THE PRINCETON TRILOGY REVISITED IN SOUTH AFRICA: DESCRIBING AND EXAMINING CHANGES IN THE CONTENT OF RACIAL STEREOTYPES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

By

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated changes in the content and favourability of South African racial stereotypes over the past fifty years, with van den Berghe's (1962) study providing baseline data. The scope of the current investigation was expanded to include investigations of stereotype uniformity, differences between personal and cultural stereotypes, and the degree to which racial subtypes overlap with global racial categories.

The findings reflected an interesting change in the descriptive language used by the respondent groups between the two studies. At the same time, many trends observed in the van den Berghe (1962) study have persisted today. Stereotypes appear to be at least as (if not more) negative now than in 1962, with the exception of 'English whites' and 'city blacks', which were described more favourably in the present study.

A significant difference between cultural and personal stereotypes was found for the global racial categories (black, white, Indian, coloured), but not for the two subtype groups (English and Afrikaans white; city and rural black)**.** Thus there was only partial evidence to support Devine and Elliot's (1995) hypothesis, which proposes that cultural stereotypes may remain relatively stable over time while personal stereotypes may undergo revision.

The rural black subtype was most evidently reflected in the global black category, whereas the white global category seemed to be more of an aggregate of the English and Afrikaans white subtypes.

Through investigating stereotypes using various methods outlined in this thesis, it was possible to assess shifts in people's perceptions in response to sociopolitical change in South Africa over the past 16 years.

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Ideas expressed and conclusions drawn from the research are those of the author and are not necessarily attributable to the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to investigate changes in the content of racial stereotypes in South Africa over the past fifty years, from the days of deep Apartheid to today, 16 years after South Africa's first democratic election. Replicating van den Berghe's (1962) study with a similar cohort, and using his data as a baseline for comparison, we assessed changes in the content and favourability of South African racial stereotypes. Furthermore, this study investigated the uniformity of the elicited stereotypes, the difference between personal and cultural stereotypes, and the degree to which racial subtypes overlap with their corresponding global racial categories.

Social and psychological understandings of stereotyping have been strongly influenced by the conceptual work of Lippmann (1922), who defined stereotypes as culturally determined 'pictures in the head'. Since then there has been a dual view of stereotypes as both personal and cultural phenomena - as both "a cause and a consequence of prejudice" (Allport, 1954; Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998, p. 407). Stereotypes are therefore good indices of the way in which social change impacts on individual perceptions.

During the Gulf war, Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGairty and Hayes (1992) conducted a two part study investigating whether Australian students' stereotypes of Americans varied in response to the conflict. The subjects were asked to describe Americans before the war and then again after, and it was found that traits assigned to Americans were considerably more negative after the conflict than before.

Bar-Tal and Labin (2001) examined the effect of a terrorist attack on the stereotypes held by Israeli adolescents toward groups relevant to this event (Palestinians, the nationality of the extremists who carried out the attacks; Jordanians, who have peaceful relations with the Israelis; and Arabs in general). The questionnaires were administered to the same group of adolescents three times: First, during a relatively peaceful time in Israeli-Palestinian relations; second, on the day following two terrorist attacks, and third, three months after the attacks. Following the terrorist attacks stereotypes of all three target groups had become more negative, and three months later they had changed further to become even more negative.

These studies demonstrate the responsiveness of stereotypes to sociopolitical change; thus serving as an indication of the quality of intergroup relations at a given time. The content of stereotypes is influenced by the nature of relations between groups, and the nature of these social relations is affected by factors and events that have the potential to both negatively or positively influence these relations (Bar-Tal & Labin, 2001).

In addition to reflecting social group relations, stereotypes can be instrumental in determining them. Allport (1954) proposed that stereotypes function as a screening tool for ease of social categorization, and as a "justificatory device for the categorical acceptance or rejection of a group" (Allport, 1954, p. 192). Jost and Banaji (2004, in Jost & Hamilton, 2005) propose three ways in which stereotyping serves a justificatory end: Ego-, group-, and system-justification. Stereotypes serve an ego-justificatory function when individuals stereotype others as a means of feeling better about themselves. Allport espoused this view when he said, "stereotypes serve as a projection screen for our personal conflict" (Allport, 1954, p. 200; also cited in Jost & Hamilton, 2005). The group-justificatory function of stereotypes is consistent with Social Identity Theory, and focuses on group level comparison. Through stereotyping, social groups are able to rationalise their attitudes and behaviour towards out-groups, while bolstering in-group cohesiveness, thus creating in-group favouritism through social comparison. Finally, the system-justification function of stereotypes operates when stereotypes serve to legitimate and normalize the current sociopolitical status quo, even making it seem inevitable and just. Subjugated groups may come to internalize this inequality and begin to develop a sense of inferiority. These disadvantaged groups may even come to hold more favourable attitudes toward other more advantaged groups than their own group (Jost & Hamilton, 2005).

Stereotypes serve both rationalizing and justifying functions in society and Allport argues, "the rationalizing and justifying function of a stereotype exceeds its function as a reflector of group attributes" (Allport, 1954, p. 196). Stereotypes are more than static descriptions. Stereotype content is a reflection of the nature of intergroup relations. The study of intergroup stereotypes thus allows researchers to assess the extent to which macro-level changes are reflected in individual attitudes; tracking

changes in stereotype content over time therefore reflects changes in group relations over time (Devine & Elliot, 1995). South Africa's social and political climate has changed dramatically since the end of Apartheid. Educational institutions, government, and businesses have become integrated, kicking up socioeconomic and sociopolitical dust clouds, which 16 years on, have still not completely settled. Analyzing stereotype change can therefore act as a 'barometer' with which we can test the degree to which this political 'climate change' has affected racial group relations.

CHAPTER 2: DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES OF STEREOTYPE CONTENT

2.1 INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

Katz and Braly's (1933) adjective checklist has been the classic method for assessing the content of stereotypes. In their study, 100 Princeton undergraduate students were asked to select traits from a list previously constructed from free-response data, which they considered to be typical of each of ten ethnic groups (Germans, Italians, Negroes, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks). The subjects were invited to add traits if they found the list to be inadequate. They were then asked to indicate the five traits that they thought to be most typical of each group. The adjectives most frequently assigned to each target group were considered to constitute the primary content of the stereotype of that group.

Katz and Braly (1933) also calculated stereotype uniformity, which refers to the degree of consensus between subjects regarding the content of stereotypes (i.e. the degree of agreement among the sample on assignment of traits to a particular group). Stereotype uniformity was determined by calculating the lowest number of traits necessary to include half of all the possible trait allocations. The more uniform the stereotype, the less variation in trait ascriptions (i.e. the fewer traits were used to describe the stereotype). Hence, the lower the score, the more uniform the stereotype. These scores revealed remarkably high levels of consensus among the sample, even for the target groups with whom the sample (i.e. white male American university students) would have had very little actual contact with in daily life (e.g. Turks, Germans, etc). Katz and Braly's study revealed a remarkable "readiness [by the sample] to make generalizations" about these ethnic groups. This seminal study was replicated by Gilbert (1951), and again by Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969). Collectively, these studies are known as the "Princeton Trilogy" as they tracked changes in stereotype content over three generations of Princeton students.

Gilbert (1951), using a comparable sample of Princeton students (n = 333), examined the extent to which stereotypes had changed over time using Katz and Braly (1933) as a baseline. The results indicated that stereotypes had remained relatively stable over the years. The most frequently checked traits in 1933 were generally most frequently checked in 1950. However a *smaller proportion* of students endorsed the traits,

suggesting more of a resistance to stereotyping than 18 years previously. Gilbert used the same method as Katz and Braly (1933) for computing stereotype uniformity, and found that stereotype uniformity had decreased considerably for all stereotypes since 1933. Gilbert concluded that stereotypes were noticeably 'fading'. Although stereotypes had not changed in content to a great extent over the years, they had become markedly less uniform. Gilbert attributed his findings to a combination of three factors: a decrease in the portrayal of racial caricatures (stereotypes) in the media, the growing influence of the social sciences in universities resulting in more critical reflection on prejudice and racism, and the changing nature of the university student population (i.e. becoming more diverse in terms of culture, gender and socioeconomic status).

Using a third generation of Princeton students (n = 150), Karlins et al. (1969) investigated whether stereotypes had continued to 'fade' in this population. They went a step further than the previous two studies and obtained favourability estimates of the traits ascribed to the target races. In doing so, they were able to not only investigate changes in stereotype content and uniformity (as Gilbert has done), but changes in the favourability of stereotypes, and the relationship between favourability and uniformity. The procedure was repeated as in the previous two studies. After completing the trait-checking task, students were then requested to rate the favourableness of each trait on the checklist using pluses for favourable traits (++ very favourable; + favourable), zero for neutral traits, and minuses for unfavourable traits (- unfavourable, -- very unfavourable). The results showed that many of the traits used previously to describe the target groups had been checked less frequently by the sample. However, these had been replaced by other, frequently checked, traits. In terms of stereotype favourability, it was found that stereotypes had become neither more positive nor more negative. Even though stereotype content had changed (in that the words used to describe the target groups were different), the favourability of the stereotypes had remained relatively stable. The uniformity of these stereotypes had noticeably increased however, returning to similar high levels of consensus as those in Katz and Braly's (1933) study.

There have since been two studies extending the Princeton trilogy: Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) and Madon et al. (2001). The former study did not use Princeton

students however, but a similar sample from Colgate University. The study indicated that descriptions of black Americans had continued to become more favourable, whereas whites' self stereotypes had become less favourable, and it seemed that black and white stereotype descriptions were becoming less differentiated over time (the trait ascriptions ascribed to each group were becoming less different).

Madon et al. (2001) found that almost all of the stereotypes had changed in content and become more favourable, but many had also increased in uniformity. These findings were consistent with Karlins et al.'s observation that uniformity is not necessarily negatively correlated with stereotype favourability. Like negative stereotypes, even favourable stereotypes can be highly uniform.

These studies demonstrate stereotypes' responsiveness to social change; that the content of stereotypes is both the result of cognitive processes on an individual level, as well as public attitudes formed on a societal level, which is responsive to social events and interactions between groups. A good example of the historical change in stereotypes is clearly evidenced by the change in the Japanese stereotype over time in these studies. In Katz and Braly's (1933) study, the Japanese were described as "industrious", "intelligent", and "progressive". At this time, Japan was experiencing a huge growth in industry. In Gilbert's (1951) study, the Japanese stereotype had changed noticeably, becoming considerably more negative. The positive traits mentioned above, were replaced with adjectives such as "imitative", "sly", "extremely nationalistic", and "treacherous"; a clear reflection of American post WWII attitudes. Less than two decades later in Karlins et al.'s (1969) study, this negative description gave way once again to a more favourable one, characterized by traits such as "industrious", "ambitious", "efficient" and "intelligent". The content of this stereotype was clearly responsive to the social, economic and political atmosphere of the times in which it was investigated.

From the Princeton trilogy studies, it was concluded that race stereotypes had showed a 'fading' over the three decades. It was observed that there was a reduced incidence of negative stereotypes attributed to 'Negroes', as well as less consensus about all the investigated stereotypes, especially for the less favourable ones. This indicates that stereotype content is responsive to changes in the nature of intergroup relations.

2.1.1 Critique of the Princeton Trilogy

The Princeton trilogy studies have certainly shaped the field of stereotype content research. However, in retrospect, we are able to identify a number of methodological flaws in these studies.

2.1.1.1 Ethnocentrism

When Katz and Braly conducted their study in the 1930s, the Princeton student population was predominantly white middle to upper class males. By 1969 when Karlins et al. conducted the third installment of the Princeton studies, the student population had grown to be more diverse including more women and other races, but the majority of the sample were still white males. The Princeton trilogy was essentially an investigation of changes in stereotype content as reported by white middle class men. Samples therefore need to be more diverse to gain a wider perspective of how stereotypes have changed. Ideally, researchers need to ensure more inclusive samples. In the present study, our sample included racial groups reflective of the country's demographics.

2.1.1.2 Ambiguity of Instructions: Personal Beliefs versus Cultural Stereotypes

The Princeton trilogy concluded that overall, stereotypes had become more favourable over time. However, the questionnaire administered to the students in all three studies requested they "read through the list of words… and select those which seem *to you* [emphasis added] most typical of [target group]". This ambiguous request seems to be asking the students to select traits that they *personally* hold to be true of various racial groups, rather than simply their knowledge of the stereotypes, which was the aim of these studies (Devine, 1989).

According to Devine and Elliot (1995) the Princeton studies did not make it clear to respondents whether they were to list their knowledge of the stereotype or their personal beliefs. Devine (1989) argues, "that stereotypes and personal beliefs are conceptually distinct cognitive structures" (p. 5), and although these structures may have some overlapping components, each represents a distinct part of one's knowledge of a particular group. Cultural stereotypes are the beliefs that a collective of people hold about an out-group, whereas personal beliefs are stereotypical

associations that an individual personally endorses. People can be aware of the cultural stereotype of a certain group without personally believing it to be true of that group. Devine (1989) demonstrated that both high and low prejudiced individuals have equally strong "stereotype activation" (p. 14). Both have knowledge of culturally defined stereotypes regardless of whether their personal beliefs are congruent with the cultural stereotype or not. However, interestingly, low prejudiced individuals, even under conditions of anonymity, censored their automatically activated cultural stereotypes, to express their own non-prejudiced personal beliefs.
Devine (1989) found that both high and low prejudiced individuals are equally knowledgeable of the cultural stereotype of blacks; indicating that regardless of the sample's personal beliefs toward blacks (i.e. prejudiced or not), they were nonetheless aware of what society in general thinks. Devine (1989) suggests that cultural stereotypes can remain relatively stable over the years (in favourability and uniformity, even though their content might change somewhat), whereas personal beliefs may change and undergo revision over the years in relation to social change.

The Princeton studies alluded to the distinction between cultural stereotypes and personal beliefs (defined as "public" and "private attitudes" in Katz & Braly, 1933; "Personal versus social stereotypes" in Karlins et al., 1969), however the questionnaire used in these studies did not clearly specify whether the respondents were required to state their *private* opinions, or knowledge of the *public* attitudes towards the various target races. In fairness to Karlins et al. (1969), they did acknowledge the shortcomings of not distinguishing between personal and cultural stereotypes in their study. However, for purposes of replicability, it was necessary not to alter the methodology used by the previous two Princeton studies.

Devine and Elliot (1995) argue that the Princeton trilogy was actually a measure of changes in respondents' private beliefs about target ethnic groups, rather than knowledge of public or cultural stereotypes as previously claimed. Due to the ambiguity of the questionnaires' instructions, it is not certain whether respondents reported their knowledge of cultural stereotypes, or their personal beliefs. Hence the Princeton trilogy can only conclude that *personal beliefs* about certain racial groups have become more favourable over time. This finding is no surprise, considering that the overt expression of prejudice became increasingly less socially acceptable over

the three generations of studies. As mentioned above, Devine (1989) suggests that cultural stereotypes can remain relatively stable over time, while personal beliefs may change in relation to social change. Therefore, it is possible that the stereotypes investigated in the Princeton studies had not faded after all as had been concluded.

As mentioned above, the Princeton trilogy concluded that stereotypes had become more favourable over time, particularly the 'Negro' stereotype. However, since it has subsequently been argued that that these studies elicited personal stereotypes more than cultural stereotypes, one might conclude instead that although personal beliefs regarding black Americans may have become more favourable, it does not necessarily mean that the cultural stereotype has changed. As societal norms change regarding prejudice and discrimination so do stereotypes. As stereotypes change, so do norms about the social acceptability of prejudice. Each influences the other.

It is therefore important in stereotype research for researchers to distinguish clearly in their questionnaires whether they are interested in cultural stereotypes (that may or may not reflect one's own beliefs) or subjects' personally endorsed stereotypes. In the present study, we clearly distinguished between personal and cultural stereotypes in our questionnaire and each were measured in a between-subjects design (see chapter 3 for research design).

2.1.1.3 The 84-Trait Checklist

Another critique of the Princeton trilogy concerns the use of Katz and Braly's original trait checklist across all three studies. The list consisted of 84 traits that Katz and Braly derived from free response data. In the interests of comparability, follow up research tended to use the same trait lists. Devine and Elliot (1995) argue, however, that this list of traits may be out of date, and that the content of cultural stereotypes may have changed over time rather than faded. In fact, in their own study, Devine and Elliot (1995) found that 6 of the 10 traits most often attributed to blacks – including the trait of violence – were not even included in the original adjective trait list. Participants in each of the Princeton trilogy studies were invited to add traits to the list if they found it to be inadequate, but very few did. Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965) explain that this is due to the fact that "the constraints of a provided list are very strong" (p. 14). Hence it is possible that while the *content* of stereotypes may change

over time as a result of changes in colloquial language for example, the *valence* of these stereotypes may remain the same; thus the content of cultural stereotypes may simply have changed rather than faded. Karlins et al. (1969), in the concluding remarks of their paper, even acknowledged the possible inadequacy of the 84-trait checklist and suggested further replications use updated lists. Devine and Elliot (1995) warn that the assessment of cultural stereotypes should begin with free-response assessment. Fortunately van den Berghe (1962), the baseline study for the present study, favoured a free-response method over using a trait checklist thus the present study was able to do so as well.

2.1.1.4 Measures

Early studies of stereotype content quantified stereotyping in the crudest manner, either by simply adding the number of stereotypes attributed to a group, or computing the level of agreement with which respondents attributed traits to a group (i.e. stereotype uniformity). Karlins et al. (1969) attempted to measure the favourability of the traits elicited for all stereotypes in their study. As mentioned above, their method involved asking students who had participated in the traits assignment study to rate the traits they had assigned to each group on a five-point favourability scale. However there are potential problems with using a within-subjects design here. Subjects may have adjusted their favourability scores based on how favourable they perceived the target groups to be, or may have removed or added words after the trait assignment task in order to adjust the overall favourability of the target groups.

Rothbart and Park (1986) conducted groundbreaking work by computing the favourability of each of the stereotypes on the adjective checklist. *Independent* raters were asked to rate the favourability of each of the traits comprising the stereotypes. By following this procedure Devine and Elliot (1995) were able to assess change in the favourability of racial stereotypes over time, and they found, contrary to early conclusions, that cultural race stereotypes were not fading in the US.

Despite the methodological flaws discussed above, the Princeton trilogy was a pioneering set of studies in the field of stereotype research. These studies were the first attempt at empirically assessing stereotypes over time using comparable samples and identical research methods.

2.2 SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCH

Despite the obvious relevance of using this methodology (with abovementioned refinements) in tracking social psychological change in a South African context, no such work has previously been done. There exists some Apartheid-era research on the content of racial stereotypes in South Africa (discussed below); however this research has been largely incomparable in terms of cohort and methodology, making it difficult to conduct any comparison of stereotype content over time.

MacCrone (1937) investigated the content of South African group stereotypes with a sample of first year Witwatersrand university students and a group of African teachers (n = 558). The sample was divided into four ethnic groups: English-speaking South Africans (n = 230), Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (n = 102), Jews (n = 166), and Africans (n = 60). He formulated a trait checklist based on the returns of a mixed group of subjects (n = 20) who had been asked to write down all the qualities they thought were associated with individuals belonging to different groups: English-speaking South Africans, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Jews, Natives, Cape coloureds, and Indians. The final list comprised the most-mentioned adjectives, which was a reduced list of approximately 40 traits. A new group of subjects were then asked to read through the list and "check those qualities or characteristics which are usually associated in your mind with the individuals belonging to the group or race that appears at the top of the list" (p. 698). Stereotypes that appear below (table 1) were checked by more than half of the respondents.

English S. African Respondents (*n = 230)*		**Afrikaans S. African Respondents (*n = 102)***		**African Teacher Respondents (*n = 60)***	
Afrikaans	**Native**	**English**	**Native**	**English**	**Afrikaans**
Hospitable	Superstitious	Very fond of sport	Superstitious	Very fond of sport	Quarrelsome
Very Religious	Good natured	Intelligent	Noisy	Intelligent	Stubborn
Strong family feeling	Noisy	Feeling of superiority	Dirty	Thrifty	Brutal
Politically minded	Imitative	Straightforward	Unreliable	Industrious	Feeling of superiority
Superstitious	Fond of gambling	Good-natured	Imitative	Law-abiding	Noisy
Stubborn	Excitable	Sense of humour	Quarrelsome	Fair-minded	Domineering
Good-natured	Dirty	Domineering	Brutal	Energetic	Religious
Law-abiding	Sense of humour	Industrious	Dishonest	Charitable	
Very fond of sport	Hospitable	Politically-minded	Stupid	Strong family-feeling	
Charitable	Unreliable	Law-abiding	Treacherous	Good-natured	
	Very fond of sport	Energetic	Fond of gambling	Sense of humour	
		Charitable		Politically-minded	
		Fair-minded			
		Strong family feeling			

Table 1. Most frequently mentioned traits for Afrikaans, Native, and English groups by English, Afrikaans, and African respondents (*n* = 558) (MacCrone, 1946)

Note: Data for Jews are not displayed, as this racial category was not considered in the present study, and therefore not relevant here for comparison.

English-speaking South Africans gave more favourable descriptions of 'Natives' than Afrikaans-speaking South Africans did. English-speaking South Africans gave more favourable descriptions of Afrikaners than the African teachers did. Black South Africans' descriptions of Afrikaners were decidedly unfavourable. This is contrasted with their description of English-speaking South Africans, which was quite favourable indeed. It must be noted here that the descriptive research outlined here and below operationalised favourability in subjective terms. Descriptions of stereotypes' relative favourability were based simply on researchers' subjective judgments of the valence of the traits used to describe them. Despite this crude methodology, MacCrone's data reveals a kind of mutual dislike between white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and black South Africans at this time. English South Africans on the other hand, appeared to be relatively unscathed by negative stereotyping, nor did they seem to hold any particularly negative stereotypes about the other ethnic groups (MacCrone, 1937; 1946).

Van den Berghe's (1962) study used a free-response method (as opposed to the classic trait checklist method) to elicit stereotypical attributes associated with seven South African groups: coloured, Indian, Jewish, English-speaking whites, Afrikaans-speaking whites, city Africans, and tribal Africans. MacCrone (1937) divided the white population into English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites, but simply used the global category 'Native' for the black population. However, as can be seen below, in van den Berghe's (1962) study, the black population was divided into 'city Africans' and 'tribal Africans' as well as the English/Afrikaans white sub grouping. A mixed sample of students (125 white, 99 black, 139 Indian, and 11 coloured) in KwaZulu-Natal were asked to list "all the traits, both positive and negative, that came to mind" about each of the 7 groups. Stereotypes that appear below (table 2) were checked more than ten times by the respondents:

Respondent	Target Race					
	City Africans	**Tribal Africans**	**English**	**Afrikaners**	**Coloureds**	**Indians**
Black (n=99)	Progressive	Backward	Hypocritical	Oppressive	Colour-conscious	Good-in-business
	Violent	Subservient	Cunning	Prejudiced	Alcoholic	Dishonest
	Educated	Hospitable	Educated	Frank	Gay, happy	Hardworking
	Politically-conscious		Tolerant	Cruel		Exploitative
				Uncultured		
				Snobbish		
White (n=125)	Insolent	Happy	Snobbish	Intolerant	Musical	Dishonest
	Violent	Backward	Tolerant	Hospitable	Gay, happy	Dirty
	Hardworking	Simple	Apathetic	Provincial	Alcoholic	Intelligent
	Progressive	Cruel	Cultured	Fanatical	Hardworking	Good-in-business
	Uncivilised	Dirty	Jingoistic	Friendly		Hardworking
	Lazy	Respectful	Intolerant	Patriotic		Over-reproducing
	Dishonest	Peaceful		Religious		Educated
	Immoral	Hardworking		Uncultured		Religious
	Easily-led	Honest		Conservative		Helpful
		Unspoiled				
Indian (n=139)	Hardworking	Backward	Kind	Oppressive	Colour-conscious	Hardworking
	Violent	Hardworking	Hypocritical	Intolerant	Alcoholic	Good-in-business
	Educated	Subservient	Tolerant	Haughty	Quarrelsome	Religious
	Uncultured	Traditional	Snobbish	Frank	Gay, happy	Selfish
	Impolite	Peaceful	Intolerant	Uncultured	Sociable	Conservative
	Progressive	Violent	Domineering	Selfish	Good craftsmen	Politically-conscious
	Politically-conscious		Cultured	Good	Hardworking	Progressive
			Apathetic		Apathetic	Kind
			Fair, just		Uncultured	Money-conscious
					Hedonistic	Cultured
					Friendly	Poor
					Unmannered	Hospitable

Table 2. Most frequently mentioned traits given by black, white and Indian respondents (van den Berghe, 1962)

Van den Berghe's study showed that antithetical traits were often assigned to the same target group by the same respondent group. For example, white respondents described city Africans as both "hardworking" and "lazy" and Indian respondents described English whites as both "intolerant" and "tolerant". Van den Berghe interpreted this as an indication of the contradictory and illogical nature of stereotypes.

Black and Indian respondents tended to dichotomize between the overt 'oppressiveness' of the Afrikaner and the more subtle 'snobbishness' of the English. White respondents dichotomized between the "happy", "simple" tribal African, and the "insolent", "rowdy" and "dishonest" city African. For black and Indian respondents, Afrikaners were "the object of the strongest prejudice" (van den Berghe, 1962, p. 58). Van den Berghe speculated that this was due to the identification of white Afrikaners with all that the Apartheid regime represented (van den Berghe, 1962). Again, we see that English South Africans were generally exempt from these associations.

Brett's (1963) qualitative study focused exclusively on (black) African attitudes. The sample consisted of black middle class men sampled from various occupational groups (n = 150: 9 professionals, 7 ministers, 27 teachers, 42 clerks, 16 South African university students, 24 students from Pius College, Basutoland, and 25 school pupils). Although Brett did not ask for discrete descriptions of whites as part of the study, a number of descriptions arose in the interviews conducted with individual sample members. Subjects were asked, "How do you feel about Europeans and their relations with Africans?" 17% of the participants described Europeans as "hypocritical". 43% expressed the belief that the majority of Europeans are prejudiced toward Africans. Other traits such as "hostile", "savage", "selfish", "blind to the truth" (ignorant), "dominant", and "two-faced" emerged in the interviews. Overall, Brett (1963) found that black Africans displayed "a sharp rejection of the [white] Afrikaans-speaking group, which they blamed for the worst excesses of their … position" (p. 77). This trend was evident in both MacCrone (1946) and van den Berghe's (1962) data.

Edelstein (1972) also investigated the attitudes of 'young Africans' using a sample of Grade 12 students from Soweto. Subjects (n = 200) were presented with a list of

adjectives and asked to choose those that described each ethnic group. The black population was divided into its various tribal counterparts (i.e. Zulus, Swazis, Xhosas, Vendas, Twanas, Shangaans, Pedis, S.Sothos). All tribal categories were characterized as "hardworking" and "intelligent" (36-60%). Zulus' third highest rating was "cruel" (22%); Xhosas were labeled "progressive", Swazis, Vendas, Tswanas and Shangaans, "peace-loving", and Pedis and S.Sothos "progressive". Indians, Afrikaners, Jews, coloureds, and English were also included. The results for the latter categories follow in table 3 below (data for Jews are not presented here). Like the studies discussed above, in this study, Afrikaners were also described relatively unfavourably by the black respondents compared to the other target races.

Indians	**%**	**Afrikaners**	**%**	**Coloureds**	**%**	**S.A. English**	**%**
Hardworking	60	Cruel	55	Peace-loving	27	Intelligent	75
Progressive	48	Hardworking	46	Backward	26	Progressive	54
Intelligent	41	Domineering	45	Conceited	23	Hardworking	51
Peace-loving	32	Progressive	25	Generous	21	Peace-loving	40
		Intelligent	20			Generous	25

Table 3. Most frequently mentioned traits given by black pupils (Edelstein 1972)

2.2.1 Summary

The literature reveals that a fair amount of stereotype research has been carried out in South Africa in the past few decades. However, the samples and methodologies used in these studies have not allowed for much meaningful comparison since there was no attempt at standardization. Despite this, a number of interesting conclusions can be drawn from the studies discussed above.

Afrikaners are clearly on the receiving end of the most prejudice, while English whites appear to receive only mildly negative stereotyping. White English-speaking South Africans tended to give more favourable descriptions of target races compared to white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and black South Africans. They also received comparatively less unfavourable descriptions than other target races. White Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and black South Africans seem to share a mutual dislike, each describing the other relatively unfavourably. This trend is evident in all four studies discussed above.

Van den Berghe's study showed most clearly how often antithetical traits are used to describe a target group by the same respondent group, indicating the often contradictory nature of stereotype descriptions.

By dividing the black population into subgroups, as with the white population, it was also found that blacks were also not generically stereotyped. Afrikaans whites were stereotyped as "oppressive" and "racist" whereas English whites were stereotyped as "snobbish". City blacks were stereotyped as "violent" whereas tribal Africans were stereotyped as "backward" and "subservient". These differences by subgroup indicate the value of not simply using global racial categories in stereotype content research.

2.2.2 Critique of South African Research

The South African research closely resembles the methodologies of the international research being conducted at roughly the same time. Similar methodological critiques can therefore be laid against the South African studies.

Although some studies considered black attitudes exclusively (Brett, 1963; Edelstein, 1972), where mixed samples were used, blacks tended to be highly under-represented. If stereotype content researchers are interested in what various racial groups think of one another, then it is essential to use mixed samples. This is particularly important in a country such as South Africa, where black South Africans constitute the majority of the population.

The South African stereotype content studies tended to be less ambiguous regarding which stereotypes, personal or cultural, they were interested in. MacCrone (1937) asked participants to "check those qualities or characteristics which are usually associated in *your mind* [our emphasis] with the individuals belonging to the group or race that appears at the top of the list". These instructions clearly encourage respondents to report their personal stereotypes. The nature of Brett's (1963) study (i.e. interviews accessing participants' opinions) ensured subjects described their personal stereotypes. However, van den Berghe (1963), like the Princeton trilogy, did not clearly distinguish personal and cultural stereotypes in his study. He asked his subjects rather ambiguously to list all traits "that came to mind" not specifying whether he was interested in their personal opinions or knowledge of cultural

stereotypes. Ambiguous instructions are an unfortunate flaw in van den Berghe's (1962) study, however the fact that a free-response method was used was the reason we chose this study over others to serve as a baseline. South African studies also tended to favour the trait checklist method as used by the Princeton trilogy (e.g. MacCrone, 1937; Edelstein, 1972). As discussed above, this method can be restrictive and Devine and Elliot (1995) advise future researchers against it. It was essential that we replicated the methodology used by our baseline study, but we also wished to improve on the methodologies of the Princeton Trilogy. We were thus very fortunate to discover van den Berghe (1962) used a free-response method in his research.

2.3 SUBORDINATE VERSUS SUPERORDINATE CATEGORIES

Devine and Baker (1991) propose that stereotypes are often conceptualized hierarchically into global or superordinate categories (e.g. black, white), and subtypes or subordinate groups (e.g. rural black, Afrikaans white). The South African research tended to divide white South Africans into Afrikaans and English speakers. Van den Berghe (1962) divided black South Africans into city and tribal Africans. Devine and Baker (1991) argue that racial subtypes have distinct traits and features associated with them that differentiate them from other subtypes as well as the global category. For example, rural blacks might be seen as traditional, whereas urban blacks might be seen as non-traditional or anti-tradition. However, often there will be one subtype that tends to 'overlap' with the global category in the sense that the stereotype contents for each share traits. This suggests that when people are asked to stereotype a global category, they tend to invoke a particular subtype (Devine & Baker, 1991). Subtypes can also serve to 'protect' global stereotypes. When faced with group variability, rather than replacing or revising the global stereotype, it is cognitively easier to use subtypes to 'fence off' these contradictions, thereby keeping the stereotype intact (Devine & Baker, 1991). However, this aspect of subtypes is beyond the scope of this study. The focus of this study was to investigate the degree to which global racial categories and their corresponding subtypes overlap. Van den Berghe (1962) only investigated black and white subtype categories (i.e. city and tribal African; and English and Afrikaans white). He did not include black and white as global racial categories. In the present study, we investigated white and black as global racial categories, as well as their corresponding subtypes in a between-subjects design (see chapter 3 on methodology).

This notion of superordinate and subordinate racial categories is pertinent in a multiracial, multicultural context like South Africa. Within each racial group, there are many subgroups that correspond with particular languages, cultures and lifestyles. Therefore in South African stereotype research it is valuable to consider some of these subtypes when investigating the content of racial stereotypes. The content of the Afrikaans white stereotype, for example, may differ significantly from the English white stereotype, despite the fact that both of these groups form part of the global white category.

In this study, we duplicated van den Berghe's (1962) categories as far as possible for replicability. The terms 'English white' and 'Afrikaans white' were retained, however the terms 'tribal' and 'city Africans' were changed to 'rural black' and 'city black'. The use of the term 'African' in describing black South Africans is contested, and describing a rural black person as 'tribal' is derogatory. For these reasons, the terms were adjusted. We also added a global racial category factor (white and black) so that we could ascertain which subtype was most reflected in each global category.

In terms of the research in South Africa, these studies certainly revealed a number of interesting findings regarding the content of racial stereotypes, and hence the nature of racial group relations, during Apartheid. However, there has been no research tracking changes in this content *over time*. The aims of the present study were thus to examine changes in stereotype content over the last fifty years, and we are fortunate to have van den Berghe's study as a good quality baseline. Replicating van den Berghe's (1962) free response method, as recommended by Devine and Elliot (1995), with a similar sample of students, we were able to identify changing patterns of stereotyping, and explore changes in the content of the stereotypes that different racial groups in South Africa have for each other. Through using a standardized method, and keeping the sample constant, it was possible to make comparisons between the two studies. According to the available literature, this appears to be the first attempt in South African social science research to compare stereotype content over time.

Furthermore, within our own data, we also investigated: a) whether there was a significant difference in stereotype favourability between personal and cultural

stereotypes; and b) whether there was any overlap between global stereotypes (i.e. white and black) and their corresponding subtypes (Afrikaans white, English white; and city black, rural black).

2.4 HYPOTHESES

Our hypotheses follow from the literature as outlined above, and are concerned with answering three primary questions:

1) How have South African racial stereotypes changed since 1962, particularly in terms of content, and favourability?
2) Is there a difference between personal and cultural stereotypes?
3) Is there any overlap between global racial categories and their corresponding subtypes?

2.4.1 Hypothesis 1 (*Fading hypothesis*)

Since changing intergroup relations influence stereotype content, we hypothesized that intergroup stereotypes will have become more favourable over time. Considering the changes in South Africa over the past 16 years – racial integration, the instigation of democracy, a growing black middle class, and the aspiration to be a 'rainbow nation', one might hypothesize that racial stereotypes would be less rigid and possibly even more favourable now than in 1962. The lists of the most frequently mentioned words for the present study and van den Berghe's were compared. Favourability scores were calculated for each word using Rothbart and Park's (1986) method (discussed in chapter 3). The favourability for each target race was then calculated and compared to the favourability scores of their corresponding target races from van den Berghe's results. As a measure of stereotype consensus, Katz and Braly (1933), Gilbert (1951), and Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1967) calculated the smallest number of traits needed to include 50 percent of all allocations. Since they limited their sample to selecting five traits on a list for each target race, their number of allocations remained fixed for each target race. However, since we used a free response method, the number of allocations varied from target race to target race. Fortunately, this did not affect our ability to compute uniformity.

2.4.2 Hypothesis 2 *(Cultural versus personal differences)*

We hypothesized that people will feel more accountable when asked to state their personal stereotypes due to personal accountability. Overt expression of prejudice is generally socially unacceptable. People by and large do not want to be perceived as prejudiced. On the other hand, when describing cultural stereotypes, one can report unfavourable descriptions since it is not necessarily a reflection of their own beliefs, but simply what society allegedly thinks. Considering South Africa's racist history, one suspects that South Africans today do not want to be perceived as racist by any means. Based on these assumptions, it is hypothesized that personal stereotypes will tend to be more favourable than the cultural stereotypes. To test for differences in cultural and personal stereotypes, repeated measures analyses of variance (ANOVA) were used.

2.4.3 Hypothesis 3 *(Global versus subordinate interactions)*

According to Devine and Baker (1991), each global stereotype will tend to reflect at least one of its subtypes, and this may vary by race. The tables of most frequently mentioned traits were compared to qualitatively evaluate which subtypes (city and rural black; Afrikaans and English white) were reflected in their corresponding global category (black, white). ANOVAs were also carried out to statistically compare the favourability of the global categories with their subtypes to assess which subtype's favourability rating was most similar to the global category. This was then taken to show which subtype was most reflected in the global category.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The Princeton trilogy and van den Berghe's (1962) study were seminal stereotype content studies. However, in reviewing the subsequent literature, it is evident that some procedural refinements were necessary in the present study in order to eliminate methodological weaknesses and expand the scope of investigation.

3.1.1 Traits

The trait checklist method was abandoned in favour of a free response assessment. Fortunately, van den Berghe (1962) used a free response method, giving us comparable baseline data.

3.1.2 Instructions

In this replication, personal and cultural stereotypes were clearly distinguished (to avoid ambiguity), and both were measured using a between-subjects design (see table 4), to investigate whether there was a significant difference between cultural and personal stereotypes in South Africa.

3.1.3 Measures

Using Rothbart and Park's (1986) method, the favourability of each of the traits was calculated. Independent raters were used to assess the favourability of the stereotypes. In doing so, it was possible to quantify change in favourability of the stereotypes attributed to race groups over time.

3.1.4 Subordinate versus superordinate categories

Global racial categories as well as subordinate categories were investigated using a between-subjects design (see table 4), in order to determine which subtype was most reflected in the global category.

3.2 AIMS

The aim of this study was to replicate van den Berghe's (1962) study of racial stereotypes, using a free response method to elicit both personal and cultural stereotypes, which were used to investigate intergroup difference and track changes in

the content and favourability of stereotypes with a comparable sample. In addition, stereotype uniformity, personal versus cultural stereotypes, and the relationship between global and subtype racial categories were investigated.

3.3 METHOD AND ANALYSIS

3.3.1 Sample

772 undergraduate psychology students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses) participated in the study. In order to have sufficient subjects in each cell of the between-groups design (see table 4), a large *n* was used. Of the 772 students, 55% were black, 23% were Indian, 16% were white, 5% were coloured, and 1% of the respondents declined to state their race. Respondents that did not specify their race were excluded from the sample and, due to the small number of coloured participants; it was decided to exclude them from the sample as well. The final sample consisted of 723 respondents. Van den Berghe's sample also consisted of undergraduate students in KwaZulu-Natal, however students were sampled from separate apartheid tertiary institutions. Van den Berghe used a sample of 374 students of which 26.5% were black, 37.2% were Indian, 33.3% were white, and 3% were coloured. Van Den Berghe's (1962) data for coloured respondents was also excluded from this analysis. University students were selected for the present study's sample in an attempt to replicate the race and socioeconomic profile of van den Berghe's (1962) sample. Observed differences between the two samples could therefore more reliably be considered a result of changes over time rather than differences in the nature of the sample.

3.3.2 Design

This study used a between-groups design. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of four conditions. They were either asked to indicate their cultural stereotypes or their personal beliefs pertaining to one of two different sets of groups – global racial categories or subordinate racial categories. Questionnaire 1.1 assessed subjects' cultural stereotypes of racial subtypes (condition 1), questionnaire 1.2 assessed subjects' personal beliefs about racial subtypes (condition 2), questionnaire 1.3 assessed subjects' cultural stereotypes of global racial categories, and questionnaire 1.4 assessed subjects' personal beliefs about global racial categories (condition 4) (see table 4). Respondents were not given a predetermined trait list (as in the other

stereotype content studies); rather their responses were left to be entirely open (See Appendix 1 for questionnaires). As mentioned above, van den Berghe (1962) also used an open-ended questionnaire for his study.

Racial Subtypes	**Cultural stereotypes**	**Personal beliefs**
	Questionnaire 1.1	**Questionnaire 1.2**
City black Rural black English white Afrikaans white	N = 102 black (60%) N = 40 Indian (23%) N = 29 white (17%)	N = 111 black (58%) N = 51 Indian (26.5%) N = 30 white (15.5%)
Global racial categories	**Questionnaire 1.3**	**Questionnaire 1.4**
Black White Indian Coloured	N = 93 black (52%) N = 53 Indian (30%) N = 32 white (18%)	N = 115 black (63%) N = 37 Indian (20%) N = 30 white (17%)

Table 4. Random assignment of subjects to conditions used in each questionnaire.

Van den Berghe (1962) included Jews as a separate racial category; however, it was decided not to include this category based on the judgment that it is no longer a salient racial category in South Africa.

3.3.3 Procedure

The questionnaires were administered to students during the first 10 minutes of their lectures. Respondents first read and signed a consent form stating that the purpose of the research is to understand people's knowledge of and reactions to various groups of people in South Africa. They were informed that their participation in the study would be voluntary and that their responses would remain anonymous.

3.3.4 Measures

3.3.4.1 Stereotypes

An adapted version of van den Berghe's (1962) free response method required respondents to provide cultural or personal stereotypes about either global or subordinate racial groups.

3.3.4.2 Favourability

3.3.4.2.1 Computing favourability scores

The stereotypical labels and descriptions of various groups were rated by independent judges (post-graduate psychology students) on the dimension of favourability. The judges rated the traits generated from the free response task as well as the traits generated from van den Berghe's (1962) study. In order to examine the differences in the favourability of a) personal and cultural stereotypes *within* each target race group; b) *between* each respondent race group; and c) stereotype content between now and 1962, a preliminary study needed to be carried out where favourability scores were calculated for each trait used to describe the various racial groups. To generate a favourability score for each trait, judges were asked to rate the traits on a favourability scale.

3.3.4.2.2 Judges

Judges were both male and female postgraduate students. Nine judges were selected based on convenience and accessibility. It was a requirement that they be first-language English speakers. The judges were given the list of words to rate in their own time, and were paid R50-00 for their participation. For validation, this procedure was replicated with second-language English judges (see correlations with first in table 5).

3.3.4.2.3 Stimulus materials

All adjectives that emerged in van den Berghe's (1962) study were included, as well as new adjectives from the data collected for the present study. The final list comprised 365 adjectives (see Appendix 5). Certain words were 'synonymised' and collapsed into one appropriate term. For example, 'irritable' synonymised with 'quick-tempered' and therefore if irritable was used to describe a target group, it was recorded as quick-tempered. This was done for ease of comparison. Out of the many traits assigned by the subjects in this study, there were relatively few words that needed to be collapsed.

3.3.4.2.4 Measures and Procedure

Judges were asked to rate the 365 trait descriptive adjectives on the dimension of favourability. Prior to the rating task, each judge was presented with a general letter

describing the task (see Appendix 2). They were then given instructions on how to carry out the task (see Appendix 3). Rothbart and Park's (1986) instructions for ratings of favourability were used. Subjects' responses were based on a 5-point scale, from highly unfavourable (1), to highly favourable (5) (see Appendix 4).

3.3.4.2.5 Reliability

Cronbach's alpha was calculated to assess inter-rater reliability. The scale value was computed by calculating the mean rating across all reliable raters. Usually this procedure looks at the degree of inter-relatedness among *i* items over *j* judges, but we reversed the items and judges and looked at the degree of agreement among judges over 365 items. The alpha value was high (.961) confirming high levels of agreement between the judges (Eigenvalue = 7,029, explaining 78% of the variance. It was the only Eigenvalue > 1).

Computing favourability scores for each adjective

There are two ways for computing these scores: by calculating the mean rating for each adjective across all judges, or by computing the factor score for each adjective. We chose to use the latter method since this provided a standardized indicator of the overall quality of the adjective, as rated by the judges (see Appendix 5).

Computing mean favourability for each target group

Once each adjective had a standardised factor score, it was possible to calculate the mean favourability of each target race investigated in our study.

3.3.4.2.6 Validity

Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969) also obtained favourability scores by means of ratings on a 5-point scale from -2 to +2. We compared the list of favourability scores in their paper to the corresponding traits in our favourability data and found the scores to be highly correlated. This procedure was also replicated with second language English speakers, and the scores were also highly correlated with Karlins et al.'s scores, as well as with the first language English speakers in our study (see table 5).

Sample	Correl.
1st vs. 2nd language speakers	0,94
1st language speakers vs. Karlins et al.	0,92
2nd language speakers vs. Karlins et al.	0,92

Table 5. Favourability rating correlations

3.3.4.3 Uniformity

Stereotype uniformity was calculated using the same method as the Princeton trilogy studies (i.e. by computing the smallest number of traits required to include half of all the possible allocations).

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: PRESENT VERSUS PAST RESEARCH

As was the pattern in van den Berghe's (1962) study, the present study also found that the same respondent group would often attribute antithetical traits to the same target group. In van den Berghe's study, city Africans were described by whites as both "lazy" and "hardworking" (table 8, cell A1); Indian respondents labeled English whites as both "tolerant" and "intolerant" (see table 7, A5). In our study, white respondents described city blacks as both "poor" and "wealthy" (table 8, C1).

Black, Indian, and coloured respondents were most prejudiced toward Afrikaners in both van den Berghe's and the present study. Van den Berghe (1962) claimed this was because the Afrikaners were "identified with the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government" (p. 58). It is possible that even fifty years later, this identification of the Afrikaner as the oppressor is still prominent in many people's minds.

Van den Berghe (1962) also noted the dichotomy between the "imputed blunt oppressiveness of the Afrikaner and the subtle hypocritical snobbishness of the English" (p. 61). This dichotomy was still prevalent in our data. While there was a great deal of overlap in traits assigned to each subtype (e.g. racist, wealthy, arrogant), other traits differed and were consistent with van den Berghe's observation. For example, the "rude", "selfish", "unfriendly" Afrikaans whites as opposed to the "educated", "advantaged", "snobbish" English whites. Interestingly, white respondents in both studies viewed themselves as "snobbish", which van den Berghe (1962) interpreted as "guilt feelings over the treatment of Non-Europeans" (p. 61).

Respondents in van den Berghe's study also seemed to make a distinction between the "simple", "subservient", "peaceful", "happy" tribal African (tables 6, 7, 8, A2) and the "progressive", but "violent" and "insolent" city African (tables 6, 7, 8, A1). This distinction was still evident in our data. However a few more favourable words such as "educated" and "modern" were present on the list of traits for city blacks. Lifestyle traits about tradition and education predominated the rural black and city black descriptions in our data. City blacks were assigned traits such as "educated", "detraditionalised", "wealthy", and "modern" (tables 6, 7, 8, B1); whereas rural

blacks were described as “uneducated”, “traditional”, “poor”, and “backward” (tables 6, 7, 8, B2). Van den Berghe attributed the fact that coloureds had been labeled frequently as “alcoholic” to the ‘dop’ system where Western Cape vineyard farmers would pay their coloured workers in wine instead of wages.

For white respondents in van den Berghe’s study, the trait “racist” did not appear in the top five traits for English or Afrikaans whites, although Afrikaans whites were described as “prejudiced” (table 6, A4), and both subtypes were described as “intolerant” (table 7, A4, A5; table 8, A4). In our replication, the trait “racist” appeared in the top five most mentioned traits for both Afrikaans and English whites, as well as for whites as a global category, across both cultural and personal stereotype conditions for all three samples (i.e. black, Indian and white respondents), except for the cultural stereotype condition, and for English whites in the Indian and white samples (tables 7 and 8 respectively, cell B5). Other words that appeared consistently were “wealthy” and “arrogant” (tables, 6, 7, 8; B4, B5, B6; C4, C5, C6). It is certainly interesting that both white subtypes were not described (at least to a great extent) as racist in van den Berghe’s top five most mentioned traits. Perhaps this is attributable to the fact that these white students were living in a society where racial segregation was not only the norm, but politically sanctioned. Even van den Berghe (1962) contextualizes his findings within the “virulently racialist climate of South African society” (p. 61).

For the Indian stereotype, there were no matching traits in the top five traits between black respondents in our data and van den Berghe’s. Van den Berghe’s black respondents labeled Indians as “good in business”, “dishonest”, “hardworking” and “exploitative” (table 6, A7), whereas respondents in the present study tended to use traits such as “religious”, “traditional”, “insular”, and “racist” (table 6, B7, C8). For the Indian respondents, the traits “hard-working” appeared in van den Berghe’s top five as well as our sample’s top five traits (table 7, A7, B7, C7). “Religious” also appeared in the both study’s samples, however only for the cultural condition in our sample. For the white respondents the only common trait between our sample and van den Berghe’s for the Indian target race was “intelligent” (table 7, A7, B7, C7).

The only trait in common for the coloured stereotype between the two studies' black and Indian samples was "alcoholic" (table 6, A8, C8). For the white respondents, no corresponding traits were found in the top five lists for the coloured stereotype.

The South African research (e.g. MacCrone, 1937; van den Berghe, 1962; Brett, 1963; Edelstein, 1972) suggests that black and Indian respondents were most prejudiced against Afrikaners. This trend is still clearly evident in our data. Black and Indian respondents in the present study consistently described Afrikaners in unfavourable terms, whereas descriptions of English whites were relatively favourable. Foster and Nel (1991) described this finding in terms of an "attitudinal colour bar" where white respondents tended to unfavourably stereotype all black racial categories and favourably stereotype all white categories. On the other hand, black and Indian respondents' attitudes did not conform to a colour bar. Attitudes towards English whites were markedly more favourable than attitudes towards Afrikaans whites, and sometimes even more favourable than attitudes towards other black groups (Foster & Nel, 1991).

Even though many trends observed by van den Berghe (1962) have persisted in the present study, it is interesting to note that the language used by the respondents has changed over the past fifty years. In van den Berghe (1962), black and white respondents both described city blacks as "progressive". In the present study black and white respondents described city blacks as "detraditionalised". In our favourability analysis of the traits, the judges rated "progressive" as more favourable than "detraditionalised" (favourability factor scores of 1,1 and -0,4 respectively). This suggests that in the 1960s, black and white respondents seemed to view city blacks becoming modernized in a positive light. Today however, it seems that city blacks are described in terms of deficit, a lack of tradition, rather than being forward-thinking.

With regards to changes in the language used to describe rural blacks, in 1962 black and white respondents described rural blacks as "subservient" and "backward". In the present study, rural blacks were described as "respectful", "traditional" and "uneducated". "Respectful" was rated much more favourably than "subservient" (their favourability scores were 1,3 and -0,7 respectively).

In van den Berghe's study, whites (particularly Afrikaans whites) were often described as "prejudiced" and "intolerant", whereas "racist" appeared more frequently in the present study. Indian respondents described Afrikaans whites as "haughty" in van den Berghe's study and as "arrogant" in the present study.

Although many words used to describe the target racial groups were often the same over the two studies, there were also many instances where the language used by the sample seemed to have changed. However overall, it seems that even where new words were used, the meaning was largely the same. For example, respondents over the two studies appear to be using different adjectives to say similar things about rural blacks as a target group – that they are simple and unthreatening, despite drawing on different descriptive language to communicate this.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Year of study	**City blacks**	**Rural blacks**	**Blacks**	**Afrikaans whites**	**English whites**	**Whites**	**Indian**	**Coloured**
A	**Van den Berghe (1962)**	Progressive Violent Educated* Politically-conscious Uncivilized	Backward Subservient Hospitable	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories.*	Oppressive Prejudiced* Frank Cruel Uncultured	Hypocritical Cunning Educated* Tolerant	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories* .	Good-in-business Dishonest Hardworking Exploitative	Colour-conscious Alcoholic* Happy
B	**Cultural (2008)**	Detraditionalised Educated* Coconuts Westernized Criminal	Traditional Uneducated Poor Respectful Criminal	Traditional Loud Poor Respectful Criminal	Racist* Wealthy Arrogant Farmers Rude	Racist Wealthy Arrogant Educated* Friendly	Racist Wealthy Arrogant Educated Intelligent	Religious Traditional Intelligent Insular Racist	Violent Criminal Rude Loud Friendly
C	**Personal (2008)**	Detraditionalised Educated* Arrogant Modern Wealthy	Traditional Uneducated Respectful Poor Disadvantaged	Traditional Loud Respectful Criminal Hard-working	Racist* Farmers Rude Arrogant Selfish	Racist Wealthy Friendly Kind Educated*	Racist Wealthy Friendly Arrogant Fake	Traditional Religious Arrogant Racist Insular	Violent Alcoholic* Mixed Friendly Loud

Table 6. Top traits assigned to each target race by black respondents

*Van den Berghe's sample and present study's sample used the same trait to describe the same target race.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Year of study	**City black**	**Rural black**	**Blacks**	**Afrikaans whites**	**English whites**	**Whites**	**Indian**	**Coloured**
A	**Van den Berghe (1962)**	Hard-working Violent Educated* Uncultured Impolite	Hard-working Backward Subservient Traditional Peaceful	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories.*	Oppressive Intolerant Haughty* Frank Uncultured	Kind Intolerant Tolerant Hypocritical Snobbish	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories* .	Hard-working* Good-in-business Religious* Selfish Conservative	Colour-conscious Alcoholic* Quarrelsome Gay, Happy Sociable
B	**Cultural (2008)**	Educated* Wealthy Advantaged Criminal Loud	Uneducated Poor Traditional Criminal Disadvantaged	Rude Poor Traditional Criminal Loud	Racist Wealthy Rude Arrogant* Farmers	Well-spoken Wealthy Friendly Arrogant Educated	Racist Wealthy Friendly Arrogant Upper-class	Religious* Traditional Friendly Family-oriented Hard-working*	Friendly Rude Loud Violent Criminal
C	**Personal (2008)**	Wealthy Educated* Modern Well-dressed Loud	Poor Uneducated Traditional Criminal Disadvantaged	Hard-working Traditional Criminal Loud Arrogant	Racist Friendly Unfriendly Arrogant* Farmers	Racist Friendly Wealthy Educated Advantaged	Racist Friendly Wealthy Arrogant Christian	Hard-working* Traditional Racist Respectful Strict	Friendly Mixed Alcoholic* Loud Gangsters

Table 7. Top traits assigned to each target race by Indian respondents

*Van den Berghe's sample and present study's sample used the same trait to describe the same target race.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Year of study	**City blacks/ Africans**	**Rural blacks/ Africans**	**Blacks**	**Afrikaans whites**	**English whites**	**Whites**	**Indian**	**Coloured**
A	**Van den Berghe (1962)**	Progressive Insolent Violent Hardworking Lazy	Backward Happy Simple Cruel Dirty	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories.*	Intolerant Hospitable Provincial Fanatical Friendly	Tolerant Snobbish* Apathetic Cultured* Jingoistic	*V.d.B did not collect data for black and white racial categories.*	Dishonest Dirty Intelligent* Good-in-business Hard-working	Musical Happy Alcoholic Hard-working
B	**Cultural (2008)**	Educated Detraditionalised Criminal Loud Advantaged	Uneducated Traditional Criminal Poor Friendly	Loud Criminal Traditional Poor Uneducated	Racist Farmers Rugby Traditional Religious	Educated Arrogant Wealthy Upper-class* Westernized	Racist Arrogant Wealthy Christian Snobbish	Religious Eat-eastern-food Large-families Stingy Intelligent*	Gangsters Distinctive-way-of-speaking Rude Violent Loud
C	**Personal (2008)**	Educated Wealthy Poor Arrogant Rude	Uneducated Poor Traditional Disadvantaged Hard-working	Traditional Loud Criminal Poor Sporty	Racist Traditional Farmers Religious Conservative	Racist Wealthy Educated Rude Snobbish*	Racist Wealthy Reserved Intelligent Christian	Rude Traditional Arrogant Intelligent* Eat-eastern-food	Mixed Friendly Violent Loud Rude

Table 8. Top traits assigned to each target race by white respondents

*Van den Berghe's sample and present study's sample used the same trait to describe the same target race.

4.2 MEAN FAVOURABILITY SCORE ANALYSIS

The data were analysed in two ways, using the individual or the trait as the unit of analysis:

1. Individual as unit of analysis: The mean favourability of all the traits that each subject gave for each target group was calculated to form an individual favourability score. This was calculated by determining the mean favourability score of all the traits that each respondent gave for a particular target group. The means and standard deviations of all these individual favourability scores were then computed for each target group and the data were analysed by means of inferential tests to determine whether there were differences between personal and cultural stereotypes. These data were used for all ANOVAs (presented in section 4.3.2).

2. The trait as unit of analysis: We needed to find a way to meaningfully compare the favourability of the stereotypes reported by van den Berghe and the favourability of the stereotypes that were volunteered by our sample. Professor van den Berghe lost the data for his 1962 study in a fire a number of years ago (personal communication). As a result, only the tables of 'most-mentioned' traits reported in van den Berghe's (1962) paper were available for comparison. These tables contained a list of traits that were mentioned more than ten times by the sample for each target group. To make our data comparable we created matching lists of the top traits reported by our sample for each target group and for the personal and cultural conditions. Our lists had the same number of traits as that reported by van den Berghe for each target group. Because our sample was substantially larger than van den Berghe's we 'standardized' the frequency with which each trait appeared on the list by determining the percentage of the sample that reported each trait. We then created a new dataset for each list by 'weighting' (using the SPSS command) the favourability score of each trait by the trait's standardized frequency. Thus, for each list of traits for van den Berghe's data and our data we constructed a new SPSS dataset, which consisted of a single column of favourability scores for each trait recurring the number of times the trait was mentioned (standardized). We then determined the mean and standard deviation of these data. In addition, we computed confidence intervals and error bars for this data using the total number of traits reported in each condition as the sample size in our estimates of the standard error.

Van den Berghe (1962) did not attempt to quantify favourability in this study, thus he was only able to make qualitative comparisons in this regard. With the introduction of calculated

favourability scores in this study, it was possible to make quantitative comparisons of stereotype favourability, both within our own data, and between the two studies.

To test the validity of this method for comparing our data with van den Berghe's, we correlated the mean scores for each target group in each of the personal and cultural conditions for the two different methods of analysis of our data, namely with individuals and with traits as the units of analysis. The means correlated highly for both cultural and personal stereotypes (cultural: 0,77; personal: 0,72). It was concluded that comparing the cut lists to the lists reported by van den Berghe (1962) was valid.

4.3 TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

4.3.1 Fading Hypothesis

4.3.1.1 Favourability

We compared the mean favourability of our data and van den Berghe's (1962) for each target group (see table 9, and figs 1, 2, and 3). Table 9 below indicates the differences in mean favourability of the target races between the present study's sample and van den Berghe's. Figures 1, 2, and 3 below represent this graphically. It must be noted that this comparison is purely descriptive as it was not possible to conduct reliable inferential tests on van den Berghe's data. Error bars were calculated to suggest where significant differences might lie. These are only suggestions as the errors are only estimates on account of the fact that we did not have access to van den Berghe's full dataset.

City blacks

Black respondents described city blacks less favourably now than in 1962 (fig. 1), whereas Indian and white respondents both described city blacks more favourably now (fig. 2, 3), white respondents considerably so (see means in table 9).

Rural blacks

Black respondents described rural blacks more favourably now than in 1962 when under the personal stereotype condition, but less favourably when under the cultural stereotype condition (fig. 1). Indian and white respondents, however, described rural blacks less favourably now under both personal and cultural conditions (fig. 3).

English and Afrikaans whites

Black and white respondents all described English whites considerably more favourably now than in 1962 (fig. 1). Indian respondents on the other hand, described English whites less favourably now (fig. 2). Afrikaans whites were described quite unfavourably by black and Indian respondents in van den Berghe's study (fig. 1, 2). Indian respondents in the present study described Afrikaners as unfavourably (fig. 2), and black respondents in the present study described Afrikaans whites even less favourably than van den Berghe's respondents (fig. 1). White respondents also described Afrikaans whites markedly less favourably in the present study than in van den Berghe's.

Coloureds

Coloureds were described less favourably now by all three groups of respondents. Black and white respondents described coloureds considerably less favourably now than in van den Berghe's study.

Indians

Black respondents described Indians as favourably as in van den Berghe's study under the cultural condition, but considerably less favourably under the personal condition (fig. 1). Indian respondents in our study described Indians less favourably than Indian respondents in van den Berghe's study (fig. 2). White respondents described Indians as favourably now as in van den Berghe's study under both stereotype conditions (fig. 3).

		Target Race							
Resp. Race	**Condition**	**City black**	**Rural black**	**Black**	**Eng White**	**Afrik White**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**
Black	**Cultural**	-0,18	-0,24	-0,35	0,87	-0,98	-0,06	-1,40	0,13
	Personal	0,12	0,25	0,03	1,25	-1,08	0,10	-1,10	-0,39
	VdB	0,40	-0,26		-0,31	-0,78		-0,53	0,15
Indian		**City black**	**Rural black**	**Black**	**Eng White**	**Afrik White**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**
	Cultural	0,41	-0,59	-0,40	0,54	-0,87	-0,31	-0,34	0,38
	Personal	0,53	-0,50	-0,80	0,55	-0,83	0,27	-0,34	0,41
	VdB	0,31	-0,09		1,05	-0,83		-0,03	0,75
White		**City black**	**Rural black**	**Black**	**Eng White**	**Afrik White**	**White**	**Coloured**	**Indian**
	Cultural	0,35	-0,18	-0,72	0,44	-0,74	-0,30	-0,89	0,14
	Personal	-0,08	-0,17	-0,37	0,03	-0,38	0,05	0,16	-0,01
	VdB	-0,53	0,39		-0,28	0,04		0,80	0,07

Table 9. Mean favourability of target races: van den Berghe (1962) versus the present study

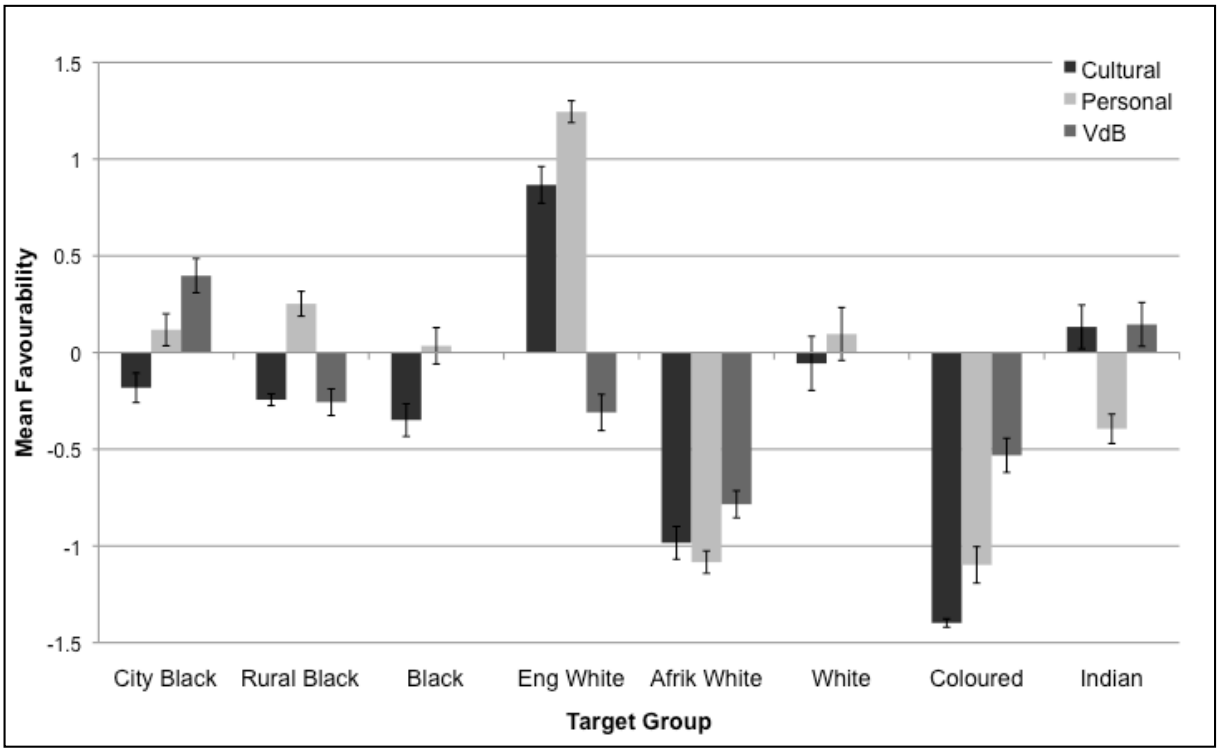

Fig. 1. Van den Berghe (1962) comparison: black respondents

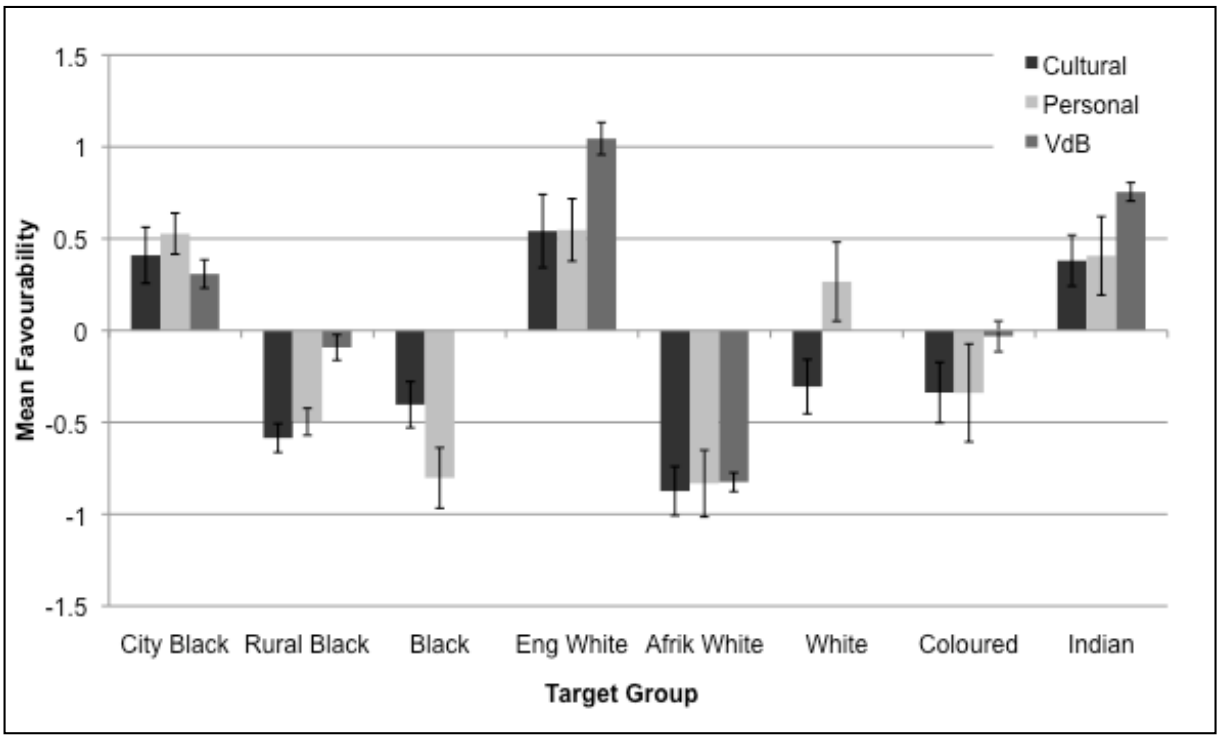

Fig. 2. Van den Berghe (1962) comparison: Indian respondents

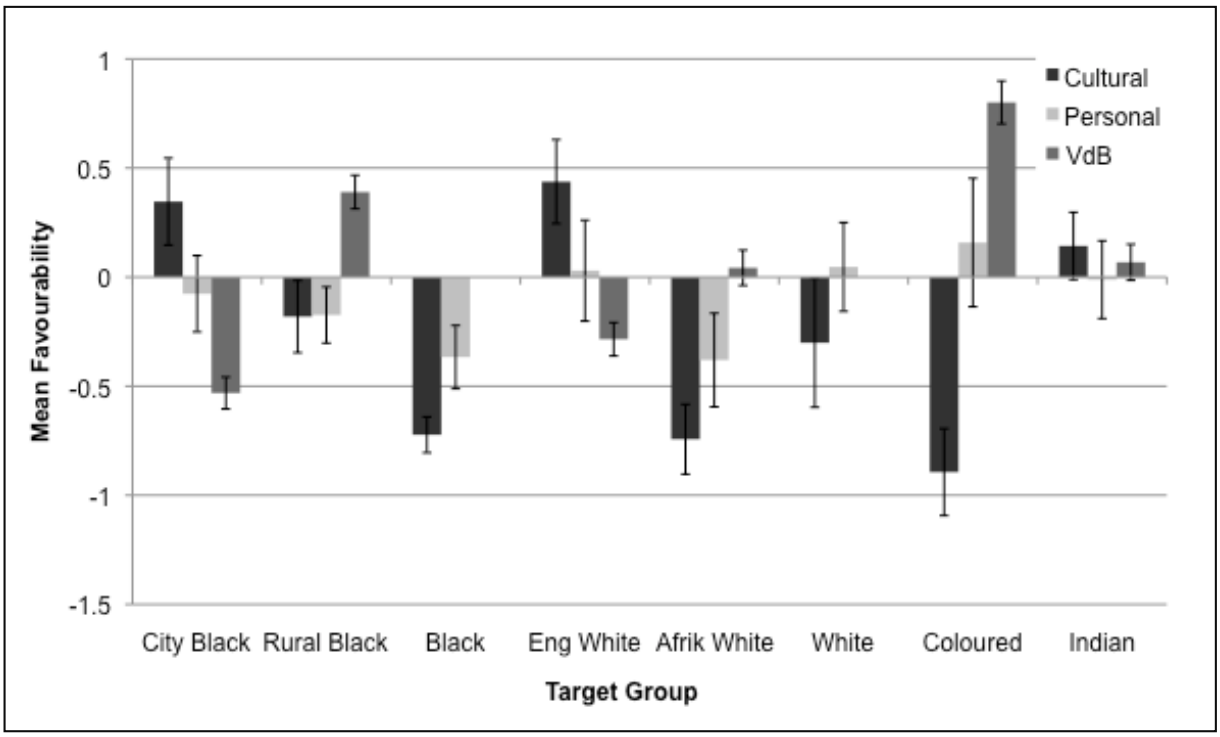

Fig. 3. Van den Berghe (1962) comparison: white respondents

4.3.1.2 Uniformity

As mentioned above, stereotype uniformity was calculated to determine the degree of consensus between respondents in assigning traits to a particular group. Van den Berghe (1962) did not calculate stereotype uniformity so it was not possible to compare stereotype uniformity between the two studies. However, we still felt it valuable to do so in our study for comparison with future studies. The same method as the Princeton trilogy studies was used. The least number of traits to account for 50% of the total allocations by the sample for each target race was calculated. These scores are presented in table 10 below. The lower the uniformity score, the higher the degree of stereotype consensus, the more rigid the stereotype.

	Stereotype				
Target race	**Cultural**	**Total allocations**	**Personal**	**Total allocations**	**Average**
Rural blacks	8,5	580	10,6	657	9,6
City blacks	14,8	622	10,2	740	12,5
Afrik whites	11,3	452	14	490	12,7
Coloured	14,6	377	17,6	366	16,1
Black	16,2	695	22	648	19,1
White	20	526	21	546	20,5
Eng whites	18,2	508	24,9	537	21,6
Indian	23	518	25,6	546	24,3
	Correl.		**0,83**		

Table 10. Calculated stereotype uniformity for each target group.

The rural black stereotype had the highest degree of consensus with only 9,6 traits required to account for half of all the possible allocations, followed by city blacks with 12,5 traits and Afrikaans whites with 12,7 traits. The Indian stereotype was the least uniform stereotype with 24,3 traits. Overall, there was less consensus for personal stereotypes than for cultural stereotypes, except for city blacks. This finding is to be expected, since cultural stereotypes consist of traits that society as a whole tends to attribute to a particular group. Thus cultural stereotypes are likely to be highly uniform as people will be aware of these culturally defined descriptions regardless of whether or not they personally endorse them.

4.3.1.3 Conclusion

For white and Indian respondents, the city black stereotype appears to have become more favourable since van den Berghe's study. These respondents, under both personal and cultural stereotype conditions, described city blacks more favourably now than in 1962. Black

respondents described city blacks less favourably now under both stereotype conditions. It is interesting to note however that even though black respondents' personal stereotypes of city blacks were less favourable than in van den Berghe's (1962) study, their personal stereotype was still a fairly positive stereotype (the bar on the plot is above zero), whereas the cultural stereotype was clearly negative. Black respondents in this study seem to hold that culturally, city blacks are stereotyped unfavourably, however personally black respondents see city blacks in fairly positive light.

Again, for the rural black stereotype, there is a divide in trend between Indian and white respondents, and black respondents. For Indian and white respondents, the rural black stereotype has become considerably less favourable. Black respondents however described rural blacks considerably more favourably now under the personal stereotype condition, but as unfavourably under the cultural condition.

For black and white respondents, the English white stereotype has become more favourable. Both black and white respondents described English whites more favourably now than in 1962, black respondents significantly so. Indians however, described English whites considerably less favourably now.

The Afrikaans white stereotype has become considerably less favourable for all three respondents groups since 1962. For white respondents, the differential in favourability between now and 1962 was particularly large.

The coloured stereotype has also become considerably less favourable. All respondent race groups described coloureds less favourably now than in 1962.

Overall, it appears that the favourabilty of the Indian stereotype has not changed considerably.

As discussed in chapter 2, Devine and Elliot (1995) suggest that while cultural stereotypes may remain relatively stable over time, personal stereotypes may undergo revision. However, it seems that generally the favourability of the stereotypes in the present study are at least as negative as they were in 1962, in some cases even less favourable. The English white stereotype and city black stereotype were the only exceptions. The English white stereotype

has become significantly more favourable over all respondent groups, and the city black stereotype has become more favourable for the white and Indian respondents groups.

The rural black, city black, and Afrikaans white stereotype were the most uniform stereotypes. The Indian stereotype was the least uniform stereotype. As expected, there was less consensus for personal stereotypes than for cultural stereotypes, except for city blacks.

4.3.2 Personal versus Cultural Hypothesis

To investigate whether there were differences between personal and cultural stereotypes, three separate mixed-model repeated-measures ANOVAs were computed to compare the favourability of personal stereotypes and cultural stereotypes for each of the groups, and to determine whether there was a significant difference in mean favourability between the various racial groups. A mixed design was used, as two of the factors were between-subjects factors (i.e. race and stereotype), and the other a within-subjects factor (e.g. city blacks and rural blacks). That is, there were repeated measures on only one factor (Durrheim, 2002, in Tredoux & Durrheim, 2002).

4.3.2.1 Global Categories

A 4 x 3 x 2 ANOVA was computed for the global racial categories (i.e. black, white, Indian, and coloured), with one within-subjects factor (target race: black, Indian, white, coloured), and two between-subjects factors (respondent race: black, Indian, white; stereotype: cultural, personal).

Target race	Respondent race	Mean favourability		
		Cultural	Personal	Total
Black	**Black**	-.3071	-.1682	-.2303
	Indian	-.6181	-.1383	-.4208
	White	-1.3915	-1.0560	-1.2292
Indian	**Black**	-.3972	-.2477	-.3146
	Indian	.7640	.6875	.7326
	White	-.6872	-.6923	-.6896
White	**Black**	.2236	.4761	.3632
	Indian	-.2092	.8150	.2119
	White	-.3620	.3937	.0037
Coloured	**Black**	-1.4911	-.9479	-1.1908
	Indian	-.3763	-.2294	-.3159
	White	-1.2992	-.3735	-.8513

Table 11. Mean favourability for global racial categories

1. **Main Effects:**
   A. **Target race (within-subjects)**

      A significant result was found for target race ($p < .0001$; $F = 14.006$; $df = 3$; $\eta_p^2 = .038$). Indians and whites were described significantly more favourably than blacks and coloureds (Indian: M = -.1174; white: M = .2635; black: M = -.4500; coloured: M = -.9136).

B. Respondent race (between-subjects)

A significant difference in mean favourability was found between the three respondent groups ($p = .001$; $F = 7.530$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .041$). Tukey's multiple comparisons revealed that the Indian respondents ($M = .052$) rated the target races significantly more favourably than both black ($M = -.34$) and white respondents ($M = -.69$), but there were no significant differences in mean favourability between black and white respondents.

C. Stereotype (between-subjects)

A significant difference was found in mean favourability between the two stereotype conditions ($p = .009$; $F = 6.923$; $df = 1$; $\eta_p^2 = .019$). Overall, personal stereotypes were more favourable than cultural stereotypes (Personal: $M = -.15$; Cultural: $M = -.46$).

2. Two-Way Interactions:

A. Target race*Respondent Race (within-subjects)

A significant interaction between target race and respondent race was found, although the η_p^2 value indicates that this is a small effect size ($p = .001$; $F = 4.045$; $df = 6$; $\eta_p^2 = .022$).

B. Target race*Stereotype (within-subjects)

There was no significant interaction between target race and stereotype ($p = .266$; $F = 1.332$; $df = 3$; $\eta_p^2 = .004$).

C. Respondent race*Stereotype (between-subjects)

There was no significant interaction between respondent race and stereotype ($p = .789$; $F = 1.437$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .001$).

3. Three-Way Interactions:

A. Target race*Respondent race*Stereotype

There were no significant interactions between target race, respondent race, and stereotype ($p = .725$; $F = .607$; $df = 6$; $\eta_p^2 = .003$).

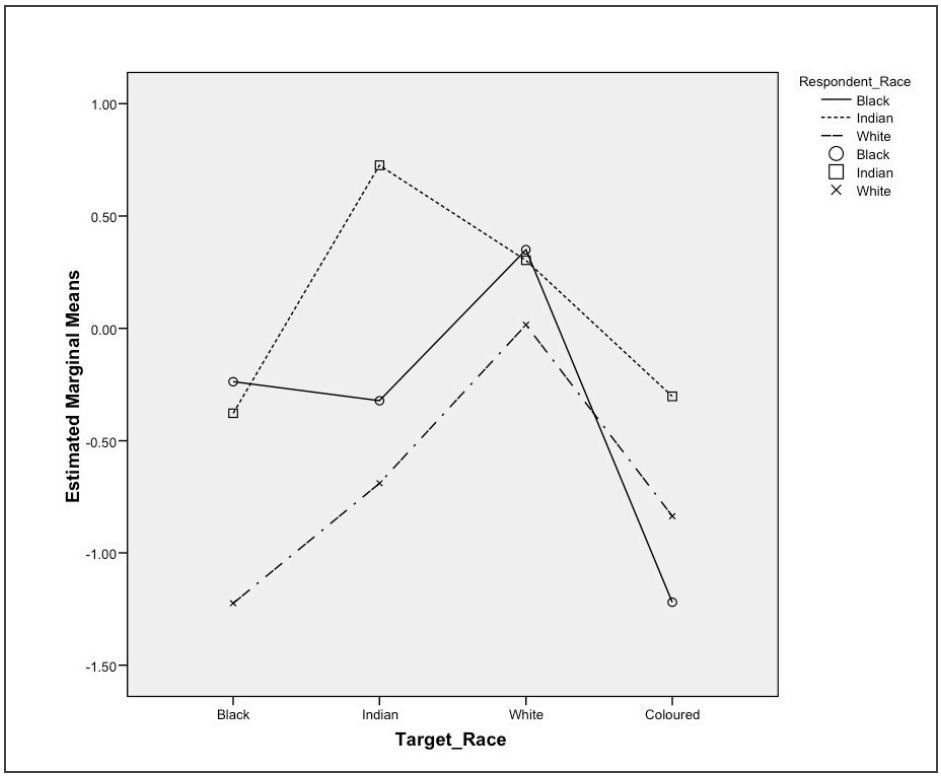

Fig. 4. Interaction between target race and respondent race

White and Indian respondents both described their own respective races more favourably than any other target race. Black respondents however, described whites more favourably than their own race. Blacks as a target race were described most favourably by black respondents, followed by Indian, then white respondents. Indians were described most favourably by Indian respondents, followed by blacks, then whites. Black and Indian respondents both described whites more favourably than white respondents. Coloureds as a target race were described least favourably by black respondents, followed by white, then Indian respondents (table 11). These findings are represented graphically in fig. 4 above.

4.3.2.2 Black subtypes: city blacks and rural blacks

For the black subtypes, a 2 x 3 x 2 ANOVA was computed with one within-subjects factor (target race: city and rural blacks) and two between-subjects factors (respondent race and stereotype).

Target race	Respondent race	Mean favourability		
		Cultural	Personal	Total
City blacks	Black	-.2206	-.0758	-.1452
	Indian	.5110	1.1746	.8829
	White	.3163	-.1165	.0962
Rural blacks	Black	.0914	.6991	.4081
	Indian	-.9774	-.8707	-.9176
	White	-.1192	-.4899	-.3077

Table 12. Mean favourability of black subtypes

1. **Main Effects:**
   - **A. Target race (within-subjects)**

     A significant difference in mean favourability was found between city blacks and rural blacks ($p = .016$; $F = 5.830$; $df = 1$). City blacks ($M = .15$) were rated significantly more favourably than rural blacks ($M = -.04$). However the η_p^2 value indicates that this is a small effect size ($\eta_p^2 = .016$)
   - **B. Respondent race (between-subjects)**

     No significant differences in mean favourability were found between the respondent groups ($p = .493$; $F = .708$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .004$).
   - **C. Stereotype (between-subjects)**

     No significant difference was found in mean favourability between personal and cultural stereotypes ($p = .513$; $F = .429$; $df = 1$; $\eta_p^2 = .001$).

2. **Two-Way Interactions:**
   - **A. Target race*Respondent race (within-subjects)**

     There was a significant interaction between target race and respondent race ($p < .0001$; $F = 12.272$; $df = 2$). This difference was moderate ($\eta_p^2 = .064$). The profile plot (fig. 5) indicates that Indians rated city blacks more favourably than rural blacks (CB: $M = .88$; RB: $M = -.92$). Whites also rated city blacks more favourably (CB: $M = .10$; RB: $M = -.31$). Black respondents on the other hand, rated rural blacks more favourably (CB: $M = -.15$; RB: $M = .41$).

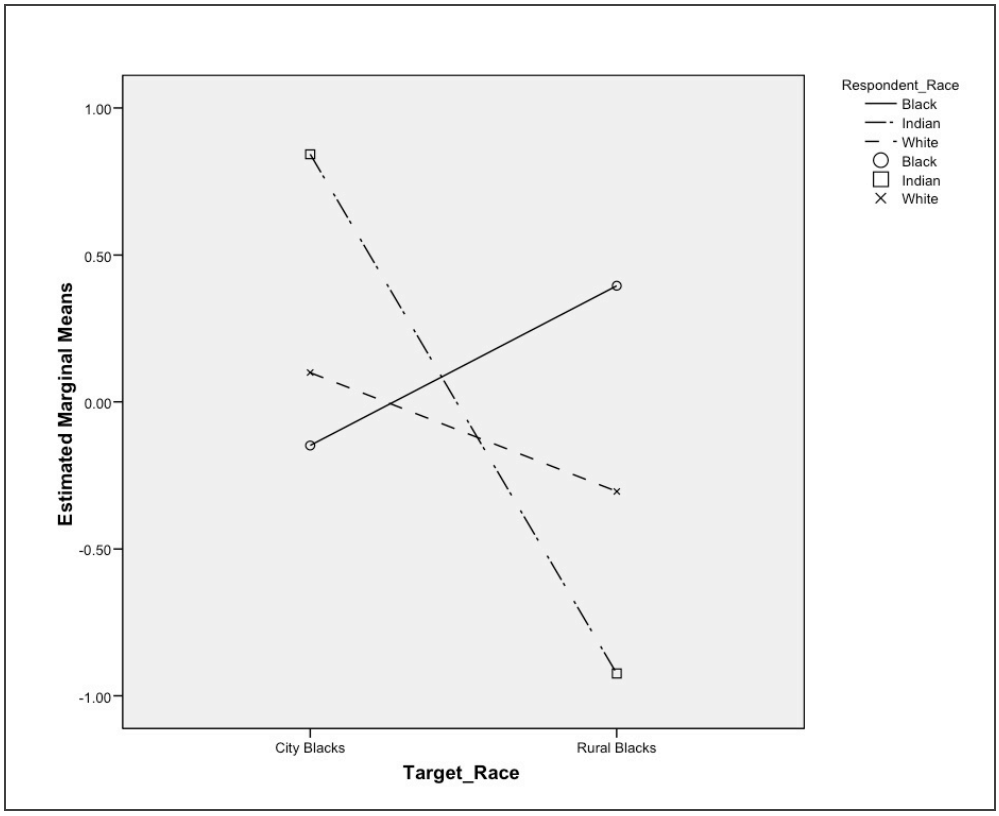

Fig. 5. Interaction between target race and black subtype

B. Target race*Stereotype (within-subjects)

No significant interaction was found between target race and stereotype ($p = .981$; $F = .001$; $df = 1$; $\eta_p^2 = .000$).

C. Respondent race*Stereotype (between-subjects)

There was no significant interaction between respondent race and stereotype ($p = .196$; $F = 1.639$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .009$).

3. Three-Way Interactions:

A. Target race*Respondent race*Stereotype

There was no significant interaction between target race, respondent race and stereotype ($p = .552$; $F = .596$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .003$).

4.3.2.3 White subtypes: Afrikaans and English whites

For the white subtypes, a 2 x 4 x 2 ANOVA was computed, with one within-subjects factor (white subtype: Afrikaans and English whites) and two between-subjects factors (race and stereotype).

Target race	Respondent race	Mean favourability		
		Cultural	Personal	Total
Afrikaans whites	**Black**	-1.4503	-1.7433	-1.6030
	Indian	-1.2300	-.8822	-1.0351
	White	-1.2830	-.7877	-1.0311
English whites	**Black**	1.2336	1.1609	1.1958
	Indian	1.4925	.9465	1.1865
	White	1.0192	.4971	.7537

Table 13. Mean favourability for the white subtypes

1. **Main Effects:**
   - **A. Target race (within-subjects)**

     A significant difference in mean favourability was found between Afrikaans and English whites ($p < .0001$; $F = 174.311$; $df=1$). This difference was very large ($\eta p^2 = .328$). Respondents described English whites ($M = 1.1216$) significantly more favourably than Afrikaans whites ($M = -1.3677$).
   - **B. Respondent race (between-subjects)**

     No significant differences in mean favourability were found between the black, Indian, and white respondents ($p = .288$; $F = 1.250$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .007$).
   - **C. Stereotype (between-subjects)**

     No significant difference was found in mean favourability between the two stereotype conditions ($p = .565$; $F = .331$; $df = 1$; $\eta_p^2 = .001$).

2. **Two-Way Interactions:**
   - **A. Target race*Respondent race**

     There was a significant interaction between target race and respondent race ($p = .043$; $F = 3.178$; $df = 2$). Though significant, this was a very small effect ($\eta p^2 = .017$). Afrikaans whites were described least favourably by black respondents, and English whites were described least favourably by white respondents. White respondents showed the smallest differential in favourability between the two subtypes (fig. 6).

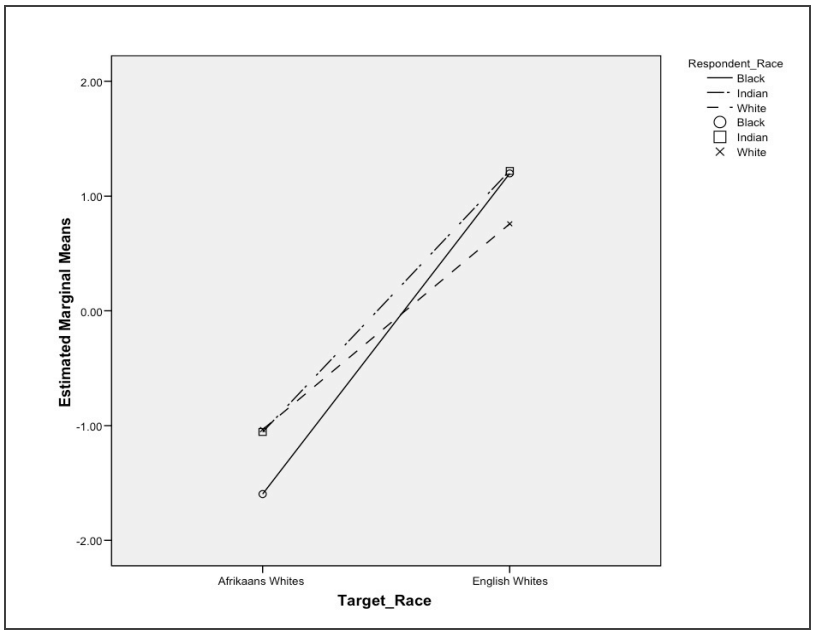

Fig. 6. Interaction between respondent race and white subtype

B. Target race*Stereotype

No significant interaction was found between target race and stereotype ($p = .105$; $F = 2.645$; $df = 1$; $\eta_p^2 = .007$).

C. Respondent race*Stereotype

There was no significant interaction between respondent race and stereotype ($p = .912$; $F = .092$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .001$).

3. Three-Way Interactions:

A. Target race*Respondent race*Stereotype

There was no significant interaction between target race, respondent race and stereotype ($p = .166$; $F = 1.805$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .010$).

4.3.2.4 Conclusion

For the global racial categories, a significant difference between personal and cultural stereotypes was found. Overall, personal stereotypes were significantly more favourable than cultural stereotypes. This is consistent with our hypothesis that personal stereotypes would be more favourable than cultural stereotypes. However, for the black racial subtypes (city and rural blacks) and the white racial subtypes (English and Afrikaans whites), there was very little evidence to support Devine and Elliot's hypothesis (i.e. that personal stereotypes may change while cultural stereotypes remain relatively stable).

4.3.3 Global versus Subtype Hypothesis

This part of the study looked at whether the global racial categories (i.e. black and white) reflect at least one of their corresponding subtypes. For example, which subtype, rural or city blacks is most represented in the global black stereotype? The attempt to answer this was tackled both qualitatively and quantitatively. The descriptive tables presented at the beginning of this chapter (tables 6, 7, 8) were qualitatively analysed for similarities and differences between the global racial category and the corresponding subtypes, and ANOVAs were carried out to determine quantitatively which subtype was reflected in each global category.

4.3.3.1 Qualitative Analysis

Black, city black, and rural black target groups

For the black respondents, the rural black stereotype seems to be more reflected in the global black category for the cultural stereotype condition, with four out of five corresponding traits (traditional, respectful, criminal, poor; table 6; B2, B3), as opposed to only one of five traits for city blacks (criminal; table 6; B1); as well as for the personal stereotype condition with two of five corresponding traits (traditional, respectful; table 6; C2, C3) as opposed to no matching traits for city blacks and blacks.

This same pattern was observed for the white and Indian respondents. Indian respondents had three corresponding traits for the rural blacks (poor, traditional, criminal; table 7; B1, B2, B3) compared to no matching traits for city blacks for the cultural condition, and two matching traits (traditional, criminal) for rural blacks over one matching trait for city blacks for the personal condition (loud; table 7; C1, C2, C3).

White respondents had four out of five corresponding traits for rural blacks (uneducated, poor, traditional, criminal) and only one out of five for city blacks (poor) for the cultural condition (table 8; B1, B2, B3). For the personal stereotype condition, rural blacks had two corresponding traits (traditional, poor) as opposed to only one (poor) for city blacks (table 8; C1, C2, C3).

White, Afrikaans white, and English white target groups

For the white stereotypes, it was not clear which subtype was most reflected in the global category. Black respondents had four out of five corresponding traits for English whites (racist, wealthy, arrogant, educated), and three for Afrikaans whites (racist, wealthy, arrogant) for the cultural condition (table 6; B4, B5, B6). For the personal condition, English whites had

three out of five matching traits (racist, wealthy, friendly) and two out of five (racist, arrogant) for Afrikaans whites (table 6; C4, C5, C6).
For the Indian respondents the corresponding traits were the same for each subtype for both personal and cultural stereotype conditions. The English white subtype had three corresponding traits with the global white category (wealthy, friendly, arrogant), as did the Afrikaans subtype (racist, wealthy, arrogant) for the cultural stereotype condition. This was true also for the personal stereotype condition with the English white subtype having three corresponding traits with the global category (racist, wealthy, friendly), as well as the Afrikaans subtype (racist, friendly, arrogant) (table 7; B4, B5, B6; C4, C5, C6).
For white respondents, it appears that the English white subtype is more reflected in the global category, however only slightly so, with two out of five corresponding traits for English whites (arrogant, wealthy), as opposed to only one matching trait for Afrikaans whites (racist) for the cultural condition (table 8; B4, B5, B6). This was true for the personal stereotype conditions as well, with two out of five corresponding traits for English whites (racist, wealthy), as opposed to only one matching trait for Afrikaans whites (racist; table 8; C4, C5, C6).

4.3.3.2 Quantitative Analysis

3 (Respondent race) x 2 (Target race) ANOVAs were conducted for each global versus subtype comparison:

Black stereotypes:

1) Black versus city black
2) Black versus rural black

White stereotypes:

3) White versus Afrikaans white
4) White versus English white

To reduce the chance of Type 1 error, a Bonferroni correction was calculated. The alpha value was decreased from .05 to .0125, decreasing the family wise error rate by .1364, from .1855 to .0491 (Type $1 = 1 - [(1-\alpha)^4]$).

4.3.3.2.1 Global black stereotype versus city and rural black subtypes

There was no significant difference in mean favourability between city blacks and blacks between the three groups of respondents ($p = .031$). As discussed above, the Bonferroni calculation recommends only results with a p-value of .01 or lower be considered significant. There was a significant difference between the respondent groups for rural blacks and blacks ($p < .0001$; $F = 9.883$; $df=2$; $\eta p2 = .027$). Multiple comparisons revealed that black respondents ($M = .09$) described rural blacks significantly more favourably than both Indian ($M = -.67$) and white respondents ($M = -.78$).

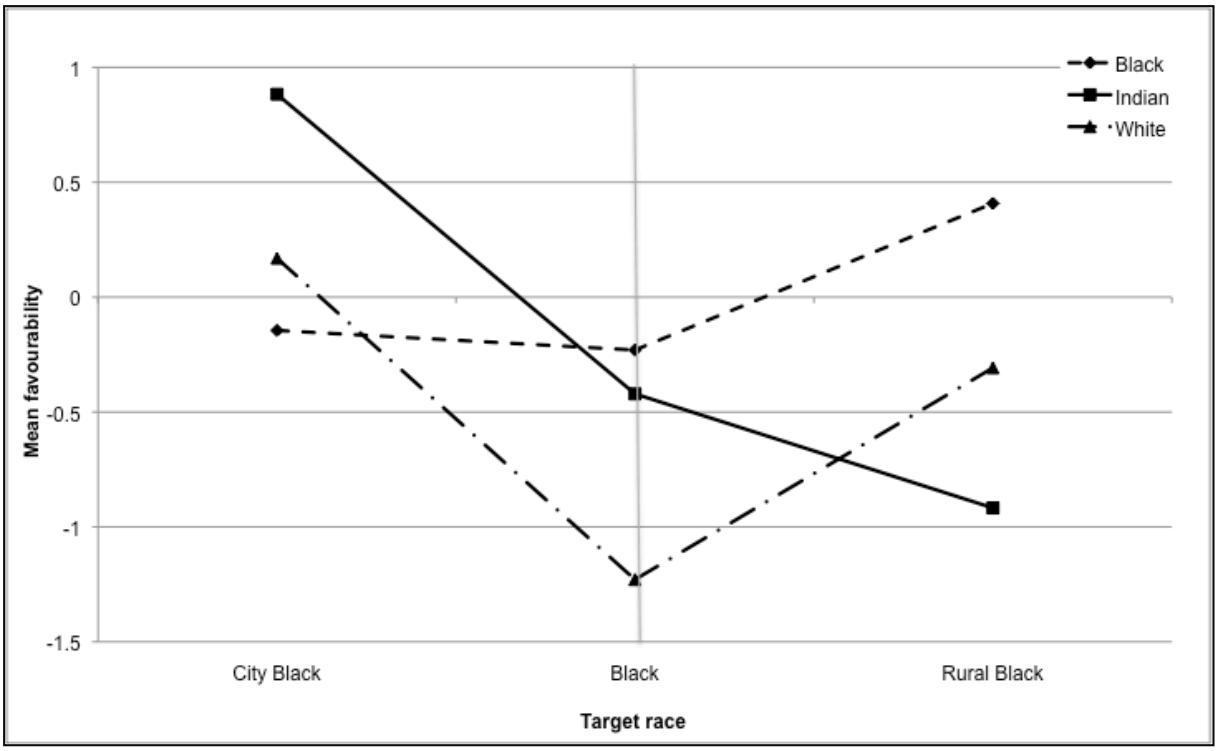

Fig. 7. Global-Subtype Comparison: Black, city black, and rural black

An overall difference in mean favourability was found between blacks and city blacks ($p < .0001$; $F = 18.865$; $df=1$; $\eta p2 = .026$), but there was no significant difference between rural blacks and blacks. City blacks ($M = .16$) were described significantly more favourably than blacks in general ($M = -.45$), whereas rural blacks ($M = -.04$) and blacks ($M = -.45$) were not described significantly differently. This result is consistent with our findings discussed in the qualitative analysis above, that the rural black subtype is most reflected in the global category. Statistical analysis reveals that the mean favourability of the two categories does not differ significantly.

There was a significant interaction between respondent race and target race for the city black/black comparison ($p = .004$; $F = 5.451$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .015$), as well as the rural black/black comparison ($p = .012$; $F = 4.439$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .012$). The profile plot indicates that white and Indian respondents described city blacks significantly more favourably than blacks in general, whereas, black respondents did not describe the two groups very differently. It can also be seen that there was no significant difference in respondents' descriptions of rural blacks and blacks (fig. 7).

4.3.3.2.2 Global white stereotype versus English and Afrikaans white subtypes

A significant difference in mean favourability was found between whites and English whites ($p < .0001$; $F = 20.267$; $df=1$; $\eta p2 = .027$), as well as between whites and Afrikaans whites ($p < .0001$; $F = 69.192$; $df=1$; $\eta p2 = .089$). This concurs with the qualitative analysis above, which showed that the global white racial category shared a similar amount of traits with the English white stereotype as with the Afrikaans white stereotype, which suggests that the global white racial category is an aggregate of its two corresponding subtypes. The profile plot below shows that all respondent groups described Afrikaans whites less favourably than the global white racial category, while English whites were described more favourably (see fig. 8).

There was no significant interaction between respondent race and target race for both the white/Afrikaans white comparison ($p = .05$; $F = 3.025$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .008$), and the white/English white comparison ($p = .95$; $F = .055$; $df = 2$; $\eta_p^2 = .000$).

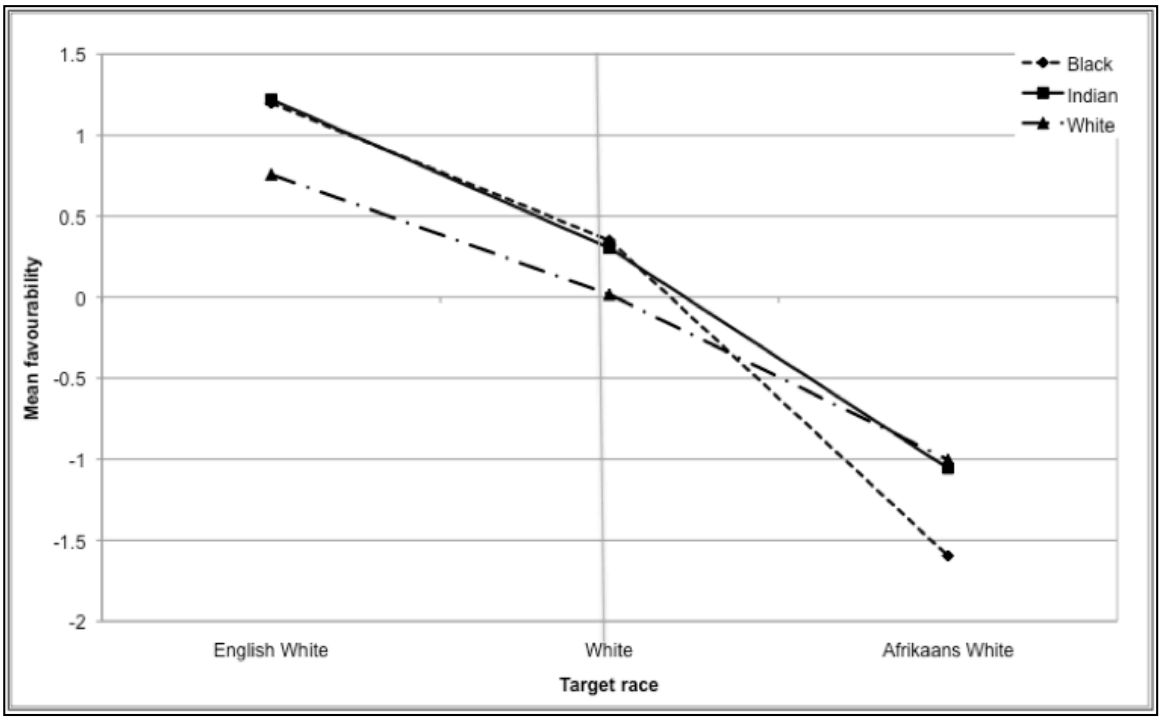

Fig. 8 Global-Subtype Comparison: White, English white, and Afrikaans white

4.4.3.2.3 Conclusion

For the black stereotypes, the rural black subtype is most similar to the global black category, in traits used to describe each group, and in mean favourability. For the white stereotypes however, it seems that the white global category is an aggregate of its corresponding subtypes. Traits associated with both the Afrikaans and the English white subtypes were reflected in the global category. Thus the findings for the black categories agree with Devine and Baker's (1991) hypothesis that each global stereotype tends to reflect at least one of its subtypes. The white categories do not fit this mould completely since the white global category appears to be a compromise of both subtypes.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Trends and transitions: the present study versus past research

There has been an interesting change in the language used to describe racial stereotypes between the two studies. In van den Berghe's (1962) study, city blacks were described as "progressive", whereas in the present study "detraditionalised" appeared more frequently. Based on the favourability ratings of these two words, "progressive" was rated to be a more favourable trait than "detraditionalised". It seems that the modernization of city blacks was seen as a positive change in van den Berghe's study. However, in the present study, city blacks seem to be described more in terms of a *lack* of tradition (i.e. *de*traditionalised). Perhaps this is related to a fear that moving away from traditional African culture is tantamount to 'becoming white'. Perhaps the abolishment of Apartheid has resulted in a movement to preserve culture in the face of integration. These conjectures are merely posed to invite further investigation.

In van den Berghe's study, rural blacks were described as "subservient", "backward", and "respectful", in the present study as "traditional" and "uneducated". "Respectful" can be seen as a more euphemistic way of describing the previously "subservient" rural black. Even though the language has changed, the respondents seem to still be describing rural blacks in much the same way; that they are simple, obedient, and essentially non-threatening socioeconomically speaking.

Overall, the respondents described these target groups in much the same way between the two studies, albeit using quite different language. This finding supports our decision to use a free-response method. In allowing the respondents to freely respond without the constraint of a trait list, it was possible to examine changes in language over the two studies. Karlins et al. (1969) also noticed a change in language in their third generation Princeton study. The traits selected by the respondents to describe the stereotypes had changed somewhat over the years, even though the favourability of these stereotypes appeared to have remained relatively stable.

Despite the changes in language used, in many ways, racial stereotypes in South Africa have not changed considerably over the past 50 years. A similar dichotomy between the "simple" "subservient" rural black and the "progressive" but "violent" city black was observed in both

studies. Similarly, there was a clear distinction between the "snobbish" English white, and the "racist" "cruel" Afrikaans white. That these trends have persisted for over half a century indicates that while stereotypes are fluid and responsive to social change, they can also be incredibly rigid in some respects.

5.2 Fading Hypothesis: Changes in stereotype favourability over time

For Indian and white respondents, the city black stereotype has become more favourable since 1962**,** while the rural black stereotype has become less favourable. Since the end of Apartheid, there has been a growing black middle class in South Africa. It appears that other race groups do not perceive this change in socioeconomic status as a threat. This is reflected in the ways the city black target group was described by the respondents. Adjectives such as "wealthy", "educated" and "advantaged" appeared amongst the top traits. Social status threat does not seem to be the determining factor of favourability here. This could be related to the shift from a context of political conflict (where urban blacks were associated with 'terrorist' activity and violence) to the present context of integration. In terms of the favourability differences between rural and city blacks, perhaps Indian and white respondents perceive city blacks as more "civilized" and "progressive" than rural blacks.

Black respondents on the other hand, show a converse trend. For these respondents, the city black stereotype has become significantly less favourable. The rural black cultural stereotype remains as unfavourable as in van den Berghe's (1962) study, but the personal stereotype has become significantly more favourable. Perhaps black respondents in the present study experience discomfort at the perceived progressiveness of the city black demographic, while appreciating the rural black group's perceived respect for tradition. This is an interesting finding in that this study's sample were educated students, so one might assume that the black respondents would identify more with the city black category than the rural black subtype. However, these are all mere speculations that invite further explanatory research.

The English and Afrikaans subtypes are skewed in significantly opposite directions in the present study. Afrikaans whites are viewed significantly less favourably now than in 1962, and the English white subtype has become more favourable overall. The Afrikaans stereotype has been consistently negative throughout the South African research, and our study revealed a particularly negative Afrikaans stereotype. The English white stereotype is relatively favourable by comparison. These patterns are evident in past research as well. It is interesting

that these two white subgroups should be described so differently. The English are perhaps not perceived to be as responsible for the Apartheid regime. However, interestingly it was often the English that benefited most from the system. It seems that van den Berghe's (1962) attribution that Afrikaners are associated with Apartheid oppression is the driving force behind these stereotypes, and this perception appears to still be salient today.

5.3 Personal versus cultural stereotypes

Omnibus tests revealed a significant difference between personal and cultural stereotypes for the global racial categories. That is, for the white, black, Indian and coloured racial categories, personal stereotypes were significantly more favourable than cultural stereotypes. This is consistent with our hypothesis that personal stereotypes would be more favourable than cultural stereotypes. However, for the black racial subtypes (city and rural blacks) and the white racial subtypes (English and Afrikaans whites), there was no evidence to support Devine and Elliot's hypothesis. For both the black and white subtypes, there was no statistically significant difference between the two stereotype conditions.

Black respondents' cultural stereotypes of blacks were considerably unfavourable (standardized favourability score = -.35), whereas their personal stereotypes were significantly more favourable. However, the favourability score for personal stereotypes was only just favourable (i.e. standardized favourability score = .03). Black respondents in this study seem to hold that culturally, blacks are stereotyped unfavourably, and personally black respondents see themselves in a more favourable light. However, this self-stereotype is barely favourable. The system-justification function of stereotypes, as described by Jost and Hamilton's (2005), is possibly being reflected here. Black respondents may be showing an internalization of a negative cultural stereotype of blacks that is then reflected somewhat in their own personal stereotypes. White and Indian respondents' auto-stereotypes were more favourable than their stereotypes of other racial groups. Black respondents however, described whites more favourably than their own race. This again demonstrates Jost and Hamilton's (2005) system-justification hypothesis, where subjugated groups can come to hold more favourable attitudes toward other more advantaged groups than their own subjugated group. Blacks are no longer politically subjugated, however there may still be remnants of a sense of inferiority instilled by the Apartheid system.

Uniformity variations between personal and cultural stereotypes

As discussed, no stereotype uniformity data was available for van den Berghe's study so no longitudinal comparisons could be made in this regard. However, the uniformity data from the present study is interesting in itself. According to Devine and Elliot (1995) cultural stereotypes are likely to be more uniform than personal beliefs about racial groups. Our data reflected this. Overall, cultural stereotypes were more uniform than personal stereotypes. However, this difference was minimal. Our data revealed a high correlation between the uniformity of personal and cultural stereotypes (correl. = 0,83. Chapter 4, table 10). The only exception was the city black category where the cultural stereotype was less uniform than the personal stereotype. The personal stereotype for city blacks was similar to the personal stereotype for rural blacks. The uniformity scores for each were similar (i.e. 10, 6 and 10, 2 respectively. See table 10). However, the scores for the cultural stereotypes for rural and city blacks were quite different (i.e. 8,5 and 14,8 respectively, Table 10). Therefore it is the uniformity score for the cultural stereotype that is relatively large. This may be an indication of the respondents' possible uncertainty about the cultural stereotype of city blacks. The city black category may be undergoing a transition of sorts, which may be associated with the growth in the South African black middle class. Culturally, there may be some ambivalence as to how this group should be described.

5.4 Global versus Subordinate stereotypes

Devine and Baker (1991) suggest that at least one subtype will be reflected in its corresponding global category. Our study partially confirmed this. For the black stereotypes, the rural black subtype was most reflected in the global black category. For the white stereotypes however, it seemed that traits associated with both Afrikaans and English whites were equally reflected in the global category.

City blacks were often labeled as "coconuts" - a rather scathing term used to describe black people that 'act white'. City blacks were also frequently described as "westernized" and "detraditionalised". This description suggests that city blacks are possibly seen as less traditional than rural black South Africans, perhaps explaining why the rural black subtype is more evident in the global black category; city blacks are not seen as traditionally black in the cultural sense of the word. This was only the case with black respondents however. White respondents rated both city and rural black subtypes more favorably than the black global

category. It seems that for white respondents, the black category evokes the most negative stereotyping. Indian respondents rated city blacks more favourably than the global black category, and rural blacks as unfavourably as the black global category. As mentioned above, Indian and white respondents may see city blacks as more “civilised” and “progressive” than rural blacks.

The white global stereotype appears to represent an aggregate of the negative Afrikaans stereotype and the relatively favourable English stereotype that emerged in the subtype condition.

5.5 Contribution to international literature

This study has demonstrated the value of using a free response method in investigating stereotype content. It freed the respondents from the constraints of the classically used adjective list. A free response method also opened up the opportunity to analyze changes in the language used to describe stereotypes.

Using Rothbart and Park’s (1986) method, we were able to quantify the favourability of the stereotypes investigated, in both our study and retrospectively for van den Berghe's (1962) data, allowing for a more in depth analysis of stereotype change over time. This was a novel endeavor and could be useful in further stereotype research.

In addition to replicating van den Berghe’s (1962) study, we distinguished clearly between personal and cultural stereotypes using a between-subjects design. In doing so it was possible to compare these two types of stereotypes.

According to the available literature, this appears to be the first attempt in South African social science research to compare stereotype content over time.

5.6 Critical reflection

5.6.1 Lack of access to van den Berghe's (1962) full dataset

As mentioned above, van den Berghe's (1962) original data was lost in a fire, hence the available baseline data was somewhat limited. Fortunately, this did not pose a major problem to most of the study's original aims. It was still possible to make comparisons of both stereotype content and favourablity. However, we were not able to compare stereotype uniformity between the two studies. Uniformity scores were not calculated in van den Berghe's (1962) study, and we would have needed his full dataset to calculate this. Nonetheless, uniformity scores were presented in this study for interests' sake, and perhaps for comparison with future replications.

5.6.2 Race as a sensitive issue

Race can be a sensitive issue for some, which may be the reason that a few empty questionnaires were returned during the data collection process. We anticipated this problem, thus we made sure to use as large a sample as possible in the event that several were returned incomplete.

5.6.3 Judge comparability

Since this study was a replication, it was essential that the sample was comparable to van den Berghe's sample. For the stereotype content study, our sample and van den Berghe's were indeed comparable. Both groups were first year university students in KwaZulu-Natal. However, there was some concern at first about using our favourability scores for van den Berghe's data, as it may be possible that if the words were rated by judges in 1962, the ratings may be somewhat different to those our judges gave due to historical changes in word meanings for example. However, both cohorts were upwardly mobile and tertiary educated. Nonetheless, we correlated some of our judges' ratings with those of Karlins et al. (1969) ratings as a precaution and found there was indeed a very high correlation. We therefore accepted our retrospective favourability scores as valid.

5.7 Further Research

In terms of further research:

- We suggest replications of this study be carried out in the future in order to further examine stereotype change. Including uniformity calculations so as to compare changes in stereotype consensus over time in South Africa.
- It would be interesting to investigate possible theoretical explanations of the results of this study and others hopefully to follow (e.g. Stereotype Content Model, see Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999).
- Traits were rated in terms of favourability in order to quantitatively compare the favourability of the investigated target groups. However, it would be interesting to investigate the nature of the traits assigned to various target groups along other dimensions. For example, in terms of competence and warmth (see Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, Glick, 1999; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002), or dispositional versus non-dispositional traits (Macrae, Stangor & Hewstone, 1996).
- In terms of the investigation of global racial categories versus their corresponding subtypes, future studies could explore whether there is an interaction between respondent race and the subtype reflected in the described global racial category.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This study analysed changes in the content and favourability of South African racial stereotypes between van den Berghe (1962) and the present study. We also expanded the scope of the previous study by investigating stereotype uniformity, the difference between personal and cultural stereotypes, and the degree to which racial subtypes overlap with their corresponding global category.

A comparison of the datasets from the two studies revealed an interesting change in the language used by the respondents to describe the various racial groups investigated. However, many trends noticed in van den Berghe's study have persisted today, in particular the negative stereotyping of Afrikaners, particularly in relation to the English whites. While some stereotypes have become more favourable, overall it seems that stereotypes are at least as (if not more) negative now as in 1962, with the exception of English whites and city blacks, which were described more favourably in the present study.

Personal stereotypes were significantly more favourable than cultural stereotypes for the global racial categories, but not for the two racial subtype groups. Our hypothesis that personal stereotypes would be more favourable than cultural stereotypes was thus only partially confirmed.

The global versus subtype analysis revealed that the rural black subtype was most evidently reflected in the global black category. The white global category on the other hand, seemed to be an aggregate of the English and Afrikaans white subtypes, as both were equally reflected in the global white category.

Taking a 'snapshot' of stereotypes at a particular point in time, although interesting (and often disturbing), is not very informative in and of itself. Stereotypes are fluid and often highly contradictory therefore we cannot learn much about prejudice by studying their contents alone at great length. Studying *changes* in stereotype content *over time* is immensely valuable however. In doing so, it becomes possible to assess shifts in people's perceptions and changes in society's consciousness as a whole.

South Africa's sociopolitical climate has changed dramatically since the end of Apartheid. Affirmative action policies have ensured integration of the previously segregated racial groups, in business, in government, in schools and universities. However despite this, South Africa cannot expect hundreds of years of oppression and racial conflict to be forgotten in only 16 years of democracy. There are still people alive that lived under the Apartheid regime, both those who perpetrated, and were victims of, politically motivated crime. It cannot be expected that these attitudes will just dissipate. Attitudes are likely to persist for some time and spill over onto younger generations.

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APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRES

(Note: first two pages are the same for all four questionnaires)

Pg. 1

What groups of people exist in South Africa?

_____

_____

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOVE

Pg. 2

Please indicate the race group to which you belong by ticking the appropriate box.

PLEASE DO NOT make any other identifying marks on this page

PLEASE keep this page attached to the questionnaire. Please READ all instructions CAREFULLY

Black □

White □

Indian □

Coloured □

Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your gender by ticking the appropriate box

Male □

Female □

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRES (contd)

Questionnaire 1.1 Cultural Stereotypes of racial subtypes.

On the page below you will find labels referring to some of the groups in South Africa next to a series of blank lines. Read the group labels on the page and write down the characteristics that you believe capture the CULTURAL conception of these groups or GENERAL view of each of these groups by most people in South Africa. This is how most people view each of these groups. These thoughts could include traits, behaviours, beliefs, and so on. The thoughts that you list might or might not reflect your personal beliefs about the group. List as many traits as you can think of which make up the CULTURAL stereotype of each group whether or not you believe the stereotype to be true.

City Blacks

_____

_____

Rural blacks

_____

_____

English whites

_____

_____

Afrikaans whites

_____

_____

Questionnaire 1.2 Personal Stereotypes of racial subtypes.

Questionnaire 1.3 Cultural Stereotypes of global categories

Questionnaire 1.4 Personal Stereotypes of global categories

APPENDIX 2: LETTER GIVEN TO JUDGES

Dear Colleague

Thank you for agreeing to help us with the task of rating the following adjectives/traits which were collected in research with undergraduates looking at stereotypes of various groups of people in South Africa. We are hoping that your help will assist us to take this research a step further

Theoretically, it is argued that the adjectives or traits used to describe people or various groups of people vary along several dimensions. The dimensions that we are interested in here are those of favourability, warmth and competence. What we are asking you to help with is to assess where you think each of the traits or adjectives in the list below fall on each dimension. You will be asked to help us with ONE of these dimensions that we are interested in.
We are asking you to share your thoughts with us because you are a first language English speaker and, as a post-graduate student, you have demonstrated your ability to use English and are therefore likely to be able to engage with the meanings of the traits with which you will be presented. There are no right or wrong responses in this evaluation task. This task may require you to think about the adjectives, and the way in which you evaluate them, in ways you have not been asked to do before. We ask you nevertheless to try and engage with the task.

Your evaluations of the traits will not be linked to you in any way, but will form part of our research looking at the content of intergroup stereotypes in South Africa.
The task should take approximately an hour of your time, perhaps less.
You will be paid R50 in recognition of your work to assist us in this study.

If you have any further questions about this study, or your role in this study, please feel free to contact Professor Kevin Durrheim
Durrheim@ukzn.ac.za; Tel: 033 260 5348.
Thank you

APPENDIX 3: INSTRUCTIONS FOR RATING FAVOURABILITY

We frequently use adjectives or traits to describe the characteristics of individuals or groups of individuals. Some of the traits used to describe people might lead you to regard the people possessing the trait *favourably* or in a positive light. Other traits might lead you to regard a person possessing the trait *unfavourably*. For example if a person "James" is described using the adjective "pleasant" how favourably or unfavourably would that lead you to think of "James"?

For each of the traits on the provided list please judge how favourably or unfavourably you would regard a person possessing that trait. Please rate each trait/adjective on the scale from *very unfavourably* to *very favourably* depending on how favourably you would regard a person (or group) who could be described using that trait or adjective.
We ask you please to try to rate each trait, however if you find it impossible to rate a particular trait please put a star next to it and do not rate it. Please do not rate an adjective if you do not understand its meaning.

APPENDIX 4: FAVOURABLITY SCALE

How favourably or unfavourably would you rate a person who possessed this trait?

	TRAIT	Highly Favourably	Favourably	Neutral	Unfavourably	Highly unfavourably
1	Accepting					
2	Adaptable					
3	Advantaged					
4	…					

APPENDIX 5: ADJECTIVE FACTOR SCORES

	Adjective	Fav.
1	Accepting	0.91393
2	Adaptable	1.20543
3	Advantaged	0.4688
4	Affectionate	1.12352
5	Afrikaans-speaking	0.01517
6	Aggressive	-1.03166
7	Alcoholic/drunkards	-1.57255
8	Ambitious	1.25176
9	Angry	-0.94318
10	Animal loving	1.13432
11	Anti-traditional	0.22223
12	Apathetic	-0.83436
13	Appreciative	1.41768
14	Approachable	1.60477
15	Argumentative	-0.33236
16	Arrogant	-0.89612
17	Assertive	0.49321
18	Attention seeking	-1.11974
19	Backstabbing	-1.35827
20	Backward	-0.74954
21	Backward-looking	-0.96625
22	Bad drivers	-0.95316
23	Badly behaved	-1.34863
24	Bargain hunters	0.3282
25	Boastful	-1.00763
26	Brave	1.23571
27	Business-minded	0.91719
28	Business-oriented	0.66885
29	Calm	1.29308
30	Can’t get over apartheid	-0.87506
31	Changeable	0.6049
32	Chaotic	-0.4727
33	Charming	1.05252
34	Cheap	-0.60646
35	Christian	0.18761
36	Civilized	1.01829
37	Clannish	-0.49651
38	Clean	1.41089
39	Clever	1.30979
40	Closed minded	-1.16048
41	Clumsy	-0.61006
42	Coconuts	-0.8413
43	Cold	-0.81766
44	Colour conscious	-0.61095
45	Committed	1.60779

46	Community oriented	0.90049
47	Compassionate	1.74583
48	Competitive	0.30116
49	Conceited	-1.32504
50	Confident	1.5299
51	Conformist	-0.07651
52	Confused	-0.24117
53	Conservative	-0.46193
54	Considerate	1.4052
55	Conventional	-0.11939
56	Corrupt	-1.67486
57	Cosmopolitan	0.41753
58	Creative	1.55013
59	Criminal	-1.50238
60	Critical	0.52111
61	Crooked	-1.23248
62	Cruel	-1.67486
63	Cultured	1.31061
64	Cunning	-0.68002
65	Dangerous	-1.42652
66	Deceitful	-1.54515
67	Decent	1.40708
68	Defensive	-0.90244
69	Determined	1.52489
70	Detraditionalised	-0.41306
71	Devious	-0.92263
72	Dirty	-0.90433
73	Disadvantaged	-0.00016
74	Disciplined	1.29209
75	Discriminatory	-1.01722
76	Disease ridden	-1.16467
77	Dishonest	-1.54515
78	Disobedient	-0.96547
79	Disrespectful	-1.33193
80	Distinctive way of	0.35799
81	Distrustful	-0.83707
82	Disunited	-0.37931
83	Diverse	0.69673
84	Dogmatic	-0.53447
85	Dominant	-0.23798
86	Domineering	-0.84279
87	Down to earth	1.2083
88	Drug-taking	-1.26265
89	Easily led	-0.76706
90	Easy going	1.31061
91	Eat eastern food	0.39102
92	Educated	1.333
93	Elite	0.19272
94	Energetic	0.83803

95	English-proficient	1.09657
96	English-speaking	0.88896
97	Ethnocentric	-0.5508
98	Exploitative	-1.33865
99	Expressive	1.2356
100	Fair	1.59517
101	Fair skinned	0.15128
102	Fake	-1.10993
103	Family oriented	1.13041
104	Fanatical	-1.10222
105	Farmers	-0.00038
106	Fashionable	0.37743
107	Fearful	-0.63558
108	Feel entitled	-1.32315
109	Feel guilty	-0.33978
110	Financially stable	0.82871
111	Forgiving	1.31061
112	Frank	0.92926
113	Frenetic	-0.61244
114	Friendly	1.62802
115	Fun-loving	1.4148
116	Gangsters	-1.59697
117	Generalizing	-0.72516
118	Generous	1.4052
119	Genuine	1.55895
120	Goal oriented	1.30858
121	Good craftsmen	0.88791
122	Good farmers	0.97269
123	Good in business	1.2083
124	Good sense of humor	1.52383
125	Gossiping gossip	-1.10894
126	Greedy	-1.24946
127	Gregarious	0.87728
128	Group-oriented	0.90341
129	Gullible	-0.32944
130	Happy	1.56364
131	Hardworking	1.61739
132	Hateful	-1.55706
133	Haughty	-1.02416
134	Have large families	-0.07655
135	Hedonistic	-0.52032
136	Helpful	1.31061
137	Hindi	0.48561
138	Homeless	0.44371
139	Homely	1.12352
140	Honest	1.75642
141	Hospitable	1.41768
142	Hostile	-1.45393
143	Hypocritical	-1.24797

144	Idealistic	0.71845
145	Identity confused	-0.46211
146	Ignorant	-0.76706
147	Illiterate	-0.54689
148	Imitative	-0.66188
149	Immoral	-1.45286
150	Impolite	-1.09934
151	Inappropriate	-0.99703
152	Incompetent	-0.90244
153	Inconsiderate	-1.20353
154	Independent	1.2346
155	Indifferent	-0.69467
156	Individualistic	0.28346
157	Inferior	-0.79726
158	Inflexible	-1.09934
159	Innovative	1.4052
160	Insolent	-1.20353
161	Insular	-1.25552
162	Intelligent	1.41497
163	Intolerant	-1.42734
164	Involved in drugs	-1.26265
165	Irreligious	-0.29194
166	Irresponsible	-1.12852
167	Jealous	-0.90244
168	Jewish	0.3678
169	Jingoistic	-0.58125
170	Jovial	1.12352
171	Judgmental	-1.02704
172	Kind	1.7332
173	Know-it-alls	-1.10894
174	Knowledgeable	1.14711
175	Lacking a sense of	-0.40821
176	Lacking future	-0.55957
177	Lacking identity	-0.40821
178	Lacking self pride	-0.74666
179	Lazy	-1.21412
180	Leaders	1.02849
181	Lenient parenting	0.12878
182	Liberal	0.81295
183	Like wors	0.09422
184	Live on the Cape flats	-0.01416
185	Long hair	0.48561
186	Lost	-0.74666
187	Loud	-0.68233
188	Low-class	-0.74666
189	Loyal	1.3212
190	Majority	0.3779
191	Malevolent	-1.29763
192	Manipulative	-1.14357

193	Marginalized	-0.28262
194	Materialistic	-0.83806
195	Mean	-1.32315
196	Middle class	0.4925
197	Migrant immigrants	-0.16461
198	Minority	-0.02255
199	Mixed mixture of races	0.18675
200	Modern	0.42791
201	Modest	1.2083
202	Money conscious	0.25352
203	Moral	1.7332
204	Mother-tongue speaking	0.84891
205	Motivated	1.40708
206	Multicultural	0.89922
207	Multilingual	1.49286
208	Musical	1.12472
209	Muslim	0.30254
210	Naive	-0.05525
211	Nasty	-1.20452
212	Nationalist	-0.01135
213	Neat	1.13041
214	Negative	-1.10122
215	No specific beliefs	-0.38923
216	No strong beliefs	-0.14271
217	Non-English proficient	-0.19723
218	Non-racial	1.13041
219	Non-traditional	0.39389
220	Obedient	0.83015
221	Obnoxious	-1.14566
222	Old fashioned	-0.20039
223	Open	1.2083
224	Open minded	1.31061
225	Opinionated	-0.64888
226	Opportunistic	-0.10951
227	Oppressive	-1.11182
228	Ostentatious	-0.76706
229	Outgoing	1.13041
230	Outspoken	0.24965
231	Over-reproducing	-0.55006
232	Overtly sexual	-0.81844
233	Patriarchal	-0.83806
234	Patriotic	1.21889
235	Patronizing	-0.76706
236	Peaceful	1.51039
237	Perform sacrifice	0.03987
238	Physically attractive	1.07986
239	Polite	1.49958
240	Politically conscious	0.92127
241	Pompous	-1.00663

242	Poor	-0.35037
243	Positive	1.2083
244	Potentially racist	-0.84766
245	Power hungry	-0.9557
246	Powerful	0.41002
247	Prejudiced	-1.15675
248	Pretentious	-0.81766
249	Previously advantaged	-0.40483
250	Previously	0.4554
251	Privileged	0.56737
252	Professional	0.94734
253	Progressive	1.10599
254	Promiscuous	-1.22085
255	Proud	0.31528
256	Provincial	-0.01135
257	Pugnacious	-0.76706
258	Quarrelsome	-1.00663
259	Quick-tempered	-0.99703
260	Quiet	0.69321
261	Racist	-1.45475
262	Religious	0.37387
263	Reserved	0.37432
264	Respectful	1.31061
265	Rhythmic	0.82953
266	Romantic	1.3342
267	Rough	-0.90244
268	Rude	-1.10894
269	Rugby	-0.28262
270	Rural	0.07062
271	Seen as superior	-0.42507
272	Segregatory	-1.10251
273	Self-bettering	0.68181
274	Selfish	-1.10894
275	Self-sufficient	1.21519
276	Semi-educated	0.18744
277	Sexually perverse	-1.23193
278	Sheltered	-0.14569
279	Shy	0.0366
280	Simple	-0.2447
281	Slaughter animals	-0.80002
282	Smelly	-1.00763
283	Smoke	-1.09014
284	Smooth talking	-0.59065
285	Snobbish	-1.00475
286	Sociable	1.11371
287	Sophisticated	0.94062
288	Speak African languages	0.73319
289	Spoilt	-0.72307
290	Sporty	0.49768

291	Stingy	-0.91997
292	Straightforward	0.73902
293	Street-wise	0.37939
294	Strict	-0.20434
295	Strong	0.92292
296	Strong belief system	0.78389
297	Strong characters	1.13041
298	Struggling	-0.04128
299	Stubborn	-0.73267
300	Stupid	-0.74666
301	Submissive	-0.74666
302	Subservient	-0.71154
303	Successful	1.1469
304	Suffering made to suffer	-0.76751
305	Superficial	-0.90244
306	Superior	-0.5437
307	Superstitious	-0.53327
308	Supportive	1.4052
309	Suspicious	-0.61116
310	Sympathetic	1.2083
311	Talkative	0.40545
312	Technologically literate	0.65005
313	Teenage pregnancies	-1.03067
314	Tenacious	0.91393
315	Think that they are	-0.76751
316	Tolerant	1.4148
317	Traditional	-0.01704
318	Tradition less no culture	-0.32407
319	Troublemaking	-1.10894
320	Trusting	1.40708
321	Trustworthy	1.63861
322	Trying to be American	-1.10033
323	Two-faced	-1.20452
324	Unappreciative	-1.00763
325	Unapproachable	-0.90244
326	Uncivilized	-0.91303
327	Uncommunicative	-0.90244
328	Uncultured	-0.69594
329	Underdeveloped	-0.80785
330	Undermining	-1.09934
331	Uneducated	-0.72996
332	Unemployed	-0.82455
333	Unfriendly	-1.00475
334	United	0.56272
335	Unlawful	-1.14968
336	Unmannered	-1.00663
337	Unruly	-0.90244
338	Unskilled	-0.72996
339	Unsociable	-0.90244

340	Unspoiled	0.71735
341	Unsuccessful	-0.65395
342	Unsympathetic	-1.10122
343	Untidy	-0.62804
344	Untrustworthy	-1.34637
345	Upper class	-0.12309
346	Upwardly mobile	0.56591
347	Urbanized	0.34742
348	Use taxis	0.07751
349	Vibrant	1.30289
350	Violent	-1.46246
351	Warm	1.50939
352	Wealthy	0.58902
353	Wear khaki clothes	-0.02767
354	Wear saris	0.39102
355	Well behaved	1.13041
356	Well-built	0.90948
357	Well-dressed	1.01178
358	Well-mannered	1.31061
359	Well-spoken	1.13041
360	Westernized	0.2956
361	Witty	1.28928
362	Working class	-0.13378
363	Xenophobic	-1.16737
364	Zulu	0.45948

APPENDIX 6: FAVOURABILTY RATINGS – CORRELATION WITH KARLINS ET AL. (1969)

Adjective	Fav. Score		Adjective	Fav. Score	
	Our 2009	Karlins et al.		Our 2009	Karlins et al.
Intelligent	1,41	1,61	Materialistic	-0,84	-0,45
Honest	1,76	1,56	Argumentativ	-0,33	-0,5
Kind	1,73	1,29	Easily led	-0,77	-0,55
Sporty	0,50	1,19	Stubborn	-0,73	-0,58
Generous	1,41	1,17	Imitative	-0,66	-0,63
Ambitious	1,25	1,06	Naive	-0,06	-0,66
Individualistic	0,28	1,01	Pugnacious	-0,77	-0,73
Witty	1,29	1,01	Suspicious	-0,61	-0,75
Progressive	1,11	0,99	Loud	-0,68	-0,83
Straightforwar	0,74	0,96	Superstitious	-0,53	-0,84
Jovial	1,12	0,92	Ostentatious	-0,77	-0,89
Musical	1,12	0,9	Quick-	-1,00	-0,9
Neat	1,13	0,86	Boastful	-1,01	-1,11
Sophisticated	0,94	0,74	Quarrelsome	-1,01	-1,11
Loyal	1,32	0,57	Lazy	-1,21	-1,12
Happy	1,56	0,45	Greedy	-1,25	-1,13
Traditional	-0,02	0,25	Arrogant	-0,90	-1,3
Religious	0,37	0,23	Ignorant	-0,77	-1,37
Quiet	0,69	0,2	Dirty	-0,90	-1,45
Aggressive	-1,03	0,18	Conceited	-1,33	-1,5
Reserved	0,37	0,12	Stupid	-0,75	-1,59
Jingoistic	-0,58	0,1	Rude	-1,11	-1,67
Conservative	-0,46	-0,06	Deceitful	-1,55	-1,73
Talkative	0,41	-0,13	Cruel	-1,67	-1,77
Conventional	-0,12	-0,3			
			Mean	**-0,06**	**-0,17**
			Correl	**0,91**	