of findings. A larger sample size could incorporate racial diversity among individuals and include crimes that were more recently committed.

The findings represent the outcome of only one analysis, the researcher's analysis. The nature of this research only allows one analysis to be possible. With that being said, the degree of internal consistency and the consistency with existing theories was significant.

A greater level of consistency could have been achieved during the interview process. The questions on the interview schedule were not consistently posed to the participants. This is due to the nature of semi-structured interviews that allows freedom and flexibility during the interview process.

Extending the length of the semi-structured interviews may have allowed a more detailed account of the participants' lived experiences, thus deepening the understanding already provided. However, by extending the study time of interviews, the time constraints agreed upon within the institutional environment of the DCS would not be honoured.

In Figure 1, numbers 5 and 6 of frustration deconstruction theory (FDT) need to be tested further. This pertains to rehabilitation and intervention. The interventions that the

participants had were all long-term, and the likelihood of a short-term intervention delivering the same results was not incorporated in the study and is unknown. The participants were men who were caught and incarcerated. The results and path to rehabilitation could have been significantly different for the general population who hold stereotypes and behave in a particular manner, and who, unlike the participants, are not faced with any consequences.

6.4 STRENGTHS OF THE RESEARCH

The primary strength of this research was the use of multiple sources for gathering data. This allowed thorough scrutiny of the participants' perspectives of their racially-motivated hate crimes. These data sources ensured a high level of trustworthiness in the findings. The small sample size allowed a thorough analysis of the data. The participants felt secure enough in the confidentiality of their interviews, fully aware that they were being audio-recorded.

The researcher had to obtain approvals from different bodies before the commencement of the study. The consideration of approval required an initial, thorough exploration of the area under investigation and the submission of a well-structured proposal. This indicated that the standards of the study were well conceived. The researcher gained access to and investigated an under-researched and highly relevant area for the South African context.

The use of a constructionist grounded theory framework permitted access to the participants' perceptions and narratives of their lived experiences of racially-motivated hate crimes. Themes developed spontaneously, as the participants were viewed as the experts. This is a benefit of the flexibility in a semi-structured interview process.

The employment of a grounded theory methodology informed a delayed investigation of the literature, which increased the objectivity and trustworthiness of the findings.

Objectivity was continued to increase through the process of peer checking. The researcher occasionally referred back to the aims of the study to refrain from making justifications for the actions of the participants.

6.5 FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Based on the findings of this investigation, it is clear that there is a great need for more extensive studies on racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa. The significance of this topic lies in its relevance and applicability. The application of these studies has potential to improve the lives of South Africans. Studies with larger sample sizes could potentially inform the development of intervention programmes specifically addressing racial hate. Research should also include participants of the *born-free* generation; those who were born into a democratic South Africa. It could also include members of the general public who have not been forced into a rehabilitation programme. There is ample space for academic engagement in the struggle for social change.

6.6 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

It is evident that it has been a brutal century for South Africa, and shameful social practices continue to this day. This research is a description of the psychological factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crime perpetration in South Africa. The researcher explored and described the lived experiences of five perpetrators, providing an understanding of what led to perpetration.

This qualitative study employed a constructivist grounded theory research methodology. Grounded theory allowed the development of a new theory. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and journal entries. Data analysis involved thematic analysis of the participants' narratives. Patterns were generated from the raw data

and organised into themes and sub-themes, which were finalised through constant comparison until data saturation. FDT was then developed as the theory for this study.

FDT proposes that the synchrony of a negative cognition and a negative emotion constructed by the historical and social history of South Africa results in a negative behaviour; namely, a racially-motivated hate crime. FDT supports the importance of the power of choice, and that the outcome of choice is either a negative or positive behaviour. Rehabilitation or intervention has the potential to deconstruct the motive to aggress and result in a positive behaviour. Many of the key themes, which emerged from the narratives of the participants are supported by other literature. FDT also expands previous work in the area.

FDT has implications for the prevention and effectiveness of a criminal justice response. This research has uncovered the nature of perpetrators of racially-motivated hate crimes and, by completing this study, has contributed to the knowledge base of the Hate Crimes Working Group (HCWG). The use of semi-structured interviews was key in obtaining a rich data set. Further research with a larger sample size and multiple individuals conducting data analysis will be beneficial.

The study and the current standing of racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa urges us to investigate measures of racism and hate crime prevention from a social point of view. It is important that the social construction of this phenomena is realised. A comment from Cyril Ramaphosa appears to be the central quality that runs through all the transcripts:

We know that there is still a lot that divides us. We remain a highly unequal society, in which poverty and prosperity are still defined by race and gender. We have been given the responsibility to build a new nation, to confront the injustices of the past and the inequalities of the present. (Jere, 2018, para. 34)

REFERENCES

- Agnew, R. (1992). Foundation for a general strain theory of crime and delinquency. *Criminology*, 30(1), 47-87.
- Agnew, R. (2001). Building on the foundation of general strain theory: Specifying the types of strain most likely to lead to crime and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(4), 319-361.
- Akers, R. L. (2011). *Social learning and social structure: A general theory of crime and deviance*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.
- Akers, R. L. & Jensen, G. F. (Eds.). (2011). *Social learning theory and the explanation of crime: Volume 1 of advances in criminological theory*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.
- Barakat, S. (2016, October). *Islamophobia killed my brother. Let's stop the hate* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/suzanne_barakat_islamophobia_killed_my_brother_let_s_end_the_hate
- Berkowitz, L. (1969). *Roots of aggression: A re-examination of the frustration-aggression hypothesis*. New York: Atherton Press.
- Berkowitz, L. (1989). Frustration-aggression hypothesis: Examination and reformulation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 106(1), 59-73.
- Bledsoe, B. (2006). *Every reason to be a Christian*. Camarillo, CA: Salem Media Group.
- Boucher, L. M. (2014). More than an Ally: A Successful white teacher who builds solidarity with his African American students. *Urban Education*, 51(1), 82-107. doi:10.1177/0042085914542982
- Bowen, G. A. (2008). *Naturalistic inquiry and the saturation concept: A research note*. *Qualitative Research*, 8(1), 137-152.

- Boxer, P., Huesmann, L. R., Dubow, E. F., Landau, S. F., Gvirsman, S. D., Shikaki, K., & Ginges, J. (2013). Exposure to Violence across the Social Ecosystem and the Development of Aggression: A Test of Ecological Theory in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. *Child Development, 84*(1), 163–177. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2012.01848.x
- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101. doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. *International Encyclopaedia of Education, 3*(2), 1643-1647.
- Charmaz, K. (1990). 'Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory. *Social science & medicine, 30*(11), 1161-1172.
- Charmaz, K. (2000). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 509-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2001). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis. In J. Gubrium & J. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 675-694). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Charmaz, K. (2008). Constructionism and the grounded theory. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of constructionist research* (pp. 397-412). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2011). Grounded theory methods in social justice research. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4(1), 359-380.
- Clarke, R. V. (Ed.). (1997). *Situational crime prevention: Successful case studies* (2nd ed.). New York: Harrow and Heston.
- Cornish, D. B., & Clarke, R. V. (Eds.). (1986). *The reasoning criminal: Rational choice perspectives on offending*. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (Eds.). (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. New York: The New Press.
- Creswell, J. W. (1994). *Research design: Qualitative & quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crossman, A. (2017). *Social Learning Theory*. Retrieved from thoughtco.com/social-learning-theory-definition-3026629
- Cullen, F. T., Wright, J., & Blevins, K. (Eds.). (2011). Taking Stock: The Status of Criminological Theory. *Volume 1 of Advances in Criminological Theory*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction.
- Delgado, R. & Stefancic, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge*. Temple University Press.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory (Third Edition): An introduction*. NYU Press.

- Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (2016). Invitation to comment on the prevention and combating of hate crimes and hate speech bill: Deadline for comment 1 December 2016. *Government Gazette*. (No. 40367, Notice 698). Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printing Works.
- De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouché, C. B., & Delport, C. S. (2011). *Research at grass roots*. Pretoria, South Africa: Van Schaik.
- Denzin, N.K. (1978). The logic of naturalistic inquiry. In N.K. Denzin (Ed.), *Sociological methods: A sourcebook*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dill, J.C., & Anderson, C.A. (1995). Effect of Frustration Justification on Hostile Aggression. *Aggressive Behaviour*, 21(5), 359-369.
- Dollard, J., Doob, L.W., Miller, N.E., Mowrer, O.H., & Sears, R.R. (1939). *Frustration and Aggression*. New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press.
- Dube, P. (2017, March 7). Rescuing the ‘hate speech bill’. *News 24*. Retrieved from <http://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/rescuing-the-hate-speech-bill-20170307>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2012). *Orange Free State*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Orange-Free-State>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2015). *Mfecane*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Mfecane>
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2016). *Voortrekker*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Voortrekker>

- Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2017). *Battle of Blood River*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Blood-River>
- Fenlason, T. (2009). *Change in intimate partner violence: The domestic couple's perspective on perpetrator change* (Doctoral dissertation, Antioch University Seattle, Seattle, Washington) . Retrieved from https://etd.ohiolink.edu/rws_etd/document/get/antioch1274393911/inline
- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 80-91. doi:10.1177/160940690600500107
- France, A., Bottrell, D., & Armstrong, D. (2012). *A Political Ecology of Youth and Crime*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Frankl, V.E. (2008). *Man's search for meaning*. United Kingdom, London: Penguin Random House.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. New Brunswick, CA: Aldine Transaction.
- Grütter, W., & Van Zyl, D. J. (1981). *The story of South Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: Human and Rousseau.
- Gul, S. (2009). An evaluation of rational choice theory in criminology. *Sociology and applied science*, 4(8), 36-44.
- Hanson, V. D. (2002). *Carnage and culture: Landmark battles in the rise to western power*. New York, US: Anchor Books.

- Harris, B. (2004). *Arranging prejudice: Exploring hate crime in post-apartheid South Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.
- Hate Crimes Working Group. (2017). *A briefing note: Criminalise hate crimes, not hate speech*. Frontpage Article. Retrieved from <https://hwcg.org.za/criminalise-hate-crimes-not-hate-speech/>
- Heath, H., & Cowley, S. (2004). Developing a grounded theory approach: a comparison of Glaser and Strauss. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 41(2), 141 - 150. DOI: 10.1016/S0020-7489(03)00113-5
- Herman, P. (2016, October 24). New hate speech bill opened for public comment. *News24*. Retrieved from <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/new-hate-speech-bill-opened-for-public-comment-20161024>
- Jere, J. R. (2018, February 18). South Africa: “A year of change. A year of renewal. A year of hope.” Top 40 quotes from Cyril Ramaphosa SONA2018. *NewAfrican*. Retrieved from <http://newafricanmagazine.com/south-africa-a-year-of-change-a-year-of-renewal-a-year-of-hope-top-40-quotes-from-cyril-ramaphosa-sona2018/>
- Johnson, D. (2011). *Imagining the Cape colony: History, literature, and the South African nation*. Edinburgh, United Kingdom: Edinburgh University Press.
- Knight, I. (1989). *Queen Victoria's enemies*. London, Great Britain: Osprey.
- Kohn, S. (2017, November). *What we can do about the culture of hate* [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/sally_kohn_what_we_can_do_about_the_culture_of_hate
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- Lujabe, N. (2017, January 6). 2017 started just like 2016, with racist rants on social media. *City Press*. Retrieved from <http://city-press.news24.com/News/2017-started-just-like-2016-with-racist-rants-on-social-media-20170106>
- Malala, J. (2015, November 17). The Big Read: Don't feel the power - use it. *Sunday times*. Retrieved from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/ideas/2017-07-10-the-big-read-anc-cant-even-help-itself/>
- Mandela, N. (1994). *Long walk to freedom: The autobiography of Nelson Mandela*. Boston: Back Bay Books.
- Mark Walters. (2015, June 23). Racist hate crimes: Why do they do it? [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://www.internationalhatestudies.com/racist-hate-crimes/>
- McHale, S. M., Dotterer, A., & Kim, J.Y. (2009). An Ecological Perspective on the Media and Youth Development. *The American Behavioural Scientist*, 52(8), 1186–1203. Retrieved from <http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764209331541>
- Miller, N., Pedersen, W.C., Earleywine, M., & Pollock, V.E. (2003). A Theoretical Model of Triggered Displaced Aggression. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 7(1), 75-97.
- Miller, N. E. (1941). The frustration-aggression hypothesis. *Psychological Review*, 48(4), 337-342. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0055861>
- Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2006). The development of constructivist grounded theory. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 25-32. Retrieved from https://sites.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_1/PDF/MILLS.PDF
- Mitchell, Y., & Nel, J. A. (2017). *The Hate and Bias Crimes Monitoring Form Project: January 2013 to September 2017*. Johannesburg: The Hate Crimes Working Group.

- Morse, J. M., Stern, P. N., Corbin, J., Bowers, B., Charmaz, K., & Clarke, A. E. (2016). *Developing grounded theory: The second generation*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Nattrass, G. (2017). *A short history of South Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Jonathan Ball.
- Ndlazi, S. (2016). Picture puts Centurion crèche in racism spotlight. *IOL*. Retrieved from <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/picture-puts-centurion-creche-in-racism-spotlight-2038098>
- Nel, J. A. (2007). *Towards the 'good society': Healthcare provision for victims of hate crime from periphery to centre stage* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of South Africa, South Africa). Retrieved from http://asiphephe.org/modules/MDCatalogue/resources/157_97_towards_the_good_society_healthcare_provision_for.pdf
- Nel, J. A., van Wyk, H., & Mbatha, K. (2013). *User guide: Hate & Bias Crime Monitoring Form*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Hate Crimes Working Group.
- Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nieuwenhuis, F. J. (2007). Introducing qualitative research. In J. Maree (Ed.), *First steps in research* (pp. 47-66). South Africa, Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Nolan III, J. J., McDevitt, J., Cronin, S., & Farrell, A. (2004). Learning to see hate crimes: A framework for understanding and clarifying ambiguities in bias crime classification. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 17(1), 91-105. doi:10.1080/08884310420001679361
- Parliament of the Republic of South Africa. (2013). *'Corrective rape', hate crimes, and the law in South Africa*. Retrieved from <http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/130911corrective.pdf>

- Petersen, T. (2018, January 16). H&M has shown racial insensitivity before. *news24*. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/hm-has-shown-racial-insensitivity-before-ahmed-kathrada-foundation-20180116>
- Pijoo, I. (2018, April 18). Vicki Momberg case: The k-word is used to mentally oppress the human spirit, court hears. *News 24*. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/vicki-momberg-case-the-k-word-is-used-to-mentally-oppress-the-human-spirit-court-hears-20180418>
- Pretorius, F. (Ed.). (2012). *Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika: Van voortye tot vandag*. Cape Town, South Africa: Tafelberg.
- Raborife, M. (2017, July 2). Banned Spur man has string of arrests for assault. *news24*. Retrieved from <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/banned-spur-man-has-string-of-arrests-for-assault-20170702>
- Ratele, K., & Duncan, N. (Eds.). (2003). *Social psychology: Identities and relationships*. Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.
- Richardson, L. (1990). *Writing strategies: Reaching diverse audiences* (Vol. 21). London: Sage.
- Royzman, E., McCauley, C. R., & Rozin, P. (2004). From Plato to Putnam. In R. J. Sternberg (Ed.), *The Psychology of hate* (pp. 3-35). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2000). *Data management and analysis methods*. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 769-802). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Shange, N. (2018, February 8). Most victims of hate crime in SA are black, male and foreign. *Sunday Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-02-08-most-victims-of-hate-crime-in-sa-are-black-male-and-foreign/>
- Shange, N. (2018, February 9). Six hate crimes that shocked South Africa. *Sunday Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-02-09-six-hate-crimes-that-shocked-south-africa/>
- South African History Online. (2011). *Second Anglo-Boer War 1899 – 1902*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/second-anglo-boer-war-1899-1902>
- South African History Online. (2013). *The Natives Land Act of 1913*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/natives-land-act-1913>
- South African History Online. (2016). *Xhosa*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/xhosa>
- South African History Online. (2017). *Slavery is abolished at the Cape*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/slavery-abolished-cape>
- South African History Online. (2018). *Conquest of the Eastern Cape 1779-1878*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/conquest-eastern-cape-1779-1878>
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 273-285). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Submissions on hate crimes bill extended. (2016, November 17). *eNews Channel Africa*. Retrieved from <https://www.enca.com/south-africa/submissions-on-hate-crimes-bill-extended>
- Suddaby, R. (2006). What grounded theory is not. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(4), 633-642. doi:10.5465/AMJ.2006.22083020

- Taylor, S. E., Peplau, L. A., & Sears, D. O. (2006). *Social psychology*. Upper Saddle River, NY: Pearson Education.
- The University of Sydney. (2013). *A Political Ecology of Youth and Crime*. Retrieved from <http://sydney.edu.au/news/84.html?newsstoryid=10811>
- Thomson, S. B. (2010). Grounded theory - Sample size. *Journal of Administration and Governance*, 5(1), 45-52. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3037218>
- Vergunst, N. (2012). Knot of stone: The day that changed South Africa's history [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://www.knotofstone.com/2012/03/murder-memory-and-bones>
- Wagner, C., Kawulich, B., & Garner, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Doing social research: A global context*. Berkshire, England: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Walter, E. V. (1972). *Terror and resistance: A study of political violence; with case studies of Some primitive African communities*. London, England: Oxford University Press.
- Wasserman, Z. (2017, March 10). Hate crimes and hate speech bill: The good, the bad – and the unspeakable. [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://genderjustice.org.za/article/hate-crimes-hate-speech-bill-good-bad-unspeakable/>
- Weiten, W. (2008). *Psychology: Themes and Variations*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.
- Whitley, B.E., & Kite, M.E. (2009). *The Psychology of Prejudice and Discrimination*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.
- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
- Umraw, A. (2018, February 16). 'New dawn': Ramaphosa vows radical renewal. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from http://www.huffingtonpost.co.za/2018/02/16/big-changes-promised-under-ramaphosa-especially-in-government_a_23363757/

Table 1: Phases of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87)

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary) and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic “map” of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 2: Data Extract with Code Applied

Data extract	Coded for
“Let me fight back, I am also a man, I cannot allow another man to take advantage or to bully me in that manner.” ~Participant A~	1. Defending identity 2. Manliness

Table 3: Initial List of Codes

Needs	Upbringing	Identity	Politics	Racism	Violence	Emotions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • basic human rights • money • employment • responsibilities • family • resources • skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mindset • assumptions • right vs wrong • truth • interpretation • viewpoint • expectations • attitudes • stories / tales • experience • social learning • history • influence • family and society • peers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dignity • pride • dominance • manliness • worth • recognition • self-esteem • approval • defending 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • inspiration for crime • instructions • inspiration • tension • motivation for hate crime • disappointment • involvement • propaganda • corruption • greed • freedom • power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • discrimination • unfair treatment • derogatory terms • ethnic slur • inequality • prejudice • stereotypes • oppression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • normalcy • life of crime • progression • opportunity • maturity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • confusion • remorse • anger • fear • reconcile

Table 4: Initial Refinement of Possible Themes

Deflection of personal responsibility	Constructing meaning	Choice
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• upbringing• stories and tales• social learning• family and society• peers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• needs• identity• politics• racism• violence• emotions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• maturity

Table 5: Final Refinement of Themes

Deflection of personal responsibility	Power, positionality and privilege	Choice
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• inborn• upbringing	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• money• hate and anger directed towards racism and politics• defending identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• maturity

Table 6: A 15-Pont Checklist of Criteria for Good Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 96)

Process	No.	Criteria
Transcription	1	The data have been transcribed to an appropriate level of detail, and the transcripts have been checked against the tapes for ‘accuracy’.
Coding	2	Each data item has been given equal attention in the coding process.
	3	Themes have not been generated from a few vivid examples (an anecdotal approach), but instead the coding process has been thorough, inclusive and comprehensive.
	4	All relevant extracts for all each theme have been collated.
	5	Themes have been checked against each other and back to the original data set.
	6	Themes are internally coherent, consistent, and distinctive.
Analysis	7	Data have been analysed – interpreted, made sense of - rather than just paraphrased or described.
	8	Analysis and data match each other – the extracts illustrate the analytic claims.
	9	Analysis tells a convincing and well-organised story about the data and topic.
	10	A good balance between analytic narrative and illustrative extracts is provided.

Overall	11	Enough time has been allocated to complete all phases of the analysis adequately, without rushing a phase or giving it a once-over-lightly.
Written report	12	The assumptions about, and specific approach to, thematic analysis are clearly explicated.
	13	There is a good fit between what you claim you do, and what you show you have done – i.e., described method and reported analysis are consistent.
	14	The language and concepts used in the report are consistent with the epistemological position of the analysis.
	15	The researcher is positioned as <i>active</i> in the research process; themes do not just ‘emerge’.

Figure 1: Graphical representation of the Frustration Deconstruction Theory (FDT)

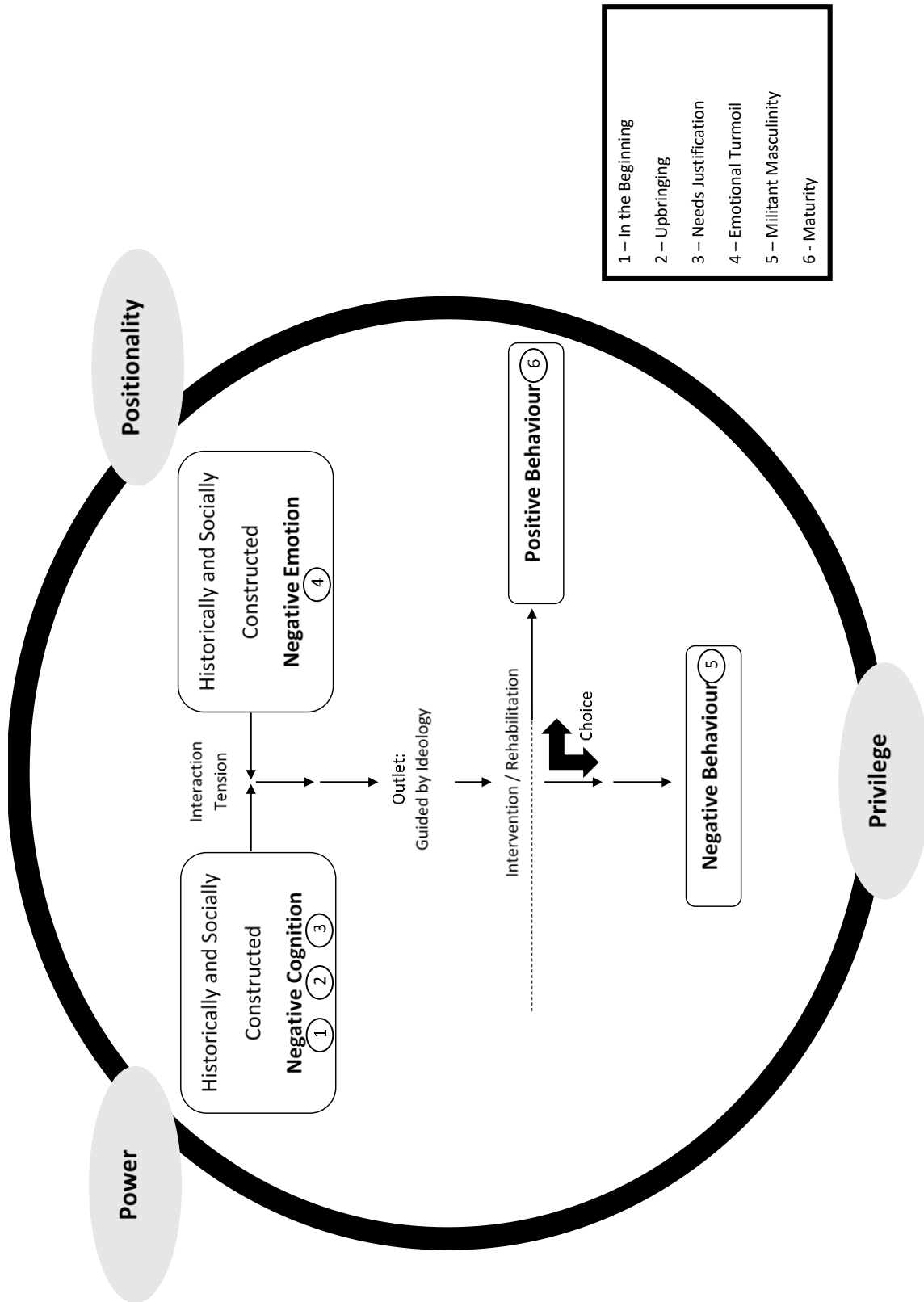
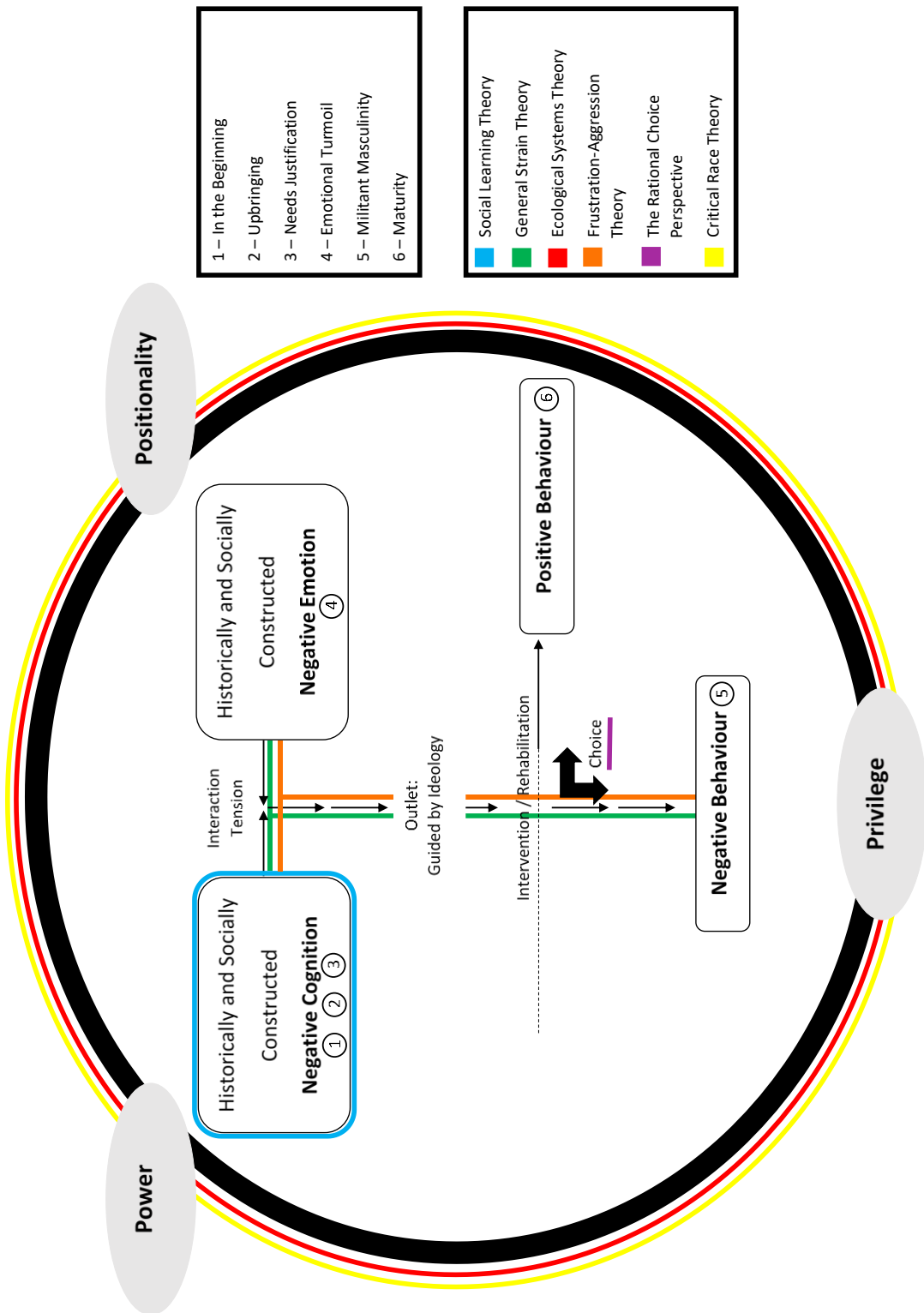


Figure 2: Graphical representation of the Frustration Deconstruction Theory (FDT) compared to existing bodies of literature



APPENDIX A

INCLUSION CRITERIA

The offenders have to fit the criteria as listed below to be selected to participate in the study.

They must:

- Be imprisoned at St. Albans;
- Be willing to openly discuss and provide a detailed account of relevant information regarding their crimes/ life/ experiences/ past;
- Be a South African citizen;
- Have committed a racially-motivated hate crime;
- Only discuss crime/s they have been convicted for;
- Not have an Axis 1 diagnosed mental disorder;
- Not be due for release/parole from within 3 months of the start of data collection;
- Agree to the research terms and conditions;
- Complete the scheduled interviews, and journal entries;
- Supply information that is accurate and truthful according to their knowledge;
- Adhere to their code of conduct as per Prisons Act, 2006, part VIII;
- Supply voluntary consent.

APPENDIX B

**RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HUMAN) LETTER OF APPROVAL,
NELSON MANDELA UNIVERSITY**

Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)
Tel: +27 (0)41 504-2235

Ref: [H16-HEA-PSY-008/Approval]

Contact person: Mrs U Spies

24 August 2016

Dr Y Ally
Faculty: Health Sciences
South Campus

Dear Dr Ally

**PERPETRATORS' PERSPECTIVE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO
RACIALLY-MOTIVATED HATE CRIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

PRP: Dr Y Ally
PI: Ms W Scholtz

Your above-entitled application served at Research Ethics Committee (Human) for approval.

The ethics clearance reference number is **H16-HEA-PSY-008** and is valid for three years. Please inform the REC-H, via your faculty representative, if any changes (particularly in the methodology) occur during this time. An annual affirmation to the effect that the protocols in use are still those for which approval was granted, will be required from you. You will be reminded timeously of this responsibility, and will receive the necessary documentation well in advance of any deadline.

We wish you well with the project. Please inform your co-investigators of the outcome, and convey our best wishes.

Yours sincerely



Prof C Cilliers
Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee (Human)

cc: Department of Research Capacity Development
Faculty Officer: Health Sciences

APPENDIX C

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES APPLICATION FORM



DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. This form caters for research carried out by a team or an individual
2. Please complete in **PRINT**-Using blank ink
3. * Mark with an X where applicable
4. Please attach the following documents to your application: (i) A detailed research proposal and proposed method
(ii) Certified copies of your ID Book(s)/ Passport(s)
(iii) Current proof of registration from the institution where you are studying (Students only)

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

A1: For research conducted by an **individual** (**Note:** If it is a research by a team of individuals details of the team leader should also be included here)

1) Title _____ 2) Surname _____ 3) Initials _____

4) Full Name(s) _____ 5) ID Number

6) Country of Origin _____

If not a S.A. Citizen: Passport No

A2: For research conducted by a **team of individuals**

7) Details of team members must be completed in the table below (If more than five include others on the separate sheet)

	Surname	Initials	ID/ Passport Number	Highest Qualification Obtained
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

8) Postal Address: <div style="text-align: right;">Code:</div>	12) Residential Address: <div style="text-align: right;">Code:</div>
9) [H] Telephone No: Area Code: Number:	13) [W] Telephone No: Area Code: Number:
10) Fax Number: Area Code: Number:	14) Cellular Phone Number:
11) E-Mail Address:	

15) Academic Qualifications

Diploma / Degree/Certificate	Institution	Date obtained

16) Present Employer _____

17) Position Occupied _____

18) If you are a member of the Department of Correctional Services: Persal Number

19) Station _____

B. INDIVIDUAL/GROUP'S PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND/OR PUBLICATIONS

20) Title	21) Publisher	22) Magazine	23) Date

C. PLANNED RESEARCH

24) Title _____

25) Is your planned research required to obtain a qualification? * Yes No

If yes, specify _____

If no, stipulate purpose of research _____

26) Does your planned research have any connection with your present field of work? * Yes No

27) Subject to the conditions that may be set in this regard, do you intend to publish or orally present the findings of your research/ dissertation/ thesis or parts thereof during lectures/ seminars? * Yes No

If yes, in which way, and at what stage? _____

28) At which Area(s) of Command/ Prison(s) do you plan to do your research?

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

29) Which of the following will be involved in your research?

	Yes	No	Specify
Prisoners			
Personnel			
Official documents of the Department			
Interviews			
Questionnaires			
Observations			
Psychometric tests			
Technological Devices			
	Yes	No	Specify
Medical Tests including: • Physical Assessment • Laboratory tests (blood, sperm, urine) • X-ray examination • Other			

D. SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

30) For which tertiary institution/ Organisation/ Company are you conducting the research? _____
 _____ Department/ Division/ Section/ Component/ Unit _____
 _____ Project or Group Leader/ Promoter/ Lecturer: Title _____

31) Surname _____ Initials _____

32) What value is your planned research to the Department of Correctional Services? _____

33) Do you receive any financial assistance for your planned study in the form of a Scholarship / Loan/ Bursary/ Sponsor?

* Yes No

If yes, do your sponsor/ loaner/ funder have any copyrights to the study?

If yes specify _____

E. COMMENTS/ RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CHAIR PERSON OF THE INSTITUTION'S RESEARCH COMMITTEE WITH REGARD TO THE APPLICATION

34) Title _____ 35) Surname _____ 36) Initials _____

Signature

Date

Official stamp of the
Institution/ Organization/ Company

F. DECLARATION STATEMENT BY APPLICANTS:

I/We confirm that:

1. the particulars mentioned above are true, and
2. if this application is favourably considered, I/ We will comply with the conditions which may be set with regard to the application.

Note: If it is a research carried by a team, the Team Leader's signature must appear on the space provided below together with the signatures of two other members of the team as witnesses.

Applicant/Team Leader's Signature

Witness's Signature

Witness's Signature

Date

Date

Date

FOR OFFICE USE BY HEAD OFFICE ONLY

*In case of Bursary Holders of the Department of Public Service and Administration please refer to the Director:
Policy and External Training*

Referred by _____ Date _____

Application

*	APPROVED	AMENDED	NOT APPROVED
---	----------	---------	--------------

Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee

Date

APPENDIX D

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AGREEMENT FORM

**AGREEMENT REGARDING CONDITIONS APPLICABLE TO RESEARCH DONE IN
INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSIONER OF
CORRECTIONAL SERVICES**

1. I _____ (name & surname) wish to
conduct research titled _____

in/at institutions which falls under the authority of the SA Commissioner of Correctional Services. I undertake to use the information that I acquire in a balanced and responsible manner, taking in account the perspectives and practical realities of the Department of Correctional Services (hereafter referred to as “the Department”) in my report/treatise. I furthermore take not of and agree to adhere to the following conditions:

1.1 INTERNAL GUIDE

The researcher accepts that an Internal Guide, appointed by the Department of Correctional Services will provide guidance on a continual basis, during the research. His/her duties will be:

- 1.1.1 To help with the interpretation of policy guidelines. He/she will therefore have to ensure that the researcher is conversant with the policy regarding functional areas of the research.
- 1.1.2 To help with the interpreting of information/statistics and terminology of the Department which the researcher is unfamiliar with.
- 1.1.3 To identify issues which could cause embarrassment to the Department, and to make recommendations regarding the utilization and treatment of such information.
- 1.1.4 To advise Correctional Management regarding the possible implementation of the recommendations made by the researcher.

With regard to the abovementioned the research remains the researchers own work and the internal guide may therefore not be prescriptive. His/her task is assistance and not to dictate a specific train of thought to the researcher.

1.2 GENERAL CONDITIONS WHEN DOING RESEARCH IN PRISONS

- 1.2.1 All external researchers; before conducting research must familiarize themselves with guidelines for the practical execution of research in prisons as contained in the handbook (see par.11 of Policy).
- 1.2.2 Participation in the research by members/prisoners must be voluntary, and such willingness must be indicated in writing.
- 1.2.3 Prisoners may not be identified, or be able to be identified in any way.
- 1.2.4 Research Instrument such as questionnaires/schedules for interviews must be submitted to the Department (Internal Guide) for consideration before they may be used.
- 1.2.5 The Department (Internal Guide) must be kept informed of progress and the expected completion dates of the various phases of the research an progress reports/copies of completed chapters furnished for consideration to the Department should this be requested by the Department. The Research Ethics Committee must be provided with an unbound copy of the researcher's report at least two months prior to presentation and publication for evaluation (see par.9 of Policy).
- 1.2.6 Research findings or any other information gained during the research may not be published or made known in any other manner without the written permission of the Commissioner of Correctional Services.
- 1.2.7 A copy of the final report/essay/treatise/thesis must be submitted to the Department for further use.
- 1.2.8 Research will have to be done in the researchers own time and at his own cost unless explicitly stated otherwise at eh initial approval of the research.

1.3 CONDUCT IN PRISON

- 1.3.1 Arrangements to visit a prison (s) for research purposes must be made with the Area Manager of that particular prison. Care should be taken that the research be done with the least possible disruption of prison routine.
- 1.3.2 Office space for the conducting of tests and interviews must be determined in consultation with the Area Manager of that particular Prison.
- 1.3.3 Research instruments/interviews must be used/done within view and hearing distance of a member (s) of the South African Correctional Services, otherwise only within view of a member (s) of the Department.
- 1.3.4 Documentation may not be removed from files or reproduced without the prior approval of the Commissioner of Correctional Services.
- 1.3.5 Any problem experienced during the research must be discussed with the relevant Head of the Prison without delay.
- 1.3.6 Identification documents must be produced at the prison upon request and must be worn on the person during the visit.
- 1.3.7 Weapons or other unauthorized articles may not be taken into the prison.
- 1.3.8 Money and other necessary articles that are worn on the researcher's person are taken into the prison at his own risk. Nothing may be handed over to the prisoners except that which is required for the process of research; e.g. manuals, questionnaires, stationery, etc.
- 1.3.9 The research must be done in such a manner that prisoners/members cannot subsequently use it to embarrass the Department of Correctional Services.
- 1.3.10 Researchers must be circumspect when approaching prisoners with regard to their appearance and behavior, and researchers must be careful of manipulation by prisoners. The decision of the Head of Prison in this regard is final.

1.3.11 No prisoner may be given the impression that his/her co-operation could be advantageous to him/her personality.

2. INDEMNITY

The researcher waives any claim which he may have against the Department of Correctional Services and indemnifies the Department against any claims, including legal fees at an attorney and client scale which may be initiated against the latter by any other person, including a prisoner.

3. CANCELLATION

The Commissioner of Correctional Services retains the right to withdraw and cancel authorization or research at any time, should the above conditions not be adhered to or the researcher not keep to stated objectives. In such an event or in event of the researcher deciding to discontinue the research, all information and data from the liaison with the Department must be returned to the Department and such information and data may in no way be published in any other publication without the permission of the Commissioner of Correctional Services. The Commissioner of Correctional Services also retains the right to allocate the research to another researcher.

4. SUGGESTIONS

The researcher acknowledges that no other suggestions except those contained in this agreement; were made which had led him/her to the entering into this agreement.

Signed at _____ on the _____ day of _____ month
_____ year.

RESEARCHER: _____

APPENDIX E

**RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HAMUN) LETTER OF APPROVAL,
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIIONAL SERVICES**



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2770, Fax 086 539 2693

Ms W Scholtz
12 Westbrooke Street
Mangold Park
Port Elizabeth
6070

Dear Ms W Scholtz

RE: APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "A PERPETRATOR'S PERSPECTIVE: UNDERSTANDING THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RACIALLY-MOTIVATED HATE CRIMES IN SOUTH AFRICA"

I wish to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been conditionally approved. The researcher is expected to meet the following conditions for full approval to be granted:

- The researcher needs to be sensitised that she won't be able to identify the offenders who were convicted of hate crimes from DCS records or from SAPS. She will only get those prospective participants from Pro-Equity Courts records.
- The researcher needs to be sensitised that it is her responsibility and not DCS's responsibility to get those records.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services. Should you have any enquiries, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770 / (012) 305 8554.

Yours faithfully

ND SIHLEZANA
DC: POLICY COORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 19/12/2016

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction

Address selected participants individually on the nature, purpose, and ethical considerations of the study and the extent of commitment involved. Explain the information sheet and obtain informed consent. Supply participants with a preliminary time frame.

I am from Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University conducting interviews to try to understand the psychological factors contributing to racially-motivated hate crimes in South Africa. I have an informed consent form for you to sign that will indicate that you have received information about this study and agree to participate. I need to record this interview, with your permission, to be able to transcribe it and do a general analysis together with all the other interviews. Is that okay? You are free to withdraw from the interview at any point if you wish to. Do you have any questions before we start?

Body

First Interview

- How did you experience your childhood? How was it growing up? How did your environment shape/influence you?
- Tell me about your parents and your relationship with them.

Explore the following themes:

- Family structure, changes in family structure and why, relationships between family members
- Parenting styles
- Schooling
- Peer group
- Other significant relationships

- Substance misuse
- Employment
- Neighbourhood
- “Career” in crime
- Hopes for the future
- How did the family spend weekends, holidays or other free time? What was “fun” in the family context? Was drinking or violence ever a part of these events?
- Who were your heroes — who did you look up to? This could be someone in your family or neighbourhood, or on TV or in the movies.

At the end of this interview, supply participants with journals, stationary and instructions on how to complete journal entries.

Second Interview

- Tell me about the racially motivated hate crime you were convicted for.
- How did that make you feel, what emotions did you experience?
- What motivated you?
- Describe what lead up to it and what you experienced after.
- What are your views regarding this act?

Remind participants to complete journal entries.

Third Interview

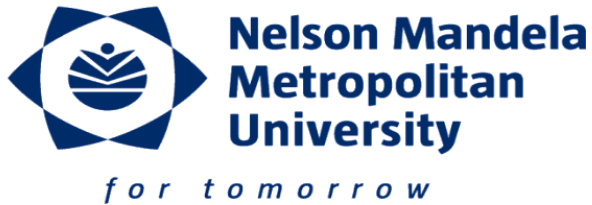
Ask for clarification of any ambiguous data obtained and collect the completed journals.

Closing

Are there any responses you would like to elaborate upon or questions that you would like to ask me about anything we discussed or that took place during the interview? Thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX G

**INFORMATION LETTER FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANT AND INFORMED
CONSENT FORM**



Faculty of Health Sciences

Department of Psychology

NMMU (South Campus)

Researcher: Ms. Wilmie Scholtz

Tel: +27 (0) 60 506 5171

E-mail: wilmie.scholtz@gmail.com

Dear participant

20 March 2017

My name is Ms. Wilmie Scholtz and I am a Masters student in Psychology at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. As part of my course, is the completion of a research project. The title of my study is “Perpetrators’ Perspective of the Psychological Factors Contributing to Racially-Motivated Hate Crimes in South Africa”. It aims to explore the experiences and perceptions of the perpetrators of racially-motivated hate crimes.

The understanding of factors and reasons that have contributed to hate crimes being committed is essential. This is particularly imperative in light of the escalating rates of crime and violence in South Africa that seems to have strong racial motives.

You are hereby invited to participate in this research study. In agreeing to participate, you will be required to provide written consent. The completion of your consent form will verify that you are aware of, understand, and agree to the terms and conditions of the research study.

As a participant, you will be required to attend the specified number of interview sessions in which you will be required to discuss your crimes of hate openly and honestly. In addition, you will keep a daily written journal log throughout your participation in the study.

As a participant, you have the right to raise your concerns regarding the study at any time. Should you experience any problems or anxiety regarding or during the study you are encouraged to report them to the researcher immediately.

Participating in the study is voluntary and you are not obligated to take part. Your identity will remain confidential at all times.

You are welcome to contact the supervisor of the study, Dr. Yaseen Ally, who will be able to provide you with further information and details, if required.

Thank you for your participation, it is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Ms. W. Scholtz (Researcher)

Dr. Y. Ally (Supervisor)

Consent Form

I, the participant, was invited to participate in the research project that is being undertaken by Wilmie Scholtz from the Department of Psychology at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. I confirm as follows:

Full Name	
Surname	
ID Number	
Prison ID Number	
I understand that I must:	Initial
<input type="radio"/> Be willing to openly discuss and provide a detailed account of relevant information regarding my crimes/life/ experiences/ past	
<input type="radio"/> Be a South African citizen	
<input type="radio"/> Have committed a hate crime	
<input type="radio"/> Only discuss crime/s that I have been convicted for	
<input type="radio"/> Complete the scheduled interviews, and journal entries	
<input type="radio"/> Supply information that is accurate and truthful according to my knowledge	
<input type="radio"/> Adhere to my code of conduct	

Furthermore, I understand that:	Initial
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue, and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ My answers will be recorded 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ This consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Researcher will consult my personal criminal records 	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Research findings will be published but that my name will remain anonymous and all the information I supply will be treated in strictest confidence 	

I hereby voluntarily consent to participate in the above-mentioned project.

Signature of participant

Full name of participant

Signed at: _____ on _____

Signature of participant

Full name of participant

Signed at: _____ on _____

APPENDIX H

JOURNAL INSTRUCTIONS

Keep in mind that the listed topics are only a guide to assist you and you should **NOT** limit yourself to them.

Instructions

- Date each journal entry
- Sign your name at the end of each entry
- Write in English
- Write neatly using block lettering
- Each entry must be a minimum of three pages per day
- Do not tear pages from your journal
- This journal must be returned to the researcher upon completion of the study
- If you refer to specific people by name, indicate their relation to you
- If you use slang, provide an explanation of its meaning
- Provide as much detail as possible
- Refer to specific events
- Record your personal thoughts and emotions

Topic List

- Yourself
- Your family and childhood
- The path your life took that led to crime
- The escalation of your crimes
- Specific racially motivated crimes of hate and your thoughts on them

APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIBER CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT AND NON-DISCLOSURE

ENTERED INTO BY AND BETWEEN

.....
.....
.....

OF

.....
.....
.....

AND

.....
.....
.....
.....

**(Details of Company)
OF**

.....
.....
.....

ADDRESS

WHEREAS the parties hereto are about to establish a diversity of business transactions which will necessitate the disclosure of information that is secret, confidential or otherwise restricted;

AND WHEREAS the parties wish to maintain and uphold the secrecy, confidentiality or restrictiveness of the information and prevent its disclosure or use otherwise than as provided for in this agreement;

AND WHEREAS the business relationship between the parties will entail the introduction of persons (whether natural or legal) and products by one party to the other;

AND WHEREAS the parties wish to ensure that each party will communicate with any person or product so introduced solely through the introducing party;

NOW THEREFORE THE PARTIES HERETO AGREES AS FOLLOWS:

1. CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

Each party agrees and undertake to not at any time during the term of this agreement and for a period of twenty-four (24) months thereafter, divulge or allow to be divulged to any Third Party any confidential, secret or otherwise restricted information disclosed as a result of the business transactions between the parties (including any introduced parties).

The parties agree that all information disclosed in terms of this agreement will be deemed confidential information, and that all such information will be held in confidence and trust. All reasonable precautions will be taken by the parties to ensure that such information is not disclosed to any unauthorised person or used in an unauthorised manner (advertising in any form or manner) both during and for a period of twenty-four (24) months after the termination of this agreement.

Should the services of any third party be required to assist in any way, the parties agree and undertake not to disclose any confidential information to such party until and unless such party has signed a similar non-disclosure and confidential information agreement.

On termination of this agreement, neither party will take any documents or material of any nature belonging to the other party and will immediately surrender and return any such documents or materials in its possession to the other party.

2. CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The parties undertake to make full disclosure of any possible conflict of interests that may arise out of the operations of this agreement as soon as such conflict becomes apparent.

3. RESTRAIN

On the termination for any reason whatsoever of this agreement, the parties agree and undertake not to disclose or use any information obtained in terms of this agreement or to utilize any product or contact any introduced party for a period of twenty-four (24) months after date of termination.

4. NON-CIRCUMVENTION

The parties agree and undertake not to circumvent, obviate or by-pass each other in any way whatsoever, either directly or indirectly, verbally or non-verbally, personally or through agents or representatives, or cause the circumvention, obviation or by-pass in any way whatsoever, whether intended or due to negligence, and agree not to solicit, negotiate, or enter into any business transaction whatsoever resulting or flowing from information / contacts / sources made available from knowledge gained as a result of this agreement.

Any attempt made or completed to circumvent, obviate or by-pass the other party will be seen as a breach of contract and treated as such.

5. TRANSFERABILITY

This agreement is personal to the Parties and shall not be transferable, either in whole or in part.

6. ARBITRATION

In the event of any dispute, which the Parties cannot resolve amicably between themselves, it may be settled by arbitration according to the relevant rules current at the time of the dispute. Nothing contained herein will however prevent any party from seeking appropriate relief in any court of law.

7. LAW

South African Law will govern this Agreement.

