An exploratory investigation of stereotype categories and content amongst South African University students

By

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Abstract

The overall purpose of this study was to uncover, from among a sample of university students, naturally occurring, salient and less potentially harmful group categories and stereotype content. The reason for this was to learn more about which group categories and associated stereotype content ordinary South Africans naturally consider to be salient or important, rather than those group categories and stereotype content that South Africa's academic establishment may unduly focus on. This was done because of a suspicion, which itself was based on an extensive review of the history of South African stereotype research, that the group categories and associated stereotype content of race and gender may be the subject of an undue focus on the part of South African academia.

The results generated by this study were to be used to supply future stereotype threat studies in South Africa with accurate, relevant and specifically less potentially harmful group categorisations and associated stereotype content. The research questions of this study were posed at two hierarchical levels, the 'higher', more abstract "groups of people in South Africa" and the 'lower', more local, "groups of people on campus". The reason for this was to learn how the manipulation of hierarchical group salience conditions would affect the group categories generated by the participants and the stereotype contents about those groups.

The results of the study suggest that while the category of race seems to be the most salient or important among the participants, the category of gender was not salient at all. This occurred at both the national and campus hierarchical levels. The broad categories of economic status and social class were the second most salient, but only at the national level. There was some evidence of the effects that manipulating hierarchical group salience conditions had on group category and stereotype content generation. Certain group categories and stereotype content were generated exclusively at either the national or campus levels, and when they were generated at both levels, there was evidence to suggest that they were generated in slightly different ways.

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Thank you to the participants for agreeing to be a part of the study. Without them, none of it could have happened.

Thank you to my father and brother for their unwavering encouragement and support through this time and all the years before. Mere words could never be enough to express my gratitude.

Zamani, you always believed that I could do it. I pray to be that for you through all that is to come.

Soli Deo Gloria…

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of the Masters in Social Science, MSocSc (Counselling Psychology), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I, Rethabile Oliphant, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced

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Supervisor: Dr Michael Quayle

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Chapter one: Introduction

The history of South Africa is one characterised by intergroup division and conflict (Harvey, 2003). While there are many reasons that inform such division, one that stands out as the driving force behind the kind of intergroup conflict that has plagued South Africans is the act of stereotyping (Arndt, 2010).

Stereotyping can be understood as the process of assigning to an individual those characteristics which are usually associated with members of their in-group (Brown, 2010). Such characteristics, or stereotype contents, can both be positive and negative, and as the literature review section will argue, stereotyping can be a powerful process in the life of the individual. This is because of the functions of stereotypes which include their ability to provide the individual with knowledge about their social environment, to inform important aspects of their identity, and also to rationalise the status quo in a given society (Brown, 2010; Schneider, 2005). With this in mind, and given the general history of intergroup conflict in South Africa, and the specific history of institutional racism in the country, conducting stereotype research in South Africa can be valuable in providing information regarding the salient group categories and stereotype content used by South Africans (Harvey, 2003).

The broad purpose of this study was to collect and to collate the group categories and the stereotypes that ordinary South Africans naturally apply to each other. This was done with the aim of gaining a better understanding of what kinds of group categories and stereotypes are salient or important in the minds of ordinary South Africans, as opposed to those that the academic establishment of the country may choose to focus on in their stereotype research.

This was done because of a suspicion that certain group categories, and their associated stereotype content, may have been the recipients of an undue focus, on the part of South African academia, due to their powerful influence over the country's history. It was suspected that this was done at the expense of other group categories and stereotype content that may occur more naturally and be more salient or important in the minds of ordinary South Africans. The specific group categories and associated stereotype content under suspicion were those of race and gender.

It was suspected that because of South Africa's history of institutional racism and conservative patriarchy, the broad group categories of race and gender and their associated stereotype content may have been the subject of an undue focus, on the part of the South African academic establishment, in their stereotype research efforts throughout the country's history (Artz, 2009; Harvey, 2003). To this end, a detailed historical review of South African stereotype research was conducted in the literature review section. Here, over 100 examples of South African stereotype research, spanning a period of over 50 years were reviewed, with the aim of providing credible evidence of the focus that the categories of race and gender have in fact received throughout the history of South African stereotype research. Conducting the historical review helped to provide a strong rationale for the aims of this study by showing the kind of focus that the categories of race and gender have received from South

Africa's academic establishment, and through that, by arguing for the value of conducting research into naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content, as this study aims to do.

The second reason for collecting and collating data with an emphasis on naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content used by ordinary South Africans, was to support future stereotype threat studies in the country by providing them with salient, accurate and less potentially harmful group categories and stereotype content. Stereotype threat theory proposes that when a performance situation is infused with cues that involve the devaluation of one's social group, this has the effect of creating an extra burden for the members of those stereotyped groups and it therefore undermines their performance in the stereotyped domain (Carr & Steele, 2009). A common example of this that is cited in the literature involves the negatively stereotyped domain of academic performance for African Americans and how the performance situation of academic testing has been shown to provide an extra burden for African American university students, thereby undermining their overall academic performance (Aronson & Steele, 1995). This study aimed to collate naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content among South African university students for the purpose of contributing to future stereotype threat studies in the country. There was, however, one important qualifier that the chosen group categories and stereotype content had to meet.

It was expected that the group categories and stereotype content to be considered for future stereotype threat studies be less potentially harmful for the participants of future stereotype threat studies than the categories of race and gender. This was because of a belief that if the group categories and associated stereotype content of race and gender were to be used for future stereotype threat studies, they may constitute a high level of potential harm to the participants of such studies because of how inextricably written-on-the-body they are, and because of the difficulty of 'deactivating' the effects of these categories during debriefing. It was argued that under these conditions, the stereotype threat effects necessarily invoked as part of the stereotype threat studies may have real-life and potentially negative consequences for the participants. It was for this reason that naturally occurring, salient and less harmful group categories and stereotype content were collected as part of this study.

A point of interest which was pursued while collecting data on group categories and stereotype content was an investigation into how manipulating hierarchical group salience conditions may affect what kinds of group categories the participants use, and what kinds of stereotypes they apply to those groups. The basis of this was founded on Turner's description of the self-concept as being an entity of inherent plurality and flexibility, rather than one which is static and fixed (1987). It was argued that there exist different levels to the self-concept and that it may be possible to affect the group categories and stereotype content generated by the participants of this study, through the process of manipulating which aspects of the self-concept were made to be salient or important in a given situation (Turner, 1987). While most of the literature for this topic involved studies that manipulated salience conditions in a horizontal, intergroup manner, this study aimed to manipulate salience conditions in a vertical, hierarchical manner (Bennet & Sani, 2001; Bennet & Sani, 2008).

This was achieved by posing the study's research question at two levels, the 'higher', more abstract "group of people in South Africa" level, and the 'lower', more local "group of people on campus" level.

Chapter two: Literature review

1. Theory of stereotypes

In human societies across the world, people organise themselves into social groups that exist on multiple levels (Turner, 1987). Probably the most basic social group would be the family unit. Along with the family unit would be other social groups such as race, class, religious affiliation and the nation-state. The broad concept of the human social group can therefore be seen as an important organising feature of human societies across the world (Turner, 1987).

Connected to the concept of groups is a phenomenon which seems to be an inherent result of the interactions of social groups. Turner described stereotyping as, "the assignment of characteristics to individuals on the basis of their membership in some group" (Turner, 1987, pp. 3-4). As this definition suggests, the act of stereotyping involves the deliberate association between individuals and their group membership. This is done by linking an individual to those characteristics which are commonly associated with the social group they belong to. Some group characteristics, and therefore stereotypes are more positive, while others are negative. This has implications on how individuals and social groups may view and relate to each other, with some relationships tending to be positive while others may tend to be negative.

Stereotyping between individuals and between social groups seems to be one of the main effects of group formation, and much research output in the field of social psychology during the 20th century has been dedicated to understanding it. This research involves focusing on how stereotypes are created, how they function, what their contents are and what effects they have on society. These efforts have produced theories of group formation, functioning and the implications this has on the creation, functioning, and contents of stereotypes within society. It is these theories which were examined in this literature review, with the aim of placing this research study within an extensive theoretical context, with a background that stretches back many decades, and also to identify some of the gaps in the literature that this study aimed to fill.

This was done by first exploring literature that deals with the processes behind group formation and functioning. Some of the implications of these processes were analysed in order to show how the functioning of social groups can lead to the development of stereotypes. Next, the review explored literature about the creation and functioning of stereotypes. Three general functions of stereotypes were discussed, with implications this has on intergroup relations being explored. Finally, the literature review focused on South African intergroup relations and stereotype research, with an emphasis on the history of intergroup relations and stereotype research in the country. This opened up an analysis of the patterns of stereotype content that researchers have focused on historically, revealing certain potential gaps in the literature that this study aimed to address.

1.1. Groups

Human social groups are an essential organising feature of society because of their utility in helping humans to make sense of their social lives, by bringing structure and order to social interactions (Turner, 1987). According to some of the most widely accepted theories of group formation, such as Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self Categorization Theory (SCT), group formation, for human beings, is intimately linked with the need to make sense of the world through the process of categorizing the stimuli that is experienced in it (Turner, 1987). This is done through the use of theories of knowledge, or schemas. Schneider defined schemas as, "…theories we have about categories, and they function as frameworks for understanding what we see and hear" (2005, p. 120). The function of schemas is that they, "…aid in the recognition, interpretation, and labelling of stimuli; affect memory for information, and generally lead to efficient processing of schema related material" (Schneider, 2005, p. 122). At the heart of group formation therefore, is a need for human beings to make sense of their world by organising it through dividing up stimuli and experiences and then grouping them together into categories based on how similar or different these stimuli are (Tajfel, 1981, p. 147).

Turner described a social group as a positive reference group (1987). By this he meant that group belonging is not just determined objectively, but that group belonging must also be subjectively important in order for it to influence the actions of an individual. A more substantive description is given when Turner defined a group as, "…one that is psychologically significant for the members, to which they relate themselves subjectively for social comparison and the acquisition of norms and values… , that they privately accept membership in, and which influences their attitudes and behaviour" (1987, pp. 1-2).

By implication, therefore, human groups are not just objective physical formations, but also collections of abstract stimuli such as traits and characteristics which have been organised into categories based on their similarities and differences. This conclusion is important when Tajfel's theory of how individual humans form their identities, Social Identity Theory (SIT), is taken into consideration. For Tajfel, "…groups are important sources of identity" (Schneider, 2005, p. 233). His theory is based on the assumption that people generally want to feel good about themselves, and that one of the ways that this goal may be achieved is through a person joining those groups which yield a positive identity or increase the perceived worthiness of those groups to which they already belong (Schneider, 2005, p. 233).

It is the effect of humans joining or forming positive reference groups; those groups which help to yield a positive self-identity, which has been the focus of much research in the field of social psychology. The main recorded effect of human group formation is one that is characterised by a psychological polarisation in how individuals perceive themselves and the groups to which they belong, (in-groups), as opposed to their perception of members of groups to which they don't belong, (out-groups). The main reason for this has to do with an effect which seems to be inherent to the act of categorisation. Tajfel argued that, "…the act of categorizing any set of objects tends to increase the perceived differences between categories and to make members of categories seem more alike" (Schneider, 2005, p. 234). When this

effect is coupled with Tajfel's own description of a positive self-identity as the main driving factor behind group formation, two more paradoxical results have been noticed in the research.

On one hand, group belonging may have the positive effect of producing and sustaining a level of cohesion among the group members by helping to define and regulate the norms and values that each member holds about themselves and the other members of the group. On the other hand, group belonging may have more adverse and negative effects precisely because of the greater sense of cohesion it brings among group members. Group members will tend to form closer ties to members of their own, while tending towards being suspicious and rejecting of members of other groups. Group members will tend to favour their own groups, called in-groups, over other groups that they don't belong to, called out-groups (Nelson, 2002).

An interesting examination of this polarising effect of group formation is provided by Optimal-Distinctiveness Theory. According to the theory, social identity seeks to fulfil two opposite goals simultaneously. On one hand, people seek group belonging in order to feel similar to others, as a means of self-evaluation. And yet on the other hand, people desire to feel unique and special, which can lead to intergroup comparison and the derogation of out-groups (Schneider, 2005). The key factor at hand is that people seek to identify with groups that provide an optimal level of inclusiveness that satisfies both these opposing needs simultaneously. It is this goal, to fulfil both these needs for feelings of similarity within the in-group while feeling unique and special compared to out-group members, which is at the heart of why in-group members tend to treat out-group members as a homogenous unit.

Hilton and Hippel described the phenomenon of out-group homogeneity as one where, "out-group members are not only perceived as possessing less desirable traits than in-group members, they are seen as homogenous as well" (1996, p. 247). One of the consequences of viewing out-group members as a homogenous unit is that people then believe that most out-group members share the attributes of the specific out-group members they have actually encountered. It is this phenomenon, which is displayed by in-group members, of applying characteristics of habit and behaviour to the general population of an out-group, based only on specific experiences with actual out-group members, which is of interest in this study. A useful name for this phenomenon is stereotyping. Hilton and Hippel give a good definition of stereotyping when they say, "…stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of certain groups. More than just beliefs about groups, they are also theories about how and why certain attributes go together" (1996, p. 240).

2. Stereotypes

Rupert Brown gives another definition of stereotyping which is useful in the development of this discussion: "to stereotype is to attribute to that person some characteristics which are seen to be shared by all or most of his or her group members. A stereotype is, in other words, an inference drawn from the assignment of a person to a particular category" (2010, p. 68). Stereotype contents are the forms of stereotyping taking place within a given society, at a given time. The essential role played by stereotypes is that of an organising feature in society, and depending on the contents of those stereotypes, they can inform and drive either more positive or more negative intergroup interactions.

The overall value of conducting stereotype research, therefore, is based on the functions that stereotypes serve in society, through their ability to frame human identity and to inform how various group of people understand and relate to each other. There are three general functions that stereotypes serve, as outlined by the following paragraphs.

2.1. Social knowledge

One of the main theories regarding the function of stereotypes involves the fact that stereotypes can provide humans with useful and readily accessible information about their social environment and how to behave in it. Built on the need to categorise the social environment and the people in it, theories of stereotypes argue that they serve as heuristics (Tajfel, 1981). "The heuristic position suggests that stereotypes act like any means of simplifying a complex world: They are shortcut rules, easy to use, that owe their existence to the fact that they work at least part of the time" (Schneider, 2005, p. 149). This understanding of the function of stereotyping for social knowledge is based on the assumption that humans exist in a cognitively complex world that is in need of simplifying (Tajfel, 1981).

At any given moment, there are many more actual out-group members than there is time or energy to evaluate them individually. Also, each individual evaluation may place the in-group member in considerable danger if the out-group member they are attempting to evaluate does actually hold to the norms and values that the in-group member deems to be dangerous and inappropriate (Tajfel, 1981). What is needed in this situation is a working heuristic for making the most accurate and reliable evaluations of all out-group members in the fastest and most cognitively efficient manner possible in order to save time, energy and avoid possible confrontation. It is this practical need which serves as the maternity ward and the nursery of stereotypes. Stereotypes enable their users to make judgements about other individuals extremely quickly, thereby satisfying a major goal of cognitive life, which is, "…to arrive at the fastest judgements possible, using the least amount of cognitive effort" (Nelson, 2002, p. 38). The basic function, therefore, that stereotyping serves is one of simplifying the social world in order to help group members make the most accurate and reliable judgements about each other in the fastest and most cognitively efficient manner possible.

2.2. Identity (Positive and negative)

Stereotyping can serve the function of bestowing a social identity upon those whom the stereotypes are being used. Depending on the content of the stereotypes used, this social identity can be both positive and negative. This is based on some of the theories about the origin of stereotypes. One of the main theories of the origin of stereotypes involves the idea that the contents of stereotypes are based on some grain of truth which is reflected in social reality. "One explanation for the origin of stereotypes is that they derive, however tenuously, from some aspect of social reality" (Brown, 2010, p. 70). In this way, social stereotypes, which themselves are heuristic perceptions of different social groups, serve to describe and explain the social reality that people are in fact immersed in. This social reality is composed of a mix of cultural practises and socio-economic circumstances.

The suggestion at hand here is that while stereotypes serve the function of providing a means of acquiring social knowledge in a fast and cognitively efficient manner, they also serve to describe and bestow identity upon social groups. They do this by tapping into and describing, however tenuously, the actually-lived experiences of their subjects. The contents of stereotypes, which are almost always derived from some grain of actually-lived reality, are based on, "a group's culturally distinctive patterns of behaviour, or the particular socio-economic circumstances in which it finds itself" (Brown, 2010, p. 70). This perception can, in turn, provide the seed-bed where stereotypical descriptions about that group can flourish (Brown, 2010).

Such stereotypical descriptions of social groups can be both negative and positive, with both types acting in such a manner as to bestow upon that group a rich tapestry of a social identity. While some groups stand to gain in status and power because of the positive stereotypical descriptions about them, often other groups stand to lose because of the negative stereotypical descriptions about them. The reasons for the existence of such negative and positive stereotypical descriptions of social groups is often not only based on the 'grain of truth' theory of the origin of stereotypes, but it is also intimately connected to the structural and systemic inequalities which can exist between different social groups. Stereotypes, in this case, can serve to do more than just bestow identity upon groups, but they can also serve the function of rationalising the status quo in systemically unequal societies.

2.3. Rationalising the status quo

Stereotypes within systemically unequal societies do more than provide a means for the fast and cognitively efficient acquisition of social knowledge. They also do more than bestow identity, whether positive or negative, upon social groups by tapping into their actually-lived cultural practices, behaviours and socio-economic circumstances. Stereotypes within such systemically unequal societies can be used as a means of rationalising the status quo because of their ability to provide rational explanations, for both the dominant and subordinate groups, for the existing and unequal social structures which in fact help to produce such systemic inequality (Chan, Kahn & Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

The very act of stereotyping can provide a rational explanation for what is being observed, without effectively challenging the systemic inequality which may have helped to produce such a social reality in the first place. For example, one may observe an unemployed and uneducated member of a deprived minority group and ascribe to them already existing stereotypical descriptions of deprived minority members as being 'lazy' or 'stupid'. While this ascribed stereotype may be, on the surface, based on a partially accurate description of a lived reality, it also has the effect of rationalising to the user and subject of that stereotype the social reality they are observing, making status differences appear natural and inevitable. The act of stereotyping does this by not effectively challenging the possible systemic inequalities which may have contributed to why that minority group member is uneducated and unemployed in the first place (Brown, 2010).

It is this ability for the justification of inequality which makes stereotypes very powerful in their potential for rationalising the general status quo within society. This gives dominant groups the continued ability to subjugate subordinate groups by denying both groups the means of effectively challenging the system in which they exist (Chan, Kahn & Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Ultimately this is a matter of diminished agency on the part of both the dominant and subordinate groups, and it leads to the perpetuation of the unequal system they exist in.

3. The value of South African stereotype research

Stereotype content research provides the opportunity to uncover, understand and to possibly challenge the stereotypical assumptions which underlie society. South Africa provides a rich context for stereotype research because of its history of institutionalised (racist) prejudice and conservative patriarchy.

Any credible attempt at describing South African history will have to, at some point, touch on how stereotyping has come to affect the country and its inhabitants. This is because the act of stereotyping is unavoidably linked to South African history. In fact, it could be argued that stereotyping has, in a deeply significant way, helped to inform how the various social groups within the country have grown to understand and treat each other throughout South African history, and that stereotypes have also provided social "evidence" to justify and rationalize legislative policies and informal social practices that produced and perpetuated inequities by race and gender.

Any overview of South African stereotyping is inextricably linked to an overview of the history of South African intergroup relations. This is because existing intergroup stereotypes, whether positive or negative, help to inform the nature of intergroup relations within any society, including South Africa. Intergroup stereotypes achieve this by helping their users and subjects with providing fast and cognitively efficient knowledge about the social environment, by ascribing identity to in-group and out-group members and most importantly, by helping to rationalise the status quo of the local society. In achieving this, intergroup stereotypes are a key factor in regulating the system of intergroup relations in society. Intergroup relations, in turn, are deeply influential over national political, economic and

social policies. Such policies can be systemically discriminatory and unequal, biased in the favour of the powerful against the weak. This is very much the case in the history of South Africa, where two aspects of systemically unequal intergroup relations stand out. The first can be understood as a history of institutionalised (racist) prejudice, also known as institutional racism. The second can be understood as a history of conservative patriarchy.

3.1. Institutional racism

The roots of institutional racism in South Africa stretch back to the beginning of Dutch and British settlement and colonialism. This system involved the deliberate convergence of political, economic, social and legal institutional power for the purpose of expressing the ideological belief in the superiority of one racial group over others (Harvey, 2003). In South Africa, this specifically meant the supposed superiority of the white race over all others. It is argued that while British, white English speaking colonial rule was characterised by and surely laid the foundations for South African institutional racism, that it was actually Afrikaner nationalist ideology which was able to raise South African institutional racism to its purest form, under the policy of 'separate development' or apartheid (Harvey, 2003). While it reigned supreme during most of the second half of the 20th century, the policy of apartheid had several negative effects on the nation, much of which still affects South Africa in the present day. Among the most obvious effects is that of a nation of deep socio-economic inequality, with South Africa ranking among the most unequal societies in the world (Herbst, 2005). This inequality exists along racial lines, with the black majority of the population being the poorest (Ozler, 2007).

Among the social effects of institutional racism, one that has caught the attention of researchers is that of informal segregation, or the tendency for South Africans to naturally congregate along racial lines in social situations, despite the abolishment of all legal sanctions against interracial contact in post-apartheid South Africa. One of the main explanations offered by researchers for this is the existence and impact of meta-stereotypes, or the perceptions that in-group members suspect that out-group members hold about them (Finchilescu, 2005; Finchilescu & Laher, 2010). This is an example of how stereotypes influence intergroup relations, and how institutional racism has come to affect South Africa.

3.2. Conservative patriarchy

The second aspect of South African intergroup relations, which has been historically upstaged by the first, is that of conservative patriarchy. This is a system of intergroup relations which is characterised by the dominance of males over females in all aspects of social life. This is built around an ideology of the superiority of males, the inherent weakness of females, and therefore the necessary subservience of females towards and dependence on males for survival. Conservative patriarchy has also historically been expressed through the power of political, economic, social and traditional institutions (Madrassi, 1998). Within this environment, women have become "…victims of deeply held patriarchal norms that teach men to view women as possessions, where tradition and stereotypes repress women and where male domination is encouraged at an early age" (Artz, 2009, p. 175).

This ideology, in South Africa, is present both in black and white cultures, where women are traditionally expected to conform to roles which emphasise gendered subservience, and professional inferiority (Booysen, & Nkomo, 2010; van der Merwe, 1994). The inequality between the genders is perpetuated by traditional institutions such as marriage or motherhood, which bind women into inherently unfair and unequal relationships with men. This is accomplished by instilling into women a level of guilt and placing them under the threat of social derogation if they don't interact with these institutions in the expected, traditional manner (Ichou, 2006). Examples of this include the traditional rejection of unwed mothers or the expectation of women to abstain from sexual activity before marriage, while this same expectation is relaxed for men.

Economically, conservative patriarchy is reflected by the chronic underrepresentation of women in positions of leadership and the disparity in remuneration between the genders (Chiloane-Tsoka, 2010). Artz elaborates on this idea of social and economic subservience when she states that, "Patriarchal control of wealth and decision making is sustained by inheritance systems and kinship structures, in which a woman's identity is often only established through a relationship with a man as his daughter or wife" (2009, p. 175). Politically, women have also been underrepresented in positions of leadership, despite efforts by the state to challenge this trend by enacting laws that ensure gender equality.

3.3. Stereotypes, ideology and social realities

Stereotypes serve as the foundations of both institutional racism and conservative patriarchy in South Africa. This is because of their ability to describe, however tenuously, actual social realities (Brown, 2010). Stereotypes about blacks or women in South Africa, whether positive or negative, do reflect, to an extent, the real experiences of these groups, both subjectively from the perspective of in-group members, and objectively from the perspective of out-group members. However, the significant danger of stereotypes in South Africa, as they apply to institutional racism and conservative patriarchy, is for their ability to provide ideological reasons for systemic inequality (Brown, 2010). In South Africa they do this by rationalising, justifying and therefore perpetuating these systems of inequality in the country.

Stereotypes are at the heart of both institutional racism and conservative patriarchy and they are harmful for both their users and subjects because they diminish the agency of both parties by reducing their ability to challenge and change the prevailing social system.

3.4. Social value of South African stereotype research

Conducting stereotype research in South Africa, a society which has been so deeply affected by the ideologies of institutional racism and conservative patriarchy is therefore very valuable. It provides rich opportunities for learning about, understanding and helping to challenge and change the stereotypes which have influenced intergroup relations in the country. There are various fields of academic research which require and stand to benefit from local stereotype research. The contribution that South African stereotype research has to make to these fields is by providing them with empirical information about local stereotype content. This content is in turn used to inform the aims and purposes of future academic

research in the country. By cataloguing the categories and stereotypes actually employed by South Africans, the present study aims specifically to contribute towards was the field of stereotype threat research in South Africa.

3.5. Stereotype threat theory

The development of stereotype threat theory goes back to work carried out by Claude Steele in his experiences with the academic performance levels of African American college students. In his work he found that the gaps in academic achievement and retention rates between whites and black Americans were persistent at all levels of schooling (Aronson & Steele, 1995). More specifically, it was found that black college students achieved academic performance levels which were persistently lower than their white peers, often despite having the same level of preparation (Aronson & Steele, 1995). It was when investigating possible psychological reasons for this persistent disparity in academic performance that the idea of stereotype threat was posited as an explanation. Carr and Steele provide a comprehensive definition of stereotype threat theory when they state that it, "…proposes that the performance situation, infused with cues about the devaluation of one's social identity, creates an extra burden for individuals from stereotyped groups, undermining their performance in the stereotyped domain" (2009, p. 853).

Steele argued that part of the reason for the lower academic performances of African American students may involve the fact that after a lifetime of exposure to society's negative images of their ability, these students were more likely to experience an inferiority anxiety surrounding their academic abilities (Aronson & Steele, 1995) resulting from negative task-specific stereotypes. It was argued that these negative stereotypes can be very threatening for members of certain groups, because they carry with them the implication of being potentially unchangeable. These negative stereotypes therefore suggest that for members of certain groups, their abilities and competence in certain domains are inherently linked to their group membership (Chan, Khan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

And so as the theory goes, for African American students who may feel under the suspicion of a negative stereotype regarding their inherent academic capacity, "…poor performance on a test would signify not just a low score on one test, but rather a diagnostic assessment of low capacity" (Chan, Khan & Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 1188). It was suggested that this feeling of being threatened by a negative stereotype about their inherent academic capacity may be triggered by being placed in an academic performance situation, so that African American students may therefore find it difficult to perform to the best of their actual abilities. It is this concept of feeling threatened by negative stereotypes which lends its name to the theory.

3.6. Various stereotype threat domains

There are many negative stereotypes circulating in society about many social groups. Several of these negative stereotypes may have the capacity of negatively affecting the performance of members of those groups in certain domains, along with negatively impacting their general quality of life. While the domain of stereotype threat among racial and ethnic groups as it regards their performance in academic tests has received wide coverage within the overall

field of stereotype threat theory (Aronson, Fried & Good, 2002; Cohen, Garcia, Apfel & Master, 2006; Gonzales, Blanton & Williams, 2002; Steele, 1997), there are other domains which have also been points of focus.

There is evidence which suggests that even those groups which are usually dominant in certain domains can themselves be subject to stereotype threat in certain contexts, such as white males in mathematics, when compared to Asian males (Aronson, Lustina, Good, Keough & Steele, 1999). Evidence also suggests that men can be subject to stereotype threat in tasks that need emotional or social intelligence (Cadinu, Maass, Lombardo & Frigerio, 2006; Koenig & Eagly, 2005).

The category of gender is one that continues to be investigated within the field of stereotype threat research. These studies have tended to investigate the threatening effects produced by the stereotypical characterisation of women as being intellectually inferior or inherently worse at scientific academic tasks such as mathematics (Ambady & Steele, 2006; Greenberg, Johns, Martens & Schimel, 2006). Other performance domains about women that have been investigated include entrepreneurial intentions (Gupta & Bhawe, 2007), negotiation abilities (Kray, Reb, Galinsky & Thompson, 2002), and leadership desires (Davies, Spencer & Steele, 2005).The domain of age has also been subject to stereotype threat research, with older people being shown to be sensitive to stereotype threat as it regards their performance in memory tasks (Hess, Hinson & Hodges, 2009; Hess, Emery & Queen, 2009).

The evidence presented here suggests that stereotype threat may affect many aspects of ordinary life (Aronson & Steele, 1995). In South Africa, however, our limited knowledge of the categorizations that may apply in specific contexts, or the content of associated stereotypes, limits the extent to which we can apply stereotype threat theory or engage in stereotype threat research in the local context. There is therefore real value in conducting research into naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content used by ordinary South Africans because of its utility in informing future stereotype threat research in the country which would be of a greater quality and overall utility.

3.7. Race and gender focus

While the methodological emphasis on investigating naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content is rooted in the pursuit of future stereotype threat research which is of a greater quality and overall utility, there is also another linked reason. This study's aim to identify naturally occurring salient group categories and stereotype content is also based on the suspicion that although the group categories of race and gender have received the most attention from researchers throughout the history of South African stereotype research, there may be other ways that South Africans themselves are invoking categorizations. The reasons for this suspicion are based on the impact that South Africa's history of institutional racism and conservative patriarchy may have played in influencing and informing the group categories which may be salient in the consciousness of South African researchers.

The attention on these two categories may therefore be legitimate and deserved, as they may be in fact an accurate reflection of the group categories which are used most frequently in the country, and are therefore salient in the collective consciousness of South Africans. However, it is also possible that the opposite is true. It is possible that despite the attention they may receive throughout the history of South African stereotype research, the categories of race and gender may still not be salient dimensions of categorization in South Africa. It is possible that the attention they may receive may be the result of an undue focus on them on the part of the South African academic establishment, rather than because of their natural and salient occurrence from among the South African public. This is the reason why this study emphasised naturally occurring stereotypes in its methodology. The aim was to investigate which group categories and associated stereotype content were used most frequently by the participants without suggesting any categories to them.

3.8. Ethical concerns with invoking race and gender categories in stereotype threat research

Nevertheless, even if the group categories and stereotype content of race and gender were the naturally occurring and salient results of this study, their use in future stereotype threat research would be problematic. This is because the group categories and stereotype content of race and gender would pose a significant ethical concern for the participants of any future stereotype threat study.

The group categories of race and gender are powerful, pervasive and inescapably written-on-the-body, and therefore they place people in a position where they run the risk of being subject to stigma, prejudice and discrimination in real-life contexts. If these categories are invoked for the purposes of a stereotype threat project, it is not certain that they can be simply 'deactivated' during debriefing. Therefore participation in stereotype threat studies may have real-life consequences for the participants involved.

For example, during participation in a stereotype threat project, where the threatening stereotypes of differences in academic ability by gender or race are invoked for the purposes of research, the participants may find themselves in a situation where they have to write a mathematics test, for example, immediately after taking part in that stereotype threat project. Those already invoked threatening effects may not have dissipated in the minds of the participants, and therefore they may find that their performance in such a test may be inadvertently hampered. Invoking these categorizations may therefore have negative real-life consequences for certain participants along the lines of race and gender.

The use of the group categories of race and gender for the purposes of stereotype threat research therefore poses an ethical concern because of the risk that the threatening effects, invoked as part of the stereotype threat project, may inadvertently spread into other areas of the participants' lives and hamper their performance and quality of life. Stereotype threat research in South Africa would therefore benefit from exploratory research aimed at identifying less powerful categories and stereotypes that are nevertheless locally relevant for South Africans and that could be invoked in stereotype threat studies with less risk of ethical harm.

3.9. Overall purpose of the study

The overall purpose of this study, therefore, was to uncover, from a university context, those naturally occurring and salient stereotype categories and content. This has value in its own right, in identifying categorizations and stereotypes used by South Africans themselves rather than assuming that the categories of race and gender which appear routinely in academic research are relevant to ordinary South Africans. This research also lays a foundation for future research in categorization, stereotypes and stereotype threat in South Africa. Such categories and content must pose less of an ethical concern by being less potentially harmful than the categories of race and gender.

4. Review of South African stereotype research

An important claim made above, was that the categories of race and gender seem to be particular points of emphasis for stereotype researchers in South Africa, invoked more frequently than most other categories. While this claim may be true, it is one that remains essentially unverified. The rationale for this claim is rooted in South Africa's history of institutional racism and conservative patriarchy.

The following section will therefore review this literature with two aims. The first aim is to provide evidence as to whether or not the categories that have received the most attention throughout the history of South African stereotype research have indeed been the categories of race and gender. The second aim is to catalogue what other categories and stereotypes have been investigated throughout the history of South African stereotype research, some of which may present less of an ethical concern and thus be eligible for use in future stereotype threat projects in addition to those that were uncovered in this study.

5. Historical eras reviewed

The modern history of South Africa can be broken down according to three broad eras. The first era was defined as the Pre-republic era, spanning from before the year 1961, the year that the Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa. The second era was defined as the Apartheid era, spanning from the year 1961 until the end of 1993. The third and final historical era was defined as the Post-apartheid era, spanning from the year 1994 to 2012. It was the stereotype research output produced within these periods in South African history which was the focus of attention.

The reason for the division of South African history into these three broad eras revolved around the central and overwhelming role that the apartheid regime specifically, and institutional racism generally, has come to play in the development and shaping of modern South African social research. It could reasonably be said that there exists no portion of South African identity which hasn't been touched, in some way, by the large shadow cast by apartheid while it was in legal effect during most of the second half of the twentieth century, and by its legacy thereafter. The word 'apartheid', however, could also be used as a synonym for describing institutional racism in South Africa, which is far older than the National Party policy of 'separate development', which lasted from 1948 until 1994 (Worden, 1994).

It was for this reason that the data gathered from the review of South African stereotype research was examined through the prism of the apartheid [institutionally racist] system, both before its inception in 1948, and after its demise in 1994. In other words, institutional racism stands at the centre of any discussion, in South Africa, that involves stereotyping, and its shadow is evident right from the start of the 20th century through to the present day.

At the heart of the apartheid system were the dual concepts of race and stereotyping. The manner in which the system was constructed and conducted made it impossible, for any South African, to avoid the implications of how these concepts were interpreted and applied to society by the ruling class of the time. This is because the apartheid system was designed, from the beginning, to affect every aspect of South African society. "Apartheid in South Africa…was the ideology of race, carefully elaborated in intellectual terms, not by a handful of men to satisfy their lust for power, but a developed and sophisticated community – its political, social, academic and business leaders – over a period of some 70 years…" (Harvey, 2003, p. 25). Stereotyping was used by the architects of South African institutional racism in order to impose an essentially negative and subservient identity unto the non-white majority of the country's population, and then to rationalise the status quo of a systematically unequal society along racial lines.

Apartheid wasn't just about racial hate and discrimination, but worse than that, it was about applying racist ideology to all levels of society. The development of this philosophy occurred over many years, with racist and economically oppressive British colonial rule, and the mutual dislike between English and Afrikaans speaking white South Africans, serving as the fertile ground (Harvey, 2003).

After the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, and with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, a new kind of radical institutional racism was beginning to be envisioned and articulated. "… it was the Afrikaners who were in the driving seat after 1910, the Afrikaners to whom race was a matter of obsession, not of mere convenience, and the Afrikaners who set the racial agenda" (Harvey, 2003, p. 36). It was as early as 1917 that the principle of 'separate development' was being cultivated as a justification for a more virile system of racial oppression that nationalist Afrikaners were preparing to unleash on South Africa (Harvey, 2003). The National Party victory of 1948 took the Afrikaner nationalists a step closer towards realising their dream of not only achieving political supremacy over all South Africans, but also attaining full independence from their old enemy, Britain, by declaring South Africa a republic in 1961, and thereafter leaving the Commonwealth.

This victory gave Afrikaner nationalism the necessary room to create for itself a white autocracy that not only ran contrary to the international political climate of the time, but was successful in silencing its internal enemies through violence and intimidation for the rest of the 1960s into the mid-1970s (Harvey, 2003). This time is considered to be a golden era for apartheid both politically and economically, but it was short-lived, as the decolonisation of Mozambique, the Soweto Uprising and the murder of Steve Biko, in 1975, 1976 and 1977 respectively, all signalled the beginning of the end (Harvey, 2003). Apartheid staggered through the 1980s, but gradually weakened as the result of mass movements within the

country, and an increasingly crippled economy, partly due to international sanctions (Harvey, 2003). The final collapse of the system came in the form of the first democratic elections of 1994.

The review of South African stereotype research was conducted while tracing these major developments in South Africa's history. The rise of Afrikaner institutional racism up until the declaration of the republic in 1961, the peak of apartheid in the 1960s through to its decline and eventual collapse in 1994, and then its legacy after 1994, all serve as milestones for assessing the categories and content of stereotype research, along with the possible changes in those categories and their contents which may have occurred during this time.

6. Sources

The sources that were accessed for the review of South African stereotype research were a combination of journal articles, books and conference papers, the overwhelming majority of which ended up being journal articles. In total there were 103 individual research items that were included in the review, with 90 of them being journal articles, 10 of them being books and 3 of them being conference papers.

Both digital databases and physical journal indexes were accessed during the research process. The databases that were accessed were, in no particular order, Ebscohost, J-Stor, Proquest, Science Direct, Wiley online library, Primo, Taylor & Francis, Swetswise, Springer Link, Project Muse, Sabinet online and Google scholar. The journal indexes that were accessed were, again in no particular order Psychological Abstracts (Volumes 1-93), Psychological Indexes (Volumes 1-42), Child Development Abstracts and Bibliography (Volumes 42-75), Social Sciences Index (Volumes 1-38), Social Sciences Abstracts (Volumes 1-4), Human Sciences Research Council research bulletin (Volumes 1-18), Register of current research in the humanities in South Africa (1946-1958), Humanities Index (Volumes 1-28), International Index to periodicals/Social Sciences and Humanities Index (Volumes 1-27) and Index to South African periodicals (Volumes 1-45).

6.1. Numbers aimed for in each era

Although a total of 103 research items were included in the review, the number that was originally aimed for was 150 research items, with as even a spread of around 50 research items per historical era. It was believed that this total number and spread of research items, although probably not exhaustive of all South African stereotype research, would still yield a reasonably accurate description of the trends of South African stereotype research within each era.

7. Method of the historical review

7.1. Stereotype definition

The first step that had to be taken in the process of the review involved coming to a decision regarding inclusion criteria for potential research items. This meant that a coherent and consistent definition of stereotyping would have to been used as the basis for either excluding

or including different research items. Two definitions of stereotypes were combined for this purpose, as both definitions touched on an important and indispensable aspect of the concept of stereotyping.

The first definition that was used was by Rupert Brown where he states that, "To stereotype is to attribute to that person some characteristics which are seen to be shared by all or most of his or her group members. A stereotype is, in other words, an inference drawn from the assignment of a person to a particular category" (2010, p. 68). The important aspect of this definition is the core idea of stereotyping involving the attribution to a person, or a group of people, a set of characteristics which are seen to be shared by most or all of that person's in-group members. The second definition goes a step further and it reveals another core aspect to the concept. Hilton and von Hippel state that stereotypes are more than just beliefs about groups, "they are also theories about how and why certain attributes go together" (1996, p. 240). The important aspect of this second definition is the idea that stereotypes do more than just describe groups by attributing certain characteristics to them. Stereotypes go a step further by serving as a means of explaining, understanding, or sometimes justifying certain human behaviour. Stereotypes serve as a tool with which humans attempt to understand their world.

When combined, these two definitions of stereotypes produce a coherent and consistent means with which to decide what research items may be included into the review. By 'stereotypes' it was therefore specifically meant that the items must involve research into the act of attributing certain characteristics to a person, or group of people, which are seen to be shared by most or all members of that particular in-group. Furthermore, such an act must also serve as a means of explaining, understanding or justifying certain human behaviour. Only those research items whose stated purpose was to learn something about stereotypes in South Africa, under this general definition, were considered for inclusion into the review.

7.2. Inclusion criteria

The basic rule-of-thumb which was used when considering research items for inclusion involved first looking at the title and abstract of the study, in the case of journal articles and conference papers, or the title and description section in the case of books. In order to qualify for initial consideration, ideally the words 'South Africa' and 'stereotypes' had to feature in both the title and abstract of the research item, or at least in one of them. As this was not always the case, the introduction sections of the research items, or the entire article, were routinely read in order to ascertain what the purpose of the study was and where the study took place. Among those research items that were included in the review, the criteria that had to be met involved the establishment or extension of knowledge about stereotypes in South Africa, as evidenced in the abstract, introduction, results or discussion sections of the research item. Only when these general criteria were met, were research items included into the review of South African stereotype research.

7.3. Expectations regarding accessibility

It was expected that the older research items, those from the apartheid era and especially those from the pre-republic era, would be more difficult to find than those from the post-apartheid era. The reasons for this expectation involved the age and scarcity of some of the research items, and because many of them, especially those from the pre-republic era, would not be available digitally. These research items would have to be accessed physically, whenever they could be found at all.

7.4. Thematic arrangement

The research items found from each era were arranged into categories based on the thematic similarity of their research topics. For example, within each era there were categories which comprised of research items that focused on race stereotypes or gender stereotypes and so on. Wherever it was possible, each of these categories were, in turn, arranged into further sub-categories, or focus areas, that were able to reveal what aspects of the categories received the most attention in the scientific literature. For example, within the category of race stereotypes there may be sub-categories which focused on stereotype content studies or social distance studies or racial stereotypes as they feature in South African literature.

8. Summary of the historical review

There were a total of 103 research items included in the review, with 2 of them coming from the pre-republic era, 33 of them coming from the apartheid era and 68 of them coming from the post-apartheid era. (For a detailed description of this review, regarding the main issues investigated within the categories of each historical era, please refer to appendix A.)

8.1. Pre-republic era

The pre-republic era produced one stereotype category, named race stereotypes. The sub-category, or specific aspects of racial stereotyping investigated within this literature involved a combination of racial stereotype content and social distance preferences. There were two articles involved in this sub-category. MacCrone (1957) and Pettigrew (1960) investigated the racial attitudes and social distance preferences of white tertiary students towards non-whites and other out-groups. Their research samples tended to be divided into English speaking, Afrikaans speaking and Jewish whites.

The results of these studies indicated a negative correlation between race attitudes and social distance preferences, with negative attitudes indicating greater social distance preferences among the subjects towards non-whites and vice versa. Afrikaans speakers held the most negative attitudes and greatest social distance preferences towards non-whites, with English speakers and Jews, but especially Jews, being the most tolerant towards non-whites.

8.2. Apartheid era

The apartheid era produced six stereotype categories. The categories were, respectively, race stereotypes, ethnic stereotypes, gender stereotypes, occupational stereotypes, intergroup stereotypes and international stereotypes.

8.2.1. Race stereotypes: Within this category there were a total of sixteen research articles distributed among four sub-categories. The sub-category of stereotype content studies had ten articles. The sub-category of stereotypes in South African literature had three articles. The sub-category of social distance studies had two articles and the sub-category of linguistic stereotypes had one article.

For the sub-category of stereotype content studies, among the areas of investigation were the stereotypical perceptions and descriptions that exist between racial groups. These studies aimed to analyse the changes of such perceptions over time, along with the influence of political events on stereotypical perceptions. Included in this section was a review of South African attitude research between 1930 and 1975, which tracked the contributions of three prominent academics to the literature of attitudes in South Africa. The results indicated, among other things, patterns of in-group bias and out-group derogation and the relative stability of intergroup stereotypes over a period of time (Thiele, 1991). Despite this, there were also instances of critical and reflective descriptions of the in-group (Edwards, 1984).

For the sub-category of stereotypes in South African literature, the main areas of investigation were the creation and maintenance of cultural stereotypes about the San, Khoi-khoi, coloureds and blacks between the 18^{th} and 20^{th} centuries, as expressed in South African literature. The results indicate negative stereotypes about the San, Khoi-khoi, coloureds and blacks, and how these stereotypes were used as tools of subjugation. Marquard (1981) explored stereotypical themes about blacks, including the unacceptability of cultural intermixing and especially miscegenation. February (1992), explored the difficulty coloureds face in escaping cultural stereotypes about them in literature.

For the sub-category of social distance studies, the results were similar to those found in the pre-republic era. Greater levels of prejudice among the subjects were linked to preferences for greater social distance from out-groups. A point of interest here was that among non-whites, English speaking whites tended to be more positively stereotyped than Afrikaans speaking whites (Viljoen, 1974).

8.2.2. Ethnic stereotypes: Within this category there were a total of seven research articles distributed among three sub-categories. The sub-category of social distance studies had four articles. The sub-category of stereotype content studies had two articles and the sub-category of stereotypes in South African literature had one article. The following is a description of the research found within the sub-category of stereotype content studies.

Edelstein (1972) and Edelstein (1974) investigated the ethnic stereotypes held by urban black matric pupils regarding other groups. Also investigated were the ethnic stereotypes held by the coloured community of Johannesburg regarding other ethnic groups. Their results

indicated, among other things, that there was a greater intra rather than inter-ethnic association among black pupils and that the coloured community held mainly positive or balanced ethnic stereotypes of other groups. Points of interest included a specific in-group bias among Zulu and Xhosa pupils.

8.2.3. Gender stereotypes: Within this category there were a total of five research articles distributed among three sub-categories. The sub-category of gender-role studies had two articles. The sub-category of stereotype content studies had two articles. The sub-category of stereotypes in South African literature had one article. The following are descriptions of the research found within the sub-categories of gender-role studies and stereotype content studies.

In their work, Albert & Porter (1986) and Prinsloo (1992) investigated gender-role stereotypes, or the stereotypes that are associated with how members of each gender are typically expected to behave and the social roles they are linked to. Comparisons were made between South African sex-role stereotypes and those of other cultures. Their findings suggest that similar sex-role stereotypes exist between South Africa and other cultures.

Regarding stereotype content studies, Bhana (1980) and Bhana (1983) investigated the stereotypes associated with males and females among the Indian community, with a focus on stereotypes about people from different age groups. There was a lack of agreement between the sexes regarding the stereotypes that characterise each group. There were more descriptions of males in general, but fewer descriptions of the older groups.

8.2.4. Occupational stereotypes: The category of occupational stereotypes had no sub-categories and a total of two research articles. In their work, Morsbach & Morsbach (1967) and Morsbach (1967) investigated the hierarchical rank ordering of different occupations, by Jewish South Africans and then by English and Afrikaans speaking whites, and by coloureds. They investigated the stereotypes associated with the different occupations.

Their results indicated similar ranking of occupations in accordance with western cultural norms, by the white groups. The professions were ranked most favourably, followed by semi and unskilled occupations, which were ranked least favourably. When occupational ranking and stereotyping differences occurred among coloureds, they were attributed to the socio-political climate of South Africa at the time and how it limited their career options.

8.2.5. Intergroup stereotypes: The category of intergroup stereotypes had no sub-categories and a total of two research articles. In their work, Morse, Peele & Richardson (1977) and Boy, Kamfer & Louw-Potgieter (1991) investigated the behaviours and stereotypes between groups of people. This was done among temporary collectives of people on Cape Town beaches and a stereotype reduction workshop as an intergroup relations intervention. Results indicated that the subjects tended to rate their own beach more positively than others. Jews for example, generally thought there were more Jews at each beach than did non-Jews, especially if they were at the beach in question. Participation in the stereotype reduction workshop was linked with a measurable reduction in stereotypical thinking when compared to those individuals that didn't participate in the workshop.

8.2.6. International stereotypes: The literature from this category investigated Soviet-South African relations and the changes in some of the stereotypical representations between the two nations between 1987 and 1991 (Nel, 1992/4). The results indicate that South African perceptions towards the Soviet Union shifted from an evil enemy image before 1988, to a weakened enemy image by 1990. Soviet Union perceptions of South Africa shifted from a polarised society stereotype towards being represented as a redeemable adolescent, in the same period of time.

8.3. Post-apartheid era

The post-apartheid era produced eleven stereotype categories. The categories were, respectively, race stereotypes, gender stereotypes, ethnic stereotypes, health stereotypes, international stereotypes, stereotypes about sexual abuse, stereotypes about religion, linguistic stereotypes, stereotypes about science and technology, occupational stereotypes, and intergroup stereotypes.

8.3.1. Race stereotypes: The category of race stereotypes had a total of twenty three research articles distributed among six sub-categories. The sub-category of stereotype content studies had ten research articles. The sub-category of social distance studies had eight research articles. The sub-category of HIV/AIDS stereotypes had two articles. Finally, the sub-categories of stereotypes in the media, stereotypes in South African literature and stereotypes in sport each had one research article. What follows are descriptions of the research undertaken within three of the sub-categories, namely the sub-categories of stereotype content studies, social distance studies and HIV/AIDS stereotypes.

For the sub-category of stereotype content studies, the main investigations surrounded racial stereotype content, in the form of intra and intergroup attitudes and perceptions. There was an analysis of the history of the 'coloured' stereotype, a contemporary replication of an older stereotype content study, and an analysis of how racial stereotypes manifest within a tertiary institution context. There was a historical survey of the trends of South African race attitudes, both during and after apartheid.

The results indicated a pattern of significant racial stereotyping, with out-group members being treated with suspicion, hesitance or outright derogation. Historically, English and Afrikaans speaking whites are known for showing high levels of prejudice towards blacks, with Afrikaans speakers being most prejudiced. Black subjects have shown the greatest prejudice towards Afrikaans speaking rather than English speaking whites. Some points of interest included evidence showing that despite the softening of some stereotypical descriptions, racial stereotype content remains resilient over time (Durrheim & Talbot, 2012). Racial stereotypical content is also evident, although in a subtle manner, in how people ascribe identity and value to certain institutions (Robus & Macleod, 2006). All groups show declining levels of social distance over time but black Africans' semantic differential scores (indicating prejudice) have remained stable whereas whites' semantic differential scores have declined relatively sharply in recent years (Durrheim, Tredoux, Foster & Dixon, 2011).

The sub-category of social distance studies investigated interracial social contact and explored the mechanisms that may explain how it functions, and also improve the quality and quantity of such interactions (Finchilescu, 2005). The findings indicated that despite greater geographical proximity in the post-apartheid era, racialised self-segregation continues (Finchilescu & Laher, 2010). Explanations for this pattern included prejudice, negative stereotypes, and negative meta-stereotypes and increased socio-economic competition between racial groups, all of which increases intergroup anxiety (Finchilescu, 2010).

The sub-category of HIV/AIDS stereotypes investigated stereotypes surrounding HIV/AIDS, specifically the stereotypes held by young whites surrounding HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns (Mendes & Nduna, 2010) and the stereotypical description of HIV/AIDS as a 'black problem' (Dilraj, Karim & Pillay, 2007). The findings indicated that although black women are acknowledged as having a higher risk for infection, comparable prevalence data is established across all race groups (Dilraj, Karim & Pillay, 2007). The racialised descriptions of blacks and the assumption that blacks had a greater level of ignorance regarding HIV/AIDS, given by the white subjects, fed into stereotypical depictions of black sexual immorality, promiscuity and aggression (Mendes & Nduna, 2010).

8.3.2. Gender stereotypes: The category of gender stereotypes had a total of eighteen research articles distributed among five sub-categories. The sub-category of gender-role studies had seven articles. The sub-category of occupational stereotypes also had four articles. The sub-category of stereotypes in the media had four articles. The sub-category of masculinity studies had two articles. Finally, the sub-category of stereotypes about disability had one article. What follows are descriptions of the research undertaken within three of the sub-categories.

The sub-category of gender-role studies investigated the contents of gender-role stereotypes as they are found in a variety of contexts. This included gender-role stereotypes that teachers assigned to pupils (Mwamwenda, 2011), the gender-role stereotyping at play in the experiences of motherhood by several young women (Ichou, 2006), how nicknames reflect patterns of gender-role typing (de Klerk & Bosch, 1996), and the gender-role attitudes of South African adolescents. The results indicated a pattern of gender-role stereotyping that played into traditional, patriarchal expectations which emphasised the dominance of men, the subservience of women and the positive effects that more egalitarian, non-traditional gender-role attitudes can have on reducing sexual risk behaviour (Bhana, Cupp & Zimmerman, 2008).

The sub-category of occupational stereotypes involved investigations into gender stereotypes as they operate in the work environment. Included in this were occupational gender-role stereotyping, and various stereotypes about the professional and leadership capabilities of women (Chiloane-Tsoka, 2010). The results indicated a pattern of negative stereotypes regarding the professional and leadership capacity of women, which play into traditional concepts of patriarchy and gender-role divisions (Booysen & Nkomo, 2010).

The sub-category of stereotypes in the media investigated the stereotypical portrayal of gender in the media. This included television and printed media. The results suggest that despite shifts towards more equal gender portrayals, there still exists a pattern of stereotyping in the media which perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes (Furnham & Spencer-Bowdage, 2002), and disadvantages women professionally and personally by limiting personal agency in situations of crisis (Buthelezi 2006; Motsaathebe, 2009), and focusing on negative and sexualised female portrayals (Luyt, 2011; Motsaathebe, 2009).

8.3.3. Ethnic stereotypes: The category of ethnic stereotypes had a total of six research articles distributed among two sub-categories. The sub-category of stereotypes in South African literature had three articles, while the sub-category of Jewish stereotypes had three articles. What follows is a description of the research undertaken within the sub-category of Jewish stereotypes.

The sub-category of Jewish stereotypes investigates the evolution of Jewish stereotypes in South Africa, along with a historical analysis of anti-Semitism in South Africa from the 19th century. The results indicated the relative stability of Jewish stereotypes with three prototypes: the wandering Jew, the evil Jew and the good Jew (Leveson, 2001). Other results included research into the roots of the anti-Jewish outburst of the 1930s and 1940s with a basis that stretches back to 19th century anti-Semitism (Shain, 2001) and the three strands of South African anti-Semitism; the Afrikaner far right, black Africans and Muslims (Hellig, 2000).

8.3.4. Health stereotypes: The category of health stereotypes had a total of six research articles distributed among four sub-categories. The sub-category named stereotypes about HIV/AIDS had four research articles, while the remaining three sub-categories each had one research article. The names of the sub-categories were stereotypes about contraception, stereotypes about substance abuse, and stereotypes about other illnesses. The following is a description of the material found within the sub-category of stereotypes about HIV/AIDS.

The main issues investigated within the sub-category of stereotypes about HIV/AIDS included the attitudes towards and willingness to care for patients with HIV/AIDS, among nursing students, the attitudes held by the general public regarding sexual activity and child-bearing among HIV positive people and the stigma that drinkers and smokers are subject to regarding being blamed for living a lifestyle that is responsible for the spread of the disease. The results indicated generally positive attitudes towards HIV positive patients among nursing students (Hoque, Sehume & Zungu, 2012), generally negative attitudes regarding sexual activities and child-bearing towards HIV positive people (Cooper, Morroni & Myer, 2006), and a tendency to blame drinkers and smokers for living a lifestyle that contributes to the spread of the disease (Moller, Erstad & Zani, 2010).

8.3.5. International stereotypes: The category of international stereotypes had no sub-categories and a total of five research articles. The main issues investigated were the stereotypical representations that exist between cultures and nationalities. The researchers analysed how they function and how they are perpetuated. The results indicated a pattern of

viewing the national out-group as a homogenous group, and the propensity to negatively stereotype the out-group (Bartsch & Judd, 1997). This is done through constructing national out-group members as 'the other' and accentuating linguistic and cultural differences, while assuming cultural supremacy, which can lend to outward prejudice and xenophobia (Dyers & Wankah, 2012). Hyde-Clark (2008) emphasised how difficult it can be to avoid repeating intercultural stereotypes in the media.

8.3.6. Stereotypes about sexual abuse: The category of stereotypes about sexual abuse had no sub-categories and a total of three research articles. The issues investigated were the functioning of social myths and stereotypes about child sexual abuse (CSA), and how they mediate perceptions about CSA. This was done on both an individual and public level, through an analysis of media reports of CSA. The results indicated that social myths and stereotypes about CSA mediate perceptions of CSA by restricting the blame attributed to the perpetrator, by attributing blame to the victim, and by minimising the harm to the victim (Collings, 2006; Collings, Stevens & Tolond, 2004). Additionally it was found that perceptions about child sexual abuse were skewed by reporting that focuses on extreme, bizarre and statistically unrepresentative cases of CSA, such as those were strangers are perpetrators, rather than known friends or family (Collings, 2002).

8.3.7. Stereotypes about religion: The category of stereotypes about religion had no sub-categories and a total of two research articles. The issues investigated were the stereotypical descriptions that the religious have of the non-religious. The sample used for this was students from the University of Johannesburg. Also investigated were religious stereotypes of disability and suffering using the Biblical text of Job as a case study. The results indicated that a variety of stereotypical descriptions of the non-religious exist, some of which are negative and may foreground potential stigma and prejudice, such as referring to them as being 'immoral', 'hard hearted', 'arrogant', or 'sinners'. However there also existed a more neutral and positive description of the unreligious as being 'rational', 'scientific' or 'extroverted' (Harper, 2007). There was a description of disability as being the consequence of sin and of the disabled or diseased as being unclean, and therefore to be ostracised. However, there was also evidence in the text of alternative and more positive discourses surrounding disability and disease, such as that of inherent human agency and dignity (Claassens, 2013).

8.3.8. Linguistic stereotypes: The category of linguistic stereotypes had no sub-categories and one article. This article investigated how people used language and accent in order to make judgements about others. Specifically, it was the stereotypical judgements that the researchers sort to uncover. The results disproved the association between power and positive stereotyping, specifically with the language and accent of Afrikaans. Rather than being accepted and positively stereotyped because of its historical position as the language of power in South Africa, Afrikaans was roundly rejected and negatively stereotyped by the participants. IsiXhosa and English were more positively stereotyped than Afrikaans, with English being the most consistently positively stereotyped of all three languages (Bosch & de Klerk, 1995).

8.3.9. Stereotypes about science and technology: The category of stereotypes about science and technology had no sub-categories and a total of two articles. The issues investigated were the attitudes that South Africans hold regarding science and how they have changed between 1999 and 2010 and the attitudes that black generation Y students hold towards the value of web advertising. Results indicated a mixture of negative and positive attitudes towards science (Gastrow, Juan, Reddy & Roberts, 2013) and generally positive attitudes towards the value of web advertising among black generation Y students (Bevan-Dye, 2013).

8.3.10. Occupational stereotypes: The category of occupational stereotypes had no sub-categories and only one article. The article investigated the preconceived notions of students in South Africa about accountants and whether these perceptions differ because of gender, home language or ethnical differences. It was found that the students perceive accountants as structured, precise and solitary individuals. Significant differences were found between the perceptions of different ethnic groups. No significant differences were found between the perceptions of male and female students, or between Afrikaans and English-speaking students (Steenkamp & Wessels, 2009).

8.3.11. Intergroup stereotypes: The category of linguistic stereotypes had no sub-categories and also one article. It was an evaluation of a stereotype reduction workshop conducted with students from three South African universities. Pre and post-measures in the form of the stereotypes produced for salient out-groups, and responses on a scale designed to measure constructs related to the aims of the workshop, were gathered from an experimental and a control group. The results indicated that the experimental group produced significantly fewer negative stereotypes for one of the out-groups after attending the intervention than they did before the intervention, while the control group's pre-intervention negative stereotypes still existed afterwards. Significant differences in the ratio of negative to total out-group stereotypes produced before and after the intervention were also found between the experimental and the control groups (Kamfer & Venter, 1994).

9. Discussion of the historical review

As expected, the pre-republic era research items were the most difficult to access, followed by the apartheid era research items. Among those that were found and used, the majority of them had to be accessed physically through the use of journal indexes and physical journal articles and books. Although the apartheid era produced fewer research items than the post-apartheid era and the pre-republic era produced only two, it is believed that the number of research items that were found overall does help to describe a reasonably accurate understanding of the trends within South African stereotype research.

This review of South African stereotype research helps to describe which stereotype categories seem to have received the most attention in the academic literature, and within those categories, which specific areas have been the points of focus. Based on the literature found for the pre-republic era, the stereotype category which received the most attention was the category of race stereotypes, which made up both of the articles found in that era. In both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras of South African stereotype research, the category of

race stereotypes also received the most attention in the academic literature, with frequency counts of sixteen and twenty three articles respectively. In the apartheid era the category of race stereotypes was followed by the categories of ethnic stereotypes and gender stereotypes, with frequency counts of seven and five articles respectively. However in the post-apartheid era this order was reversed. Here the category of race stereotypes was followed by the categories of gender stereotypes and then ethnic stereotypes, with frequency counts of eighteen and six articles respectively. Also, in the post-apartheid era, the frequency count of the stereotype category ethnic stereotypes was matched by the category of health stereotypes.

For all three eras of South African stereotype research in this review, the stereotype category that seems to have received the most attention in the academic literature, based on the number of articles per category, was the category of race stereotypes. The studies conducted in this category were mostly focused on research about racial stereotype content and on social distancing between the races in South Africa.

This category was followed, in both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras, by the categories of gender stereotypes and ethnic stereotypes, suggesting that they too hold a place of importance in the history of South African stereotype research.

The main area of focus among apartheid era ethnic stereotype studies was research about social distancing between the various South African ethnic groups. However, among post-apartheid ethnic stereotype studies, the main areas of focus were evenly split between research about ethnic stereotypes in South African literature and stereotypes about Jews in South Africa. Additionally, in the post-apartheid era, the frequency count of the category of ethnic stereotypes was matched by the category of health stereotypes, which focused on research about HIV/AIDS stereotypes.

The main areas of focus among the gender stereotype studies was research about gender-role stereotypes, gender stereotypes found in the workplace and gender stereotypes found in the media.

10. Conclusion of the historical review

By providing a reasonably accurate description of the trends throughout the history of South African stereotype research, this review helps to answer its two aims. First, the review gives credible evidence to the assertion that the categories of race and gender have indeed been the dominant ones used in the history of South African stereotype research. Both of these categories came up most frequently among those used in the academic literature for both the apartheid and post-apartheid historical eras. The review went a step farther by providing evidence for two more possibly salient categories in South African stereotype research, the categories of ethnic stereotypes and health stereotypes, specifically stereotypes about HIV/AIDS.

The review also answered its second aim, by providing credible evidence of other categories of stereotypes which have been investigated throughout the history of South African stereotype research. These categories include occupational stereotypes, stereotypes about

sexual abuse, and stereotypes about religion. Among these, the category which stands out as being of such an innocuous nature so as to make it less of an ethical concern if it were to be used in future stereotype threat projects, is the category of occupational stereotypes.

10.1. Race and gender focus revisited

As the review of the history of South African stereotype research has shown, the categories of race and gender seem to be the main focus of stereotype research in South Africa. This demonstrates that these categories are of particular interest to South African researchers. While these categorizations may indeed occur naturally and be salient within South African society, it is equally possible that ordinary contemporary South Africans apply different categorizations and stereotypes compared to researchers. Indeed, it is possible that the emphasis on the categories of race and gender in South African stereotype research may represent the interests of the academic establishment, rather than the fact that they are naturally occurring and salient in the collective consciousness of the South African public. Providing a credible answer to this question informs the first aim of this study, which is to investigate naturally occurring, and salient group categories and stereotype content from among a sample of university students, for the purpose of using them for future stereotype threat research.

The designated end point of these group categories and stereotype content, stereotype threat research, in turn informs the second aim of this study. As a result of the ethical concerns surrounding the use of the group categories of race and gender in future stereotype threat research, this study will also identify and catalogue group categories and stereotype content which pose less of an ethical risk by being less potentially harmful than the categories of race and gender.

It is for this reason that conducting research on the contents of the stereotypes that South Africans use is valuable. The results of such research may be used to inform future stereotype research in South Africa by providing more accurate and salient group categories and stereotype content.

11. Hierarchical groups and their effects on stereotyping

During the first portion of this investigation into less harmful, naturally occurring group categories and stereotype content within a university context, the participants were required to provide their responses using two hierarchical groups. The first was the ‘higher’, more abstract, group of “people in South Africa”. The second was the ‘lower’, more local group of “people on campus”.

The reason for this methodology involved a desire to understand how these different hierarchical groups may affect the group categories and the stereotype content used by the participants. The theoretical foundations underpinning this methodology will be elaborated upon. What follows is a detailed description of the academic literature which informs the reasons behind these methodological choices.

11.1. Self Categorisation Theory and the self-concept

The theoretical foundation for this method is based significantly on Self Categorisation Theory (SCT). SCT has among its basic assumptions, the idea of the self-concept as a variable and context dependent entity, rather than one that is static and constant. SCT defines the self-concept as, "…the set of cognitive representations of self available to a person" (Turner, 1987, p. 44). It is this idea of the self-concept as an entity of inherent plurality rather than singularity which is of importance. In addition to this, SCT argues that the self-concept comprises of many different components, so that each person essentially possesses multiple concepts of self which together function as one coherent cognitive system (Turner, 1987). It is the functioning of this cognitive system which is of interest regarding the methodology chosen for this study because of some of the predictions SCT makes about how the self-concept works.

According to SCT, the functioning of the self-concept as a cognitive system is situation specific, with particular self-concepts being activated in particular situations (Turner, 1987). Specifically, which particular self-concept becomes activated, or salient is, "…a function of an interaction between the characteristics of the perceiver and the situation" (Turner, 1987, p. 44). The idea of salience is important here, because through it, SCT predicts that different components within the larger cognitive system of the self-concept may arise to play significant roles in influencing the behaviour of the individual, depending on which self-concept is being activated under what conditions.

One of the behaviours that SCT predicts may be influenced by its description of the self-concept, along with the role that the concept of salience plays, is that of stereotyping. SCT predicts that stereotyping behaviour, regarding what categories people use and what content they apply to those categories, may be the result of an interaction between an essentially flexible self-concept and those aspects of the self-concept which are being made to be the prominent factors in how people see themselves. The implication of this on stereotyping, and part of what makes it important for this study, is that it turns stereotyping into a behaviour which is flexible and open to manipulation, depending on which aspects of the self-concept are being made into salient factors.

11.2. The SCT concept of salience

The idea of salience refers to the condition where some aspect of the self-concept, within the greater cognitive system, becomes the prominent factor in the individual's self-perception. This now 'activated' self-concept has the effect of being the immediate influence on the individual's general perception and behaviour within that specific situation (Turner, 1987).

There is a significant amount of literature within the field of stereotype research which shows some of the effects of altering the salient factor in individuals' self-perception. One of the recorded effects of altering which components of the self-concept are made salient within the process of stereotype formation and use, is that those now prominent factors of the self-concept come to influence the contents of the stereotypes that individuals hold and use. This has the overall effect of making stereotypes flexible, variable, dynamic and situation-specific

entities, rather than static and fixed-content entities, in a similar way that SCT proposes the nature of the self-concept (Bennet & Sani, 2008). In other words, people are likely to draw on different categories and stereotypes to describe their social world when different contexts are salient.

11.3. Conditions of salience and their effects on stereotyping behaviour

According to the literature, one of the main methods used by researchers to alter the salient factors in self-perception, in order to investigate what effect this has on stereotyping behaviour, is by introducing the participants to an intergroup situation whereby their definition of the in-group is inherently linked to some kind of comparison to the out-group. By varying the nature of the out-groups within these comparison situations, the researchers are able to alter which factors in the self-concept become salient, and therefore potentially also alter what stereotypes the participants hold.

A typical example of how this is achieved is by first selecting an in-group of some kind, usually along the lines of gender or race and then giving the participants an innocuous research task of some kind to complete. In this case let us say the in-group that was selected was a group of male and female black university students. The research task that they may be given would be to choose from a list adjectives those words that they felt would best describe a group of people.

The next step was to introduce a series of conditions to their task in order to assess the effect this has on how they describe people. In the first condition, the participants were required to assign adjectives to the out-group of male and female black university students. In the second condition, the participants were required to assign adjectives to the out-group of male and female white university students.

The aim of a study like this would be to assess what effect that altering the conditions of the research task; that is the conditions of salience, had on how the participants described the two groups of people available to them. According to the literature, the trend at hand is such that manipulating these conditions of salience does affect how participants describe the groups, with more extreme and differentiated descriptions being assigned to the participants' out-group, in this case male and female white university students, as compared to descriptions of the in-group.

An example of this method in use was the study conducted by Bennet and Sani (2008) in their investigation of the effects of comparative context on judgements about behaviours that might be associated with one's gender in-group. Using a sample of 5, 7, and 10 year old children, and comparative out-groups of boys and girls, along with adult men and women, the researchers found that the participants' descriptions of behaviours that they would associate with their gender in-group were more extreme and differentiated from the out-group when that out-group was in the opposite sex condition, regardless of age (Bennet & Sani, 2008).

The researchers achieved similar results from a similar study involving a sample of 6 and 7 year old boys and girls (Bennet & Sani, 2001). The out-groups used in this study were boys

and girls, along with adult men and women, with the in-groups being either boys or girls. In a similar manner to the previous study the researchers found that the children gave descriptions of in-group behaviours which were more extreme and differentiated in opposite sex conditions, again regardless of age (Bennet & Sani, 2001).

In both these examples, not only did the comparative context of creating slight differences in the conditions of salience have an effect on the stereotype content the participants produced, but in both studies the descriptions given by the participants of behaviours they associate with the in-group were more extreme in the context of an opposite sex out-group. This seems to be in line with one of the expectations of SCT whereby, "…the salience of a self-categorisation leads to the perpetual accentuation of intra-class similarities and inter-class differences between people as their characteristics are inferred from the defining identity of their class membership" (Turner, 1987, p. 49).

11.4. Horizontal vs vertical conditions of salience

In both of the studies already mentioned (Bennet & Sani, 2001; 2008) and in other examples of similar studies such as Judd, Sadler and Wyer (2002) and Ellemers, Haslam and Van Rijswijk (2006) the researchers manipulated the salience conditions in some kind of intergroup comparison situation in order to learn more about the effects that a particular comparative context had on stereotype content.

The common feature in these studies and others like them is that the comparative context that the researchers were investigating, through their manipulation of intergroup comparison salience conditions, existed between specific social groups. The social groups that were used included those that were delineated along the lines of gender, university affiliation and university faculty enrolment. This kind of comparative context is one that can be called a 'horizontal' condition of salience as it involves comparison between actual social groups, whether they are people themselves or people who come from certain organisations.

The intergroup comparison salience conditions that this study aimed to manipulate were different in that they did not involve social groups in the same sense. Rather, the groups that were compared existed at two different levels, along a hierarchical system of classification that is described by SCT. It is the hierarchical nature of this classification system which makes them 'vertical' conditions of salience.

11.5. SCT and hierarchical groups

According to SCT, self-categorisations exist as part of a hierarchical system of classifications. The relative position of any particular self-categorisation along the hierarchy depends on the degree of inclusiveness of the categories that exist on that level (Turner, 1987). Self Categorisation Theory identifies the existence of three general levels of inclusiveness.

The first group identified by SCT along the hierarchy is the super-ordinate group of the self as a human being, sharing common features with other members of the human species in contrast to other forms of life (Turner, 1987). The second group along the hierarchy is the

intermediate one of ingroup-outgroup categorisations, "…based on social similarities and differences between human beings that define one as a member of certain social groups and not others" (Turner, 1987, p. 45). The third group is the subordinate group, "…of personal self-categorisations based on differentiations between one-self as a unique individual and other ingroup members that define one as a specific individual person" (Turner, 1987, p. 45).

Using this concept that SCT provides, about the existence of groups along a hierarchy of self-categorisation, based on the degree of inclusiveness of the categories which belong to each of the three groups, this study aimed to investigate what effect that manipulating the salience of hierarchical levels would have on the categories and stereotypes salient to participants.

For this study, the intergroup comparison salience conditions that were manipulated were the more inclusive and therefore 'higher' group of "people in South Africa". The second was the less inclusive and therefore 'lower' group of "people on campus".

In conclusion, Self Categorisation Theory stands as the theoretical foundation underpinning the investigation of the effects that manipulating different hierarchical groups may have on what stereotyping categories people use and what contents they apply to those categories. This is the case primarily because of the theory's flexible description of the nature of the self-concept, the variability of stereotyping behaviour and the existence of different hierarchical groups within the self-concept.

Chapter three: Method

1. Aims and rationale

As the review of South African stereotype research suggests, the categories of race and gender seem to be the one most frequently utilised by the researchers during investigations about stereotyping in South Africa. This may suggest on one hand that the categories of race and gender, as a means of stereotyping among the South African population, may in fact be the most salient. On the other hand, this evidence may rather be a reflection of an undue focus on these categories as stereotyping categories by the academic establishment within the country. It may be the case that other, and perhaps more naturally occurring and salient categories of stereotyping have emerged from among the South African population over the course of the post-apartheid era, and that they may not be playing as significant a role in local, situated categorization and stereotyping.

Gaining a clearer and more accurate understanding of which categorical lines South Africans choose to use when grouping members of their society, and what characterisations, or stereotypes they hold about members of those groups may be a valuable step towards providing the field of stereotype threat research with more current, less potentially harmful, salient and therefore more accurate group categories and stereotype content for use in future stereotype threat studies.

The manner in which this was done was by conducting exploratory stereotype research within a university context that aimed to provide answers to two general questions. The first area of investigation looked into which categorical lines South Africans choose to use when they group members of their society. The second area of investigation looked into what characterisations, or stereotypes South Africans hold about the members of those groups.

As an exploratory study, its scope and therefore the ability of the results from this study to be generalised to the wider South African population was limited. The sample of university students which was used was chosen for reasons of immediate availability and convenience. The study was intended as an initial step towards further and perhaps more nationally representative investigations into these areas of focus.

2. Research questions

There are two broad questions that were investigated in this study, with each question being directed at two levels. The first was the more inclusive and therefore 'higher' "group of people in South Africa". The second was the less inclusive and therefore 'lower' "group of people on campus".

Research question 1: Along which categorical lines do South African university students most often organise members of South African society?

Research question 2: What are the contents of the stereotypes that South African university students apply to the members of the aforementioned categories in South African society?

The aim of the second research question, in analysing the contents of the stereotypes applied by the participants, was to learn what similarities and differences, if any, existed in the stereotypes used by participants at both the national and campus levels.

First the participants were asked to answer both these questions in consideration to South African society at the national level. Second they were asked to answer both these questions in consideration to South African society at their local campus level.

The reason for the selection of this methodology involved a desire to see if there would be a significant difference, at the national and campus levels, in how the participants selected which group categories to use when they organised members of South African society, and whether the differentiation in hierarchical groups would produce stereotype content which would change at the national and campus levels. It is possible that the proposed differentiation in hierarchical groups may produce different categories of grouping, along with different stereotype content within those categories.

It is possible that a difference exists among the participants in how they group and stereotype members of South African society based on which hierarchical group level they are considering. Being asked to group and apply stereotypes to members of South African society, while considering them at a national level, may produce different group categories and stereotype content when compared to doing so at the campus level. This possible difference may involve how personally relevant the group categorisations and stereotypes are to the participants. At the national level, where group categorisation and stereotyping may hold less personal relevance, the participants may group and apply stereotypes to South African society using the typical categories of race and gender as seen in the review of South African stereotype research. However, it is possible that at the campus level, where group categorisation and stereotyping may hold more personal relevance, the participants may group and apply stereotypes to South African society along different categorical lines other than race and gender. These categories and stereotype contents may be more relevant to the participants' campus environment.

3. Thematic Content Analysis

After organising members of South African society into group categories based on the two hierarchical group levels of the 'higher' national level of South Africa as a whole and the 'lower' local level of the university campus, the participants were then required to apply stereotype content to the group categories they had selected. The method of thematic content analysis was used to process the qualitative data produced by the participants. The following is a description of the process of content analysis.

3.1. Content analysis methodology

Content analysis, like any other scientific method of analysis, involves the interpretation of data for the purpose of producing a result. However, a key understanding about the nature of data in any scientific process must be established from the outset. The idea is that scientific data does not exist naturally anywhere. Scientific data are always the products of specific

procedures which are chosen by researchers and they are geared towards specific ends. These ends are always about producing results that help to provide answers to specific questions. This is also the case with content analysis. In content analysis, data result from the procedures the researcher has chosen to use in order to answer specific questions concerning phenomena in the context of given texts (Krippendorff, 2004).

The 'texts' of this study were the characterisations or stereotype contents the participants provided about various group categories on the national and campus levels. The contexts of these texts were the group categories themselves and their consideration using the two hierarchical group levels of the national and campus level. Scientific data in this and any other study are therefore made and never 'found' and so researchers are expected to state how they made and analysed their data (Krippendorff, 2004).

3.1.1. Step one: Familiarising yourself with the data

This first step in the process of analysing the data of this study involved the researcher immersing himself in the data, which was achieved by repeated readings of the dataset. This process allowed the researcher to become increasingly familiar with the data and to gain a general feel or understanding of it. This process of immersion in the data allowed the researcher to begin generating potential coding schemes for the data in the context of the research question at hand. For the purposes of this study this involved two things. The researcher began to consider potential coding schemes for group categories and stereotype content, based on how frequently certain group categories and their accompanying stereotype contents were being used by the participants in organising South African society on the national and campus levels.

3.1.2. Step two: Generating initial codes or unitising

This was the process involved in creating 'units of data' from the broad field of raw data produced in the study until that point. The raw data from this study consisted of characterisations written by the participants about various groups of people in South Africa as a whole and on the university campus. The data came in the form of words, phrases and whole sentences the participants had written about the various groups. In content analysis, as with any other methodology, the process of unitising, or creating 'units of data' involves deciding what is to be observed and how those observations are to be recorded and thereafter considered data (Krippendorff, 2004).

Generally, units of data are themselves 'wholes' that analysts distinguish from the broad field of raw data and then treat as individual elements. The 'wholeness' of a unit of data suggests that it can't be further divided in the course of analysis (Krippendorff, 2004). Units of data in this study were considered to be those characterisations or stereotypes made by the participants about members of various groups that represented the core or basic ideas about those groups that couldn't be further broken down in the course of analysis. While some raw characterisations themselves could already be considered whole data units, others had to be further broken down into data units before being analysed and arranged into themes.

3.1.3. Step three: Searching for themes

This step involved arranging data units into themes. The process of arranging units of data into themes was essentially one of seeing what stories such data were telling about the various groups of people. Thematic content analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within the data. It's essentially about organising and then describing the dataset in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and it also represents a patterned response or meaning to the research question by the participants (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However, the significance of a theme is not merely about quantifiable measures, or how many times a particular unit of data was represented in the overall dataset. The significance of a theme is about whether it captures something important in the dataset in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this study, this sometimes meant that some themes consisted of many data units or stereotypes about various groups, while other themes consisted of not more than two characterisations. What made both of them acceptable as themes was if they captured something meaningful about the group of people in question.

Also, this meant that not all data units coalesced into themes. This occurred when certain data units couldn't fit into the patterns of existing themes about a group category and when they couldn't be arranged into meaningful themes among themselves. When this did occur, such data units were separated from the others into a group called 'No theme'.

3.1.4. Step four: Reviewing themes

After the initial candidate themes were created, they were then reviewed with two important criteria in mind. The candidate themes had to display a pattern of internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity (Braun & Clarke, 2006). What this meant was that the data units within each theme had to cohere in a meaningful way among themselves, while each of the overall themes had to be clearly distinct from one another (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

This process involved the arrangement and re-arrangement of certain data units into new themes if they failed the test of internal homogeneity, and the collapsing of different themes into new larger ones if they failed the test of external heterogeneity. During this process, data units which previously didn't belong to a theme were sometimes placed into themes, while other themes sometimes lost certain data units. This process was repeated a few times until a relative state of stability in the dataset was established. However, with content analysis being an essentially iterative process, the reviewing of themes was a process that could have continued without a clear end in sight. The names and contents of themes were reviewed and often changed during the following naming process, when the themes were typed up into digital tables, and finally when the results section of the study was being written up. At this point the changes made were minor, but the iterative nature of content analysis meant that at some point a deliberate decision had to be made to stop analysing the data.

3.1.5. Step five: Defining and naming themes

In this final step, the themes were given names. The purpose of the names was to give the reader an immediate idea of what each theme was about and to also pick names that captured the essence of the 'story' that each theme told about the group of people in question.

4. Semantic Differential Scales

Another portion of this study consisted of a series of semantic differential scales which were administered to the participants. The participants used semantic differential scales in order to measure the favourability of eight groups of people along five different dimensions.

The reason why this was done was in keeping with the overall purpose of the study. Both the eight groups of people that were pre-selected and all five of the chosen measurement dimensions were used on the basis that they were of such an innocuous nature so as to not pose a significant ethical concern and they would present a low risk of harm for the participants, if they are used in future stereotype threat research. The eight groups of people that were selected all came from a tertiary institution context, with most of the groups being delineated along the lines of faculty enrolment. The five dimensions to be measured were all linked to the chosen categories, with each of them chosen because they pose as low a risk of harm to participants as possible.

Although connected to the overall purpose of this study, the data collected from this semantic differential scale section of the study was to be used for a related but separate study. Therefore the data collected from this section will not feature any further in this dissertation.

5. Expectations

There were three expectations which were made regarding the results of this study.

5.1. Expectation 1: The category of race would be used most often by the participants in order to organise South African society at both the national and campus levels.

The reason for this expectation was that race, despite 19 years of the post-apartheid era, is still a category that South Africans use most often in order to make sense of their social environment. Despite gains in racial integration over the past 19 years, and evidence from the literature which suggests that levels of prejudice can be reduced through interracial contact (du Toit & Quayle, 2011; Carney, Holtman, Louw, & Tredoux, 2005) the category of race, along with the kind of cognitive and geographic distancing it can lead to, remains the most salient for South Africans when viewing and participating in the nation's social environment.

South Africa's long history of institutional racism still affects how people view their social world, how they understand it and ultimately how they interact with each other. The category of race, in South Africa remains the dominant means with which South Africans regulate their intergroup relationships.

5.2. Expectation 2: After the category of race, the category which would be used most often by the participants to organise South African society would be gender.

This expectation was based on South Africa's history of conservative patriarchy and its influence on South Africans society. One of the effects of conservative patriarchy which were expected to stand out the most were its most negative and extreme effects, such as the high levels of gender based violence in South Africa, for example. It was expected that because of the nation's history with conservative patriarchy, this category would stand out as among the frequently used when considering South African society

5.3. Expectation 3: After the categories of race and gender, the third most used categories by participants in order to organise South African society would be, in no specific order, economic status and social class. This also would occur at both the national and campus levels.

Despite the significant economic and social gains made over the last 19 years of the post-apartheid era, with significant improvements being made in the basic living standards of many South Africans and the rise of a vibrant black middle-class, South Africa remains a nation of deep social and economic inequality which manifests along racial lines.

Another important reason for this expectation involved the sheer racialised physicality of South African social and economic inequality. Economic inequality in South Africa manifests along clear and highly visible geographic lines, with the privileged and generally white minority population existing in social environments which are separate from the underprivileged and generally non-white majority. It is for these reasons that issues of racial separation and economic inequality remain in the consciousness of the nation and are therefore difficult to ignore.

6. Research design

6.1. Category generation

The study was designed to utilise a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. The participants were administered an online questionnaire which asked them to name groups of people that they felt existed in South Africa at both the national and campus levels. There were no restrictions as to which categories the participants could use, although there was a limitation as to how many they could name.

After this, the participants were asked to describe what characteristics they associated with each of the groups of people they had just identified. Here, again, the question was worded in a deliberately open-ended manner so as to allow for as many descriptions as possible by the participants.

The quantitative aspect of the study involved the manner in which the data emerging from the first question were analysed. The number of times a particular category was used by the participants in order to organise members of South African society at both the national and

campus levels was added up, giving a description of which categories of grouping were used most often by the participants.

The qualitative aspect of the study involved the manner in which the data emerging from the second question was analysed. The written descriptions used by the participants of the kinds of characteristics they hold about the members of their selected groups were analysed using thematic content analysis. This was done in order to see what themes arose most often from the participants' description of members of different group categories at both the national and campus levels.

This was an exploratory study which used students from the University of Kwazulu Natal (UKZN) as its sampling population. The method of non-probability convenience sampling was used in order to obtain the sample. As the questionnaire was available online, students from each of the university's five campuses were invited to participate. The students were incentivised to participate in the study with the opportunity of winning one of 10 available R150 vouchers for the Midlands Mall, if they completed the questionnaire and entered their name into the draw.

The reason for using non-probability convenience sampling for the study involved the significant amount of time and resources necessary to conduct a nationally representative study of this kind and the fact that students from UKZN were readily accessible for participation. As an exploratory study, generating nationally representative results was not the primary aim, but rather to explore the field of enquiry and make initial and preliminary investigations into it. It is for these reasons that the relatively small sample size of 169 participants is useful as part of exploratory research.

6.2. Sample

The sample population of this study consisted of students from UKZN. The online survey was made available to students from all five of the university's campuses. Advertising for the study took place through the use of posters and the digital notice system of the university. While the posters were erected on the notice boards located at the Pietermaritzburg campus, the digital advertisements were made available throughout the university.

The size of the sample was limited by the number of students who responded to the advertisements and chose to participate in the study. The online survey registered a total of 248 hits, which was anyone who entered the survey site, regardless of how much of the survey they actually completed. Out of these 248 online hits, 79 of them were spoilt entries and therefore were inadmissible for use in the study. This is because 16 of them were blank entries, where no section was completed at all. In these instances, the potential participants in question simply entered and then left the survey site without completing any sections of the survey. The remaining 63 spoilt entries consisted of entries where only the demographic details sections were completed. In these instances, the potential participants only gave information about their age, gender, race and faculty enrolment, without completing any of the other sections of the survey. These 79 entries were considered spoilt and therefore inadmissible for use in the survey because none of them gave any information that

contributed to the research question at hand. None of them provided any information about stereotype categories or content at either the national and campus levels.

The remaining 169 entries were used for the study because each of them contributed, in at least some way, towards the research question. The survey program registered 120 of these entries to be 'complete' because in each of them the participant in question reached the seventh and final page of the survey. The program registered the remaining entries as incomplete because the participants in these instances didn't reach the final page of the survey, but instead left the survey program without completing it. These 49 incomplete entries were included in the study, along with the 120 completed entries because all of them contributed towards the research question. In all of these 169 entries the participants provided information on stereotype categories at either the national or campus levels or both. The participants also gave information about stereotype content associated with such stereotype categories. Sometimes, however, the participants only provided information about stereotype categories without matching content.

The average age of the sample was 23 years. Out of the 169 participants who made up the final sample, 100 of them (59%) were female, 69 of them (41%) were male. A total of 126 of the participants (75%) were black, 24 (14%) were white, 12 (7%) were Indian, 5 (3%) were coloured and 2 participants (2%) described their race as 'other'. The participants were also asked to indicate which faculty they were enrolled in, with 80 participants (47%) from the faculty of humanities, development, and social sciences, 38 (22%) from the faculty of science and agriculture, 24 (14%) from the faculty of management studies, 10 (6%) from the faculty of health sciences, 8 (5%) from the faculty of law, 5 (3%) from the faculty of engineering, and 4 participants (2%) from the faculty of education. (Demographic information available in appendix B.)

7. Measures and procedure

Lime Survey, a digital survey platform was used to construct the questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided into different sections which asked different questions of the participants. The first section asked the participants to fill in certain aspects of their demographic information. The participants were asked to fill in their age, sex, race (coloured, black, Indian, white and other, respectively) and their faculty enrolment (faculty of education, faculty of engineering, faculty of health sciences, faculty of humanities, development and social sciences, faculty of law, faculty of management studies and faculty of science and agriculture, respectively).

The second section asked the participants to indicate what groups of people they felt existed in South Africa, and what characteristics they associated with the groups they had just identified. A total of 10 spaces were made available for each of these corresponding answers. The first step was to ask the participants what groups of people they felt existed in South Africa, with 10 spaces available for their responses. The second step was to ask the participants to describe what characteristics they associated with the groups of people they had just identified. There were also 10 spaces available for their responses, and the

questionnaire was programmed so that a corresponding space for their 'characteristics' description would appear next to each 'group' they had identified as existing in South Africa. For example, if a participant selected the groups 'blacks' and 'whites' among other selections in the first step, the program would then use these verbatim titles in allocating the two corresponding spaces for the participants' description of the characteristics they associate with these two groups.

The second part of this section was administered in the same manner as the first. This time the participants were asked to indicate what groups of people they felt existed on the campus, and similarly they were asked to describe what characteristics they associated with each of the groups of people they had just identified. (The survey questionnaire is included as appendix C.)

Chapter four: Results

1. Research questions addressed by the study

There were two broad questions that this study sought to address. The first question sought to uncover the main categorical lines that South African university students most often organise members of South African society. The second question sought to uncover the contents of the stereotypes that South African university students apply to those members of South African society.

Both of these questions were addressed by the participants of the study at two levels: The national level and then at the campus level. There were three expectations regarding the results of the study, in response to the first research question.

The first expectation was that the category of race would be used most often by the participants in order to organise South African society. The second expectation was that after the category of race, the category used most often to organise members of South African society would be the category of gender. The third expectation was that after the categories of race and gender, the categories which would be used most often by the participants to organise South African society would be, in no specific order, economic status and social class.

The aim of the second research question, in analysing the contents of the stereotypes applied by the participants, was to learn what similarities and differences, if any, existed in the stereotypes used by participants at both the national and campus levels.

2. Research question 1: Group category analysis

The data for the first research question was reported in its raw state, using the raw categories generated by the participants. This took place before content analysis was administered to the characterisations, or stereotypes that the participants gave about the various group categories generated here. In order to learn which group categories were being used most often by the participants, as they organised South African society at the national and campus levels, the number of times each category was mentioned by the participants was summed. This gave a description of the overall categories used by the participants, at both the national and campus levels, and it also highlighted those categories which were being used most often by the participants, again at both levels. There were a total of 199 group categories generated by the participants for the national level, and 188 group categories generated by the participants for the campus level. Below are the complete tables of all the group categories generated for the national and campus levels, with the number of times each category was generated indicated.

Table 4. 1.

National and Campus Level Group Categories

National level group categories		Campus level group categories	
Group category name	Amount of times group category was used	Group category name	Amount of times group category was used
Indians	84	Indians	70
Whites	83	Whites	65
Coloureds	80	Blacks	51
Blacks	75	Coloureds	47
Poor	38	Foreigners	20
Rich	29	Serious students	16
Middle class	21	Africans	13
Chinese	19	Racial groups	11
Afrikaners	16	Zulu	11
Racial groups	16	Party animals	10
Africans	12	Zimbabweans	9
Asians	12	Fashionistas	8
Foreigners	12	Muslims	8
Religious groups	12	Poor	8
Zulu	12	Religious groups	8
Christians	10	Xhosa	8
Educated	10	Chinese	7
Sotho	10	Homosexuals	7
Xhosa	10	Nigerians	7
Homosexuals	9	Asians	6
Racists	9	Christians	6
Criminals	8	Nerds	6
English	8	Rich	6
Muslims	8	African foreigners	5
Black foreigners	7	Afrikaners	5
Female	7	Americans	5
Lower class	7	International students	5
Nigerians	7	Middle class	5
Politicians	7	Popular	5
Males	6	Recluses	5
Venda	6	Congolese	4
Zimbabweans	6	Jocks	4
Capitalists	5	Politicians	4
Disabled	5	Snobs	4
Ethnic groups	5	Students	4
Pedi	5	Art students	3
Uneducated	5	Commerce students	3
Upper class	5	Males	3
Youth	5	More privileged students	3
Ndebele	4	Poor blacks	3
Swazi	4	Residence students	3
Tsonga	4	Smokers/drinkers	3
Tswana	4	Socialising	3
BEE	3	Sotho	3
Class	3	Students that are just here to waste time & money	3
Corrupt	3	Swazi	3
Cultural groups	3	The drama students	3
Don’t care attitude about life	3	Undergraduates	3

Europeans	3	Addicts	2
Friendly	3	Artistic type	2
Gender	3	Aspirant businessmen	2
Hindus	3	Coconut	2
Illiterate	3	European	2
Japanese	3	Females	2
Non-religious	3	Friends	2
Old	3	Friendly	2
Other	3	Gold diggers	2
Sport groups	3	Hindus	2
Students	3	Humanities	2
Work groups	3	Humility	2
Academics	2	Intelligent	2
Ambitious	2	Lecturers	2
Americans	2	Middle class blacks	2
Blacks in rural areas	2	Pedi	2
Cape Malay	2	Postgraduates	2
Drunkards	2	Pretenders (wanna be)	2
Economists	2	Pretty people	2
Germans	2	Promiscuous people	2
Ghanaians	2	Racists	2
Glamorous group	2	Rude	2
Greeks	2	South Africans	2
Groups delineated by language	2	Staff	2
Heterosexuals	2	The go-getters	2
Intelligent	2	Trouble makers	2
Jewish	2	Tsonga	2
Khoisan	2	Tswana	2
Pakistanis	2	Venda	2
Political groups	2	Accounting students	1
Rastafari	2	Administrators	1
Shona	2	Advisers	1
Socialites	2	Agric	1
Social groups	2	Albinos	1
South Africans	2	And those who don't really seem to care about what they are wearing	1
Successful	2	Arabs	1
Tenderpreneurs	2	Aspirant managers	1
Those who are rude	2	At home students	1
Traditionalists	2	Bad lecturers	1
Age	1	Black girls	1
Albinos	1	Black guys	1
Amapantsula	1	Blinkered, insular whites	1
A people that are polite and be willing to success	1	Botswana	1
Arabs	1	British	1
Artistically minded	1	Bully	1
Asian immigrants	1	Bursury holders	1
Bad	1	Children	1
Bisexuals	1	Civil engineering	1
Blacks & white in power $ rich	1	Criminals	1
Black (Zulu males)	1	Cultural	1
Book worms	1	Dance	1
Children	1	Deans	1
Chizz boys	1	Disabled	1

Coconut	1	Disabled high achievers	1
Conflict based	1	Durcths	1
Conserved	1	Economist	1
Community helpers	1	Elites	1
Communicative people	1	Emos/Goths	1
Divorced	1	Employees	1
Drug dealers	1	English	1
Egyptian	1	Entrepreneurs	1
Gangs	1	Ethnic groups	1
Good	1	Facilitators	1
Greedy (esp. politicians)	1	Firstly I am not from PMB campus-so will answer this when looking at Howard College	1
Groups delianated by language and race	1	Foreign white people	1
Groups delianated by varying economic status	1	Followers	1
Groups delineated by language, race and economic status	1	Gangs	1
Hard workers	1	Germans	1
HIV positive	1	Good lecturers	1
Hypocrite	1	Greeks	1
Influential	1	Groups with different languages	1
Inspirational	1	Helpful	1
Irish	1	Hippies	1
Italian	1	Hockey	1
Jocks	1	I don't really have a group- we all students- I have never bothered myself classifying myself	1
Koreans	1	Ignorant	1
Labour force	1	Immoral	1
Laity	1	Interest	1
Local Africans	1	Jamaicans	1
Loosers	1	Japanese	1
Males (Academics highly educated)	1	Jews	1
Males (politians both black & white)	1	Know it all	1
Males (union leaders blacks)	1	Law	1
Manipulative	1	Less priviledged students	1
Metal heads	1	Maldives	1
Middle aged	1	Management	1
Middle class blacks	1	Married	1
Miss & Mr Know it all	1	Mechanical engineering	1
Mixed	1	Multinational groups	1
Mpondo	1	Multirace	1
Multirace	1	Music classical	1
Narrow minded	1	Music jazz	1
Nerdy hot guys	1	Netball	1
Nguni Africans	1	No groups	1
Night clubs	1	Non-Christians	1
Non-aligned	1	Non-committed students	1
Non-Christian	1	Non-disabled	1

		cosmopolitan students	
Non-disabled	1	Old people (doing a 3 year degree for 10 years)	1
Not sure I understand the question- group as in middle class, rich or poor? I would like to think I am in the middle class	1	Other engineering	1
Orphans	1	Parents	1
Overseas visitors	1	Plain Janes (Ordinary people)	1
Persuasive people	1	Popular Coloureds	1
Philosophers	1	Previously disadvantaged	1
Pimps	1	Rastafarians	1
Politically connected	1	Remorseful	1
Poor blacks	1	Rich blacks	1
Poor whites	1	Rich whites	1
Portuguese	1	Risky	1
Pretenders (actors)	1	Rural background	1
Pretty girls	1	Saints	1
Prisoners	1	Science students	1
Professionals	1	Self control	1
Rappers	1	Selfish	1
Rapists	1	Shona	1
Rich/poor	1	Short tempered	1
Russians	1	Shy	1
Rwandans	1	Single	1
Scientifically minded	1	Soccer	1
Self observed	1	Social science students	1
Sexual preference	1	Socially conscious whites	1
Shangaan	1	Society groups	1
Shadows of others	1	South Africans, Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Americans and others	1
Shy	1	Speciality	1
Soccer moms	1	Spiritual	1
Somalis	1	Sporty	1
Single	1	Struggling	1
Slackers (parasites)	1	The arrogant white guys who are racist and have rich daddies	1
Socialist	1	The black people who think they're the coolest	1
Sophisticated	1	The obedient and humble	1
Spanish	1	Third years	1
Straight	1	Traditionalists	1
Stubborn	1	Uneducated	1
Study groups	1	Uneducated, dedicated	1
Tamils	1	Unsure	1
The Kraal	1	Well educated, entitled	1
The stupid people with Napoleon Complex	1	White nerds	1
The ‘Mother Teresa’s’	1	White jocks/plastics (male and female)	1
Those who think have got it all	1	Within the racial groups, groups delineated by economic status	1

Those who don't have self confidence	1	Workers	1
Those who wait for things to come to them	1	Working class	1
Township/proletariat	1		
Unemployed	1		
Unwelcoming	1		
Urban blacks	1		
Very rich business people whites	1		
Wealthy blacks	1		
Whites (males economic wise)	1		
White and middle class	1		
White and rich	1		
Yuppies	1		
Young adults	1		

Only the top 20 group categories from both the national and campus levels, along with their stereotype content were included for further content analysis in the study. This was done for two reasons.

Firstly, including all of the group categories from both the national and campus levels for analysis would prove too time consuming and cumbersome. Secondly, the quantity and overall depth of the stereotype content generated by the participants for those group categories which fell outside of the top 20 dropped significantly. Using the top 20 categories allowed for a good variety of groups to be included in the study, while maintaining a reasonable standard in terms of the quantity of stereotype content and the depth of the descriptions. Also, the vast majority of the group categories generated outside of the top 20 were only ever used once, making them less desirable for the purposes of analysis.

2.1. Top 20 group categories

Below is a list of the top 20 group categories generated by the participants at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times that particular category was generated by the participants.

2.1.1. National level: Indians (84), Whites (83), Coloureds (80), Blacks (75), Poor (38), Rich (29), Middle-class (21), Chinese (19), Afrikaners (16), Racial groups (16), Africans (12), Asians (12), Foreigners (12), Religious groups (12), Zulu (12), Christians (10), Educated (10), Sotho (10), Xhosa (10), Homosexuals (9), and Racists (9).

2.1.2. Campus level: Indians (70), Whites (65), Blacks (51), Coloureds (47), Foreigners (20), Serious students (16), Africans (13), Racial groups (11), Zulu (11), Party animals (10), Zimbabweans (9), Fashionistas (8), Muslims (8), Poor (8), Religious groups (8), Xhosa (8), Chinese (7), Homosexuals (7), Nigerians (7), Asians (6), Christians (6), Nerds (6), and Rich (6).

The numbers of categories that have been used for analysis exceed 20 at both the national and campus levels. This was because in both instances the final few categories that were listed were all used the same number of times by the participants. The cut-off point was extended in order to accommodate these extra categories, 1 for the national level and 3 for the campus level. This took the total to 21 categories at the national level and 23 categories at the campus level. (National and campus level group category figures available in appendix D.)

3. Research question 1: Results [National and campus level categories]

3.1. Expectation 1

Expectation 1 was met. The broad group category of race was in fact used most often by the participants in order to organise South African society. This occurred at both the national and campus levels based on the fact that on both levels, the four main South African racial groups of blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds were used ahead of all others in organising South African society.

3.2. Expectation 2

Expectation 2 was not met. The category of gender wasn't used in any specific way at all among the top 20 group categories at both the national and campus levels. However, the gender related category of 'homosexuals' was used at both the national and campus levels.

At the national level, this category did feature, but not immediately after the categories of race, as was expected. In fact it was the 20th category, out of a total of 21. It also featured after the categories of economic status and social class, which was not among the expectations.

At the campus level the category of 'homosexuals' featured after the categories of race, but again not immediately after, as was expected. Out of a total of 23 categories it was 18th but it did feature ahead of the category of economic status, which was among the expectations.

3.3. Expectation 3

Expectation three was also met, but only partially. At the national level the categories of economic status and social class, which were the categories named 'poor', 'rich', and 'middle class' all featured immediately after the categories of race, as expected. All of the categories of economic status and social class were ahead of the category of gender, which was not among the expectations.

At the campus level the categories of economic status which were used were the categories named 'poor' and 'rich'. The category 'poor' went against expectations by featuring ahead of the gender related category 'homosexuals'. It also didn't hold as important or salient a place as was expected, as it ranked 14th place out of all the campus level categories. The category 'rich' did feature after the categories of race and gender, but it didn't feature immediate after. In fact the category 'rich' was the last among all the 23 categories analysed at this level.

4. Research question 2: Results [National and campus level stereotype themes]

Out of a total of 44 group categories, 16 of them occurred at both the national and campus levels. The remaining 12 occurred at either the national or campus levels, with 5 at the national level and 7 at the campus level. The stereotype content data from these groups was processed using thematic content analysis, which allowed for interesting thematic similarities and differences in the data, especially among those group categories which occurred at both the national and campus levels, to be analysed and explained. (The tables for national and campus level stereotype themes are available in appendix E.)

4.1. Indians: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of Indians occurred 84 times at the national level and 70 times at the campus level.

Rich: This theme involved a description of Indian people as being a financially successful group. Indians as a group were described as having money, financial power, being rich or wealthy.

Materialistic: In this theme Indians were described as having a value for material possessions and that they liked showing them off to others. As a group, Indians were described as having brand name cars and clothing or being fashion conscious.

Insular and nepotistic: This was a theme that described Indians as a group with a preference for their own company. Indian people were described as being close to each other, keeping to themselves, isolating themselves from other groups and not making significant efforts to connect with other groups in general.

While this description of Indians as an insular group occurred at both the national and campus levels, at the national level it was intimately linked to the idea of Indians as also being a nepotistic group. This involved a description of Indian people as having a preference for supporting or helping each other, rather than people from outside their group.

Intelligent: Here, Indian people were described as being intelligent people. Examples of other words that were used included being ‘clever’, ‘smart’ and ‘quick minded’. At the campus level, a slight variation of this theme was a description of Indian people as being ‘educated’.

Good and friendly: At both the national and campus levels there was a description of Indian people as being generally good and friendly people. Although the themes themselves had different names at the national and campus levels, ‘Respectable people’ and ‘Friendly’ respectively, the ideas involved in both themes were similar enough to warrant combined consideration. At the national level, the variation involved a description of Indian people as being morally upright and caring, while the campus level variation was about Indian people being friendly in general.

Racists: At both levels Indian people were described as being racist people. While at the campus level this description was more generalised, at the national level there was a specific focus on Indians as being racist towards blacks.

Physical features: Certain aspects of the physical features of Indian people were described here. While at both levels skin colour and hair type were mentioned, the national level variation of this theme was more detailed, with a description of Indian people as having lighter or darker skin and being very hairy. An interesting description which occurred at both levels was of Indian people being skinny and smelly.

Cultural aspects: This theme involved a description of Indian people as being traditional or cultural people. The national level variation of the theme was slightly more detailed, as it mentioned the common association of Indian people with the cuisine of curry and their heritage as Indian people.

4.2. Indians: National level exclusive themes

Business oriented: This was a description of Indian people as being skilled at and having a tendency towards the field of business. Indian people were described as being entrepreneurial, business minded, money makers or having a love for business.

Deceptive & disingenuous: This was a description of Indian people as not just being deceptive people, but it was also linked to the idea of them as being disingenuous as well. The kinds of words used to describe Indian people as deceptive included words such as 'liar', 'crooks', 'dishonesty' and 'corruption'. Linked to this were words that described Indian people as disingenuous in their relationships with others. Examples of words which suggested this were words like 'selfish and pretentious', 'scaly', and 'suck-ups'.

Domineering: In this theme, Indian people were described as being overbearing or overpowering in their relationships with others. Indian people were described as being 'bossy', 'rude', or 'overpowering' for example.

Religious: This was a description of Indian people as having a tendency towards religious belief or faith.

Greedy: Indian people were described as being selfish and not generous, specifically regarding money. There was a specific description of Indian people as not being interested in helping to improve the lives of other people.

Talkative: Here, Indian people were described as being verbose or wordy. This was linked to the idea of Indians as being loud people who speak fast as well.

Enterprising: This was a theme that described Indian people as being resourceful or opportunistic. Linked to this was a description of Indians as being hard working people who are able to observe opportunities for improvement and take hold of them.

Poor: It was only at the national level that Indian people were described as being poor or having lower opportunities in life.

4.3. Indians: Campus level exclusive themes

Campus time spent on non-academic activities: The theme here was about Indian students not being necessarily focused on their studies in that they tend to bunk their classes. The description of Indian students was of a group of people who prefer spending their campus time socialising with each other, and using their financial resources for activities like going out on lunch or the movie theatre.

Campus time spent on romantic relationships: Indian students were described as spending much of their time on campus engaged in romantic relationships. There were specific references to the activities involved such as kissing, dry-humping or public displays of affection in general.

Snobbish: This was a theme that described Indian students as being arrogant, inconsiderate or having a sense of entitlement. The idea at hand was that Indian people on campus considered themselves better than other people and like to behave as if they are.

Advantaged: Indian students were described as being in an advantageous position in that they have access to better learning facilities in their homes or advantaged in general because of their possession of superior or more sophisticated technology.

Hard working: Indian students were described here as being hard working and dedicated people.

4.4. Whites: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of whites occurred 83 times at the national level and 65 times at the campus level.

Rich: On both the national and campus levels white people were described as being financially well off, rich or wealthy. A slight variation of this theme occurred at the campus level where it was implied that their economic advantage also led to a superior quality of education.

Racists: White people were described as racists on both levels. This theme was quite general although on both levels there was a description of white people as being uncomfortable around blacks in particular.

Advantaged: In this theme white people were described as occupying a position of privilege in society. This involved descriptions of white people as being powerful, successful, and superior or leaders in society. The national level variation of this theme was slightly more detailed, with descriptions of whites as being vastly educated and sheltered, in top management positions and being conservative in retaining their privilege.

Snobbish: The idea behind this theme, at both levels, was of white people having an arrogant, entitled or elitist consideration of themselves compared to other groups. Other descriptions within this theme include the idea of whites thinking they know better than other people.

Conscientious: This was a description of white people as being dedicated, focused or hard working people who are committed to good quality work. The campus level variation of this theme described white people as being diligent students who are serious about their studies.

Friendly: On both the national and campus levels white people were described as being friendly and caring, although there seemed to be very slight variations on this theme depending on the two levels. On the national level this variation was about whites being friendly and caring, or loving or respectful people. On the campus level the theme varied around the idea of whites being friendly and hospitable, approachable, social, funny or liberal and open minded people.

Intelligent: White people were described as being intelligent or clever on both levels. However, the campus level variation of this theme included a description of white people as being educated.

Greedy: In this theme, white people were described as being greedy, stingy or materialistic people.

Physical features: Certain physical features of white people were described here. Common to both the national and campus level variations on the theme were descriptions of their skin colour, however the national level variant of the theme was slightly more detailed. In it were descriptions their hair colour and a reference to white people as being dirty.

4.5. Whites: National level exclusive themes

Disingenuous: This theme involved a description of white people as being duplicitous in their intentions or relationships. Descriptions such as 'good pretenders', 'not trusting', 'bitter', 'resistant to change', 'angry' and 'complain a lot' suggest that white people are seen as being resistant to and bitter about South Africa's post-apartheid dispensation. Their true position regarding this is seen as being held internally or privately, while they portray a more friendly and progressive image outwardly.

Liberal: This was a theme about white people as being liberal or unconventional in their approach to life.

Nepotistic: White people were here described as being focused on their own matters and helping each other.

European descent: The European origins or descent of white people was described in this theme.

4.6. Whites: Campus level exclusive themes

Insular group: In this, the only campus level specific theme for whites, as a group they were described as being isolated from other groups on campus. The idea at hand was that white students only come to campus for academic purposes and they socialise away from everyone else in non-university functions.

4.7. Coloureds: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of coloureds occurred 80 times at the national level and 47 times at the campus level.

Friendly: On both the national and campus levels coloureds were described as being friendly and social people. Another aspect to this common theme was a description of coloureds as being humorous and cheerful.

Disregarded group: This was a theme about coloured people as being a neglected group or one that goes unnoticed in society. Another aspect of this theme was the idea of coloured people being a group that occupies an undefined space in society in the sense that by definition, they exist in-between the other racial groups, and thus they don't actually belong anywhere.

Insular group: Coloured people were described as being an insular group of people or as being close-knit. This involved the idea that as a group they tend to prefer their own company and are withdrawn from other groups, both nationally and on campus.

Physical features: The physical features of coloured people were described on both the national and campus levels, with their hair texture being the common description given. The national level variation of this theme was more detailed, with descriptions about their skin tone and having no teeth being mentioned.

Near-sighted: The theme of coloured people as being near-sighted involved the ideas of them being a lazy group of people, who are generally carefree and who live their lives for the present, with little forethought about the future. On both levels were descriptions of coloured people as disinterested in academic excellence, lacking direction in their lives and having a preference for socialising rather than studying.

Bold people: On both the national and campus levels was the common theme of coloureds being bold people. However, there were slight variations to this theme on the two levels. At the national level coloured people were described as being bold in the sense of being straightforward, to the point or blunt. The campus level variation was of coloured people being bold or brazen agitators, in the sense that they have a propensity for starting up trouble by being rebellious or unconventional.

4.8. Coloureds: National level exclusive themes

Violent: Coloured people were described as being violent and having a tendency towards fighting or aggression.

Drug abusers: This theme involved a description of coloured people as being drug abusers, of both alcohol and drugs in general. Examples of this include descriptions such as 'drunkards', 'alcohol' and 'drug addict'.

Mixed race: This theme was a description of coloured people as being of a mixed heritage.

Associated with crime: This was a theme that described an association between coloured people and crime. Examples of descriptions that were given were ‘crime’, ‘corruption’ and gangsters’.

Disadvantaged: Coloured people were here described as being disadvantaged or lacking privilege in life. As a group, coloured people were described as having ‘lower opportunities’ and being ‘very inferior and disadvantaged’ for example.

Hard working: This was a theme about coloured people being hard workers and a determined people.

Materialistic: Here, coloured people were described as being materialistic and greedy people.

Liberal: This theme was a description of coloured people as being unconventional or liberal in their approach to life.

4.9. Coloureds: Campus level exclusive themes

Cultural aspects: Certain cultural aspects of coloured people were described in this theme, including their unique accent and their association with the Afrikaans language.

4.10. Blacks: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of blacks occurred 75 times at the national level and 51 times at the campus level.

Noisy: Black people, on both the national and campus levels were described as being loud and noisy people. Another variation of this, which occurred at the campus level, was a description of black people as being rowdy.

Gregarious people: This was a description of black people as being friendly, caring and loving. However, the aspects of this theme which led to its name were descriptions of black people as being humorous, creative, carefree, social and playful.

Lazy: The theme of black people as being lazy was common to both the national and campus levels, although each level had a slight variation to the theme. At the national level the theme of black people being lazy was linked to the idea of them also having a sense of entitlement by expecting assistance in the form of hand-outs. On the campus level the variation of the theme involved the idea of black people not just being lazy, but also near-sighted in their approach to life. Black people were described as ‘not taking life seriously’, being ‘careless’, ‘not very wise’ or ‘ignorant’.

Disadvantaged: Black people were described as coming from backgrounds of disadvantage or lower opportunities. The idea was that black people are not privileged. The campus level variation of the theme mentioned black students having difficulty accessing learning enhancing facilities.

Poor: In this theme black people were described as having little income, or coming from poor families.

Traditional/cultural aspects: The traditional or cultural aspects of black people were highlighted in this theme. This involved descriptions of black people as being 'traditional' or 'cultural' along with 'South African languages' being mentioned.

4.11. Blacks: National level exclusive themes

Newly advantaged: In this theme, black people were described as being a newly advantaged group. They were previously disadvantaged but now have access to better opportunities through initiatives such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) or through political connections. Another aspect to this theme was the idea of newly advantaged blacks as having materialistic tastes.

Proud people: The description here was that black people were a proud group of people. The words used for this include 'stubbornness', 'pride' and 'arrogant'.

Divided against each other: The theme here was a description of black people as being divided against each other or not being progressive in nature.

Inferior quality education: The description of black people given here was of them being subject to an inferior standard of education or being from bad schools.

Associated with crime: This theme described the association of black people with criminal behaviour. Black people were described as being 'criminals', 'corrupt' and 'violent' for example.

Religious: Blacks were here described as having a tendency towards religious belief and practice. Black people were described as being 'spiritual', 'prayerful' and 'superstitious' among other things.

Communal mentality: Black people were described as having a tendency towards communal values or behaviour. Examples of words that were used to describe them include 'ubuntu', 'humanistic', and 'family centred'.

Racist: While this theme described black people as being racist, there was focus on them as being racist or distrusting towards whites in particular or on practising a form of reverse apartheid.

Dominant group: This was a description of black people as being the largest and most dominant group in the country.

Ambitious people: Black people in this theme were described as being determined and ambitious.

4.12. Blacks: Campus level exclusive themes

Hard working & conscientious: The description given here about black students was of them putting in effort towards their work while being diligent or consistent about their academic efforts.

Inhospitable people: While being generally unfriendly or rude was part of the description of black people in this theme, there was also a mention of South African blacks as being unfriendly to foreigners.

Materialistic: In this final theme, black people on campus were described as being materialistic in nature. An elaboration of this was a description of black people as having a love for showing off fashion.

4.13. Poor: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of poor occurred 38 times at the national level and 8 times at the campus level.

Insufficient provision: The theme given was of poor people as living with limited or insufficient means for survival. The national level variation was more detailed, with descriptions like ‘hardly making ends meet’, ‘struggling to even secure a meal’.

4.14. Poor: National level exclusive themes

Inferior quality education: Poor people were here described as being subject to an inferior standard of education or sometimes no education altogether. The poor were described as being ‘uneducated’, ‘illiterate’, ‘semi-literate’ and ‘unskilled’, for example.

Vulnerable & weak: The weakness and vulnerability of the poor was described in this theme. Poor people were described as being ‘helpless’, ‘powerless’, or ‘lost’ for example.

Associated with townships, informal settlements and rural areas: This theme described the association of poverty with certain living areas in South Africa, specifically townships, informal settlements and rural areas. Some words used to describe this theme include ‘live in rural areas’, ‘from township or informal settlement’ and disadvantaged rural’.

Associated with blacks: The association or link of poverty with black people was described in this theme.

Unemployed: Poor people in this theme were described as being generally unemployed or having unreliable employment.

Associated with crime: In this theme, a link was described between poor people and criminality in South Africa.

Despondent: The general emotional disposition of the poor was described in this theme as being one of sadness, discouragement and pessimism.

Enterprising: In this final national level specific theme, poor people were described as being enterprising or creative despite their difficult material circumstances. The poor are able to try to provide for themselves rather than wait for state assistance.

4.15. Poor: Campus level exclusive themes

Humble group: This theme suggested that one of the characteristics of the poor can be one of humility or submissiveness.

4.16. Rich: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of rich occurred 29 times at the national level and 6 times at the campus level.

Extravagant lifestyle: This was a theme that described the purchasing power of the rich. Rich people were described as having everything they want and need, anything their hearts' desire. Additionally the theme described rich people as living a fancy or extravagant lifestyle. The national level variation of the theme was more detailed in this aspect, with references to rich people having expensive material possessions such as mansions, cars and clothes.

Snobbish: Rich people were described as being snobby or snobbish in this theme. The national level variation offered more detail, with words like 'egotistical', 'aloof', 'arrogant' and 'possibly elitist and well educated'.

4.17. Rich: National level exclusive themes

Greedy: Rich people were described, in this theme, as being greedy. The words that were used were 'greedy' and 'selfish'.

Educated: The theme given here was of rich people being an educated group. Rich people were described as being 'educated', 'sophisticated', 'qualified' and 'classy' for example.

Associated with whites, Indians and black politicians: The theme given here about wealth was that it can be associated with whites, Indians and with black politicians or the beneficiaries of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) in the country.

Advantaged: The theme here was that wealth is associated with positions of power or advantage in society. The examples given were Chief Executive Officers of corporations, top government officials or sometime criminals or 'fraudsters'.

4.18. Chinese: National level exclusive themes

The category of Chinese occurred 19 times at the national level and 7 times at the campus level.

Although it appeared at both the national and campus levels, the category of Chinese didn't share any similar stereotype content themes at both those levels.

Business oriented: Chinese people were nationally described as having a tendency towards or a focus on business enterprises.

Inhospitable people: The description in this theme was of Chinese people not being friendly and not being accommodating in their relationships with others. The example used was of them not being interested in learning how to communicate with other people.

Greedy & exploitative: There were two ideas at play in this theme about Chinese people. The first was of Chinese people being greedy and only interested in making money. The second and linked idea was of Chinese people making money at the expense or through the exploitation of other people.

Shrewd & corrupt: The Chinese were here described as being people who conduct themselves in a corrupt but intelligent and creative manner.

Physical features: The physical features of Chinese people were described in this theme.

4.19. Chinese: Campus level exclusive themes

Intelligent: Chinese people on campus were described as being intelligent or clever.

Industrious: Chinese people on campus were here described as being focused, competitive or productive in how they conduct themselves.

4.20. Racial groups: National and campus level thematic similarities

Although this category is related to the four main racial categories of Indians, blacks, whites and coloureds, the reason it was interpreted separately from them was because the participants in this study used it as a separate category on its own.

The category of racial groups occurred 16 times at the national level and 11 times at the campus level.

Racialised preferences: This theme was about the aspects of racial groups which make them distinct from one another. Examples of this included ‘language’ and ‘culture’.

Various racial groups: Different racial groups, both on the national and campus levels, were described in this theme.

Physical features: The various physical characteristics of people from different racial groups were described in this theme. This included descriptions about hair type, colour and skin colour.

4.21. Racial groups: National level exclusive themes

Intra-racial solidarity: This theme discussed the tendency of people from various racial groups to stick to their own race and also for different racial groups to be wary of and divided against each other.

4.22. Africans: National and campus level thematic similarities

Although this category is related to the category of black people, it was interpreted separately in this study because the participants of the study used it separately in their descriptions of

various group categories. It was also not assumed that being African was equivalent to being black.

The category of Africans occurred 12 times at the national level and 13 times at the campus level.

African descent: This was a theme, the only similar one for this category, which described African people as being of African descent. Descriptions of African people included 'born in Africa' and 'native'.

4.23. Africans: National level exclusive themes

Dangerous: Africans were here described as being unsafe people, as being 'barbaric', 'dangerous' or being associated with crime.

Indigenous spirituality: This theme was of Africans being religious people, although the focus seemed to be about indigenous aspects of African spirituality or religious practice.

Poor: African people were associated with poverty in this theme.

4.24. Africans: Campus level exclusive themes

Hospitable: African people were described as having a communal or hospitable disposition. Examples of the words used to describe African people include 'friendly', 'socialise' and 'ubuntu'.

Noisy: This was a theme about African people being loud or noisy people.

Disadvantaged: African people on campus were described as struggling and burdened. The reason given was that they come from disadvantaged families.

Inconsiderate & divisive: The description given here was of African people as being inconsiderate of the needs or desires of others and also being divisive in their behaviour towards others. Examples of descriptions from this theme include 'inconsiderate at times, late comers' 'big headed and competitive', 'corruption' and 'players'.

4.25. Asians: National level exclusive themes

The category of Asians occurred 12 times at the national level and 6 times at the campus level.

Although it appeared at both the national and campus levels, the category of Asians didn't share any similar stereotype content themes at both those levels.

Business oriented: Asian people were described as being apt or skilled when it comes to matters of business. Asians were described as being 'entrepreneurial', 'sellers' and 'shrewd with money and in business' for example.

Asian descent: This theme involved a description of Asian people as being of Asian descent.

4.26. Asians: Campus level exclusive themes

Intelligent: Asian people were described as being intelligent and as being skilled academically as well.

4.27. Foreigners: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of foreigners occurred 12 times at the national level and 20 times at the campus level.

Hard working: Foreigners were here commonly described on the national and campus levels as being hard working people.

4.28. Foreigners: Campus level exclusive themes

Intelligent: The description about foreigners here was of them being intelligent people.

Insular group: The theme given here was that foreign students tend to group together and stay among themselves. Foreign students were also described as 'exclusive' and 'communal'.

Treated as outcasts: It was described in this theme that foreigners are treated as outcasts by South Africans and that foreign students may therefore feel as if they don't belong.

Economic advantage: Foreigners were described as being in a position of economic advantage. Foreigners on campus were described as being 'moderately advantaged socio-economically', 'rich' and as 'capitalists'.

Snobbish: The description given in this theme was that foreigners on campus are snobbish people. Specific references included 'think South Africans are stupid' and 'legalistic, elite'.

4.29. Religious groups: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of religious groups occurred 12 times at the national level and 8 times at the campus level.

Religious practices: This theme was about the general religious practices or beliefs inherent to religious groups. Examples of these included 'believe in a higher power', 'worship the same God' and 'people who believe in different gods and way of life'.

4.30. Religious groups: National level exclusive themes

Various religious groups: The theme here involved a description of different religious groups in the country. The religious groups named included Christians, Muslims, African spirituality and new age spirituality.

Over-zealous & uncritical: The characteristic described in this theme was of religious groups as being extreme or over-zealous. This was also linked to the idea of them as being unthinking, simple-minded or uncritical.

4.31. Religious groups: Campus level exclusive themes

Peaceful: This was a theme about religious groups as being characterised by calm and piety, which can be understood as being peaceful in nature.

4.32. Zulu: National and campus level thematic similarities

The category of Zulu occurred 12 times at the national level and 11 times at the campus level.

Arrogant & stubborn: The only thematic similarity about Zulu people on the national and campus levels was of them being arrogant and stubborn people. Examples of the descriptions used about them include ‘arrogant men’, ‘big headed’ and ‘stubborn’.

4.33. Zulu: National level exclusive themes

Violent: Zulu people were described as being violent in this theme.

Traditional: This was a theme about Zulu people being traditional

4.34. Zulu: Campus level exclusive themes

Near-sighted & divided: This theme gave a description of Zulu people on campus as being the kinds of people who behave in such a manner that indicates their lack of foresight about the future. Linked to this was the idea of Zulu people also perhaps being divided against themselves. Examples of description in the theme included ‘less focused on studies and more into parties’, ‘tribalistic’ and ‘ignorant’.

4.35. Christians: National level exclusive themes

The category of Christians occurred 10 times at the national level and 6 times at the campus level.

Although it appeared at both the national and campus levels, the category of Christians didn’t share any similar stereotype content themes at both those levels.

Conservative: Christians were described as being a conservative group. Examples of descriptions from this theme include ‘traditional’, ‘conservative’ and ‘discipline’.

4.36. Christians: Campus level exclusive themes

Congruous lifestyle: This theme described the lifestyle of Christians as being one characterised by an attempt to live out their beliefs. Descriptions given in this theme were ‘they try to live holy lives’ and ‘focus’.

Close-knit group: Christians on campus were here described as generally associating with one another.

Friendly: The group of Christians on campus was, in this theme, described as being generally friendly or open.

4.37. Xhosa: National level exclusive descriptions

The category of Xhosa occurred 10 times at the national level and 8 times at the campus level.

Although it appeared at both the national and campus levels, the category of Xhosa didn't share any similar stereotype content themes at both those levels. The national level variation of the category also didn't have stereotype contents that coalesced into any themes. The following therefore are the 6 descriptions about the Xhosa group given at the national level.

[Intelligent but humble] [Subservient] [Adjusting] [Traditional] [Noise] [Greedy]

These descriptions could not be thematically summarized.

4.38. Xhosa: Campus level exclusive themes

Brash people: Xhosa people on campus were described as being brash or abrasive. The descriptions given about them were 'rude', 'outspoken' and 'more focused and said to claim to be more clever than others'.

Partying lifestyle: The final theme about Xhosa people on campus was of them having what could be described as a lifestyle of partying or alcohol consumption.

4.39. Homosexuals: National level exclusive themes

The category of homosexuals occurred 9 times at the national level and 7 times at the campus level.

Although it appeared at both the national and campus levels, the category of homosexuals didn't share any similar stereotype content themes at both those levels.

Same-sex attraction: This theme described how homosexual people are attracted to members of the same sex as themselves.

4.40. Homosexuals: Campus level exclusive themes

Excessive disposition: The theme given involved a description of homosexual people as having an excessive nature, temperament or personality. Examples of words used in this theme include 'over the top', and 'loud, spontaneous, extravagant'.

Well dressed: Homosexual people were in this theme described as having a good sense of how to dress or being stylish in general.

5. National level exclusive categories

The following group categories and their related stereotype contents occurred only at the national level. (National and campus level exclusive stereotype themes available in appendix F.)

5.1. Middle class: Themes

The category of middle class occurred 21 times.

Middle income: This theme described middle class people as being people who are average economically speaking, people who are not rich and also not poor. Middle class people are able to provide for their families with most things, but not necessarily everything.

Comfortable lifestyle: Middle class people were described in this theme as living a lifestyle that allows them to afford the basic or necessary things in life. This was described as a comfortable life that includes secure employment.

Good quality education: The standard of education that middle class people have access to, based on the description of this theme, could be described as a good one. Examples of the descriptions given included 'largely well educated', 'basic education' and 'possibly elitist and well educated'.

Humble & content: This theme described the personality or nature of middle class people as being characterised by humility, responsibility, calm and happiness.

Advantaged: Middle class people were described as being in a privileged position in society, or being advantaged. The descriptions given in this theme were 'more luxurious and opportunities', 'management' and 'status orientated'.

Hard working: In this theme middle class people were characterised as being hark working people.

5.2. Afrikaners: Themes

The category of Afrikaners occurred 16 times.

Discriminatory: The descriptions in this theme characterised Afrikaner people as being discriminatory in their relationships with others. Examples of the descriptions included 'intolerant', 'bitter' and 'sometimes they are not very open minded'.

Racists: Afrikaner people were here characterised as being racists.

Associated with rugby: This theme drew an association between Afrikaner people with sport in general, but the sport of rugby as well.

Enjoy partying: Afrikaner people were described in this theme as people who enjoy having fun or partying. The descriptions given about Afrikaner people here were 'can party hard', 'loud, love braais' and 'sokkie'.

Associated with farming: This theme associated Afrikaner people with farms or farming.

Conservative: Afrikaner people were described as being conservative or traditional people. The descriptions given about them were 'family values are important', and 'they are very religious'.

5.3. Educated: Themes

The category of educated occurred 10 times.

Various education levels: This theme described various levels of education. An example of this theme is ‘minimal, primary school, secondary school, tertiary, postgraduate.

Advantaged: Educated people were described as being in a position of privilege or advantage in society, specifically in terms of their access to better career prospects and general success in life.

Arrogant: This theme described educated people as being arrogant. The descriptions given were ‘pompous’ and ‘ego’.

5.4. Sotho: Descriptions

The category of Sotho occurred 10 times.

The category of Sotho yielded no themes. The following are the 5 descriptions of Sotho people given by the participants.

[Intelligent but humble] [Zulu and Xhosa speaking] [Slim bodies] [Generous] [Traditional]

These descriptions could not be thematically summarized.

5.5. Racists: Themes

The category of racists occurred 9 times.

Older & younger racists: This theme was about the characteristics linked to younger people who are racist and older people who are racist. Older people who are racist were described as those who lived through apartheid and who don’t want their family members to associate with people from other racial groups. Younger people who are racists were described as those who may interact with people from other racial groups, but they still maintain a racist perspective.

Negative characteristics: This was a theme about various negative characteristics that are associated with racist people. Examples of these included ‘hate’, ‘evil’, ‘cold’ and ‘stupid’.

Disassociate with other races: The tendency for racist people to not associate with people from other racial groups was described in this theme. The descriptions given about racist people were ‘don’t want to associate with other races’ and ‘don’t care about someone else from other races’.

6. Campus level exclusive categories

The following group categories and their related stereotype contents occurred only at the campus level.

6.1. Serious students: Themes

The category of Serious students occurred 16 times.

Unwavering in studying: The great effort that serious students put into their studies was described in this theme. The focus here was on how hard they work.

Devoted to their studies: Although similar to the first theme, here the devotion or dedication that serious students have towards their studies was described. It wasn't merely about the effort they put in, but specifically it was about how much they value or care about their work.

Excel academically: Serious students were described as doing well academically in this theme.

6.2. Party animals: Themes

The category of party animals occurred 10 times.

Cosmopolitan people: Party animals were described in this theme as people who are up to date with the latest social events and parties. They look to attend these events and they also associate themselves with well-known people.

Drinkers: In this theme, party animals were described as a group that is associated with alcohol and drinking.

Excessive people: This theme was a description of party animals as people who are extreme in their conduct. They were described as 'over-zealous and as 'wild'.

6.3. Zimbabweans: Themes

The category of Zimbabweans occurred 9 times.

Educated: Zimbabwean people on campus were described in this theme as being educated and serious about their studies.

Intelligent: This theme described Zimbabweans as being intelligent. Some of the descriptions given about Zimbabwean people included 'very open minded' and 'well spoken'.

6.4. Fashionistas: Themes

The category of fashionistas occurred 8 times.

Well dressed: Fashionistas were, in this theme, described as people who keep up with the latest trends in fashion and who are focused on how they look.

Superficial people: In this theme, fashionistas were described as people who can be understood to be superficial in nature. The descriptions given about them were 'airheads, shallow' and 'gold diggers'.

6.5. Muslims: Themes

The category of Muslims occurred 8 times.

Insular group: Muslim people on campus were described as segregating or isolating themselves from other people.

Cultural aspects: This theme described certain cultural factors regarding Muslims, including their traditional clothes and the tendency for Muslim students to be seen using a 'hubbly bubbly' together.

6.6. Nigerians: Descriptions

The category of Nigerians occurred 7 times.

The category of Nigerians yielded no themes. The following are the 5 descriptions of Nigerian people given by the participants.

[Excelling on their modules but are the most (cheaters)] [Extraordinary, funny, social] [Broken English] [Just want girls] [Criminal]

These descriptions could not be thematically summarized.

6.7. Nerds: Themes

The category of nerds occurred 6 times.

Conscientious students: Nerds were described as being people who work hard and put great effort into their studies.

Stale & pitiful: What differentiated the category of 'serious students' from the category of 'nerds' was this second theme, which described nerds as being boring and unpleasant to be around and as being people to feel sorry for.

Chapter five: Discussion

1. Overall purpose of the study

The overall purpose of this study was to uncover, from a university context, those naturally occurring and salient group categories and stereotype content which may be used in future Stereotype threat research in South Africa. There was a qualification to this aim in that such categories and content must pose less of an ethical concern by being less potentially harmful than the categories of race and gender.

An associated but secondary aim of the study was to investigate the effects that hierarchical groups have on the kinds of stereotype categories and contents generated by the participants. This was achieved by posing the research question on two hierarchical levels; the 'higher' national level of South Africa as a whole and the 'lower' local level of the university campus.

There were three expectations regarding which stereotype categories would be the most salient among the participants of the study. What follows is a discussion of the results for each of the expectations.

2. Expectation 1: South African institutional racism

As can be seen from the results section, the expectation that the broad category of race would be the one used most often by the participants in order to organise South African society, for both the national and campus levels, was met. The reasons for this could be linked to South Africa's history of institutional racism which stretches back to the beginning of the 20th century.

While racism and the oppression of the non-white majority of the South African population has been a reality since before the 20th century, it wasn't until after the turn of the century and the formation of the Union of South Africa that the foundations of institutional racism were being spelled out in clear and articulate terms (Harvey, 2003). An example of this shift in ideology and policy is symbolised in a speech given by Jan Smuts in 1917 where he stated, "Instead of mixing up black and white in the old haphazard way, which instead of lifting up the black degraded the white, we are now trying to lay down a policy of keeping them apart as much as possible in our institutions. Thus in South Africa you will have in the long run large areas cultivated by blacks and governed by blacks, where they will look after themselves in all their forms of living and development, while in the rest of the country you will have your white communities which will govern themselves separately according to the accepted European principles" (Harvey, 2003, p. 36).

While the language of his speech couches the ideology of 'separate development' in positive terms, the legacy of that policy as we experience it today has been the exact opposite. From that point onwards, successive white minority governments, culminating with the Nationalist government responsible for the policy of institutional racism known as 'apartheid', used race as the primary means by which to categorise the South African population and to allot different levels of power and privilege to members of South African society. White South Africans were allotted the most power and privilege at the expense of everyone else.

The skill with which institutional racism in general, and apartheid in particular was implemented in South Africa for the vast majority of the 20th century has resulted in two effects, among others, which help to make race the most likely category that South Africans would use when organising the members of their society. Firstly, institutional racism has helped to produce as race oriented culture in South Africa. This makes it difficult for South Africans to think of themselves and each other without using race as a primary reference point in their interactions. Secondly, the fact that the socio-economic inequalities which were deliberately created by the policy of apartheid were induced along racial lines also makes it difficult to change the nation's race oriented culture. Furthermore, it is the geographic and therefore physically visible nature of South Africa's racialised socio-economic inequality which makes it even more difficult to transcend such a race oriented culture (Binns & Nel, 2005; Herbst, 2005; Ozler, 2007).

3. Expectation 2: Conservative patriarchy

The results section shows that expectation 2 was not met. As stated there, the category of gender wasn't used in any specific way at either the national or the campus level. Rather it was the gender related category of 'homosexuals' which featured at both levels. This category, however, also didn't occupy a place of importance or salience among the participants. It was expected that the broad category of gender would feature immediately after the category of race on both the national and campus levels and ahead of the category of economic status and social class. Rather the category of 'homosexuals', when it did feature, seemed to occupy a place of less importance or significance among the participants. This was indicated by its low ranking at both the national and campus levels, along with its placement after the category of economic status and social class, at the national level.

The virtual absence of gender as a stereotype category in this study suggests that it didn't occupy a place of salience or importance in the minds of the participants, as it was expected to. This result was surprising given the severity of gender related problems in South Africa, and the prominence that the efforts to alleviate gender inequality and gender based violence, for example, have gained in the post-apartheid era (Artz, 2009). Under these conditions, one would think that on the national and campus levels, stereotype categories such as 'violent men', 'abusive men', 'rapists', 'rape victims', 'abused women' and 'rape survivors', for example, would have featured more often, but they didn't. Despite the significant and public efforts made by the state and civil society groups in South Africa to ensure legal equality between men and women and to take up the fight against discrimination and gender based violence, it would seem that the topic of gender retains a place of relative insignificance in the minds of South Africans. The reasons for these results may be connected to South Africa's history of conservative patriarchy itself and the effect this may have had on how ordinary South Africans think of and handle matters of gender in the country.

It was suggested earlier that South Africa's long struggle against institutional racism may have had the effect of overshadowing the problem of conservative patriarchy in the country. It seems likely that this has indeed been the case. It's possible that because of the fight against institutional racism in South Africa, which itself is far older than the struggle against

the National Party policy of 'apartheid', the problem of conservative patriarchy in the country may have been relegated down the list of political, economic and social priorities (Buthelezi, 2006). In this environment the problems that face South African women, which are significant, may not have been given the necessary attention they deserve. The status of South African women as second class citizens in all aspects of society may have then become entrenched and therefore far more difficult to effectively challenge and change.

Historically, South African women have been underrepresented in the political sphere. They have had to suffer inequality and discrimination in the workplace and socially, they have also been unable to relate to men as equals regarding authority and personal agency (Chiloane-Tsoka, 2010). Among the worst manifestations of this social problem are the country's high levels of gender based violence, including rape, sexual abuse and domestic violence (Artz, 2009).

This may help to explain why it is that the category of gender wasn't used by the participants in any specific way. The problem of conservative patriarchy and its treatment of women as second class citizens may have been entrenched as a result of the primary place that the struggle against institutional racism in South Africa has taken throughout the country's history, ahead of the struggle against conservative patriarchy itself. It may have had the effect of reducing, in the minds of the participants, the significance or salience of gender group categories and stereotype content. It may also help to explain why the gender related category of 'homosexuals' didn't seem to occupy a place of greater significance or salience among the participants as well.

While in the post-apartheid era the state and civil society groups have made prominent and public efforts to depict conservative patriarchy as the significant problem it actually is, it seems to be the case that ordinary South Africans don't relate to it in that manner at all. The argument here is that this general indifference that South Africans seem to have regarding the issue of conservative patriarchy is actually a reflection of the hegemonic place it still occupies in South African society (Artz, 2009). Patriarchy is still very much real in South Africa, and it has had the effect of ensuring the political, economic, social and most importantly, the cultural dominance of men over women in the country (Artz, 2009).

It is this reason, probably above all others, which may best explain the absence of gender based stereotype categories and content in this study.

4. Expectation 3: Economic status & social class

As can be seen from the results section, the expectation that the broad categories of economic status and social class would be used most often by the participants in organising South African society, after the categories of race and gender, for both the national and campus levels was only partially met. At the national level, the categories 'Poor', 'Rich', and 'Middle-class' featured immediately after the categories of race, but ahead of the gender related category of 'homosexuals'.

At the campus level, the economic status category 'poor' was featured ahead of the gender related category 'homosexuals', which went against expectations. The economic status category 'rich' featured after the gender related category 'homosexuals'. However, both of these categories, 'poor' and 'rich' didn't occupy the expected places of significance or salience, as they ranked 14th and 23rd respectively among the campus level categories.

The reason why the categories of economic status and social class may have held such a place of salience among the national level categories may also be linked to South Africa's history of institutional racism. It is specifically the legacy of vast socio-economic inequality produced by institutional racism in South Africa which may contribute to this result. South African socio-economic inequality is significant, making the country among the most unequal societies in the world (Herbst, 2005). This alone would help to place matters of economic status and social class at the forefront of South African consciousness, but as is with most things in South Africa, race has a significant part to play.

As mentioned earlier, socio-economic inequality in South Africa has a geographically visible and racialised character. This may have the effect of accentuating the attention that socio-economic inequality takes up in the South African consciousness, making the issue even more difficult not to notice. It seems then that in South Africa matters of race and those of economic status and social class are essentially two sides of the same coin, and therefore inextricably linked. It is difficult to speak about one without referring to the other.

4.1. Expectation 3: Campus level

While the legacy of socio-economic inequality in South Africa may serve as an explanation for the use of the categories of economic status and social class in the process of category generation at the national level, another explanation is needed for why these same categories didn't achieve as salient a place at the campus level. The reason for this difference in group category generation at the national and campus levels may involve the effects that different hierarchical groups may have on what group categories are seen by the participants as being more or less salient.

Posing the research question of group category generation at two levels, the national and campus levels, may have had the effect of altering what group categories were seen as being more personally relevant to the participants, and therefore which group categories they generated the most at the different levels. It is possible that the group categories, and the related stereotype content, that people generated were actually context-dependent, so that those group categories which may be more relevant at the campus level for the participants, such as 'foreigners', 'serious students', 'party animals' and 'fashionistas' were generated more often than the categories of economic status and social class.

This is an important finding, and one that will be further elaborated on in the following section.

5. Hierarchical group effects on group category generation

Posing the research question of this study at two levels did have some effects on what group categories the participants generated and also on how they did so at either the national or the campus levels.

5.1. Similar national and campus level categories

Out of a total of the 44 group categories which were analysed in this study, 16 of them featured at both the national and campus levels. Only the remaining 12 featured at either the national level or the campus level. This indicated a pattern of similarity rather than difference in terms of which group categories the participants generated along these two levels.

5.2. Different numerical values

Despite the aforementioned pattern of group category similarity rather than difference across the two levels, there were important differences in how these group categories were generated. The number of times national level versions of group categories were generated tended to be higher than the campus level versions of the same categories. This pattern occurred among those 16 group categories which were generated at both the national and campus levels. However, the pattern was also evident among those 12 national or campus level exclusive categories. Among these, despite the fact that there were 7 campus level exclusive categories against 5 national level exclusive categories, the number of times the national level exclusive categories were featured altogether was more than the number of times the campus level exclusive categories.

These differences in how group categories were generated at the national and campus levels allowed for different categories to occupy positions of greater and lesser importance or salience depending on the level in question. This was evident, for example, regarding the categories of economic status and social class. While they occupied positions of greater salience at the national level, by featuring immediately after the category of race, this was not the case at the campus level. At this level other categories were generated more often, and thus they occupied positions of greater salience. Categories such as ‘foreigners’, ‘serious students’, ‘party animals’ and ‘fashionistas’ were generated more often than the categories of economic status and social class, and thus they enjoyed greater salience at the campus level.

This is important evidence regarding the effects that hierarchical group salience conditions seem to have on how group categories are generated. This evidence suggests that, in line with some of the implications of Self Categorization Theory, which posit the self-concept as an entity of inherent plurality rather than one which is fixed and static, and which suggest the existence of a hierarchical system of self-classifications, group category generation may indeed be a context dependent behaviour rather than one that is fixed (Turner, 1987). The evidence suggests that considering different hierarchical groups, in this case the ‘higher’ level of South Africa as a whole and the ‘lower’ local level of the university campus, during the act of group category generation does have an effect on what categories are generated and how those categories are generated.

6. Hierarchical group effects on stereotype content generation

6.1. Greater national level stereotype content detail

The first pattern that stands out regarding the effect that different hierarchical group salience conditions have on stereotype content generation was that the national level versions of most group categories tended to produce stereotype content of a greater diversity and depth than the campus level versions. Evidence of this was the fact that on most occasions, the national level version of any given group category tended to have more stereotype themes than its counterpart at the campus level. This was also the case among the 12 national or campus level exclusive categories.

6.2. Differences in stereotype content

Different hierarchical group salience conditions did seem to have an effect on what kinds of stereotype content the participants generated at times. The pattern that seemed to unfold, whenever this effect took hold, was of stereotype content that could have only occurred at either the national or the campus levels.

Indians: The campus level version of this group category generated two stereotype content themes that could have only occurred at the campus level. The names of these themes were 'Campus time spent on non-academic activities' and 'Campus time spent on romantic relationships'. The contents of these two themes seem to indicate certain behaviour among Indian students that could only occur on a university campus.

Chinese: The national level version of this group category yielded a greater number and diversity of stereotype content when compared to the campus level version. While the reasons for this are linked to the overall pattern that has already been discussed, there could be another better explanation for this difference in stereotype content. It is more likely that the reason for the very little stereotype content about Chinese people on campus has to do with the fact that there are very few Chinese people on all 5 of the University of Kwazulu Natal campuses. The participants, therefore, probably could not generate many campus level relevant stereotypes about Chinese people. However, they were able to generate many broader stereotypes about Chinese people at the national level.

It also seems unlikely that the campus level exclusive group categories 'Serious students', 'Party animals', 'Fashionistas' and 'Nerds' and their stereotype contents could have also been generated at the national level. What these group categories and their contents seem to reveal are the behaviours and lifestyles of groups of people who could only be reasonably expected to exist within a university campus context.

What the evidence here suggests is that generating group categories using different hierarchical groups, in this case the 'higher' national level of South Africa as a whole and the 'lower' local level of the university campus, does also have some effect on what kinds of stereotype content is generated from those group categories. This is obvious among those group categories which occurred exclusively at either the national or the campus levels, but there is also evidence of a difference in stereotype content generation patterns among group

categories that occurred at both levels, such as the categories ‘Indians’ and ‘Chinese’. The evidence suggests that stereotype content generation can also be a context dependent act rather than one that fixed and static. The context in this case involves different hierarchical groups being made the salient factors in the stereotype content generation process.

7. Less potentially harmful stereotype categories and content

Despite every other finding from this study, the chief aim of the study was to uncover, from a university context, those naturally occurring and salient stereotype categories and content which may be used in future stereotype threat research in South Africa. Such stereotype categories and accompanying content must pose less of an ethical concern by being less potentially harmful than the categories of race and gender. Out of all the stereotype categories and content uncovered in the study, there are 3 which seem up to the task.

The stereotype categories ‘Serious students’, ‘Fashionistas’ and ‘Nerds’ and their stereotype contents seem to be appropriate for the purpose of aiding future stereotype threat research in South Africa. This is because as group categories they do not seem to be as potentially harmful to participants if used for stereotype threat studies.

As group categories, their scope seems to be limited to the university campus context, making their accompanying stereotype content potentially easier to manipulate and activate for stereotype threat studies. This could be done with less concern that the stereotype threat effect activated could inadvertently spread into other areas of the participants’ lives. The categories do not seem to be as written-on-the-body and cognitively inescapable as the categories as race and gender. They don’t seem to carry with them the kinds of historical burdens that the categories of race and gender carry for those who are subject to them.

Furthermore, the stereotype contents of these categories seem to be generally positive, making their use in future stereotype threat studies less potentially harmful for the participant.

8. Critical reflection

As part of the survey, the participants were required to provide demographic information about themselves, including which racial group they belonged to. This information, however, was provided at the beginning of the survey and not at the end and so this may have had the unintended effect of priming the participants to think of racial groups when generating group categories for the national and campus levels.

The majority of the participants in the study, over 70 percent, identified themselves as black. While the responses of all the participants in the study seemed to be balanced for many of the group categories and stereotype content they generated, this demographic imbalance may have affected the kind of information they provided about group categories and stereotype content. The results generated from the study could have been more of a reflection of the group categories and stereotype content generated by black university students, rather than a more even spread of university student participants. This could have called into question certain aspects regarding the overall validity of the study. However, the exploratory nature of the study, and therefore its use of a convenience sampling method, does help to mitigate the

problems that could develop from this demographic circumstance. This study was never aimed at generating nationally representative data, but rather as an exploratory foray into the question of what group categories and stereotype content South Africans find to be most salient in their lives.

A third drawback of the study was the fact that different versions of stereotypes were never explored. The study only asked questions about usual stereotypes, that is stereotypes about a given out-group. The study never asked questions about self-stereotypes and meta-stereotypes, which together would have made the study a far more comprehensive and interesting investigation.

Self-stereotypes are stereotypes that an individual holds about their in-group. Meta-stereotypes are stereotypes that the individual believes that out-groups hold about their in-group. Conducting investigations about self-stereotypes and meta-stereotypes, along with usual stereotypes, would have required asking the participants to generate a group category that they felt they belonged to, and then linking the participants' self-category to the data they produced throughout the questionnaire. As with the rest of the study, the participants would have been free to use any group category that they felt they belonged to. Doing so would have yielded an interesting understanding of not only what stereotypes the participants held about various group categories in South Africa and on campus, but also what stereotypes they held about their own group and what stereotypes they believed other groups held about their group.

9. Future research

Any future research of this kind would benefit from four main methodological changes. First, the use of non-probability sampling would be helpful, as it would reduce the likelihood that any particular racial group would be over-represented in the study. Second, moving the entire demographic information section to the end of the questionnaire rather than having it at the beginning would reduce the risk of priming the responses of the participants along racial lines. Third, using a bigger sample for the study would help to make the results of the study more nationally representative while probably also improving the overall quality and depth of the data produced in the study. Fourth, including an investigation into self-stereotypes and meta-stereotypes would enhance the overall depth and quality of the study.

Chapter six: Conclusion

This exploratory study was able to provide evidence as to which group categories and stereotype content seemed to be most salient among university students, and from that data, which group categories and stereotype content pose the least potential harm so as to be used for future stereotype threat research. Furthermore, the study was able to provide evidence of the kind of effects that altering hierarchical group salience conditions seems to have on which group categories the participants used and what stereotype content they applied to those categories.

What this study seems to indicate is that race remains as the main category used by South Africans for the purpose of organising, understanding and interacting with their society. This is based on both the results of this study and on a historical review of South African stereotype research. The implications of this are that it lends credibility to an understanding of the primary place of the category of race throughout the history of South African stereotype research as being a just reflection of its natural salience among ordinary South Africans, rather than the result of an undue focus on it as a stereotype category among the South African academic establishment. This gives credibility to continuing stereotype research in South Africa which focuses on race as their main category.

The results of this study seem to indicate that the category of gender is one that is not salient or important in the minds of ordinary South Africans. These results seem to be congruent with the expected influence of conservative patriarchy, which has dominated gender related matters in South Africa, despite post-apartheid era efforts made by the state and civil society groups to reverse it. This is an important finding given the some of the known negative effects of conservative patriarchy in South Africa, which include social and professional gender inequality along with gender based violence and abuse. This implies that it is the ideology of conservative patriarchy itself that needs to be challenged in South Africa, an effort which would certainly be a long-term project and which would surely benefit from accurate and useful continued stereotype research about the category of gender.

The study indicated that the category of economic status and social class was one that was salient or important among ordinary South Africans, at least at a national level. This suggests that matters of economic status and social class, and specifically the significant levels of socio-economic inequality that exist in South Africa, may be important to South Africans when it comes to the direction of overarching national policy.

However, the results of the study also suggest that when it comes to more personal and immediate levels, the matters that concern ordinary South Africans may be different, as indicated by some of the differences in the group categories and the stereotype content generated at the national and campus levels. Despite a tendency towards similarity regarding the group categories generated at the two levels, there were some differences in the relative salience or importance of certain group categories depending on the level concerned, along with differences in the stereotype content generated about those group categories. These results imply that different hierarchical group salience conditions do in fact have some effects

on what group categories people ordinarily consider and what stereotype content they apply to those groups.

The final goal that the study was able to meet was to provide some group categories and associated stereotype content that would pose less potential harm to participants, and therefore be eligible for use in future stereotype threat research in South Africa.

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Appendix A: Review of South African stereotype research (article summary tables)

Table A. 1.

Pre-Republic Era [Before 1961] Stereotype Research in the Category of Race

Thematic category: Race stereotypes (2)
Thematic sub-category: Content and social distance stereotypes
Authors
MacCrone, I.D. (1957). Pettigrew, T.F. (1960).
Main issues investigated
Race attitudes and social distance preferences of white tertiary students towards non-whites and other out-groups. Research samples tended to be divided into English speaking, Afrikaans speaking and Jewish whites.
Results
A negative correlation between race attitudes and social distance preferences, with negative attitudes indicating greater social distance preferences and vice versa. Afrikaans speakers held the most negative attitudes and greatest social distance preferences towards non-whites, with English speakers and Jews, but especially Jews, being the most tolerant towards non-whites.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category was found.

Table A. 2.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of Race

Thematic category: Race stereotypes (16)			
Thematic sub-categories			
Stereotype content studies (10)	Stereotypes in literature (3)	Social distance studies (2)	Linguistic stereotypes (1)
Authors			
Shula, M. (1981). Edwards, D.J.A. (1984). Morsbach, G. (1973). Morsbach, G. (1972). Thiele, G.A. (1991). Packard, R.M. (1989). Appelgryn, A.E.M., & Nieuwoudt, J.M. (1987). Nieuwoudt, J.M., & Plug, C. (1983). Heaven, P.C.L. (1977). Colman, A.M., & Lambley, P. (1970).	February, V.A. (1981). Marquard, J. (1981). February, V.A. (1992).	Viljoen, H.G. (1974). Kinloch, G.C. (1977).	Proctor, L., & Vorster, J. (1976).
Main issues investigated			
Stereotypical perceptions and descriptions between racial groups. Changes of such perceptions over a period of time, and the influence of political events on interracial perceptions. Creation and maintenance of stereotypes of black rural and urban life. The role of relative deprivation on interracial perceptions. A review of South African attitude research between 1930 and 1975. The relationship between authoritarianism and race attitudes among South African whites.	The creation and maintenance of cultural stereotypes as they are documented in South African literature. 18^{th} – 20^{th} century. San. Khoi-khoi. Coloureds. Blacks.	Racial stereotypes, prejudice, social hierarchy and its influence on the social contact between racial groups.	Stereotypes about and preferences for English vs Afrikaans among black South African students.
Results			
Patterns of in-group bias and out-group denigration. General stability of intergroup stereotypes over a period of time. The role of the medical community in perpetuating cultural stereotypes that helped to maintain the domination of blacks. The role of feelings of relative deprivation and prejudice in interracial perceptions. The contributions of three South Africans to the field of race attitude research. Race attitudes can serve a utilitarian function, making them less incorrigible compared to prejudiced	Negative stereotypes of the San, Khoi-khoi, coloureds and blacks. Stereotypes used as tools of exploitation and subjugation.	Greater prejudice and negative stereotyping linked to greater social distancing and vice versa.	More positive and friendly characteristics associated with English and English-speaking whites vs Afrikaans and Afrikaans speaking whites.

attitudes from other societies.		
	Points of interest	
Development of stereotypes over a long period of time Shula, M. (1981). Instances of critical and reflective in-group description Edwards, D.J.A. (1984). The influence of the Soweto uprising in worsening interracial perceptions Nieuwoudt, J.M., & Plug, C. (1983).	Unacceptability of cultural intermixing, especially miscegenation. The difficulty of escaping cultural stereotypes in literature. February, V.A. (1992).	English-speaking whites tended to be more positively stereotyped than Afrikaans-speaking whites. Viljoen, H.G. (1974).
Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.		

Table A. 3.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of Ethnicity

Thematic category: Ethnic stereotypes (7)		
Thematic sub-categories		
Social distance studies (4)	Stereotype content studies (2)	Stereotypes in literature (1)
Authors		
Viljoen, H.G. (1972). Viljoen, H.G. (1973). Tyson, G.A. (1976). Chick, J.K. (1985).	Edelstein, M.L. (1972). Edelstein, M.L. (1974).	Van der Merwe, C.N. (1990).
Main issues investigated		
Investigated ethnic stereotypes between groups and how they mediate the degree of social contact. Also, how socio-cultural background and discourse conventions influence the quality of intercultural experiences.	Investigated the ethnic stereotypes held by urban black matric pupils regarding other groups. Ethnic stereotypes held by the Coloured community of Johannesburg regarding other groups.	Wants to give a review on the nature and development of stereotypes with regards to five ethnic groups, as found in Afrikaans prose and drama.
Results		
Positive stereotypes tended to predict less social distance. Repeated intergroup encounters characterised by socio-cultural differences and misunderstanding can lead to the development of negative cultural stereotypes.	Male black pupils associated with out-groups more than female black pupils. Urban pupils associated more with out-groups than rural pupils, and they held more positive stereotypes of Afrikaners. Greater intra than inter-ethnic association among black pupils. Coloured community held mainly positive or balanced ethnic stereotypes of other groups.	
Points of interest		
Social contact with out-group members doesn't necessarily predict changes in out-group perception. Tyson, G.A. (1976).	In-group bias among Zulu and Xhosa pupils. Black pupils associate more with Jews than Afrikaners, coloureds than Indians, and with English-speaking whites than other whites.	
Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.		

Table A. 4.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of Gender

Thematic category: Gender stereotypes (5)		
Thematic sub-categories		
Gender-role studies (2)	Stereotype content studies (2)	Stereotypes in literature (1)
Authors		
Prinsloo, C.H. (1992). Albert, A. A., & Porter, J.R. (1986).	Bhana, K. (1980). Bhana, K. (1983).	Mtuze, P. T. (1991).
Main issues investigated		
The stereotypes that are associated with how members of each gender are typically expected to behave and the social roles they are linked to. Comparisons of South African sex-role stereotypes with those of other cultures.	Descriptions of stereotypes associated with males and females, and a focus on stereotypes of different age groups. Both studies investigated the Indian community.	Investigated whether the female stereotypes found in Xhosa literature have their sources in folktales. A few folktales were analysed.
Results		
Similar sex-role stereotypes between South Africa and other cultures.	A lack of agreement between the sexes regarding the stereotypes that characterise each group. More descriptions of males in general, but less descriptions of older groups.	

Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 5.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of Occupations

Thematic category: Occupational stereotypes (2)
Authors
Morsbach, H. (1967). Morsbach, G., & Morsbach, H. (1967).
Main issues investigated
The hierarchical rank ordering of different occupations, by Jewish pupils, and then by English and Afrikaans white, and coloureds. Investigated the stereotypes associated with the different occupations.
Results
Indicated similar ranking of occupations in accordance with western cultural norms, by white groups. Professions ranked most favourably, semi and unskilled occupations ranked least favourably.
Points of interest
When occupational ranking and stereotyping differences occurred among coloureds, they were attributed to the socio-political climate of South Africa and how it limits their career options.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 6.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of Intergroup Relations

Thematic category: Intergroup stereotypes (2)
Authors
Morse, S.J., Peele, S., & Richardson, J. (1977). Boy, R.G., Kamfer, J., & Louw-Potgieter. (1991).
Main issues investigated
Examined the behaviours and stereotypes between groups of people. Among temporary collectives of people on Cape Town beaches and a stereotype reduction workshop as an intergroup relations intervention.
Results
Subjects tended to rate their own beach more positively than others. Jews generally thought there were more Jews at each beach than did non-Jews, especially if they were at the beach in question.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 7.

Apartheid Era [1961 – end of 1993] Stereotype Research in the Category of International Relations

Thematic category: International stereotypes (1)
Author: Nel, P. (1992/4).
Main issues investigated
Investigates Soviet-South African relations and the changes in some of the stereotypical representations between the two nations between 1987 and 1991.
Results
South African perceptions towards the Soviet Union shifted from an evil enemy image before 1988, to a weakened enemy image by 1990. Soviet Union perceptions of South Africa shifted from a polarised society stereotype towards being represented as a redeemable adolescent, in the same period of time.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 8.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Race

Thematic category: Race stereotypes (23)					
Thematic sub-categories					
Stereotype content studies (10)	Social distance studies (8)	HIV/AIDS stereotypes (2)	Stereotypes in the media (1)	Stereotypes in literature (1)	Stereotypes in sport (1)
Authors					
Van den Berghe, P.L. (1997). Tebele, C. & Nel, K. (2012). Adhikari, M. (2006). Slabbert, A. (2001). Slabbert, A.D. (2002). Durrheim, K., & Talbot, K. (2012). Robus, D., & Macleod, C. (2006). Durrheim, K., Tredoux, C., Foster, D. & Dixon, J. (2011). Bornman, E. (2011). Duckitt, J., & Mphuthing, T. (1998).	Muyeba, S., & Seekings, J. (2011). Burns, J. (2006). Brix, L., Finchilescu, G., Gordijn, E., Koomen, W., & Wijnants, N. (2008). Finchilescu, G. (2005). Finchilescu, G., & Laher, H. (2010). Finchilescu, G. (2010). Claassen, C., & Gibson, J.L. (2010). Dixon, J., & Durrheim, K. (2010).	Dilraj, A., Karim, S.S.A., & Pillay, S. (2007). Mendes, J., & Nduna, M. (2010).	Grier, S.A., & Johnson, G.D. (2012).	Hale, F. (1994).	Vahed, G. (2001).
Main issues investigated					
Investigated racial stereotype content, in the form of intra and intergroup attitudes and perceptions. Included the analysis of the history of the 'coloured' stereotype, a contemporary replication of an older stereotype content study, and an analysis of how racial stereotype manifest within	Investigated interracial social contact and explored the mechanisms that may explain how it functions, and also improve the quality and quantity of such interactions.	Investigated stereotypes surrounding HIV/AIDS. Specifically the stereotypes held by young whites surrounding HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns, and the stereotypical description of HIV/AIDS as a 'black problem'.	Investigated the manner in which different audience members reacted to advertisements with stereotyped portrayals of people.	Examines the history of Scandinavian anti-apartheid literature with a focus on the work of Gunnar Helander and his book *Storstadsneger*.	This study investigated how the construction of race and the act of stereotyping was used during the fallout of the Hansie Cronje match-fixing scandal.

a tertiary institution context. A historical survey of the trends of South African race attitudes, during and after apartheid.					
		Results			
A pattern of significant racial stereotyping, with out-group members treated with suspicion, hesitance or outright derogation. Historically, English and Afrikaans speaking whites showing high levels of prejudice towards blacks, with Afrikaans speakers being most prejudiced. Blacks showing greatest prejudice towards Afrikaans speaking rather than English speaking whites. After apartheid, overall attitudes were more positive among more affluent and urbanized communities. Indications of prevailing negative relations, in particular between Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites.	Despite geographical proximity, racialised self-segregation continues. Explanations include prejudice, negative stereotypes, negative meta-stereotypes and increased socio-economic competition between racial groups, all of which feeds intergroup anxiety. Conflicting and contradictory patterns of interracial contact abound.	Although black women acknowledged as having a higher risk for infection, prevalence data is established across all race groups. Racialised descriptions of the inferior HIV/AIDS awareness on the part of blacks were given by the white subjects.	Stereotyped viewers developed negative views of advertisements that stereotyped members of their in-group. This offensive experience affects how they process other advertisements. Viewers who had weaker identification with the in-group were less likely to have a negative experience of a stereotyped advertisement.	While the book is praised for its description of the kinds of socio-economic conditions that apartheid policy created, it also draws criticism as Helander is shown to also fall victim to and to perpetuate some of the racial stereotypes that he sets out to critique.	as the story unfolded the story assumed an increasingly racialised and stereotypical discourse which portrayed the Indian authorities and the wider Asian community as being unfairly biased against Cronje.

Points of interest		
Despite the softening of some stereotypical descriptions, racial stereotype content remains resilient over time. Durrheim, K., & Talbot, K. (2012). All groups show declining levels of social distance over time but black Africans' semantic differential scores (indicating prejudice) have remained stable whereas whites' semantic differential scores have declined relatively sharply in recent years. Durrheim, K., Tredoux, C., Foster, D. & Dixon, J. (2011).	Some evidence of improved interracial contact and relationships because of greater proximity. Differences discussed in cultural rather than racial terms. Muyeba, S., & Seekings, J. (2011).	The racialised descriptions of blacks, given by the white subjects, fed into stereotypical depictions of black sexual immorality, promiscuity and aggression. Mendes, J., & Nduna, M. (2010).
Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.		

Table A. 9.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Gender

Thematic category: Gender stereotypes (18)				
Thematic sub-categories				
Gender-role studies (7)	Occupational stereotypes (4)	Stereotypes in the media (4)	Masculinity studies (2)	Stereotypes about disability (1)
Authors				
Mwamwenda, T.S. (2011). Ichou, C. (2006). Fritz, E. (2012). de Klerk, V. & Bosch, B. (1996). Cain, D., Cherry, C., Jooste, S., Kalichman, S.C., Kaufman, M., Mathiti, V., & Simbayi, L.C. (2005). Potgieter, C., Shefer, T., Strebel, A., & Wagner, C. (2012). Bhana, A., Cupp, P., & Zimmerman, R. (2008).	Cook, J., & Simbayi, L.C. (1998). Kanjere, M.M., Teffo, L.J., & Thaba, K.L. (2011). Chiloane-Tsoka, G. E. (2010). Booysen, L.A.E., & Nkomo, S.M. (2010).	Motsaathebe, G. (2009). Buthelezi, T. (2006). Furnham, A., & Spencer-Bowdage, S. (2002). Luyt, R. (2011).	Crous, M. (2007). Viljoen, S. (2012).	Moodley, S., Muthukrishna, N., & Sokoya, G.O. (?).
Main issues investigated				
Investigated the contents of gender-role stereotypes. Included gender-role stereotypes that teachers assigned to pupils, the gender-role stereotyping at play in the experiences of motherhood by several young women, how nicknames reflect gender-role typing and gender-role stereotypes in the context of sexual violence, transactional sex, the use of alcohol and HIV/AIDS risk. Gender-role attitudes and sexual behaviour among South African adolescents.	Investigated gender stereotypes as they operate in the work environment. Included occupational gender-role stereotyping, and various stereotypes about the professional and leadership capabilities of women.	Investigated the stereotypical portrayal of gender in the media. This included television and printed media.	Investigated the stereotypes surrounding the representations of black masculinity. Two texts which analysed heterosexual and homosexual masculinity, and another text which analysed the reconstruction of black masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa.	Investigated socially constructed stereotypes and prejudices against disabled women, and the influence of these on their self-concept and gender-identity.
Results				
A pattern of gender-role stereotyping that played into traditional,	A pattern of negative stereotypes regarding the	Despite shifts towards more equal gender portrayals, a pattern of	Stereotypical representations of black heterosexual masculinity	Social stereotypes, discrimination and prejudices negatively influence

patriarchal expectations. The positive effects of egalitarian/non-traditional gender-role attitudes on sexual risk behaviour.	professional and leadership capacity of women, which play into traditional concepts of patriarchy and gender-role divisions.	stereotyping in the media which perpetuates traditional gender stereotypes, and disadvantages women professionally and personally by limiting personal agency in situations of crisis, and focusing on sexualised, subordinate and negative female portrayals.	affirmed and revised. Includes stereotypes of black male sexual immorality, licentiousness and female objectification.	her self-concept, her gender identity, and her economic self-sufficiency.
		Points of interest		
Despite the rise of feminism and the gender rights movement, these mothers' experiences and expectations of motherhood still played into traditional, patriarchal expectations. Ichou, C. (2006).	The suggestion that occupational sex-role stereotyping is stronger among men than women. Cook, J., & Simbayi, L.C. (1998). Booysen, L.A.E., & Nkomo, S.M. (2010).		Even the effort to reconstruct black masculinity in the post-apartheid era, runs the risk of falling into and perpetuating patriarchal and Eurocentric stereotypes of masculinity, success and power.Viljoen, S. (2012).	

Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 10.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Ethnicity

Thematic category: Ethnic stereotypes (6)	
Thematic sub-categories	
Stereotypes in literature (3)	Jewish stereotypes (3)
Authors	
van der Merwe, C.N. (1994). Arndt, J.S. (2010). Besten, M. (2011).	Leveson, M. (2001). Shain, M. (2001). Hellig, J. (2000).
Main issues investigated	
Investigates the creation, perpetuation and evolution of stereotypical representations in South African literature. Investigates Afrikaner stereotypes, 19th century stereotypes of the Xhosa in British military knowledge, and the evolution of Khoi-San stereotypes in South African history textbooks.	Investigates the evolution of Jewish stereotypes in South Africa, along with a historical analysis of anti-Semitism in South Africa from the 19th century.
Results	
A pattern of negative stereotyping of indigenous South Africans, which facilitated and justified their subjugation and exploitation through the process of dehumanising them.	The relative stability of Jewish stereotypes with three prototypes: the wandering Jew, the evil Jew and the good Jew. The roots of the anti-Jewish outburst of the 1930s and 1940s with a basis that stretches back to 19th century anti-Semitism. Three strands of South African anti-Semitism, the Afrikaner far right, black Africans and Muslims.
Points of interest	
Although progress has been made to rehabilitate some of the more negative stereotypes, their existence casts a long shadow of violence and mistrust on the history of South Africa. Arndt, J.S. (2010). Besten, M. (2011).	
Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.	

Tables A. 11.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Health

Thematic category: Health stereotypes (6)			
Thematic sub-categories			
Stereotypes about HIV/AIDS (3)	Stereotypes about contraception (1)	Stereotypes about substance abuse (1)	Stereotypes about other illnesses (1)
Authors			
Hoque, M., Sehume, O., & Zungu, L. (2012). Cooper, D., Morroni, C., & Myer, L. (2006). Moller, V., Erstad, I. & Zani, D. (2010).	Kooverjee, T., & Patel, C.J. (2009).	Myers, B., Sorsdahl, K., & Stein, D.J. (2012).	Louw, J., Schomer, H., & Weinberg, M. (1994).
Main issues investigated			
The attitudes towards and willingness to care for HIV infected patients, among nursing students. The attitudes of South Africans towards sexual activity and child-bearing among HIV positive people. Investigated stereotyping and stigmatisation in the 'new' HIV-related epidemic of TB, and how drinkers and smokers are attributed as being responsible for the spread of the disease, as opposed to drinking and smoking as being perceived as merely a 'social challenge' to be grappled with.	The attitudes of South African university students towards contraception and abortion.	The attributions made by the general South African public about people who use various substances.	The experience of those diagnosed with Myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME) was investigated, in light of the scientific controversy surrounding ME as a valid medical disease, rather than a psychological diagnosis or malingering on the part patients.
Results			
Generally positive attitudes and willingness to care for HIV positive patients. Generally negative attitudes, regarding sexual activity and child-bearing, towards HIV positive people. Drinking and smoking imbued with negative stereotypes that associated the act to the kind of licentiousness and negative behaviour that was attributed to the decline of ordered society.	A general acknowledgement of the importance of contraception, with some conservative and stereotypical attitudes towards women who do use them. Generally conservative attitudes towards abortion, but more female support for abortion and wider reproductive freedom.	Generally negative views of the substances and the users, but gentler views of substances considered to be less dangerous and for female substance users.	Subjects' self-concepts were negatively affected by contracting ME but that diagnosis had no effect on this change in self-concept. Further, subjects' identified themselves in the negative terms found in unfavourable stereotypes of those with ME.
Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.			

Table A. 12.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of International Relations

Thematic category: International stereotypes (5)
Authors
Hyde-Clark, N. (2008). Dyers, C., & Wankah, F.J. (2012). Bartsch, R.A., & Judd, C.M. (1997). Van Eeden, J. (2001). Danso, R., & McDonald, D.A. (2001).
Main issues investigated
Investigated stereotypical representations that exist between cultures and nationalities. Analysed how they function and how they are perpetuated. This was also investigated in the print media.
Results
The pattern of viewing the national out-group as a homogenous group, and the propensity to negatively stereotype the out-group. This is done through constructing national out-group members as 'the other' and accentuating linguistic and cultural differences, while assuming cultural supremacy. This can lend to outward prejudice and xenophobia. The difficulty of avoiding the repetition of intercultural stereotypes in the media.
Points of interest
The reconstitution of old colonial stereotypes of Africa, through the act of inscribing exoticism, in the new and palatable guise of game entertainment such The Lost City. Van Eeden, J. (2001).
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 13.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Sexual Abuse

Thematic category: Stereotypes about sexual abuse (3)
Authors
Collings, S. J. (2006). Collings, S. J. (2002). Collings, S. J., Stevens, M., & Tolond, K. (2004).
Main issues investigated
Investigated the functioning social myths and stereotypes about child sexual abuse (CSA), and how they mediate perceptions about CSA. This was done on both an individual and public level, through an analysis of media reports of CSA.
Results
Social myths and stereotypes about CSA mediate perceptions of CSA by restricting the blame attributed to the perpetrator, by attributing blame to the victim, and by minimising the harm to the victim. Perception is also skewed by reporting that focuses on extreme, bizarre and statistically unrepresentative cases of CSA, such as those were strangers are perpetrators, rather than known friends or family.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 14.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Religion

Thematic category: Stereotypes about religion (2)
Authors
Harper, M. (2007). Claassens, L.J.M. (2013).
Main issues investigated
Investigated the stereotypical descriptions that the religious have of the non-religious. The sample used was students from the University of Johannesburg. Religious stereotypes of disability and suffering were investigated using the Biblical text of Job as a case study.
Results
A variety of stereotypical descriptions of the non-religious, some of which are negative and may foreground potential stigma and prejudice, such as referring to them as being 'immoral', 'hard hearted', 'arrogant', or 'sinners'. However there also existed a more neutral and positive description of the unreligious as being 'rational', 'scientific' or 'extroverted'. A description of disability as being the consequence of sin and of the disabled or diseased as being unclean, and therefore to be ostracised. There was also evidence in the text of alternative and more positive discourses surrounding disability and disease, such as that of inherent human agency and dignity.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 15.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Language

Thematic category: Linguistic stereotypes (2)
Authors
Bosch, B., & de Klerk, V. (1995). Rudwick, S., Wiebesiek, L., & Zeller, J. (2011).
Main issues investigated
Investigated how people used language and accent in order to make judgements about others. Specifically, it was the stereotypical judgements that the researchers sort to uncover.
Results
Disproved the association between power and positive stereotyping, specifically with the language and accent of Afrikaans. Rather than being accepted and positively stereotyped because of its historical position as the language of power in South Africa, Afrikaans was roundly rejected and negatively stereotyped by the participants. isiXhosa and English were more positively stereotyped than Afrikaans, with English being the most consistently positively stereotyped of all three languages.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 16.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Science and Technology

Thematic category: Stereotypes about science and technology (2)
Authors
Gastrow, M., Juan, A., Reddy, V., & Roberts, B. (2013). Bevan-Dye, A.L. (2013).
Main issues investigated
The attitudes, knowledge and sources of information of South Africans regarding science, and how they have changed between 1999 and 2010. The attitudes of black generation Y students towards web advertising value.
Results
A mixture of positive and negative attitudes towards science, with participants praising the benefits of science and how it has helped to improve their quality of life. Other participants were wary of the negative and harmful aspects of science, including how it speeds up the pace of life and how it can displace the role of faith in the public consciousness. A positive attitude towards the value of web advertising among black generation Y students.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 17.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Occupations

Thematic category: Occupational stereotypes (1)
Authors: Steenkamp, L.P., & Wessels, P.L. (2009).
Main issues investigated
Investigate the preconceived notions of students in South Africa about accountants and whether these perceptions differ because of gender, home language or ethnical differences.
Results
Students perceive accountants as structured, precise and solitary individuals. Significant differences were found between the perceptions of different ethnic groups. No significant differences were found between the perceptions of male and female students, or between Afrikaans- and English-speaking students.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Table A. 18.

Post-Apartheid Era [1994 – 2012] Stereotype Research in the Category of Intergroup Relations

Thematic category: Intergroup stereotypes (1)
Authors: Kamfer, L., & Venter, D. J. L. (1994).
Main issues investigated
Evaluated a stereotype reduction workshop conducted with students from three South African universities. Pre- and post-measures in the form of the stereotypes produced for salient out-groups, and responses on a scale designed to measure constructs related to the aims of the workshop, were gathered from an experimental and a control group.
Results
The experimental group produced significantly fewer negative stereotypes for one of the out-groups after attending the intervention than they did before the intervention, while the control group's pre-intervention negative stereotypes still existed afterwards. Significant differences in the ratio of negative to total out-group stereotypes produced before and after the intervention were also found between the experimental and the control groups.
Notes: The number in brackets indicates the amount of times a stereotype category or sub-category was found.

Appendix B: Demographic information

Table B. 1.

Research Participants by Gender

Participants' gender	Number of participants
Female participants	100
Male participants	69

Figure B. 1.

Research Participants by Gender

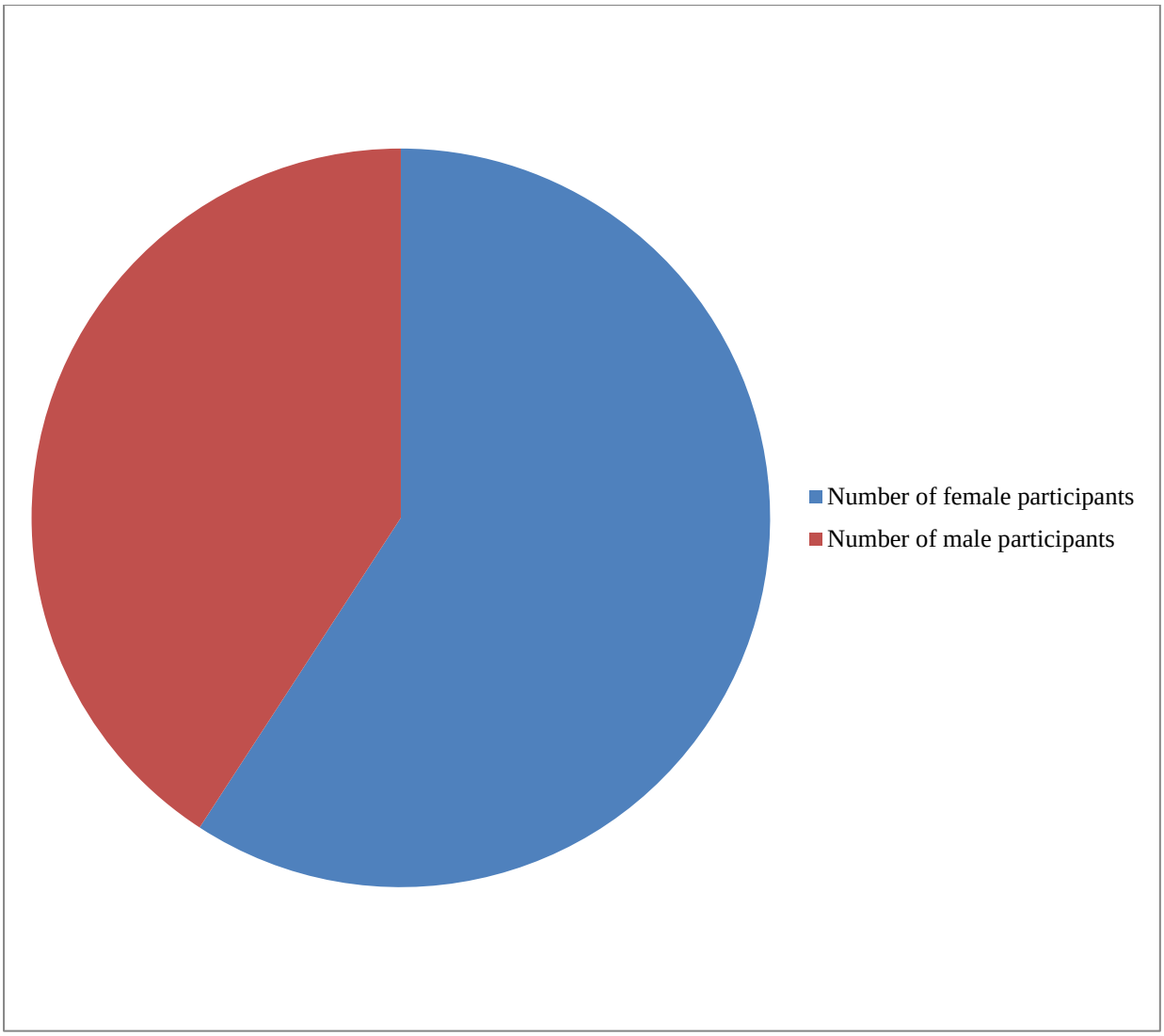


Table B. 2.

Research Participants by Race

Participants' race	Number of participants
Black participants	126
White participants	24
Indian participants	12
Coloured participants	5
'Other' participants	2

Figure B. 2.

Research Participants by Race

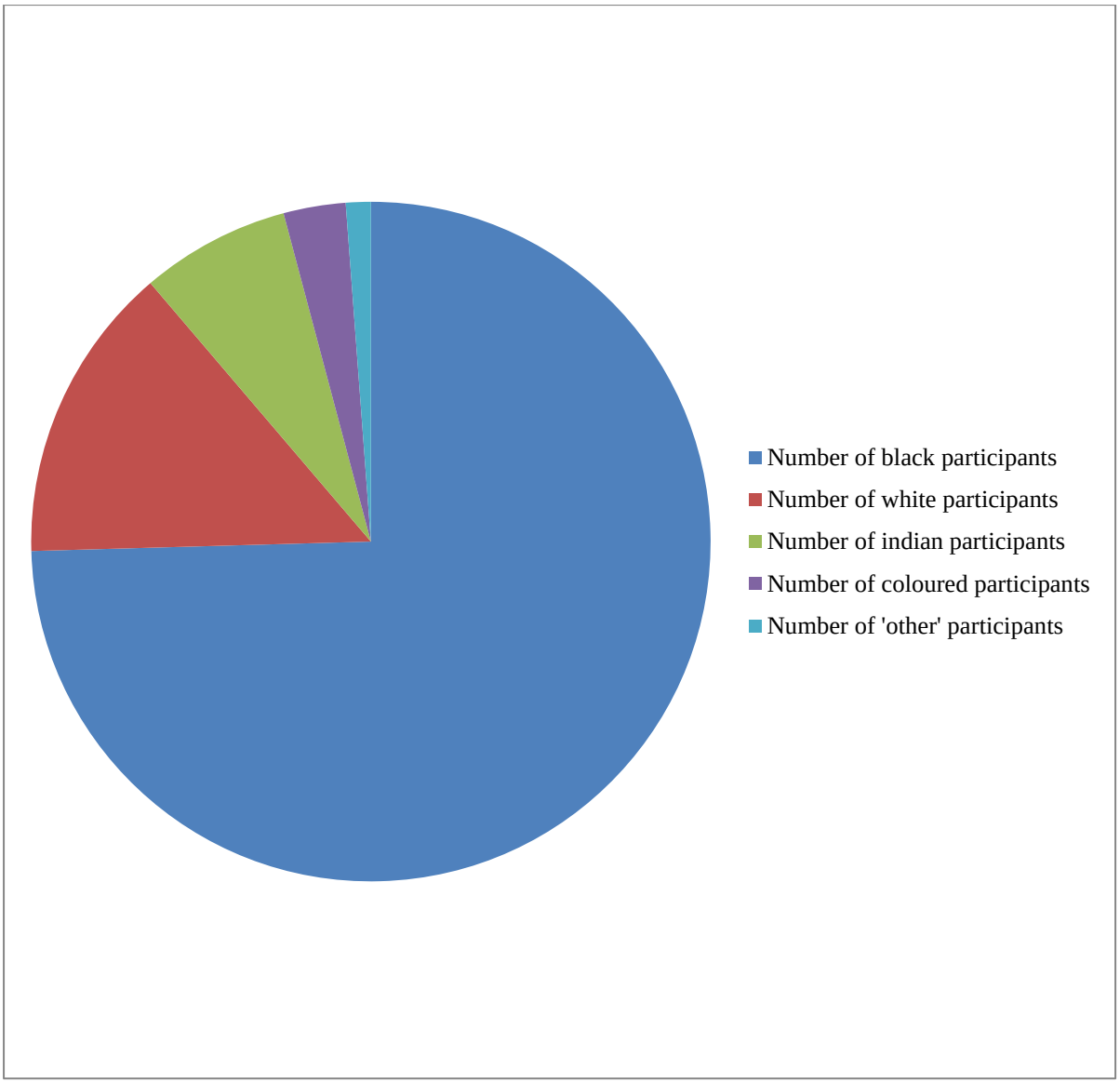


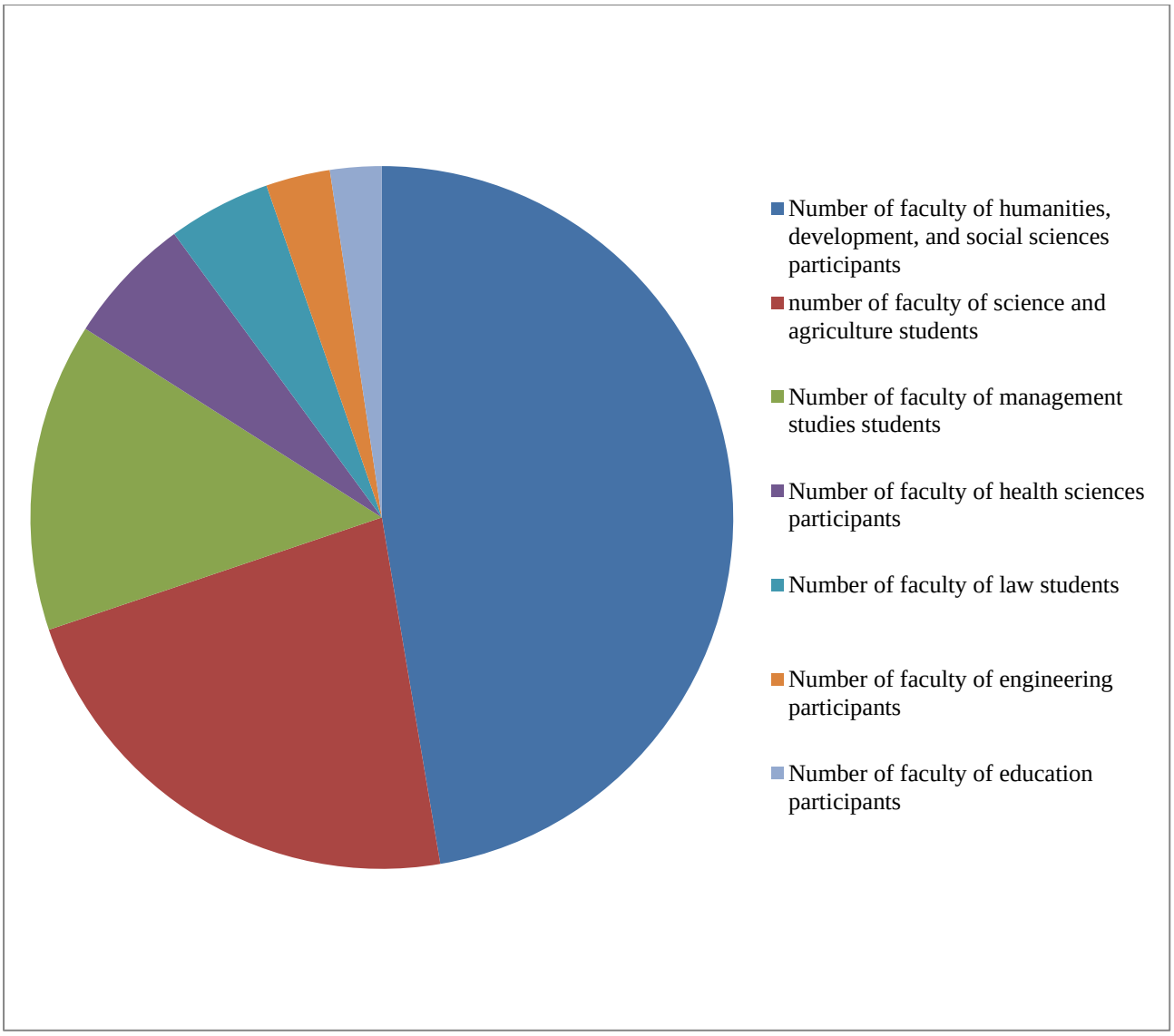
Table B. 3.

Research Participant by Faculty Enrolment

Participants' faculty	Number of participants
Faculty of humanities, development, and social sciences	80
Faculty of science and agriculture	38
Faculty of management studies	24
Faculty of health sciences	10
Faculty of law	8
Faculty of engineering	5
Faculty of education	4

Figure B. 3.

Research Participant by Faculty Enrolment



Appendix C: Survey questionnaire

Demographic information

Age

Gender	
Female	
Male	

Race	
Coloured	
Black	
Indian	
White	
Other	

Faculty	
Education	
Engineering	
Health Sciences	
Humanities, development and social sciences	
Law	
Management studies	
Science and agriculture	

Group selection and description

What groups of people do you feel exist in South Africa? Include as many 'groups' as you wish	
Group one	
Group two	
Group three	
Group four	
Group five	
Group six	
Group seven	
Group eight	
Group nine	
Group ten	

What characteristics do you associate with the groups of people you have identified in the previous page?	
Group one	
Group two	
Group three	
Group four	
Group five	
Group six	
Group seven	
Group eight	
Group nine	
Group ten	

What groups of people do you feel exist on the campus? Include as many 'groups' as you wish	
Group one	
Group two	
Group three	
Group four	
Group five	
Group six	
Group seven	
Group eight	
Group nine	
Group ten	

What characteristics do you associate with the groups of people you have identified in the previous page?	
Group one	
Group two	
Group three	
Group four	
Group five	
Group six	
Group seven	
Group eight	
Group nine	
Group ten	

Semantic Differential Scales

Art students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Art students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Art students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Art students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Art students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Science students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Science students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Science students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Science students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Science students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Commerce students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Commerce students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Commerce students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Commerce students									
Emotional unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Commerce students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Psychology students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Psychology students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Psychology students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Psychology students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Psychology students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Male students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Male students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Male students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Male students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Male students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Female students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Female students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Female students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Female students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Female students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

University of Kwazulu Natal students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

University of Kwazulu Natal students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

University of Kwazulu Natal students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

University of Kwazulu Natal students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

University of Kwazulu Natal students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Varsity College students									
Unintelligent									Intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Varsity College students									
Analytic cognitive style									Flexible cognitive style
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Varsity College students									
Logical									Intuitive
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Varsity College students									
Emotionally unintelligent									Emotionally intelligent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Varsity College students									
Creative									Uncreative
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Appendix D: National and campus level group categories

Figure D. 1.

National Level Group Categories

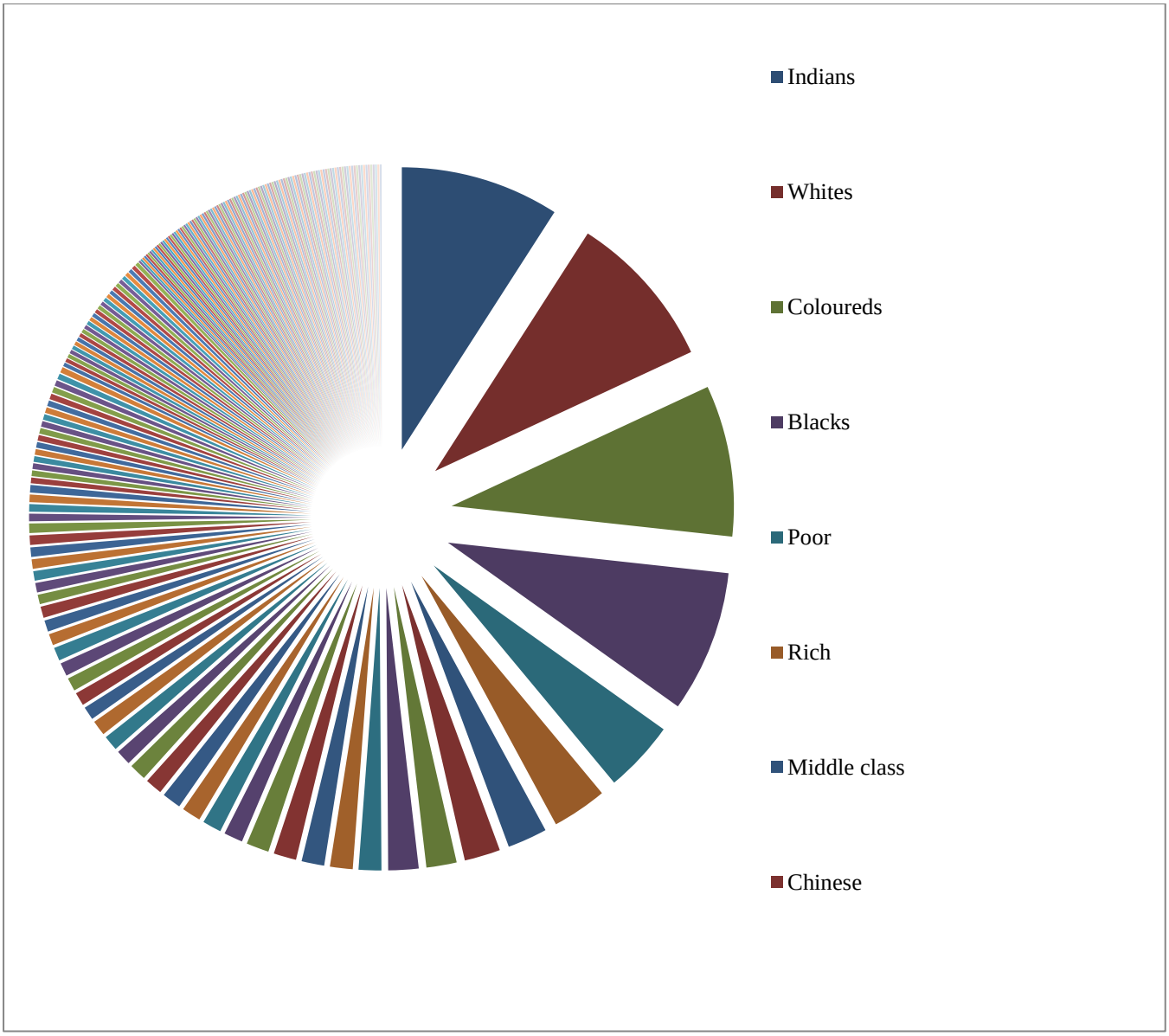
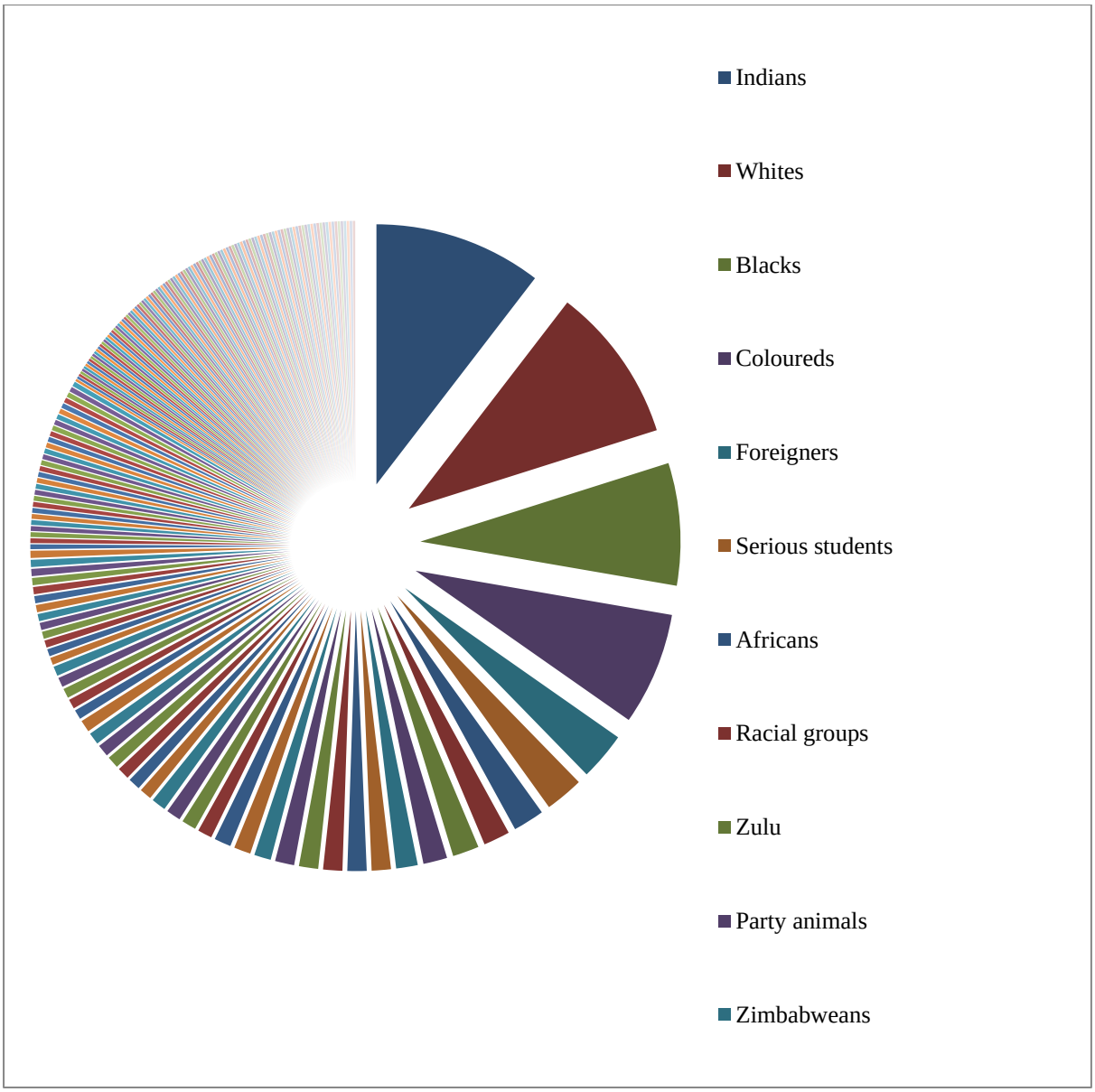


Figure D. 2.

Campus Level Group Categories



Appendix E: National and campus level stereotype themes

Table E. 1.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Indians'

Stereotype theme names															
Business oriented	Rich	Insular & nepotistic	Deceptive & disingenuous	Domineering	Religious	Physical features	Racist towards blacks	Greedy	Respectable people	Materialistic	Cultural aspects	Talkative	Intelligent	Enterprising	Poor	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations																
Entrepreneurial (3)	Wealthy (2)	Very close to each other	Liar	Bossy	Religious (2)	Pale, brown, black hair and very hairy	Racist towards black people (2)	Greedy	Good	Business and flashing (nice cars)	Traditional	Talkative	Intelligent (2)	Resourceful	Poor	Partying
Entrepreneur	Rich	Help each others	Corruption	Rude	Believers	Darker skin	Hate blacks	Just interested in making money and do not wish the lives better for other races like the Chinese	Humble	Materialism	Of Indian descent	Loud, speak fast	They think they are clever	Opportunistic	Lower opportunities	Conservative/cheap labour
Business mind orientated	Financial power	Top jobs, help each other out	Dishonesty	Arrogant	Religion is important to them and this is ofte	Skin colour and hair type		Selfish	Loving	Fashion-conscious	Culture	Talkative, unoriginl		Observant		Denialists

					n a cause of conflict in the community				
Business minded	Love money	They seclude themselves and think they are superior	Scaly	Over-powering	Skinny and smelling		Curries	Hard workers	Confused
Love business	Like money	Like supporting each other	Crooks	Aggressive			Hot curries	Determinant	Reservative
Business people	Try to save money where they can	Very family orientated	Selfish and pretentious	Judgemental, ignorant					Nothing
Are very business minded		Isolate themselves	Suck-ups	Annoying					
Business		They are not friendly to non-Indians, they are not too open minded							
Money makers		A bit insular							
Capitalists		Communalism							
Very much into market									
Trading									

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 2.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Indians'

Stereotype theme names												
Campus time spent on non-academic activities	Campus time spent on romantic relationships	Snobbish	Rich & materialistic	Racists	Insular group	Advantaged	Hard working	Intelligent	Cultural aspects	Physical features	Friendly	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations												
Have too much money and not enough time to spend it, bunk class to do things like go to movies and lunch	Never study because they are busy kissing and dry-humping all over campus	Obsessed with how they look and making a point that they're cool	They are usually from wealthy homes	Racist	They sit on the corridors in groups and do not communicate with anyone who is not in their group	Advantaged – access to learning enhancing facilities at home	Dedicated. Hard working	Intelligent (2)	Traditional/ cultural	Skin colour and hair type	Friendly	Dealers and conservative
Like socialising more than their careers	Loud, date in public and kiss etc…	Snobbish, rude, obnoxious	They show off a lot – brand named clothing, cars etc…	Racism, isolating	They keep to themselves	Technological	Hard working	Smart (2)	Culture	Skinny and smelly	Confident	Aggressive
Hang round campus all the time and see wealth in cars	Loose, promiscuous, public displays of affection	Arrogant, selfish and inconsiderate	Materialism (2)	Discriminating	Isolates other group	Sophisticated	Hard workers but lack manners	Quick minded	Religious			Inferior
Many have a bad attitude to their studies	Only come to joll with partners	Have a sense of entitlement	Rich (2)	Unfriendly towards the blacks – feel superior	Grouping	Mobile		Educated				Corrupt
Bunk lectures	Love jolling around	They think they are clever			Communalism							
Bunk class	Love affairs	Attention seeking										
Lazy	Always kissing	Rebellious,										

		arrogant	
Playful (2)	Sensuality	Rude	
Social	Love	Pretentious	
	Romantic	Loud, cocky	
	Business and romance	They're very loud and a bit annoying	
		Noisy	

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 3.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Whites'

Stereotype theme names												
Rich	Racists	Advantaged	Snobbish	Disingenuous	Steadfast & conscientious	Friendly & caring	Physical features	Liberal	Nepotistic	Intelligent	Greedy	European descent	Notheme
Stereotype theme characterisations												
Rich (6)	Racist (6)	Vastly educated, sheltered, more privileged than other populations	Snobbish, elitist	Good pretenders	Hard working, ambitious	Generally friendly	Skin colour	Liberal (2)	Help lift one another	Clever (2)	Greedy	English speaking, of European descent	Culture
Are rich	Are racist	Privileged	Snobby, entitled, fussy	Resistant to change	Hard working	Friendly	Light skin	Unconventional	Mind their own business	Intelligent	Stingy, wasteful	Born in Europe or America	Atheism
Wealthy (2)	Some racist	Superior and advantaged	Educated, well-off, stuck-up	Not trusting	Dedicated	Caring, loving, understanding	Pale, blonde hair		Reserved		Materialism		
	Seem to fear black people, some are racists	Powerful, successful	Self-exaltation	Complain a lot	Dedication	Respect and love	Dirty		Individualism (2)		Capitalism		
	Racist and pretenders	Top managed	Stubborn claim to know everything	Bitter (2)	Innovative	Loving							
		Imperialism, powerful, control	Arrogant	Angry	Commitment to good quality in what they do	Conservative, friendly but apologetic							
		Leverage to control			Well organised	Quiet and well mannered							
		Conservative in retaining privilege			Sophisticated	Outgoing							
		Leaders				Normal							

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 4.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Whites'

Stereotype theme names										
Rich	Insular group	Racists	Intelligent	Snobbish	Conscientious	Greedy	Friendly & hospitable	Advantaged	Physical features	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations										
They are usually well-off in terms of wealth	On campus only for education, socialise in separate non university functions	Don't feel comfortable around too many blacks	Intelligent (3)	They are a minority who think they can do everything better than anyone else	Very serious about studies	Materialism, greedy	Friendly, funny, rescuing, social, easily approached, helping	Imperialism, powerful, control	Skin colour and eyes	Atheism
Rich (2)	Like isolating themselves	Seclude themselves according to race	Clever	Individualism and superiority, legalistic	They generally work very hard, they're always in a rush	Capitalism	They are very relaxed. They are approachable	Superior	White skin	Individualism
Educated and rich	Conservative, mind own business	Racist and pretenders	Educated	Think they know it all	Ambitious and enthusiastic		Caring, understanding	Privileged		Nothing
Advantaged socio economically hence better learning	Anti-social, independent	Racist (5)		Snobby	All are chilled out and focused		Beach-bumbers, sarcastic	Mobile		Sporty
	Reserved			Aloof	Dedicated		Liberal and open minded	Classy		Born in Europe or America
	Unfriendly			Rude	Diligent student		Friendly			People from the white race
				Good pretenders	Hard workers		Mannered			Culture
				Successful, discriminating, bitter	Focus		Companionship			

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 5.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Coloureds'

Stereotype theme names														
Violent	Drug abusers	Cheerful & sociable	Disregarded group	Mixed race	Physical features	Audacious & bold	Associated with crime	Disadvantaged	Hard working	Materialistic	Liberal	Nearsighted	Close-knit group	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations														
Violent (13)	Drunkard	Very social	They are lost – just don't seem to quite notice them – it's as though they do not belong. Have nothing to say about them	Mixed race (2)	Pale/ brown, black hair	Brazen, assertive	Corruption, crime	Lower opportunities	Hard working (2)	Materialism (2)	Liberal	Live for the day	Very close knit	Love fixing things
Violence	Drunkards	Fun	Neglected race	Mixed	Having curly hair	Friendly, open minded but can be very straight forward at times	Crime	Very inferior and disadvantaged	Determinant	Greedy	Rebellious	Sometimes look for easy way out of situations	Withdrawn	Individualism
Like to fight	Drinking	Cherful	Dilemma	Middle (2)	Accent	Heavy swearing	Gangsters, low-class	Poor			Unconventional	Lazy (3)	Communalism	Fake
Fight	Drinkers	Sense of humour	Confused		No teeth	Rude, fast thinkers						Do not like academic work		Religious
Aggressive (4)	Alcohol (2)	Loud (2)	(I don't know enough)									Largely uneducated		
Bullies	Drugs (2)											Party people		
Dangerous (2)	Drug addicts													

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 6.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Coloureds'

Stereotype theme names							
Insular group	Nearsighted	Brazen agitators	Disregarded group	Friendly	Cultural aspects	Physical features	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations							
They are very 'closed' in the sense that they only mix with their own 'type' of people	They are only here to get a degree. They're not interested in achieving well	Party animals, trouble makers	Insignificant	Funny, friendly, highly social	Speak Afrikaans	Hair texture	Materialistic
Only hang with other coloureds and try to make themselves look cool	They're forced to be here by their parents. They like to drink and hang out most of the day	Violent but fun	Dilemma	Friendly to all races	Accent	Mixed	Intelligence
Very few coloureds on campus. They keep to themselves. They are approachable	Lazy, unambitious, drop-outs	Rebellious	Minority	Friendly	Culture		Rich
A struggle to survive in college (financially and socially)	Chilled and go with the flow	Drunkard	Not sure				
Anti-social, moderate	Love hanging out	Loud	Nothing				
Introverts	Lack of direction	Unconventional					
Quite	Carefree (2)						
Individualistic							

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 7.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Blacks'

Stereotype theme names																
Disadvantaged	Poor	Lazy & entitled	Noisy	Traditional	Newly advantaged group	Proud people	Gregarious people	Physical features	Divided against themselves	Inferior quality education	Associated with crime	Religious	Communalmentality	Racists	Dominant group	Ambitious people	Notheme
Stereotype theme characterisations																
Most of them are disadvantaged	Low socio-economic status	Lazy expects handouts all the time	Loud, noisy	Traditional	Advantaged, previously disadvantaged	Pride	Friendly (3)	Dark skin	Pull each other down	Many come from relatively bad schools	Criminals	Religious, superstitious	Ubuntu	More racists	Most dominant	Ambitious	In a state of change
Previously disadvantaged	Deprived and poor families	Sense of entitlement	Noisy	Traditions	BEE	Arrogant	Caring and loving	Brown complexion	Divided	Less educated	Criminal	Believers	Humanistic	Mistrust whites	Majority	Determinant	Rebellious
Not privileged	Poverty	A bit lazy	Loud (5)	Traditionalists	Strong political alliances	Rude	Humorous	Skin	Falling apart families	Do not read	Corrupt	Spiritual and prayerful	Communalism	Reverse apartheid	Greedy but united		Bad drivers
Lower opportunities	Poor (3)	Laziness		Culture	The wealthy tend to have novea uriche tendencies	Stubbornness	Carefree	Smelly	Ignorant		Violent		Family centred				Stereotype
Subordinate		Lazy, love free bee's		Cultural	Materialism		Creative		Stupid		Violent men		Seem to love doing things in large groups (Most seem to have some sort of packmentality)				

Struggle	Unmotivated	Languages	Crazy	Unsure of themselves	
Inferior but recognisable	Not so interested in school unless they are foreigners				

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 8.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Blacks'

Stereotype theme names								
Noisy	Hard working & conscientious	Cultural aspects	Nearsighted & lazy	Disadvantaged socio-economically	Gregarious people	Inhospitable people	Materialistic	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations								
Loud, rowdiness	Hard workers	Traditional/cultural	Don't take life seriously	Disadvantaged in terms of socio-economic status, difficulty accessing learning enhancing facilities	Majority of people belong to this group and they try to mix with the other groups	Unfriendly, rude	Materialism (2)	Religious
Drinks, loudy and partying	Hard working	Traditionalists	Lazy, careless	Financially aided unless from rich families	Friendly	S.A. nationals unfriendly to foreigners	Love showing off fashion	Colour of skin and personality
Loud (4)	Diligent students	Culture	Lazy (5)	Not privileged	Caring and loving	Vain, proud, annoying		Stay in res
Noisy	Dedicated	South African languages	Laziness	Disadvantaged	Social (2)	Rebellious		More Zulus
	Ambitious	Values	Not very wise	Poor	Respect			
	Intelligent		Ignorant wanna be's	Inferior	Playful			
			Ignorant (2)		Communalism			

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 9.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Poor'

Stereotype theme names									
Inferior quality education	Insufficient provision	Vulnerable & weak	Associated with townships, informal settlements & rural areas	Associated with blacks	Unemployed	Associated with crime	Despondent	Enterprising	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations									
No adequate schooling	Poverty (2)	Vulnerable, powerless	From township or informal settlement	Black (4)	Unemployed or unreliable employment	They go into crime	Pessimistic about life and South African growth	Kinder and optimistic	Bear lots of children
Uneducated	Poor	Helpless	Rural, squalor		Unemployment	Criminals and worthless	Sad	Some are content	Sick
Uneducated, unskilled	Living in poverty	Suffering (2)	Live in rural areas		Non working - beggars	Dirty, smelly, dangerous	Discouraged	People who are not able to make ends meet, try by all means to provide for their families but not enough, difference between them and parasites get and do something they wait for the government	
Uneducated, illiterate	Do not have money live in poverty	Needy and persistent	Disadvantaged, rural						
Poverty, uneducated	Min wage	Lost							
Illiterate, unsophisticated	Hardly making ends meet	Submissive							
Semi-literate and not very sophisticated	Struggling to even secure a meal								

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 10.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Poor'

Stereotype theme names		
Insufficient provision	Humble group	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Barely afford a living	Humble	Ambitious
Low/no income	Submissive	Bitter
Poverty		Familiar

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 11.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Rich'

Stereotype theme names						
Extravagant lifestyle	Snobbish	Greedy	Educated	Associated with whites, Indians & black politicians	Advantaged	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations						
Live the extravagant lifestyle and can afford anything they want	Stuck-up or snobbish. Tend to believe better than other people	Greedy	Educated, sophisticated	White	CEOs, top govt officials, fraudsters	A bit understanding
Rich, have everything they desire, everything to their hearts content	Possibly elitist and well educated	Selfish and greedy	Educated, qualified	White and Indian	Powerful (2)	Some are hard working
Can afford	Egotistical	Selfish	Educated, healthy	Black politicians and most of the white community		Unhappy
Fancy lifestyle	Aloof		Classy (2)	BBBEE (i.e. BEE)		Urban/city
Expensive cars clothes and houses	Arrogant					
Big house, good jobs, smart	They show off					
Live in mansions						

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 12.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Rich'

Stereotype theme names	
Extravagant lifestyle	Snobbish
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Fancy lifestyle (2)	Snobbish
Have everything they need and want	Snobby
	Selfish

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 13.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Chinese'

Stereotype theme names					
Business oriented	Inhospitable people	Greedy & exploitative	Shrewd & corrupt	Physical features	Cultural aspects
Stereotype theme characterisations					
Business minded (2)	Not friendly, not interested in learning how to communicate, not nice	Just interested in making money even at the expense of everyone else	Corrupt and creative	Flat butt, pale, black hair, wide small eyes	Culture
Business loving	Very unfriendly people	They have come to S.A. just to make money	Fake things	Small private parts	Dragons
Selling products	Quiet	Exploit local people	Intelligence		
	Conservative	Love money			
		Leeches			

Notes: The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 14.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Chinese'

Stereotype theme names		
Intelligent	Industrious	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Intelligence	More focus	Quite
Clever	Competitive	Focus more on technology

Table E. 15.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Racial groups'

Stereotype theme names				
Racialised preferences	Intra-racial solidarity	Physical features	Various racial groups	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations				
Language	Stick to your own race	Hair colour	Black/White/Indian/Coloured/foreigner	People use race as explanation for everything
Distinct	Solidarity, hatred (racism)	Hair type	All of them	
Culture	Divided, wary and bias	Hair		
Specific music trend		Same racial characteristics		

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 16.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Racial groups'

Stereotype theme names			
Various racial groups	Physical features	Cultural aspects	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations			
Black/White/Indian/Coloured/foreigner	Likeness in skin colour	Culture	One race
Black, White, Indian, Coloured	Hair type	Language	
Belong to the mentioned ethnic groups	Hair behaviour		

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 17.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Africans'

Stereotype theme names				
Dangerous	Indigenous spirituality	African descent	Poor	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations				
Barbaric	Religious	Born in Africa	Poor (2)	They tend to hold on too much to the past when they struggled during Apartheid
Dangerous	Burning Impepho	Native		Most times they are friendly, open to others
Crime				Conservative

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 18.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Africans'

Stereotype theme names					
Hospitable	Noisy	Disadvantaged	African descent	Inconsiderate & divisive	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations					
Friendly	Very noisy	Most African people struggle to come to campus as they come from disadvantaged families	Born in Africa	Inconsiderate at times, late comers	Educated
Socialise	Loud	Carrying a load, and hunger	They prefer to speak their own language - IsiZulu	Big headed and competitive	Socialists
Ubuntu				Jealousy, partial racism	
They are friendly if one speaks to them				Barbaric	
				Corruption	
				Players	
				Lazy, drinkers	

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 19.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Asians'

Stereotype theme names		
Business oriented	Asian descent	No theme
	Stereotype theme characterisations	
Entrepreneurial, shrewd with money and in business, very good negotiators	Of Asian descent	Don't know really
Business oriented	Born in Asia	
Sellers		
Shy, money driven		
Hard working		
Intelligent		

Table E. 20.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Asians'

Stereotype theme names	
Intelligent	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Intelligent	Born in Africa
Academic favour	Hard workers
	Conservative
	Anarchy and women

Table E. 21.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Foreigners'

Stereotype theme names	
Hard working	**No theme**
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Hard workers	Colour and business minded
Hard working	Do not hold citizenship
Observant	Minority and vulnerable
Assertive	Chinese
	Drugs

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 22.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Foreigners'

Stereotype theme names						
Hard working	Intelligent	Insular group	Treated as outcasts	Economic advantage	Snobbish	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations						
Hard working (2)	Intelligent but lazy	Foreign students tend to group together	Outcasts in the eyes of S.A. nationals	Moderately advantaged socio economically	Think South Africans are stupid	Encouraged by all to join in. Seen as a way to escape from Africa, even if it's just by meeting them
Hard workers (2)	Intelligent	Exclusive	Not so confident because they feel they don't belong	Rich	Legalistic, elite	Corruption, like bad business
	Observant	Are communal	Outcasts	Capitalists	Individualistic	Skin colour
						Culture
						Atheists

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels. The numbers in brackets indicate the amount of times a particular characterisation was used within a stereotype theme.

Table E. 23.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Religious groups'

Stereotype theme names			
Various religious groups	Over-zealous & uncritical	Religious practices	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations			
Christians/Muslims/eastern/African/new age/atheist	Short-sighted, unobservant, non-critical, acceptant, make good employees	Believe in a higher power	Sacred, church
Generally Christian and other Indian religious groups	Zealous	People who believe in different gods and way of life	Similarities in God of choice
White church goers	Extremists		Loving, enlightening

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 24.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Religious groups'

Stereotype theme names		
Religious practices	Peaceful	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Are very religious, believe in a supreme being and follow the principles of their faith	Calm	Corrupt
Worship the same God	Pious	Zealous
Go to church, are in prayer groups etc…		
Church		

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 25.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Zulu'

Stereotype theme names			
Arrogant	Violent	Traditional	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations			
Superiority	Violent	Traditional	Humble nation
Arrogant men	Fighting	Tribal	Lazy
Stubborn			Jealousy

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 26.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Zulu'

Stereotype theme names		
Nearsighted & divided	Stubborn	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Less focused on studies and more into parties	Stubborn	Humble
Are drunken masters and sometimes are violent	Big headed	Political
Party/wear		Struggling
Tribalistic		
Ignorant		

Notes: The stereotype themes in colour were used at both the national and campus levels.

Table E. 27.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Christians'

Stereotype theme names	
Conservative	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Traditional	Goes to SCF
Conservative	Different beliefs
Discipline	Judgemental
Humility	Believe in God and Jesus Christ

Table E. 28.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Christians'

Stereotype theme names			
Congruous lifestyle	Close-knit group	Friendly	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations			
They try to live holy lives	Always try to associate themselves with one another	Friendly	Jesus freaks
Focus	They compare their churches	Evangelistic and cool	
	Many churches		

Table E. 29.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Xhosa'

Stereotype theme names
No theme
Stereotype characterisations
Intelligent but humble
Subservient
Adjusting
Traditional
Noise
Greedy

Table E. 30.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Xhosa'

Stereotype theme names		
Brash people	Partying lifestyle	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
More focused and said to claim to be more clever than others	Partying	Tolerant
Rude	Are drunken masters and sometimes are violent	Introvert
Outspoken		

Table E. 31.

National Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Homosexuals'

Stereotype theme names	
Same-sex attraction	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Sexually attracted to members of the same sex as them as displaying feminine traits when they are male and masculine when they are female	Happy that they can openly be who they are
Behave like women, other behave like a man	Vulnerable to attacks
Alternate	Promiscuity
	Arrogant
	Introverts

Table E. 32.

Campus Level Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Group Category 'Homosexuals'

Stereotype theme names		
Excessive disposition	Well dressed	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Over the top	Stylish	Are sexually attracted to members of the same sex as them
Loud, spontaneous, extravagant	Dress code (2)	
In need of attention		

Appendix F: National and campus level exclusive stereotype themes

Table F.1.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the National Level Exclusive Group Category 'Middle class'

Stereotype theme names						
Middle income	Comfortable lifestyle	Good quality education	Humble & content	Advantaged	Hard working	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations						
Normal people, not wealthy, not poor, able to make ends meet and provide for their families	Are able to afford the basic things in life	Largely well educated	Down to earth	More luxurious and opportunities	Hard workers (2)	Confused of identity
Average, can be poor-middle or rich-middle, have most things they want but not all	Can just afford to live	Education	Relaxed	Status orientated		
Middle income	Afford life	Possibly, elitist and well educated	Happier	Management		
Average economically	Comfortable	Basic education	Responsible			
	Live in townships		Friendly			
	Secure employment					

Table F. 2.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the National Level Exclusive Group Category 'Afrikaners'

Stereotype theme names					
Discriminatory	Racists	Associated with rugby	Enjoy partying	Associated with farming	Conservative
Stereotype theme characterisations					
Sometimes they are not very open minded	Racist (3)	Rugby (2)	Can party hard	Farmers	Family values are important
Discriminatory		Sports	Loud, love braais	Farms	They are very religious
Intolerant			Sokkie		
Bitter					
Ruthless					
Abusive					

Table F. 3.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the National Level Exclusive Group Category 'Educated'

Stereotype theme names			
Various education levels	Advantaged	Arrogant	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations			
Minimal/Primary school/Secondary school/Tertiary/Postgraduate	Those who are educated have better career prospects	Pompous	Black and white
Tertiary education	Successful	Ego	
Have degrees and higher			

Table F. 4.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the National Level Exclusive Group Category 'Sotho'

Stereotype theme names
No theme
Stereotype characterisations
Intelligent but humble
Zulu and Xhosa speaking
Slim bodies
Generous
Traditional

Table F. 5.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the National Level Exclusive Group Category 'Racists'

Stereotype theme names		
Older and younger racists	Negative characteristics	Disassociate with other races
Stereotype theme characterisations		
The old people who were alive and well during Apartheid so now they're racist. They don't like anyone in their family to become involved with races they deem to be lower than them	Vain, unsympathetic, cold, cruel, harsh, uncaring, unkind	Don't care about someone else from other races
Young people, about 21+ who still have a hierarchy of race. Although they will be friends with them, they would not necessarily date them	Hate	Don't want to associate with other races
	Evil	
	Stupid (2)	

Table F. 6.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Serious students'

Stereotype theme names		
Unwavering in studying	Devoted to their studies	Excel academically
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Always studying and striving to do their best	Take their work seriously	Do very well academically
More than usual studying	Conscientious	Excel academically
Always studying	Motivated and dedicated	Smart
Study hard	Always on task	
Attend most, if not all their lectures	Work hard for their marks	
Research	Never smile	
	Funding their own studies by student loans and want to pass	
	Good basic education, dedicated to work and good work ethic	

Table F. 7.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Party animals'

Stereotype theme names		
Cosmopolitan people	Drinkers	Excessive people
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Seem to attend every party/social event advertised	Drinking	Over-zealous
Go to the latest parties, socialites and hang out with well known people	Alcohol	Wild
They always looking for fun no matter how it will degrade their look		
Always waiting for the next party		
Thinks university life is about partying		
Love partying		

Table F. 8.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Zimbabweans'

Stereotype theme names		
Educated	Intelligent	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Masters of education, funny very helpful in school work	Very open minded, intelligent people. Well spoken	They talk loudly and like to be all over the place
Serious about studies	Very intelligent	The females are snobbish
		Dark skin

Table F. 9.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Fashionistas'

Stereotype theme names	
Well dressed	Superficial people
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Always well dressed according to the latest trends	Airheads, shallow
To focused on looks and keeping up with fashion	Gold diggers
Always wearing the latest trends	

Table F. 10.

Stereotype Themes and Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Muslims'

Stereotype theme names		
Insular group	Cultural aspects	No theme
Stereotype theme characterisations		
Most Muslims on campus are of Indian origin but they prefer not to mix with other Indians (Christians and Hindu people). They very strict with regards the company they keep. They are very narrow-minded and unfriendly	Their traditional clothes	Nothing
They sit together and segregate themselves from other people	Hubbly bubbly	
Racists who does not associate themselves with other people		
Insular, look for partners among each other		
Isolated from many		

Table F. 11.

Stereotype Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Nigerians'

Stereotype theme names
No theme
Stereotype characterisations
Excelling on their modules but are the most cheaters (guys)
Extraordinary, funny, social
Broken English
Just want girls
Criminal

Table F. 12.

Stereotype Characterisations for the Campus Level Exclusive Group Category 'Nerds'

Stereotype theme names	
Conscientious students	Stale & pitiful
Stereotype theme characterisations	
Serious types, always in touch with their books, spend almost every day at the library	Boring and not pleasant to be around them
Always in the library doing serious work	Shame
Diligent students, know about computers	
Academic excellence	