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Interweaving xenophobia and racism in South Africa: the impact of racial discrimination on anti-immigrant hate violence among people of colour

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Abstract

Self-reported experiences of racial discrimination are quite prevalent among the adult population of colour in South Africa. This article will argue that ongoing experiences of racial intolerance encourage participation in hate crime. To validate this thesis, two models are tested: (a) the Common Ingroup Identity (CII) and (b) Social Identity Threats (SITs). The former suggests that experiences of discrimination can help create a shared 'disadvantaged' identity that produces intergroup tolerance. The latter contends that group discrimination undermines social norms and the stress caused can encourage aggression. The study examined participation in anti-immigrant violence as well as behavioural intention towards the same. Nationally representative survey data from the South African Social Attitudes Survey was used. Multinomial regression analysis found that experiences of perceived personal and collective discrimination influenced participation in hate crime. This finding was consistent with the SITs model rather than the CII model. Socio-economic status was found to buffer the influence of racial discrimination, showing how economic advantages helped people cope with adverse situations. Study outcomes demonstrate how the legacy of white settler colonialism has contributed to xenophobia in the post-apartheid period. Policy interventions (especially those targeting the poor) that reduce racial discrimination will decrease public participation in hate crime.

Keywords

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There has been a growing interest in the effects of discriminatory experiences on behaviour in recent years. Many researchers (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; De Guissmé & Licata, 2017; Meeusen et al., 2019; Obaidi et al., 2018) are increasingly interested in how experiences of group discrimination have influenced intergroup behaviour. When considering the impact of discrimination on this type of behaviour, there are two principal models to contend with: (a) Common Ingroup Identity (CII), and (b) Social Identity Threats (SITs). The first model predicts that experiences of unfair group-based discrimination should make individuals more empathetic to other marginalised groups (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). According to this model, experiences of prejudice help build solidarity between marginalised groups (also see Craig & Richeson, 2016). In contrast, the SITS model suggests that perceived discrimination could lead to negative intergroup behaviour (Belmi et al., 2015). According to this model, perceived discrimination degrades an individual's societal norms of good conduct and social relations (also see Burt et al., 2012). This degradation increases the likelihood that an individual will participate in aggressive behaviour.

The emerging research tradition described above has tended to ignore how experiences of group discrimination shape individual participation in hate crime. One of the primary reasons for this knowledge gap could be the geographic focus of most studies of hate crime activity. Much of the existing research tradition on this kind of behaviour concentrates on the participation rates among the white populations in Europe and North America. As a result, our collective understanding of this phenomenon in South Africa is quite poor and little is known about the effect that discrimination may have on intergroup behaviour. This article will investigate the impact of perceived discrimination on public participation in hate crime amongst the South African adult population. It will test the applicability of the CII and SIT models, providing insight into how white settler colonialism has influenced public participation in hate crime in the country.

South Africa provides a uniquely advantageous setting for the study of the relationship between hate crime participation and group discrimination. Notwithstanding the progressive laws and policies enacted to eliminate racial discrimination, racism remains a consistent feature of the post-apartheid period. A recent report from the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2021) found that many people of colour[1] in the country report acute and chronic forms of racial discrimination. But lots of racist prejudice (if not most) goes unreported (also see SAHRC, 2016). To circumvent the underreporting problem quantitative scholars, like Williams et al. (2008), have used representative public opinion datasets to study experiences of discrimination. This paper will follow their lead and utilise a comprehensive nationally representative survey data to examine racial discrimination.

The study will investigate the influence of racial discrimination on public participation in a specific form of hate crime, anti-immigrant violence. This is one of the most serious forms of hate crime in the country, research organisations have identified thousands of violent xenophobic incidents in South Africa during the last two decades (Gordon, 2020). A growing, complex and diverse academic literature has emerged over the past 25 years that looks at South African xenophobia.[2] But this body of work has tended to ignore the role of perceived racial discrimination in the development of anti-immigrant hate crime. This will be the first large-scale examination of how perceived racial discrimination influences participation in anti-immigrant hate crime in South Africa.

Consequences of racial discrimination

The CII model was developed by Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) and has a long history within social psychology. For the purposes of this study, the CII model expects personal experiences of group-based discrimination to create greater empathy towards other discriminated groups. This is because experiences of discrimination can help create a shared (or common) 'disadvantaged' identity that produces solidarity between effected groups (also see Cortland et al., 2017). In other words, a shared disadvantaged experience should help individuals look past their differences (whether objective or

perceived) with outgroups and reduce intergroup antagonism. Even when facing divergent forms of stigma, effected individuals may still see commonalities with other oppressed groups and form inclusive ideological orientations (e.g., inclusive victim consciousness, see Craig & Richeson, 2016). Utilising the CII model, therefore, it could be argued that experiencing racial discrimination should reduce the likelihood that an individual will participate in hate crime.

H#1. Individual involvement in hate crime participation will be reduced by self-reported experiences of discrimination.

SITs are experiences that lead a person to believe that they are devalued because of their membership in a group (e.g., ethnicity, race or religion). When individuals think that they are disrespected due to their group identity, they may feel more alienated from society and reject norms of good conduct. Identity-threatening situations can, consequently, increase the propensity for people to act aggressively towards others (Belmi et al., 2015). Research shows that SITs can trigger negative stress management strategies such as physical aggression and prejudice (Bey et al., 2019). This is in line with existing work on the well-attested negative psychological effects of perceived discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2014). In addition, studies on societal rejection note a strong relationship between social exclusion and aggression (Gerber & Wheeler, 2009). In recent years, researchers (e.g., De Guissmé & Licata, 2017; Meeusen et al., 2019; Obaidi et al., 2018) have argued that SITs can provoke social deviance. Here, the frequency of discrimination is important as recurring events may be required to create a concrete context of SITs.

When people perceive their ingroup suffering, as a whole, from group-based bigotry and prejudice, this is called perceived collective discrimination. This type of discrimination can, according to intergroup emotions theory, trigger a strong emotional response (Mackie et al., 2000). When the feelings of group-based grievances are activated, psychological research has found that it can induce aggression (also see Obaidi et al., 2018). Past studies have discovered that emphasising the ways in which an individual is similar to the victims of unfair group-based discrimination can foster anger and lead to aggressive intergroup behaviour (for a review of this work, see Mackie & Smith, 2017). Consequently, an individual may experience SITs from collective discrimination as well as personal experiences of bigotry. Feelings of collective discrimination will, therefore, have to be considered alongside perceived personal discrimination.

H#2. Perceived experiences of personal discrimination will increase hate crime participation.

Economic disadvantage is a stressor that can be traced to the numerous deep-seated inequalities that affect people of colour in South Africa (SAHRC, 2021). Poor individuals of colour in the country have less access to recourse when confronted by discrimination.[3] Studies on how people of colour in North America experience racism seem to show that perceived racial discrimination is a greater source of stress for the poor than the non-poor. Miller et al. (2013), for example, argues that the negative effects of racial discrimination on health among African Americans is conditioned by socio-economic status (also see Bey et al., 2019). This outcome may emerge because the poor have fewer psychosocial resources to draw on when faced with unfair treatment. In our case, we could imagine a favourable economic position functioning as a kind of protective shield, lowering the impact of SITs on people of colour. In other words, economic class may moderate the influence of SITs on intergroup behaviour. Although this thesis seems intuitive, few studies have investigated how the effects of racial discrimination are buffered by economic position.

H#3. Economic advantage will weaken the impact that racial discrimination has on hate crime participation.

Racial identification should strengthen the correlation between perceived discrimination and behaviour. Noting the link between group identification and self-esteem, Martiny and Rubin, (2016) argue that high ingroup identifiers should have a more intense emotional (and, therefore, behavioural) reaction to perceived group-based discrimination. High ingroup identifiers, in other words, may react more negatively to SITs when compared with low identifiers (also see Branscombe & Wann, 1994). In South Africa, the racial categories of the pre-transition era continue to have significant salience, and racial identity still plays a prominent role in the lives of many. Asked about racial identities, only a tiny proportion of South Africans reject apartheid-era race classifications (Seekings, 2008). These results seem to suggest that racial identification could mediate the effect of perceived discrimination on intergroup behaviour.

> H#4. The relationship between experiences of discrimination and hate crime participation will be stronger for high race group identifiers when compared to low identifiers.

A growing body of research supports both concurrent and prospective relationships between racial discrimination experiences and a range of adverse psychological outcomes (for a discussion of this research tradition, see Yip et al., 2019). It has been argued that a robust racial identity acts as a buffer when encountering discrimination, reducing the harmful effects of unfair treatment. Research by Burt et al. (2012) has shown that, in certain circumstances, group identification can buffer the negative effects of group-based discrimination on criminal behaviour. Here the researchers looked at cultural socialisation among African Americans in the United States (also see Caldwell et al., 2004). In addition, this kind of socialisation has been found to be negatively related to externalising behaviours (e.g., fighting) and internalising problems (e.g., depression).[4] This research suggests a counterhypothesis to H#4, that high ingroup identification should be associated with lower deviance by protecting individuals during episodes of SIT.

> H#5. When compared to low identifiers, the association between perceived (personal and collective) discrimination and hate crime participation will be weaker for high race group identifiers.

Method

Participants

To ensure adequate representativity, the South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) sampling frame is constructed using the Statistics South Africa's national population census. A set of 500 Small Area Layers (SALs) was drawn in the first sampling stage. Seven dwelling units from each SAL were then randomly selected. A respondent was then randomly drawn from all persons 16 years and older at this unit. In each SASAS round fieldworkers visited 3,500 dwelling units. To ensure that the dataset is nationally representative, special weights were applied to the SASAS data. All the data presented in this article was weighted unless indicated otherwise. The study will focus exclusively on adults of colour living in South Africa and the sample used for this study is restricted to those who identified as either 'Black African', 'Coloured' or 'Indian'.

Instrument

Personal Perceived Racial Discrimination: SASAS participants were asked to indicate how often they personally feel racially discriminated against. Response options on this item ranged from 3 (*always*) to 0 (*not at all*).

Collective Perceived Racial Discrimination: SASAS participants were asked how often they felt that members of their race group were racially discriminated against. Responses were captured on the same scale (3 = *always* to 0 = *not at all*) as the personal discrimination item.

The items used to measure perceived racism do not distinguish between subtle and overt forms of collective and individual discrimination (for a discussion of the distinction between the two, see Molero et al., 2013). In addition, the metrics employed do not assess who the individual holds responsible for the prejudicial behaviour, or the severity of harm caused by the experience (for a further discussion of different responses to this limitation, see Gomez & Trierweiler, 2001). Although the unidimensional nature of these measures is a limitation, alternate and comprehensive measures on perceived discrimination were not available in the SASAS dataset.

Hate Crime Participation: Survey participants were required to report whether they had: 'taken part in violent action to prevent immigrants from living or working in your neighbourhood?' Answers to the anti-immigrant hate crime question were coded into the following categories: (a) past participation, (b) has not participated but may do so (i.e., non-participant intention), and (c) has not participated and would never participate (i.e., non-participant no intention).[5] This question was included as part of the core SASAS questionnaire in the 2015, 2016 and 2018 rounds.

SASAS included a number of background control variables to capture socio-demographic characteristics. These include age, gender, geotype, labour market status, educational attainment, the Living Standard Measure (LSM) Index and province of residence. Most of these are standard background variables with the sole exception being the LSM Index. Developed by the South African Audience Research Foundation, the LSM index is a popular instrument for class analysis in Southern Africa. It is based on more than 30 questions about ownership of assets (e.g., television or motor vehicles) as well as access to working utilities (e.g., water and electricity). The index subdivides the population into 10 groups, 10 (*highest*) to 1 (*lowest*) based on material living standard.

Procedure

SASAS questionnaires were translated into the country's major languages and (where appropriate) interviews were completed in the participant's home language. Research by Adida et al. (2016) shows that survey respondents in Africa give systematically different answers depending on the identity of the interviewer. Given that respondents were asked sensitive questions about race and racism, it is likely that the racial identity of the interviewer may provoke social desirability bias. To avoid this type of bias, an effort was made (where possible) to pair the race of the interviewer with that of the interviewee.

Ethical considerations

Both SASAS fieldwork and questionnaire designed was guided by a stringent internal code of ethics overseen by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Ethics Committee. All respondents were required to give written consent before the interview could take place. A dual consent process was required if the fieldworker was interviewing an individual who was either 16 or 17 years of age (i.e., a minor). Consent had to obtained from the minor as well as the parent/guardian. Ethical approval to use the data was obtained from the HSRC.

Data analysis

Data for the 2015, 2016 and 2018 SASAS rounds were utilised to test the study hypotheses. A multinomial probit regression approach was used to conduct these tests. This method produces coefficients that estimate the effects of variables on whether a survey participant will be located in
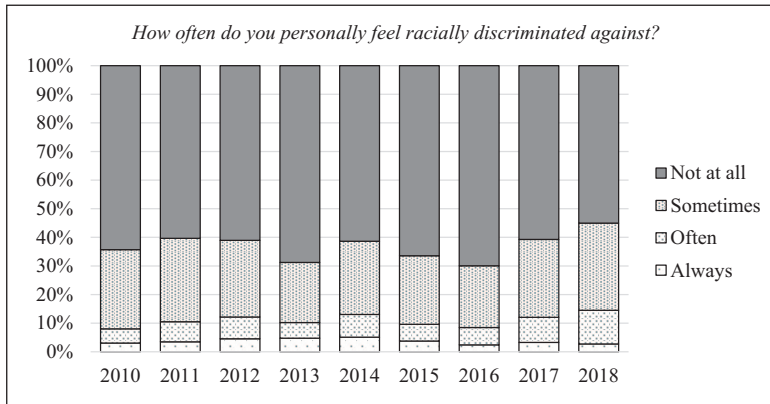
Figure 1. Self-reported personal racial discrimination of adult population of colour, 2010–2018.
Source: South African Social Attitudes Survey 2010-2018.
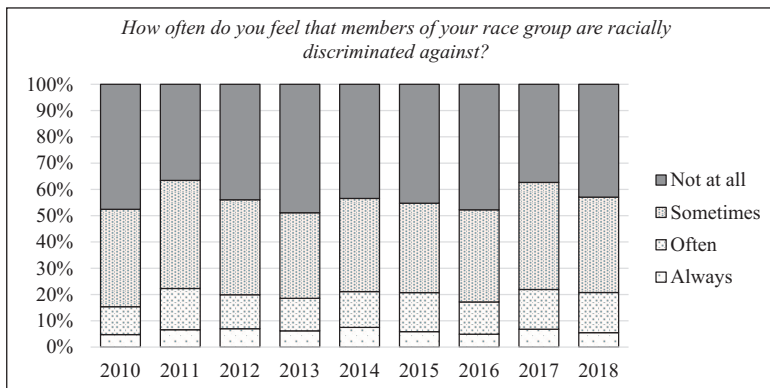*Note:* White respondents are excluded from the analysis.

Figure 2. Self-reported collective racial discrimination of adult population of colour, 2010–2018.
Source: South African Social Attitudes Survey 2010-2018.
Note: White respondents are excluded from the analysis.

one of the dependent variable's categories. It was important to remember that this method does not denote absolute effects on the level of support for a specific multinomial category. It only shows the degree to which variables make a particular response more or less probable. In the first round of testing, two multinomial probit regression models were produced. The base model contains all the correlates for the background variables as well as the self-reported personal racial discrimination scale. In the second model, the base model was modified to interact LSM with the personal discrimination scale. The base outcome for each model is 'non-participant no intention' and each model compares those who selected this outcome with the two other categories.

Results

Results for personal racial discrimination were presented for the period 2010–2018 in Figure 1 while perceived collective discrimination results were portrayed in Figure 2 for the same period. The level of self-reported personal discrimination suffered by the adult population of colour was larger than

Table 1. Multinomial probit regression on participation in anti-immigrant violence for the adult population of colour.

	Model I				Model II			
	Past participation		Intention non-participation		Past participation		Intention non-participation	
Age	-0.004 (0.003)		-0.004 (0.003)		-0.004 (0.003)		-0.004 (0.003)	
Female	-0.146 (0.099)		0.107 (0.084)		-0.143 (0.099)		0.021 (0.084)	
Group population (ref. Black African)								
Coloured	-0.472 (0.159)	**	-0.182 (0.140)		-0.484 (0.158)	**	-0.181 (0.138)	
Indian	-0.401 (0.181)	*	-0.296 (0.174)		-0.411 (0.182)	*	-0.304 (0.175)	
Formal schooling	0.000 (0.017)		-0.006 (0.015)		0.001 (0.017)		-0.006 (0.015)	
Work status (ref. employed)								
Unemployed	0.032 (0.152)		0.012 (0.136)		0.034 (0.151)		0.007 (0.135)	
Inactive	-0.155 (0.159)		-0.284 (0.145)		-0.157 (0.157)		-0.287 (0.144)	*
Rural	-0.220 (0.122)		-0.207 (0.111)		-0.216 (0.122)		-0.197 (0.111)	
LSM	-0.090 (0.042)	*	-0.100 (0.034)	**	-0.215 (0.125)		-0.363 (0.108)	**
Racial discrimination	0.223 (0.053)	***	0.197 (0.053)	***	0.449 (0.219)	*	0.666 (0.195)	**
LSM*racial discrimination					0.037 (0.034)		0.077 (0.030)	*
Wald chi^2			122	(40)			129	(42)
Prob > chi^2			0.000				0.000	
Log pseudolikelihood	-59735825				-59655097			

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.
Notes: 1. The base outcome is 'non-participant no intention'; 2. Standard errors appear in parentheses; 3. The regressions controls for province of residence; 4. White respondents are excluded; and 5. In both models the number of observations is 7,110.

may have been expected. Levels of perceived discrimination have increased in the latter part of the period, in 2018 more than two-fifths of adults of colour stated that they experienced racial bigotry at least sometimes. In addition, it is clear that a majority of the adult population felt that their race group was experiencing racial prejudice. People of colour were more liable to report collective rather than personal discrimination in each SASAS round under review. This discrepancy is consistent with what has been observed in other studies of perceived discrimination (Molero et al., 2013).

Results from the multinomial probit regression models were displayed in Table 1. Model outcomes seem to provide evidence that validate the theoretical expectations of the SITs model (H#2). Even when controlling for a range of socio-demographic background variables, perceived discrimination had a *positive* statistically significant correlation on the dependent (H#2). The scale had a somewhat more robust observed correlation in the first pairing ($r = 0.223$; $SE = 0.053$; $p = .000$) when compared with the second ($r = 0.197$; $SE = 0.053$; $p = .005$). As a robustness check, the model was restricted to only the 2018 SASAS round. The adjusted model outcomes showed a robust (and positive) association between perceived racial discrimination and hate crime participation, providing support for H#2.

The base model was modified to replace the personal experiences scale with an item that measured perceived collective experience of racial prejudice. In this model, the collective discrimination scale had a statistically significant correlation in both the first ($r = 0.125$; $SE = 0.055$; $p = .022$) and second ($r = 0.149$; $SE = 0.046$; $p = .001$) pairings. This outcome is consistent with past research which shows that people not only act based on their own personal experience, but also the experiences of their ingroups (Mackie & Smith, 2017). It must be noted that, as may be expected, the

Table 2. Multinomial probit regression on the relationship between racial discrimination scale and participation in anti-immigrant violence by racial identification groups.

		Low identifiers		Medium identifiers		High identifiers	
Models with No background controls	Past participation	0.295	*	0.244	*	0.184	**
		(0.148)		(0.099)		(0.067)	
	Intention non-participation	0.317		0.190	*	0.179	**
		(0.217)		(0.088)		(0.059)	
	Log pseudolikelihood	-6721414		-20682031		-36718925	
	N	798		2,374		4,451	
Models with background controls	Past participation	0.226		0.260	**	0.193	**
		(0.152)		(0.100)		(0.070)	
	Intention non-participation	0.210		0.183	*	0.214	***
		(0.247)		(0.092)		(0.061)	
	Log pseudolikelihood	-5802855		-18388209		-33071857	
	N	745		2,206		4,140	

***$p < .001$, **$p < .01$, *$p < .05$
Notes: 1. Coefficients depicted show the multinomial logit estimate for a one unit increase in the racial discrimination scale for the specific multinomial category relative to the base outcome; 2. The base outcome is 'non-participant no intention'; 3. Standard errors appear in parentheses; 4. Background controls include variables that capture age, gender, population group, formal schooling, living standard measure, urban status, and province of residence; and 5. White respondents are excluded.

perceived collective discrimination scale is robustly correlated with the personal discrimination scale. A pairwise correlation test produced a strong (and positive) association between the two, $r(7,539) = 0.635$, $p = 0000$.

Among adults of colour in South Africa, socio-economic status had a robust (and negative) effect on participation in hate crime. To test whether economic advantage weakens the observed discrimination–behaviour relationship, the base model was altered to interact LSM with the personal discrimination scale in Model II. Model outcome showed that socio-economic status played a moderating role with the effect of discrimination on behaviour buffered by an individual's access to material wealth (H#3). The interaction term in the second pairing ($r = -0.077$; $SE = 0.030$; $p = .011$) was larger than in the first ($r = -0.037$; $SE = 0.034$; $p = .279$). Moreover, the interaction term was only statistically significant in the second paring. This suggests that material scarcity seems to amplify the negative effects of discrimination on potential violent behaviour among non-participants.

To examine the role-played by ingroup identification on the discrimination–behaviour relationship, the analysis was recomputed by high, medium and low race group identifiers.[6] Three models were produced without background controls and then these models were replicated but with controls (Table 2). In the high and medium identification models, self-reported racial discrimination was a statistically significant determinant of the dependent variable. In the low identification model, however, perceived discrimination did not have a statistically significant correlation with hate crime participation. The size of the discrimination effect on past participation was somewhat greater for medium ($r = 0.260$; $SE = 0.100$; $p = .009$) than high ($r = 0.193$; $SE = 0.070$; $p = .006$) identifiers versus the base outcome. However, the influence of the discrimination scale on non-participant intention was larger for high ($r = .212$; $SE = .061$; $p = .000$) than medium ($r = 0.183$; $SE = 0.092$; $p = .047$) identifiers. In summation, there is limited evidence that racial identification seems to magnify the negative behavioural effects of perceived discrimination (H#4).

Discussion

The empirical findings presented in this study confirm the SIT discrimination-behaviour hypothesis, suggesting that discrimination influences violent behaviour because SITs undermine social norms and values surrounding social deviance. In other words, racial discrimination is contributing to xenophobic violence in the country. This outcome is in line with those studies (e.g., Belmi et al., 2015) that look at the effect of discrimination on deviant behaviour. Socio-economic position was found to have a (albeit moderate) protective effect, somewhat weakening the discrimination-behaviour relationship. Study outcomes reaffirm the protective nature of financial stability, showing how economic advantages help individuals cope with adverse effects in a productive and adaptive way. In addition, the result contradicts those who argue that racial attachment can act as a buffer against the effects of unfair group-based treatment. But more research is needed to establish the validity of the ingroup identification effects, and at this stage the results are ambiguous.

Even though the SITs hypothesis was validated by the multivariate analysis produced for this article, it would be prudent to consider alternative explanations for the observed discrimination-behaviour relationship. We could ask, for instance, whether self-control failure may better explain the observed relationship between perceived discrimination and aggressive behaviour? The integrated process model contends that coping with SIT related stress decreases self-control resources (Schmader et al., 2008). In other words, discrimination reduces inhibitory control and results in inefficient performance monitoring which could lead to deviant behaviour (also see Inzlicht & Kang, 2010). Although this seems less plausible than the thesis proposed, it is not possible to adequately validate this claim using the data available. Future research must consider the mechanisms by which discrimination influences this kind of behaviour.

Even though the study presented here has meaningfully contributed to the current body of research on discrimination-behaviour relationships, it is, of course, not without its limitations. One of the main drawbacks, already forementioned, of the analysis used was that it relied on a single indicator to measure personal racial discrimination. Different types of racial discrimination may have differing effects on participation in xenophobic behaviour. Prior research by Meeusen et al. (2019) suggests that the setting where unfair treatment takes place (e.g., labour market, government department etc.) shapes minority attitudes towards foreigners differently. More detailed, multi-item measures of discrimination may be required to tease out the complexity of the relationships presented here. The use of indexes that distinguish between blatant and subtle forms of perceived discrimination could be particularly useful.

It could be argued that prejudicial behaviour towards different types of foreigners may be activated by dissimilar mechanisms. This expectation is in line with recent research by Cortland et al. (2017) who argue that the effect of discrimination on inter-minority prejudice depends on whether the minority groups are stigmatised along the same or across different identity dimensions (also see Craig & Richeson, 2016). Unfortunately, the data available for this research (like many datasets used in this field of work) do not differentiate between targets of prejudice. Indeed, due to the sparse nature of the data available, little is known about which types of foreign nationals are most affected by xenophobic violence. When studying the effects of racial discrimination on xenophobia, future researchers should take this differential into account.

Conclusion

The study is part of a small (but growing) body of research on the *'micro-level'* determinants of violence that employs a bottom-up approach. However, this approach does ignore more '*macro-level*' factors that drive violence. Studies that focus on macro-level determinants (including the

role of party and local-level politics) of xenophobia also play a key role in helping us understand public participation in violent behaviour (Kerr et al., 2019). Notwithstanding the limitations described above, the paper has made a significant contribution to how we understand the negative consequences of group-based discrimination in a multiracial setting. The goal of this paper is *not* to promote stereotypes of poor people of colour as inherently violent. But to demonstrate the negative consequences of racial discrimination as well as the dangerous legacy of white settler colonialism. The evidence shows that reducing racial discrimination would help decrease hate crime in South Africa. Policy interventions (especially those targeting the poor) that address racial bigotry will have a beneficial effect on xenophobia in the country and create a more equal and peaceful society.

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Notes

1. The term 'people of colour' refers to all groups in South African society who are not considered 'white'. The author does not endorse 'race' as a biological construct. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that 'coloured' can be a historically fraught term.
2. Given the space available it is not possible to provide a review of this body of research in its totality. For a detailed review and discussion, please see Kerr et al. (2019).
3. The challenges faced by the poor can be observed if we consider the Equality Courts. Established to adjudicate cases of discrimination, the courts are under-utilised by the poor and working class. Powys (2016) outlines the main obstacles faced by the economically disadvantaged when trying to utilise the Equality Courts.
4. Reynolds and Gonzales-Backen (2017) provide a critical review of studies that investigate the relationship between black ethnic-racial socialisation and mental health outcomes in the United States.
5. If a respondent refused to answer the question or gave a 'don't know' response, they were treated as missing.
6. To capture high and low racial ingroup identifiers, the following item was used: "[t]o what extent do you feel attached to those who belong to the same race group as you?" Response options were recoded to produce the following three categories: (a) very attached or high identifiers, (b) slightly attached or medium identifiers, and (c) not attached or low identifiers. A majority of adults of colour in South Africa rated their racial identity as an important part of who they are. In SASAS 2018 56% of this population identified as high, 33% as medium and 11% as low identifiers.

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