

**The colour of rage and political opinion: An exploratory  
study of factors of Moral Outrage for the South African  
context**

**Siphesihle Zanele Dlamini**

**210500788**

**Supervisor: Professor Kevin Durrheim**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Social  
Science (Clinical Psychology) in the School of Psychology, University of  
KwaZulu-Natal. Pietermaritzburg.**

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this research study is my own original work and has not been submitted for any other degree. However, where use has been made of other people's work, this has been duly acknowledged in the text.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Professor Kevin Durrheim for trusting me with such an important and relevant research topic of this time. I only hope that it sparks further research into this topic but most importantly research on actual people and their lived experiences.

To my family, I am because of all the sacrifices you made to get me here. To my sister, thank you for motivating me to finish this even when I had given up, you are my number one cheerleader. There are not enough words to appreciate and thank you, but this will always be marked in my heart. Bo Malandela, Sibalukhulu, O Ndaba, ngithicamagu.

To my mother, my rock, my strength, you are my everything, this one is for you.

And lastly, to God all mighty. I thank you for the strength. Your Grace was truly sufficient (2 Corinthians 12:9).

## Abstract

**Background:** Societies had expected that the transition from crude forms of racial prejudice and oppressive governments would lead to democratic governments that catered for everyone. While policies for racial redress have been implemented, no significant change in social positioning between various race groups has occurred. Various race groups have, as a result, engaged in political movements to express their stance regarding the continued political injustice towards themselves and their race group. Symbolic racism and moral outrage have been used to explain the phenomena of protest actions against politics and policies of racial redress.

**Objective:** The study aimed to develop a reliable and valid moral outrage (MO) scale. It then aimed to use the scale to explore the relationship between this moral outrage and racial prejudice and self-interest.

**Method:** A questionnaire was distributed to black (N=103), Indian (N=45) and white (N=18) participants at UKZN (PMB). Only the black and Indian sample outcomes were used in the study due to the small size of the white sample. SPSS was used to analyse the data.

**Findings:** The results indicated that the developed moral outrage scale is reliable to use ( $\alpha=0.72$ ). The study found that participants were morally outraged by racial privilege, government corruption, land ownership, social dominance and out-group threat. Racial privilege was a reliable measure for moral outrage for both black participants ( $\alpha=0.78$ ) and Indian participants ( $\alpha=0.74$ ) and government corruption was reliable for Indian participants ( $\alpha=0.74$ ). Racial discrimination and self-interest did not significantly correlate to MO for

black participants, racial discrimination did however have a relationship with racial privilege for Indian participants.

**Conclusion:** A salient group identity is a crucial driving force that mobilizes public reactions to policies as there is shared suffering and perceived infringement of rights. The emotions that black participants have towards white people and that Indian participants hold about their own race that were good predictors for moral outrage.

## Table of Contents

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Acknowledgement</b> .....                                   | <b>i</b>  |
| <b>Abstract</b> .....  | <b>ii</b> |
| <b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....                           | <b>1</b>  |
| <b>Chapter 2: Literature review</b> .....                      | <b>5</b>  |
| Moral outrage.....   | 6         |
| Moral outrage and political emotions .....                     | 8         |
| Moral outrage and collective action.....                       | 9         |
| Sources of moral outrage .....                                 | 10        |
| Group Relative deprivation.....                                | 11        |
| Self-interest .....  | 12        |
| Racial prejudice and symbolic racism .....                     | 15        |
| Group level emotions and racial prejudice.....                 | 19        |
| Moral outrage amongst advantaged and disadvantaged groups..... | 20        |
| Moral outrage in South Africa .....                            | 22        |
| <b>Chapter 3: Methodology</b> .....                            | <b>25</b> |
| Research questions.....  | 25        |
| Research Design.....   | 25        |
| Location of the study.....                                     | 26        |
| Sampling .....   | 27        |
| Research instrument.....                                       | 27        |
| Pilot Study.....   | 38        |
| Procedure .....  | 40        |
| Ethics.....  | 40        |
| Data Analysis .....  | 41        |
| Validity, Reliability and Rigour.....                          | 44        |
| <b>Chapter 4: Results</b> .....                                | <b>47</b> |
| Demographics .....   | 47        |
| Analysis.....  | 47        |
| Descriptive Analysis .....                                     | 50        |
| Independent t-test.....  | 50        |

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| Factor Analysis, t-test, reliability analysis .....                    | 53        |
| Correlations .....   | 57        |
| Stepwise Regression .....  | 61        |
| <b>Chapter 5: Discussion .....</b>                                     | <b>66</b> |
| Aim one: Moral outrage scale .....                                     | 66        |
| Aim two: Relationship between Racial prejudice and moral outrage ..... | 69        |
| Aim three: Relationship between self-interest and moral outrage .....  | 72        |
| <b>Chapter 6: Conclusion .....</b>                                     | <b>75</b> |
| Limitations .....  | 76        |
| Future Research .....  | 77        |
| <b>References .....</b>  | <b>79</b> |
| <b>Appendix A: Ethical Approval .....</b>                              | <b>86</b> |
| <b>Appendix B: Informed Consent .....</b>                              | <b>87</b> |
| <b>Appendix C: CFC Letter .....</b>                                    | <b>90</b> |
| <b>Appendix D: Questionnaire .....</b>                                 | <b>91</b> |

## Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2016 South Africa experienced the reincarnation of the June 16 protest about education. Students, the majority of whom were black, shut down South African universities, protesting for access to free education. Over the years the country has fought against government corruption, service delivery, the alleged action of the Gupta family and state capture. A march led mainly by white protesters, against president Jacob Zuma took place in 2017, motivating for a vote of no confidence against him. The support and opposition to these and other political factors clearly indicated the race factor in political opinions.

When crude forms of racism were outlawed, new forms of racism arose. With these came new theories to understand the implicit forms of racism that had manifested with liberation. A number of authors have been attempting to validate symbolic racism as a new form of racism, and they have aimed to show that symbolic racism is a combination of affect and value (Kinder and Sears, 1988; Henry and Sears, 2003; McConahay, 1982).

Henry and Sears (2003) found that beliefs and values that some white people have are influenced by a simple dislike, fear and disgust for black people. This is the case where capitalism and racism combine to produce the idea of the black person as lazy, undeserving and ungrateful for all of the benefits bestowed by policies of racial redress. It is these emotions and beliefs that Henry and Sears (2003) found to explain symbolic racism significantly.

These emotions and beliefs are influenced by prejudicial ideals that race groups have about each other (Durrheim, 2014). These stereotypes are a shared discourse amongst race groups



which shapes the manner in which respective social groups justify their group's actions with the aim of positioning them in a positive light (Reicher, Hopkins & Condor, 1997). Racial ideals inform mental associations that influence how people respond to racial categorisation, in this case how white people responded to the politics of racial redress. The anger expressed by white people could stem from the perception that policies create favouritism for one race over others (Sears, 1988).

This outrage is based on how a group perceive their values or aspects of symbolic importance as being intruded upon by another's behaviour. The closer the intrusion comes to the heart of a group's self-territory, the more outraged people are likely to become. This is because people are especially sensitive to encroachment on features of personal territory that are symbolic of aspects of their identity. The reason why people become so enraged is because people work to develop and maintain their socially desirable selves and to develop and maintain territories that they want to inhabit. When these are trampled on they feel violated. These territories may include social identities and the social relationships where these identities are functional and make groups feel comfortable (Goodenough, 1997).

Goodenough (1997) explains moral outrage in a manner that closely links it to self-serving acts and not as real opposition to acts that may be infringing the social system as a whole. This understanding when applied to race groups explains moral outrage as racial positioning where one race group wants their values met and respected even at the expense of other races, thus making moral outrage a race issue rather than a policy opposition issue.

There have been few studies to test these notions with regards to moral outrage (Batson et al., 2000; Goodenough, 1997). McConahay (1982) carried out a study that tested whether

opposition to change of policies was a result of racism. The results found that opposition to bussing policies in America were more about race than any other reason because there was evidence to state that the more racist white Americans were, the more opposed they were to policy change, more specifically, the bussing system.

The bussing system was implemented as a means to desegregate Boston public schools. This led to a series of racial protests (Green & Cowden, 1992). Opposition to the Boston bussing system was due to the evolving nature of society that presently attempts to move from explicit racial prejudice. As a result, white Americans displaced the negative emotions they had towards black people in symbolic acts to show what they thought to be unfair demands and gains by black people at the expense of the state and ultimately their rights (Kinder & Sears, 1988).

Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo & Kosterman (1997) found evidence, through systematic assessment of collected data, which revealed that racial attitudes make an important contribution to understanding white people's opposition to race-targeted policies. To explain white Americans' common responses, traditional values and responses to policies for racial redress, Sears et al (1997) have made use of theories such as Group Positioning Theory by Bobo and Hutchings (1996) as cited in Sears et al., (1997), Realistic Group Conflict in Bobo (1983) and Social Identity Theory by Tajfel and Turner (1986). These theories explain this behaviour as the result of being part of an in-group. It is through "underlying psychological motivations to protect one's hegemonic in-group privileged position and suppress less powerful groups that aspire to equality" (Sears et al, 1997, p. 21).

This thesis argues that moral outrage is a new form of symbolic racism in that, like symbolic racism, is influenced by one's beliefs and values. Moral outrage is an implicit form of racism in that it appears to be in opposition to policies of racial redress such as affirmative action. This opposition is a new form of racism presented in a manner that does not appear to be self-serving but instead appears to be for social good. Symbolic racism is of relevance to this study because it is the theoretical framework that the researcher will use to understand and test the hypothesis that moral outrage is influenced by racial prejudice.

## **Chapter 2: Race, racial prejudice, self-interest and moral outrage**

This chapter aims to review relevant literature in the areas of race, racial prejudice, self-interest as well as moral outrage in South Africa and other nations. The chapter will first attempt to explore the above-mentioned concepts. Secondly, it will attempt to explore the international and local literature on moral outrage and racial prejudice. Finally, an attempt to show the possible links between the main areas of focus in this study as previously explored in literature will follow.

Studies have found some evidence indicating that underlying prejudice towards black people is the main influence leading to white people's opposition to racial redress policies (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986; Sears & Henry, 2003). However, many studies have failed to find evidence that links both self-interest and prejudice to moral outrage (McConahay, 1982; Kluegel & Bobo, 1993). This study builds on the argument that self-interest and racial prejudice play a crucial role in eliciting emotions such as anger and disgust. This is based on the premise that these emotions are triggered in salient group identities which enhance collective action. This is because groups that strongly identify with each other are more committed to group goals and interests.

In America, white people were mobilized to act collectively by expressing anger against a bussing policy that attempted to integrate children from different race groups (McConahay, 1982). 24 years after the first democratic election in South Africa, numerous attempts to ensure that the transition from apartheid to a democratic state allows for positive racial relations, racial tension, racial inequality and discrimination are still crucial topics. This is

evident in the persistent opposition by white people to policies such as affirmative action, Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), that are aimed to aid black people.

There is continuing conflict between black and white South Africans over land ownership. White people feel entitled to it because of the work they have put into modernizing it, and black people feel entitled as the original settlers. The '*fees must fall*' and '*Rhodes must fall*' movements by black students have erupted due to continuing black disadvantage which disproportionately prevents black people from being able to afford education. It is these violations to deeply held values that explain why individuals engage in excessive and often violent acts like protest action and political opposition (Goodenough, 1997). These movements however, seem to precipitate white people's opposition to the goals of the protest action (Davids & Waghid, 2016; Staff Writer, 2017).

### **Moral outrage**

Rushton (2013, p.82) defines moral outrage as anger turned outward at another individual or group. It is provoked by a real or perceived violation of beliefs about fairness and respect. Moral outrage is characterised by frustration, anger, disgust and powerlessness to a perceived threat to one's personal or professional role, identity and self-worth. This is through acts that challenge values that are important to personal or professional identity. Outrage plays an important role in maintaining social groups while also exacerbating conflict between in-group members and those considered to be in the out-group. This is because the extent to which one identifies with the victim or offender plays a crucial role. For example, the reaction one would have at having a close social group member violate their rights is different to one's reaction when an out-group infringes on a group's perceived rights (Goodenough, 1997).

The crucial point about moral outrage is that it is not just simple anger, but rather, it is intense anger that is underlined by disgust. The combination of disgust and anger is important because it justifies people's feelings towards others, it also validates the confidence that the groups have in the judgment they have towards the out-group. Moral outrage is almost like a tool that people use to position themselves as victims in order to challenge social structures and policies which aim to achieve social equality (Rushton, 2013).

Rozin, Lowery, Imada and Haidt (1999) looked at contempt, anger and disgust as moral emotions. They state that these emotions are expressions of embodied thoughts towards social reactions and blocked goals. These emotions occur in daily interactions and all involve disapproval of others. Moral emotions are important because they are closely related to the internalized respect for an external social order, and they "define and negotiate social relations of the self in a moral order" (Keltner & Haidt, 1999, p. 505).

Much as these three moral emotions influence the manner in which social relations are negotiated, they differ in how they are used. Anger is described as the experience of an undignified offense against the self or one's social group (Smith, Cronin & Kessler, 2008). Rozin et al. (1999) argue that anger is also linked to the tendency to act that mobilises the resources required to mount an aggressive response to the obstacle (Leach, 2013; Rozin et al., 1999). Disgust and contempt are likened to each other as they are both triggered by violations to the self, situations where people behave without dignity, or when in-group members regard out-group members as inferior and strip others of their dignity. Disgust and contempt are thus emotions that are important factors in prejudice and racism (Rozin et al., 1999).

## **Moral outrage and political emotion**

Leach (2013) speaks of evaluative meanings which are the emotions that people ascribe to political issues and their impact on their lives. To observe protest action, or to see people experiencing fear at having one's political party overthrown are examples of people imbuing politics with a particular meaning. Anger and fear are thus conceptualised as lived experiences of politics in people's lives (Leach & Tiedens, 2004; Leach, 2010). Fear may be a crucial reaction, however, for the purpose of this study, the focus is only on anger and disgust as emotional reactions.

Leach (2010) states that the recent increase in research that looks at the role of emotion in political issues and events features individual views of the factors that maintain group inequality, intergroup conflict and political debates over moral values. Research on relative deprivation is the most sustainable effort to examine how people's political emotions affect their motivation and behaviour. Relative deprivation is the feeling of discontent, anger, resentment, dissatisfaction which is based on the belief that one is deprived relative to a standard of what is fair. It is also based on the perception of being deprived relative to what the out-groups have. Such feelings of discontent about perceived deprivation of one's group have long been thought to be at the centre of political rebellion and protest. Studies show that perceived deprivation of one's group influences the desire for political action against inequality (Zomeran, Spears and Leach, 2008).

Intergroup relations show that anger tends to be associated with the motivation to take action to challenge existing intergroup relations. This is because the more one is affected by politics, the more active they become. Anger in intergroup relations focuses more on the emotion

itself rather than on politics, while politics serve as a context in which this emotion is applied (Leach, 2010). According to Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo and Kosterman (1997), politics became the new outlet for anger and prejudice following movements such as the Civil Rights Revolution in America, the demise of Apartheid in South Africa, and many others across the world that attempt to eradicate crude forms of racism. Politics allows different races to express themselves while also giving them the mask not to appear racist.

### **Moral emotions and Collective action**

Reactions to politics seem to mobilize social action as evident in the movements that have taken place in history. Shared group identity is a good predictor of collective action (Smith, Seger & Mackie, 2007). However, collective action is more likely to occur when group identity facilitates group-based emotions such as anger, when the group as a whole is perceived as suffering an unjust disadvantage. Moral reactions towards a situation are a strong predictor for sustained committed cooperation (Thomas & McGarty, 2009; Smith, Cronin & Kessler, 2008). Moral outrage is an action orientated emotion that is directed at a third party or system of inequality with the aim of achieving a group's goal. Studies show that people are more likely to take action to support a cause when they experience an action-relevant emotion or believe that taking action can make a difference (Leach, Iyer & Pedersen, 2006; Thomas & McGarty; 2009).

Thomas and McGarty (2009) introduced opinion-based groups. These groups have a shared opinion about people or groups and situations such as relative deprivation, affirmative action and political issues. Opinion-based groups help to further solidify group identification and intentions to engage in collective action. These shared stances or opinions about social



situations only occur if individuals have a shared group identity. This group is often motivated by injunctive norms. Injunctive norms refer to what is socially deemed as being right and wrong, and are governed by an individual's moral values on what is socially acceptable (Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

Injunctive norms impact relevant pro-social behaviour as they predict the likelihood that people will support social movements that tackle social disadvantage. Injunctive norms are used to advance the social concerns by stating that everyone needs to feel outraged. Outrage was found to strengthen group identity because this emotional reaction towards situations tends to be socially shared with regards to unjust treatment of social groups. Outrage also enhances interaction within the opinion-based group and it promotes commitment to social change (Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

### **Sources of moral emotions**

Smith et al. (2008) argue that, if groups perceive their deprivation as caused by someone else, group-based anger is the predicted emotional reaction. Anger often mobilises collective action. For example, in the act of service delivery, the government is often blamed for the suffering of people by not investing in under-developed communities to create job opportunities and improve the way of living. Responsibility on its own is not a strong predictor for eliciting anger. People have to identify strongly with the in-group's goals, such as job creation or education. This enhances group efficacy.

Group efficacy is argued to be how people feel about the situation based on what they are able to do to change their situation. If people feel that they can change their situation, they are

more likely to feel angrier. This is because the likelihood of a situation changing portrays that one's group status is socially maintained for the benefit of others (Mackie et al., 2000 as cited in Smith et al., 2008). For example, people may feel that getting a better education would give them an advantage in the job market. However, policies such as affirmative action and racial quotas in work spaces favour one group over another.

Mackie et al. (2000) also looked at situational improvement or deterioration which they defined as the likelihood of the situation changing without any interventions taking place. They however rejected this premise as it did not yield significant effects in their study.

### **Group Relative Deprivation**

Group relative deprivation is the lack of resources that sustain the lifestyle, activities and amenities that a group is accustomed to or that are widely encouraged or approved in the society to which they belong (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2017). It forms part of the source of moral outrage as it is conceptualized as the violation of a group's autonomy where members are stripped of their rights and dignity. A shared group identity is a crucial aspect in conceptualizing group disadvantage and the resulting emotional reactions to it. Studies suggest that when group identity becomes salient, people develop a shared concern about their group status as compared to other groups. This shared identity and concern facilitates collective action that is motivated by group-based anger (Mackie & Smith, 2002).

Group relative deprivation also has a hierarchical aspect as groups contrast their status to that of other groups, where out-group members are constructed as being inferior or less deserving. The group that is being viewed in this light are stripped of their dignity which triggers disgust

and contempt. These emotions, as earlier mentioned, allow one to express subtle forms of racism. The emotional reaction of anger and disgust is the expression of moral outrage (Leach, 2013). Moral outrage co-occurs when a group is angered by policies that disadvantage them. Disgust comes in as a reaction towards a group that is advantaged at the expense of one's own group (Leach, Iyer & Pedersen, 2006).

Studies portray that stronger group identification and group identity salience increase the experience of group-based emotions and their associated action tendencies (Mackie & Smith, 2002; Smith, 1993). This is because group members that strongly identify with each other are more committed to group goals and interests.

### **Self-interest**

Studies have argued that self-interest should motivate attitudes towards political issues. The general notion is that people develop or change their attitudes to satisfy their needs. People learn to prefer objects that lead to the gratification of their needs (Lau, Brown & Sear, 1978). This is through people weighing what they have to gain or lose by adopting a particular attitude. People will therefore assume a position that maximises their own gains over their losses.

For self-interest to influence political opinion an issue should be salient to the individual. It ought to be vital and truly cared for by the person. For example, relative deprivation is more likely to be a socially shared political issue for those who are directly affected or are close to an individual who is affected. Self-interested respondents will be more likely to have an

emotional reaction such as anger, which motivates them to engage in action such as protests (Lau, Brown & Sears, 1978).

Secondly, self-interest is argued to influence the direction of people's attitudes towards a situation based on how much it will cost them. Groups are likely to adopt a position which minimizes costs for them such as resources, finances, time and socio-economic position (Chong, Citrin & Conley, 2001). Those who experience direct loss will likely support differences in social hierarchy in order to maintain resources that are of importance to them. For example, those who feel that policies for racial redress violate their social position would therefore oppose policies that threaten this position (Lau, Brown & Sears, 1978).

Over the years there has been an increase in white people's support for racial equality and integration. However, there is lingering opposition to specific policies that attempt to redress racial inequality such as affirmative action (Durrheim et al., 2009). McConahay (2002) argues that self-interest, unlike race, influences social dynamics from an individual point of view because every individual feels stable in their social position when their needs are being met. Individuals are thus more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour as they feel like the group is an extension of them, and therefore they are an essential part of the group.

It is arguably true that most white people have a vested self-interest in policies that oppress black people from the apartheid era (Durrheim et al., 2014). During apartheid, most white people supported policies that promoted segregation and discrimination. This is largely because some white people benefit from it though it is not all the white people who benefit from this, hence the varying levels of support and opposition to policies. The more an individual feels that political decisions have a direct impact on their economic or physical

comfort or that of their immediate family, the more they will be outraged by these policies and they will be moved to oppose them (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998; Rushton, 2013).

McConahay (2002) states that there is outrage when policies threaten to tamper with benefits a group is enjoying.

A sense of entitlement fuels the group's support or opposition to policies as black people may support policies because of a vested interest or are benefiting from it. This is in line with Duckitt and Mphuthing's (1998) argument which states that it is based on the core values that groups have, these being informed by their socioeconomic position. For black people, feelings of entitlement are based on the history of racial inequality, segregation and discrimination (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011).

Like black people, white people's feeling of entitlement is also based on history. However, unlike black people, for white people the history of privilege leads to the sense of entitlement. Therefore, white people oppose policies of redress because these policies have no personal gain for them (Durrheim et al., 2014). As the system of redress seems to be benefitting one group more than others, it is therefore likely that opposition will come from those whose needs are seemingly not catered for because policies threaten the social hierarchy. Furthermore, threats to one's privilege are anxiety provoking as positions of privilege are associated with a higher sense of group pride and they affirm personal identity.

Self-interest, like moral outrage, is often influenced by a shared group identity and a shared concern about the group's fate. The shared social concerns are strongly influenced by income, class, education and occupation (Bobo & Kluegel, 1993). These shared concerns about the group's fate further construct identities which powerfully shape perception of self-

interest as groups want to maintain their membership in the categories that position them better compared to others.

This identity, however, is not a strong predictor of political opinion. A stronger link between self-interest and political attitudes was observed when people attribute their problems as being caused by factors external to them (Sears, Lau, Tyler & Allen, 1980). This is a stronger link because when a third party is deemed to be the cause of a group's suffering, the violated group experiences anger which has been found to be a good motivator for collective action such as protest action. Despite this factor, self-interest on its own has yet to be proven to be a significant factor in people's reaction to public policies (Bobo, 1983; Tendin, 1994).

### **Racial prejudice and symbolic racism**

The transition into a democratic country in 1994 required that policies be changed to facilitate a more racially interactive and inclusive country. These policies have not gone uncontested. (Durrheim et al., 2009) argue that this opposition is motivated by racial prejudice, group threat and self-interest. The resistance is also accounted for by feelings that policies seem to cater for one group. Policies such as affirmative action have been challenged because of the perception that it drops the standard and selection is based on race rather than competency. Racial prejudice is argued to be a good predictor of who is likely to support racial transformation. Studies reveal that the more prejudiced one is, the more likely they are going to be outraged by policies of redress and thus not be supportive (Henry & Sears, 1995).

It was policies such as the Jim Crow system helped to inform how fundamental civil and political rights for black Americans were developed to sanction support for unequal

treatment, segregation and discrimination by the majority of white Americans (Tarman& Sears, 2005). The bussing policy also played a crucial role in the development of symbolic racism. This policy aimed at desegregating schools by transporting some children that previously attended racially segregated schools, to integrated schools where black and white children learned side by side (McConahay, 2002).

Symbolic racism is a theory that was developed in America to explain white people's political position and to determine whether it was motivated by racism (McConahay, 2002). The 1969 elections in California showed a shift where white voters were not dominated by crude racism but by "moralistic racial resentment" (Durrheim, 2003, p.153). The white voters were influenced by the belief that black participants are too pushy, that they get more than they are entitled to, that by nature, black people are lazy and do not need money and lastly that black people receive undeserved assistance from the government (Kinder, 1986). This theory therefore may explain the opposition to policies that redress racial inequality as being motivated by the belief that it gives black people the opportunity to gain an unfair advantage (Durrheim, 2003).

It is this understanding of anti-black affects and abstract moralistic values that Sears and Kinder (1971) based their argument for symbolic racism on. They argued that the combination of moral values fused with racist understanding to produce a modern form of racism. This form of racism is subtle as compared to crude forms of racism which had to evolve in order to be functional in a modern world where policies have banned segregation and overt discrimination. Symbolic racism best describes modern forms of racism where individuals "practice equality" (Durrheim, 2003, p.242) but upon further observation still remain racist.

Sears and Kinder (1971) argue that symbolic racism is rooted much like moral outrage. People grow up with this discourse and learnt stereotypes, along this learnt discourse, people also learn values of equality and racial interaction yet still grow up with an anti-black sentiment. The symbolic expression of prejudice is, according to Durrheim (2003), the lack of sympathy and reflects the absence of positive emotions towards black participants (Sears et al., 1997).

According to Kinder & Sears (1981), new forms of racism hide behind political opposition in order to not appear racist and self-serving when in actual fact this is the case. This subtle stance that also appears to dispute any racist thought or motive, serves to deny prejudice and to displace the blame onto the other party who accuses the race group of being racist. As mentioned in the previous sections, all the elicited feelings of moral outrage, prejudice and self-interest manifest as a reaction to policies and not race. New forms of racism are also based on salient values that groups use to justify their socio-political stance. These values further aim to mask any negative connotation that may indicate a form of bias or discrimination of others. The notion of symbolic racism as a new form of racism therefore appears to not be based on self-interest as groups seem to be fighting against the violation of salient values and or rights (Sniderman & Tetlock, 1986).

Despite the fact that research shows an improvement in racial action and conflict over the years, nations have not fully escaped a history of racism. When new forms of racism such as symbolic racism arose, it became apparent that racial prejudice had not declined but it has evolved to more hidden forms. New forms of racism are elicited by symbolic issues such as



bussing, affirmative action, black political candidates, public welfare, and racial protests (Jacobson, 1985).

There is still incredible economic inequality and segregation between races. The manner in which black people are portrayed in the media is often unfavourable and further exacerbates negative connotations about black people. Symbolic racism suggests that opposition to policies such as affirmative action is a result of a growing tendency for white people to forthrightly reject anti-black statements, such as 'black people are lazy'. This is because such statements represent a crude form of racism that is no longer viable in the present society. Opposing policies for racial redress allow white people to express their basic prejudice and intolerant feelings towards black people (Bobo, 1983; Sears et al., 1980).

Sears et al. (1979) as cited in Bobo (1983) suggest that self-interest in no way influences opposition to issues such as affirmative action. This dissertation attempts to find the link between self-interest and symbolic racism on the basis that both constructs stem from an underlying attitudinal predisposition towards social situations instilled during early childhood. Due to this frame of thought, white people are most likely to reject new issues that position black people in a favourable position. Also, much like self-interest, the extent to which white people support or oppose the civil rights movement would depend on how threatening it is to them as individuals.

Other studies have found links between symbolic racism and prejudicial attitudes. Kinder and Sears (1981) and Bobo (1983) argued that white people's resistance to policies of racial redress and their voting behaviour is influenced by prejudicial attitudes predisposition, and not a tangible threat by black people. White people thus react to the symbols associated with

policies, not what the policies actually entail. White people view policies of racial redress as threatening the social hierarchy. White people wanting to hold on to their social position do not support policies that empower black people. As a result, white people experience the moral emotion of contempt, which like symbolic racism is subtle and is crucial for prejudice and racism. Opposition to these policies oppresses black people and violates their rights and freedom. The violation of the autonomous moral code as mentioned by Rozin, Lowery, Imada and Haidt (1999) brings about anger as an emotional reaction.

### **Group level emotions and racial prejudice**

Group level emotions are made up of similar emotions present in moral outrage. Group level emotions are the feelings, moods and dispositional affects felt by a group of people and can be used to influence the emotional state of the group members towards others or situations (Leach, Zomeran, Zebel, Vliek & Ouwerker, 2008).

These issues often generate feelings of sadness, anger, and fear amongst individuals even if they themselves or people they are close to are not directly affected. Group level emotions are triggered when an out-group may be perceived as likely to violate in-group norms or to be causing unjust suffering. This out-group would usually be regarded with anger and disgust (Smith et al., 2007).

Emotions adaptively control how groups judge and behave in order to attain their goals. Group anger might motivate people to show stronger biases to favour their own group over the out-group. Feelings of group-level anger influence and mediate intergroup prejudice which influences people's discriminating against other groups and their willingness to have

contact with them (Smith et al., 2007). Such group level anger also motivates the opposition of policies of racial redress because of the threat it may have for their race group (Banks & Valentino, 2012).

### **Moral outrage amongst advantaged and disadvantaged groups**

#### *Advantaged groups*

White people form part of the advantaged group due to their social position relative to other race groups. Like all race groups, white people also experience social and political situations that are experienced as unjust and disadvantaging to their group. This feeling of being unjustly treated promotes moral outrage and collective actions (Zomeran et al., 2008)

Outrage for advantaged groups is often expressed as opposition to political situations and policies that are conceived as threat to the group's position. This is unlike the more expressive forms of outrage such as riots, protests and wars. Opposition to policies renders a subtle expression of prejudice by masking it as reactions to unjust policies, and this is expressed through disgust (Rozin et al., 1999; Sears & Henry, 2003).

Thomas and McGarty (2009) argue that advantaged groups are likely to engage in prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged group when they experience emotions such as guilt, sympathy and moral outrage. Guilt is when the advantaged group feels responsible for the inequalities. Sympathy often co-occurs with guilt to motivate interpersonal helping of the disadvantaged group. However, these two emotions are ineffective in mobilizing the advantaged group to seek help for the disadvantaged group. This is because these emotions

often occur individually and thus lack the social power to use these emotions as vehicles for change. Acknowledgement of these emotions also carries with them the connotation of self-blame and holding accountability for the inequality which then deters out-group support.

When expressing moral outrage in an attempt to aid disadvantaged groups, the advantaged group often forms an opinion that supports the out-group struggle. The more they see themselves as part of the out-group, the more they support members of the group and experience moral emotions of anger and disgust to mobilise action. However, this support is never to a point where the advantaged group affects their own social positioning as a race group (Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

### *Disadvantaged groups*

Black people are commonly referred to as previously disadvantaged due to the historical impact of racial segregation and racism (Durrheim et al., 2010). According to Zomeren et al. (2008), moral outrage and belief of efficacy influence collective action. This reaction is common amongst the disadvantaged group as they are intrinsically more committed to transformation to improve their social position. Transformation historically has been lobbied for through protest action which is aimed at expressing anger and frustration at being disadvantaged after decades of purported liberation. Disadvantaged groups tend to be more expressive when outraged. This is often observed in protest action and riots.

The main challenge that is faced by disadvantaged groups that are trying to mobilize change is that there are pre-existing social groups. These groups have pre-existing norms, rules and processes for establishing how change occurs (Thomas and McGarty, 2009; Zomeren et al.,

2008). Any change that is proposed is met with opposition, as it alters the benefits that already existing structures have for the advantaged group.

### **Moral outrage in South Africa**

When people or groups perceive a threat to their values or identity they are moved to action to try to achieve a state of equilibrium by challenging social structures that infringe upon their rights (Bobo, 1983). Often retaliation towards the perceived threat is narcissistic because the group's aim is to cater for their needs without fully comprehending the effects this will have on others (Rushton, 2013). The Apartheid policy for example catered for the needs of white South Africans at the expense of black people's education and welfare (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). This, according to Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998), was an ostentatious plan of territorial separation to recreate black people's identities and remove their socioeconomic stability.

Black people, having been deprived of their land, education, identity and financial powers, were moved into action during the 1960s and 1970s when the first major challenges to the policies of segregation and discrimination took place. The 1994 democratic elections that transitioned political rule from white minority to black majority removed legislated discrimination and segregation that had empowered and favoured white South Africans (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). This transition conflicted with white people's attitudes because the policies banned crude forms of racism and corrected interracial inequalities to empower black people. Anger felt by white people had to be covert and opposition to racial policies has often been structured on the premise of equality. They argue that such policies

unfairly marginalise them and are therefore not advocating for equality. This is done so that they do not appear to be self-serving (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

Transitional policies still fail to cater for the needs of the black majority, making both black and white South Africans feel the socioeconomic injustice. Though few studies have been done on black people's perceptions, Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) documented the existence of strong feelings of dissatisfaction and relative deprivation and hostility by both black and white South Africans towards each other because of the policies. This has developed the premise that even though most studies have been done on white people, a group's historical position and what they believe they are entitled to suggest that black people would also express moral outrage.

Political culture suggests that the political transition has strengthened feelings of dissatisfaction. Feelings of being socioeconomically deprived have given rise to feelings of hostility and negative attitudes towards the other race. This transition forced races to internalise and displace the felt conflict into feelings of moral outrage. The opposition is not crude but still aims to achieve the same group values (McConahay, 2002). Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) argue that overt hostility may be caused by power redistribution because state power relations pose a threat (LeVine & Campbell, 1972 as cited in Duckitt and Mphuthing, 1998). The hostility to out-groups is triggered largely by the perceived or real threat to valued resources of the in-group. This intergroup conflict thus involves competing for resources and the perceived threat by out-groups. It is this threat that Rushton (2013) classifies as a key feature that fuels the moral outrage expressed by various race groups.

Moral outrage is a more subtle method by which groups express their perceived or real threat to who they are and what they believe in. This shared attitude is mobilised through discourse and shared beliefs. These shared values are stitched into how and with whom the individuals identify themselves, hence the majority of white people are so resistant to change. For most black people in South Africa, as much as there has been a shift in political power, economic power still lies with the white minority. The continuing power differential indicates that the black majority have not triumphed in the struggle to emancipate themselves economically, socially and culturally, thus the country still experiences protests by black people that aim to emancipate black people in one form or another (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

## **Chapter 3: Methodology**

This section addresses the research methodology that was used in the study. This chapter discusses the research design, area of study, population, sample of the population, sampling technique, instrument for data collection, validation of the questionnaire and study, administration of the instrument and method of data analysis.

### **Research Questions**

1. Can a reliable and valid measure of race related issues be created to measure moral outrage amongst black, Indian and white South Africans?
2. Does racial prejudice influence feelings of moral outrage amongst black, Indian and white South Africans?
3. Is moral outrage influenced by self-interest amongst black, Indian and white South Africans, which is a perceived threat to personal and group entitlement?

### **Research Design**

This study used a quantitative research design. Johnson and Christensen (2008, p.33) defines quantitative research as a formal, objective and systematic process to describe and test relationships, and examine cause and effect or determine the significance of the interactions among variables. The nature of the study was tentative in that the researcher was carrying out a preliminary investigation into a rather new area of research on the topic of moral outrage amongst black, Indian and white South Africans. Due to a lack of research in this area within



the South African context, the researcher embarked on a study that looked to obtain quantifiable evidence so as to establish usable measures and data for future studies to build on.

A cross-sectional study was used as a secondary method of analysing data to explore the second and third aims of the study. This method was used because the study was comparative in nature as it sought to investigate whether or not the phenomena being explored occur differently in various race groups at a single point in time.

### **Location of the Study**

The study was conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg (UKZN, PMB) Campus which is situated in the Scottsville area. The university predominantly has black and Indian students with comparatively fewer coloured and white students attending at this campus. UKZN is amongst the top three SA ranked universities and is in the top 400 globally. The location was chosen because it was convenient for the researcher as a student at the institution. The university also had a readily available population from which the researcher could easily access to draw the sample. Participants were accessed in various departments in the university, namely, the computer labs, the library and during normal lecture sessions where the questionnaire was issued with the permission of the lecturers.

## **Sampling**

A convenience sampling method was used to recruit participants. This form of sampling is fast and is an inexpensive method of recruiting easily accessible participants (Neuman, 1994). Identified limits with this sampling method are that it is a form of non-probability sampling and is not an ideal form of sampling for quantitative research as it limits the researcher's ability to generalize the findings (Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

The researcher expected to recruit 250 South African students, 120 black students, 80 white students and 50 Indian students. However, the study only obtained 169 participants. There were 103 black participants, 45 Indian participants and 18 white participants. The average age of the sample was just over 21 years. All of the participants were doing their undergraduate degrees in various disciplines at the university at the time of collecting the data.

## **Research Instrument**

The participants were requested to fill in a questionnaire (Appendix D), which took approximately 20 minutes to complete. The questionnaire was divided into nine sections that measured different areas of interest for this study. Questionnaires allow the researcher to contact a large sample, which is required by quantitative studies, in order to predict statistical changes. This method of data collection helps to produce numerical descriptions about aspects of the study that are analysed later on (Fowler, 2002). To ascertain that participants were South African, the questionnaire required them to state their nationality.

The questionnaire was made up of scales that were adapted from previous studies looking into racial prejudice, personality variables, self-interest, social and political attitudes and race related aspects. All the adapted studies established their reliability using white and black participants, but it was uncertain whether an acceptable reliability coefficient would be obtained for Indian participants. The reliability coefficients reported for each of the scales below were from the scale items as they were used in the studies they were adapted from.

### **Social Distance Scale**

The scale has previously been used to measure behavioural intention to have intergroup contact. This scale was adapted from Durrheim, Tredoux, Foster & Dixon (2011). The reliability of the scale was measured from the previously obtained Cronbach alpha coefficient which was measured at  $\alpha=0.88$  for a sample of black learners and  $\alpha=0.92$  for a sample of white learners. The scale can and has been used as an independent measure for intention to have intergroup contact in various contexts (i.e., work, school, tourism) (Nix, 1993).

The scale was made up of nine items that measured people's willingness to engage in social contact at varying degrees of closeness with members of a different race group. The items read as:

- *I would willingly admit White people to go to my school or University,*
- *I would willingly admit “White people to visit my home as my personal friends, and*
- *I would willingly admit “White people to my family by marriage”.*

The nine items were divided into three subsections that asked the same questions for each of the three race groups, white, black and Indian. The scale points were *any (5)*, *most (4)*, *some (3)*, *few (2)* or *no(1)*, as can be seen in the scale in Appendix D.

### **Social dominance orientation**

Social dominance has been used to measure socio-political attitudes endorsed by groups who are in power towards policies that legitimize inequality such as racism, sexism, and nationalism through the use of culturally appropriate measures. This study used the scale to measure the extent to which white, Indian and black people support or oppose policies that legitimize racial equality. The scale was adapted from a study done by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle (1994). Cronbach alpha coefficients in 14 previous samples were measured at an average of  $\alpha = 0.83$  and have also previously been measured to range from 0.80 to 0.89. The 16 scale item is reliable and has been used as an independent measure in a study conducted by Pratto et al. (2012).

The scale was made up of four items that measure socio-political attitudes supported by groups to promote racial inequality. The scale asked the participants to rate the extent to which they support or oppose the following statements:

- *In setting priorities, we must consider all race groups,*
- *We should not push for racial equality,*
- *Racial equality should be our ideal, and*

- *Superior racial groups should dominate inferior race groups.*

Scale points were labelled *strongly agree (5), agree (4), neither agree nor disagree(3), disagree (2), strongly disagree (1)* (please see appendix D).

### **Semantic differential Scale**

The semantic differential scale was adopted from Durrheim et al. (2011). Semantic differentials are used to measure the connotative meaning used to derive attitudes towards an object, event or concept. The semantic differential scale has been used as an independent measure to yield reliable and valid results (Ciabuca, 2014). This scale has obtained Cronbach alpha coefficients which have been measured at  $\alpha=0.81$  for a sample of black participants and  $\alpha=0.90$  for a sample of white participants. These reliability coefficients indicated that the scale was reliable.

This study used this scale to measure racial attitudes towards out-groups. Participants had to rate from a scale of 1-10 how they felt about the three race groups (Indian, black and white people). Positive and negative attitudes were placed on either side of the semantic differential scale. The scale items were:

- *negative versus positive,*
- *hostile versus friendly, and*
- *suspicious versus trusting.*

The lower the rating, the more the participant indicated having negative attitudes towards that group and the higher the rating, the more positive attitude they have (please see section 5 in appendix D).

## Self-interest

This study also adapted items from Sears, Lau, Tyler and Allen (1980) and Durrheim et al. (2009) to measure self-interest. Studies on self-interest have previously measured the likelihood that races will make self-interested calculations based on their economic status (Tedin, 1994). The self-interest scale has been used to test its relationship with multiple socio-political factors, though most studies have failed to yield significant results with the scale (Sears et al., 1980; Lau & Heldaman, 2009). Other studies have looked at self-interest as a determinant for voting and support for government policies (Sears et al., 1980) and reactions towards affirmative action (Jacobson, 1985). Cronbach alpha coefficients were established at  $\alpha=0.64$  to  $0.72$  for the white sample and  $\alpha=0.70$  to  $0.73$  for the black sample which indicated its reliability to the researcher.

The questionnaire adapted six items that measured the likelihood that different races will support or oppose policies based on the value they for them as an individual. The items used from previous studies were:

- *What is the likelihood that you or a family member gets a job or a promotion because of your race?*
- *What is the likelihood that your education will be negatively affected because of your race?*
- *What is the likelihood that your education will be positively affected because of your race? What is the likelihood that you will get better housing because of your race?*

- *What is the likelihood that you will suffer financial setback because of your race?*
- *What is the likelihood that you will be unemployed when you finish your degree because of your race?*

The scale instruction read as “Could you please indicate the likelihood that you or a member of your family will experience each of the events in the next 2 years by circling the selected response like this”. Participants had to rate from a scale of 1-5, closer to rating of one was *very likely* and closer to five was *very unlikely* (please see section 7 in appendix D).

### **Group threat**

Group threat was adopted from Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998). This scale assesses perceived threat or deprivation that groups have based on their socio-economic status. This study employed it to measure relative or perceived deprivation of black people in relation to white people based on their socioeconomic conditions. The authors used this scale in parallel with other scales with each scale measuring a separate phenomenon (Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998). This study maintained the original use of this scale to measure one race group’s perceived economic position in comparison to other race groups. Cronbach alpha coefficients of  $\alpha=0.64$  to  $0.72$  for the white sample and  $\alpha=0.70$  to  $0.73$  for the black sample have been reported.

A ladder like scale was used where participants had to rate where they think their race and two other race groups currently stand as compared to where they should stand in a just and fair society. Participants had to write a number from 1-10 to position their race group socially compared to others. The instruction to the scale read as “Here is a picture of a ladder. Let the ladder represent the economic life circumstances in South Africa. Imagine that the top of the

ladder represents the best possible life circumstances that you could hope for in this country, while the bottom represents your idea of the worst possible life in this country". (Please see section 4 in appendix D).

### **Group Level-Emotion Scale**

The scale was adopted from Smith, Seger & Mackie (2007). It evaluates intergroup emotions expressed by individuals or groups when they identify with a social group. These group emotions are different from an individual's emotions as they depend on the level of the person's group identification, they are shared within a group, and group emotions contribute to regulating intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviour. This scale was used independently in a study by Smith, Seger & Mackie (2007) in comparison to an individual emotions scale. This study adapted this scale to measure the construct in a similar manner. The reliability coefficient was measured at  $\alpha=0.90$  in the study from which it was adapted.

Participants were required to indicate the extent of their emotions towards their race group and two other race groups. The participants had to rate three negative emotions for each race group "angry", "irritated" and "hostile". The scale point was put next to the emotion and they had to rate their emotions on a spectrum of *extremely (5)*, *quite (4)*, *somewhat (3)*, *not very (2)* and *not at all (1)* (please see section 6 in appendix D).

### **Political Left/Right Scale**

This scale measures political stances (liberal/left or conservative/right) held by individuals and how this position determines their support or opposition towards politics. The scale was adapted from Evans, Heath and Lalljee (1996) and had a reliability coefficient of  $\alpha=0.82$ . The



scale has been used and studied as an independent scale to yield reliable indicators of political attitudes, values and ideologies (Evans et al., 1996). This study still maintained the initial use of the scale. The scale was adjusted to the South African context to evaluate the likelihood of participants supporting a particular political party.

Participants were required to use a five-point Likert-type scale to indicate their political position and the political party they were likely to support. The instruction asked participants to “Please rate the extent to which you are in support of the following statements by circling your response.” Participants had to evaluate their political opinion from 1, “*very liberal*” to 5, “*very conservative*”. Participants then had to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with policies of the three major South African political parties, the ANC, DA, and EFF. Scoring points read as “*strongly disagree*” with a rating of 1 to “*Strongly agree*” which had a rating of 5 (please see section 8 in appendix D).

### **Racial Policy Attitudes Scale**

This scale was used to measure race groups’ tendency to support or oppose policies that maintain or exacerbate inequality amongst groups. The scale obtained  $\alpha=0.85$  from a study by Pratto et al. (1994) and was adapted due to its high reliability. It is mainly used as part of other scale measures such as the social dominance scale (Pratto et al., 1994). It’s use as an independent scale is not well researched. The scale was adapted and adjusted to the South African political dynamics. It was made up of four items:

- *Sports authorities should promote transformation by introducing racial quotas for national sports teams.*

- *Local government should be spending much more of the city budget to develop historically black neighbourhoods.*
- *Government should ensure black owned business is given preferential access to contracts.*
- *Laws that promote affirmative action in employment should be strengthened.*

Participants were given the instruction “Please could you indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements by putting a cross [X] in the selected box”. The scale points were *strongly agree (5), agree (4), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (2), strongly disagree (1)* (please see section 1 in appendix D).

### **Racial Discrimination Scale**

The scale was made up of nine items that measured people’s everyday experience of racial discrimination and the impact it has had in their ability to progress. The scale was adapted from Williams, Gonzalez, Williams, Mohammed, Moomal & Stein (2008). The reliability coefficient for the overall scale was  $\alpha=0.84$ , Africans  $\alpha=0.84$ , coloureds  $\alpha=0.82$ , Indians  $\alpha=0.81$  and whites  $\alpha=0.78$ . Despite this scale facing multiple challenges such as language, content and application in a cross-cultural context, it has been gradually refined over the years. The scale has been a reliable tool that has helped in independent studies done in various fields including health around the world (Brohan, Slade, Clement, Rose, Sartorius & Thornicroft, 2011).

The researcher only used six items:

- *I have personally had difficulty getting ahead in life because of racial discrimination.*
- *In this country, I am discriminated against because of my race.*

- *I have often been a target of racism.*
- *My race group is often a target of racism in this country.*
- *My race group has had difficulty getting ahead in life because we are discriminated against. My race group is superior to others.*

Participants were given the instruction “Please could you indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements by putting a cross [X] in the selected box”. The scale points were *strongly agree (5), agree (4), neither agree nor disagree (3), disagree (2), strongly disagree (1)* (please see section 1 in appendix D).

### **Developed Measure on Moral Outrage**

The moral outrage (MO) questionnaire was developed by the researcher by adopting South African discourse on race, politics and moral outrage from the media. The new scale aimed to be racially inclusive for the South African population. The scale was made up of 21 items which were based on the following themes as expressed in the media:

1. How Government is ruining this country.
2. How taxpayers’ money is wasted by self-interested government officials.
3. How corrupt politicians go unpunished in this country.
4. How *tenderpreneurs* are enriching themselves in this country.
5. How Government develops policies as punishment for apartheid.
6. How incompetent police are unable to stop crime.
7. How unqualified people get jobs in government.
8. How dim-witted politicians are destroying the economy.

9. How new kinds of racism are growing in this country.
10. The arrogance of the people who were privileged in the past.
11. How most land has still not been given back to the people.
12. How those who benefited from apartheid continue to prosper.
13. How the historically privileged still think they own everything in the country.
14. How traditions that are important to my people are ignored by government.
15. The ongoing oppression of black people who suffered in the past.
16. How some oppose policies designed to uplift the victims of apartheid.
17. That the country was a safer place for families and children during apartheid.
18. How the oppression of the past is continuing to affect black people.
19. How Blacks are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups.
20. How Whites are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups.
21. How Indians are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups.

The items were repeatedly refined to adjust the language so that it would be able to measure what it aimed to measure without offending the participants. The items were selected because they were in line with how South Africans were talking about politics, race and government in the media. Some of the items were adapted from actual public opinion by various race groups on these matters. This was an indication that participants would easily respond or identify with these items as they are opinions they hold themselves.

The researcher compiled multiple statements by South Africans constantly and weeded out items that did not have face validity prior to any statistical analysis. Face validity is simply whether the test appears to measure what it claims to (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). It initially asked participants to indicate the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with the

item. It was finally refined to a table format where participants were asked how angry they felt when they read the 21 items. The scale points were *extremely (5)*, *very (4)*, *moderate (3)*, *not very (2)*, *not at all (1)*.

The validity of the scale was determined to show that the scale measures what it claims to assess. An Item analysis was conducted. An item analysis evaluates the internal consistency of a scale by examining the degree to which items correlate with each other (Kanjee, 1999). Cronbach's alpha is used to determine weak items that compromise the overall cohesiveness of the scale. The items should have a minimum of  $\alpha=0.70$  to be deemed as being reliable and consistent with other items in the scale (Hair et al., 1998).

The scale was also piloted prior to being used on the actual study to evaluate the scale's reliability to be used and then pick out items that may affect the scale. Items that compromised the reliability of the scale ( $\alpha < 0.70$ ) were to be taken out from the scale. Fortunately no items affected the reliability of the scale, therefore no item was taken out from the scale after the statistical analysis.

### **Pilot study**

To improve the reliability and validity of the compiled questionnaire for the South African sample, a pilot study was carried out. All the items in the study were piloted to determine their usability in the study. Pilot studies assist in determining whether the questions are framed correctly, in a clear and understandable way, to help eliminate difficulties in the wording and phrasing of the questions or instructions. They also give the researcher

experience in administering the questionnaire and in dealing with the participant's questions that may arise while filling in the questionnaire (Kanjee, 2006).

A small sample of 30 participants was recruited to take part in the pilot study. This sample did not form part of the main sample recruited for the purpose of answering the research question. The purpose of the pilot study was to assess the questionnaire to weed out unsuitable items that may affect the desired outcome.

The pilot study was conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus with participants who were doing their Honours degrees in Psychology. However, all the participants in the pilot study were black and thus not a good representation of the race samples that were used for the main study. A convenience sampling method was used in recruiting the sample for the pilot study.

The responses were coded in the Statistical Procedures for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme. An overall reliability analysis was done for each of the measures. The output for all the scales except the moral outrage scale produced a negative reliability coefficient which indicated item coding errors with the scale items and the output could not be used further than to pinpoint coding errors. The reliability coefficient in the pilot study for the moral outrage scale was established at  $\alpha = .744$ . Based on this output, the researcher learnt that all the items had to be re-coded in order to produce more appropriate results. Coding of items is discussed in the data analysis section below.

## **Procedure**

The black, white and Indian participants were requested to fill in a questionnaire (Appendix D), which took approximately 20 minutes to complete. Participation was voluntary and participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any point should they so wish.

The aims of the study were explained verbally to potential participants. A consent form with the aims of the study was signed by students before their participation.

Incentives were given to the participants upon completing and handing in the survey. Incentives are benefits designed to motivate action or to get people to take part in a study. People are more likely to take part in surveys if they believe it will affect change and have a positive impact on things they care about. The incentive used for this study was chocolate candies. Grant and Sugarman (2004) state that the incentive does not need to be expensive to be effective, it is in fact better to use a low-cost incentive so as not to skew or appear to bribe the respondents.

## **Ethics**

The study anticipated minimal risk to participants. However, the study explored sensitive information around racial prejudice politics and participants' emotional responses to these

issues. It was arranged with the Child and Family Centre (Appendix C) that should participants find the questionnaire to be distressing they could be seen for counselling.

Other ethical concerns were weighed from the early stages in the design of this research. Research participants were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity as they were requested to not write their names on the questionnaire they completed. This ensured that there was no way of identifying the respondents via their questionnaires. The autonomy of participants was protected through the use of an informed consent form (Appendix B), which among other things clearly explained that participation was voluntary and that respondents were free to withdraw from the study at any stage.

The informed consent form did not have the full details of the research, this was corrected by the researcher introducing the research and clearly explaining the purpose and aims of the study. The researcher roamed amongst the respondents to answer any arising questions. The researcher was given approval by the registrar of the university to conduct the study with the students within the campus. The research was given ethical clearance by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of Kwazulu-Natal (Appendix A).

## **Data Analysis**

The quantitative design of this study required that statistical procedures be used to analyse the data. The Statistical Procedures for the Social Sciences (SPSS) programme was the computer software package used to execute the analysis. The main statistical procedures conducted



were descriptive analysis, independent sample t-tests, factor analysis, correlation analysis, reliability analysis and stepwise regression analysis.

The white sample was removed from some parts of the main data analysis of the actual research due to the small sample size (n=18). A small sample size decreases the confidence in the study's ability to estimate an output that is reflective of the population. Small samples decrease the probability to detect statistically significant results and increase the likelihood to produce skewed results that are not a true representation (Hackshaw, 2008).

As previously mentioned, some items in the questionnaire were re-coded. As a result, some scales had positively coded and negatively coded items. The negatively coded items were reverse-scored before computing total scores and before conducting any psychometric analyses. This was done for high scores on the questionnaire to reflect relatively high levels of the attribute that is being measured. Reverse-scoring the negatively coded items ensured that all of the items were consistent with each other in terms of what an "agree" or "disagree" imply.

All 1s on the item were transformed to 5s and all 2s to 4s and so forth. This was done for racial policy attitudes, social dominance and one item in the racial discrimination scale. Similarly, all other items that had high scores were transformed to become low scores recoding 5s to 1s and so forth. Because the 5-point scale includes 3 as a neutral point, all 3s were left unchanged. By reverse-scoring all of the negatively coded items, a consistency among the items was created. After the items were properly coded, a computed sum total for each scale was calculated to allow for the analysis of the scale as some programs only take in one item as opposed to multiple items.

Descriptive statistics were used to summarize the overall scales' measures of central tendency and measures of variability. This included the mean, standard deviation, minimum and maximum, and skewness. A reliability analysis was carried out for each of the scales to determine the degree to which the scales were reliable. This was important for this study as most of the scales were adapted from different countries that are different to South Africa. Scales had to achieve a reliability coefficient of  $\alpha=0.70$  to be deemed reliable.

An independent sample t-test was conducted for all the reliable scales to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between black and Indian responses on each of the scales. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted for the moral outrage scale. Subscales were then created from the factors produced using SPSS. Subscales are constituent parts of an overall composite scale (Merriam-Webster collegiate dictionary, 2017).

A reliability analysis was run on the new subscales. Subsequent analysis was done using the subscales that obtained a reliability coefficient of  $\alpha=0.7$  to  $\alpha=0.8$  instead of the overall moral outrage scale. These subscales proved to be the more reliable core factor to predict what morally enrages South Africans. Subsequent analysis using the subscale included an independent samples t-test to test for significant differences of moral outrage between Indian participants and black participants.

A stepwise regression and a correlation analysis were used to determine the relationship between moral outrage subscales and racial discrimination, self-interest, group-based emotions and semantic differential scales. Correlation analysis aids one to understand the relationship between variables better by means of the correlation coefficient (Durrheim,

1999). Relationships between the measures are analysed to determine the degree to which the measures relate to each other. Significant correlations are assessed based on their strength and direction with high correlation coefficients often ranging from 0.60 to 0.80 and above. A positive association with elevated scores reflects that the scales are measuring the same constructs (DeCoster, 2004).

ANOVA was run as part of the regression analysis output in order to test for differences amongst the sample means by examining the amount of variation within each of the samples, relative to the amount of variation between the samples. The researcher had to ensure that the underlying data distribution is normal or symmetrical. The variance of the two research samples were assessed to see if they are equal and lastly that the sample was drawn independently from a normally distributed population (DeCoster, 2004).

### **Validity, Reliability and Rigour**

A good study needs to achieve validity which is proof that a measure does what it is intended to do (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). A measure will be considered valid if it provides a good operational definition of the construct, and whether it is suited for the purpose for which it will be used. This study ran a factor analysis to determine the reliability of the clusters measured by the developed moral outrage scale. Factor analysis finds clusters of variables which are similar (Moerdyk, 2013). The factor structures for this research indicated clusters such as *continuing prejudice* which has been present in previous studies. This then indicated construct validity as the moral outrage scale had relatively similar constructs to previous research such as the symbolic racism scale.

This study also aimed to achieve convergent validity which is a form of construct validity. This study predicted that moral outrage is a combination of traditional moral values and anti-black effects. Therefore this study also aimed to have a positive correlation with existing measures of symbolic racism. Due to this, the study aimed to achieve both convergent validity and criterion validity. This was because the researcher expected to have a positive correlation with previous measures, and the study also looked at predicting how the participants would perform on the survey.

Reliability is the dependability of a measure instrument to the extent that it yields the same findings on repeated trials (Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Item analysis was conducted to identify items that were weak. These items do not measure the same construct as other items in the test there by making them meaningless to the scale because they may affect the study's reliability. SPSS was used to run an item analysis when the data were analysed. A Cronbach Alpha was used to test for reliability. A reliability coefficient of  $\alpha=0.7$  is the most ideal but  $\alpha=0.5$  is also acceptable (Kempthorne, 1952).

Threats to the reliability of a measure include random and systematic error. Even though they may cause measures not to be dependable, it is not problematic as tests tend to be made up of numerous items and random error in an item gets cancelled out when all the items are added together in the final score.

Quantitative research must aim to achieve both external and internal validity. Internal validity helps to deduce the causal relationship that exists between two variables (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). External validity allows for the findings to be inferred to a wider context that goes beyond the boundaries of the setting of the current study (Johnson & Christensen,

2012; Tredoux& Smith, 2006). This study attempted to achieve internal validity but did not aim to obtain external validity. Generalizing the findings was not a priority as the study was exploratory by nature and aimed simply to understand moral outrage in the South African context amongst black participants, Indian participants and white participants. Also, because convenience sampling was used to draw the participants for the study, the sample was not representative of the UKZN student population and ultimately the South African population. As a result, this research would not aim to generalise its findings.

## **Chapter 4: Results**

This chapter reports on the findings of the study. It indicates the descriptive statistics that aided in answering the research questions to test the researcher's hypothesis.

### **Demographics**

The study obtained 103 black participants who made up the highest sample proportion (n=103), followed by Indian participants (n=45), white participants (n= 18). Such a small sample for white participants may be due to the fact that there was protest action on campus during the time of data collection and people preferred the safety of their homes. Most students possibly also stayed away from campus for safety reasons. This made it difficult to access a more representative sample across all three race groups.

Overall, all the participants were at the time of collecting the data were doing their undergraduate degree in various disciplines in the university. The mean age of the sample was just over 21 years and, with respect to gender, there were 125 females 44 males.

### **Descriptive Analysis**

The descriptive statistics for the overall questionnaire scales are presented in Table 1. The analysis of the scales' reliability being above  $\alpha=0.70$  was achieved for the scales for the moral outrage at  $\alpha=0.72$ . The social distance scale towards white participants obtained

$\alpha=0.78$  and Indian social distance  $\alpha=0.77$ . Racial policy attitudes had  $\alpha=0.72$ , social identity had  $\alpha=0.75$ . The semantic differential towards white participants obtained  $\alpha=0.77$ , black semantic differential had  $\alpha=0.77$  and Indian semantic differential had  $\alpha=0.82$ . Group level emotions towards white participants had  $\alpha=0.89$ , black group level emotions obtained  $\alpha=0.84$  and Indian group level emotions had  $\alpha=0.91$ .

Self-interest  $\alpha=0.60$ , racial discrimination  $\alpha=0.59$ , social dominance  $\alpha=0.61$ , black social distance  $\alpha=-1.22$ , political left/right  $\alpha=0.12$  and group threat  $\alpha=0.59$  had a lower than 0.7 alpha. This puts into question the overall reliability of these scales and any further results generated using them.

The scales obtained means suggested that the participants reported moral outrage (mean=45.98, SD=10.182), and the data had a minimum value of 4 to a maximum of 95 and were highly skewed to the right at 1.2). Self-interest was present (mean=19.58, SD= 4.50). The results for the scale ranged from a minimum value of 8.00 to a maximum of 30.00 and the distribution was relatively normal and positively skewed at 0.143.

White social distance was higher (mean=5.22, SD=3.15) and the output was dispersed from a minimum value of .00 to a maximum of 12.00 and highly distributed to the right at 0.49. Black social distance was lower (mean=4.16, SD=1.51) with a data set that had a minimum value of 0.00 and a maximum of 9.00. Indian social distance obtained a higher mean relative to the two other races (mean=9.43, SD=3.27) with a minimum value of 1.00 and a maximum value of 15.00, which indicates that Indian participants have more contact with other race groups.

The racial policy attitudes scale had a mean of 2.21 and SD of 3.39). The data were dispersed from a minimum value of -4.00 to a maximum 12.00 with a higher output distribution towards the right at 0.37.

The racial discrimination scale obtained an overall mean of 8.74, and SD of 2.70, with results starting at a minimum value of 3.00 to a maximum of 15.00 and a large negative data distribution at (-0.172). Social identity scale obtained a mean of 5.17, and SD of 2.16, and the scale had values that ranged from a minimum of 3.00 to a maximum of 11.00 with a positive high skewness of 0.7). Social dominance obtained a mean of 7.91 and SD of 1.75, the scale's data ranged from a minimum of .00 to a maximum of 11.00 and was highly distributed towards the left at -1.46.

White participants and black participants have similar attitudes directed towards their group. The white semantic differential scale had a mean of 16.681 and SD of 6.29, and a data set that had a minimum value of 3.00 and a maximum of 30.00, with data that were largely skewed to the right (0.16). The black semantic differential scale obtained a mean of 16.67 and SD of 6.42. The results spanned from a minimum value of 3.00 to a maximum of 30.00 and had a close to normal distribution (0.06). Indian participants had a slightly higher mean score in comparison to the two race groups (mean= 17.75, SD= 6.54), and the data set spread out from a minimum of 3.00 to a maximum of 30.00 and was skewed towards the left (-0.19).

Political left/right had a mean of 10.59 and SD of 2.81. The results for the scale were dispersed from a minimum of 1.00 to a maximum of 19.00 with slight skewness towards the left (-0.03). White group level emotions scale had a mean of 8.23 and SD of 3.55. The results ranged from a minimum of 1.00 to a maximum of 15.00 and were skewed to the right (0.19). The black group level emotions had a mean of 8.48 and SD of 3.54. The results had a



minimum value of 1.00 and a maximum of 15.00 and were slightly positively skewed (0.09). The Indian group level emotions scale had a mean of 9.18 and SD of 3.59. The results had a minimum value of 1.00 and a maximum of 15.00 and the data were highly skewed towards the left (-0.28). Lastly, group threat had a mean of 41.09 and SD of 7.89, with a minimum value of 5.00 to a maximum of 60.00 and the data were highly negative skewed (-.56).

**Table 1: Descriptive Analysis**

|                            | Mean    | Std. Deviation | Skewness | Min   | Max   | Chronbach's Alpha |
|----------------------------|---------|----------------|----------|-------|-------|-------------------|
| Moral Outrage              | 45.98   | 10.182         | 0.125    | 4.00  | 95    | 0.724             |
| Self-interest              | 19.5774 | 4.50482        | 0.143    | 8.00  | 30.00 | 0.601             |
| WhiteSocialD               | 5.2242  | 3.14943        | 0.494    | 0.00  | 12.00 | 0.779             |
| BlackSocialD               | 4.1566  | 1.50942        | 0.233    | 0.00  | 9.00  | -1.221            |
| IndianSocialD              | 9.4337  | 3.27411        | -0.473   | 1.00  | 15.00 | 0.773             |
| RacialPolicyAttitude       | 2.2130  | 3.38970        | 0.369    | -4.00 | 12.00 | 0.720             |
| RacialDiscrimination       | 8.7440  | 2.70284        | -0.172   | 3.00  | 15.00 | 0.591             |
| SocialIdentification       | 5.1726  | 2.15561        | 0.740    | 3.00  | 11.00 | 0.750             |
| SocialDominance            | 7.9167  | 1.74554        | -1.457   | 0.00  | 11.00 | 0.613             |
| WhiteSemanticDifferential  | 16.6848 | 6.29538        | 0.156    | 3.00  | 30.00 | 0.769             |
| BlackSemanticDifferential  | 16.6667 | 6.42056        | 0.057    | 3.00  | 30.00 | 0.769             |
| IndianSemanticDifferential | 17.7576 | 6.53802        | -0.185   | 3.00  | 30.00 | 0.816             |
| PoliticalLeft/Right        | 10.5988 | 2.80718        | -0.025   | 1.00  | 19.00 | 0.123             |
| WhiteGrpBEemo              | 8.2331  | 3.54786        | 0.186    | 1.00  | 15.00 | 0.895             |
| BlackGrpBEemo              | 8.4847  | 3.54226        | 0.097    | 1.00  | 15.00 | 0.841             |
| IndianGrpBEemo             | 9.1790  | 3.58898        | -0.279   | 1.00  | 15.00 | 0.907             |
| Group Threat               | 41.0947 | 7.89608        | -0.559   | 5.00  | 60.00 | 0.583             |

### **Comparison of Indian and Black Participants Responses – Independent T-Test**

An independent-sample t-test was conducted to compare the means of Indian and Black participant's responses between the scales in the questionnaire. A summary of the statistical output may be found in Table 2. The study found that participants had statistically significant

self-interest with a mean difference of  $-1.89$  ( $t(147) = -2.49$ ;  $p=0.01$ ). Political attitudes, stances and support for politics was statistically significant with a mean difference of  $-3.81$  ( $t(148) = -7.89$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). A statistically significant mean difference of  $-9.43$  was obtained for how Indian participants and black participants experience racial discrimination by other race groups ( $t(147) = -2.05$ ;  $p=.04$ ). How black participants and Indian participants identify and feel comfortable in who they are relative to their race group was significant with a mean difference of  $0.82$  ( $t(147)=2.29$ ;  $p=0.02$ ).

The two race groups' preference for hierarchy within any social system in order to increase the social status gap was not significant ( $p=0.43$ ). There was no statistically significant difference in how the different race groups perceived social threat or deprivation based on their socio-economic status ( $p=0.41$ ). Feelings of moral outrage was not statistically significant ( $p=0.54$ ).

Black and Indian participants attitudes and opinions towards white people were not statistically significant ( $p=0.59$ ). Their attitude and opinions towards Indian people was statistically significant with a mean difference of  $-3.39$  ( $t(144) = -3.01$ ;  $p=.05$ ). There was no statistically significant difference between black participants' and Indian participants' behavioural intention to have intergroup contact with white people ( $p=0.07$ ) black participants ( $p=0.06$ ), or Indian participants ( $p=0.12$ ). The use of emotions by Indian participants and black participants in order to identify with their group and regulate intragroup and intergroup attitudes and behaviour was statistically significant for white people with a mean difference of  $1.68$  ( $t(142) = 2.82$ ;  $p = 0.05$ ), and for black participants with a mean difference of  $-2.45$  ( $t(142) = -4.32$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). The scale was no statistically significant for Indian participants ( $p=0.07$ ).

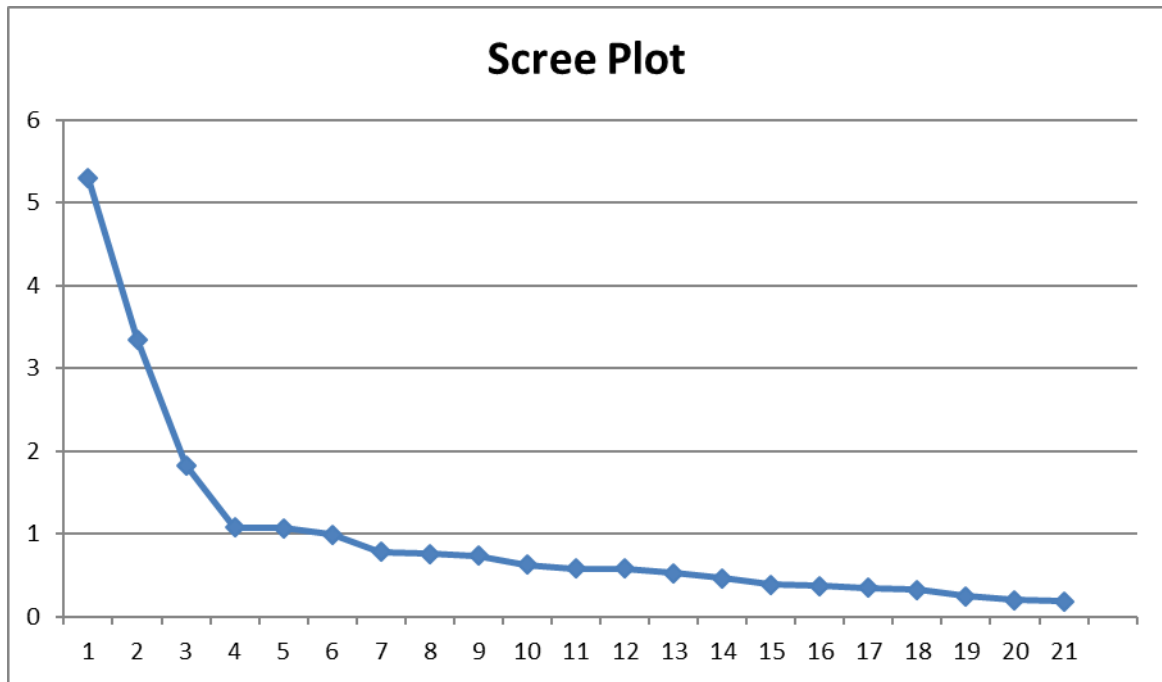
**Table 2: Independent Samples Test to compare Indian and Black Means.**

|                                    |                            | t      | df      | Sig. (2-tailed) | t-test for Equality of Means |                       |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|---------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
|                                    |                            |        |         |                 | Mean Difference              | Std. Error Difference |
| <b>Self-interest</b>               | Equal variance assumed     | -2.543 | 147     | 0.012           | -1.88715                     | 0.74223               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -2.494 | 85.421  | 0.015           | -1.88715                     | 0.75672               |
| <b>Social Distance</b>             | Equal variance assumed     | -2.277 | 146     | 0.024           | -3.12345                     | 1.37178               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -2.436 | 106.722 | 0.016           | -3.12345                     | 1.28198               |
| <b>Racial Political Attitude</b>   | Equal variance assumed     | -7.886 | 148     | 0.000           | -3.81202                     | 0.48341               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -7.591 | 81.534  | 0.000           | -3.81202                     | 0.50219               |
| <b>Racial Discrimination</b>       | Equal variance assumed     | -2.048 | 147     | 0.042           | -.94285                      | 0.46036               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -2.120 | 97.555  | 0.37            | -.94285                      | 0.44474               |
| <b>Social Identity</b>             | Equal variance assumed     | 2.294  | 147     | 0.023           | 0.81790                      | 0.35661               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | 2.094  | 72.779  | 0.040           | 0.81790                      | 0.39056               |
| <b>Social Dominance</b>            | Equal variance assumed     | 0.785  | 147     | 0.434           | 0.33000                      | 0.42036               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | 0.801  | 94.215  | 0.425           | 0.33000                      | 0.41175               |
| <b>Group threat</b>                | Equal variance assumed     | 0.827  | 148     | 0.409           | 1.06032                      | 1.28187               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | 0.845  | 94.002  | 0.400           | 1.06032                      | 1.25468               |
| <b>Moral Outrage</b>               | Equal variance assumed     | 0.613  | 148     | 0.541           | 1.180                        | 1.926                 |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | 0.709  | 127.953 | 0.480           | 1.180                        | 1.666                 |
| <b>WhiteSemanticDifferential</b>   | Equal variance assumed     | -1.820 | 144     | 0.071           | -1.94391                     | 1.06837               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -1.736 | 80.664  | 0.086           | -1.94391                     | 1.11970               |
| <b>BlackSemantic Differential</b>  | Equal variance assumed     | 0.540  | 144     | 0.590           | .64260                       | 1.19109               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | 0.535  | 88.675  | 0.594           | .64260                       | 1.20065               |
| <b>IndianSemantic Differential</b> | Equal variance assumed     | -3.011 | 144     | 0.003           | -3.39437                     | 1.12742               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -2.912 | 83.320  | 0.005           | -3.39437                     | 1.16565               |
| <b>WhiteSociaidentification</b>    | Equal variance assumed     | -1.829 | 145     | 0.069           | -1.07064                     | 0.58533               |
|                                    | Equal variance not assumed | -1.888 | 97.693  | 0.062           | -1.07064                     | 0.56709               |
| <b>BlackSocialidentification</b>   | Equal variance assumed     | -2.814 | 146     | 0.006           | -.79082                      | 0.28106               |
|                                    | Equal variance             | -3.106 | 115.523 | 0.002           | -.79082                      | 0.25464               |

|                                   |                            |        |         |       |          |         |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|---------|-------|----------|---------|
|                                   | not assumed                |        |         |       |          |         |
| <b>IndianSocialIdentification</b> | Equal variance assumed     | 1.565  | 146     | 0.120 | .91426   | 0.58407 |
|                                   | Equal variance not assumed | 1.710  | 112.540 | 0.090 | .91426   | 0.53467 |
| <b>WhiteGrpoulevelEmotions</b>    | Equal variance assumed     | 2.823  | 142     | 0.005 | 1.67581  | 0.59358 |
|                                   | Equal variance not assumed | 2.746  | 84.909  | 0.007 | 1.67581  | 0.61034 |
| <b>BlackGrouplevelEmotions</b>    | Equal variance assumed     | -4.315 | 142     | 0.000 | -2.44681 | 0.56706 |
|                                   | Equal variance not assumed | -4.084 | 79.458  | 0.000 | -2.44681 | 0.59913 |
| <b>IndianGrouplevelEmotions</b>   | Equal variance assumed     | 1.824  | 141     | 0.070 | 1.07048  | 0.58677 |
|                                   | Equal variance not assumed | 1.911  | 103.384 | 0.059 | 1.07048  | 0.56012 |

### **Factor Analysis to Evaluate Moral Outrage**

The first hypothesis for this study was to evaluate if a reliable and valid moral outrage scale could be developed. The reliability analysis of the scale indicated an alpha of 0.72. A factor analysis was conducted and five factors as indicated by the scree plot were extracted (please see Figure 1 and Tables 3 and 4). Items 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 18 strongly loaded in factor one and explained 25% of the variance. Factor two was loaded by items 1, 3, 4, and 7 and explained 16% of variance. Factor three strongly loaded items 5, 6, 8 and 9 and further explained 9% of the variance. Factor four loaded items 2, 20 and 21 and explained 5% of variance, factor five loaded items 11, 17 and 19 and explained % of variance. The five factors that morally outraged black participants and Indian participants in South Africa were therefore: 1, racial privilege, 2, government corruption, 3, out-group threat, 4, landownership and 5, social dominance.



**Figure 1: Scree Plot for Factor Analysis**

**Table 3: Total Variance Explained**

| Factor                  | Initial Eigenvalues |               |              |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------------|
|                         | Total               | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| 1 Racial privilege      | 5.296               | 25.218        | 25.218       |
| 2 Government corruption | 3.344               | 15.922        | 41.140       |
| 3 Out-group threat      | 1.827               | 8.699         | 49.839       |
| 4 Land ownership        | 1.077               | 5.129         | 54.968       |
| 5 Social dominance      | 1.065               | 5.070         | 60.038       |

**Table 4: Rotated Component Matrix<sup>a</sup> for Moral Outrage**

|   | 1      | 2      | 3      | 4      | 5      |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 1. How government is ruining this country                                 | 0.085  | 0.600  | 0.556  | -0.112 | -0.157 |
| 2. How taxpayers' money is wasted by self-interested government officials | -0.149 | -0.802 | -0.197 | 0.080  | 0.014  |
| 3. How corrupt politicians go unpunished in this country                  | 0.171  | 0.835  | 0.047  | 0.088  | 0.074  |
| 4. How tenderpreneurs are enriching themselves in this country            | 0.127  | 0.521  | 0.225  | -0.001 | 0.097  |
| 5. How Government develops policies as punishment for apartheid           | -0.220 | 0.152  | 0.587  | 0.051  | 0.355  |

|  |        |        |        |        |        |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 6. How the incompetent police are unable to stop crime                             | -0.020 | 0.260  | 0.472  | 0.350  | 0.217  |
| 7. How unqualified people get jobs in government                                   | 0.091  | 0.568  | 0.149  | -0.003 | 0.481  |
| 8. How dim-witted politicians are destroying the economy                           | 0.119  | 0.355  | 0.679  | -0.053 | 0.027  |
| 9. How new kinds of racism are growing in this country                             | 0.090  | 0.361  | 0.485  | 0.248  | 0.002  |
| 10. The arrogance of the people who were privileged in the past                    | 0.635  | 0.009  | 0.261  | 0.092  | -0.013 |
| 11. How most land has still not been given back to the people                      | -0.726 | -0.136 | -0.020 | -0.217 | 0.050  |
| 12. How those who benefited from apartheid continue to prosper                     | 0.720  | 0.163  | 0.033  | 0.114  | -0.176 |
| 13. How the historically privileged still think they own everything in the country | 0.780  | 0.128  | -0.163 | 0.278  | -0.064 |
| 14. How traditions that are important to my people are ignored by government       | 0.672  | 0.108  | 0.001  | -0.096 | 0.245  |
| 15. The ongoing oppression of our people who suffered in the past                  | 0.689  | 0.265  | 0.021  | 0.199  | 0.077  |
| 16. How some oppose policies designed to uplift the victims of apartheid           | 0.535  | -0.243 | 0.472  | -0.029 | 0.215  |
| 17. That the country was a safer place for families and children during apartheid  | 0.210  | -0.078 | 0.046  | 0.162  | 0.767  |
| 18. How the oppression of the past is continuing to affect black people            | 0.543  | 0.084  | -0.237 | 0.499  | -0.073 |
| 19. How Blacks are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups         | -0.285 | 0.245  | 0.164  | 0.017  | 0.684  |
| 20. How Whites are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups         | 0.338  | 0.015  | 0.169  | 0.734  | -0.036 |
| 21. How Indians are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups        | 0.177  | -0.130 | 0.045  | 0.786  | 0.246  |

Extraction Method: Principal components

Analysis

a. 3 components extracted

A reliability analysis for the two race groups, black and Indian, was computed. For the five factors produced only the racial privilege (black participants  $\alpha=0.78$ , Indian participants  $\alpha=0.74$ ) and government corruption (Indian  $\alpha=0.74$ ) subscales had a significant alpha greater than 0.7 (please refer to Table 5). The government corruption scale (black participants  $\alpha=0.66$ ), out-group threat subscales (black participants  $\alpha=0.59$ , Indian participants  $\alpha=0.63$ ), landownership (black participants  $\alpha=0.26$ , Indian participants  $\alpha=0.13$ ) and social dominance (black participants  $\alpha=0.17$ , Indian participants  $\alpha=0.45$ ) had unreliable alpha scores.

**Table 5: Reliability Statistics**

| Scale                 | Race   | Cronbach's Alpha | Number of items |
|-----------------------|--------|------------------|-----------------|
| Racial privilege      | Black  | 0.782            | 7               |
|                       | Indian | 0.742            | 7               |
| Government corruption | Black  | 0.657            | 4               |
|                       | Indian | 0.739            | 4               |
| Out-group threat      | Black  | 0.587            | 4               |
|                       | Indian | 0.634            | 4               |
| Landownership         | Black  | 0.255            | 3               |
|                       | Indian | 0.127            | 3               |
| Social dominance      | Black  | 0.171            | 3               |
|                       | Indian | 0.449            | 3               |

**Comparison of Racial Privilege and Government Corruption – Independent T-Tests**

An independent sample t-test was computed to compare the means for the racial privilege subscale. Black participants had a significantly lower mean of 13.51(SD=4.91) for the racial privilege subscale as compared to a mean of 17.80 (SD=5.19) for Indian participants. The two group standard deviations differed by 0.11, thus indicating a small effect size as it was greater than 0.01. Government corruption obtained a mean of 6.57 (SD= 2.81) for the Indian group, the scale was not reliable for black participants and thus a t-test was not conducted. (Please see Table 6.)

**Table 6: Descriptive Statistics for Racial Privilege and Government Corruption**

|                       | Race   | n  | Mean    | Std. Deviation | Std. Error of mean |
|-----------------------|--------|----|---------|----------------|--------------------|
| Racial Privilege      | Black  | 96 | 13.5104 | 4.91399        | .50153             |
|                       | Indian | 46 | 17.8043 | 5.19666        | .76621             |
| Government Corruption | Indian | 47 | 6.5745  | 2.81104        | .41003             |

**Correlation between Moral Outrage and Racial Discrimination for Black Participants.**

One of the study's objectives was to determine whether a relationship existed between moral outrage and racial discrimination. A Pearson correlation did not find a significant relationship between racial privilege and racial discrimination for black participants ( $r=0.17$ ;  $p=0.11$ ). In testing the objective that aimed to determine whether self-interest and moral outrage have a relationship, the analysis found that racial privilege did not correlate with self-interest ( $r=-0.02$ ;  $p=0.88$ ). Moral outrage towards racial privilege had a positive relationship with feelings that black participants had about white people ( $r=0.34$ ;  $p=0.01$ ) and emotions they had towards Indian people ( $r=0.29$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). The greater outrage that black participants had about racial privilege, the greater group level emotions they had towards white people and Indian people.

Racial discrimination and self-interest had a positive relationship ( $r =0.32$ ;  $p=.001$ ). This shows that the more black people experience racial discrimination and their progress impacted by it, the less they make self-calculated decisions and instead become more social. Self-interest had a negative relationship with the attitudes and opinions that black people had



about Indian people ( $r=-0.27$ ;  $p=0.01$ ). The stronger (negative) the attitudes and opinions that black participants had about Indian people, the less self-interest they had.

Racial discrimination had a positive relationship with how black participants felt about white people ( $r=0.23$ ;  $p=0.03$ ) and Indian people ( $r=-0.23$ ;  $p=0.03$ ). This indicated that the more black people were affected by racial discrimination, the higher the group level emotions they had towards Indian people and white people.

The analysis also indicated that the attitudes and opinions black participants had about white people was positively correlated with opinions and attitudes they had about Indian people ( $r=0.50$ ;  $p=0.01$ ) and black people ( $r =0.26$ ;  $p=0.01$ ). This relationship indicated that the attitude they had towards white people had a strong influence on the opinions and attitudes they had about Indian people and their own race group. The opinions and attitudes that black participants had about their own group also had a positive relationship with the attitudes and opinions they had about Indian people. This indicated that the more (negative) opinions and attitudes they had about their own race, the more attitudes and opinions they have about Indian people.

Emotions that black participants had about white people had a positive relationship with how they felt about their own race group ( $r=0.39$ ;  $p=0.00$ ) and Indian participants ( $r=0.74$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). The stronger the emotions that black participants had about white people, the stronger they felt about Indian people and their own race. How black participants feel about themselves also had a positive relationship with how they felt about Indian participants ( $r=0.55$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). The stronger the feeling that black participants had about their race group,

the stronger the emotions they had about Indian people. All of the correlation coefficients are presented in Table 7.

**Table 7: Correlation Matrix of the Nine Measures for Black Participants.**

|                              |   | Racial Privilege | Self-interest   | Racial Discrimination | White Semantic Differential | Indian Semantic Differential | Black Semantic Differential | White Group level Emotions | Black Group level Emotions |
|------------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Self-interest                | r | <b>0.016</b>     | 1               |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.877            |                 |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Racial Discrimination        | r | <b>0.166</b>     | <b>0.321**</b>  | 1                     |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.107            | 0.001           |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| White Semantic Differential  | r | <b>0.039</b>     | <b>-0.106</b>   | <b>-0.049</b>         | 1                           |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.710            | 0.298           | 0.632                 |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Indian Semantic Differential | r | <b>0.038</b>     | <b>-0.274**</b> | <b>-0.016</b>         | <b>0.502**</b>              | 1                            |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.722            | 0.006           | 0.877                 | 0.000                       |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Black Semantic Differential  | r | <b>-0.190</b>    | <b>-0.029</b>   | <b>0.001</b>          | <b>0.263**</b>              | <b>0.207*</b>                | 1                           |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.070            | 0.773           | 0.995                 | 0.008                       | 0.040                        |                             |                            |                            |
| White Group level Emotions   | r | <b>0.342**</b>   | <b>0.051</b>    | <b>0.229*</b>         | <b>0.228*</b>               | <b>0.112</b>                 | <b>-0.088</b>               | 1                          |                            |
|                              | p | 0.001            | 0.622           | 0.025                 | 0.027                       | 0.283                        | 0.401                       |                            |                            |
| Black Group level Emotions   | r | <b>0.109</b>     | <b>0.003</b>    | <b>-0.011</b>         | <b>-0.059</b>               | <b>-0.023</b>                | <b>0.038</b>                | <b>0.388**</b>             | 1                          |
|                              | p | 0.302            | 0.979           | 0.918                 | 0.570                       | 0.822                        | 0.719                       | 0.000                      |                            |
| Indian Group level Emotions  | r | <b>0.299**</b>   | <b>0.085</b>    | <b>0.228*</b>         | <b>0.016</b>                | <b>0.100</b>                 | <b>-0.110</b>               | <b>0.735**</b>             | <b>0.551**</b>             |
|                              | p | 0.004            | 0.408           | 0.026                 | 0.878                       | 0.338                        | 0.295                       | 0.000                      | 0.000                      |

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation significant at .01 level (2-tailed).

### **Correlation between Moral Outrage and Racial Discrimination for Indian Participants.**

For the Indian sample, the Pearson correlation indicated that there was a positive correlation between moral outrage towards racial privilege and racial discrimination ( $r=0.43$ ;  $p=0.03$ ). Moral outrage toward racial privilege also had a positive correlation with emotions that Indian participants had towards their own race group ( $r=0.47$ ;  $p=0.01$ ) and their own race ( $r=0.54$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). Moral outrage about government corruption had a positive relationship with the opinions and attitudes that Indian participants had towards white people ( $r=0.29$ ;  $p=0.04$ ) and emotions they had for black people ( $r=0.56$ ;  $p=0.00$ ).

Self-interest had a positive correlation with Indian participants emotions towards black people ( $r=0.37$ ;  $p=0.01$ ) and white people ( $r=0.33$ ;  $p=0.02$ ). Racial discrimination had a positive relationship with emotions that Indian participants have towards their own race group ( $r=-0.38$ ;  $p=0.01$ ). The Indian participants attitudes and opinions towards white people had a positive correlation with attitudes and opinions that Indian participants have about their own race group ( $r=0.38$ ;  $p=0.01$ ) and a positive correlation with Indian participants opinions of black people ( $r=0.39$ ;  $p=0.01$ ).

Indian participants' emotions towards black people had a positive relationship with their attitudes and opinions about black people  $\geq .01$  ( $r=0.37$ ;  $p=0.01$ ). Indian participants' emotions towards white people had a positive relationship with how they felt about their own race group ( $r=0.65$ ;  $p=0.00$ ). All of the correlation coefficients are presented in Table 8.

**Table 8: Correlation Matrix of the Nine Measures for Indian Participants.**

|                              |   | Racial Privilege | Government Corruption | Self-interest | Racial Discrimination | White Semantic Differential | Indian Semantic Differential | Black Semantic Differential | White Group level Emotions | Black Group level Emotions |
|------------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Government Corruption        | r | 0.117            | 1                     |               |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.440            |                       |               |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Self-interest                | r | -0.014           | 0.225                 | 1             |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.925            | 0.129                 |               |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Racial Discrimination        | r | 0.429**          | 0.030                 | -0.076        | 1                     |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.003            | 0.840                 | 0.614         |                       |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| White Semantic Differential  | r | 0.085            | 0.296*                | 0.102         | -0.099                | 1                           |                              |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.573            | 0.043                 | 0.495         | 0.506                 |                             |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Indian Semantic Differential | r | -0.037           | -0.031                | 0.060         | -0.251                | 0.380**                     | 1                            |                             |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.809            | 0.838                 | 0.689         | 0.089                 | 0.008                       |                              |                             |                            |                            |
| Black Semantic Differential  | r | 0.217            | 0.217                 | -0.181        | -0.028                | 0.275                       | 0.392**                      | 1                           |                            |                            |
|                              | p | 0.148            | 0.143                 | 0.225         | 0.850                 | 0.062                       | 0.006                        |                             |                            |                            |
| White Group level Emotions   | r | 0.285            | -0.039                | 0.331*        | 0.255                 | 0.115                       | -0.139                       | -0.052                      | 1                          |                            |
|                              | p | 0.055            | 0.792                 | 0.023         | 0.084                 | 0.441                       | 0.351                        | 0.730                       |                            |                            |
| Black Group level Emotions   | r | 0.106            | 0.563**               | 0.368*        | 0.253                 | 0.321*                      | 0.171                        | 0.372**                     | 0.145                      | 1                          |
|                              | p | 0.483            | 0.000                 | 0.011         | 0.086                 | 0.028                       | 0.251                        | 0.010                       | 0.331                      |                            |
| Indian Group                 | r | 0.470**          | -0.104                | 0.163         | 0.375**               | 0.062                       | 0.052                        | 0.071                       | 0.649**                    | 0.199                      |

|                       |          |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| <b>level Emotions</b> | <i>p</i> | 0.001 | 0.486 | 0.273 | 0.009 | 0.679 | 0.729 | 0.634 | 0.000 | 0.179 |
|-----------------------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

\* Correlation significant at .05 level (2-tailed).

### **Stepwise Regression to determine the best predictors for moral outrage towards racial privilege for black participants**

A stepwise regression was used to help determine the best predictors for moral outrage towards racial privilege for black people. A variety of variables, namely white, black and Indian group level emotions, the white, black and Indian semantic differential measures, racial discrimination, and self-interest were tested. The results of the stepwise regression indicated that black people’s emotions towards white people and the attitudes and opinions they had towards their own race group explained 36% variance ( $R^2 = 0.14$ ;  $F(2;86) = 7.038$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ). It was found that the emotions that black participants hold about white people ( $\beta = 0.46$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ) and the attitudes and opinions they have about themselves ( $\beta = 0.16$ ;  $p = 0.04$ ), predicted moral outrage about racial privilege significantly for the black sample (please see Tables 9, 10 and 11).

**Table 9: Model Summary for Black Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| <b>Model</b> | <b>R</b>          | <b>R Square</b> | <b>Adjusted R Square</b> | <b>Std. Error of the Estimate</b> |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <b>1</b>     | .312 <sup>b</sup> | .097            | .087                     | 4.69231                           |
| <b>2</b>     | .375 <sup>c</sup> | .141            | .121                     | 4.60462                           |

b. Predictors: (Constant), White Group levelEmotions.

c. Predictors: (Constant), White Group level Emotions, Black Semantic Differential.

**Table10: ANOVA for Black Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| Model |            | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F     | Sig.              |
|-------|------------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| 1     | Regression | 206.341        | 1  | 206.341     | 9.372 | .003 <sup>c</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 1915.546       | 87 | 22.018      |       |                   |
|       | Total      | 2121.888       | 88 |             |       |                   |
| 2     | Regression | 298.467        | 2  | 149.234     | 7.038 | .001 <sup>d</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 1823.420       | 86 | 21.203      |       |                   |
|       | Total      | 2121.888       | 88 |             |       |                   |

c. Predictors: (Constant), White Group level Emotions.

d. Predictors: (Constant), White Group level Emotions, Black Semantic Differential.

**Table11: Coefficients for Black Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| Model |                             | Unstandardized Coefficient |            | Standardized Coefficient | t      | Sig   |
|-------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------------------------|--------|-------|
|       |                             | B                          | Std Error. | Beta                     |        |       |
| 1     | (Constant)                  | 18.064                     | 1.179      |                          | 15.318 | 0.000 |
|       | White Group Emotions        | 0.472                      | 0.154      | 0.312                    | 3.061  | 0.003 |
| 2     | (Constant)                  | 15.389                     | 1.728      |                          | 8.906  | 0.000 |
|       | White Group Emotions        | 0.455                      | 0.152      | 0.301                    | 3.002  | 0.004 |
|       | Black Semantic Differential | 0.155                      | 0.074      | 0.209                    | 2.084  | 0.040 |

**Stepwise Regression to determine the best predictors for moral outrage towards racial privilege for Indian participants**

A stepwise regression for Indian participants using the same variables indicated that Indian participant's emotions towards their own race group and racial discrimination explained 54% of the variance ( $R^2 = 0.29$ ;  $F(2;43) = 9.03$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ). It was found that how Indian participants felt about their race group ( $\beta = 0.59$ ;  $p = 0.01$ ) and racial discrimination ( $\beta = 0.62$ ;  $p = 0.04$ ),

predicted moral outrage on racial privilege significantly for the Indian sample. (Please refer to Tables 12, 13 and 14.).

**Table 12: Model Summary for Indian Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| Model | R                 | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|-------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1     | .470 <sup>b</sup> | .220     | .203              | 4.45988                    |
| 2     | .544 <sup>c</sup> | .296     | .263              | 4.28801                    |

b. Predictors: (Constant), Indian Group level Emotions.

c. Predictors: (Constant), Indian Group level Emotions, Racial discrimination

**Table 13: ANOVA for Indian Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| Model |            | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F      | Sig.              |
|-------|------------|----------------|----|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| 1     | Regression | 247.536        | 1  | 247.536     | 12.445 | .001 <sup>c</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 875.182        | 44 | 19.890      |        |                   |
|       | Total      | 1122.717       | 45 |             |        |                   |
| 2     | Regression | 332.076        | 2  | 166.038     | 9.030  | .001 <sup>d</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 790.641        | 43 | 18.387      |        |                   |
|       | Total      | 1122.717       | 45 |             |        |                   |

c. Predictors: (Constant), Indian Group level Emotions

d. Predictors: (Constant), Indian Group level Emotions, Racial discrimination

**Table 14: Coefficients for Indian Participants with respect to Racial Privilege**

| Model |                       | Unstandardized Coefficient |            | Standardized Coefficients | t      | Sig. |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------|------|
|       |                       | B                          | Std. Error | Beta                      |        |      |
| 1     | (Constant)            | 13.810                     | 1.204      |                           | 11.468 | .000 |
|       | Indian Group Emotions | .776                       | .220       | .470                      | 3.528  | .001 |
| 2     | (Constant)            | 10.373                     | 1.978      |                           | 5.245  | .000 |
|       | Indian Group Emotions | .595                       | .228       | .360                      | 2.615  | .012 |

|  |                       |      |      |      |       |      |
|--|-----------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
|  | Racial Discrimination | .615 | .287 | .295 | 2.144 | .038 |
|--|-----------------------|------|------|------|-------|------|

**Stepwise Regression to determine the best predictors for moral outrage towards government corruption for Indian participants**

A further stepwise regression for Indian participants to determine the best predictor for moral outrage towards government corruption used the same independent variables as in the previous analyses. The results indicated that Indian people’s emotions towards black participants explained 56% of the variance ( $R^2 = 0.32$ ;  $F(1;45) = 20.88$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ). How Indian participants felt about black people ( $\beta = 0.45$ ;  $p = 0.00$ ) predicted moral outrage towards government corruption significantly for the Indian sample (please see Tables 15, 26 and 17).

**Table 15: Model Summary for Indian People with respect to Government Corruption**

| Model | R                 | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|-------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| 1     | .563 <sup>b</sup> | .317     | .302              | 1.746                      |

b. Predictors: (Constant), Black Group Emotions.

**Table16: ANOVAfor Indian People with respect toGovernment Corruption**

| Model |            | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F      | Sig.               |
|-------|------------|----------------|----|-------------|--------|--------------------|
| 1     | Regression | 115.202        | 1  | 115.202     | 20.879 | 0.000 <sup>c</sup> |
|       | Residual   | 248.287        | 45 | 5.517       |        |                    |
|       | Total      | 363.489        | 46 |             |        |                    |

c. Predictors: (Constant), Black Group Emotions.

**Table17: Coefficientsfor Indian People with respect toGovernment Corruption**

| Model |                            | Unstandardized Coefficient |            | Standardized Coefficients | t     | Sig  |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------|------|
|       |                            | B                          | Std. Error | Beta                      |       |      |
| 1     | (Constant)                 | 3.190                      | .816       |                           | 3.908 | .000 |
|       | Black Group level Emotions | .448                       | .098       | .563                      | 4.569 | .000 |

b. Dependent Variable: Government Corruption

### Summary of results

Taken together, the results reported in this chapter have indicated that black participants and Indian participants are morally outraged by racial privilege, while only Indian participants are morally outraged by government corruptions. Much as multiple factors seem to have a relationship with these morally outraging factors, for black participants, it was ultimately the emotions that they hold about white people and the attitudes and opinions they have about themselves that was the best predictor for moral outrage towards racial privilege. For Indian participants, it was how they felt about their race group and racial discrimination that best predicted racial privilege and how Indian participants felt about black participants that predicted moral outrage towards government corruption.



## Chapter 5: Discussion

Previous research has indicated that although there have been policies designed or implemented to support the eradication of racial inequality in post-apartheid South Africa, there is still a large number of people who oppose such movements. Post-apartheid came with new forms of overt racism, this new form of racism makes it difficult for one easily to identify and understand the factors that motivate such opposition to policies and government. This study, like previous studies, aimed to understand the impact of racial prejudice and self-interest in moral outrage, an emotive form of opposition expressed by all race groups.

**Aim One: To develop a measure of race-related moral outrage amongst South African race groups.**

In developing the scale, the researcher took into consideration the local discourse used by different South African race groups when speaking about government, politics, race and policies for racial redress. Using South African discourse as a tool to develop the new scale was an exceptionally useful aid. This provided knowledge into local content of what morally enrages people by analysing the language used by South Africans themselves. This was beneficial to the study in that local discourse established a direct aspect of face validity for the new scale, as the items were informed by the very population on which the scale was administered. The items were also developed in line with contentious opinions on politics and policies, thus having confrontational content to which people potentially felt strongly about. The South African frame of reference in racial, political and emotive issues therefore, also provided a resource to create a locally appropriate and significant measure with which South Africans could easily identify.

A further value of using local discourse as an aid to develop the scale was that it guaranteed that the scale captured the racial diversity of the country's view on issues of politics, race and policies. It also allowed the participants to identify with the language in a way that international scales may have failed. The results of the scale further argue that using familiar discourse is culture sensitive and thus may encourage honest responses (Sutton & Austin, 2015).

The scale achieved an overall alpha of 0.72 which reflects that the scale is trustworthy to use in the South African context as it was able to indicate its efficacy to measure what is set out to measure. The moral outrage scale also showed good evidence of construct validity suggesting it was able to assess the emotional reaction various race groups have towards policies, while also indicating new subtle forms of opposition that manifest as moral outrage.

The factor analysis conducted on the overall sample indicated the multi-faceted nature of what the scale measures. The scale measures five types of moral outrage, racial privilege, government corruption, out-group threat, landownership and social positioning. Of the three, only moral outrage due to racial privilege was reliable for both black participants and Indian participants and moral outrage about government corruption was only reliable for the Indian sample. This indicates that these are the main issues that may be at the forefront in explaining opposition to policies and politics.

Outrage towards racial privilege is likely due to the fact that this means the continued unfair treatment of other race groups to further maintain racial inequality and the denial of opportunities is due to race. Overall, this anger is towards the unchanging nature of race and

lack of opportunities to bridge the social gap despite the transition from the apartheid era. Groups are then likely to use evaluative meaning to ascertain the extent of the groups' suffering due to unfavourable factors such as one race group being more privileged than others. Political action against inequality and injustice is often the resulting action by groups that feel relatively deprived and unfairly treated (Zomerren, Spears & Leach, 2008).

Racial privilege for one group often also means racial injustice for another group. Previously disadvantaged groups had hopes that a post-apartheid era would bring about some balance to racial inequality. However this has not been the case. Stats SA (2017) indicated that 47.1% of black people still live below the poverty line as compared to 1.2% Indian people and 0.4% white people. At the time of collecting data, *Fees Must Fall* and *Rhodes Must Fall* movements lead predominantly by black students were ongoing. The protests also included students of various race groups who were in support of the movement and their peers. The protests centred on the provision of free education as was promised by the government (Davids & Waghid, 2016). 24 years into transition, black students were still protesting for access to education, indicating that there has not been much transformation for black participants since the 1976 riots.

Factor two measured moral outrage towards government corruption. Corruption by definition means dishonest and fraudulent conduct by those in power (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, 2017). Government corruption often infringes on the lives of its citizens, affecting the economy and service provision. Corruption puts into question the legitimacy and trustworthiness of a government. The majority (black participants) and those in power (minority) by having social and financial capital can be affected by corruption which can shape the support or opposition towards government. The sample comprised of individuals

from both spheres and the moral outrage reported for these groups may be due to the effects of government corruption they have suffered. Groups often use evaluative meaning to then ascertain the extent of the groups' suffering due to government corruption. Political action against inequality and injustice is often the resulting action by groups that feel relatively deprived (Zomeran, Spears & Leach, 2008).

Race groups often feel that things such as racial policies serve to privilege one race group above another. This may be elicited by the fact that South Africa implemented policies to try to redress past racial inequalities and this too has not been sufficiently effective when looking at the Stats SA (2017) statistics. Overall, racial privilege and government corruption carries with it the threat of minimizing resources for one group to promote another. The threat for group relative deprivation tilts social hierarchies and such adjustments often constitute a violation of the group's autonomy and held beliefs as to what their group is entitled to. Such violations to held beliefs triggers moral outrage and the opposition to policies that are considered as pushing for racial inequality. Such opposition is often the expression of subtle racism (Leach, Iyer & Pedersen, 2006; Mackie & Smith, 2002; McConahay, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2005).

**Aim Two: To determine if moral outrage is influenced by racial prejudice.**

The result of this study found that the emotions that black participants have towards white people and Indian people has a good relationship with racial privilege. This indicated that black people are less likely to be morally outrage about racial privilege when they feel good about their social position, identity and group status relative to white people and Indian people. Indian participants on the other hand indicated that racial discrimination along with

emotions they have about their own race has a relationship with feelings of moral outrage about racial privilege. How Indian participants feel about white people had a good relationship with moral outrage about government corruption.

It was ultimately how black people feel about white people and the opinions and attitudes they have about their own race group that was the best predictor for moral outrage towards racial privilege for black participants. For Indian participants, it was racial discrimination and how they feel about their race group that was the best predictor for moral outrage on racial privilege and their held feelings about black people was the best predictor for moral outrage about government corruption.

The two aspects (group level emotions and moral outrage) have in common key the emotions of anger, disgust and hostility. Both aspects have in common a shared social identity to feelings of an unjust system that is infringing on internally held group beliefs of what is rightfully theirs. These emotions are crucial in mobilizing political opposition (Goodenough, 1997; Banks & Valentino, 2012). The relationship between group level emotions and moral outrage adds to previous arguments stating that although racism has adjusted its identity to a more subtle form, it is still rife and evident in its influence of public attitudes, and political behaviour (Kinder & Sears, 1995; McConahay, 2002; Sears & Henry, 2005).

The findings of this study also added to the argument that racial discrimination plays a significant role in political dynamics based on the results for the Indian sample. Moral outrage and group level emotions seem to be the emotions used to express opposition without showing crude forms of discrimination. For Indian participants, it seems that there is an element of intragroup discrimination that is morally outraging. This is because the results

indicated that the more they experience group level emotions towards their own race, the more they are morally outraged. This brings about a possible argument to state that on a micro level, class levels within groups may play a crucial role in moral outrage when race is not involved. The relationship between racial discrimination and racial privilege indicates that Indian participants likely feel that groups that are undeserving are being given services they have not worked for and that government is being lenient while discriminating on their race group. This is a similar argument that was presented by Sears and Henry (2005)

The moral outrage indicated by racially discriminated groups is argued to promote commitment to social change from perceived social injustice. Groups with a shared opinion about social injustice such as relative deprivation, affirmative action and political issues often further engage in collective action to express their outrage at this. Opposition is often described as fighting for rights that groups feel have been violated by political ideals (Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

Moral outrage is a tool that people use to position themselves as victims in order to challenge social structures and policies which aim to achieve social equality (Rushton, 2013). Moral outrage is as effective as crude forms of racism as its inconspicuous nature is argued to be observed in how white people appear to be in opposition using more subtle ways. These objections include arguing that race-targeted policies affect the state of the nation because they promote reverse discrimination and give opportunities to undeserving groups whose lack of skills will severely affect the country economically (Sears & Henry, 2005).

Moreover, racism is now outlawed and this deters people who racially discriminate from publicly showing their true feelings and beliefs. Therefore, those feelings and beliefs have

now been displaced and projected into group level emotions to challenge 'symbols' such as affirmative action programmes (e.g., racial quotas in sport or at work) that are perceived as giving an unfair advantage to supposedly undeserving individuals.

**Aim Three: To determine whether moral outrage is influenced by perceived self-interest and/or group threat.**

Research into self-interest argues that self-interest determines attitudes towards political issues; the common view is that people's attitudes are determined by what satisfies their needs (Lau, Brown & Sear, 1978). People evaluate the benefits of adopting a particular attitude to inform their stance on issues such as politics (Lau, Brown & Sear, 1978). This study found that for black participants, racial discrimination and the attitude and opinions they have about Indian participants have a relationship with self-interest. For Indian participants it was the group level emotions they have towards black people and white people that had a relationship with self-interest. This seems to have an inverse relationship to state that social stances or group-based ideals, influence individual opinions and interests.

Group based ideals are often truly cared for by people who identify with the group as a group is an extension of the individual. Factors like racial discrimination and the perceptions of an out-group threat are what often draw an individual's interest to fuse with that of a group with which they identify. McConahay (2002) states that self-interest is a strong motivator for political opposition. This is because, unlike race, it bridges the gap between the individual needs and having them serviced to maintain social class, whereas race is more social and influences individualistic ideals. Having their needs met significantly caters for a value that is

of importance to the individual. This scale found that self-interest is not a predictor for moral outrage for black participants and Indian participants.

Such results may be due to the fact that self-interest is essentially individualistic and social or political stances are inferred by a social group. A salient group identity is required, not individualistic ideologies; a social identity is one of the key factors that mobilize action for the expression of moral outrage. Individual factors like fear and other emotions may play a crucial role in demotivating individuals from participation in social activities or opposition towards policies (Smith, Cronin & Kessler, 2008; Thomas & McGarty, 2009).

It is also important to note that the items used to measure self-interest were mainly individualistic. For example item one asked “What is the likelihood that you or a family member gets a job or a promotion because of your race?” Item five “What is the likelihood that you will suffer financial setback because of your race?”. These items likely did not tap into a social group dynamic which Goodenough (1997) argued is more likely to mobilize collective action. A shared identity also triggers anger which is a group based emotion especially when the group as a whole is perceived as suffering an unjust disadvantage.

The individualistic nature of the items may have therefore lacked the crucial aspect for moral outrage which is a collective identity. One must keep in mind that individual struggles differ even within race groups because within race exist class systems. Participants likely weighed their independent challenges when responding which then likely affected the relationship between self-interest and moral outrage. Like previous studies (Bobo, 1983; Tendin, 1994), this study did not find a significant relationship between moral outrage and self-interest.



How groups feel about out-groups seems to ultimately play a crucial role in influencing the perceptions, emotions, opinions and attitudes that groups have about themselves. It seems that race groups view each other in a light that determines how one race impacts the well-being of their race. It is these perceived and lived realities of group interactions that shape not just how race groups interact with each other but also all subsequent race related issues and factors.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

To conclude, this study established that race, racial attitudes and opinions as well as how race groups feel about each other still play a crucial role in informing relational aspects from daily interracial contact to policies of racial redress. Although the study only established a relationship between racial discrimination and moral outrage towards racial privilege for the Indian sample, it found that not only do the emotions, attitudes and opinions that groups have about their own group have a significant relationship with feelings of moral outrage, but these share similar emotions such as anger, disgust, irritability and hostility that can be used to translate different aspects. These aspects are mainly racial prejudice, moral outrage and political opposition.

This study further found evidence for the theory of symbolic racism within a South African context. The theory argues that during the transitional years and the eradication of oppression, crude form of racism merely became more inconspicuous and survives to this day. The study found that blacks and Indian participants do have opinions and attitudes towards other race groups and their own. This shapes how the self and other is constructed, viewed and ultimately treated in the social context.

This study set out to explore an under researched topic in South Africa. The researcher had difficulty finding South African literature for most of the key subjects in this study (moral outrage, self-interest). This is what partly makes this research important. It is establishing data on the subject and thus building a body of knowledge that future research can utilise. Most importantly, this research was inclusive of participants that are under researched (Indians), and it investigated South Africans' stance on relevant everyday issues..

## **Limitations**

This mainly study relied on studies that were conducted in America and studies that have predominantly focused on understanding race and racism from a white population. The researcher had to interpret with caution when making links to studies that are not contextually sensitive. The researcher did attempt to find local studies and combine propositions from various studies to make its arguments. Very few South African researchers have explored this topic, this communicates the need for an increase in local research looking at moral outrage in the context of race and racism and developing culture sensitive scales that are reliable for the South African population as opposed to adopting international scales. Some of the scales were unreliable for the race groups and thus could not be used to give evidence to the arguments of this study.

A few of the measures were unreliable including the self-interest and racial discrimination scale. This may explain the results and may explain why the study did not find a significant relationship between the two scales and moral outrage. The low reliability coefficient in other scales minimized tools that the study could have used to substantiate its argument.

The sample was small and likely affected the outcome as it did not properly represent actual race groups in society. The study also excluded coloureds who make up a substantial number in South Africa and are also subjected to the same political and policy implications as the recruited sample. The study also excluded foreign nations, even those that may have citizenship. As South African residents, be it temporarily or permanently, they are also subjected to South African laws and policy regulations. The exclusion of these groups and the

inability to recruit a suitable sample in some race groups impacted the researcher's ability to obtain rich data.

The study frequently made mention of policies but did not incorporate any scales that measure policies such as affirmative action nor a measure that could give insight on policies that are likely to be opposed. This would have assisted the researcher in being able to clearly state, using statistics, which policies are being supported and opposed by race groups. Some white participants requested to first read the questionnaire and opted not to complete it, other white participants filled it in half way and felt that "it was controversial" and therefore preferred not to complete the questionnaire. As a result their views were not included in the study.

### **Future Research**

Further research is required in evaluating the reliability and validity of the adopted scales of race and racial prejudice. This is because the reliability of the some of the scales amongst for the sample was at times low. Further evaluation of emotions that may influence self-interest and opposition or support for political action is needed. The present research introduced a preliminary investigation of moral outrage within the South African context. Further studies need to be conducted using the scale to further determine its efficacy. It would also be of great interest to conduct a qualitative study into the aspect of moral outrage, self-interest and racial prejudice. Different methods may provide an in-depth conceptualization of this phenomenon. It would also provide a 'social' group to determine self-interests that are shared within groups. This may help determine the individualistic aspect of self-interest in a scale as compared to in a group.

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 point to the need to constantly re-evaluate and update indices of racism in this 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.

## Reference List

- Banks, A.J., & Valentino, N. A. (2012). Emotional substrates of white racial attitudes. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56 (2), 286-297.
- Batson, C. D., Kennedy, C. L., Nord, L. A., Stocks, E. L., Fleming, D. Y. A., Marzette, C. M., & Zenger, T. (2007). Anger at unfairness: Is it moral outrage? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 37(6), 1272-1285.
- Brohan, E., Slade, N., Clement, S., Rose, D., Sartorius, N., & Thorncroft, G. (2011). Development and psychometric validation of the Discrimination and Stigma Scale. *Psychiatrische Praxis*, 38.
- Bobo, L. (1983). Whites' opposition to busing: Symbolic racism or realistic group conflict? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45(6)
- Campbell, D. T. (1957). Factors relevant to the validity of experiments in social settings. In D. T. Campbell (1988). *Methodology and epistemology for social science*. (pp.151-166). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chong, D., Citrin, J., & Conley, P. (2001). When Self-Interest Matters. *Political Psychology*, 22, 3, 541-570.
- Davids, N., Waghid, Y. (2016). #FeesMustFall: History of South African student protests reflects inequality's grip. *Mail & Guardian*. Accessed 25 September 2017 from: <http://mg.co.za/article2016-10-10-feesmustfall-history-of-south-african-student-protests-reflects-inequality's-grip>.
- DeCoster, J. (2004). Data Analysis in SPSS. Retrieved September, 09, 2017 from <http://www.stat-help.com/notes.html>
- Duckitt, J., & Mphuthing, T. (1998). Political power and race relations in South Africa: African attitudes before and after the transition. *Political Psychology*, 19(4), 809-832.

- Durrheim, K. (2006). Research design. In M. Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (eds), *Research in Practice*. (pp.33-59) Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Durrheim, K. (2014). Two histories of prejudice. In Tileaga, C., & Byford, J. (Eds). (2014). *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary explorations*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Durrheim, K., Dixon, J., Tredoux, C., Eaton, L., Quayle, M., & Clack, B. (2011). Predicting support for racial transformation policies: Intergroup threat, racial prejudice, sense of group entitlement and strength of identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 41(1), 23-41.
- Durrheim, K., Mtose, X., & Brown, L. (2011). *Race trouble: Race, identity, and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Evans, G., Heath, A., & Lalljee, M. (1996). Measuring left-right and libertarian-authoritarian in the British Electorate. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 47(1), 93-112.
- Fong, C. (2000). Social Preference, Self-Interest, and the Demands for Redistribution. *Journal of Public Economics*,
- Fowler, F. J. (2002). *Survey research methods*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Gerbas, M.E., Prentice, D.A. (2013). The self-and other-interest inventory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 105(3), 495-514.
- Goodenough, W. H. (1997). Moral outrage: territoriality in human guise. *Zygon*, 32, 5-28.
- Grant, R. W., & Sugarman, J. (2004). Ethics in human subjects research: do incentives matter?. *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, 29(6), 717-738.
- Green, D. P., & Cowden, J. A. (1992). Who protests: Self-interest and white opposition to bussing. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(02), 471-496.

- Hackshaw, A. (2008). Small studies: strengths and limitations. *European Respiratory Journal*, 32(5), 1141-1143.
- Jacobson, C. K. (1985). Resistance to Affirmative Action Self-Interest or Racism?. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 29(2), 306-329.
- Johnson, B., & Christensen, L. B. (2012). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Kanjee, A. (2006). Assessment research. In M. Terre Blanche & K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (eds), *Research in Practice*. (pp.33-59) Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Keltner, D., & Haidt, J. (1999). Social functions of emotions at four levels of analysis. *Cognition & Emotion*, 13(5), 505-521.
- Kemphorne, O. (1952). *The design and analysis of experiments*. New York: Wiley.
- Kluegel, J. R., & Bobo, L. (August 01, 1993). Opposition to Race-Targeting: Self-Interest, Stratification Ideology, or Racial Attitudes?. *American Sociological Review*, 58, 4, 443-64.
- Lau, R. R., & Heldman, C. (2009). Self-interest, symbolic attitudes, and support for public policy: A multilevel Analysis. *Political Psychology*, 30(4), 513-537.
- Leach, C. W. (2010). The person in political emotion. *Journal of personality*, 78(6), 1827-1860.
- Leach, C. W., Iyer, A., & Pedersen, A. (2006). Anger and guilt about ingroup advantage explain the willingness for political action. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(9), 1232-1245.
- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., & Ouwerkerk, J. W. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (Multicomponent)



- model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), 144-165.
- Malhotra, N. K. (1981). A scale to measure self-concepts, person concepts, and product concepts. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 18, 456-464.
- McConahay, J. B. (1982). Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-bussing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the black participants?. *The Journal of Politics*, 44(03), 692-720.
- Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary (10<sup>th</sup>ed). (2017). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Incorporated.
- Neuman, W. L. (1994). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 67(4), 741.
- Reicher, S., Hopkins, N., & Condor, S. (1997). Stereotypes construction as a strategy of influence. In Spears, R., Oakes, P. J., Ellemers, N., & Haslam, S. A. (Eds). (1997). *The social psychology of stereotyping and group life*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Rozin, P., Lowery, L., Imada, S., & Haidt, J. (1999). The CAD triad hypothesis: a mapping between three moral emotions (contempt, anger, disgust) and three moral codes (community, autonomy, divinity). *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 76(4), 574.
- Rushton, C. H. (2013). Principled Moral Outrage: An Antidote to moral distress. *AACN Advanced Critical Care*, 24(1), 82-89.
- Sears, D. O., & Henry, P. J. (2003). The origins of symbolic racism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85, 2, 259-75.

- Sears, D. O., Laar, C. V., Carrillo, M., & Kosterman, R. (1997). Is It Really Racism? The Origins of White Americans' Opposition to Race-Targeted Policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61. *Process*
- Sears, D. O., Lau, R. R., Tyler, T. R., & Allen, H. M. (1980). Self-interest vs. symbolic politics in policy attitudes and presidential voting. *American Political Science Review*, 74(03), 670-684.
- Smith, E. R., Seger, C. R., & Mackie, D. M. (2007). Can emotions be truly group level? Evidence regarding four conceptual criteria. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93( 3), 431-46.
- Sniderman, P. M., & Tetlock, P. E. (1986). Symbolic racism: Problems of motive attribution in political analysis. *Journal of social issues*, 42(2), 129-150.
- Sutton, J., & Austin Z. (2015). Qualitative Research: Data Collection, Analysis and Management. *The Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy*, 68(3), 226-231.
- Tarman, C. & Sears, D. O. (2005). The conceptualization and measurement of symbolic racism. *The Journal of Politics*. In press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1981). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, (pp. 33-48). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. *Psychology of intergroup relations*, 5, 7-24.
- Tedin, K. L. (1994). Self-interest, symbolic values, and the financial equalization of the public schools. *The Journal of Politics*, 56(03), 628-649.

- The Department of Labour. (2017). Basic Guide to Affirmative actions. Accessed 12 October 2017 from <http://www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/acts/basic-guides/basic-guides-to-affirmative-action>.
- Thomas, E. F., & McGarty, C. A. (2009). The role of efficacy and moral outrage norms in creating the potential for international development activism through group-based interaction. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 48(1), 115-134.
- Tredoux, C., & Smith, M. (2006). Evaluating research designs. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (eds), *Research in Practice*. (pp. 161-186). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Van der Riet, M., & Durrheim, K. (2006). Putting design into practice: writing and evaluating research proposals. *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*, 2, 80-111.
- Van Zomeren, M., & Lodewijkx, H. F. (2005). Motivated responses to 'senseless' violence: Explaining emotional and behavioral responses through person and position identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 35(6), 755-766.
- Wassenaar, D. R. & Mamotte, N. (2012). Ethical Issues and ethics review in social science research. In M. M. Leach, M. J. Stevens, G. Lindsay, A. Ferrero & Y. Korkut (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of International Psychological Ethics* (pp.268-282). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wetcher-Hendricks, D. (2011). *Analyzing quantitative data: An introduction for social researchers*. Hoboken, N.J: Wiley.
- Williams, D. R., Gonzalez, H. M., Williams, S. A., Moomal, H., Stein, D. J. (2008). Perceived Discrimination, Race and Health in South Africa: Findings from the South African Stress and Health Study. *Social Science and Medicine*, 67(3), 441-452.

Zomeran, M., Spears, R., & Leach, C. W. (2008). Exploring psychological mechanisms of collective action: Does relevance of group identity influence how people cope with collective disadvantage?. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47(2), 353-372.

## Appendix A



27 May 2016

Mr Siphesihle Dlamini (SN 210500788)  
School of Applied Human Sciences  
College of Humanities  
Pietermaritzburg Campus  
UKZN  
Email: [slyzet101@gmail.com](mailto:slyzet101@gmail.com)

Dear Mr Dlamini

### RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your research paper, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

*"Moral outrage"*.

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by handing out questionnaires to students on the Pietermaritzburg campus.

Please ensure that the following appears on your questionnaire/attached to your notice:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

**MR SS MOKOENA**  
**REGISTRAR**

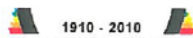
---

#### Office of the Registrar

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 Email: [registrar@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:registrar@ukzn.ac.za)

Website: [www.ukzn.ac.za](http://www.ukzn.ac.za)



1910 - 2010  
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Enabling Campuses   ■ Edgewood   ■ Howard College   ■ Medical School   ■ Pietermaritzburg   ■ Westville

## Appendix B

# UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

## INFORMED CONSENT

### *Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research*

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Student

My name is SiphesihleDlamini, Master of Social Sciences (Clinical Psychology) student from the School of Applied Human Sciences of the University of KwaZulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus. I am currently doing my thesis with Professor Kevin Durrheim: [Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za).

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research about "Moral Outrage". The aim and purpose of this research is to determine whether moral outrage is influenced by racial prejudice and self-interest due to perceived threat to the self or a group one identifies with.

The study is expected to enroll two hundred and fifty (250) participants, one hundred and twenty (120) black participants, eighty (80) white participants and fifty (50) Indian participants. Participants will be recruited from the UKZN PMB campus during lectures. It will involve participants answering a questionnaire which will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

The study will not have any direct benefits or harm that may result in taking part in the study. The study however, may give insight into factors that influence feelings of outrage amongst Black, White and Indian South Africans.

Should taking part in the study be distressing because race is a sensitive topic to engage in the Child and Family Care Center has agreed to help the participants. They can be contacted on:

#### **Child and Family Care Center**

Private Bag X01, Scottsville Pietermaritzburg, 3209.

Tel: +27 (0)33 260 5166.

Fax: +27 (0)33 260 5809.

Email: [Naidoon2@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Naidoon2@ukzn.ac.za)

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSS/0891/016M).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (210500788@stu.ukzn.ac.za) or 074 304 1992 and [Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

## HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

### Research Office, Westville Campus

#### Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001  
Durban  
4000  
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA  
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609  
Email: [HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za)

Participation is strictly voluntary and participants can withdraw at any point during survey should they wish to do so. In the event that participants refuse or withdraw participation in the study, they will not incur any penalties such as loss of treatment or other benefits to which they are normally entitled to.

Participants will not incur any charges by taking part in the study. For their participation, participants will receive lollipops which are valued at one rands, this is a small token to appreciate and thank them for taking their time to help the researcher with the study.

Steps that will be taken to protect confidentiality of personal/clinical information are as follows:

- Collected data will be handled by the researcher and the supervisor
- Data will be kept in a secured place where only the researcher and the supervisor have access to.
- Electronic data will be stored and secured using a password
- The questionnaire will be kept by the supervisor for a period of five years and will be shredded after the five year has lapsed.
- Feedback and reports will be given to the participants upon their request, invites will be given to any conferences where the paper will be presented.

---

#### CONSENT

I \_\_\_\_\_ have been informed about the study entitled "Moral outrage" by the researcher, SiphesihleDlamini.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at [210500788@stu.ukzn.ac.za](mailto:210500788@stu.ukzn.ac.za) or 074 304 1992 and [Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za).

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

**HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION**

**Research Office, Westville Campus**

**Govan Mbeki Building**

Private Bag X 54001  
Durban  
4000  
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA  
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609  
Email: [HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Witness  
(Where applicable)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



## Appendix C



20 April 2016

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to provide the assurance that should any participant interviewed by Ms Siphesihle Dlamini, (Psychology Masters student) require psychological assistance as a result of any distress arising from the research project on “*Moral outrage*”, the service will be provided by Masters one Psychology students and intern psychologists at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus Child and Family Centre – phone 033-2605166.

Yours sincerely,

K.P Maruping



Coordinator of University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus Child and Family Centre

**Child and Family Centre**  
**School of Applied Human Sciences**

**Postal Address:** Private Bag X01, Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg, 3209, South Africa

**Telephone:** +27 (0)33 260 5166 **Facsimile:** +27 (0)33 260 5809 **Email:** Naidoon2@ukzn.ac.za **Website:** psychology.ukzn.ac.za

**Founding Campuses:** ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

## Appendix D

The following questionnaire consists of a list of questions that measure perceptions of racial and social issues in South Africa. We want to use your answers to test social psychological theory. It is necessary to cover many different and opposing points of view, some of which you may agree or disagree with very strongly. No matter what your answer to the various questions is, you can be sure that many people will feel the same as you.

We are not interested in testing you, and thus you should not write your name on your questionnaire. Participation in this research is voluntary, and your responses will remain confidential and anonymous. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research. Please answer all the questions.

### SECTION 1

**Please provide the following information about yourself by placing a cross (like this [X]) in the appropriate block**

I have read and understood the aims and purposes of the study outlined above and agree to participate in the study      YES       NO

**Gender:**      Male       Female

**Age:** \_\_\_\_\_ (years)

**Race:** Black       White       Indian       Coloured       Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Are you a South African citizen:**      Yes       No

**What year of study are you doing?** \_\_\_\_\_

**What degree are you currently registered for?** \_\_\_\_\_

### Section 2

**Please could you indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements by putting a cross [X] in the selected box.**

1. Sports authorities should promote transformation by introducing racial quotas for national sports teams.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

2. Local government should be spending much more of the city budget to develop historically black neighborhoods.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3. Government should ensure black owned business is given preferential access to contracts.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

4. Laws that promote affirmative action in employment should be strengthened.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. I have personally had difficulty getting ahead in life because of racial discrimination.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. In this country, I am discriminated against because of my race.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. I have often been a target of racism.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. My race group is often a target of racism in this country.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. My race group has had difficulty getting ahead in life because we are discriminated against.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

10. My race group is superior to others

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. I feel good about being a member of my race group.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Belonging to my race is an important part of who I am as a person.

|                          |                          |                            |                          |                          |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Strongly agree           | agree                    | neither agree nor disagree | disagree                 | strongly disagree        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

13. I feel strong ties to my race group.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

14. In setting priorities, we must consider all race groups.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

15. We should not push for racial equality.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

16. Racial equality should be our ideal.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

17. Superior racial groups should dominate inferior race groups.

Strongly agree      agree      neither agree nor disagree      disagree      strongly disagree

**Section 3**

| <b>How angry do you feel when you think about...</b> |  | <b>How Angry Do you Feel?</b> |             |                   |                 |                   |
|--|--|-------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
|  |  | <b>Extremely</b>              | <b>Very</b> | <b>Moderately</b> | <b>Not very</b> | <b>Not at all</b> |
| 1  | how Government is ruining this country   |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 2  | how tax-payers money is wasted by self-interested government officials         |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 3  | how corrupt politicians go unpunished in this country                          |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 4  | how tenderpreneurs are enriching themselves in this country                    |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 5  | how Government develops policies as punishment for apartheid                   |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 6  | how the incompetent police are unable to stop crime                            |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 7  | how unqualified people get jobs in government                                  |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 8  | how dim-witted politicians are destroying the economy                          |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 9  | how new kinds of racism are growing in this country                            |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 10   | the arrogance of the people who were privileged in the past                    |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 11   | how most land has still not been given back to the people                      |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 12   | how those who benefited from apartheid continue to prosper                     |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |
| 13   | how the historically privileged still think they own everything in the country |                               |             |                   |                 |                   |

|    |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|----|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| 14 | how traditions that are important to my people are ignored by government            |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15 | the ongoing oppression of our people who suffered in the past                       |  |  |  |  |  |
| 16 | how some oppose policies designed to uplift the victims of apartheid                |  |  |  |  |  |
| 17 | that the country was a safer place for families and children during apartheid       |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18 | how the oppression of the past is continuing to affect black people                 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 19 | how Black participants are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 20 | how White participants are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 21 | how Indian participants are trying to get ahead at the expense of other race groups |  |  |  |  |  |

### Section 4

Here is a picture of a ladder. Let the ladder represent the economic life circumstances in South Africa. Imagine that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life circumstances that you could hope for in this country, while the bottom represents your idea of the worst possible life in this country.

|    |
|----|
| 10 |
| 9  |
| 8  |
| 7  |
| 6  |
| 5  |
| 4  |
| 3  |
| 2  |
| 1  |

1. If you consider the position of black people as a whole,
  - a. Where would you say black participants stand on the ladder at the present time?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

- b. Where would you say black peopleshouldstand on the ladder in a just and fair society?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

2. If you consider the position of Indian people as a whole,
  - a. Where would you say Indian participants stand on the ladder at the present time?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

- b. Where would you say Indian participantshouldstand on the ladder in a just and fair society?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

3. If you consider the position of white people as a whole,
  - a. Where would you say white participants stand on the ladder at the present time?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

- b. Where would you say white people houldstand on the ladder in a just and fair society?

|             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| Step number | <input type="text"/> |
|-------------|----------------------|

## Section 5

1. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please rate on all **3** options how you feel about **White people** in general.

- a. Negative    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Positive (or somewhere in between?)
- b. Hostile     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Friendly (or somewhere inbetween?)
- c. Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Trusting (or somewhere in between?)

2. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please rate on all **3** options how you feel about **Black people** in general.

- a. Negative    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Positive (or somewhere in between?)
- b. Hostile     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Friendly (or somewhere inbetween?)
- c. Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Trusting (or somewhere in between?)

3. Using a scale from 1 to 10, please rate on all **3** options how you feel about **Indian people** in general.

- a. Negative    1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Positive (or somewhere in between?)
- b. Hostile     1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Friendly (or somewhere inbetween?)
- c. Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10    Trusting (or somewhere in between?)

## Section 6

1. When I think about what Black people are doing to South Africa, I feel (please tick on each emotion)

- angry**            \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all
- irritated**        \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all
- hostile**           \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all

2. When I think about what White people are doing to South Africa, I feel (please tick on each emotion)

- angry**            \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all
- irritated**        \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all
- hostile**           \_\_\_extremely \_\_\_quite \_\_\_ somewhat \_\_\_not very \_\_\_not at all

3. When I think about what Indian people are doing to South Africa, I feel (please tick on each emotion)

**angry**      \_\_extremely   \_\_quite   \_\_somewhat   \_\_not very   \_\_not at all  
**irritated**    \_\_extremely   \_\_quite   \_\_somewhat   \_\_not very   \_\_not at all  
**hostile**      \_\_extremely   \_\_quite   \_\_somewhat   \_\_not very   \_\_not at all

**Section 7**

**Could you please indicate the likelihood that you or a member of your family will experience each of the events in the next 2 years by circling the selected response like this**

**1**

1. What is the likelihood that you or a family member gets a job or a promotion because of your race?

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

2. What is the likelihood that your education will negatively affected because of your race?

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

3. What is the likelihood that your education will positively affected because of your race?

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

4. What is the likelihood that you will get better housing because of your race?

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

5. What is the likelihood that you will suffer financial setback because of your race

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

6. What is the likelihood that you will be unemployed when you finish your degree because of your race?

Very Likely      1    2    3    4    5                      Very unlikely

**Section 8**

**Please rate the extent to which you are in support of the following statements by circling your response.**

1. How do you evaluate your political opinion?

Very Liberal                      1    2    3    4    5                      Very Conservative

2. How much do you agree or disagree with policies of the three political parties:

2.1. ANC      Strongly disagree      1    2    3    4    5                      Strongly agree

2.2. DA      Strongly disagree      1    2    3    4    5                      Strongly agree

2.3. EFF      Strongly disagree      1    2    3    4    5                      Strongly agree

**Section 9**

**Please circle your response in all 3 options – e.g., Any: Most: Some: Few: No**

6.1. I would willingly admit ....

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...Black people to go to my school or University

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...Black people to visit my home as my personal friends

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...Black people to my family by marriage

6.2. I would willingly admit ....

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...White people to go to my school or University

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...White people to visit my home as my personal friends

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...White people to my family by marriage

6.3. I would willingly admit ....

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...Indian people to go to my school or University

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...White people to visit my home as my personal friends

Any: Most: Some: Few: No:...White people to my family by marriage