

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MEASURE OF RACISM FOR THE POST APARTHEID
SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, the racial views of whites towards blacks have been studied in the context of old-fashioned styles of racism. This meant that, methodologically, attitude items were often direct and crude in content, reflecting the openly racist sentiment of the time. Recent research, however, provides evidence to suggest that racism has changed and people no longer endorse or support blatantly racist expression. As a result, racial attitude research methods have had to adapt from obtrusive, to more sophisticated, unobtrusive methods.

Over 10 years since its first democratic election, South Africa stands as a particularly important context in which to explore the racial views of people and more specifically, the theories of contemporary racisms; yet, research in this area remains largely unexplored. From a methodological perspective, South African research has also been flawed with 2 fundamental problems. First, few locally developed racial attitude measures exist, compelling the use of modified international measures. These scales, however, may prove problematic in that they may not demonstrate adequate content and face validity for the South African context. Second, this research reflects a sample bias of studying the views of white students.

In response to these methodological flaws, the present research set out to develop a contemporary, multi-racial response measure of racial attitudes for the South African context. The Racial Justice Scale (RJS) was developed in accordance with the stylistic requirements of contemporary theories of racism on the basis of 2 sources of information; (1) a database of racial attitude items; and (2) a database of over 7000 discursive statements expressed by

multiple race groups in the country on racial issues in South Africa. These expressions were derived from various newspaper articles, ranging from the years 1977 – 2001. Initial explorations of the RJS indicated it to be highly reliable for both whites and Indians (cronbach alpha's were 0.82 and 0.72 respectively), however, not as effective for blacks and coloureds. The RJS and the notion of contemporary racism is discussed in the context of contemporary South Africa.

PREFACE

This whole thesis, unless noted otherwise, is my own original work.

Signed

Date

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is not only an interesting context, but an important one in which to be studying the racial views of people. As Kinloch (1985) pointed out in the country's more turbulent times:

The study of racial attitudes in South Africa is of crucial significance to the understanding of negative attitudes in general. With its heterogeneous population splintered by racial, ethnic, and tribal factors, norms of institutionalized racism, racial-ethnic elite, and high rate of economic development, this society is important for social scientists concerned with the study of racial and ethnic prejudice (p. 263).

The above quote recognises the far-reaching effects of racism on a country and its people and that, South Africa in particular, stands as a context from which crucial aspects about the effects of racism can be learnt.

With this said, this research examines racial attitudes in the context of contemporary South Africa. More specifically, it attempts to develop a new measure of racial attitudes for the post apartheid context. The new measure draws on the methodology of contemporary styles of attitude assessment, which presently characterise much of the international work.

1.1 FROM OLD TO NEW RACISMS

Overall, the literature on racial prejudice reflects a predominance of studies, specifically examining white levels of prejudice towards blacks (Shelton, 2000). Traditionally, studies of racial attitudes were conducted in the context of old-fashioned styles of assessment, which assumed and accepted the blatant expression and endorsement of overtly racist sentiment. This style of measurement was often basic and conducted under the assumption that, no matter how derogatory and offensive attitude statements may have appeared, they would generate responses since racist views were freely expressed. Methodologically then, race

theorists sought no need to adapt or disguise racial attitude assessment in an environment that encouraged, and even endorsed racial views.

A wealth of recent research (for example, Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997; Sears, 1988), however, provides evidence to suggest that both the content and expression of white racist views have changed from freely and crudely expressed beliefs, to more sophisticated, covert styles of racist expression. Hence, whites no longer necessarily perceive blacks as simply inferior, but demonstrate more abstract racism and rejection of blacks through beliefs that; for example, blacks have got more than they deserve and they are demanding too much too fast in contemporary society (Sears, 1998; Sears & Henry, 2000), or, that they violate traditional white values and are culturally different (Pettigrew & Meerten's, 1995; Meerten's & Pettigrew, 1997). This new form of racist expression provides evidence for many contemporary race theorists, that racism has not disappeared, but has merely changed its form.

Overall, for many of these theorists, one of the prime sources of evidence of this change can be sourced in whites' negative responses toward racial policy endeavours which aim to advance racial equality in direct ways (Bobo & Smith, 1994; Sears, 1988). Examples of such endeavours are affirmative action measures and racial quotas which serve to remedy past racial inequalities by redistributing economic gain in favour of previously disadvantaged groups. Race theorists have observed a disturbing and conflicting attitudinal trend, which, on the one hand, demonstrates support for the broad principles of racial equality; yet, on the other hand, the above mentioned policies which pose a direct threat to white power, are all met with strong resistance. Some theorists have suggested this provides evidence that contemporary white racism represents a reaction to the perceived threat that blacks hold to white power (Bobo, 1983; 1988). Others suggest, whites are in conflict (Hass, Rizzo, Bailey, 1991; Katz & Glass, 1988). In complete contrast, some say present day whites are in denial of their racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) and are unaware of their negative reactions to blacks.

The overarching explanation of these new racisms is that people have had to adapt their style of racist expression in response to a changing society, which, at present, generally promotes equality and human rights (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976). As a result

of a changing socio-political system, it is generally not accepted for people to endorse racist views; instead, racial equality and justice is spouted by most as an ideal in principle. Hence, racist views are purposefully hidden, denied, contained, or ignored.

Methodologically, this poses somewhat of a difficulty. In response to this, contemporary race theorists propose a shift from the more direct, obtrusive measures of racial attitudes to more indirect, sophisticated methods (for example, Dovidio & Gaernter, 1986; Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976). One of the prime means of doing this has been to adapt both the content and style of racial attitude measures. The development of these more sophisticated measures presently characterises a lot of international work on racial attitudes.

1.2 SOUTH AFRICA AND THE STUDY OF RACISM

South Africa stands as a particularly relevant context in which to examine these new theories, particularly in light of the country's dramatic transformation as a result of the abolishment of the apartheid system. However, the present notion of contemporary racisms remains largely unexplored in South Africa. Furthermore, although a number of racial attitude studies have been conducted over a number of years in South Africa (for example, Pettigrew, 1960; Van den Berghe, 1962; Plug & Mynhardt, 1977, in Foster, 1991; Duckitt, 1990; 1991; 1993), many of them reflect two core methodological disparities.

Firstly, past and present studies have, and continue to utilise international measures of racism to examine local racial attitudes. This has often been a result of the fact that few local measures exist; however, the use of such measures compromises the internal validity of studies. Secondly, many of these studies reflect a sample bias of white student attitudes, which compromises the degree to which results can be generalised to the South African population since students represent an educated, often liberal sector of society. These two issues highlight an overall concern with validity in research on racial attitudes in South Africa.

1.3 OVERVIEW OF THE PRESENT RESEARCH

In response to these disparities, this research set out to develop a new, modernised measure of racial attitudes for the post apartheid South African context that aimed to reflect the more sophisticated stylistic expression of contemporary racial attitude measures. Furthermore, it aimed to be of multi-racial use, meaning that multiple race groups within South Africa could provide answers to it.

In accordance with the above literature and aims, the following research is presented and split into two sections:

Section A provides a review of the theory and literature influencing this research. Chapter two provides an historical overview of the study of racism from an international perspective, focussing particularly on the conceptual and methodological issues influencing the more contemporary forms of assessment in recent racial attitude research. This chapter provides a conceptual and methodological framework in which to appreciate the development of the new measure. Chapter three aims to position the present research by providing an historical overview of the study of racial attitudes in South Africa. This chapter identifies several methodological deficiencies in past studies, thus providing a rationale for the present research.

Section B presents the research component over four chapters. Chapter four explicitly establishes the overall aims and procedure of the present research, whilst the methodology sections are presented in the form of two separate studies. Chapter five presents study one, which examines the development and procedure involved in the construction of the new measure, whilst chapter six presents the second study, which examines the procedure and results of assessing the reliability and validity of the new scale by administering it to members of the South African population. Chapter seven provides a closing discussion, reflecting on the overall process and aims of the present research and the notion of contemporary racisms in present day South Africa.

SECTION A: REVIEW OF THEORY AND LITERATURE

CHAPTER 2

AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY OF RACISM

Racism has been understood in contrasting ways and its study depends on the historical context within which it has been examined. The following chapter attempts to differentiate between these specific conceptions and methodologies by presenting an historical overview of the study of racism.

2.1 CONCEPTUALISING RACISM

The conceptual overview is split into two general parts; the first examines the early traditional, commonly understood form of racism, whilst the second part argues for a shift in the understanding of racism in contemporary society, presenting several theories that support and provide contrasting explanations of these new styles of racism.

2.1.1 Traditional, old-fashioned racism

The overt expression and endorsement of racist sentiment reflect what many race theorists term, Old-fashioned racism (Sears, 1988; Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986; Sears, Van laar, Carrillo, Kosterman, 1997), Red-neck racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), and Jim Crow racism (Bobo, Kluegal & Smith, 1997). It is the direct, crude, confrontational form of racism in which no attempt is made to hide, deny, or disguise racist expressions and convictions. This form of racism dominated and characterised South African society through means of the Apartheid system and America through its legal racial segregatory policies. Such openly racist expression reflected an era in which it was considered a social norm and hence, acceptable for a person to hold and express racist opinion.

Sears (1988) provides a starting definition of Old-fashioned racism, suggesting it is characterised by three contents; namely, stereotypes, segregatory behaviour, and beliefs in racial discrimination, such as the denial of equal opportunities. Wilson (1973), however,

provides a broader understanding as, “an ideology of racial domination or exploitation that (1) incorporates beliefs in a particular race’s cultural and/or inherent biological inferiority, and (2) uses such beliefs to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for the group” (in Bobo et al., 1997). This definition recognises the effects of what Bobo et al. (1997) term, “a racist ideological system” (p. 17). In this instance, racism is understood as being fuelled and sustained through practices beyond individual beliefs. Hence, institutional arrangements, such as racially segregated schools help sustain racial inequality (Bobo et al., 1997).

Old-fashioned racism has frequently been studied under the assumption that prejudice motivates racial intolerance. Prejudice was initially viewed as the result of abnormal processes or psychopathology (Dovidio, 2001), as exemplified by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford’s (1950) concept of the authoritarian personality. This theory examined how a specific character type bore increased susceptibility towards exhibiting higher levels of prejudice and racist conviction than others. As such, the focus of study lay in identifying individuals who demonstrated overt prejudice and racist attitudes through the use of self-report measures of racism. These studies were conducted under the assumption that since racist conviction was freely expressed, the racist views of people could be easily recognised and measured.

2.1.2 Dual racial attitudes: The transition from old to contemporary racisms

The early 1960s witnessed a distinct change in society in terms of racial expression. Theorists noted that the blatant expression of former years was diminishing and that views towards blacks were even improving (Schuman et al., 1997), with many whites demonstrating increased support toward the general principles of racial equality (Shuman et al., 1997; Greeley & Sheatsley, 1971, in Sears, 1988). In the same light, however, whites were still demonstrating racist views; although the abstract concept of racial equality yielded support, practical endeavours to initiate racial equality, such as affirmative action policies, job quotas, and forced integration, were all met with fierce resistance (Bobo & Smith, 1994; Kluegel & Smith, 1986, in Bobo, Kluegel & Smith, 1997; Sears, 1988; Sears et al., 1997).

The simultaneous presentation of supportive and opposing views towards racial reform posed a puzzle to contemporary race theorists that prompted investigation. It is theorised that this shift in racist expression occurred in response to the social changes taking place in America, such as the civil rights movement (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Shuman et al., 1997; Sears, 1998). With racial inequality being denounced as both illegal and immoral in many societies, the pressure to appear supportive of racial equality became important. As Sniderman and Tetlock (1986) highlight, “old-fashioned racism, with its trinitarian creed of white supremacy, black inferiority, and racial segregation, had fallen out of fashion” (p. 130). The need to appear racially progressive, however, was inconsistent and in opposition to the negative views and feelings still held towards blacks.

This duality has been examined from different perspectives. Some theorists, for example, argue that dual attitudes are not connected to racism at all, and that opposition to racial policies reflects ideological conservatism (Sniderman & Pizsa, 1993, in Sears et al., 1997), or other un-related racial issues, such as attitudes about individualism (Carmines & Merriman, 1993, in Sears et al., 1997) or equality (Miller & Shanks, 1996, in Sears et al., 1997). The following section, however, examines several theories that offer differing explanations of how this dual expression represents new styles of racism in contemporary society.

2.1.3 Symbolic and Modern racism

One of the initial explanations proposes that white responses are being motivated by a new form of racial prejudice. This form, termed symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears, 1998), is considered to have replaced the old fashioned form. Hence, instead of blatant attacks towards black people per se, people exhibit symbolic racism that manifests itself through abstract, negative thoughts about blacks. In contrast to the direct and crude feelings of traditional racism then, the symbolic form is described to be a function of subtler negative affect and a particular value system, which emphasises a traditional work ethic and moral standards, of which blacks are seen as violating (Kinder and Sears, 1997, in Sears et al., 1997). By virtue of this, symbolic racism is more covert and subtle in its manifestation.

More specifically, Sears and Henry (2003) explain that the symbolic racist's thoughts are characterised by four main themes that: first, black people no longer face much prejudice or discrimination; second, black people's failure to progress results from their unwillingness to work hard enough; third, black people are demanding too much too fast; and fourth, that black people have got more than they deserve. Resistance to policy measures therefore, is not based on the belief that blacks are inferior to whites, but that they represent an opportunity to gain unfair advantage over whites (Durrheim & Dixon, 2004).

The above thematic characterisations reiterate the more complex and indefinite way in which symbolic racism operates. Sears et al. (1988) expand on this point, explaining:

...it [racism] is described as symbolic because it is phrased in terms that are abstract and ideological; because it reflects whites' moral codes about how society should be organised rather than instrumental beliefs satisfying their own interests; and because it focuses on blacks as a group rather than on individual blacks (p. 22).

By virtue of its abstract manner, it follows that symbolic racism is difficult to directly observe. By way of example, the symbolic racist would not target a specific black individual, nor would they express racist sentiment as representative of themselves. Instead, broad generalisations are made about blacks, consistent with the aforementioned themes. By virtue of this, they avoid personal implication in any potential racist conviction. On a superficial level then; the person appears non-prejudiced. Durrheim (2003) points to the political implications of such sophistication, explaining, "symbolic racism acts as a political force since it is covert in the sense that an individual may still be racist at the same time as practising equality" (p. 242).

This new form of racism has also been termed, modern racism. McConahay (1982; 1986) developed the notion of modern racism out of the symbolic form; however, the two approaches are essentially the same. Modern racism grew as an extension of the symbolic form in an attempt to measure racial attitudes. This resulted in the development of the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) which, in conjunction with other symbolic measures (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003; McConahay & Hough, 1976; 1982;

1986), has been used to examine the effectiveness of symbolic racism as a predictor of policy racial attitudes.

2.1.4 Aversive racism

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) and Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), in some degree of contrast, explain contemporary racial attitudes in terms of aversive racism. In their words, this form of racism represents, “a subtle often unintentional form of bias that characterises many white Americans who possess strong egalitarian values and who believe that they are non-prejudiced” (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, Hodson, 2002, p. 90). The duality of race attitudes in this instance reflects a desire to appear racially progressive; yet, this ideal is held against unconscious negative views of blacks. The contrast to symbolic racism is that the aversive racist internalises egalitarian views and a non-prejudiced self image (Nail, Decker, Harton, 2003) and believes in their liberal stance, whereas the symbolic racist purposefully disguises racist intent. It has been suggested therefore, that political liberals express aversive forms of racism, whilst conservatives, the symbolic or modern form (Gaertner and Dovidio, 1986).

It is termed aversive on the basis of two aspects considered to characterise this form of bias. Firstly, as a result of unconscious processes, the term aversive represents the type of emotional reactions characterising these racists in the presence of black people, which often induce feelings of discomfort, and sometimes fear (Dovidio, 2004). As a result, aversive racists often avoid implicating the topic of race when interacting with others; for example, an aversive racist might unwillingly defend racial segregation on the basis of cultural differences between race groups, as opposed to racial difference. Secondly, the term aversive describes the aversive racists reaction to being labelled racist; unlike the symbolic racist who purposefully ignores, contains or disguises racism, aversive racists are said to be in denial and consequently, often behave defensively at such a suggestion (Dovidio et al., 2002). Defences such as the above then, operate to protect and perpetuate the aversive racist’s non-prejudiced self-image (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000).

An important feature of aversive racism is that it is viewed as a normal and adaptive process. Unlike the abnormal psychology of the authoritarian personality characterising the more

traditional forms of racism, aversive racism poses that negative emotions relating to race are the result of inevitable everyday factors, such as cognitive and motivational biases and inevitable intergroup functions, such as in-group and out-group categorizations (Dovidio et al., 2002). As the person develops, these operate in conjunction with each other to influence the person's racial perceptions; these become internalised by the person, creating an automatic and immediate form of racial bias (Dovidio, 2001).

2.1.5 Subtle prejudice

Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) and Meertens and Pettigrew (1997), on a broader level, attempt to explain the notion of contemporary prejudice and through doing so, provide a theory of discrimination underpinning new forms of racism. They term this modern expression, subtle prejudice. By applying their theory to the European context and building on Allport's (1954, in Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995) analysis of prejudice, Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995 and Meertens and Pettigrew, 1997, developed a multidimensional model distinguishing between what they term blatant and subtle prejudice. The former represents the more traditional forms of prejudice characterising the traditional racism genre. The present authors describe this style of prejudice as, "hot, close and direct" (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995, p. 54). In contrast, the latter form characterising the symbolic and aversive racists, for example, is described as, "cool, distant and indirect" (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995, p. 54). The distinction emphasises and reinforces contemporary prejudice as an abstract and more sophisticated style of expression.

Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) differentiate the two forms by incorporating a group influence approach to understanding the beliefs and behaviours characterising the two forms of prejudice. Blatant prejudice is viewed as comprising of two components. The first relates to threat and rejection of the out-group. This first component manifests itself through an extreme belief system, such as the belief in the genetic inferiority of the out-group. As illustrated in traditional racism, for example, blacks are seen as a danger and are derogated on the belief system they are inferior. Such beliefs serve to explain and justify out-group discrimination. The second component is opposition to intimate contact with the out-group, which the authors define in terms of emotional, sexual or marital connections (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Subtle prejudice, in contrast, consists of three covert components. The first

component is described as the defence of traditional values. In a similar manner to symbolic racist thought, subtle forms of prejudice manifest through the emphasis of the in-groups traditional values systems. These are not called on to directly undermine the out-group, but are rather used to emphasise difference. This helps justify the rejection of the out-group on the basis of logic and not on the basis of prejudice. The emphasis of difference also helps justify unequal treatment towards them. The second component is the exaggeration of cultural differences, which are used in a similar way to avoid the rejection of the out-group on overtly prejudicial grounds. The third component is the denial of positive emotions, in which, the out-group is not directly derogated, but is rather ignored. Overall then, it is this covert style of subtle prejudice that permits it to exist in a more socially sanctioned manner (Pettigrew and Meertens, 1995).

2.1.6 Ambivalent racism

Symbolic, aversive, and subtle prejudice theories essentially assume that prejudice induces racial intolerance. Ambivalent race theorists, however, suggest that contemporary racial attitudes stem as a result of conflicting American ideals which subsequently give rise to a high level of psychological tension within the person (Hass et al., 1991). The consequences are both pro and anti-black feelings. This theory has been more formally termed, racial ambivalence (Haas et al., 1991; Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey, 1992; Katz & Glass, 1988; Katz, Wakenhut, & Hass, 1986)

The conflicting ideals are attributed to the value-system of contemporary American society; which, on the one hand values humanitarianism and equality for all, but on the other hand, it also values the Protestant work ethic, which emphasises individual achievement (Katz & Glass, 1988). The two are said to be in conflict with each other on account of the fact each promotes opposing goals. However, the two remain fundamentally important to American ideals. Katz et al. (1986) suggest, “the history of American social change reflects shifting back and forth between the two core values, as a period of obsessive concern with equality and social reform is typically followed by a period emphasising individual achievement and upward mobility” (p. 42).

Ambivalent race theorists propose that these opposing ideals generate internal conflict when white stereotypes of blacks highlight inconsistencies between them and the protestant work ethic value, but these negative stereotypes in turn conflict with the need to promote oneself as an egalitarian being. According to Katz and Glass (1988), the co-existence of supportive and opposing attitudes makes individual behaviour patterns unstable and results in both positive and negative reactions to black people. Katz and Glass (1988) therefore describe American whites' racial attitudes towards blacks as complex, often exhibiting feelings representing two extremes of friendliness and rejection. Ambivalent race theorists consequently, suggest a revision of the attitude object; as Katz et al. (1986) explain:

Our assumption is that values – conceived as generalized standards of the goals and goal-directed behaviours of human existence – are more central and fundamental components of a person's makeup than attitudes, and, moreover, are determinants of attitudes as well as behaviour (p. 42).

In response to this, both pro and anti black scales, and scales evaluating Protestant and egalitarian values have been used to assess this style of racism (Katz et al., 1986; Katz & Glass, 1988).

2.1.7 Laissez-faire racism

The role of ambivalence in racism represents an internal struggle to unite negative and positive feelings within the person towards black people. For others, however, the duality of racial attitudes is neither about prejudice, nor internal-conflict, but rather about the relationships between racial groups. This has been proposed, particularly in the work of Bobo (1983; 1988; Bobo et al., 1997). As Katz et al. (1986) explain, “Bobo (1983) ascribes resistance to school busing and job quotas not to prejudice per se, but rather to whites interest in preserving the competitive advantages and way of life that they presumably enjoy as a consequence of segregation” (p. 37).

This style of racism has been more formally termed, laissez-faire racism (Bobo et al., 1997) and is premised on the notion that the United States in particular, “remains a racially dominative society” (p. 17) that is based on a racial “social order” (p. 17). The term laissez-

laissez-faire emphasises that the style of domination characterising contemporary America is incredibly complex and continues to discriminate against African Americans in ways that operate both at the level of the individual, and society. As Bobo et al. (1997) explain, “rather than relying on state-enforced inequality as during the Jim Crow era...modern racial inequality relies on the market and informal racial bias to re-create, and in some instances sharply worsen, structured racial inequality” (p. 17).

The theory therefore differs from other new racist theories in two prime ways. Firstly, it specifically acknowledges and implicates the political and economic changes of history (Bobo et al., 1997) and in doing so, sews the vital element of context into racist theory. Socio-political and economic contexts not only shape racist expression, but Bobo et al. (1997) further argue, that they serve as a means for racist ideology to operate by legitimising and rationalising racist expression. Secondly, and by virtue of the first point, laissez-faire racism takes a sociological stance towards understanding racism (Bobo et al., 1997), meaning the analysis of racial attitudes is dependant on examining the forms of social interaction in any one historical context, as these are considered critical in informing racial opinion. The individual therefore, is not isolated from social existence, but seen as part of a larger picture which is considered to inform how the person themselves operates.

Part of this sociological emphasis incorporates the notion that group position plays a large role in motivating racial intolerance (Blumer, 1958, in Durrheim, 2005) and that racial conflict arises as a result of the threat felt by one group over another. As Bobo and Hutchings (2001) explain, “members of a racial group who feel alienated and oppressed are more likely to regard other racial groups as competitive threat to their own group’s social position” (p. 75). Whites’ resistance to racial policies such as affirmative action then, represent a danger that whites will no longer have access to important social resources.

The methodological implications of this are, as Durrheim (2005) explains:

...rather than looking to personality, Bobo looks for the source of attitudes...in the forms of inequalities and challenges to inequality that exist in society, and in the strategies that dominant groups employ to maintain a privileged sense of group position (p. 17).

There are two main implications of this methodological stance. Firstly, attitudes are seen as historically and culturally rooted and adaptable according to new information or structural conditions. Secondly, attitudes are not seen as emotional reactions to groups, simple likes or dislikes, or even perceptions of others; instead, racial attitudes:

...capture aspects of the preferred group positions and those patterns of belief and feeling that under grid, justify, and make understandable a preference for relatively little group differentiation and inequality under some social conditions, or for a great deal of differentiation and inequality under others (Bobo et al., 1997, p. 38/9).

Consequently, Bobo, et al (1997) suggest the following revision of the attitude object when assessing racial attitudes:

The attitude object, or perceptual focus, is not really the social category of blacks or whites; it is not neighbourhoods or schools of varying degree of racial mixture. Instead, as Herbert Blumer (1958) argued, the real object of prejudice – what we really tap with attitude questions in surveys – is beliefs about the proper relation between groups. The real attitude object is relative group positions (p. 38).

Laissez-faire racism describes racial attitudes as being characterised by three features; stereotyping of black Americans, blaming blacks for their own unequal socio-economic position, and severe opposition to policy measures designed to initiate racial equality (Bobo et al., 1997). Methodologically, therefore, these features are used to operationalise laissez-faire racism.

2.2 MEASURING RACISM

The preceding section has distinguished between the various conceptual definitions of contemporary racisms and through doing so; it has also alluded to how each theory operationalises racism in contemporary studies. The following section explicitly differentiates between traditional and contemporary styles of racial attitude assessment in

order to provide a methodological framework in which to appreciate the new South African measure.

2.2.1 Traditional styles of assessment

Traditional racism has consistently been operationalised through self-report measures assessing racial beliefs, feelings, stereotypes, and behavioural intentions of whites towards other racial groupings. In accordance with its crude form, items are direct and confrontational in style. In the past, the socially permissible expression of this form of racism meant methodologically, this style often elicited honest racial opinions. This meant that fifty years ago racial views could be fairly easily assessed and the researcher could with some degree of certainty, be fairly comfortable that provocatively racist statements could generate honest agreement if so felt by the respondent. Attitude statements therefore, literally reflected attitudes of the time, often relaying crude stereotypes, emphasising both biological and intellectual inferiority of blacks.

For example, in an American study, McConahay, Hardee, & Batts (1981) used an old-fashioned racism scale with one item reading, “Black people are generally not as smart as Whites”. In South Africa, Lever (1977) adapted MacCrone’s Attitudes toward the Native scale, with one item reading, “The black has proved more capable of self rule than was believed possible”. As a more extreme example of an anti-black affect item, in his examination of white attitudes towards blacks, Pettigrew (1960) used one item reading, “I wish someone would kill all of them”. Although varying in degrees of crudeness, each of these statements exemplifies plausible racial attitudes characterizing the traditional racist period. Overall then, sensitivity to potentially offensive content generally proved a redundant issue.

2.2.2 Contemporary styles of assessment

In contrast, contemporary theories of racism pose somewhat of a methodological feat. Firstly, the difficulty lies in detecting racial opinion in contexts which largely condemn racist expression; on an overt level, these theories propose that people oppose racial inequality and would never endorse content and styles of assessment which prove blatantly offensive, unfair,

derogatory and rude. Methodologically then, peoples' views are not as readily or as easily accessible as in former years. Secondly, the content of racism has changed. Today's form of racism is not about assessing crude stereotypes and beliefs, but is rather about assessing people's resistance to racial reform, which is a topic in itself that can be subtle in manifestation.

In response to these methodological difficulties, contemporary race research has emphasised the distinction between obtrusive versus unobtrusive measures; whilst the former are considered obvious in their assessment mission, the latter methods aim to trick, disguise, or minimise the object of methodological concern. The distinction essentially explains the methodological tactic taken by most contemporary race theorists, which has been to assess racial attitudes in a non-threatening and non-evident manner. Most methodologies of contemporary assessment concern themselves with how to make measurement less direct and obvious; this operates on the principle that racist responses can be gauged if the person is unaware of how they are being assessed. The different approaches can broadly be summarised into three styles. The first uses new technologies and experimental methods, whilst the second re-evaluates attitude assessment by changing the way in which respondents are asked to participate in attitude assessment, and the third main method employed has entailed changing and modifying the content and style of racial attitude items used in survey methods. Each of these is expanded on in the following sections.

2.2.2.1 New technologies and experimental methods

The concept of repression is used by some contemporary race theorists to explain the manner in which people are able to deny and ignore racist feelings from others and themselves and instead, promote themselves as racially progressive. Aversive race theorists for example, have termed these repressed racist thoughts as implicit cognitions. As a result of these implicit thoughts, these theorists pose that the study of racial attitudes necessitates using sophisticated methods that place the respondent in a position in which these repressed thoughts are automatically and uncontrollably accessed. Mostly, this sophistication has been demonstrated in the form of new techniques and experimental methods, which mark a distinct shift away from the more traditional forms of questionnaire based, self-report data.

One such example is that of the implicit association test (IAT). This test aims to assess the implicit racist thoughts of people by automatically activating them in the presence of racial stimuli. The test requires participants to complete a series of four short exercises on a computer which entail correcting classifying sets of images and words into groups. In the first exercise, the participant is presented with the category 'African American' on the top left side of the screen, whilst the category 'white American' is presented on the top right side. Participants are then presented with a series of images of African or white American faces that appear after one another on the screen. Participants are required to match the images as quickly as possible into the two racial groupings specified at the top of the screen by pressing the appropriate corresponding key on the keyboard. This is either the 'e' on the left side (for the category 'African American'), or the 'i' key on the right side (for the category 'white American'). In the second exercise, the racial categories at the top of the screen are exchanged for the words 'good' on the left side of the screen and 'bad' on the right. Respondents are presented with a series of positive and negative words, such as 'happiness', 'evil', 'laughter', and 'nasty', which they are required to match by responding on the keyboard in the same way they did in exercise one. In the third exercise, the category of 'African' at the top of the screen is paired with the word 'bad', whilst the 'white' category with the word 'good'. Participants are then presented with alternating words and images, which, using the same response method, they are required to match to the appropriate category. In the last exercise, the category 'African' is paired with the word 'good', whilst the 'white' category with the word 'bad'. Again, images and words are presented and participants are required to react and group these as quickly as possible.

Implicit researchers have found that response times have been faster when negative words are paired with black faces and positive words with white ones. Researchers have concluded that such behaviour reflects the activation of negative, implicit thoughts about blacks. Since then, a number of studies examining implicit processes have been conducted (for example, Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, and Howard, 1997, cited in Dovidio, 2001; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton & Williams, 1995; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Ottaway, Hayden, & Oakes, 2001; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), confirming the unconscious negative associations of white Americans toward blacks (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004) and the capacity of the IAT and such techniques to reveal these implicit cognitions.

2.2.2.2 Changing response styles

Others have approached the task of assessing racial attitudes in contemporary society by changing the manner in which respondents are asked to participate in the attitude assessment process. Hence, instead of placing respondents in a position that directly implicates them as racist (for example, asking them to reply to a traditional racist item); they are placed in a more neutral position that avoids the direct implication of racism as a topic of methodological concern. For example, in their examination of policy resistance, Gilens, Sniderman, and Kuklinski (1998), contrast the use of more traditional survey items with an experimentally based, unobtrusive measure of opposition to affirmative action. This entailed using a telephone survey to examine responses to a list of different items; the items read depended on whether the respondent had been assigned to the baseline or experimental group. The baseline group was asked to respond to the four following non-racial items, by merely indicating how many of them made them angry; (1) the federal government increasing the tax on gasoline, (2) professional athletes earning large salaries, (3) requiring seat belts to be used when driving, and (4) corporations polluting the environment. The experimental groups, in contrast, were read the above four items, plus one of the two following affirmative action items; which either read, (5) Black leaders asking the government for affirmative action; or, (6) awarding college scholarships on the basis of race. They found, on the basis of identifying the proportion of respondents who were angered by the affirmative action items in the experimental group, versus the average of upsetting items in the baseline groups; that, liberals displayed similar responses, and just as much resistance to affirmative action policies as conservatives. On the basis, therefore, of calculating quantitative responses, as opposed to people's qualitative evaluation of items, Gilens et al. (1998) conclude that the above process enabled a more indirect assessment of people's racial policy views by not placing people in a position that directly made them reflect on the sensitive racial nature of the affirmative action questions.

2.2.2.3 Changing attitude content and style

The main approach taken by several prominent contemporary race theorists has been to modify both the content and style of survey-based attitude items by presenting them in a more sophisticated manner. The recognition of this has spurred the development of several

new racial attitude measures. These measures have been developed on the basis of the theories' different conceptual foci. Symbolic race theorists for example, present their attitude items in accordance with the theory's four standard themes; to recall, these are: (1) Denial of continuing racial discrimination; (2) Blacks should work harder; (3) Excessive demands; and, (4) Undeserved advantage (Sears & Henry, 2003). These themes are said to characterise symbolic racism as subtle in its form. The system of ideas on which symbolic racists believe, neither evidently, nor directly implicate them as racist, yet they remain inherently racist.

The examination of the items used by contemporary theorists further highlights the style and sophistication of contemporary racist measures. Four examples of items corresponding to the above themes from Sears and Henry (2003) are: (1) Has there been a lot of real change in the position of black people in the past few years? (2) Most blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without if they tried, (3) Are civil rights leaders trying to push too fast, going too slowly, or are they moving at about the right speed? (4) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. At face value, the above items prove non-offensive and un-threatening in their tone. They do not derogate blacks in any way, but merely ask the respondent to think about the position of blacks in society in general. The potential response induces little, if any guilt to the respondent because they are not made to feel as though they are directly discriminating.

This methodological ploy is also mimicked by Subtle prejudice theorists, Meertens and Pettigrew (1997), who themselves describe the "common ingredient" (p. 56) to measuring subtle forms of prejudice as the evidently non-prejudicial character of items. This is quite clear in their distinction between subtle and blatant prejudice. Whereas a blatant item reads, "West Indians have jobs that the British should have"; a subtle one reads, "How different or similar do you think West Indians living here are to other British people like yourself in the values that they teach their children?" This item invites the respondent to think about their value system, which on a superficial level, appears a fairly neutral, un-related race topic. In a similar manner, ambivalent race theorists incorporate content that, on face value does not appear racially charged. Even though Katz and Hass (2000) devised and used what they termed, an "anti-black" scale, the presentation of items are such that one does not feel threatened. One item reads for example, "Black children would do better in school if their

parents had better attitudes about learning”; this proves an unthreatening style in that the item itself does not directly degrade blacks.

2.3 CONTEMPORARY RACISM AND MEASUREMENT: CONCLUDING SUMMARY

Although the above theories and associated methodological stances pose different explanations of what factors motivate resistance to competitive racial policies, all agree on a central concern that this resistance represents a new form of racist expression in contemporary society. Racism has therefore changed in response to a changing social and political environment. It no longer consists of direct, derogatory views and crude stereotypes; it reflects a sophisticated form of expression, which predominantly manifests itself in resistance to affirmative action policies.

It follows then, that any good contemporary measure of racism would be one that could predict opposition to policy action. How this is achieved exactly depends on the conceptual framework employed, however, most agree that contemporary racism measurement necessitates more sophisticated methods. More specifically, racial attitude scales warrant significantly less crude and more covert styles of presentation. It is important that both the content constituting scales and the manner in which such content is conveyed, is unthreatening.

CHAPTER 3

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Chapters two and three aimed to provide an overall sense of the conceptual and methodological features influencing the present research by introducing contemporary debate in the field of racism. In order to further contextualise the present research, the following chapter examines racial attitude measurement in the context of South Africa.

3.1 EARLY SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

On a general level, Foster (1991) describes early psychological work on race relations in South Africa as being characterised by three core areas; race attitudes, the authoritarian personality and, the contact hypothesis, which examines the effect that inter-personal contact has on relationships between different race groups. The study of racial attitudes, therefore, has featured prominently in South African research. Since it is difficult to cover all of these studies in depth, the following review attempts to illustrate the dominant methodologies and core findings of this research. Whilst they predominantly reflect white opinions, research has been conducted on South African black, Indian, and coloured samples and these central studies are examined in subsequent sections to the white studies.

3.1.1 White attitudes

Foster and Nel (1991), in their comprehensive review, cite MacCrone's (1930) study of Witwatersrand University students as the first racial attitude study in South Africa. This study identified various objective (such as the history of past events and the impression (stereotypes) of blacks as criminals), and subjective factors (such as the symbolic sinister impression of the colour black), influencing the negative attitudes of whites towards blacks. Thereafter, MacCrone (1937; 1949, in Foster & Nel, 1991) conducted further studies on University students, but differentiated his sample into groups of, Afrikaans and English speaking whites, and Jews. Overall, results suggested the English and Afrikaans speaking people displayed the most consistent responses over time, with the Afrikaans exhibiting the most negative views, and the English, less prejudicial ones. Subsequent to this, Lever (1978,

in Foster & Nel, 1991) conducted a number of studies throughout the 1960-1970s, confirming and distinguishing between greater levels of prejudice in Afrikaans speaking people to that of English people.

Subsequent to MacCrone's studies, a number of researchers also used social distance measures to examine potential behaviour intent of white attitudes. Pettigrew (1960) examined Durban University student attitudes, drawing similar conclusions to that of MacCrone, in that English-speaking students were found to display less desired distance to other race groups than their Afrikaans counterparts. In a study comparing Europeans, Africans, and Indians, Van den Berghe (1962) found the European classes to demonstrate the highest amount of discrimination toward what were then termed and differentiated as, 'city Africans' and 'tribal Africans'. Over a decade later, however, another study suggested that English-speaking whites have a higher acceptance of blacks and limited integration, but still reject inter-racial marriage (Schlemmer, 1973, in Kinloch, 1985). This was confirmed by Hofmeyr (1990, in Foster, 1991) who found that English speaking whites displayed increased tolerance and more liberal attitudes.

Studies using semantic differential measures have further tested feelings of students toward other race groups; these included one of the largest studies to date, which documented white attitudinal patterns over an eight-year period. These studies confirmed three core findings of previous studies (Foster & Nel, 1991). This was that; firstly, consistent levels of prejudice were found from both English and Afrikaans speaking whites over time (Morsbach & Morsbach, 1967; Nieuwoudt, Plug & Mynhardt, 1977; Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983, in Foster & Nel, 1991). Secondly, an established difference was found between the two groups in terms of the degree of prejudice exhibited; and thirdly, that the trend change in attitudes from both white groups, was that of displaying more positive attitudes towards Indians, but more negative ones toward blacks, post 1976. This probably reflected the negative reaction of whites to the Soweto uprising events in 1976 (Foster & Nel, 1991).

In sum, past studies emphasise a distinction between Afrikaans and English speaking whites in South Africa. Duckitt and Foster (1991) highlight, however, that the period of 1970 – 1980 exhibits little change in terms of white attitudes in general. Overall, there appears to be

a distinct pattern of negative views, affect, and social distance from the white South African population toward other race groups.

3.1.2 Black attitudes

Although studies of black attitudes have been criticised on the basis that research samples have been small and unrepresentative and that assessment methods have been inconsistent (Foster & Nel, 1991), several studies confirm one general finding, which suggests that blacks reflect particularly favourable attitudes towards English speaking whites (MacCrone, 1938; 1947; Brett, 1963; Crijns, 1959; Edelstein, 1972; Van den Berghe, 1962, in Foster & Nel, 1991). In one study, blacks rated English speaking whites almost equally with their own group (Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983, in Foster & Nel, 1991). The studies once again, however, predominantly highlight the distinction made between Afrikaans and English speaking whites, as Afrikaans people were also consistently rated unfavourably (MacCrone, 1937; 1947; Lobban, 1975, in Foster & Nel, 1991).

3.1.3 Attitudes of Indian and coloured South Africans

Kinloch (1985) provides examples of studies conducted with Indian and coloured South Africans. Many of the findings for these groups are consistent with those of black South Africans, with both groups showing consistent rejection of Afrikaans speaking whites (Nieuwoudt & Plug, 1983, in Kinloch, 1985). In terms of social distance, Van den Berghe (1962) found that Indians display moderate signs of rejecting other racial groups, whilst coloureds displayed increasing rejection of Afrikaans speaking whites, but similar views regarding themselves, blacks, and English speaking whites (Nieuwoudt & Plug, 1983; cited in Kinloch, 1985).

3.2 CONTEMPORARY RACISM

Research examining the role of contemporary theories of racism in South Africa is rather lacking and some of the more recent studies conducted have found varied relevance for such theories in the South African context. Lea, Bokhorst, and Colenso (1995), for example, found no significant difference between the symbolic and traditional forms of racism on a

sample of 150 South African school children. Similarly, Durrheim (2003) examined the role of racial attitudes in opposition to certain groups of policy measures on a group of white University students, finding traditional forms of racism as playing a more important role in predicting policy opinion than subtle forms. In contrast, Pillay-Singh and Collins (2004) found white and Indian students scored highest on a modern measure of racism, suggesting it had relevance. They did, however, also find that white students scored highest on an old-fashioned measure of racism, reinforcing the role of traditional prejudice in contemporary South Africa.

A significantly more optimistic application of the subtle racism theory, however, lies in the work of Duckitt who has examined the role of authoritarianism and subtle racism in white South African students (Duckitt, 1993). Duckitt also stands as one of the few to develop and investigate the usefulness of a South African devised racial attitude measure based on contemporary styles of assessment (Duckitt, 1990; 1991; 1993; Duckitt & Farre, 1994; Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998). Incorporating a more sophisticated style of expression and South African issues, the 10 item measure proved both a valid and reliable indicator of subtle racism in South Africa, outperforming the more traditional measure, “Ray’s anti-black” scale on five validity criteria. The subtle racism scale also proved powerfully related to two behavioural measures. Overall, the scale appeared a very successful and more advanced form of assessment for the South African context in light of the contemporary racism arguments. In 1998, Duckitt and Mphuthing used a revised version of the above scale for the post-apartheid era by modifying items; some read for example, “Whites should have to suffer for the wrongs of apartheid” and, “It is important to work for reconciliation and brotherhood between White and Black in this country”. This revised version stands as one of the latest local measures designed in accordance with contemporary styles of assessment.

3.3 SOUTH AFRICA AND RACISM STUDIES: CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Duckitt and Foster (1991) note that in the period of the late 1970s to the early 1980s, South African research on racial attitudes was plagued with three core damaging features. Firstly, few studies were conducted at that time that examined the symbolic racism argument in the country. Secondly, research that had been conducted had often utilised inappropriate measures that reflected American indices of racism. Lastly, the authors note the consistent

sample bias of these studies. A number of years later, it appears that two of these concerns still plague South African racial attitude research. Although more research on the relevance of symbolic racism in the country has been conducted since that time, on the whole present studies still reflect the use of inadequate measures and a sample bias; these two points are considered next.

3.3.1 The use of inadequate measures

Since few measures have been developed for the South African context, research on racism reflects a distinct trend in using modified international measures of prejudice and racial attitudes. For example, in a past study, Heaven and Moerdyk (1977, in Foster, 1991) used an adapted anti-black scale to assess South African attitudes; however, this scale was originally developed by Ray (1976) to measure attitudes of aborigines in Australia (Foster, 1991). Since then the scale has been used on a number of occasions in subsequent studies examining a number of different racial issues in South Africa (for example, Heaven, 1978; Heaven & Stones, 1979, in Foster, 1991; Duckitt, 1990; 1991).

A distinct problem with the use of such scales in the South African context is that they have questionable content and face validity since it is unclear the extent to which the content constituting the scales relates, and appears to relate, to local people. These scales have been developed on the basis of international conceptualisations and theories of racism; their use in South African studies, therefore, may compromise the internal validity of local studies to some degree. Although past studies have modified items constituting the scales; for example, Ray's anti-black scale was found reliable for South African people by modifying items (Heaven & Stones, 1979, in Foster, 1991), the items themselves still reflect the international domain of racial content. As a result, South African samples from previous studies have been presented with racial items that reflect, both in content and on face value, international racial foci. This points to another distinct problem, which is that there has been little attempt to formally establish the domain of content constituting South African racism. As a consequence of this, there has been no real basis to compare and cross validate the content constituting local racial opinions with those of international ones.

Although Duckitt's subtle racism scale marks one of the few exceptions which represent a locally developed measure, in light of very recent racial attitude item development (for example, Sears & Henry, 2003), this scale appears outdated, with many of these items reflecting early symbolic content of the 1980's. For example, one item reads, "Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field", whilst another reads, "It is almost certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages not be allowed". According to Sears and Henry (2003), by recent standards, such items may not be sufficiently sophisticated to divulge the difficult style of racism characterising contemporary society. Sophisticated racists today would probably not deny that blacks could perform as equally as well as whites given the same opportunities. Similarly, it would be far too crude for symbolic racists to agree that inter-racial marriages should not be permitted. These items, therefore, may be inadequate in light of the recent conceptualisations of racism. Although Duckitt and Mphuthing's (1998) revised version of the scale reflects items incorporating more recent South African content, a number of significant events have occurred since 1998 influencing race relations and attitudes. In this respect, the context necessitates an updated measure that reflects these issues.

In sum, South African research on racial attitudes could benefit from establishing some of the topics characterising South African racism and then using these to develop a revised, more relevant measure for its people. This will help ensure both the content and face validity of future measures and hence, enhance the overall internal and external validity of future studies.

3.3.2 Sample bias

Another damaging feature of racial prejudice studies in general, is that they have, and continue, to predominantly focus on white prejudice. Shelton (2000) outlines a number of reasons for this bias in the United States, but suggests one of the prime reasons may be on account of the fact that, historically, the United States has focussed on racism as a white problem and hence, has focussed on the issues of prejudice from a white perspective. Shelton outlines two serious implications of this that; first, whites are portrayed as "active perceivers" (p. 374) and blacks as "passive targets" (p. 374) of racial prejudice studies with no real attention given to understanding how blacks themselves influence inter-group racial

dynamics. Second, and as a consequence of this first point, research has failed to examine racial prejudice from what Shelton terms, “a true interpersonal perspective in terms of the dynamics of cross-racial social interactions (p. 375). She suggests instead, that studies on racial prejudice need to “examine not only how Blacks respond to whites’ behaviours, but also [emphasise] Blacks’ behaviours toward Whites as an equally important issue” (p. 388). In doing this, studies can then begin to understand prejudice from the perspective of blacks and not only whites.

In a similar vein to the United States then, South Africa too has demonstrated favour in studying the views of whites. In light of South Africa’s past, however, this bias may be somewhat justified for different reasons. There are, however, grounds, particularly in contemporary South Africa, to examine the views of other race groups. South Africa has also undergone enormous change and the country reflects significantly greater racial integration than former years. In accordance with Shelton’s (2000) argument, it seems imperative that South African studies begin emphasising the role of blacks in racial prejudice studies as equally important; this will not only emphasise blacks as active beings in the research process, but will also provide the perspective of blacks needed in understanding the interpersonal aspect of racial prejudice.

In terms of sample bias, South African studies are also subject to criticism on the basis of drawing conclusions from student samples. The use of students as research participants may be attributed to their accessibility and convenience as a source of gathering information. However, students often reflect liberal views, which may be unrepresentative of the general population of South Africa.

SECTION B: RESEARCH, FINDINGS, AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 4

AIMS AND PROCEDURE OF RESEARCH

4.1 AIMS

In light of the previous review, the following research aimed to achieve two overall things:

Firstly, it aimed to develop a contemporary, multi-racial response measure of racial attitudes for the South African context. Two issues were considered particularly important in regard to this aim. Firstly, the scale had to reflect the stylistic expression that contemporary theories and methodologies emphasise in racial attitude measurement. Secondly, the content constituting the new scale items had to reflect the local domain of racial concerns.

Furthermore, and of equal importance, the content constituting the items had to relay meaning to multiple race groups in South Africa. Overall then, the new measure aimed to represent a more updated and relevant racial attitude measure for the general South African population and hence, by doing so; provide a locally informed instrument through which to operationalise racism in contemporary South Africa.

In order to accomplish the above aim, the present research sought to explore the subject matter characterising racism both locally and internationally. This was achieved by categorising the thematic indices of racism used in international racial attitude measures, and, by developing South African thematic indices of racism by examining discursive expressions from South Africans in relation to racial issues. The two sets of indices provided a basis to compare and cross validate the content from each. This in turn provided a basis to construct the new scale items.

The second main aim of this research was to provide a preliminary investigation of the reliability and validity of the newly developed scale by administering it to a sample of South Africans.

4.2 PROCEDURE

The approach taken towards achieving the above aims was done so by means of two separate studies:

Study one, presented in chapter five, describes and discusses the four phase process of developing the new measure. Phases one entailed establishing international thematic indices of racism by grouping a sample of racial attitude items from a number of international authors. Phase two entailed identifying South African thematic indices of racism by grouping a series of over 7000 discursive expressions from South Africans on racial issues from a number of South African newspaper articles over a 30 year period. The new scale items were then developed in phases three and four on the basis of comparing and isolating important thematic indices from both sets of thematic analyses.

Study two, presented in chapter six, explores and discusses the reliability and validity of the new scale after having administered it to a sample of South Africans, from both the student and general population.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RACIAL ATTITUDE MEASURE FOR THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

In broad terms, attitude measurement necessitates finding indicators of an attitude object to measure a person's opinions or beliefs in relation to that object (Stahlberg & Frey, 1988). It is important therefore, to establish reliable indicators of the attitude object. In this study, indicators of racial opinion were identified through the aid of two different sources. The first was a database of racial attitude items used previously in international racial attitude studies, whilst the second was a database containing thousands of statements from South Africans in relation to racial issues.

These sources were considered to provide reliable and accurate indices of racial attitudes in two ways; firstly, the attitude content of previous studies had been previously tested on a number of different occasions, providing evidence of its content as dependable. Secondly, the database containing statements provided insight into racial issues that had been discussed and debated in the South African context by its people; it therefore, provided a very honest, and often first hand account of local beliefs and feelings in relation to racial issues.

Furthermore, the source afforded insight into racially diverse opinions from multiple race groups. In light of the scale's overall aims, these sources were considered highly reliable and accurate.

The development of the new scale occurred in the following four phases; each one entailed:

- Phase 1 – Establishing international indices of racism.
- Phase 2 – Developing South African indices of racism.
- Phase 3 – Comparing and isolating important themes from the above sets of analyses.
- Phase 4 – Developing the new scale items using phase three results as thematic references.

5.1 PHASE 1: IDENTIFYING RACIAL ATTITUDE INDICES: THE THEMATIC GROUPING OF A SAMPLE OF RACIAL ATTITUDE ITEMS

5.1.1 Aims

The aim of phase one was to broadly identify the racial indices used in international racial attitude measures; this was done with a view to comparing and validating the South African indices developed later in phase two.

5.1.2 Sample and procedure

A number of international journal articles (for example, the American Journal of Sociology and the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology) were consulted in order to source previously used racial attitude measures. Multiple measures were found, reflecting old-fashioned and contemporary styles. A sample of 12 were selected as references to inform the new scale; however, since some measures listed sub-measures, the total number of measures identified reflected 17 (see table 5.1 for names). These measures were chosen on the basis of empirical reliability and frequency of use in previous race research. The aim of this task therefore, was not to gather an exhaustive list of measures, but to summarise the main thematic trends of international racial attitude measurement. The historical range of measures began from 1976, ending with the most recent measure developed in 1995. This range enabled an understanding of the change in thematic content characterising these scales and, conversely, provided a sense of those themes consistently dominating measures over time. Most measures related specifically to racial discrimination, whilst a couple assessed broader notions of prejudice and were reflected in different forms such as Likert scales and Social distance scales. Some are simply termed, the Modern Racism Scale, for example; other authors used specific themes to classify the items and hence, their names reflect this theme name.

The scale items and their corresponding details were collated into one source by means of a database (see Appendix A), the purpose of which was to create a single point of reference from which all items could be compared. The database was constructed via an excel spreadsheet; it reflected the following details: the title of the journal article from which the

measure had been sourced, specifics relating to the journal and article (these being the volume, publication date, page numbers, and the author(s) details), the scale name, scale themes (if specified by the author), and the list of corresponding scale items. Over 160 items were recorded in the database.

Table 5.1: Reference and measure details of the international attitude scales sample

Source of measure	Measure/theme name	Number of items in measure
Bobo, L. (1983)	Wording of racial items from the 1977 and 1976 national election studies and the 1974 omnibus study	8
Cardell, K. (1978)	Attitude towards desegregation ruling	7
Kinder, D.; Sears, D. (1981)	Personal racial threats: affect and vulnerability items	8
	Symbolic racism	26
McClendon, M. (1985)	Prejudice, Expected cost rewards, and Bussing indicators	25
McClendon, M.; Pestello, F. (1982)	Opposition to bussing items	15
McConahay, J. (1982)	Opinions with regard to bussing in Louisville and Jefferson County	5
McConahay, J.; Hardee, B.; Batts, V. (1981)	Old fashioned racism items	6
	Modern racism items	6
McConahay, J.; Hough Jr, J. (1976)	Symbolic racism items	4
Muir, E. (1974)	Perceptions of negro characteristics	9
Muir, E.; McGlamery, C. (1984)	Social distance scale	7
	Attitudes regarding political and economic equality	5
	Attitudes regarding major areas of desegregation	4
Pettigrew, T.; Meertens, R. (1995)	The blatant prejudice scale	10
	The subtle prejudice scale	10
Sears, D. (1988)	Symbolic racism scale	11

5.1.3 Analysis

The attitude items were examined and organised by the aid of two techniques which were theme development and coding. These procedures are often used in qualitative forms of analysis (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999) and therefore proved useful in light of the textual nature of the data.

5.1.3.1 Theme development

Themes provide a general sense of the main issues characterising textual data sets; in this instance they represented indices of racism characterising the sample of attitude items. Since many authors had already presented their attitude items according to themes (titled sub-themes in the database Appendix A), these existing names were retained as themes. This was

done with a view to gaining as many different categorisations from authors as possible. As such, the final theme list (displayed later in table 5.3) is not necessarily mutually exclusive since some authors perceived similar items to fall under different theme names; however, since it was deemed more important to gain as clear a picture as possible of each author's impression of racial indices, this was considered unproblematic. Table 5.2 provides a list of authors and theme names of those providing pre-specified themes.

Table 5.2: Themes provided by authors from race attitude studies

Author(s) providing theme	Name of theme
Kinder & Sears (1981)	Neighbourhood Desegregation Interracial social contact Economic competition
McClendon (1985)	Expected cost-rewards Bussing (also stated by Kinder & Sears (1981); McClendon & Pestello (1982); and, McConahay, 1982) Protest intentions White flight intentions
Muir & McGlamery (1984)	Political equality (also stated by Muir, 1974) Economic equality (also stated by Muir, 1974) Desegregation (also stated by Cardell (1978))
Pettigrew & Meertens (1995)	Threat Rejection Intimacy Traditional values Cultural difference Positive emotions
Sears (1988)	Antagonism towards blacks Resentment about special favours for blacks Denial of continuing discrimination

Those items that had not been grouped according to themes were subsequently examined. These were; McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981) Old-fashioned items, Muir and McGlamery (1984) Social distance items, McClendon's Racial Prejudice and Symbolic Racism items, McConahay and Hough's Symbolic Racism items, Kinder and Sears's (1981) Symbolic Racism items, Bobo's (1983) National election study items, and finally, Muir's (1994) Perception of Negro characteristic items. Although some of these items appeared to fit into the existing themes, others necessitated the development of new themes.

New themes were developed using an inductive approach. Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999) define induction in qualitative research as a "means to infer general rules or classes from

specific instances” (p. 141). As such, each of the items constituting the aforementioned scales were examined more closely for recurrent issues. For example, several items made reference to potentially stereotypical words, such as ‘superstitious’, ‘intelligent’, ‘capable’, and ‘lazy’. The general recurrent nature of these terms, and, when read in the context of the full attitude items, provided evidence of stereotyping as an issue explored in the attitude scales. This strategy informed the development of the theme ‘Stereotypes’. As a further example, the theme ‘Racial policy’ was derived on the basis of identifying words such as, ‘programs’, ‘government’, ‘quotas’, and, ‘laws’. These items were known, based on the literature, to relate to the notion of racial policy; themes were therefore also induced with the literature in mind.

This method revealed several other themes. These were: ‘Racial policy’, ‘Resentment towards the implications of black empowerment’, ‘Stereotypes’, ‘Racial equality’, and ‘White accountability’. After having finalising theme names, each of them was formally defined in order to guide the process of coding.

5.1.3.2 Coding

The principle of coding was used to group the items under the derived themes. Whereas the induction of themes is based on a broad scoping of the data, coding is more about the systematic placement of text under themes. Miles & Huberman (1994) explain that, “[coding] involves how you differentiate...the data you have retrieved” (p. 56). Terre Blanche & Kelly (1999) explain that data is distinguished by “marking different sections of the data as being instances of, or relevant to, one or more of your themes” (p. 143). In accordance with this, the items were matched to a specific theme by reading and underlining key words in the item, such as, ‘black’, ‘segregation’, or, ‘mixed couples’, or phrases such as, ‘move to another school’ (also see examples in table 5.3, column 3) and relating these words in respect of their correspondence to theme definitions. In most instances, the link was literal; for example, the words ‘marry’ and ‘another race group’, directly linked to the definition of the ‘Intimacy’ theme. In other instances, however, the link proved ambiguous with some words potentially relating to multiple themes. In these cases a more open style of coding was employed in which, the definitions provided guidance as opposed to strict coding

criteria. An element of discretion was therefore used in judging whether items suited one category over another.

The final list of themes considered indicative of the international racial attitude items, their definitions, and examples of the corresponding items placed under the themes are illustrated in table 5.3; the themes are presented in descending order of the number of items placed under each theme.

Table 5.3: Illustrations and examples of how international attitude items were coded

Name of theme	Definition of theme Items implicating:	Examples of items placed under themes (Note: underlined words/phrases represent those key words considered indicative of themes)	Number of items placed under theme
Bussing	Issues relating to the principles of racial desegregation in schools.	Do you think that it is <u>best for your children</u> to go to <u>school in their neighbourhoods</u> even if it means that <u>school will be desegregated</u> .	32
Desegregation	Broad concerns with the principles of desegregation.	There should <u>not be legal restrictions</u> to keep <u>blacks</u> from <u>mixing socially</u> with <u>whites</u> .	19
Inter-racial social contact	Issues pertaining to contact between different race groups on a social level.	How strongly would you <u>object</u> if a <u>member of your family</u> wanted to bring a <u>Negro/black friend</u> home to <u>dinner</u> ?	15
Stereotypes	Reference to any form of negative categorization of race groups.	Most <u>Negroes</u> are <u>more superstitious than</u> any <u>white persons</u> I have ever met.	15
Denial of continuing discrimination	The suggestion racial discrimination is no longer a problem in society.	<u>Blacks</u> have it <u>better than they ever had before</u> .	8
Antagonism towards blacks	Cruelty or spite towards blacks.	<u>Blacks</u> shouldn't <u>push</u> themselves where they're <u>not wanted</u> .	7
Political equality	Political fairness between race groups.	<u>Blacks</u> should have the <u>same voting privileges</u> as <u>Whites</u> .	6
Positive emotions	Positive expression towards blacks.	Have you ever felt <u>sympathy</u> for <u>West Indians</u> living here?	5
Racial policy	Propositions and expressions of means to achieve racial equality.	Many <u>government programs</u> designed to <u>help blacks</u> <u>unfairly discriminate against whites</u> .	5
Resentment about special favour toward blacks	The suggestion that black people have been given special privileges and that this fuels inter-racial resentment.	Over the past few years, the <u>government</u> and <u>news media</u> have shown <u>more respect to Blacks</u> than they <u>deserve</u> .	5
Intimacy	Issues pertaining to intimate contact between different race	I would be <u>willing</u> to have <u>sexual relationships</u> with a <u>West Indian</u> .	4

	groups.		
Cultural difference	Racial difference as a result of culture.	How <u>different or similar</u> do you think <u>West Indians</u> living here are to other <u>British people</u> like yourself in the values that they teach their children?	4
Economic competition	The contrast between economic circumstances between difference race groups.	Are you <u>satisfied or dissatisfied with your economic gains compared to those of Negroes/Blacks.</u>	4
Expected cost-rewards	The examination and implications of bussing.	Do you think that children who had to be <u>bussed</u> would be very <u>upset</u> , somewhat upset, or not upset at all about leaving their schools?	4
Protest intentions	How someone would negatively react to bussing measures.	If the courts ordered the <u>bussing</u> of black and white children in Akron, would you participate in an organised <u>protest</u> march against bussing?	4
Racial equality	The broad notion of freedom and fairness for all races	Should the <u>government support the right of black people to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford?</u>	4
Traditional values	Value systems as different between different racial groups.	<u>West Indians living here teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in Britain.</u>	4
Rejection	The dismissal of any connection to another race group.	<u>West Indian's</u> come from a <u>less able race</u> and this <u>explains</u> why they are <u>not</u> as well off as most <u>British people</u> .	3
Threat	The perception that other race groups pose a danger to undermining white power.	<u>West Indians have jobs that the British should have.</u>	3
White accountability	Whites as taking responsibility through measures to challenge racial inequality.	<u>Whites</u> should <u>support</u> Negroes in their <u>struggle against discrimination</u> and segregation.	3
Neighbourhood desegregation	Issues relating to the principles of racial desegregation within neighbourhoods.	How <u>likely</u> is it that a few <u>black families</u> will <u>move into this neighbourhood?</u>	2
Resentment towards implications of black empowerment	Anger towards black empowerment.	<u>Blacks</u> have <u>more influence</u> upon school desegregation plans than <u>they ought to have.</u>	2
White flight intentions	The questioning of white people fleeing as a result of desegregation.	Would you seriously consider <u>moving to another school district</u> outside Akron to keep a child of yours outside Akron schools?	2
Economic equality	Economic fairness between race groups.	<u>Blacks</u> have as much <u>right</u> to any <u>job</u> for which they are trained as whites.	1

5.2 PHASE 2: EXPLORING LOCAL INDICES OF RACISM: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STATEMENTS ON RACIAL ISSUES

5.2.1 Aims

The aim of phase two was to explore views of South Africans in relation to racial issues in order to identify local indices of racism. It also aimed to gain insight into the views of different race groups in order to identify multi-racial concerns. Of specific interest were those issues and opinions characterising the more contemporary times and, in particular, pre and post the 1994 time period in which South Africa's first democratic election was held. This marks a crucial time for South Africa and its people, particularly in terms of racial expression. Opinions of this time relay the fears, optimisms, and general emotions of people experiencing the effects of racial transformation; they also provide substantial insight into the attitudes which shape opposition, and/or support toward racial transformation in contemporary South Africa.

5.2.2 Sample and procedure

In order to establish the domain of content relating to racial opinion in South Africa, a database containing a collection of articles relating to racism in South Africa was consulted.

5.2.2.1 The South African database of racial issues

The South African database of racial issues contains a sample of nearly 3 800 coded articles describing racial incidents and issues from over 120 different newspapers in South Africa from the years 1977 to 2001. It was developed as part of another research study (Meyer, 2005) for the purpose of examining how conceptions of racism have changed in South Africa over time. It contains a vast amount of coded information and discursive statements describing in summarised form, the issues examined in the articles. It therefore chronicles a large volume of both quantitative and qualitative data relating to South African racial debates on a number of issues including sport, religion, politics, apartheid, government, employment, and racial tension, to name a few.

5.2.2.2 The Statements

One of the most important sources of information contained in the database for the purposes of this study were the qualitative statements termed, 'comments'. These were contextualising statements provided by those coding the article which served to explain and expand on pieces of coded information. There were several comments sections in the database, each expanding on different types of information within an article. For example, some comments merely required a statement clarifying the identity of those speaking in the article; others, namely the context and manifestation categories, contained more discursive content. These two categories served to elaborate on the context in which the racial issue was set, and the manner in which the issue examined in the article materialised. These particular categories required coders to provide short summaries and/or, where possible, extract direct quotations from people expressing views in the articles. The quotations in particular were important as they reflected the words, phrases, and opinions expressed by those in the article; these were often emotive in character and frequently reflected views from different race groups.

Approximately 7000 statements combined were reflected in the context and manifestation categories; they therefore provided a rich and diverse impression of local racial concerns. The statements informed the development of the new scale in two ways; firstly, they helped operationalise racism in contemporary South African society by providing a list of thematic concerns characterising the context. Secondly, they made available the discourse of people on these issues, which, when appropriate, could be directly used to mirror attitudes of South Africans when writing the new scale items.

Table 5.4 provides illustrative examples of the types of summaries and verbal statements linked to these categories.

Table 5.4: Examples of statements provided by contextual and manifestation comments

(Quotation marks indicate that these statements reflect direct quotations extracted from the original article)

Article number	Date of article	Examples of statements derived from:	
		Context category	Manifestation category
105	31/05/01	Editor gives his views on the fact that matrics are obliged to fill in their race on the exam paper.	"They call it affirmative action, but I think it is prejudice"
404	05/06/00	ANC document urges an intensified campaign to combat racism.	The de-racialisation of the working class consciousness has still to emerge in the country.
1313	03/02/95	White police officers in Soweto ask for transfers after alleged death threats by fellow black police officers	" Practically everyone received death threats...some had guns pointed at them"
2644	19/07/88	SA Transport services desegregate suburban trains.	Apartheid laws proved to be the cause of racial hatred and disharmony because they were based on inequality.
4061	25/08/79	Cape Town stations are to remove their racist 'whites only' signs from stations, but signs on coaches are to remain.	'Asked whether apartheid signs are to be removed from coaches, the station master said "they are still toying with that one"'.

5.2.3 Analysis

The data was examined and organised in a similar manner to that of phase one; hence, themes were induced and the statements were categorised under themes by means of a coding system.

5.2.3.1 Inducing themes

Once again, the development of themes was for the purpose of broadly grouping the statements so that a general sense of issues could be obtained. Themes were developed according to an inductive approach; hence statements were read and trigger words relating powerfully to racial issues, such as 'race', 'hate', 'government', 'racist', and 'morals', were identified for their frequent appearances within the statements; in this manner themes evolved. However, since the eventual aim of the statements was to aid item development, it was deemed more important to provide overall structure in which to view the items and not to form refined categorizations. No attempt was made, therefore, to create mutually exclusive or exhaustive categories, but instead the intention was rather to highlight and emphasise particular concerns raised by people according to their expressed importance. For example, although the 'Government' theme could have been conceived as falling under the 'Political

tension' theme, two separate categories were developed because evidence suggested that both issues generated equally heated views that warranted emphasis in their own right.

Statements were examined in relation to their corresponding newspaper article's date of publication, in order to historically contextualise them. In this way, an impression was gained of the important issues characterising latter years (considered the 1970s and 1980s) and more contemporary times (considered the years 1990 – 2001). Table 5.5 provides a list of the themes induced over the three time groupings.

Table 5.5: List of themes induced from the South African media database statements according to the time periods of 1990 – 2001, the 1980's, and, the 1970's.

Prominent themes characterising the time periods of:		
1990 – 2001	1980's	1970's
Acknowledging racism	Apartheid	Apartheid
Affirmative action	Black oppression	Black feelings towards change
Antagonism towards blacks	Challenging apartheid	Black oppression
Apartheid	Discrimination	Blacks as ungrateful
Black oppression	Economic inequality	Economic inequality
Black resentment	Education system	Sanctions
Crime	Empathy	Segregation
Discrimination	Government	
Economic inequality	Health system	
Education system	Interpersonal integration	
Government	Judicial system	
Health system	Political equality	
Institutional racism	Political tension	
Judicial system	Religion	
Minority discrimination	Repercussions of desegregation	
Notion of national identity	Sanctions	
Optimism for change	Segregation	
Past injustices of South Africa	Sport	
Political tension	Stereotypes	
Racial tension	Whites as victims	
Racism as an obsessive issue		
Segregation		
South African identity		
Stereotypes		
Subtle prejudice/racism		
White resistance to change		
Whites as victims		

As the table illustrates, many themes are replicated across time groupings, yet the specific issues in relation to these themes change. For example, statements relating to the apartheid theme in the 1970s era inevitably reflect high emotions and black fears of apartheid inciting violence to the country. One statement read, "If South Africa is to be spared chaos and

bloodshed, apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination have to go”. The 1980s statements on that same theme, however, are characterised by demands for equality and descriptions of incidents opposing the apartheid system – “Norway's foreign minister pledged his countries continued support for the ANC and the struggle to end apartheid and the transformation of SA”. In contrast, in the 1990’s, apartheid is drawn on by many white people as a means to compare and describe white feelings in relation to affirmative action policies. “...they’re wanting to use similar strategies as the Apartheid government did to enforce laws, for example, [the] use of quota's for Affirmative action in both public and private sectors...” This change in content illustrates how history affects the content considered important for any one topic in any one era. It was important to note how these issues were being expressed, particularly in contemporary times, and how these expressions could inform the development of the new items.

5.2.3.2 Coding

Coding was performed in a similar manner to that of the international item procedure. Hence, statements were read and keywords that stood out were underlined. Most words were identified on the basis of having direct relation to definitions; words such as ‘discrimination’, and ‘hate’ had an obvious connection to the theme of ‘Discrimination’, for example. By this stage, there was a good sense of what words related to each of the themes, so this enabled a fairly consistent manner of grouping the statements. Discretion was used when statements proved problematic to code. Table 5.6 provides the list of themes with definitions, examples of items placed under the themes, and illustrations of how items were coded. The time period from which the statement was extracted is also provided, demonstrating the perspective change remarked on above. Examples of statements are provided for every time period in which a theme arose; hence, if only one is reflected for the time period of 1990 – 2001, it is because the theme only stood out in this time period. The race of those who expressed the statement has also been indicated in order to contextualise expressions and opinions to some degree.

Table 5.6: Illustrations and examples of how the South African statements were coded

Name of theme	Definition of theme If statement makes reference to:	Examples of statements placed under themes (Note: underlined words/phrases represent those key words considered indicative of the themes: Also, race of those expressing statement indicated in brackets afterwards)	Time period from which statement extracted
Acknowledging racism	Accepting racism exists and has an effect in contemporary South Africa.	Everything that goes <u>wrong</u> must be <u>blamed on past, present or future racism.</u> (White)	1990-2001
Affirmative action	The policy of affirmative action.	There are still those who refuse to understand that by sheer force of numbers and due to Apartheid, <u>Africans must come first in affirmative action.</u> (Black)	1990-2001
Antagonism towards blacks	Nastiness toward or the derogation of black people.	Whites suggest that <u>blacks should stop bringing up racism...</u> (No racial identity specified in original article)	1990-2001
Apartheid	The apartheid system.	If <u>South Africa</u> is to be spared <u>chaos and bloodshed</u> , apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination have to go. (No racial identity specified in original article)	1970's
		<u>Apartheid is an unfair system.</u> (Black)	1980's
		They're wanting to use similar strategies as the <u>Apartheid government</u> did to enforce laws, for example, [the] use of quota's for Affirmative action in both public and private sectors. (White)	1990-2001
Black feelings towards change	Descriptions of black reactions to the countries political transformation.	"The government has said apartheid is dead...Blacks want their land back...The government <u>has to move fast to make changes</u> " (Black)	1970's
Black oppression	Expressions and descriptions of inequality in relation to black people.	"The <u>lavatories, seats and ticket offices</u> at the stations are separated according to race...seats have apartheid signs...telephone booths" (Black)	1970's
		One only need look at infant statistics for evidence of the sickness of apartheid. The system decrees that if you are black, from the moment of birth, the odds are stacked against you. (Black)	1980's
		In <u>South Africa</u> , <u>61% of blacks</u> are <u>poor</u> , while only <u>1% of whites</u> are <u>poor</u> , <u>there is still a big gap between black and white.</u> (Black)	1990-2001
Black resentment	Descriptions of negative feelings from black people in relation to the country's political change.	A <u>Black student</u> said he wanted to <u>vomit when he saw white faces</u> " (White)	1990-2001
Blacks as ungrateful	Perceptions that black people should be grateful to others.	'White letter writer says, " <u>blacks</u> should stop blaming everything on apartheid and see <u>the good whites have done for them</u> "' (White)	1970's

Challenging apartheid	Descriptions opposing the apartheid system.	"The Nats continue to impose <u>racist solutions against the will of the vast majority of South Africans</u> " <i>(White)</i>	1980's
Crime	Descriptions of crime.	"Why try to racilaise brutality? Farmers are becoming desperate at the <u>high crime rate and increasing murders of people on farms</u> " <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Discrimination	Descriptions of how racism is manifest, or affects people and society.	"He remarked on their <u>thick lips and their odour</u> " <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1980's
		<u>Discrimination</u> is the reason given to each problem in society, <u>furthering racial tension.</u> <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Economic inequality	The unequal economic system in South Africa.	" <u>African women</u> were the most discriminated against domestic workers and were the <u>lowest paid in the country</u> " <i>(White)</i>	1970's
		"Despite undertaking by the PO to eliminate wage discrimination, the <u>racial wage gap continues to exist</u> ". <i>(Black)</i>	1980's
		"If you are <u>black</u> you won't be <u>employed</u> . Blacks are not given a chance to prove themselves. It's disgusting" <i>(Black)</i>	1990-2001
Education system	Racial problems facing universities, technikons, and schools in South Africa.	The <u>education system</u> developed by successive SA Governments was <u>not in the interest of black human development.</u> <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1980's
		"School <u>playgrounds</u> have become <u>racial battlefields</u> with formerly white schools now theatres of struggle for transformation". <i>(Black)</i>	1990-2001
Empathy	Positive emotions/empathy towards different race groups.	"I met <u>black people</u> of great intelligence and character, and I realised that they had <u>less control over their own fate</u> than a house pet". <i>(No racial identity specified in database)</i>	1980's
Government	Perceptions that the government is incompetent.	"I wouldn't be surprised if there were another [incidence of racial tension] tomorrow. It's there and it's going to happen because <u>the government isn't paying attention</u> ". <i>(Black)</i>	1980's
		"The ANC is playing the race card to hide the fact that it has <u>failed as a government</u> " <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Health system	Criticisms of the health system.	" <u>Black people</u> are <u>not getting</u> the kind of psychiatric <u>service</u> to which they are entitled as human beings and citizens of South Africa" <i>(White)</i>	1980's
		" <u>Black patients</u> get <u>treated</u> from a <u>shack</u> , while <u>white patients</u> get treated from a <u>plush and comfortable consulting room</u> ". <i>(Black)</i>	1990-2001
Institutional racism	Negative statements of the media in relation to racial issues.	This kind of <u>news reporting encourages racial hate.</u> <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Inter-personal	Intimate and personal contact	<u>Mixed couples</u> reported a number of	1980's

integration	between different race groups.	problems, including difficulties with landlords and agents. <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	
Judicial system	Problems of racial justice as a result of race.	"Race and colour plays a role in the <u>handing out of sentences...</u> " <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1980's
		"Blacks still find themselves <u>without the protection from the police and criminal justice system</u> " <i>(Black)</i>	1990-2001
Minority discrimination	Perceptions that minority groups are victimised in post-apartheid South Africa.	"Is <u>affirmative action only for blacks?</u> In what category do <u>coloureds</u> fall under? <u>The new SA is all black and white</u> " <i>(Coloured)</i>	1990-2001
Optimism for change	Perceptions that race relations in south Africa are improving.	There is <u>nothing stopping us</u> from <u>embracing and trying to get to know each other.</u> <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1980's
		<u>South Africans</u> generally believe that <u>race relations are improving.</u> <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1990-2001
Past injustices of South Africa	Perceptions proposing and opposing that white people today bare a responsibility for South Africa's past.	"Will <u>raking up the muck of the past contribute to better racial relations</u> in this hate-filled county?" <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Political equality	Political rights for all race groups.	<u>All groups must participate effectively in deciding what government should rule.</u> <i>(No racial identity specified in original article)</i>	1980's
Political tension	Conflict, specifically in South African politics, between political parties, or political representatives in this country.	"One would like to believe.... <u>De Klerks commitment to reform</u> but he has <u>not given a firm undertaking to remove any of the hurtful measures</u> ". <i>(White)</i>	1980's
		<u>The ANC is driving a wedge between our race groups</u> at every opportunity, <u>accusing whites of retaining privileges.</u> <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Racial tension	Perceptions of issues inciting racial animosity.	"If <u>housing development were to stop</u> in this area, it will <u>spark racial tensions</u> between African and Indian communities" <i>(Black)</i>	1980's
Racism as an obsessive issue	Perceptions inferring that racism and racial issues unnecessarily dominate society.	"People's views are not what matters, it is their prejudice that must be sniffed out. <u>The most innocent phrase can be deliberately misinterpreted</u> " <i>(White)</i>	1990-2001
Religion	Racism and religion.	Lakhani says that the <u>IDB and SANZAF are practising apartheid in religion.</u> <i>(Indian)</i>	1990-2001
Repercussions of desegregation	Perceptions that racial integration has had negative consequences on South Africa.	Natal beach <u>apartheid by-laws</u> are finally <u>scrapped</u> , but <u>whites fear overcrowding, and a dropping of standards.</u> <i>(Race not specified in database)</i>	1980's
Sanctions	Legal restrictions and the implications of such measures imposed on South Africa.	They <u>discriminate against SA by the use of sanctions</u> and want to interfere with the Government. <i>(White)</i>	1970's

		"The irony is that the SA governments own disregard for essential human rights, has been a major factor in persuading the world that SA needs to be isolated". (No racial identity specified in original article)	1980's
		"Had white South Africa many years ago accepted the majority rule, the whole matter of sanctions would not have arisen" (No racial identity specified in original article)	1990-2001
Segregation	Opposing, promoting, or making reference to racial integration.	The blacks have their beach to the south, the coloureds have one at Ifafa, and we are entitled to ours, there must be segregation. (White)	1970's
		"The Newcastle post office still had 'whites, 'non-whites' signs on its doors" (White)	1980's
		St Lucia is an island of white exclusivity, the booms are an attempt to offend black people and exclude them from the town. (Black)	1990-2001
South African identity	Reflecting the contemporary multi-racial debate with regards to what makes a person South African/African.	Du Preez suggests that Mda's view of who is an African is racist. (White)	1990-2001
Sport	How racism affects sport.	"On paper we were non-racial, but we did not have a system that enabled black people to have equal opportunity in the cricket system". (No racial identity specified in original article)	1990-2001
Stereotypes	Descriptions of how races are negatively typified by others.	"Soweto is populated by Third World people who are used to sleeping on the floor and breed too much", says doctor'. (White)	1980's
		"If a black male is behind the wheel of an expensive -looking car, the police presume he is a pimp, a drug dealer or driving a stolen car" (Black)	1990-2001
Subtle racism	Perceptions that racist expression is no longer just overt.	"The chameleon racists often say, 'You have such a beautiful accent' which translates to, 'you sound so white you must be from overseas'" (White)	1990-2001
White resistance to change	Perceptions that white people are against the country's political transformation.	"After four years, whites in this country do not accept black leadership". (Black)	1990-2001
Whites as victims	Perceptions that white people in particular are targeted negatively in the new South Africa.	"Poor whites who are barely employed blame the NP for reverse discrimination when they lose their jobs to up-and-coming blacks". (White)	1980's
		"Affirmative action is revenge on the non-black man, whether he deserves it or not". (White)	1990-2001

5.3 PHASE 3: DERIVING THEMES – COMPARING INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL INDICES OF RACISM

The primary purpose of phrase three was to isolate the most important, interesting, and relevant themes from each of the previous two sets of analyses and then compare these themes in order to identify the final list that would be used to inform the new scale items.

5.3.1 Isolating important themes

5.3.1.1 The South African dataset

In the South African dataset, important themes were identified, not so much on the basis of the quantity of statements within themes, but on the basis of the qualitative content characterising themes and the potential of such content to inform the new scale items.

Broadly, statements conveying three types of information were deemed important:

First, statements reflecting South African issues or ones implicating instances of local knowledge were deemed particularly relevant. For example, contemporary statements from whites in the ‘Apartheid’ theme, frequently defined affirmative action as ‘reverse apartheid’. This seemed to be an example of a shared and commonly understood definition from many white South Africans. Second, statements relating international racial attitude literature were also useful in that they provided evidence of consistent racial issues facing both the international and local context; for example, one statement read, “Felicity Jones argues that blacks are diligently searching for racism in every innocent look, gesture, word and action”. This accusation resembles the tone of items from Sears and Henry’s (2003) ‘Antagonism towards blacks demands’ theme in the Symbolic Racism Scale.

The most important types of statements, however, were those that conveyed the personal views of people, since they often captured the emotions of South Africans in relation to racism and racial issues and conveyed interesting and controversial discourse. Themes like this were particularly relevant since they supplied insight into the forms of racial tension and related attitudes to such tensions in contemporary South Africa. The following themes stood out as containing these types of statements: Affirmative action, Whites as victims, Past

injustices in South Africa, Segregation, Acknowledging racism, Pessimism with regards to change, Institutional racism, Repercussions of desegregation and, South African identity. Table 5.7 provides a few examples of statements characterising the tone of these particular themes (see Appendix B for further examples).

Table 5.7: Examples of statements illustrating the most interesting and controversial themes in the South African dataset

Theme name	Statement examples
Affirmative action	“One form of racism, namely Apartheid, must not be replaced by another form, namely affirmative action”
	“We are protesting the discriminatory acts of affirmative action...people's rights are being violated...”
Whites as victims	Editor mentions that whites feel that they risk their lives for the country while the blacks don't have to
	“Radicals in the ANC government want to create new laws that will discriminate against whites “.
Past injustices in South Africa	“White people should apologize for apartheid”
	“Afrikaaners all benefited from apartheid and so have a responsibility to collectively apologise instead of ignoring the problem”.
Segregation	“We are still a racist country - a divided society - one black, one white - separate and unequal”.
	"The Mother city has been nick named...a racially untaxing haven for old white money and colonial bittereinders"
Acknowledging racism	“Although the public destruction of apartheid is occurring, nothing is happening with the private manifestations of racism”.
	“Whites are unwilling to accept that they are inherently racist”.
Institutional racism	Under the doctrine of white supremacy, institutionalized racism and racial discrimination dominated every aspect of life in SA.
	The media reflects public opinion of the people of the country and therefore also their racism
Pessimism with regards to change	The deracialisation of the working class consciousness has still to emerge in the country.
	"When the mass of hundreds of people believe that change and transformation are inevitable, the lunatic Afrikaners want to hold onto white domination"
Repercussions of desegregation	"It is ironic and disappointing that at the very time the process of meaningful change has started, that violence should flare up"
	Since UDW was opened to all races, violence and intimidation have become a way of life at the university.
South African identity	“If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background”.
	"For many Americans, being American is a matter of citizenship. Identity in this country is being defined by ethnicity, skin colour, [and] cultural origin"

5.3.1.2 The Attitude dataset

Those themes deemed important from the attitude item analysis were those reflecting the greater number of items within theme groupings; hence, the themes of Bussing (containing 32 items), Desegregation (containing 19 items), Inter-racial social contact (containing 15 items), Stereotypes (also containing 15 items), Denial of continuing discrimination (containing eight items) and, Antagonism towards blacks (containing seven items). Their frequency of use in past research suggested that these themes should also feature prominently in the new scale. One exception to this, however, was the stereotypes theme. Since a number of separate measures exist to assess stereotype beliefs, its inclusion as a basis to inform the new items was considered superfluous.

5.3.2 Comparing final themes

The comparison of the two sets of finalised theme lists highlighted an important point; the content from each of the lists was very similar, with a lot of it duplicating each other under different names. For example, the first three prominent themes of the attitude items, which were, 'Bussing', 'Inter-racial social contact' and, 'Desegregation', essentially linked to the South African theme of 'Segregation'. Similarly, the 'Racial policy', 'Resentment towards implications of black empowerment', and, 'Resentment about special favour toward blacks' items in the attitude data, relayed very similar content to that of the 'Affirmative action' items in the South African data. Furthermore, the 'Acknowledging racism' theme in the South African dataset, essentially described converse content to that of the 'Denial of continuing discrimination' theme in the attitude data. The 'Antagonism towards blacks' theme was directly replicated in both datasets.

Although the remaining themes did not relate as directly, their content still proved very similar. For example, the definition of the 'Past injustices of South Africa' theme suggested that whites bare a responsibility in relation to benefiting and perpetuating racism; this bore similar resemblance to the 'White accountability' theme in the attitude data. Similarly, the repercussions of desegregation items in the South African dataset often described incidents relating to the 'White flight intentions' theme in the attitude dataset. Finally, the 'National identity' theme under the South African list often resembled the cultural difference items in

the international dataset, with the international items suggesting that culture influences race specific identities. In the South African dataset, people's identities were often defined through culture, not only on a personal level, but also with respect to a national identity; the consequence being that, as a result of culture, certain people should be classified South African over others.

In order to reduce the list of themes to base the new items on, for each of the adjoining themes, a shared theme name was adopted and the corresponding items and statements were placed under this theme name; this focussed and reduced the number of thematic references for the new scale items to 10. Table 5.8 lists and illustrates the overlap in content from the two sets of lists and displays the final 10 theme names that were adopted as indices of racism for the new scale.

Table 5.8: The connection of themes between the South African and international data and the final list of themes chosen for the new scale

South African themes	Related International themes	Final 10 theme names chosen
Segregation	Bussing Inter-racial social contact Desegregation	Segregation verses contact
Affirmative action	Racial policy Resentment toward implications of black empowerment Resentment of special favours toward blacks	Racial policy
Acknowledging racism	Denial of continuing discrimination	Acknowledging racism
Past injustices of South Africa	White accountability	Past injustices of South Africa
Repercussions of desegregation	White flight	Repercussions of desegregation
National identity	Cultural difference	National identity/cultural difference
Antagonism toward blacks	Antagonism toward blacks	Antagonism toward blacks
Institutional racism		Institutional racism
Pessimism toward change		Pessimism toward change
Whites as victims		Whites as victims

5.3.3 The role of racial justice as a core emergent theme

The reading of the South African statements in particular had highlighted an important point: many of the opinions expressed which sparked debate and racial animosity were related to perceptions of what constitutes fairness between the races. From many blacks' points of view, South Africa still represents an unequal and unfair society, "In SA, 61% of blacks are poor while only 1% of whites are poor, there is still a big gap between black and white". Another stated, "There are still discriminatory practices based on race when deciding to give out loans to small businessmen, a reflection of the Apartheid era, no changes have taken place", whilst another voiced concern, "The change process is taking place too slowly; it is because there are no opportunities for black talent". The pre-occupation with justice was also illustrated in reference to racial integration, as one black person described, "There are schools that are not prepared to integrate...[they are] excluding black pupils, and discriminating in extra mural activities", whilst another said, "We are still a racist country - a divided society - one black, one white - separate and unequal". Similarly, but from many whites points of view, contemporary South Africa discriminates against whites. In many views this is evident in the application of affirmative action; as several expressions clearly defended; "It's discrimination under affirmative action...it's the exclusion of white people from many jobs..." – "Blacks get the most advantage from affirmative action" – "Does past discrimination against blacks and women justify present discrimination in their favour...?" – "Radicals in the ANC government want to create new laws that will discriminate against whites".

The central focus on issues of justice sparked further examination of the international attitude items. In hindsight, these too had incorporated this issue fairly consistently. For example, items such as, "Blacks have as much right to any job for which they are trained as whites", "There should not be legal restrictions to keep blacks from mixing socially with whites" (Muir & McGlamery, 1984); "Most West Indians living here who receive support from welfare could get along without it if they tried" (Pettigrew & Meertens (1994); "Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve", and, "Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your economic gains compared to those of Negroes/blacks?" (Kinder & Sears, 1981). Similarly, Bobo's (1983) emphasis on the

notion of threat, and perception of oppression and unequal treatment, relate strongly to the notion of racial justice.

The above extracts and attitude items highlight that a central theme inciting racial tension and negative attitudes relates to people's perceptions of what constitutes fairness between race groups. It also appeared that particularly in South Africa, the notion of racial justice was a unanimous topic to which different race groups in South Africa could relate and feel something about. They would therefore be able to provide responses to such an issue in an attitude measure. This, combined with the international evidence, provided a strong argument to use the notion of racial justice as a core theme on which to base the new racial attitude items.

5.4 PHASE 4: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW MEASURE

5.4.1 Item development

Besides the use of racial justice as a central theme, two further issues were considered pivotal in the development of the new items. Firstly, items needed to reflect and incorporate content from the South African database and, secondly, the style employed in the writing of items needed to fall in accordance with contemporary styles of racial attitude assessment. As such, both the statements and attitude items from the previous thematic analyses were consulted closely as a basis to inform content and style of phrasing for the new items.

Where possible, the South African statements were directly used as an item. For example, one statement under the Acknowledging racism theme read, "Racism is one of the main reasons for pessimism towards South Africa". The first impression upon reading this statement was that it reflected a number of similar views in the data; and secondly, and more importantly, the statement gave a good sense of being an attitude item in this specific form. There was no need to alter or change the words or phrasing, since its presentation to the reader was non-threatening and non-offensive, yet at the same time the statement was sufficiently relevant and controversial to South Africa, in order to yield and warrant responses. Alternatively, the new items were also formed on the basis of modifying expressions people had made. For example, items and statements under the 'Racial Policy'

theme consistently made reference to words, such as ‘unfair affirmative action’, ‘reverse discrimination’, and, ‘racist practice’. On the basis of identifying these keywords, the item, “Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism”, was developed. This method therefore, essentially entailed identifying important words from statements in order to convey racial concerns of people in a different manner.

When developing the new items in this manner, the contemporary attitude items were consistently consulted in order to check the manner of phrasing was consistent with contemporary styles of racial attitude items. For example, under the Racial policy theme, one of the statements from the South African database read, “Empowering black people by racial mediums such as affirmative action is racism in itself and is discriminatory”. Upon initial reading of this statement, the tone appeared too blatant, forceful and intimidating for a contemporary racial attitude item; the reading of a contemporary racial attitude item on a similar topic confirmed this; it read, “Many government programs designed to help blacks unfairly discriminate against whites”. The attitude item therefore informed the toning down of the newly developed item, which finally read, “We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa”.

Approximately four items per theme were developed. Some themes, such as the injustices of the past theme, generated more items on account of the substantial array of opinions on the matter.

5.4.1.1 Checking and formalising items

Items were assessed for their clarity, excessive wordiness, and general flow in order to minimise technical faults that may have reduced the reliability of the new measure by compromising reliable responses (Oppenheim, 1992). In order to establish an element of face validity, the new items were subsequently presented to and examined by colleagues also studying the topic of racism in contemporary South Africa. Huysamen (1996) explains that face validity entails, “check[ing] the items in a test to see whether its content appears to be appropriate to the stated purpose of the test” (p. 40). On the basis of this meeting, items were either retained in their original expressed form, modified, or deleted from consideration from the scale entirely. Some statements necessitated modification on the basis of a few word

changes, whilst others necessitated a complete rephrasing. This stage also helped formally establish which items would be reversed scored as some sounded better in favour, or against liberal views. Statements were deleted from consideration entirely if, according to the panel, they were considered repetitious or too ambiguous in content.

5.4.2 Overall scale issues

A five item likert response scale (Likert, 1932) with a neutral midpoint response option was chosen as the response format for the new measure. This response format bares the advantage of assessing subtle differences of opinion (Kanjee, 1999), which, in relation to a topic such as racism, is particularly useful. Since the new scale was considered to measure perceptions of racial justice in South Africa, it was formally termed, the Racial Justice Scale.

Table 5.9 displays the final measure.

Table 5.9: The final scale items

Themes	Items (R indicates reverse scored items)
Past injustices of South Africa	1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past. (R) 2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and to move on and focus on the future. (R) 3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.
Pessimism towards change	4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country. (R) 5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa. 6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.
Antagonism towards blacks	7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa. (R) 8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism. (R)
Segregation verses contact	9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group. (R) 10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa. 11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.
National identity/cultural differences	12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other. (R) 13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.
Repercussions of desegregation	14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated. (R) 15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.
Acknowledging racism	16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa. (R) 17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa. 18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism. (R) 19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.
Institutional racism Whites as victims	20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past. 21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today. (R) 22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.
Racial policy	23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa. 24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past. 25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations. (R) 26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism. (R)

5.5 SUMMARY DISCUSSION

The documentation of a wide range of racial attitude items provided a complex and confusing introductory impression of what constitutes racism in contemporary society. A similar impression was relayed for the local context through the historical review of local expressions on racial issues, which also identified a host of themes generating racial opinion in South Africa. The wide range of issues poses a daunting impression of how one makes sense of racism in society in general, and more specifically, how one measures racism in contemporary South Africa. In spite of these impressions, however, both the content analyses from this study, however, have provided a substantial view on which to base the new scale items, and hence, operationalise racism in contemporary South Africa.

On the one hand, this view integrates international foci, with several themes from the international scene proving equally applicable to South Africa. The evidence of white resistance in the South African media database, particularly in relation to racial policy measures, suggests an important compatibility to that of the international data. In accordance with contemporary theories of racism white hostility in South Africa, has been demonstrated through fierce verbal opposition to affirmative action and quota measures, rather than directly against black people per se. Further links between analyses on themes such as racial separation and contact, white accountability, white flight, antagonism towards blacks, and cultural issues, provide further evidence of content overlap. Such overlap was considered particularly important as its inclusion in the new scale items established an immediate element of content validity in the new scale.

On the other hand however, racial attitudes in South Africa inevitably relay unique, local content. This frequently related to past events in the country, and drew on issues such as apartheid and the inequalities that resulted from such a system. The notion of fairness was drawn on by black, white, Indian, and coloured people of South Africa in different ways to defend their perceived unequal standing in contemporary South African society; a core thematic feature relating to South African attitudes then was the notion of justice. As opposed to measuring anti-black affect and traditional values, as in symbolic racial measures, or subtle forms of prejudice according to subtle prejudice theorists, opposition to racial reform in South Africa appears largely connected to perceptions of racial justice.

The South African database, therefore, was an extremely useful tool in which to develop the new scale items. It not only provided insight into local indices of racism, it also enabled the utilisation of real verbal expressions from South Africans themselves. A distinct advantage to relaying people's own expressions and discourse used in the media, has been that, such local discursive reflections have served to establish an immediate element of face validity for the new scale, since the new items were informed by the very population on which the scale was administered. The items were also written in accordance with the more controversial opinions of South Africans, thus providing provocative content to which people potentially felt strongly about. The South African database of racial issues therefore, provided a means to produce a locally relevant and meaningful product with which South Africans could identify. The literal use of South African people's own expressions on racial issues has established an overall impression of the scale as measuring racial opinion.

The value of using the database as an aid to develop the new items also extended to the issue of ensuring the scale had multi-racial relevance. The analyses provided a means to identify content and hear expressions from black, Indian, white, and coloured groups in South Africa and therefore provided a relational basis with members beyond the white population and hence, could access multi-racial opinions. Another value in using local sources of discourse in this attitude scale is that it has allowed the sample to identify with these words on a level that international scales may not permit. This may be advantageous in challenging a point highlighted by contemporary theories of racism, which suggest valid racial attitude responses may be compromised on the basis of social desirability; if content is familiar, however, this may encourage honesty.

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2: THE RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL JUSTICE SCALE

6.1 METHODOLOGY

6.1.1 Aims of study

This study examines and presents a preliminary investigation of the reliability and validity of the South African Racial Justice Scale (RJS).

6.1.2 Sample and procedure

In order to obtain a diverse sample, a group of undergraduate students from the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus, were initially approached to source respondents. This task was integrated as part of a credit bearing assignment in which students used the RJS to gain experience in social psychological research methods. The advantage of using students was that they were immediately accessible, but enabled subsequent connections to other populations, potentially through their friends external to University, family, and the general public at large. Sixty students each administered the RJS to eight people; a total of 480 questionnaires were therefore received. They were instructed to source four students and four non-students, but to sample for diversity within the groups in terms of race, gender, occupation, and age, and to only include people of voting age, which is presently considered that of 18. Although some students reported going to shopping malls and administering the questionnaire to the general public, most sought responses from University friends from other disciplines, and family and friends at home.

6.1.3 Data collection

Data were collected by means of a questionnaire (see Appendix C). It consisted of two main sections; one detailed introductory issues, whilst the second contained several different measures of racism.

Section 1: Introductory issues

This section consisted of ethical explanations in relation to the study (see Appendix D) and demographic questions. In terms of research ethics, participants were assured that their involvement was voluntary and that responses would remain anonymous. In light of the sensitivity to racism in contemporary South Africa and the fact the questionnaire potentially gave a sense of receiving a score representing levels of racism, participants were also assured of the broad manner in which responses to the questionnaire would be examined, and that conclusions would be used for both scientific publications and conference presentations, and not for individual assessment purposes. Participants were asked to sign the end of the form, confirming their consent to participate in the study.

In terms of the demographic questions, the following pieces of information were required from respondents: their gender, age, race (response options were black, white, Indian, and coloured; these categories fall in accordance with racial groupings used in the latest 2001 South African census poll, citizenship (response options, 'yes' or 'no' to the question: are you a South African citizen?), and, a brief indication of their highest completed education level (response options being; primary school, high school, matric, or tertiary education).

Section 2: Measures of racism

Both concurrent and predictive forms of criterion-related validity were determined by comparing RJS scores with other measures of racism. These were measures of:

Subtle and Old-fashioned racism

Duckitt's Subtle Racism Scale was included as a source of South African concurrent validity. It has proved consistently reliable and valid on a number of occasions (Duckitt, 1990; 1991; 1993; Duckitt and Farre, 1994) and therefore provided a high standard of comparison. The scale reflects a 10-item Likert response scale, which has a theoretical range of 0 to 40, with higher scores indicating greater levels of racism.

As further sources of concurrent validity, four samples of international subtle, and three old-fashioned racism items, were also included. Three of the subtle items were extracted and slightly modified from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) Subtle Prejudice Scale, and read, 1) Other people in this country have overcome prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favour, 2) If blacks would only try harder they would be just as well off as other groups, and, 3) Blacks continue to teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful for life today. The fourth subtle item was sourced from Sears (1988) Symbolic Racism Scale and read; Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted. The subtle items each reflect a five-option Likert response format. Respondents can therefore obtain a subtle racist score, theoretically ranging from 0 to 20, with higher scores indicating greater levels of subtle racism. Both the above scales have proven reliable on a number of occasions (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; 2001; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997), with the Symbolic Racism Scale in particular, demonstrating very good predictive validity (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982; Sears, 1988a; 1988b; Sears, van Laar, & Kosterman, 1997).

The three old-fashioned items were extracted and slightly modified from Pettigrew and Meerten's (1995) Blatant prejudice Scale and read, "The races are different due to a divine plan", and, "Blacks come from a less able race", whilst the third one was derived from McClendon's (1985) racial prejudice items and read, "White people have the right to keep blacks out of their neighbourhoods". The old-fashioned items also reflect a five-option Likert response format; total scores can therefore theoretically range from 0 to 15, with higher scores representing greater levels of Old-fashioned Racism. Both scales have been found to be reliable and valid (McClendon, 1985; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; 2001; Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997).

Political orientation

As Duckitt (1991) points out, in South Africa, political orientation, political party support, and opposition to policy measures, have long been associated with liberal/conservative distinctions. More specifically, left-wing groups have been associated with politically liberal views encouraging racial reform, whilst right-wing with politically conservative, oppositional ones. Contemporary racism posits, however, that such distinctions are not as simple; with the

desire to appear more racially progressive, many people holding racist views may in fact endorse politically liberal parties, evaluate themselves as liberal in their views, and endorse certain political policies. Instead, contemporary racism draws a distinction between competitive versus non-competitive racial policies (Durrheim, 2003). The former are said to represent those policies causing a direct danger to white power (such as affirmative action and racial quotas), whilst the latter refers to those less threatening propositions; for example, agreeing with the principle of racial equality. If the RJS was an accurate measure of contemporary racism, high scores on the RJS should correlate positively and strongly with high policy scores, and particularly with competitive policy scores. Furthermore, RJS scores should be able to predict policy opposition. As sources of predictive validity therefore, the following three measures were included:

Racial policy opinion

Overall, six policy evaluation items were used and adapted from Tuch and Hughes (1996) study of racial policy evaluation. Two of them were non-competitive (items 1 and 3), whilst the other four (items 2, 4-6), were competitive in nature. Respondents were required to respond in terms of a dichotomous rating system of favour versus oppose. The items read: Do you favour or oppose, (1) Spending more money on the schools in largely black neighbourhoods, especially for pre-school and early education programs, (2) Redistributing land, by settling black South Africans on white owned farms, (3) Building houses and providing water and electricity for black people, (4) Racial quotas in national sports teams, (5) Preferential hiring and promotion of blacks in the employment sector, and (6) Affirmative action policies admitting black students to universities?. High scores on the competitive items, but not necessarily on the non-competitive items, particularly for the white and Indian samples, would represent higher levels of subtle racism.

Political self evaluation and party support

As further sources of predictive validity, two more political questions were included. The first of two was a seven-point self-rating scale of very liberal to very conservative. In accordance with contemporary race theories, high scores on the RJS could conceivably correlate positively with self-liberal ratings. The second question assessed political party

support. Only two political party options were provided in response to the question, “Which of the following two political parties would you most likely support in the upcoming elections?” These were, the African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (indicated as the DP and NP alliance on the questionnaire). Since South Africa’s first democratic elections in 1994, overall, the Democratic Alliance (DA) party has competed with the ANC; the two parties therefore represent the two political poles for the majority of voters. The ANC has historically been a proponent of more progressive racial policy measures, whilst the DA, more conservative ones.

Stereotypes and feelings

As sources of construct validity, two measures examining racial stereotyping and feelings towards racial groups were included. Stereotypes were assessed by using a rating scale. Rating scales enable participants to grade their responses, which were in this instance, to questions assessing stereotypes of other groups. These ratings are subsequently summed, providing an indication of the degree to which the respondent stereotypes. In this study, participants were required to assess each of the four race groups on three stereotypes; two reflecting positive traits: intelligence and dependability; and, one reflecting a negative trait: laziness. Responses to the scale were made on an eight point rating scale, ranging from none (respondent received a score of zero), to about half (respondent received a score of four), to all (respondent received a score of eight). Respondents could therefore obtain a theoretical score of 0 to 96, with higher scores representing greater levels of stereotyping.

In a similar manner, a semantic differential scale was used to assess feelings toward other race groups. Originally developed by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957, in Foster, 1991), the scale provides a bipolar rating system, of which the end points represent opposite meanings, for participants to grade their responses to specific questions. For example, if given the statement question, “How warm or cold you feel towards blacks”, respondent’s reply to the options of “none” (representing a score of zero) at one end of the continuum, and “many” (representing a score of eight) on the other end. Responses are assessed by summing the scores for each rating scale (Stahlber & Frey, 1988). Some of the earliest studies in South Africa (Nieuwoudt, Plug & Mynhardt, 1977; Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983, in Foster, 1991) found the semantic scale highly reliable (reliability coefficients ranged from

0.86 to 0.97) and valid, correlating strongly with traditional measures of prejudice. Recent race studies suggest similar validity; Bobo & Zubrinski (1996) for example, used a semantic type scaling system to rate both negative affect and stereotypes toward both in and out-race groups. They found the scale to replicate findings of in-group preference and that minorities consistently give whites higher affective ratings than other outgroups.

In this study, participants were required to use the semantic scale to rate each of the four race groups in terms of: (1) how warm or cold, and (2) how close they consider themselves, in terms of their feelings toward each race group. Responses to the semantic scale were made on an eight point response rating, ranging from none (respondent received a score of zero), to about half (respondent received a score of four), to all (respondent received a score of eight). Respondents could therefore obtain a theoretical score of 0 to 96, with higher scores representing greater negative affect.

Social distance

A social distance measure was also included as a source of construct validity. Social distance measures provide a ranked level of how close or distant a particular person is willing to be with another, or their own group (Foster, 1991). In racism studies, respondents are presented with a statement that asks them to rate their first feeling reaction to willingly admit different race groups into their lives at different levels of intimacy. The levels of interaction increase from as far as ones' country, to marriage with that person; five response options of "any", "most", "some", "few", and "none", are usually provided. Some of the first studies in South Africa using social distance measures were by MacCrone (1937, in Foster, 1991). These were found to be very reliable and valid and since then, numerous studies in South Africa have used this method (Heaven & Groenewald, 1975 in Foster, 1991; Pettigrew, 1960; Van den Berghe, 1962). More recently, social distance measures have been used to assess attitudes toward racial integration (for example, Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Muir & McGlamery, 1984).

Respondents in this study were required to rate their willingness to interact with each of the race groups at the four following levels of intimacy; (1) within one's country, (2) at school, university, or by profession, (3) at home (as personal friends), and (4) through close kinship

or marriage. Responses were given at each level using the five aforementioned response categories; a theoretical score could therefore be obtained at each level, of 0 to 4, with higher scores representing higher levels of desired distance from the applicable race group. Responses at each level can then be summed, providing an indication of total desired interaction with each race group.

6.1.4 Data analysis

In accordance with the quantitative design of this study, statistical procedures were employed to analyse the data. These were performed with the aid of the computer software package, The Statistical Procedures for the Social Sciences programme (SPSS). The main statistical procedures used were; factor and item analyses, correlation exercises, and, regression analyses.

Given that the RJS was newly developed, exploratory factor analyses were performed. Exploratory factor analysis is one of the most valuable and widely used tools in scale construction (Kline, 1998) as it examines and identifies the underlying structure amongst a group of variables and aims to condense these variables into fewer factors (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998). Factor analyses therefore aid an overall sense of what dimensions, or constructs constitute a scale. This seemed particularly relevant in order to establish whether the main issues identified in the content analysis leading to the development of the RJS, did represent clear dimensions for each of the race groups in South Africa.

Factor analysis was also important however, in the sense it provided a transitory measure to further analytic procedures. As Hair et al. (1998) explain, “factor analysis provides the researcher with an empirical assessment of the interrelationships among variables, essential in forming the conceptual and empirical foundation of a summated scale” (p. 119). Since summated scales would provide an indication of a respondents overall performance on the RJS, overall responses by respondents on the RJS and for further evaluation of the scale’s reliability, factor analysis provided an appropriate and useful means toward these ends.

The reliability of the scale was also determined by means of item analyses. Item analyses assess the internal consistency of a scale by examining the degree to which items correlate

with each other (Kanjee, 1999). Those items that yield weak correlations are considered inconsistent with the rest of the items and provide a basis to be deleted from the scale (Kanjee, 1999). Weak items are determined by calculating Cronbach's alpha; this statistic provides a statistical limit on which to assess an items worth in relation to other items. The lower limit is often set at 0.70 (Hair et al., 1998). Item analyses are therefore extremely useful since they facilitate the detection of weak items in a scale that compromise its overall cohesiveness (Oppenheim, 1992).

Correlation exercises served the purpose of validating the RJS in relation to existing racial measures, and with respect to other validity criteria, such as behavioural intentions.

Correlation exercises enable one to understand the precise relationship between variables by means of the correlation coefficient (Durrheim, 1999). One can determine how scores on one measure relate to another, both in terms of strength and direction, with strong relationships being represented by a high correlation coefficient (usually anything from 0.60 – 0.80), and positively directed associations, with high scores on one measure being associated with high scores on another.

Regression analyses enable researchers to understand the predictive capacity of one variable in relation to another. Its use was particularly important in terms of providing further evidence of construct validity in relation to the RJS. As an important theoretically related construct to subtle racism, the successful prediction of the RJS scores in relation to policy measure scores would provide valuable evidence of the scale as a successful measure of contemporary forms of racism.

6.2 RESULTS

The results are presented in three sections; the first describes the sample statistics, whilst the second examines the reliability analyses and overall descriptive statistics of both the RJS and additional racial measures; this is subsequently followed by the validation exercises.

6.2.1 Sample statistics

The mean age of the sample was 27.3 years, and just over half were female ($n = 186$, 51%). Whites constituted the highest proportion of the sample ($n = 134$, 37%), followed closely by Indians ($n = 119$, 32%), Blacks ($n = 76$, 21%), and coloureds constituted a small proportion of the sample ($n = 38$, 10%). Overall, participants reflected a high level of education, with just under half ($n = 171$, 47.2%) having completed some form of tertiary education, or at least having attained a matric qualification ($n = 173$, 47.8%). Only 17 (4.7%) reported having only completed primary school, and only 1 (0.3%), reported primary school as their highest level of education completed.

In terms of political self-evaluations, most people classified themselves as moderate in their political stances ($n = 141$, 38%). This was followed by a liberal stance ($n = 73$, 20%). The least assigned classification was conservative ($n = 13$, 4%), and very conservative ($n = 13$, 4%). Despite the predominance of liberal classifications however, over half the respondents ($n = 207$, 56%) indicated they would vote in favour of the DA party. This number however, provided a distorted impression on account of the dominating white sample size. This was confirmed when party support was examined by race groupings; predictably, 92% of black respondents supported the ANC, whilst 86% of whites supported the DA. Sixty-five percent of the Indian sample also supported the DA, whilst the coloured sample displayed equal support toward both political groups.

6.2.2 Reliability exercises

The Racial Justice Scale

In order to examine the inter-correlations between items on the RJS, a principal component factor analysis was chosen, as this method identifies the minimum number of factors needed to account for the maximum amount of variance in a set of variables (Hair et al., 1998). Separate analyses were performed on each of the race groups for comparative purposes. However, since factor analysis results are dependent in part on sufficiently sized samples (Hair et al., 1998 recommend at least a minimum sample size of 100 for each analysis), the coloured group was omitted from analyses. Kaiser's rule of eigenvalues produced a number

of factors greater than one for each of the race groups, however, scree tests extracted less, with each of the graph's curves evening out at the point of five factors. However, both unrotated and rotated structures (see tables 6.1 – 6.3) proved ambiguous for every race group. Although the white and Indian solutions displayed slightly clearer structures than the Black, the structures were still difficult to interpret; no attempt was made therefore, to name factors.

In light of these results, analyses were run on the total sample in order to assess the scale in a more general manner. A rotated orthogonal varimax analysis provided a better solution than the analyses by race group (see table 6.4). In this instance, four factors were extracted by the Scree test, with each of them explaining 21%, 10%, 8%, and, 5% of the variance respectively. Items generally clumped according to related thematic groupings developed in the preceding study; factor four in particular, reflected all the reverse items of the scale, except for item 22 (“Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past”), however, this loaded negatively onto the factor, confirming these statements as those assessing distinctively negative perceptions toward racial transformation. Overall, the total sample RJS factor results suggested the content analysis from study one relayed four concerns of South African's with racial justice; these were: (1) Means of addressing racism, (2) Racial integration, (3), the implications of racism, and (4) Anti-racial justice.

The clearer dimensions on the total sample suggested evidence that the RJS generally proved coherent. In order to confirm this, the inter-correlations between these factors were examined. This was done by creating un-weighted summated factor scores. These were calculated by summing each of the items on each of the factors and averaging the score to provide a total factor score for each factor; they were named in accordance with the above four factor names; hence, (1) RJS_MAR; (2) RJS_RIT; (3) RJS_IMR; and (4) RJS_ARJ. Overall, correlation analyses displayed good inter-correlations between the factors; RJS_MAR correlated with RJS_RIT ($r = 0.33, p < 0.01$); RJS_MAR with RJS_IMR ($r = 0.59, p < 0.01$); RJS_MAR with RJS_ARJ ($r = 0.66, p < 0.01$); whilst, RJS_RIT correlated with RJS_IMR ($r = 0.43, p < 0.01$); and RJS_RIT with RJS_ARJ ($r = 0.60, p < 0.01$). Finally, RJS_IMR correlated with RJS_ARJ ($r = 0.50, p < 0.01$). Secondary factor analyses were then conducted on these total factor scores. This produced a one factor solution (see

table 6.5) explaining just under 65% of the total item variance; this provided a good rationale to treat the RJS as a uni-dimensional scale.

Item analyses were subsequently run on the 26-item RJS by race group in order to determine weak items. Although the 26-item RJS revealed impressive alpha's (white, $\alpha = .83$; black, $\alpha = .75$; Indian, $\alpha = .68$; coloured, $\alpha = .72$), they also highlighted that certain items reduced alpha in each of the race groups. These were items 4 and 7 in both the black and Indian sample; item 10 in both the coloured and Indian sample; and, item 20 in both the Indian and white sample. The omission of the aforementioned items increased reliability overall (see table 6.5). Although the white alpha slightly weakened as a result, this was not dramatic and hence, proved unproblematic.

A total score on the 22-item RJS was therefore calculated for each respondent (see table 6.6 for results). This scale bore a theoretical range of 0 to 88, with higher scores indicating greater levels of racism. Graph 6.1 displays the spread of total scores by race group. The overall distribution of scores was roughly symmetrical. However, by race group, the patterns slightly deviate from the normal distribution, but not dramatically. The graph illustrates clearly that both the white and Indian samples scored higher ($F(3:362) = 46.1, p = <0.000, \eta^2 = 0.23$). The final alphas on the 22-items RJS scale are very impressive for all the race groups, with all exceeding 0.70.

Table 6.1: Black sample rotated factor analysis of 26-item RJS

Black sample (n = 76)						
Items	Factors					Comm- unity
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past (R)		.495		.320	.314	.334
2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and to move on and focus on the future. (R)	.311		-.525	.332	-.356	.706
3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.	.345			.388	.411	.574
4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country. (R)		-.660				.540
5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa.	.357	.608				.554
6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.	.403	.539			.347	.630
7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa. (R)					-.408	.580
8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism. (R)				.472		.431
9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group. (R)			.630			.630
10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa.			.411	-.631		.411
11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.			.715			.501
12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other. (R)		-.331	.369			.578
13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.			.769			.610
14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated. (R)	.402		.373			.704
15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.		.482		.446		.602
16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa. (R)		.735				.464
17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa.	.518			.432		.450
18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism. (R)	.709					.522
19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.			.312		.603	.479
20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past.			.301	.488		.420
21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today. (R)					-.587	.610
22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.				.824		.464
23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa.	.398	.301		.345		.481
24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past.	.629				.323	.444
25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations. (R)	.665					.554
26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism. (R)	.806					.610

Note: Only factors exceeding 0.30 are shown in this, and all subsequent factor analyses.

Table 6.2: White sample rotated factor analysis of 26-item RJS

White sample (n = 133)						
Items	Factors					Comm- unality
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past (R)		.319		.484		.654
2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and to move on and focus on the future. (R)			.743			.589
3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.	.384					.516
4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country. (R)	.572				-.405	.311
5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa.					.708	.563
6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.	.379			.311	.525	.455
7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa. (R)					-.521	.562
8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism. (R)	.387		.530			.455
9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group. (R)	.752					.563
10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa.	.718					.640
11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.	.627					.449
12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other. (R)	.515					.605
13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.	.550		-.474	.319		.688
14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated. (R)	.696		.326			.481
15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.			.665			.688
16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa. (R)				.418		.398
17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa.				.583		.425
18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism. (R)	.433			.358		.647
19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.	.499		-.307	.511		.438
20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past.		.365			.614	.562
21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today. (R)		.382		.333	-.304	.726
22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.				.453		.329
23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa.		.611				.451
24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past.		.797				.425
25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations. (R)		.546	.384			.605
26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism. (R)	.311	.733				.547

Table 6.3: Indian sample rotated factor analysis of 26-item RJS

Indian sample (n = 117)						
Items	Factors					Comm- unality
	1	2	3	4	5	
1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past (R)	.476		-.374			.427
2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and to move on and focus on the future. (R)					.674	.541
3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.	.379	.332			.378	.442
4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country. (R)				-.672		.606
5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa.				.703		.579
6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.				.728		.541
7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa. (R)		-.399		-.438	.386	.499
8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism. (R)	.610					.467
9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group. (R)			.724			.387
10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa.		.388	.364			.397
11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.			.535			.424
12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other. (R)					.425	.499
13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.			.571			.591
14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated. (R)		-.546	.332			.402
15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.	.445	.527				.496
16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa. (R)		.677				.515
17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa.		.663				.499
18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism. (R)					.619	.515
19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.		.539				.559
20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past.		.343	-.394			.221
21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today. (R)	.571					.496
22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.		.388				.285
23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa.	.495	.313				.583
24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past.	.620	.393				.429
25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations. (R)	.658					.515
26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism. (R)	.719		.328			.387

Table 6.4: Total sample rotated factor analysis of 26-item RJS

Total sample (n = 365)					Commun- ality
Items	Factors				
	MA*	RIT*	RIP*	ARJ	
1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past (R)	.597				.382
2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and to move on and focus on the future. (R)	.318	-.498		.350	.488
3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.	.541				.394
4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country. (R)		.495	-.481		.482
5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa.			.793		.639
6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.			.642		.501
7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa. (R)			-.358	.494	.397
8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism. (R)	.579				.420
9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group. (R)		.493		.550	.570
10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa.		.635			.438
11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.		.530			.394
12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other. (R)		.301		.389	.257
13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.		.633			.439
14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated. (R)				.732	.586
15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.	.560				.406
16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa. (R)	.304		.428		.370
17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa.	.403		.389		.324
18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism. (R)			.341	.449	.321
19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.		.569			.433
20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past.			.357		.195
21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today. (R)	.528				.395
22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.	.418			-.354	.307
23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa.	.692				.530
24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past.	.766				.635
25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations. (R)	.646				.551
26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism. (R)	.698				.605

*Factor 1 = Means of addressing racism; factor 2 = Racial integration; factor 3 = Implications of racism; and factor 4 = Anti-racial justice.

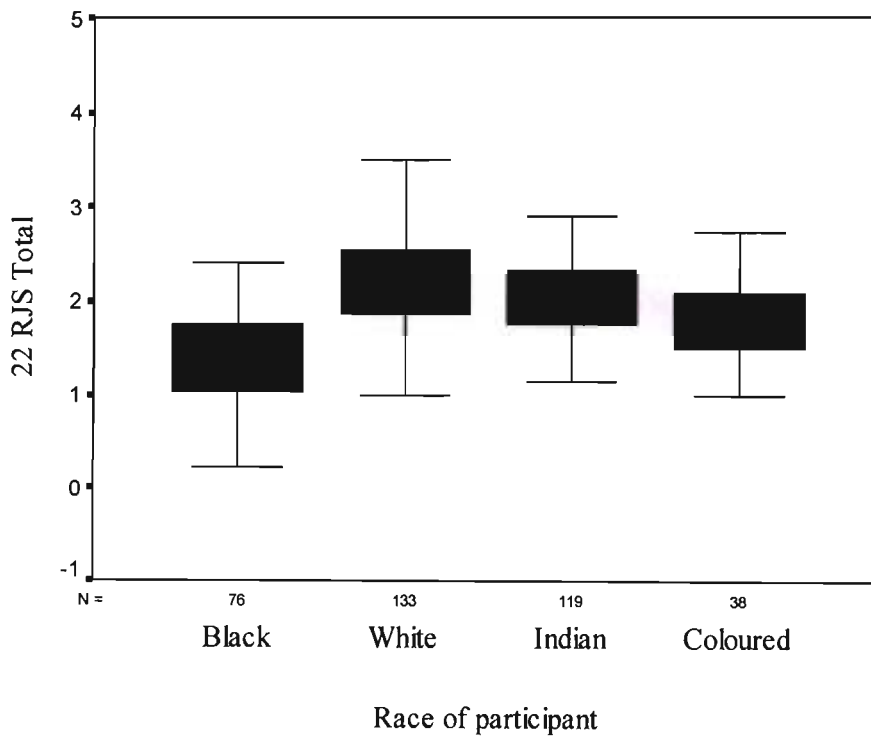
Table 6.5: Secondary factor analysis of 4 total sample factors

Factors	Factor loadings	Communality
(1) Means of addressing racism	.818	.670
(2) Racial integration	.728	.530
(3) Implications of racism	.785	.616
(4) Anti-racial justice	.874	.764

Table 6.6: Descriptive scale statistics by race on RJS.

Race group	22-item RJS			
	N	Mean	SD	Alpha
Black	76	1.4	0.49	.79
White	133	2.2	0.51	.82
Indian	119	2.0	0.43	.72
Coloured	38	1.8	0.46	.74

Graph 6.1: Distribution of total RJS scores by race



Duckitt's Subtle Racism Scale (DSR)

Separate principal component factor analyses were also performed on each of the black, white, and Indian race groups; the white sample was examined first. Initially, Kaiser's rule of eigenvalues produced four factors, explaining just under 65% of the common item variance. However, a Scree test extracted less, confirming Duckitt's (1990; 1991) one factor solution. This provided a clear interpretation (see Appendix E), with all items (except item eight – It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equitable division of the wealth in this country) with loadings exceeding 0.60 (except for items two and nine). Predictably, the black and Indian samples produced less clear results. Kaiser's rule of eigenvalues produced four factors for each group, explaining just under 63% of the common item variance in both analyses. Both sets of Scree tests extracted less factors, with the graph's curve evening out at the point of two factors, however this solution only accounted for just over 28% of the common item variance. As such, rotated varimax solutions, extracting four factors, were conducted for each of the black and Indian samples. The results however, were ambiguous (also see appendix E).

In contrast, the reliability analyses generated fairly strong alpha's for all race groups, with the black and coloured samples predictably yielding the lowest alphas out of everyone. In light of the strong alpha's, total scores on the DSR were created for each respondent by summing and averaging responses to each of the 10 items. The scale statistics for the DSR are reported in table 6.7. Overall, the distributions of scores were normal, but slightly negatively skewed. This was also consistent according to racial groupings, except for the coloured sample, with was slightly positively skewed. Whites and Indians displayed higher scores ($F(3:359) = 21.6, p = <0.000, \eta^2 = 0.38$).

Table 6.7: Descriptive scale statistics by race on Duckitt's subtle racism scale.

Race group	Duckitt's subtle racism scale			
	N	Mean	SD	Alpha
Black	76	1.0	0.48	0.59
White	131	1.7	0.74	0.83
Indian	118	1.5	0.56	0.66
Coloured	38	1.2	0.49	0.60

Subtle and Old-fashioned racism

Principal component factor analyses were once again performed on the subtle racism items for all race groups, but for the white and Indian sample only on the old-fashioned racism items, since the apparently blatant racist sentiment of these items would have proved inappropriate for the black and coloured sample. As predicted, both sets of items loaded onto one factor in each of the race groups tested (see Appendix F). The one factor solution for the subtle racist items generally yielded very high loadings for all race groups, although the Indian sample yielded the highest results, with 59% of the variance being accounted for in the first factor, with all factor loadings exceeding 0.70. The results were similar in the black and white sample, except for item one (Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted, Sears, 1988), which yielded loadings of 0.50 and 0.68 for these two groups respectively, verifying that this item was extracted from a different source to the remaining items from Pettigrew and Meertens (1995). The old-fashioned racism factor solution also generated good loadings, with 68% of the variance being accounted for in the white sample, versus 62% in the Indian sample.

The subtle and old-fashioned items also proved adequately reliable in all applicable race groups (see table 6.8 for cronbach alpha's). Total scores were created for each respondent on both sets of items by summing each of the responses to each of the items, producing a total subtle, and old-fashioned racist score; table 6.7 displays the descriptive statistics. The distributions of scores for the subtle items by race group were normal, except for the black sample which displayed a slightly negative distribution of scores. Whites, Indians, and coloureds displayed the highest scores on these items ($F(3:362) = 16.5, p < 0.000, \eta^2 = 0.79$). The distributions of scores for the white and Indian sample on the old-fashioned items were, predictably, negatively skewed, and not statistically significant ($t(249) = 1.2, p = 0.090$).

Table 6.8: Descriptive scale statistics by race group on subtle and old-fashioned racism items.

Race group	Subtle racism items				Old-fashioned racism items			
	N	Mean	SD	Alpha	N	Mean	SD	Alpha
Black	75	2.3	0.90	0.67	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
White	131	3.1	0.86	0.73	132	2.1	0.94	0.76
Indian	119	3.2	0.90	0.76	118	2.0	0.81	0.68
Coloured	38	3.0	0.90	0.76	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Policy orientation

Since policy opposition has been linked to white responses (Bobo & Smith, 1994; Sears, 1988; Sears et al., 1997), and, since it was anticipated white and Indian South Africans would demonstrate similar responses, principal factor analyses were only conducted on these groups. Rotated varimax solutions provided very clear structures (see appendix F), with both eigenvalues and Scree tests confirming the extraction of two factors for both race groups. These accounted for 58% and 56% of the common item variance in each of the white and Indian samples respectively. Each of the competitive and non-competitive items clearly loaded onto the two factors in each of the solutions, with minimum loadings of 0.60 in the white sample and, 0.50 in the Indian solution.

Responses to the six policy items were made on a dichotomous rating system of 'favour' verses 'oppose'. Three types of total scores were calculated for the white and Indian samples:

- (1) Total policy score – this provided a total score for each respondent and entailed summing and averaging all six policy items for each respondent. Respondents could obtain a theoretical score of 0-6, with higher scores representing overall resistance to policy reform measures.
- (2) Total non-competitive policy score – this provided a total score on the non-competitive items (items 1 and 3) and entailed summing and averaging these for each respondent. A theoretical score of 0-2 could be obtained, with higher scores representing greater levels of resistance to non-competitive policies.
- (3) Total competitive policy score – this provided a total score on the competitive items (items 2, 4-6) and entailed summing and averaging these items for each respondent. A theoretical score of 0-4 could be obtained, with higher scores representing greater resistance to competitive policies.

The distributions of total policy scores for both samples were fairly normal (see table 6.9), with the Indian group scoring slightly lower overall. The white sample scored lower on the non-competitive items and higher on the competitive items; however, neither of these were

significant ($t(246) = -0.55, p = 0.43$ and; $t(242) = 3.0, p = 0.007$ for each of the groups respectively).

Table 6.9: Descriptive statistics of different policy scores by race

Race group	Policy scores								
	Overall			Non-competitive			Competitive		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
White	130	0.60	0.21	132	0.16	0.31	130	0.82	0.25
Indian	114	0.53	0.25	132	0.18	0.32	130	0.71	0.31

Stereotype, Feeling, and Social distance measures

Reliability statistics for all three measures were varied (see table 6.8). The stereotype and social distance cronbach alpha’s were particularly good; in contrast, the feeling ones were generally poor. To recall, respondents were required to rate on an eight point rating system, each race group on three different stereotypes: (1) dependability, (2) intelligence, and (3) laziness (variables 1 – 12, see Appendix C, pg 118-120 for all subsequent reference to variables); two types of feelings: (1) warmth/coldness, and (2) closeness (variables 13 – 20); and finally on the social distance measure, willingness to interact with each race group at four different levels of interaction: (1) in the same country, (2) in the same university, (3) as a friend, and (4) by marriage (variables 21 – 36).

Two types of total scores were calculated for the stereotype, feeling, and social distance (SD) measures:

(1) A race specific score – this provided a sense of how individual race groups were rated by respondents and entailed summing and averaging variables in sets of: 1–3 (stereotypes), 13–14 (feelings), and 21–24 (social distance) to examine these criteria toward blacks as a group, variables 4–6, 15–16, and 25–28 to examine the same three criteria toward whites, variables 7–9, 17-18, and 29–32 to examine responses toward Indians, and lastly, variables 10–12, 19–20, and 33–36 to examine responses toward coloureds. A theoretical score of 0-24 on stereotyping; 0-16 on feelings; and 4-20 on social distance could be obtained, with higher scores representing higher levels of each toward specific race groups.

(2) An outgroup collective score – this provided a total score for how specific race groups rated all three other race groups collectively on stereotyping, feelings, and social distance. It entailed summing and averaging variables in sets of: 4–12, 15–20, 25–36, to examine black responses toward the other three groups collectively; variables 1–3 and 7–12, 13–14 and 17–20, and 21–24 and 30–36, for the white sample; variables 1–6 and 10–12, 13–16 and 19–20, and 21–28 and 33–36 for Indians; and finally, variables 1–9, 13–18, and 21–32 for the coloured sample. A theoretical score of 0–72; 0–48; and 4–60 for each of the stereotype, feeling, and social distance scores respectively, could be obtained, with higher scores representing higher levels of racial stereotyping, greater anti-racist affect, and greater levels of racial avoidance from one race group towards the other three collectively.

Both sets of totals are reported in table 6.10. A filter option was used to examine responses towards specific race groups. Inevitably, race groups displayed less stereotyping, more favourable feelings and less social distance toward racial in groups. However, blacks stereotyped coloureds the highest, and displayed the greatest negative affect and social distance toward Indians. Whites stereotyped blacks the highest, displayed equal, and great amounts of negative affect toward black, Indians, and coloureds, and greatest social distance toward Indians. Indians in contrast, displayed consistent high stereotypes, negative affect, and social distance toward blacks and coloureds. The coloured sample should be interpreted with caution considering their relative sample size to other groups, however, results suggested, no difference between levels of stereotyping of race groups, but the greatest negative affect was held toward whites, and social distance toward Indians. The collective outgroup totals reflected that Indians and whites stereotyped the most; blacks and whites displayed the greatest negative affect, and Indians the greatest social distance.

Table 6.10: Descriptive statistics by race on the race specific and race collective scores for stereotypes, feeling, and social distance measures.

Race groups		Descriptive statistics					
		Stereotypes		Feelings		Social distance	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Black* toward:	Black	2.7	0.90	2.3	1.6	1.8	0.77
	White	3.4	1.21	4.2	1.71	2.5	1.10
	Indian	3.4	1.13	4.5	1.84	3.0	1.26
	Coloured	3.5	1.20	3.5	1.64	2.4	1.05
	White, Indian, Coloured collectively	3.4	1.02	4.1	1.33	2.6	1.03
White* toward:	White	2.0	0.59	2.6	1.43	1.8	0.77
	Black	3.7	1.19	4.1	1.46	2.5	1.10
	Indian	3.3	1.03	4.1	1.40	3.0	1.26
	Coloured	3.5	1.10	4.1	1.43	2.4	1.05
	Black, Indian, Coloured collectively	3.5	0.98	4.1	1.21	2.6	1.03
Indian* toward:	Indian	2.8	1.09	2.4	1.67	1.9	0.60
	Black	3.9	1.26	3.8	1.47	2.8	0.87
	White	3.3	1.18	2.4	1.67	2.6	0.77
	Coloured	3.7	1.01	3.8	1.18	2.8	0.85
	Black, White, Coloured collectively	3.6	0.93	3.9	1.03	2.7	0.75
Coloured* toward:	Coloured	3.0	1.11	2.1	1.64	1.8	0.75
	Black	3.0	1.13	3.4	1.70	2.4	0.83
	White	3.0	1.02	3.7	1.27	2.3	0.82
	Indian	3.0	0.97	3.6	1.44	2.5	0.73
	Black, White, Indian, collectively	3.0	0.76	3.6	1.04	2.4	0.66

*Note – Black N’s vary between 75-76; White N’s between 132-134; Indian N’s vary between 115-119; and coloured N’s vary between 36-38.

6.2.3 Validity exercises

Construct validity

The RJS, the DSR, and the subtle and old-fashioned racist items, were correlated with the stereotype, feeling, and social distance scores (see table 6.11) in order to examine their relationship with these racist criteria. Predictably, the results were poor for the black sample, with no significant correlations being found with any scale on any of the stereotype, feeling, and social distance criteria. The white and Indian samples, however, displayed fairly good correlations on most criteria with each of the scales. However, the DSR yielded higher correlations in general for most criteria on each of these samples. Interestingly, the old-fashioned items yielded the highest correlations between feeling scores on the white sample.

Table 6.11: Relationship between validity criteria and various racial measures and items.

Race group	Validity criteria	RJS	DSR	Subtle items	Old-fashioned items
Black	Stereotypes	0.07	0.20	-0.04	n/a
	Feelings	-0.22	0.03	-0.05	n/a
	SD	-0.07	0.18	0.00	n/a
White	Stereotypes	0.52**	0.59**	0.56**	0.55**
	Feelings	0.40**	0.48**	0.40**	0.54**
	SD	0.54**	0.55**	0.47**	0.53**
Indian	Stereotypes	0.13	0.16	0.26**	0.20**
	Feelings	0.29	0.37**	0.14	0.09
	SD	0.20*	0.38**	0.29**	0.36**
Coloured	Stereotypes	0.22	0.21	0.29	n/a
	Feelings	0.10	0.30	0.14	n/a
	SD	0.36	0.30	0.34*	n/a

Note: ** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level

Concurrent validity

The Pearson’s product-moment correlation coefficient was used to assess the relationship between the RJS and the other racial measures (see table 6.12). Once again, each race group was examined separately for comparative purposes. Both the South African scales showed impressive correlations, with each other and the subtle and old-fashioned items. In particular, the RJS yielded the highest correlation between the DSR and the subtle items in the black sample. The DSR, however, yielded slightly higher correlations between the subtle items in all other three race groups. In terms of the old-fashioned racism items, the RJS correlations were only significant in the white sample and not the Indian. Duckitt’s subtle racism scale, however, yielded significant correlations between both the white and the Indian groups.

Table 6.12: Correlation statistics by race group for both the RJS and Duckitt’s subtle racism scale.

Measure	Correlation coefficients							
	RJS				Duckitt’s Subtle Racism Scale			
	Black	White	Indian	Col	Black	White	Indian	Col
Duckitt’s Subtle Racism Scale	0.56**	0.70**	0.46**	0.46**	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Subtle racism items	0.50**	0.64**	0.29**	0.36*	0.42**	0.73**	0.57**	0.55**
Old-fashioned racism items	n/a	0.51**	0.14	n/a	n/a	0.77**	0.49**	n/a

Note: ** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level

Predictive validity

Correlations were examined in order to determine the relationship between the racism scales and racism criteria of: political orientation, party support, and policy views (see table 6.13). No significant correlations were found between any of the scales on political orientation or political party preference. The main associations between these criteria and the four measures were found in the white sample, although these were weak associations. The DSR and old-fashioned items were found to correlate the strongest with political orientation in this group and inspection of the means showed that those who classified themselves as very conservative scored high on all four scales. The DSR was also found to correlate the strongest in this group between political party preference. In the Indian sample, the subtle items yielded the strongest correlation with party preference, whilst political orientation yielded no significant correlations between any of the scales for this group. The RJS was the only scale to yield any significant correlation on the coloured sample; this was between party preference.

The DSR yielded the highest correlations in the white group on overall and non-competitive policy scores. The old-fashioned items also yielded a fairly high correlation on the non-competitive scores. The RJS, however, yielded the highest correlation for this group on the competitive scores. The RJS also stood out as having the strongest correlation between overall policy scores for the Indian sample. The subtle items correlated the strongest with the non-competitive items for this group and the old-fashioned items with the competitive items, although the RJS also correlated fairly strongly on this criterion.

Table 6.13: Correlations between racism scales and racist validity criteria

Race group	Validity criteria	Correlation coefficients				
		RJS	DSR	Subtle racism items	OFR items	
Black	Political orientation	0.24*	0.17	0.44	n/a	
	Political party preference	-0.00	0.00	-0.0	n/a	
White	Political orientation	0.31**	0.34**	0.31**	0.37**	
	Political party preference	0.31**	0.35**	0.28**	0.21*	
	Racial policy	Overall	0.60**	0.70**	0.64**	0.44**
		Non-competitive	0.43**	0.56**	0.45**	0.50**
Competitive	0.47**	0.32**	0.37**	0.23**		
Indian	Political orientation	-0.09	0.01	0.00	0.12	
	Political party preference	0.20*	0.23*	0.40**	0.20*	
	Racial policy	Overall	0.50**	0.29**	0.38**	0.16
		Non-competitive	0.25**	0.28**	0.48**	0.26**
Competitive	0.46**	0.14	0.18	0.56**		
Coloured	Political orientation	0.13	0.24	0.21	n/a	
	Political party preference	0.42*	0.27	0.27	n/a	

Note: * Correlation significant at the 0.01 level

** Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

Multiple regression analyses were subsequently conducted on the RJS, DSR, subtle, and old-fashioned items to examine their predictive capacity in relation to these criteria. The political orientation and party support measures were examined first. Only the white and Indian samples were examined for party support, since both the black and coloured groups were deemed inappropriate on account of their weak correlation results and small sample size respectively, and only the white sample was examined for political orientation, since the Indian sample yielded insignificant correlations on this criterion. Regression equations were constructed for political orientation and party preference, using the RJS, DSR, and subtle items as predictors (see table 6.14). Each of the subtle racism scales were entered into the model, using a stepwise model to identify the best significant predictors. In the white sample, political orientation was predicted best by the old-fashioned items, whilst party preference was best predicted by the DSR in the white sample and the subtle items in the Indian sample.

Table 6.14: Regression models for political orientation and party preference

Race group	Predictive criteria	Model	Predictors	Beta	t	P	Partial r
White	Political orientation	F(1:123) = 18.1, $p < 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.13$	RJS	0.150	1.55	0.124	0.139
			DSR	0.114	0.86	0.394	0.077
			Subtle items	0.116	1.06	0.292	0.95
			OFR items	1.359	4.26	0.000	0.563
	Political party preference	F(1:118) = 14.9, $p < 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.11$	RJS	0.141	1.13	0.258	0.105
			DSR	0.336	3.86	0.000	0.156
			Subtle items	0.099	0.77	0.440	0.071
			OFR items	-0.102	-0.75	0.452	-0.070
Indian	Political party preference	F(1:107) = 20, $p < 0.000$, $R^2 = 0.157$	RJS	0.116	1.25	0.212	0.121
			DSR	0.016	0.148	0.883	0.014
			Subtle items	0.397	4.47	0.000	0.208
			OFR items	0.41	0.427	0.670	0.041

Regression equations were then constructed for each of the overall policy totals, non-competitive, and competitive totals using the three racial measures of the RJS, the DSR, and the subtle and old-fashioned items as predictors (see table 6.15). The stepwise method identified the RJS as the best predictor of policy opposition; however, since it contained a number of items relating to affirmative action, the correlations may have been spurious. In order to test this, the four policy questions (i.e.; item 23, “we need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa; item 24, “Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past; item 25, “Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organizations; and, item 26, “Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism”) were omitted, and an 18-item RJS score was created for each respondent by summing and averaging responses on these variables.

Regression equations were then constructed for each of the policy totals using the 22-item RJS, the 18-item RJS, the DSR, and the subtle and old-fashioned items as predictors. In this instance the analysis confirmed the spurious findings, with the 18-item RJS operating as a less efficient predictor in both samples. Instead, the stepwise method identified the DSR and the subtle items as the best predictors for overall policy scores in the white and Indian samples respectively. Overall, the DSR appeared to work better for the white sample, with it also being identified as the best predictor for the non-competitive items in this group; whilst the subtle items appeared better for the Indian sample, with these items predicting the non-

competitive items in this group best. However, the 18-item RJS appeared to be the best predictor for the competitive items in the white sample.

Table 6.15: Regression models for policy items

Race group	Predictive criteria	Model	Predictors	Beta	t	P	Partial r
White	Total policy	$F(1:119) = 65.20, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.35$	22-RJS	0.595	8.075	0.000	0.250
			18-RJS	-0.325	-1.208	0.226	-0.111
			DSR	0.319	3.117	0.002	0.276
			Subtle items	0.268	2.895	0.005	0.258
			OFR items	0.174	2.072	0.040	0.18
	Non-competitive	$F(1:121) = 56.36, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.318$	22-RJS	0.077	0.711	0.478	0.065
			18-RJS	0.147	1.407	0.162	0.127
			DSR	0.564	7.508	0.000	0.247
			Subtle items	0.139	1.272	0.206	0.115
			OFR items	0.158	1.309	0.193	0.119
	Competitive	$F(1:119) = 32.95, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.217$	22-RJS	0.466	5.740	0.000	0.231
			18-RJS	-0.783	-2.728	0.007	-0.244
			DSR	0.080	0.681	0.497	0.063
			Subtle items	0.123	1.175	0.242	0.108
			OFR items	-0.020	-0.209	0.835	-0.019
Indian	Total policy	$F(1:111) = 37.35, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.252$	22-RJS	0.502	6.112	0.000	0.294
			18-RJS	-0.624	-2.221	0.028	-0.207
			DSR	0.077	0.831	0.408	0.079
			Subtle items	0.258	3.108	0.002	0.284
			OFR items	0.100	1.209	0.229	0.115
	Non-competitive	$F(1:113) = 38.15, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.252$	22-RJS	0.141	1.666	0.099	0.156
			18-RJS	0.145	1.753	0.082	0.163
			DSR	0.068	0.691	0.491	0.065
			Subtle items	0.502	6.177	0.000	0.183
			OFR items	0.085	0.970	0.334	0.091
	Competitive	$F(1:111) = 32.19, p < 0.000, R^2 = 0.225$	22-RJS	0.474	5.674	0.000	0.336
			18-RJS	-0.719	-2.529	0.013	-0.234
			DSR	-0.035	-0.369	0.712	-0.035
			Subtle items	0.079	0.900	0.370	0.086
			OFR items	0.001	0.008	0.994	0.001

6.5 SUMMARY DISCUSSION

The preliminary investigation of the overall reliability of the RJS indicated the scale to be internally consistent. Although by race group, the factor analysis structures were not clearly interpretable, the factor analysis conducted on the overall sample, provided a more positive reflection of the RJS as a coherent, uni-dimensional scale. The results, however, indicated the RJS to be particularly good for the white and Indian sample of South Africans, with strong Cronbach alpha's proving the scale internally consistent for both groups. In fact, the RJS Cronbach alpha for the white sample exceeded that of the subtle items and was only slightly exceeded by the subtle items in the Indian sample, suggesting the RJS provides more reliable content than the international content for the local population. The RJS also appeared to be a more reliable scale for the sample than the other local measure, Duckitt's subtle racism scale, with the RJS Cronbach alpha in the Indian sample exceeding that of Duckitt's subtle racism scale. This reinforces the RJS as a valuable product through which to access views locally, beyond simply the white population.

The RJS also displayed good evidence of construct validity suggesting it succeeded as a measure of Subtle and Symbolic forms of racism. This was established through the good correlations on the white sample with Pettigrew and Meerten's (1994) Subtle Racism items and Sear's (1988) Symbolic Racism item. It was also anticipated that whites and Indians would score fairly high on the new scale since similar levels of racism have been linked to these groups in past studies (for example, Pillay-Singh and Collins, 2004). This was confirmed in this study, providing evidence of the RJS as demonstrating further evidence of construct validity. Furthermore, the RJS's positive correlation with validity criteria such as, political orientation in the white sample, and party support in both the white and Indian groups, reinforces the scale's applicability and validity to these groups.

The RJS also demonstrated good concurrent validity, yielding strong correlations between it and the international subtle items. It also adequately performed against its South African counter, Duckitt's subtle racism scale in this respect. In fact, an important contrast was Duckitt's very strong correlation, particularly for the white sample, with the Old-fashioned items. This is consistent with the suggestion that Duckitt's subtle racism scale still reflects content in accordance with the more traditional conceptions of racism and subtle forms of

racism dating the 1980's. this was also reinforced in the correlations found between Duckitt's scale and the more traditional racism criteria of stereotyping, feeling, and social distance scores, which, in the white and Indian samples, yielded some of the strongest correlations overall. Once again, this suggests the RJS may serve as a more relevant, advanced measure of racial attitudes for the post-apartheid South African context than Duckitt's subtle racism scale.

In the same light, however, it could be argued that the strong correlations on these racism criteria suggest that Duckitt's scale demonstrated better construct validity than the RJS and hence, demonstrated better evidence of succeeding as a measure of racism. It is also particularly noteworthy that Duckitt's scale appeared the more successful predictor of the contemporary racist criterion of policy voting. In this respect, there is also evidence to suggest that Duckitt's scale was more successful as a measure of subtle forms of racism than the RJS. This is particularly important in light of those studies mentioned earlier, which note the importance of both subtle, and the more traditional forms of racism in contemporary South Africa, particularly in white South Africans (Duckitt, 2003; Pillay-Singh and Collins, 2004).

On a final and more general note, the preceding study also confirms that the content analysis in study one, and more broadly, that the process of examining local racial issues, was a successful and effective means of establishing racial attitude indices and developing the new items for the scale. The secondary factor analysis in particular, confirmed the thematic groupings originally developed in study one, since items generally clumped according to these original groupings. The fact that similar themes clumped together, also confirmed themes were assessing similar aspects of racial justice, and hence, the reflection of thematic themes appeared to be ones to which people could relate. However, the production of multiple factors and not one, also confirms that racial justice can be understood and assessed in more broad terms and that there are dimensions to perceptions of racial justice in South Africa.

CHAPTER 7

MEASURING RACISM IN CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICA: CLOSING DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1 CLOSING DISCUSSION

To summarise, the development of the RJS aimed to achieve two main objectives. First, it intended to provide the South African context with a more modern, updated measure of racism reflecting the stylistic expression of contemporary theories of racism and the content of contemporary South Africans' concerns. Second, it aimed to ensure the scale had multi-racial value in that different race groups could provide responses to it. The following sections consider these overall objectives in light of the preceding studies' findings.

7.1.1 The RJS as a multi-racial response tool

The present research provided evidence to suggest that overall, the notion of racial justice was a successful thematic device through which to examine resistance to racial reform in South Africa, with the secondary factor analyses in study two providing a generally good indication of the scale's reliability. At the same time, however, the results from study two also suggest some inherent problems in applying the RJS meaningfully across race groups and that, although it proved a good measure for the white and Indian groups, overall, the RJS did not succeed as a multi-racial response tool. The ultimate lack of clarity in how factors were split by race group in the factor analyses, particularly for the black sample, suggests that the scale was not equivalent across race groups.

One possible problematic feature of the RJS may be the specific notion of racism and how this concept is interpreted by different race groups. In hindsight, those items in the RJS referring to the concept of racism; for example, items five to eight: "Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa", "Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa", "Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa,

and, “It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism”; these items may have proved ambiguous for different race groups on account of the fact the term racism may have meant different things to the different groups.

This possibility is reinforced in a study by Roefs (2006), which examined South African perceptions of racism. It found a large discrepancy between different race groups’ ideas of what, how, and to whom the concept of racism affects in contemporary South African society. It established that 63 per cent of a sample of black South Africans felt less discriminated against in contemporary South Africa than did 53 per cent of a sample of whites. Furthermore, 41 per cent of the white sample perceived that race relations in post 1994 South Africa had become worse. This was in contrast to the nine per cent of blacks, 11 per cent of coloureds, and 25 per cent of Indian South Africans. These findings suggest that the concept of racism is interpreted differently by different race groups. Thus, in retrospect, the use of the concept of racism, as in the above items, may have been problematic in that, responses to these items may have been inconsistent across race groups, compromising the scale’s utility as a multi-racial tool. In light of these findings therefore, the present research casts doubt whether it is possible to create a single multi-racial response racial attitude measure.

7.1.2 South Africa and the relevance of contemporary racism

A further issue of equal relevance to this research is the notion of new or subtle racisms. Overall, this research suggests that these concepts may be relevant to the South African context, with both studies providing evidence of similar patterns of contemporary racism findings. For example, study one found policy resistance from South Africans in the form of discursive expressions opposing affirmative action. Furthermore, in study two, the RJS and subtle scales and items did yield higher means than the old-fashioned items, suggesting this style of expression afforded more open responses. Similarly, differences were found on policy scores between competitive and non-competitive items. However, the relevance of old-fashioned racism among the South African white population in the present context cannot be ignored. One of the strongest pieces of evidence for this was the strong correlations it displayed with political orientation and the role it played in predicting this criterion of racism.

The role of old-fashioned racism was also reinforced in this research, particularly in the white sample by the strong correlations with the more traditional racial attitude indicators of stereotypes, negative affect and social distance. The total scores on these criteria also provided evidence of the perpetuation of crude intra-racial assessments of racial groups, with out-group stereotyping, negative affect and social distance generally high for each race group, but particularly so for the white and Indian samples.

This suggests that, in spite of the contemporary racism argument, the traditional dynamics characterising old-fashioned racism are still present in contemporary South African society. This research therefore reinforces Durrheim's (2003) and Pillay-Singh and Collins (2004) findings, which acknowledge the importance of old-fashioned racism, particularly for white South Africans. In sum then, it would seem there is value in utilising and comparing both styles of assessment in racial attitude studies in contemporary South Africa. In this sense, the RJS may serve to complement as opposed to replace the more traditional measures of racism.

7.2 CONCLUSION

Findings of these studies have indicated that the RJS is a useful supplement to Duckitt's (1990; 1991) subtle racism scale. However, the notion of racism in contemporary South Africa is complex. This complexity is further compounded by the fact it appears that both the traditional and more sophisticated styles of racist expression occur in post apartheid South Africa, which necessitates the use of both styles of assessment. As Duckitt and Foster (1991) noted some time ago: "...there is no doubt that the currently changing political circumstances mean that a great deal more attention is going to have to be paid to validating and updating measures of prejudice than has thus far been the case" (p. 201). The present research, although conducted over 15 years since the above quotation was written, still reinforces this need.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The present research introduces a preliminary investigation of the 26-item RJS; evidence from study two, however, suggests that the 22-item RJS may prove more effective; future studies could formally test this. Furthermore, the exclusion of those items relating to racial policy and those items explicitly referring to the concept of racism may also help increase the overall validity of the scale. Further testing of this is also suggested. On the point of perceptions of racism; the development of future racial attitude measures may also benefit from understanding different race groups perceptions of racism and use these to develop group specific measures. The factor analyses of 26-item RJS also indicate four core areas concerning perceptions of racial justice in South Africa; future studies may benefit from testing these as sub-scales on white and Indian samples of South Africans. Furthermore, although the study attempted to obtain a more representative sample, in light of the mean age of the second study's sample, it may not have been very effective in achieving this. Future research on racism still necessitates gaining more public opinion.

Finally, on the point of measuring racism in contemporary South Africa, the context not only represents a racially dynamic society, but also a constantly evolving one. The fluid changes occurring in this society points to the need to constantly re-evaluate and update indices of racism in the context. Furthermore, it appears that, as in the international context, South African research needs to incorporate and focus on both the symbolic and traditional theories of racism.

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APPENDIX A

STUDY1: PHASE 1 – INTERNATIONAL ATTITUDE ITEM DATABASE

(Note: Presented in chronological order of article publication)

Title	Journal	Journal details	Author(s)	Scale name/content	Sub-themes	Scale items
Through the school-house door: Trends in integration attitudes on a deep South campus during the first decade of desegregation	Sociology and Social Research	Vol 58, 1974, pgs 113-121	Muir, D.E.	Perception of negro characteristics		Most negroes are more superstitious than any white persons I have ever met
						Some negroes may be just as capable, intelligent, and worthy of opportunity as the white man but this is the exception rather than the rule.
						The negro is generally shiftless, lazy, and lacks ambition. Most Negroes are not just as trustworthy as most white people I know.
						The moral standards of the South will drop if the Negro is given the same opportunities to use public facilities as the white people.
						American Negroes do not have the capacity to compete with white students in white universities.
						Negroes will probably take revenge on the whites in the South if their economic position is raised to that of the average white person.
						If given an equal chance to obtain a college education at a white institution, most Negroes would become officious, overbearing, and disagreeable.
						I have never met a Negro who is my equal in intelligence.
				Political and economic equality (towards negroes)		All citizens, regardless of race, religion, or creed, should have equal right to stage a protest march or picket against something they dislike.
		Segregation of the races conflicts more with ideals of freedom in a democracy than does desegregation.				
Symbolic racism	Jnl. of Social	Vol 32(2)	McConahay,	Symbolic		Negroes are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

	Issues	1976, pgs 23-45	J.B., Hough Jr., J.C.	racism items		Whites' should support Negroes in their struggle against discrimination and segregation. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America. Negroes have it better than they ever had it before.
Desegregation rulings and public attitude changes: White resistance or resignation?	American Journal of Sociology	Vol, 1978, pgs 698-705	Cardell, K.J.	Attitudes towards desegregation ruling		In general, do you believe that racial integration of the school is a desirable goal?
						In general, do you think that minorities are discriminated against in obtaining jobs?
						If a family of another race with about the same income and education as you moved next door, would you mind it a lot, a little, or not at all?
						Do you or would you object to your children attending a school where some of the students are of another race?
						Would you approve or disapprove of bussing children to a school outside their neighbourhood to achieve racial integration in schools?
						How do you feel about bussing of children from other neighbourhoods into your neighbourhood so that schools will be racially integrated?
						How do you feel about bussing children from your neighbourhood to schools in other neighbourhoods to achieve racial integration?
Prejudice and politics: Symbolic racism verses racial threats to the good life	Journal of Personality and Social Psychology	Vol 40(3) 1981, pgs 414-431	Kinder, D.R., & Sears, D.O.	Personal racial threats: Affect and vulnerability items	Neighbourhood desegregation & interracial social contact	If a Negro/black family with about the same income and education as you moved next door, would you mind a lot, a little, or not at all?
						How likely is it that a few black families will move into this neighbourhood? (very likely to not likely at all)
						How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a Negro/black friend home to dinner? (very strongly to not very strongly)
					Economic competition	Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your economic gains compared to those of Negroes/blacks? (very strongly dissatisfied to not very strongly dissatisfied)
						Have the economic gains of Negroes/blacks been about the same, much greater than, greater than, or less than yours over the past five years?
						In the next few years, it is possible that you or members of your family will have more contact with blacks than you do now.

					How likely is it that you will have a black supervisor at work? (very likely to not very likely)
					In the next few years, how likely is it that members of your family or friends will be denied applications for jobs or promotions because of preferential treatment to member of minority groups? (very likely to very unlikely)
				Racial bussing	How likely is it that black children will be bussed into the elementary schools of this neighbourhood? (very likely to very unlikely)
					How likely is it that children from the elementary schools in this neighbourhood will be bussed to other parts of the city to achieve school desegregation? (very likely to very unlikely)
			Symbolic racism scale		Do you think that most Negroes/blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without if they tried, or do they really need the help? (could get along to could not get along)
					Negroes/blacks shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.
					Because of past discrimination, it is sometimes necessary to set up quotas for admission to college of minority groups students.
					Do you think Los Angeles city officials pay more, less, or the same attention to a request or complaint from a black person as from a white person?
					Of the groups on the card, are there any which you think have gained more than they are entitled to?
					It is wrong to set up quotas to admit black students to college who don't meet the usual standards.
					Over the past few years, blacks have got more than they deserve.
					In Los Angeles, would you say many, some, or only a few blacks miss out on jobs or promotions because of racial discrimination?
			Opposition to bussing		Bussing elementary school children to schools in other parts of the city only harms their education.
					In some cases it is best for children to attend elementary schools outside their neighbourhood.
					Are you in favour of or opposed to the bussing of children to achieve racial desegregation of the public schools? (favour or oppose)
					If the Supreme Court ordered bussing to achieve desegregation

						of the public schools, would you be opposed to it? (favour or oppose)
						If necessary, children should be bussed to achieve racial desegregation of the public schools.
Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is looking and what is asked.	Journal of Conflict Resolution	Vol 25(4), 1981, pgs 563-579	McConahay, J.B., Hardee, B.B., & Batts, V.	Old-fashioned racism items		I favour strong open housing laws that permit minority persons to rent or purchase housing even when the owner does not wish to rent or sell.
						It is a bad idea for blacks and whites to marry one another.
						It was wrong for the United States Supreme Court to outlaw segregation in its 1954 decision.
						If a black family with about the same income and education as I have moved next door, I would mind it a great deal.
						Generally speaking, I favour full racial integration.
						Black people are generally not as smart as whites.
						It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.
						Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
						The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around.
						Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
						Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
						Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
White opposition: To busing or Desegregation?	Social Science Quarterly	Vol 63(1), 1982	McClendon, M.J., Pestello, F.P.	Opposition to bussing scale		Would bussing increase the Akron school costs by a great amount, some, but not greatly, or little or none?
						As far as accidents are concerned, do you think that bussing school children is safer than walking, that walking is safer than bussing, or that there is little or no difference?
						Do you think that children who had to be bussed would be very upset, somewhat upset, or not upset at all about leaving their schools?
						If it were decided to bus your children to a school in a black neighbourhood, would your children's safety worry you a lot, some but not a lot, or not at all?
						In your opinion, would bussing hurt the education of white children, improve their education, or make little or no difference?
						Would bussing improve the education of black children, hurt

					<p>their education, or make little or no difference?</p> <p>In your opinion, would bussing help black and white children to get along better, lead to trouble, or make no difference?</p> <p>Do you think that it is best for children to go to schools in their neighbourhoods even if it means that the schools will be segregated? (response options - yes, no, not sure/other)</p> <p>Do you think that white children and black children should go to the same schools in Akron or to separate schools? (response options - same, separate, don't know/other)</p> <p>Would you yourself have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few (one third, one-half, more than one-half) of the children are black? (response options - object to few, object to third, object to half, object to more than half, no objection to more than half, other)</p> <p>Presently, about one-third of the students in Akron are black. Do you think that every school should have approximately one-third black students? (response options - yes, no, not sure/other)</p> <p>Should something be done to reduce racial segregation in the Akron public schools? (response options – yes, no, not sure/other)</p> <p>Do you think the Akron school board and administration are partly to blame for segregation in the schools or is segregation due entirely to the fact that blacks and whites tend to live in different neighbourhoods? (response options – school board, neighbourhoods, both, don't know/other)</p> <p>Are the facilities, programs, and teachers in mostly black schools as good as those in mostly white schools? (response options – yes, no, don't know)</p> <p>On the average, black students are not doing as well in school as are white students. Do you think that this is mostly the fault of blacks themselves or mostly the fault of the schools? (response options – blacks, schools, both, don't know/other)</p>
Self interest versus racial attitudes on correlates of anti-bussing attitudes	Journal of Politics	Vol 44, 1982, pgs 692-729.	McConahay, J.B.	Opinions with regard to bussing in Louisville and Jefferson County	<p>Generally speaking, do you favour full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races?</p> <p>In principle, do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for children to go to school s that have about the same proportion of blacks and whites as generally exists in the Louisville-Jefferson Country area? (good idea to not good idea)</p>

<p>in Louisville. Is it the buses or the blacks?</p>					<p>To what extent do you favour or oppose bussing to achieve racial desegregation as it has been put into effect here in Louisville and Jefferson County? (strongly favour to strongly oppose)</p> <p>Are you opposed to bussing to achieve racial desegregation in all cases, or could you foresee a situation in which some type of bussing program might be an acceptable means for achieving racial desegregation in the schools in Louisville and Jefferson County? (strongly favour to strongly oppose)</p> <p>Assume that the current bussing plan to achieve racial desegregation is continued again next school year, which statement on this card best describes what action you are likely to take yourself?</p>
<p>Whites opposition to bussing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict?</p>	<p>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</p>	<p>Vol 45(6) 1983, pgs 1196-1210</p>	<p>Bobo, L.</p>	<p>Wording and coding of racial items from the 1972 and 1976 national election studies and the 1974 fall omnibus study</p>	<p>1. <i>Less intelligent.</i> Which of these statements (about the relative intelligence of black and white people, would you agree with:</p> <p>(a) On the average, black people are born with more intelligence than white people.</p> <p>(b) On the average, white people and black people are born with equal intelligence.</p> <p>(c) On the average, white people are born with more intelligence than black people.</p> <p>2. <i>Segregation.</i> Are you in favour of desegregation, strict segregation, or something in between, don't know?</p> <p>3. <i>Keep out.</i> Which of these statements would you agree with:</p> <p>(a) White people have a right to keep black people out of their neighbourhood if they want in.</p> <p>(b) Black people have the right to live wherever they can afford to, just like anybody else.</p> <p>4. <i>Civil rights push.</i> Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough. How about you: do you think that civil rights leaders are trying to push too fast, are going too slowly, or are they moving about the right speed, don't know?</p> <p>5. <i>Actions harmful.</i> Do you think the actions black people have taken have, on the whole, helped their cause, on the whole, hurt their cause, don't know.</p> <p>6. <i>Actions violent.</i> During the past year or so, would you say that most of the serious black people have taken to get things they want have been violent, or have most of these actions been</p>

					peaceful?
					7. <i>Access to accommodation.</i> As you may know, congress passed a bill that says that black people should have the right to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford, just like anybody else. Some people feel that this is something the government should support. Others feel that the government should stay out of the matter. Have you been interested enough in this to favour one side over another; should the government support the right of black people to go to any hotel or restaurant they can afford?
					8. <i>Fair job treatment.</i> Some people feel that if black people are not getting fair treatment in jobs, the government in Washington ought to see to it that they do. Others feel that this is not the federal government's business. Have you had enough interest in this question to favour one side over the other; should the government in Washington see to it that black people get fair treatment in jobs?
Trends in integration attitudes on a deep-south campus during the first two decades of desegregation	Social Forces	Vol 62(4) 1984, pgs 963-972.	Muir, D.E., & McGlamery, C.D.	Social distance scale	If qualified blacks are admitted to the University of Labama, I have no objection to...
					1. Attending class with them.
					2. Sitting next to them in class.
					3. Walking on campus with them.
					4. Eating in the cafeteria at the same table with them.
					5. Having them room with me.
					6. Double dating with them.
				7. Having a date with them.	
				Attitudes regarding political and economic equality	Blacks should be treated exactly like whites by the police and courts.
					Blacks have as much right to any job for which they are trained as whites.
Blacks should have the same voting privileges as whites.					
Attitudes regarding major areas of desegregation	There should be no legal restrictions against blacks running for public office.				
	Blacks should be chosen for jury duty on the same basis as whites.				
	The choice of a marriage partner is a private affair and no legal restrictions should be placed on the choice in terms of race, religion, or creed.				
	Freedom of worship means that all individuals without regard to				

						<p>race should be able to attend any service they choose.</p> <p>There should not be legal restrictions to keep blacks from mixing socially with whites.</p> <p>Desegregation of the University of Alabama is a step in the right direction to improve the quality of citizenship in the state.</p>	
<p>Racism, rational choice, and white opposition to racial change: A case study of bussing</p>	<p>Public Opinion Quarterly</p>	<p>Vol 49, 1985, pgs 214-233</p>	<p>McClendon, M.J.</p>	<p>Prejudice, Expected cost-rewards, and Bussing indicators</p>	<p>Racial prejudice items</p>	<p>How would you feel if a member of your family wanted to bring a black friend home to dinner? (response options - not object to object strongly)</p>	
						<p>Do you think there should be laws against marriages between blacks and whites? (response options - yes verses no)</p>	
						<p>White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighbourhoods?</p>	
						<p>Some people feel that blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.</p>	
						<p>How would you feel if a black family moved into you block? (response options - would like it to be bothered by it a lot)</p>	
						<p>Would you prefer to have a child of yours go to a school that is more than half black, mixed half and half, slightly more white than black, mostly white, or all white?</p>	
						<p>Would you prefer to live in a neighbourhood with more blacks than white, that is mixed half and half, with a few more whites than blacks, that is mostly white, or all white?</p>	
						<p>Symbolic racism items</p>	<p>Do you feel that people are getting financially what they deserve - that is, what is fair? How fairly are black families being treated? Are they getting much more, somewhat more, somewhat less, much less, or about what they deserve?</p>
							<p>Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favours.</p>
					<p>Many government programs designed to help blacks unfairly discriminate against whites.</p>		
					<p>Expected costs-rewards</p>	<p>Do you think that children who had to be bussed would be very upset, somewhat upset, or not upset at all about leaving their schools?</p>	
						<p>If a child of yours was to be bussed to a mostly black school, would your child's safety worry you a lot, some, but not a lot, or not at all?</p>	
						<p>Would bussing hurt the education of white children, improve</p>	

						<p>their education, or make little or not difference?</p> <p>Would bussing help black and white children to get along better, lead to trouble, or make no difference?</p>
					Two-way bussing	<p>In general, would you favour or oppose the bussing of black and white children from one school to another? (response options – favour or oppose)</p> <p>In some cities the courts have found the school officials guilty of illegally segregating the schools. In such cases would you favour or oppose bussing?</p> <p>If bussing were only used as a last resort in such cases, would you favour or oppose it?</p> <p>Would you favour a law that would prohibit bussing? (response options – favour or oppose)</p>
					One-way bussing	<p>How would you feel if a considerable number of black children were bussed to a school that a child of yours attended? (response options – no objection, object somewhat, strongly object)</p>
					Protest intentions	<p>If the courts ordered the bussing of black and white children in Akron - would you:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Give money to help fight the bussing order in court? 2. Write a letter against bussing to either a newspaper editor or to your public officials? 3. Participate in an organized protest march against bussing? 4. Seriously consider keeping a child of yours at home to boycott the schools?
					White flight intentions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Seriously consider moving to another school district outside of Akron to keep a child of yours out of the Akron schools? 6. Seriously consider transferring a child of yours from the public schools to a private school?
Symbolic racism (chapter)	In Katz, P.A. & Taylor, D.A. (Eds.)	Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy. New York: Plenum, 1988, pgs 53-85.	Sears, D.	Symbolic racism scale	Antagonism towards blacks	<p>Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.</p> <p>Blacks shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.</p> <p>Some say that the civil rights people have been trying to push too fast. Others feel they haven't pushed fast enough.</p> <p>It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.</p>
					Resentment about special favours for blacks	<p>Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.</p> <p>Over the past few years, blacks have got more economically than they deserve.</p> <p>The government should not make any special effort to help</p>

						blacks and other racial minorities because they should help themselves.
						Do you think blacks who receive money from welfare programs could get along without if they tried, or do they really need the help?
						Do you think Los Angeles city officials pay more, less, or the same attention to a requests or complaints from a black person as from a white person?
					Denial of continuing discrimination	How many black people in Louisville and Jefferson County do you think miss out on jobs or promotions because of racial discrimination?
						Blacks have it better than they ever had it before.
Subtle and blatant prejudice	European Journal of Social Psychology	Vol 25, 1995, pgs 57-75	Pettigrew, T.F., & Meertens, R.W.	The blatant prejudice scale	Threat and rejection factor items	West Indians have jobs that the British should have.
						Most West Indians living here who receive support from welfare could get along without it if they tried.
						British people and West Indians can never be really comfortable with each other, even if they are close friends.
						Most politicians in Britain care too much about West Indians and not enough about the average British person.
						West Indians come from less able races and this explains why they are not as well off as most British people.
						How different or similar do you think West Indians living here are to other British people like yourself - in how honest they are? (response options - very different, somewhat different, somewhat similar or very similar)
					Intimacy factor items	Suppose that a child of yours had children with a person of very different colour and physical characteristics than your own. Do you think you would be very bothered, bothered, bothered a little, or not bothered at all, if your grandchildren did not physically resemble the people on your side of the family?
						I would be willing to have sexual relationships with a West Indian.
						I would not mind if a suitably qualified West Indian person was appointed as my boss.
						I would not mind if a West Indian person who had a similar economic back ground as mine joined my close family by marriage.
				The subtle	Traditional	West Indians living here should not push themselves where they

				prejudice scale	values items	are not wanted.
						Many other groups have come to Britain and overcome prejudice and worked their way up. West Indians should do the same without special favour.
						It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If West Indians would only try harder they could be as well off as British people.
						West Indians living here teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful in Britain.
					Cultural differences items	How different or similar do you think West Indians living here are to other British people like yourself in:
						1. The values that they teach their children?
						2. Their religious beliefs and practices?
						3. In their sexual values or sexual practices?
						4. In the language that they speak? (response options - very different, somewhat different, somewhat similar, or very similar)
					Positive emotions items	Have you ever felt the following ways about West Indians and their families living here:
						1. Sympathy for West Indians living here?
						2. Admiration for West Indians living here? (response options – very often, fairly often, not too often, never)

APPENDIX B

STUDY 1: PHASE 3: CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENT EXAMPLES

Further examples of controversial statements used as a basis to identify important themes from the South African newspaper statements

Theme name	Statement examples
Affirmative action	"One form of racism, namely Apartheid, must not be replaced by another form, namely affirmative action"
	"Reverse discrimination due to Affirmative action policies"
	"Blatant racism and a restructuring program that inevitably affects jobs - many white"
	"We are protesting the discriminatory acts of affirmative action...people's rights are being violated..."
	"They call it affirmative action, but I think it is prejudice"
	"Affirmative action forces white workers out of the labour market and is comparable to ethnic cleansing".
	"Affirmative action is discriminatory towards white people, disadvantaging them from jobs and promotions on the basis of their race. It is like Apartheid in reverse".
	"Empowering black people by racial mediums such as affirmative action is racism in itself and is discriminatory".
Whites as victims	Editor mentions that whites feel that they risk their lives for the country while the blacks don't have to
	"They practice double standards by only expecting whites to pay their TV licenses while blacks do not have to".
	"Radicals in the ANC government want to create new laws that will discriminate against whites".
	"The freedom front will fight to retain cultural and language rights for the Afrikaner".
	" Afrikaners cannot seem to fit into the new SA"
	"The ANC will discriminate against us again"
Past injustices in South Africa	"Apartheid is to blame for the current problems in public transport and the growing tensions between taxi's and state transport systems".
	British Minister says its wrong to blame everything on the past, or to excuse current acts of crime solely on apartheid
	"The legacy of apartheid is still with us. The perpetuation of economic inequalities, by extension is the perpetuation of racism".
	"Afrikaaners all benefited from apartheid and so have a responsibility to collectively apologise instead of ignoring the problem".
	"At the end of the day, words and apologies are of less importance than practical steps"

	All whites should not have to take responsibility for Apartheid through a public apology.
	"Any apology amounts to an insult as long as resources are owned by whites"
	Journalist argues that the asking of aid for what happened due to slavery and colonization will help nothing
	British Minister says its wrong to blame everything on the past, or to excuse current acts of crime solely on apartheid
	"The start of a fight against racism...we must make public displays of apologies between black and white for past disputes...it means actively taking part in eradicating racism".
	[There is a] "connection between injustices of the past and problems of the present, for example, poverty and discrimination"
	"It's patience with government inactivity was stretched to the limits...the government is unwilling to address the imbalances created by Apartheid"
	"We have all, black and white, been moulded by apartheid, whether we accepted it or fought against it"
Segregation	Group areas act and lands act of the past are to be scrapped, and the population registration act to be suspended.
	"There are schools that are not prepared to integrate...excluding black pupils and discriminating in extra mural activities"
	"We are still a racist country - a divided society - one black, one white - separate and unequal".
	"The Mother city has been nick named...a racially untaxing haven for old white money and colonial bittereinders"
	"Dainfern prohibits black contractors from entering without identification while everyone else is allowed to come and go"
	"South African society remains deeply divided along racial lines"
Acknowledging racism	"Although the public destruction of apartheid is occurring, nothing is happening with the private manifestations of racism".
	"...they stem from the realisation that post-apartheid SA can't discriminate against any citizens, and apartheid resulted in major problems that need to be redressed...".
	"Whites are unwilling to accept that they are inherently racist".
	"People are still racist because it favours them economically, racism is rooted in capitalism".
	"In SA 61% of blacks are poor while only 1% of whites are poor, there is still a big gap btw black and white".
	Racism is "the main cause and pernicious manifestation of human rights infringement"
	Racial discrimination has taken on a new form. Our enemies are those close to us, whom we live with, that are different.
	Racism denies individuals the right to be recognised and valued by others.
	"racial attacks and harassment of black women in particular. Racism is everywhere..."
	"too much is said, too little is done – we fail to recognise that

	racism is very much alive"
	"We don't want to talk about racism – everyone avoids the issue".
	"They're not speaking out against racism, instead they're keeping quiet about their problems and oppression".
	"White South Africans must come to the realization that they are recovering racists"
	"60% of all White South Africans are racist...how can you apologize and still discriminate?"
	Racism is alive and kicking – week in and week out terrible things happen to helpless black people in rural areas.
	The violence that threatens and riddles our society is directly due to racial oppression.
Institutional racism	Racism in the SAPS is still institutionalized and there is not the political will to transfer it.
	Recently in the Daily News, there have been articles and letters that are biased against the Indian community.
	Under the doctrine of white supremacy, institutionalized racism and racial discrimination dominated every aspect of life in SA.
	The media reflects public opinion of the people of the country and therefore also their racism
	The media in SA remains to be a racial institution
	The HRC cannot see that the biggest racists are among themselves, "race-crazy"
	Black editors told the HRC that the media is still in the hands of whites who are resisting transformation.
Pessimism with regards to change	The deracialisation of the working class consciousness has still to emerge in the country.
	"Racism of white towards black is the biggest reason for pessimism towards Africa"
	"They are excluding Afrikaans [people] from the parliament and thereby not co-operating in the process of change".
	"There is too much propaganda against changes than for changes"
	"The changes made are superficial, and still reflect the baggage of Apartheid in the government".
	"Inequalities of the apartheid system...bringing about change is a difficult process"
	"When the mass of hundreds of people believe that change and transformation are inevitable, the lunatic Afrikaners want to hold onto white domination"
	"The taunts are still there. The suspicions have not disappeared. And the stereotyping remains unchanged. Racism is there, on both sides"
	The incident should be seen as a "shocking reminder" that the process of transformation and change has a long way to go".
	"One of the complaints black people have about the government is that democracy has not changed the expression of racism in SA"
	"Discriminatory practices based on race when deciding to give out loans to small businessmen, a reflection of the Apartheid era, no

	changes have taken place”.
	“The change process is taking place too slowly; it is because there are no opportunities for black talent”.
	"They're refusing to accept the status-quo" - resisting change and remaining racist despite the transformation”.
Repercussions of desegregation	"It is ironic and disappointing that at the very time the process of meaningful change has started, that violence should flare up"
	Since UDW was opened to all races, violence and intimidation have become a way of life at the university.
South African identity	“If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background”.
	"For many Americans, being American is a matter of citizenship. Identity in this country is being defined by ethnicity, skin colour, cultural origin"

APPENDIX C

STUDY 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION 1

Please provide the following information about yourself by placing a cross in the appropriate box.

Gender: Male Female

Age: _____ (years)

Race: Black White Indian Coloured

Are you a South African citizen? Yes No

Years of education completed: Primary school (1 – 7 years)
High school (8 – 11 years)
Matric
Tertiary education

How would you evaluate your political opinions? Very liberal
Liberal
Slightly liberal
Moderate
Slightly conservative
Conservative
Very conservative

Which of the following two political parties would you most likely support in the upcoming elections?

African National Congress (ANC)

Democratic Alliance (DP and NP alliance)

SECTION 2

Below are twenty-six statements. Please indicate your response to the statement by placing a cross on the most appropriate box.

SA if you strongly agree with the statement

A if you agree with this statement

DA if you disagree with this statement

SDA if you strongly disagree with the statement

If you feel precisely neutral about the statement, place a cross in the cell marked with an "N".

1. White people today should not have to accept responsibility for the injustices of South Africa's past.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

2. The time has come for all South African's to forget about the conflicts of the past and move on and focus on the future.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

3. The Government should be doing more to address the historical inequalities in South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

4. It is difficult to imagine that South Africa will ever be a racially tolerant country.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

5. Racism is still very much alive and present in the new South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

6. Drastic measures are needed to combat racism in South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

7. Continual complaints about racism are causing racial tension in South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

8. It is time to stop blaming the present problems of South Africa on racism.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

9. There is nothing wrong with segregation because people naturally mix with their own race group.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

10. It is good to see the increase of racially mixed couples in South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

11. There is no place for segregation in the new South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

12. Cultural differences limit the possibility for different races to truly get along with each other.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

13. If South Africa is to succeed as a democracy, we must all begin to see ourselves as South Africans and Africans, irrespective of our cultural background.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

14. The city streets are dangerous places now that they have been desegregated.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

15. The majority of people who are leaving South Africa are simply racists who cannot deal with desegregation.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

16. Racism is not the main reason for pessimism towards South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

17. The crime and violence that threaten South Africa today are largely due to the history of racism and aggression in South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

18. The high levels of poverty and unemployment in South Africa today have got nothing to do with racism.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

19. We must eradicate racism in order to build a more peaceful and crime-free society.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

20. South African institutions such as the media and big business continue to reflect the racism of the past.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

21. In its efforts to combat the legacy of racism, the government is ignoring the plight of other groups in South Africa today.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

22. Instead of combating racism, the government continues to favour those groups that were advantaged in the past.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

23. We need to prioritise the needs of black people to ensure a stable and prosperous South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

24. Affirmative action in employment, education and sport is needed in order to remedy the inequalities of the past.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

25. Policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas are reducing standards and the competitiveness of South African organisations.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

26. Affirmative action is unfair, reverse racism.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

SECTION 3

Below are some more statements. Please indicate once again, your response to them by placing a cross on the most appropriate box.

1. Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

2. It would be unfair if greater expenditure on black education were to be funded by the white taxpayer.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

3. Given favourable conditions it is quite possible that black majority rule could result in a stable, prosperous, and democratic South Africa.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

4. Only equality between black and white can in the long run guarantee social peace in this country.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

5. The large-scale extension of political rights to blacks will inevitably lead to chaos.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

6. The wealth of this country is almost entirely due to the hard work and leadership of the whites.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

7. Although black living conditions should be improved, it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites retain political control.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

8. It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equitable division of the wealth of this country.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

9. If all races were permitted to mix freely they would probably live in peace.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

10. It is almost certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages not be allowed.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

11. Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

12. Other people in this country have overcome prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favour.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

13. If blacks would only try harder they would be just as well off as other groups.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

14. Blacks continue to teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful for life today.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

15. The races are different due to a divine plan.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

16. Blacks come from a less able race.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

17. White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighbourhoods.

SA	A	N	DA	SDA
----	---	---	----	-----

SECTION 4

In this section, please indicate your views towards the following groups. The options range from 0 (indicating no people) and 8 (indicating a high number of people). Please circle the number you feel appropriate:

1. How many **black people** would you say are dependable?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

2. How many **black people** would you say are intelligent?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

3. How many **black people** would you say are lazy?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

4. How many **white people** would you say are dependable?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

5. How many **white people** would you say are intelligent?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

6. How many **white people** would you say are lazy?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

7. How many **Indian people** would you say are dependable?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

8. How many **Indian people** would you say are intelligent?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

9. How many **Indian people** would you say are lazy?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

10. How many **coloured people** would you say are dependable?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

11. How many **coloured people** would you say are intelligent?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

12. How many **coloured people** would you say are lazy?

0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8
(none) (about half) (all)

In this section, please rate your feelings towards the following groups, ranging from the unfavourable emotions of feeling cold and distant (0) to the favourable emotions of feeling warm and close (8).

13. In general, how warm or cold do you feel towards **blacks**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

14. In general, how close do you feel to **blacks**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

15. In general, how warm or cold do you feel towards **whites**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

16. In general, how close do you feel to **whites**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

17. In general, how warm or cold do you feel towards **Indians**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

18. In general, how close do you feel to **Indians**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

19. In general, how warm or close do you feel to **coloureds**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

20. In general, how close do you feel to **coloureds**?

Cold 0 : 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 : 5 : 6 : 7 : 8 Warm

SECTION 5

In this section, please underline the word which expresses, or most clearly expresses, the way you feel towards the members of other groups, nationalities, or races (as a group, and not the best members you have known, or the worst) with regard to certain relationship stated below:

Example: According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... Americans to live and work in my country.

According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit:

21. (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... blacks to live and work in my country.
22. (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... blacks to my school, university, or my profession.
23. (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... blacks to my home as my personal friends.
24. (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... blacks to close kinship by marriage.

According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit:

25. (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... whites to live and work in my country.
26. (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... whites to my school, university, or my profession.
27. (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... whites to my home as my personal friends.
28. (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... whites to close kinship by marriage.

According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit:

29. (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... Indians to live and work in my country.
30. (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... Indians to my school, university, or my profession.
31. (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... Indians to my home as my personal friends.
32. (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... Indians to close kinship by marriage.

According to my first feeling reaction I would willingly admit:

33. (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... coloureds to live and work in my country.
34. (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... coloureds to my school, university, or my profession.
35. (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... coloureds to my home as my personal friends.
36. (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No ... coloureds to close kinship by marriage.

SECTION 6

Here are a few things that the government in South Africa might do to deal with the problems of poverty and unemployment among black South Africans. Do you favour or oppose them?

1. Spending more money on the schools in largely black neighbourhoods, especially for preschool and early education programs.

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

2. Redistributing land, by settling black South African on white owned farms.

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

3. Building houses and providing water and electricity for black people.

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

4. Do you favour or oppose racial quotas in national sports teams?

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

5. Are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks in the employment sector?

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

6. Are you for or against affirmative action policies in admitting black students to universities?

Favour	Oppose
--------	--------

Thank you for your help in this questionnaire; your assistance is appreciated.

APPENDIX D

STUDY 2: RESEARCH ETHICS

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. As you will see, the questions are about racial and social issues in South Africa. We want to use your answers to test social psychological theory; we are not interested in testing you, and you will remain anonymous. We would like you to complete the following questionnaire as **honestly as possible**. Please **answer all the questions**. Please do not write your name on the questionnaire. We will use your responses for the purposes of scientific publications and conference presentations.

Please sign this consent form to indicate your willingness to participate in the research study. Once you have signed the form, detach it from the questionnaire, and hand it to the researcher.

Thank you again for your assistance and time.

Sign

Date

APPENDIX E

STUDY 2: DSR – FACTOR ANALYSES

Duckitt’s Subtle Racism Scale – Unrotated (white) and rotated varimax (Black and Indian) factor analysis solutions

Items	White		Black					Indian				
	1	Communnality	1	2	3	4	Communnality	1	2	3	4	Communnality
1. Given the same education and opportunities, blacks should be able to perform as well as whites in any field.	.735	.540				.825	.715				.657	.512
2. It would be unfair if greater expenditure on black education were to be funded by the white taxpayer.	.438	.229	.588				.409	.599				.441
3. Given favourable conditions it is quite possible that black majority rule could result in a stable, prosperous, and democratic south Africa.	.641	.480		.451	-.588		.612	.401	.579			.563
4. Only equality between black and white can in the long run guarantee social peace in this country.	.616	.605		.602		.400	.600			.845		.760
5. The large-scale extension of political rights to blacks will inevitably lead to chaos.	.682	.519	.830				.729	.608	.485			.712
6. The wealth of this country is almost entirely due to the hard work and leadership of the whites.	.759	.597	.764				.611	.805				.700
7. Although black living conditions should be improved, it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites retain political control.	.800	.693	.756				.646	.861				.768
8. It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equitable division of the wealth of this country.		.643				.635	.499					.679
9. If all races were permitted to mix freely they would probably live in peace.	.555			.874			.784		-.769		.772	.603
10. It is almost certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages not be allowed.	.817	.674			.863		.761				.315	.605

Note: Only values exceeding 0.30 are shown

APPENDIX F

STUDY 2: SUBTLE, OLD-FASHIONED, AND POLICY ITEMS – FACTOR ANALYSES

Subtle item factor analyses for white, black, and Indian samples

Subtle items	White		Black		Indian	
	NC	Communnality	NC	Communnality	NC	Communnality
(1) Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted.	.509	.725	.509	.259	.732	.536
(2) Other people in this country have overcome prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without special favour.	.805	.684	.805	.648	.751	.564
(3) If blacks would only try harder they would be just as well off as other groups.	.777	.818	.777	.603	.829	.687
(4) Blacks continue to teach their children values and skills different from those required to be successful for life today.	.721	.765	.721	.520	.755	.571

Old-fashioned factor analyses for white and Indian samples

Old-fashioned items	White		Indian	
	NC	Communnality	NC	Communnality
(1) The races are different due to a divine plan.	.779	.607	.763	.583
(2) Blacks come from a less able race.	.891	.793	.862	.743
(3) White people have a right to keep blacks out of their neighbourhoods.	.803	.644	.738	.545

Policy item factor analyses for white and Indian samples

Policy items	White			Indian		
	NC	C	Communnality	NC	C	Communnality
(1) Spending more money on the schools in largely black neighbourhoods, especially for preschool and early education programs.	.849		.727	.845		.716
(2) Redistributing land, by settling black South African on white owned farms.		.699	.489		.556	.371
(3) Building houses and providing water and electricity for black people.	.851		.728	.805		.673
(4) Do you favour or oppose racial quotas in national sports teams?		.690	.481		.553	.309
(5) Are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks in the employment sector?		.737	.546		.800	.647
(6) Are you for or against affirmative action policies in admitting black students to universities?		.693	.500		.813	.660

Note – NC – Non competitive items; C – Competitive items