THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF ETHNIC STEREOTYPING

Among secondary school learners in the Durban metropolitan area

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that the contents in this thesis constitute my own original work, which has not previously been presented to another institution, either in part or as a whole for the purposes of obtaining a degree.

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Abstract

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In this dissertation I present the results of an analysis of ethnic stereotyping among secondary school learners in the Durban metropolitan region. In the first part of the dissertation I review reports in the print media on the high levels of racial tension and confrontation that characterised communities, including schools, across the country since the new democratic dispensation that started in 1994. In subsequent chapters I review academic literature that reveal the extent of ethnic stereotyping worldwide, as well as the nature of stereotyping. In the penultimate chapter I utilise the insights gained from this literature review to interpret the results, obtained through a quantitative research methodology, showing that there is clear evidence for ethnic stereotyping among the respondents of the survey, and demonstrating the cognitive models that people use when they positively stereotype their own ethnic groups, while at the same time negatively stereotyping members of other ethnic groups.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my children and my dearest

Yetska.

May this dissertation be an inspiration to you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

WRITING CONVENTIONS

I wish to draw the attention of the reader to the following conventions that I am following in this study:

1. I am using the abbreviated Harvard style of referencing, for example Wellman 1992: 108, meaning Wellman 1992, page 108.

2. When reporting current events from the print media I provide the name of the publication, followed by the date of publication in brackets as in (*Natal Mercury*, 25/2/98).

3. I have made a conscious effort to limit the use of footnotes as far as possible in order to facilitate the uninterrupted reading of the dissertation.

4. Illustrative graphics, tables and graphs are all given as Figures 1 – 35 in their chronological sequence of appearance.

5. Where feasible I combined individual graphs into panels of graphs to facilitate the process of comparison.

ORIENTATION

This study focuses on the conceptual basis for ethnic stereotyping in multicultural classrooms in the Durban metropolitan region. In the present chapter I will provide a brief outline of the structure of this dissertation.

In chapter 2 I state the problems that will be investigated and I motivate why it is important to focus on stereotyping at the conceptual level rather than on the expressive level.

In chapter 3 I define and discuss the key concepts used in this study. I for instance focus on categorisation as basis for stereotyping, the role of values and beliefs as cognitive categories in the process of stereotyping, and the roles of prejudice, racism, ethnic identity, ethnocentrism and culture in stereotyping.

In chapter 4 I present an in-depth analysis of stereotyping, based on a review of current literature on the subject. In the latter part of the chapter I show that there isn't unanimity among scholars about the nature of stereotyping and I further explore stereotyping as instances of generic categorisation.

In chapter 5 I review current literature on how stereotyping can be measured by means of quantitative research.

In chapter 6 I state the aims of this research project and I outline and explain the research methodology that I utilised to gather data, to quantify and interpret the results, and to test the hypothesis of this study regarding the incidence of ethnic stereotyping in a number of secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region, namely that:

Learners from the four major ethnic groups in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region stereotype their own ethnic group positively, while at they at the same time stereotype other ethnic groups negatively.

In chapter 7 I present and interpret the results of the research and illustrate by means of a series of graphs to what extent learners from the different ethnic groups stereotype their own and other groups. Towards the end of the chapter I show what these results reveal regarding the cognitive models that learners from the different ethnic groups.

In chapter 8 I present the conclusions of my research and make a number of recommendations with regard to ethnic stereotyping at school level, and regarding the need for further research about other forms of stereotyping.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter I give a brief outline of the structure of this dissertation. In this chapter I will show that a study of stereotyping in South African schools is necessary. The racial tension that still racks the educational system in the aftermath of the introduction of the new educational policy in the absence of specific policies to guide the process of racial integration in schools is illustrated by newspaper reports. How the racial conflict at schools is taken up as human rights issue and the first moves to help reduce the racial tensions in the schools.

WHY A STUDY OF STEREOTYPING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS IS NECESSARY

Contemporary South Africa is a modern plural society. During the apartheid years (1948-1993) different groups (Black, White, Indian and Coloured)[1] were separated along the lines of ethnic, cultural and language differences. The scientific investigation of stereotypes has concerned itself with the mechanisms through which stereotypes and prejudice might be weakened, or even eliminated.

Allport, 1954: 187 emphasized the power of stereotypes to rationalize or justify behaviour towards someone or something. People tend to interpret the social world cognitively and emotionally. Allport 1954: 191 states, "The fact that prejudiced people so readily subscribe to

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1 The terms Black, White, Indian and Coloured in this study do not refer to a biological or fixed concept of race but refers to the legacy of the social and political system of racial classification that still permeates educational debate in South Africa.

self-contradictory stereotypes is one proof that genuine group traits are not the point at issue. The point at issue is rather that a dislike requires justification." Hewstone and Brown 1986: 1-44 examined intergroup encounters from a social-psychological perspective. Their study elucidated the individual and social processes in contact experiences.

Interventions to weaken or eliminate stereotypes and prejudice have not been very successful. An approach to prevent erroneous stereotypes forming could be more realistic. Although many cultural stereotypes (stereotypes associated with race, religion and gender) have been around for very long, there may be other stereotypes recently formed or developing within the different social structures.

Because people assume that stereotyping processes take place in the minds of *other* people or were characteristic of previous generations, they are reluctant to accept or recognize the possibility that they themselves indulge in stereotyping.

According to Schaller 1994: 54 educational experiences that provide people with practice in multidimensional logical and statistical thinking may have some important impact on these cognitive personality variables, and thus may have positive consequences of helping to prevent the formation of erroneous group stereotypes.

After Apartheid, integration of the different race groups in the schools took place very slowly, and very painfully, in many cases. Teachers, parents and pupils found it difficult to adjust due to cultural, religious, social and language differences.

Racial tensions in many schools led to violence and fighting as will be illustrated by the newspaper reports discussed later in this chapter. As a result of the large number of complaints received by the Human Rights Commission a study covering 90 schools in all provinces was done. A report on the findings and recommendations were compiled for further discussion.

The lack of a structured national programme for learners, educators, education authorities, and school management to deal appropriately with the challenges created by the increasingly diverse learner population racial violence and conflict escalated in some areas whilst in other areas it subsided.

It is hoped that this study can proactively confront issues of racial prejudice and racial integration in the education sector and help educators deal with multicultural classes.

The Eiselen Commission Report in 1951 and subsequent parliamentary acts such as the *Bantu Education Act of 1953*, the *Coloured Persons' Education Act of 1963* and the *Indian Education Act of 1965*- created different education departments to oversee the education of the different population groups in South Africa. Education policies in these departments based on the apartheid doctrine of Christian National Education maintained separate and segregated groups.

After the establishment of South Africa's first democratically elected government in April 1994 and subsequent adoption of the new South African constitution in 1996, these constitutionally classified groups were allowed to integrate for the first time - politically, socially and economically, and, significantly, educationally.

In the educational field the National Education Policy Act (1996, Section 4a), guarantees among other things the right:

Of every person to be protected against unfair discrimination within or by education departments or education institutions on any ground whatsoever;

Of every person to basic education and equal access to education institutions;

Of every person to the freedoms of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression and association within educational institutions.

The South African Schools Act (SASA Act No. 84 of 1996 as amended by Act 100 of 1997

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and 48 of 1999) that applies to school education in the Republic of South Africa took the racial integration issues addressed by the Constitution and the National Education Policy Act further to compel schools to open their doors to teachers and pupils of other race groups and multicultural classrooms evolved. *The South African Schools Act* 1996:1 preamble states:

Whereas the achievement of democracy in South Africa has consigned to history the past system of

education which was based on racial inequality and segregation; and Whereas this country requires

a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide

an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing lay a strong foundation

for the development of all our peoples talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transforma-

tion of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intoler-

ance, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and ad-

vance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators,

and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of

schools in partnership with the State; and

Whereas it is necessary to set uniform norms and standards for the education of learners at schools

and the organisation, governance and funding of schools throughout the Republic of South Africa."

The Constitution, the National Education Policy Act and *The South African Schools Act* provide the framework for a unified schooling system, by repealing apartheid legislation concerning schools, abolishing corporal punishment and admission tests and making education for children between the ages of 7 and 15 compulsory.

Lifelong learning through a National Curriculum Framework document, is informed by principles derived from the White Paper on Education and Training 1995, emphasises the need for major changes in education and training in South Africa to normalise and transform teaching and learning. The need to move from a traditional aims-and-objectives approach to

outcomes-based education was emphasized.

While the constitution and the various education acts recognise and acknowledge that stereotypes are a problem nothing has been done to actively confront problems emanating from this issue. This study attempts to indicate ways in which problem areas may be identified and possibly eliminated.

When people who have been separated for years by the apartheid system are suddenly grouped together fear, conflict and violence increased. This fear, conflict and violence are reflected in the reported subsequent racial violence in many of the schools and the urgent need for transformation in interracial behaviour in the schools countrywide became evident.

Racial violence is widespread in all provinces in South Africa, in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) and specifically in the metropolitan area of Durban as will be illustrated in the following examples sited.

Newspaper reports of racial incidents in South African schools

In 1997 in a school in Pretoria West, Elandspoort High School, [2] classes were suspended for a week after a racial fight that ended in two Black pupils being hospitalised. The clash erupted after a verbal dispute between two students and an Afrikaans teacher. The Black pupils alleged that racial tensions were being fuelled by a group of White boys who referred to the blacks as " kaffirs and niggers" An irate parent told the *Mail & Guardian* Black pupils were not welcome in a White school: "I don't know why they must go to White schools. Why can't they go back to Soweto or somewhere else?" (*Mail & Guardian, 31/10/97*)

In 1998 in the North West Province (Pretoria) White pupils attacked a group of Coloured

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2 In research of this nature it is incumbent on the researcher to demonstrate that a substantive problem is being investigated. In the case of this study it specifically means that proof must be given of racial tension in South African schools. The incidents that I cite from the print media in the paragraphs below are intended as such proof without intending to discredit specific ethnic groups or educational institutions. I will demonstrate by region that racism in schools is a countrywide problem, rather than report on individual incidents in chronological order.

pupils with sticks and pieces of wood. The clash was prompted by an incident during which a Coloured pupil allegedly threatened a White classmate with a knife. (*Natal Witness*, 7/02/98)

In 1998 twenty people were injured when racial violence broke out as a result of racial tension between black and White pupils in Vryburg High School in the North West Province (*Natal Mercury*, 25/2/98). In a school just outside Pietersburg, Kuschke Agricultural High School, a White pupil was beaten by a fellow White pupil for " making friends with Black guys" The education authorities then appointed a committee to investigate claims of racial attacks at the school (*Daily News* 7/09/99). A school in Escourt, in the Midlands, Drakensberg Secondary, was temporarily closed after racial conflict between Black and Indian pupils occurred (*Natal Mercury* 27/05/99). This ongoing feud between the pupils at Drakensberg Secondary exploded into violence a month later when ten pupils had to receive medical attention after they were kicked, beaten with sticks and pelted with stones, allegedly over a racist remark during which the word "kaffir"[3] was used (*Sunday Tribune* 20/06/99). In Pretoria, a Cullinan schoolteacher, who set an examination paper based on a story containing the word "kaffir", was allegedly fired when Black parents protested and accused the school of racism. According to the teacher he had explained to the pupils that the word is insulting, illegal, racist and offensive, but also told them why it was used in the context of the story (*Natal Mercury*, 24/06/99).

Clashes between White and Black pupils erupted at a Pietermaritzburg high school after an incident during which a Black pupil was punched, a White pupil was cut across his stomach with a knife and one of his fingers was dislocated (*Natal Mercury*, 26/03/98).

Concern over racial incidents in schools in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) increased as parents feared violent confrontations when pupils were found with pistols and knives in a school in

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3 In the United States of America it has become the convention to shun pejorative appellations such as "Nigger" by substituting them with political correct terms such as "the N-word." In the interest of objectivity I will not be

Durban. Racial tension was rife in almost all schools (*Natal Mercury*, 27/05/96).

In 1997 at a school, in Durban, where more than half of the school population was Black and the rest of the learners and the teachers were Indian the Black pupils threatened to boycott classes after they accused teachers of racism (*Natal Mercury*, 25/08/97). In 1999 Black pupils at another school demanded the expulsion of two Indian pupils who allegedly assaulted an African pupil (*Sunday Tribune*, 30/05/99). Racial clashes and racial tensions were spreading and educators as well as departmental officials still do not know how to deal with schools where knife and fistfights, stone and bottle throwing, arson and murder occur. Racial tensions got out of hand at one school when 50 Black pupils stormed classes and attacked Indian pupils and teachers (*Daily News*, 14 /05/99).

In 1999 another school, Burnwood Secondary, in Durban was disrupted when Black pupils attacked an Indian teacher who allegedly referred to them in "racist and derogatory" terms at a school assembly. The teacher was punched, kicked and stoned by angry pupils. The racial tension continued at this school and in March 2000 an Indian pupil at Burnwood Secondary school, in Durban, was stabbed in the back during what is believed to be a racially motivated attack The parent laid a charge of assault and attempted murder (*Post*, 8/03/2000).

In 1999 educationist, Jonathan Jansen, warned at a workshop on multicultural education, that racial violence at schools would escalate if the issues were not acknowledged as a serious problem. Schools still have a negative perception of cultural, ethnic and racial diversity and need to look at ways to promote pupil integration and to deal openly and honestly with fact that there are real differences and distortions about race. Lack of knowledge is obstructing integration and this leads to fear and intolerance in the schools (*Natal Mercury* 19/08/99).

Although the conflicts in KZN would appear to be mainly between Indian and Black, con-

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substituting South African pejoratives with such politically correct euphemisms.

flict was evident throughout the country among all groups. KZN has a large number of Indian residents (9, 4%) in comparison to the other provinces. (Gauteng 2.2%, Western Cape 1%, Mpumalanga 0.5% etc.)

The criminal and violent behaviour resulting in insecurity in schools mirrors and is an extension of the deviant behaviour in the larger South African society.

According to Mary Metcalfe, Gauteng Minister for Education "racial integration in schools is in its honeymoon phase and much of the real work in eroding stereotypical racial attitudes must still take place " (*Mail & Guardian*, 8/3/96).

Teachers and students are confronting one another across a diversity of cultures and conflict and racial was in the order of the day in many schools. Individuals from the different racial groups are suspicious, and afraid of one another — primarily because they are uncertain of how to communicate with and behave towards one another.

Schools, which are still in practice racially segregated, need to change to accommodate learners from other racial groups and cultures. Schools may not show learners from particular ethnic groups away on some pretext, but the policy does not prescribe the forced integration of schools. Although all schools have been constitutionally desegregated some have failed to attract learners from more than one ethnic group, while others have used various ploys to avoid becoming integrated institutions. For example, most schools in the township areas attract learners from only one ethnic group, while schools with Afrikaans speaking learners, limit entry by learners from other groups by insisting that prospective learners should be proficient in Afrikaans.

It is therefore clear that a macro admissions policy statement would not ensure that these policies would be equitably implemented at the school level. While some schools opened their doors others limited access through admissions policies, language and mathematics

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competency tests, high school fees, or in response to militant action by conservative parents.

In the preceding section I have demonstrated from the print media reports that racial friction is rife in most schools. In the following paragraphs I will show that educational policy research reveals that there is no coherent policy framework for dealing with racial tension in multicultural classrooms. The study highlights the fact that changes at macro level (*The South African Constitution* and *The South African Schools Act* that applies to school education in the Republic of South Africa) will not solve problems if changes are not practically implemented at the micro level in the classrooms.

Racial conflict at schools as a human rights issue

Even desegregated schools have continued with their established policies and traditions and new learners have had to adapt to these norms that regulate interpersonal behaviour. In 1999, a study of human rights, prejudice, racial conflict and racial integration in public schools, conducted by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) confirms the view that desegregated schools accommodate the values, needs and aspiration of learners from the racial group for which these schools were established by the apartheid government. Learners from other racial groups had to assimilate into the old, set ethos of the schools that maintained the racial values and practices of the communities involved. (*SAHRC Report*, 1999: 20).

Teachers have no training to deal with multicultural classes. Learners find it difficult to adjust to one another and school playgrounds have become racial battlefields.

In 1999 the South African Human Rights Commission completed the first national study on racism and the levels of racial integration in public high schools.[4] The study, in response to the large number of complaints received by the commission relating to mounting racial

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4 Reported at the National Conference on Racial Integration and Racism in Schools held in Randburg, Gauteng

tensions and conflicts in the schools, covered 90 state schools around the country. According to the commission schools from all the provinces, except the Northern Cape, have brought cases of racial problems to the commission (*The Star*, 12/10/98).

The constitutional mandate of the South African Human Rights Commission to promote and protect human rights necessitates that they look at ways in which they can proactively confront issues of racial prejudice and racial integration in the educational sector. Racism at schools could fester below the surface and explode and spill over into the wider community as was graphically illustrated by violent and ugly incidents at Vryburg High in North West Province, Linpark Secondary in Pietermaritzburg and at other high schools in Durban. In February, 1999 the report on the study by the SAHRC, Racism, Racial Integration and Desegregation in South Africa was sent to the National Minister of Education, the provincial Ministers of Education and Heads of Provincial Education Departments. This report was discussed at the Conference on Racial Integration in Schools held from 4-6 March 1999.[5] One hundred and eighty six participants consisting of education officials, academics, representatives from the organised teaching profession, school governing bodies and learner organizations, attended the conference. Various recommendations were proposed and a plan of action was adopted to promote programs for the elimination of all forms racism and racial discrimination in schools by developing a culture of human rights in schools, encouraging tolerance and recognition of difference and by encouraging dialogue and debate as a way of resolving differences. The conference called for a national resolve to place all resources at the disposal of a campaign to eliminate racism especially in schools, to set in place measures to discipline all those, whether educators or learners, who inflict racism, racial prejudice and racial attitudes on others, to devise programs to raise awareness and to train educators and administra-

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on 4-6 March 1999.
5 The actual conference report was published in October 1999.

tors in sensitivity to racism as well as to devise strategies to combat racism. (Conference Report, October 1999: 154-155)

Recent research on the lack of educational policy to deal with racial conflict in schools

At present there are general national educational policy documents[6] for the foundation, intermediate and senior phases of education (General Education and Training Band, which is a compulsory band for all learners). Although these policy documents identify important components of education for South African learners, there are no specific policy documents or guidelines regarding the imperatives of intercultural communication in the classroom to deal with the increasingly diverse learner population. This is confirmed by Carrim 1998: 11 who states:

Almost five years since 1994... there is no nationally instituted anti-racist programme or package which has been put into place.

There are no structured, co-ordinated programmes to help teachers cope with multiracial/ cultural/ lingual/ ability classrooms.

There are no nationally or provincially, co-ordinated programmes for students to develop anti-racist, anti-sexist, anti-discrimination awareness or consciousness in the formal workings of the school. It is almost as if these are expected to occur almost entirely of their own accord.

Based on a survey conducted at 26 schools in KZN in 1996 Zafar 1998: 5 and Naidoo 1996a: 81 from the Education Policy Unit (EPU) of the University of Natal warned that anti-racist strategies were urgently needed to break down racial stereotyping and deep-seated racism at most state schools. Zafar 1998: 5 warned that:

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6 These documents (October, 1997) are informed by the need to develop the norms and standards as determined by the *National Education Policy Act*, 1996 (No. 27 of 1996) and offers direction to the macro level curriculum design process

Failure to develop a coherent school policy on desegregation will leave the status quo intact and current racial and ethnic tensions will fester and eventually erupt in direct confrontation and bitter disputes.

According to the before-mentioned two researchers present education policy revealed an alarming lack of innovative strategies to deal with desegregation. School governing bodies, education managers and principals have no guidelines on how to promote racial integration positively at school level. Their study was verified when a snap survey of 100 desegregated schools in five provinces showed that only 17% of them had a written racial integration policy. While 40% of the Gauteng schools claimed to have written policies only 5% of the schools in KZN had a racial integration policy. According to Zafar 1998: 15 an anti-racist school policy would require educators to design lessons dealing with race relations and racial attitudes as part of the school curriculum.

Therefore, research shows that not much is being done to ensure racial harmony in most South African schools. (*Daily News* 11/06/98).

In 1999 as a consequence of the above-mentioned incidents of racial strife in schools and in the absence of practical educational procedures the provincial legislature of KZN, headed by the then Minister of Education Eileen KaNkosi-Shandu, set up a cabinet committee to find ways to end the crime sweeping through schools and to investigate the causes of violence and the steady increase in crime in schools. According to the KZN Director, Media and Communication Services of the Department of Education, Mr Mandla Msibi, the committee was mandated to work with community organizations, including the police, school governing bodies and parents, to stem the tide of violence and criminal behaviour in schools. The committee had to address the problem of racism in schools believed to be a major contributory factor to the violence in schools (*Natal Mercury* 2/07/99).

In February 2000 the National Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, appointed a working group to investigate appropriate values to be incorporated in primary and secondary school education in South Africa. The report identified six values: equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and honour to be an important part of the learning and teaching process in South Africa. This is in keeping with Curriculum 2005, which asserts the importance of values and attitudes in education. Educational institutions should reflect the rights of the individuals in accordance with the South African Bill of Rights, which was accepted in 1995.

South Africa is clearly still emerging from a legacy of apartheid education. Schools show visible evidence of change - racially mixed classes- but not the invisible markers of real change, that is a change in personal values in mind sets of parents, teachers and learners, manifested as a change in interpersonal attitudes. The mindset of "us" versus "them" still predominates as legacy of the past history of the country. Each group still has cultural and racial stereotypes of the other groups.

Whether we are aware of it or desire it, we all hold beliefs about social groupings and these beliefs influence our interaction with people. Tension between members of different cultures often manifests itself in the form of stereotypical thinking and beliefs about oneself, one's group, other individuals and the groups that they belong to. Stereotypes incorporate general knowledge about groups and play an important role in our evaluation of our own groups and critically, in our evaluation of other groups. Stereotypical judgments thus play a critical role in inter-ethnic relations and inter-ethnic assessment.

Stereotypes are a fundamental element of discrimination and discriminatory attitudes towards other groups. The study of stereotyping then, by implication, is a prerequisite for dealing with prejudice. As stereotyping forms one of the central constructs in intergroup relations

it is hoped that this study will help to reduce stereotyping and thus reduce conflict in South African schools.

Many teachers at desegregated schools, although they publicly stated that they were happy about multicultural classes, privately admitted they had little or no training to deal with multicultural classes. Learners, particularly black learners, often feel alienated from their peers from different cultures and of different race. Some learners thus do not feel affirmed and this lack self esteem dominates even though racial discrimination is unconstitutional. In practice and in mind as a result of previous inequities the black learners disadvantage is visible. This adds to a sense of failure that leads to lack of self-esteem causing conflict among learners in the schools. This is a major problem that has to be overcome. Thus integrated schools instead of having a positive effect on learners have had a negative effect on learners in the schools in that through inter-racial proximity racial friction occurs.

While the South African constitution espouses freedom and equality, the current everyday tensions of political, social and economic imbalances are still carried through to the classroom. There is an appearance of, a semblance of, trying to enforce equality but rigid stereotyping is still evident in the day-to-day interactions of the different groups.

Constitutional and legal change has not filtered down to the individual level as mindsets and stereotypical beliefs have not changed. Until efforts are made to change perceptions of learners and of educators' tensions and conflict in the schools will continue.

First moves to create a culture of tolerance in schools

Stereotypes, as an important aspect of human rights in the classroom, are at last getting the attention it deserves (*The Teacher, Vol. 4 Number 7/11/* 2000). In October 2000 Minister Kader Asmal launched the *Celebrating Diversity Project*, an anti-bias campaign for schools. The intention of the campaign was to help children in schools to develop modes of coopera-

tive communication to respectfully discuss issues of concern to humanity despite differences of background, disposition, household orientation and the politics of parents. The minister urged parents to study the report into *Values in Education,* which advocates equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability, and social honour as basic necessities in the education system.

It is important to develop an ethos in schools that imbues learners, educators and managers with a culture of tolerance, and appreciation of the value of human differences. In September 2000, Project Phakama, a unique international arts education initiative, brought together South African and British youth from a wide variety of backgrounds. The drama workshop essentially focused on how women are being stereotyped. It aimed to inspire cultural tolerance and understanding, to challenge stereotypes, broaden perspectives and break down barriers among the youth. Participants were introduced to principles that would enable them to examine prevailing stereotypes, and to develop their own ideas on how women could empower themselves.

One can say the legislated acts are the policy. The procedures can be of a dual nature – the one is the development of co-operative procedures that would motivate educators and learners to translate policy (words on paper) into tolerant values and beliefs. The second aspect of such procedures would be to implement anti-racist legislation in instances where the persuasive act fails. Attitudes are what people manifest or display in a particular context and values are cognitive constructs that are context-free.

The purpose of this study is to provide educators and counsellors with an in-depth understanding of stereotypes and stereotyping and to equip them with specific guidelines for intervening in the area of stereotype reduction and remediation.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I briefly discussed a number of problems: Why a study of stereotyping in South African schools is necessary; newspaper reports of racial incidents in South African schools confirms that there is racial violence in the schools; how the racial conflict at schools was taken up as a human rights issue; the recent research indicated that there is a lack of structured educational policy to deal with racial conflict in the schools and the first moves to create a culture of tolerance in the schools.

In the following chapter I will discuss the key concepts of categorisation and cognition; the relationship between these concepts, and how these concepts form the basis for stereotyping.

KEY CONCEPTS

PREVIEW

This chapter deals with the key concepts of categorisation and cognition, the relationship between these concepts, and how they form the basis for stereotyping. The Oxford Dictionary 1975:156 defines categorisation as one of the "a priori conceptions applied by the mind to sense impressions". All things might be distributed to one of an exhaustive set of classes. Cognition is defined as " the action or faculty of knowing, perceiving and conceiving as opposed to emotion and volition"(Oxford 1975: 194), Stereotyping is defined (Oxford 1975: 1127) as " an unduly fixed mental impression". In this chapter I will discuss categorisation and cognition as part of the stereotyping process and indicate how this is responsible for the misunderstandings and conflict situations.

Values and beliefs as an integral part of the stereotyping process will be illustrated by Wellman's 1992: 109 belief-desire reasoning model. This model is closely linked to Mersham and Skinner's 1999: 64 psychodynamics analysis of stereotyping in the communication process. Maslow's hierarchy of needs is discussed in relation to Boon's model of the relationship between ethnicity and needs. Mersham & Skinner's 1999: 99-101 discussion of the Johari window illustrates how intrapersonal communication is linked to interpersonal communication and stereotyping.

STEREOTYPING

Categorisation as basis for stereotyping

Kleinpenning 1993 like Tajfel 1978, 1981 considers stereotyping to be the result of a cate-

gorization process in which people from a particular social category (ingroup) emphasize the differences between people from other categories (outgroup) and accentuate the similarities between people from the same category. The survey on stereotyping in chapter six will demonstrate to what extent Kleinpenning and Tajfel's theories are true.

Categories and stereotypes

Stereotypes evolve and these stereotypes influence the behaviour of people. It is shown empirically that certain group differences, for example, colour, ethnicity and language play a more prominent role than others. Social and cultural influences play an important role. There is, however, not enough empirical evidence to account for why certain groups are stereotyped more than others. As stated earlier, the current study focuses on inter-ethnic relations in an attempt to find ways to reduce negative stereotyping with a view to limiting inter-group/interethnic conflict in South African schools. We need to change stereotypes to help reduce negative stereotyping.

As Secord & Backman 1976: 29, pointed out, culture plays a dominant role in category classification. Although classification and categorization form an important aspect in the study of stereotyping, which categories have a greater influence in stereotype formation is not clear, for example, will a Black women be classified as Black or as a women.

The actual categories used are dependent on their availability and accessibility to the perceiver in the situation. Whether a person is classified as a woman, black, mother or teacher will depend on the situation - that is in which context am I seeing her? In the school situation personal interests and values of the teacher will also play a role, for example, a teacher will think of a child as intelligent or stupid and treat the child accordingly. If the child talks with an accent the child will be further classified in a language group and possibly affect the attitude towards that child. Thus categorization plays an important role in stereotype formation.

While categorization is necessary to activate stereotypes Brewer 1996 reminds us that the use of one category will reduce the stereotypic thoughts of other categories, for example, when a child is seen as a head prefect instead of a member of an ethnic or gender group. Therefore if the positive aspects are emphasized the negative aspects will diminish. Devine & Baker 1991: 44-50 suggest that general categories usually entail the existence of subcategories that can be default categories. The category of men is regarded as a subcategory of the category of gender while women are not regarded as subcategory of gender but as a subcategory of men that is a default category. Compound categories can also develop, for example, when the teacher is categorized as Afrikaans speaking, school principal and a woman. This compound categorization can lead to formation of new stereotypes. Which aspect of the stereotype (Afrikaans speaking, school principal or woman) is emphasized will depend on the context. One may think first about the nature of women principals beginning with the stereotyping of women and change and adapt that stereotype to incorporate the work of the principal. Research in this area of stereotyping is limited.

Schneider 1996: 424 gives reasons for why we have stereotypes for some categories yet not for others.

> We have generalizations but the negative generalizations are stereotypes.

> Categories of race, age and gender are common categories from which subcategories and compound categories develop.

In the preceding two sections I have demonstrated the relationship between stereotyping and categorisation. In Chapter 4, under the heading "Stereotyping and levels of categorisation, " I will show that stereotyping conceptually relates to the differences between generic and more specific levels of categorisation.

Values, beliefs and stereotyping at the cognitive level

Wellman 1992: 113-114 suggests that attitudes, values and beliefs play a crucial role in the process of stereotyping. Cognition is a perquisite for any form of communication because cognition forms the conceptual basis for aspects of communication, which in turn is part of inter-related forms of expressive behaviour such as facial expression, gesture and vocal response. On the cognitive level people develop mental models of their environment including other humans that they interact with. According to Wellman 1992: 113 –114 such mental models include attitudes, values and beliefs, which play a crucial role in the process of stereotyping. The following simplified scheme for depicting belief-desire reasoning by Wellman 1992: 100 illustrates the importance of beliefs and values within the stereotyping process.

➤believe, suppose
➤know, expect
➤doubt, suspect

➤see, hear, smell
➤touch, feel
Perception ⮕ **Belief**

Action ⮕ **Reaction**

Basic Emotions/
Physiology ⮕ **Desire**

➤hit, grab ➤happiness, sadness, anger
➤travel ➤surprise, puzzlement
➤search ➤guilty, dismay
➤attend to

➤love, hate, fear
➤hunger, thirst
➤pain, arousal

➤want, desire
➤wish, hope
➤ought, should
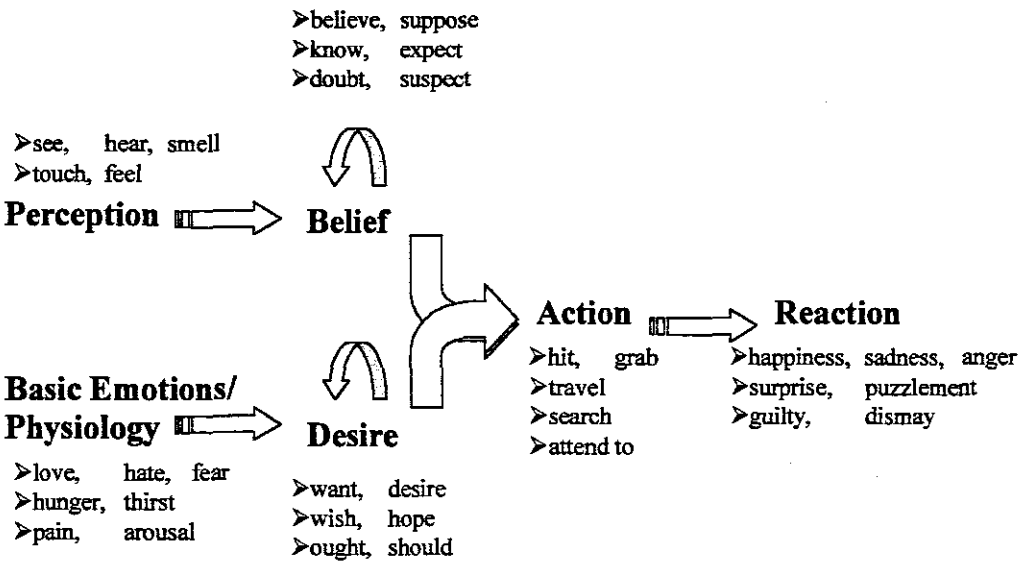
Fig. 1: Simplified schema for belief-desire reasoning, adapted from Wellman 1992:100.

Voluntary action is an important aspect of belief–desire reasoning. Commonsense mentalistic psychology assumes human behaviour is driven by intentional action. It is the study of

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people's 'mental lives' – their wishes, knowledge, wants, misconceptions, fears and doubts. These constructs are divided into beliefs (knowledge, ideas, opinions, convictions and suppositions) and desires (attitudes that include wants, wishes, hopes, preferences, goals as well as values and aspirations). Attitudes and behaviour are strongly linked. Family, school, church, state and work are powerful factors that influence attitudes, sometimes in contradictory ways. The media, peer groups and organizations to which one belongs gives one a predisposition to view the world in particular way. A pupil who comes from a family with strong racial beliefs and values may be torn between her long accepted beliefs and her desire to be liked by her friends from another racial group. She may stick to her beliefs and adopt a negative attitude that will lead to conflict behaviour change the attitude and the racist beliefs. According to commonsense psychology *belief* and *desire* are needed for intentional action to take place. These constructs express two different mental states or attitudes but complement each other.

According to Wellman 1992: 101 to do something intentionally is to have a *desire* and to engage in the act because you believe it will help satisfy your desire. Why did Thuli hit Adam? Her pencil was missing. She thought that Adam stole her pencil.

To explain intentional actions, both belief and desires are important. If one of these constructs is more informative in a given situation then the complementary construct is not mentioned, for example, Adam always takes pencils that do not belong to him. Adam is stereotyped as one who always takes pencils that do not belong to him.

As depicted in the simplified scheme above of Wellman, perceptions cause beliefs: basic emotions and/or physiological states such as arousal and deprivation, cause desires. Desires lead to actions, which lead to reactions. Perceptions inform us about the external world, provides input to the mind and beliefs develop. Physiological states and basic emotions provide input to the mind affects the body and desires develop. Wellman 192: 105 explain the differ-

ence between desires (wanting to do something, wishing something would happen) and basic emotions (pain, anger, love, hunger) using the generic term *feeling*. One can *feel thirsty* (physiology) but also *feel that something would be good* (desire) and *feel happy* (basic emotion). To *feel something will be good* indicates an intentional attitude and will be a *desire*.

Belief–desire reasoning encompasses human action (action, reaction) and mental states (beliefs, desires). Wellman 1992: 107 claims that mental states cannot be observed and we infer others' beliefs and desires (and at times our own) from perceptual experiences (what he sees), physiological history and emotional expressions and reactions. Belief–desire reasoning is used to predict, explain, justify, and understand human actions. If human actions could be understood, it would help reduce conflict situations. Wellman 1992: 109 elaborates on his simplified version belief–desire reasoning:
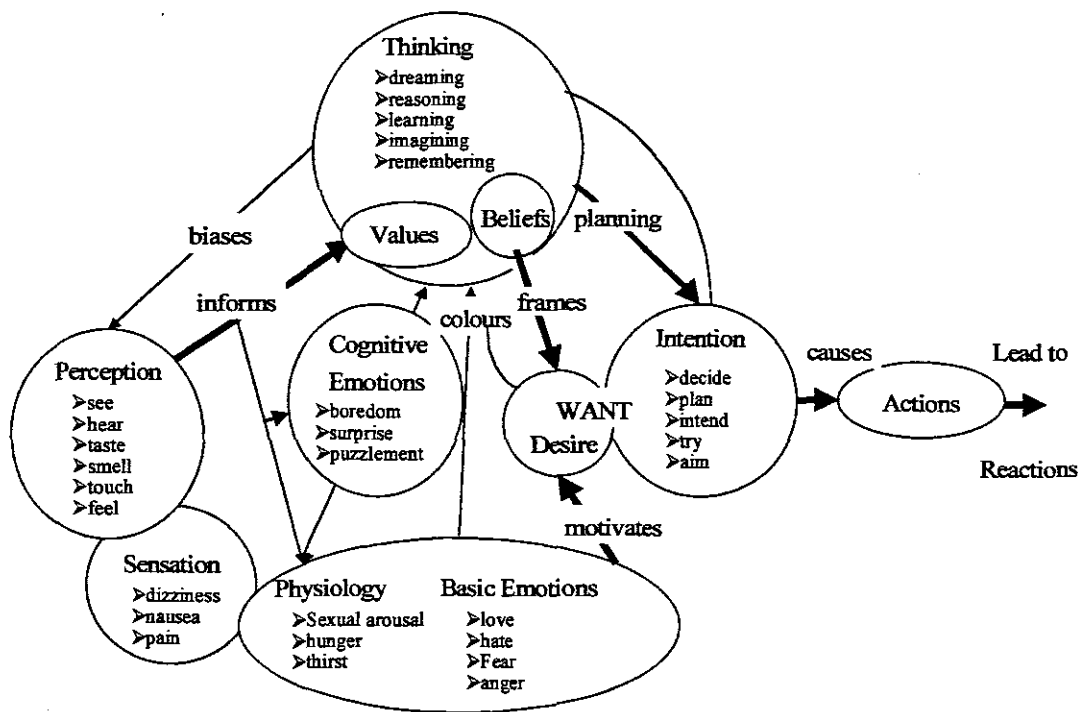
Fig 2: An elaborated scheme for depicting belief-desire reasoning, adapted from Wellman 1992: 109.

In Wellman's elaborated version of belief–desire reasoning the core concepts *beliefs, de-*

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sires, actions are maintained and two more core concepts *thinking* and *intention* are added. Causal links are also indicated-from perception and emotions to beliefs and desires and then to intention and actions. Each construct is labelled indicating specific details of its character.

Thinking is a cognitive process. Wellman 1992: 108 refers to beliefs as part of the formative thinking processes of reasoning, learning, remembering, knowing, imagining and dreaming. The mind involves thinking – to remember, infer, keep information and interpret perceptual information, for example, thinking about stereotypes. These cognitive activities result in the formation of a knowledge base, an understanding of concepts in the world and about the self in that world.

Intention emerges from the core concept *desire.* The term *want* is shared by intention and desire. Intentions actualise desires. Desires include hopes and wishes and intentions are the plans and aims to carry out the desires. Intentions are the beliefs and desires of a person. To act from these beliefs and desires is to act intentionally. In the elaborated Wellman figure it is clear *belief* and *desire* are linked through intention via planning. The link from belief to desire is referred to as *framing* and the link from desire to belief is referred to as *colouring.* Desires and strong emotions can *colour* a persons thoughts about people or about issues. (Prejudice and stereotyping take place). Wishing for something and wanting something will depend on the belief one has about being able to achieve the desire. Important links for this study are the reciprocal links between thinking and perception. Perception informs thinking and emotions and thinking biases or distorts perception. One sees what one wants to believe or see. Tracing links like *colouring* and *biasing* in commonsense psychology emphasize the influence from emotions to desires to thinking to perception leading to action and reaction. Everyday perceptual encounters cause emotions. Emotions are founded in physiological states like arousal and deprivation and are formed by basic feelings like fear, hate and anger. The fol-

lowing representation depicts Wellman's final elaborated scheme of belief-desire reasoning.
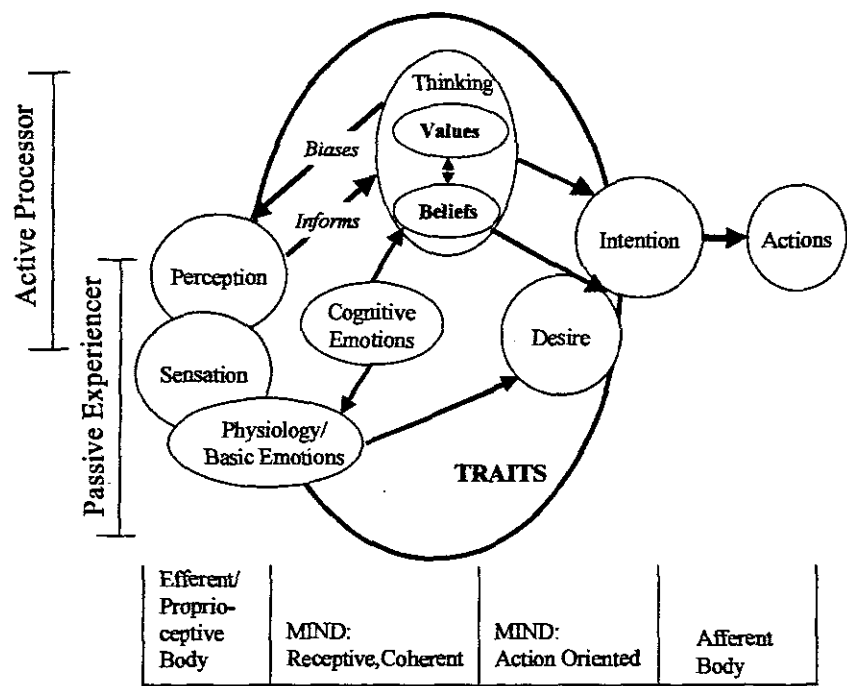
Fig. 3: A final elaborated scheme for depicting belief-desire reasoning, adapted from Wellman 1992: 115.

Traits form a layer over the core schema of thinking, cognitive emotions, beliefs, desires and partially intentions. Traits influence specific desires, beliefs and emotions and therefore influence actions. Wellman 1992: 116 claims that thinking, reasoning and intending are active processes while sensation and desiring are seen as passive processes expressing two different sorts of mental states or attitudes. We are swept away by our basic desires, emotions and they influence our thinking, colour our thoughts or distort our judgement. Thinking as an active process allows us to have thoughts, form plans or make decisions. Perceptions can be active or passive as we actively do things or passively experience the perceptual world. An active mind can ignore or misinterpret perceptions or lead to false beliefs. Individuals have their own thoughts. A person's beliefs and desires lead to intentions and intentions lead to actions.

According to Wellman 1992: 120 figure 1 represents three year olds' belief–desire psy-

chology, as well as a simplified version of adults' belief–desire psychology. Young children's initial belief-desire psychology implies the following four aspects:

(1) Children should predict actions, given the relevant information as to actors' beliefs and desires.

(2) Children should be able to explain actors' observed actions by spontaneous appeal to their beliefs and desires.

(3) Children should be able to predict someone's emotional reactions from information about beliefs, desires and outcomes.

(4) Children should be able to infer beliefs from information about the actors' perceptions and desires from information about the actors' physiological states

I have discussed Wellman's models of belief-desire reasoning in detail to illustrate the vital role that beliefs and desires play in the formation of stereotypes.

A study of stereotyping could be focussed on the cognitive or the expressive level. On the cognitive level stereotyping relates to how people think about one another (processes of attribution).

On the expressive level stereotyping relates to the jokes that people from one ethnic group tell to members of their group about other ethnic groups, or to the epithets that an individual of one group uses while addressing a member from another ethnic group.

Stereotyping always has an emotional component. It can be a volatile process, making it difficult to discern the intentions of people using the stereotype. This easily lets the researcher fall into the trap of a superficially anecdotal analysis. It was therefore considered better to limit this study to the cognitive level of stereotyping by analysing the attributes that people use to stereotype one another.

Belief is shorthand for values, beliefs and norms. Values have a psychodynamic thrust.

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Values are internally motivated rules of behaviour. What is at issue in this study is to what extent the learners have internalised the norms that are externally mandated and to what extent are they not complying with the rules and stereotyping each other or have they internalised those rules to become part of the value system. Because values operate at the subconscious level people tend to embed those values in a narrative that supply a rationale of how they should behave or not behave. Belief incorporates the metaphysical assumptions like when one considers some deity to be the author of some rules of behaviour. It is the used to make subconscious rules conscious. Norms are rules of behaviour using externally imposed factors like legislation or those rules having a socio- dynamic thrust.

THE VOLATILITY OF STEREOTYPING AT THE EXPRESSIVE LEVEL

Because the analysis of stereotyping on the expressive level can be volatile it is easy to become anecdotal in analysis unless one also involves a cognitive literary theory that accounts for jokes and pejoratives as literary forms. I will give a brief discussion of terms to show how their uses in actual expressions have changed the meaning of the words. The following is a very brief outline of stereotyping on the expressive level – jokes, sexist remarks like " woman driver" or words from different origins that sound alike can be problematic, for example, the term *Negro* is a member of the black skinned African race of mankind, black or dark; *nigger*- Negro; dark skinned person; The use of the terms *Negro* and *Nigger* as referring words or vocatives are no longer acceptable as they are negative stereotypes according to societal norms and is considered to be derogatory. On television shows like on the Oprah talk show reference is commonly made to the words *Negro* and *Nigger* as "the N-word." *Negroid* is a member of division of mankind have characteristics typical op Negro race (esp. black skin, woolly hair and flat nose) – a general stereotypical belief of Negro (pejoratives). These words can be compared to *necro*- corpse (a medical term and is protected); *necrobiosis*- de-

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cay in tissues of body; necromancy – art of predicting by means of communicating with the
dead; magic; enchantment (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*: 729, 730, 736)

According to Readers Digest Universal Dictionary: 1044 the term *Niggard* refers to a
stingy, grasping person, a miser, while *niggardly* means stingy and unwilling to part with
anything. Both words have a negative connotation or stereotypical view.

This study, however confines itself to the cognitive level of stereotyping.

THE PSYCHODYNAMIC BASIS OF STEREOTYPING

Psychodynamics refers to the inner motivations that people have for behaviour including
communication as one form of interpersonal behaviour. The term *psychodynamics* must be
understood in relation to the term *socio-dynamics* that relates to the influence of external fac-
tors on behaviour. This study is limited to the domain of psychodynamics of stereotyping, in
other words, how the inner or the psychological factors that motivate how people perceive
one another as the basis for their actual behaviour as previously discussed in Wellman's be-
lief-desire reasoning.

The psychodynamics of the communication process and the barriers to perception is
clearly outlined in Mersham and Skinner's 1999: 64 illustration of barriers, reception and un-
derstanding, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The *Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary*: 1242 defines the term *psychodynamics* as:

> ➤ The interaction of various mental or emotional processes, especially when they are
>   considered as constituents of a system of inter-related forces
>
> ➤ Behavioural analysis in terms of motives or drives.

Mersham and Skinner 1999: 64 clearly outline the psychodynamic barriers to the commu-
nication processes.

It is evident to be able to communicate successfully with different people is a difficult

complex task. Mersham & Skinner 1999: 40 claim, while all forms of communication have the basic principles of the communication process; the content or context of the communication will differ. Human communication can fail as a result of a complicated communication process, complex people and the environment. The system of Communication by Objectives (CBO) was designed to overcome problems of communication as stated by Fourie 1985. According to Mersham and Skinner 1999: 40 the following four stages are crucial in the communication process:

> Identifying the needs;

> Analysing the destination;

> Formulating the objectives;

> Arranging for feedback and evaluation.

These stages are schematised and discussed below:

Phase 1

Sending cognitive
& emotional data

Phase 2

Receiving
or
perceiving

BARRIERS TO RECEPTION
Needs, anxieties, expectations,
attitudes and values of recipient;
environmental stimuli.

BARRIERS TO UNDERSTANDING
Language, jargon; ability of recipient
to concentrate on receiving
completely (listening); prejudgments:
recipient's open-mindedness and
ability to consider factors disturbing
to his or her idea; length of
communication; existing knowledge of
Recipient.

Phase 3

Understanding

BARRIERS TO ACCEPTANCE
Attitudes, values, prejudices of recipient;
status clash between communicator/
recipient; interpersonal emotional
conflict because of other causes
(theatrical gestures, physical appearance,
etc.).

Phase 4

Level of
acceptance

Fig. 4: Barriers to reception, understanding and acceptance, from Mersham & Skinner 1999:64

The meaning of the message depends on the recipient's interpretation of the message and does not depend on the communicator's conveyance of the message. There are barriers that can hinder successful communication and there are other factors that can improve communication (ensure successful communication). An important aspect of the communication process is stereotyping. If stereotyping is applied it could lead to miscommunication and conflict situations can arise, as stereotyping can be dangerous, incorrect or out of date. Demography, gender, age, ethnicity and culture are some of the aspects that may be barriers to successful to communication. When a message is sent the perceiver may not receive it as it was intended as the barriers to reception (needs, anxieties, expectations, attitudes and values of the recipient together with the environmental stimuli) play a part in the encoding and decoding of the message. Understanding barriers like language (SA has 12 official languages), listening ability,

knowledge of recipient can cause further conflict or misunderstanding. Attitudes, values, prejudices, status, interpersonal emotional conflict can be barriers to acceptance and successful communication. Therefore the emphasis of Curriculum 2005 on attitudes and values will play a vital role in improving communication (receiving and interpreting of message) and thereby reducing negative stereotyping. Much of the racial conflict in the schools have erupted as result of barriers to reception, understanding or acceptance as was indicated by newspaper reports discussed earlier.

Social scientists believe that behaviour is governed by the desire to satisfy ones needs. Communication as a form of behaviour has needs to be satisfied. Expectations, wishes, plan, psychological and physiological needs may lead to communicative behaviour. Misunderstanding or miscommunication takes place if the communicators in the communication process require different needs to be satisfied.

According to Maslow, a psychologist, behaviour is motivated by five fundamental human needs with the primary needs (hunger and thirst, shelter) at the base. In the hierarchy of needs these primary needs must be satisfied before social needs can be satisfied.
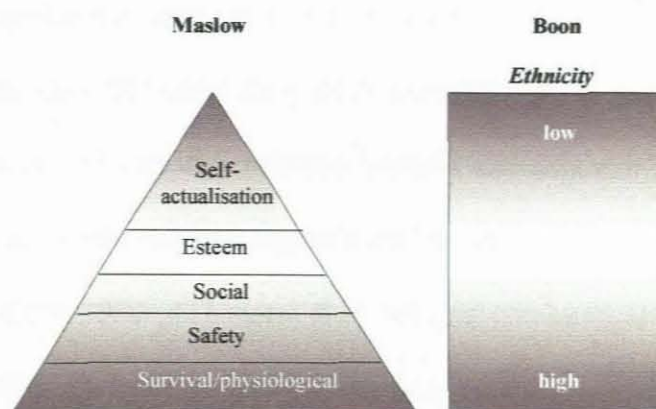
Fig. 5: Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Boon's model of the relationship between ethnicity and needs, from Mersham & Skinner 1999: 69.

Boon builds on Maslows hierarchy of needs. According to Boon if survival is threathened,

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then ethnicity is high in the different social groups. The higher you go on Maslow's hierarchy of needs the lower the ethnicity needs. Boon gives a social dimension, presents a rationale for high levels of ethnicity and stereotyping in schools in the absence of proper integration strategies.

According to Boon the physiological and safety needs are similar to Maslow's survival needs. The higher the physiological and safety needs are, the higher the need for ethnic identification will be and group values will remain strong. Once the basic survival needs are satisfied and there is no danger and self-actualisation has been reached, ethnic identification is low. Miscommunication takes place when the communication needs of the communicators are not satisfied, or are different. Attitudes, opinions, beliefs, conventions and stereotypes of people are emotional needs. Other categories of general communication needs include information needs, entertainment needs, motivational needs, aesthetic needs and ideological needs.

According to Jourdan 1984: 74 communication represents a basic anthropological constituent: it is a condition for anthropogenesis and human existence; education is realized in and through communication; there is no educationally relevant behaviour or action that is not bourn by that comprehensive medium, communication.

Education takes place through means of communication, as teaching and learning are an interactive process in a classroom - between learners and educator and learners and learners. The effectiveness of communication depends on the interpersonal relationships of educators and learners. Le Roux 1990: 427 states that without communication there is no education while communication does not automatically imply education. The *how, what* and *when* of communication is important in the educational classroom context: how a message is conveyed or sent, what is the content of the message and within which context the communication takes place. Educators need to be aware of factors, which influence the communicative

interaction in the classroom: communication skills, attitudes, knowledge, culture and social environment in which the communication takes place.

Le Roux 1990: 427 claims attitudes are difficult to change, culture is part of the individual and the social environment and cannot be changed easily. Greater focus on the improvement of communication skills, for example, language skills may help improve interpersonal relationships and reduce negative perceptions and stereotyping. These ideas link up with the meta-cognitive model known as the *Johari window*. It essentially is a model that helps one to gain self-insight, to become aware of how others may perceive you, to assess what types of knowledge about yourself and others you wish to disclose, to decide who you should disclose it to, and to determine the communication environment that is relevant to such disclosure.

According to Mersham & Skinner 1999: 99-101 the Johari window links intrapersonal communication (self-assessment that leads to self-insight) with interpersonal communication – a window divided into four panes, each pane indicating your own and others' awareness of behaviors, attitudes, feelings, desires, motivations and ideas:
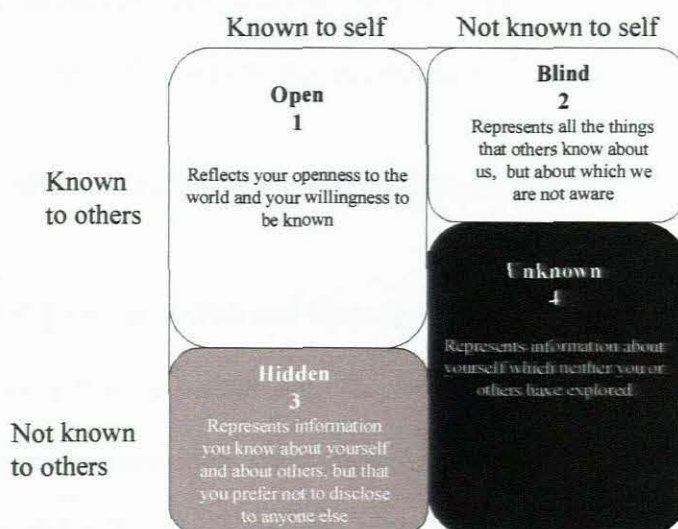
Fig. 6: The "ideal" Johari window, adapted from Mersham & Skinner 1999: 99 and 101.

If one is stereotyped you are being portrayed by extremely generic, recognisable informa-

tion, part of which is over accentuated, for example political cartoons, reflect the values of the newspaper. Something physical (ears, nose) is accentuated for emphasis. Window 2 represents stereotyping by others, you are not aware of what others think of you as an individual or you as part of a group. This window is influenced by ones own experience, the media, parents and the school. Window 3 represents the information you know about yourself and about others but prefer to keep the information hidden. Window 4 represents information that is not accessible to you or to others.

According to Steinberg 1994: 90 the way in which we express ourselves to others (feelings, needs, and opinions) beliefs, values can affect interpersonal relationships positively or negatively. Window 1 is the important window that should be enlarged. We need to build trust, resolve conflicts by being honest and sensitive when dealing with people. Human beings live in social groups and therefore need complex cognitive skills for their interaction with each other.

Although stereotypes and stereotyping is the focus of this study it is important to understand the terms: prejudice, race, culture, ethnicity, racial and ethnic minority groups within the stereotyping context. This will be further explained in the following section.

THE ELEMENTS OF STEREOTYPING FURTHER EXPLAINED

Prejudice

Allport 1979: 6 provides a clear and thorough conceptualisation of the term prejudice. Historically, the word prejudice comes from the Latin noun *praejudicium*, meaning a precedent or judgement based on previous experiences and decisions. According to Allport 1979: 6 prejudice can be defined using a negative (unipolar) component as in "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant"; or including negative and positive (bipolar) components as in "feeling unfavourable or favourable towards a person or thing not based on actual experi-

ence". Both these definitions include an attitude component and a belief component. The attitude may be either positive or negative and is connected to an over generalized or erroneous belief.

The focus in this study of intergroup relations is based on prejudice as a negative phenomenon and focuses specifically on ethnic/racial prejudice. Allport 1954: 9 defines negative ethnic prejudice as:

> *... An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It*
>
> *may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he [or she] is a mem-*
>
> *ber of that group.*

According to Ponterotto and Pedersen 1993: 11 prejudice has three important aspects:

> ➤ It is negative and can be group or individually focused;
>
> ➤ It is based on unsubstantial or false information; and
>
> ➤ It is rooted in an inflexible generalization.

Prejudices will give rise to stereotyping of groups or individuals and this will lead to misunderstanding and conflict as prejudice is a negative evaluation of others and is "based on a faulty and inflexible generalization" because individuals belong to different groups. Conflicts in the schools highlight the importance of prejudice as incidents reported in the newspaper reports have indicated. Prejudice is prevalent in all groups and it is the responsibility of all groups to combat prejudice to ensure a peaceful co existence. Stereotyping is one of the cognitive components of prejudice. While prejudice is negative, the sets of traits composing stereotypes can be positive or negative.

Race and Racism

Definitions of race as a construct have frequently been conceptualised within a biological

classification system. Simpson and Yinger 1985 for example, summarize physical characteristics that distinguish one race from another: skin pigmentation, nasal index, lip form and the colour and texture of body hair. The race construct is no longer regarded as a scientific and biological term but it remains as an important psychological and political concept.

Jones 1982: 28 believes racism results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture.

This definition of racism is closely linked to prejudice and stereotyping. For the purposes of this South African study the desegregated racial groups are Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds. These groups constitute the four main group classifications of the apartheid years.

Hagendoorn 1993: 28-29 identifies three types of racism:

➢ *Classical racism* is the oldest form and is based on the argument that the out groups are racially inferior and thus cannot claim the same rights as the in-group.

➢ *Symbolic racism* is based on the argument that outgroups get more than they deserve and that they should make their own achievements in society.

➢ *Aversive racism* is based on emotional uneasiness and uncertainty towards outgroups and is expressed in avoidance.

Classical racism incorporated beliefs in racial inequality and these beliefs, for example, were used to justify South African apartheid laws. Symbolic racism incorporated ethnocentrism which has to do with rejection of outgroup based on moral inferiority rather than the racial inferiority of the outgroup. Aversive racism is restricted to situations of personal contact. It is expressed in keeping social distance from members of outgroups at work, at school or in the neighbourhood. Lack of contact will maintain and enforce stereotypic beliefs as has happened within the South African context among the different ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group

Yinger 1976: 200 defines ethnic group as:

A segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves and/or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients.

For the sake of this study the four constitutionally desegregated groups are Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds. Racial and ethnic group members tend to identify with and to favour their ethnic group as the ingroup, while rejecting all other ethnic groups as outgroups. This tendency is psychologically inherent in that it appears to be common to ethnic groups around the world.

It is not unusual then for the different groups in South Africa to favour their own. Prejudice towards other groups should, however, not cause friction between the groups.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is a perspective from which one's own group is the centre of everything. This group level perspective evolves from an individual perspective, egocentrism — the tendency to view the world only from one's own perspective, with a corresponding inability to see the world as others see it. The different individual and group perspectives cause conflict when different groups are together. Communication between group members is difficult.

The effect of ethnocentrism in the formation of stereotypes is that ethnocentrism biases the way the behaviours of ingroup[7] and outgroup members are evaluated and subsequently labelled by individuals. Campbell 1967: 821-825 has outlined some of the basic rules concerning the effect of ethnocentric biases on stereotypes:

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> The greater the real differences between groups on any particular custom, detail of physical appearance, or item of material culture, the more likely it is that the feature will appear in the stereotyped imagery each group has of the other;

> Those trait differences involved in intergroup interaction will be most strongly and accurately represented in mutual stereotypes;

> Those traits that have well-established rejection responses associated with them for within group usage will be most apt to be perceived in outgroup stereotypes;

> Differences within the ingroup and outgroup will be exaggerated in the mutual stereotypes each hold of the other; and

> There is a tendency to perceive racial rather than environmental causes for group differences.

Ethnocentric biases affect the labelling of traits, which two groups do not share, and the labelling of traits that they do share. It is from the differences that stereotyping and prejudiced practices arise. For example, Blacks in South Africa might speak loudly because they consider themselves to be friendly and open. Whites might consider this behaviour as noisy and forward behaviour. On the other hand Whites might not speak to people unless they have been introduced or they know them and Blacks might consider Whites to be snobbish and cold as a result. This is an example of subconsciously recognised differences in group/culture norms for interaction in which interpersonal relations that are labelled in favourably by ingroup members and negatively by outgroup members. We need to make these differences conscious as part of reducing stereotyping. These differences and group favouritism will be discussed in greater detail in chapter seven of this study.

Even shared behaviour patterns might give rise to ingroup/outgroup labelling. The ingroup

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7 According to present writing conventions the term "ingroup" should be written as "in-group." By using the

might regard ethnocentrism as" loyalty" and "patriotism" while the outgroup might see ethnocentrism as "favouritism" and "clannishness". The perception created is that ingroup members possess positive traits and outgroup members possess negative traits even though members of both groups have behaved in the same way.

Culture

The term culture has often been used synonymously with race and ethnic group. There are, distinctions between the three terms. Ethnic group includes common origin and culture while race is a psychological and political concept. All people belong to the human race.

Given the diversity between and within the human groups the broad definition of culture by Linton 1945: 32 is preferred:

> *The configuration of learned behaviour whose components and elements are shared and transmitted*
>
> *by the members of a particular society.*

In South Africa emotional debates and disparate views on *culture* and *multiculturalism* compels us to view culture as a value–laden and problematic concept and not merely as a neutral concept that is tied to people's identity.

Alexander 1989: 47-48 regards culture as a unifying concept to help create a new South Africa where we bring people out of the cultural ghettos, formed by apartheid, to see what each has in common with the others and celebrate that. Culture is a set of core values and meanings, which enables different individuals and groups to form a single society or nation, and it is not an ethnic or linguistic distinction. In this regard Alexander 1989: 55 refers to Ngugi 1981's assertion that language-as-communication and culture are products of each other. Communication creates culture: culture is a means of communication.

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non-hyphenated form I am following the majority convention in the scientific literature on stereotyping.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I discussed categorisation as a basis for stereotyping. At the cognitive level beliefs and stereotyping were illustrated by using Wellman's 1992 belief-desire reasoning models. The volatility of stereotyping at the expressive level was briefly discussed, the psychodynamic basis of stereotyping was illustrated, and the different elements of stereotyping were briefly discussed.

In the next chapter I will discuss stereotypes and stereotyping in greater detail.

STEREOTYPES AND STEREOTYPING

PREVIEW

In this chapter I will discuss stereotyping and social change, the origin of the concept stereo-typing, the distinction between the entity stereotype, and the process stereotyping, how stereotypes can be conceptualised and the different approaches and perspectives of stereotyping, stereotyping and levels of categorisation, different theories of stereotyping, stereotyping and group identification, stereotyping and social comparison, stereotyping and social context.

STEREOTYPING AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Schools have always had to cope with change. The ability to respond to changing circum-stances and to initiate new programmes and approaches has been an essential part of a good educational system. To bring about change in reality requires an engagement with the forces that shape routine interactions inside the schools. Change threatens people's view of them-selves and their role in the school. Change is therefore about the power of one or more groups to influence the shape of the institution - possibly against the wishes of others, sometimes even in the face of open hostility. Personal and interpersonal change involves acknowledging and valuing one's own cultural background and recognizing the particular dynamics found within different cultural groups. Wellman's model of belief-desire reasoning, as explained in chapter three of this study supports this theory. The process of change involves working through cognitive and affective (emotional) misinformation about other cultural groups as well as about one's own group.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT *STEREOTYPING*

According to Miller 1982: 4 the word *stereotype* is derived from the Greek words *stereos* meaning *solid*, and *typos*, meaning the *mark of a blow, impression or model*. The Readers Digest Universal Dictionary 1988: 1488 refers to the compound term, stereotype, as a metal printing plate cast from a mould made out of papier-maché, plastic or rubber taken from a raised printing surface such as type. It was used to maximise exact duplication. It is also used to describe the method or process of making such a plate. The printing term has come to be used metaphorically to signify a process/practice through which all products will be identical, rigid and permanent. The Readers Digest Universal Dictionary 1988: 1488 defines *stereotype* as "a conventional, formulaic and usually oversimplified conception, opinion or belief" or as " a group, event or issue considered to typify or conform to an unvarying standard or manner" For example the stereotype of a *teacher* The process/practice involved is stereotyping where repetition and lack of variation in movements and ideas are emphasised. This stereotyping process will be discussed in detail later in the present chapter.

Hagendoorn 1993:33 distinguishes the concept *stereotype* from the concepts *prejudice, ethnocentrism* and *racism*. Stereotypes store generalized knowledge about social categories thereby implicitly evaluates these categories and have functional and cognitive aspects. Prejudice is the negative evaluation in stereotypes. Ethnocentrism refers to the bipolar evaluation of outgroups from the perspective of the ingroup and racism encapsulates these phenomena in purely racial oppression of racial minorities by majorities. The situation in apartheid South Africa was unique where racial discrimination was law and the White minority group oppressed the black majority group.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ENTITY *STEREOTYPE* AND THE PROCESS *STEREOTYPING*

The title of this chapter juxtaposes the terms *stereotype* and *stereotyping*. In this section I

will motivate the distinction that has to be drawn between the two of them.

The concept *stereotype*

Readers Digest Universal Dictionary: 1488 gives the following definitions of the term *stereotype*:

1. "A conventional, formulaic, and usually oversimplified conception, opinion, or belief."

2. "A person, group, event, or issue considered to typify or conform to an unvarying standard pattern or manner

English & English 1958: 523 define the concept *stereotype* as:

A relatively rigid and oversimplified or biased perception or conception of an aspect of reality, especially of persons or social groups.

The term stereotype is defined in a variety of ways and from a variety of perspectives:

Van den Berghe 1967: 2 defines stereotypes as being socially constructed, situational variable and psychologically linked to prejudice.

While Ashmore and Del Boca 1981: 161 refer to stereotypes as a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people.

According to McCauley and Stitt 1978: 935 stereotypes are best understood as predictions that distinguish the stereotyped group from the others.

According to Lippmann 1922: 95:

They (stereotypes) are an ordered, more or less constant picture of the world, to which our habits, our tastes, our capacities, our comforts and our hopes adjusted themselves. They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture to which we are adapted.

Allport 1954: 187 claim stereotypes to be:

An exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify our conduct in relation to that category.

Tajfel 1981: 145 goes a step further than the other authors cited above, in that he differentiated between stereotypes and social stereotypes:

Stereotypes are certain generalizations reached by individuals. They derive in large measure from, or are in instance of, the general cognitive process of categorizing. The main function of the process is to simplify or systematize, for purposes of cognitive and behavioural adaptation, the abundance and complexity of the information received from its environment by the human organism... but such stereotypes can be social only when they are 'shared' by large numbers of people within social groups or entities.

Lippmann 1922: 95's reference to stereotypes as "pictures in the head" emphasises the point of view that to understand a person's behaviour one must understand that person's view of the world. Lippmann develops his view further by highlighting the link between thought and action. In order to simplify a complex social world the individual forms pictures and constructs a 'pseudo-environment'. Wellman's belief–desire reasoning model discussed in chapter three clearly illustrates how this occurs.

According to Lippmann 1922: 11 because:

...the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance

... we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can

manage with it.

Bond 1986: 259-276 claims to get a clear picture of intergroup perceptions it is necessary to examine the different types of stereotypes.

➤ The auto-stereotype;

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> The hetero-stereotype and

> The reflected stereotype

The *auto-stereotype* refers to the perception of the own group. This is usually a favourable perception.

The *hetero-stereotype* includes the expected behaviour and traits of other groups. There is usually an unfavourable perception of the outgroup as the ingroup is favoured.

The *reflected stereotypes* refers to the perception of the respondents ingroup which is attributed to members of the outgroups. Different evaluative dimensions can define the stereotypes of certain groups.

Vassiliou et al 1972: 90-91 contend that stereotypes vary on six dimensions:

> *Complexity* refers to the number of traits assigned to the other group;.

> *Clarity* is the polarization of the judgement of each trait, the extent to which people from one group assign non neutral values of the trait to people in the outgroup;

> *Specificity* is the extent to which the traits are specific or vague;

> *Validity* is the extent to which the stereotype corresponds to substantially realistic assignment of traits;

> *Value* refers to the favorability of the assigned traits;

> *Comparability* is the extent to which the perceiver is involved in the stereotyping so that a comparison is made between auto stereotype (group looking at self) and hetero-stereotype (one group looking at another).

To understand stereotypes further it is also necessary to examine the socio-cultural, motivational and cognitive determinants of stereotypes. (See three orientations of stereotypes in this chapter for details).

There has been research done on anti-Semitic stereotypes from a sociological orientation,

on sex stereotypes that deals with biological and psychological differences between men and women, on stereotypes of old people (gerontology) and on stereotypes of the handicapped and mentally ill people. This study however focuses on stereotypes as sets of traits that are used to explain and predict the behaviour of members of socially/ politically defined groups within the South African context. A cognitive emphasis is given to stereotypes to eliminate the evaluative nature of discussions of stereotypes.

Can stereotypes be changed?

Researchers are of the view that some stereotypes are difficult to change while others are not. Schneider 1996: 439 has suggested four reasons for this:

> ➤ Stereotypes are based on facts;

> ➤ Stereotypic beliefs have cultural support and

> ➤ People assert their own superiority and reference group.

> ➤ Stereotypes are beliefs that are embedded in a cognitive structure.

Firstly some stereotypes are difficult to change because in some cases they may be true. They could be based on a fact; for example, the belief that men are physically stronger than women would not change even if one sees thousands of female bodybuilders. Differential strength is a fact.

Secondly culture plays an important role. It would have been difficult to change the general stereotypes of women that were widely held by both men and women that women were inferior to men and should listen to their husbands without questioning his authority for example, in the East and in the Victorian era in England. Culturally based stereotypes are difficult to change as one may have discovered in their personal lives. These stereotypes are important especially within the school context as they could lead to conflict and misunderstanding between the different cultural groups. This is what happens in the schools causing con-

flicts and racial friction.

Thirdly people assert their own superiority and reference group. Prejudices can drive stereotypes and make them resistant to change. Emotional experiences can create stereotypes that are rigid, for example, if a gang from a certain race group beats up a child he will have a negative impression of all members of that race group. These emotionally laden stereotypes tend to be taken as a fixed trait of that particular group though they are not. People always tend to favour their own group and regard them as superior. Maslow's hierarchy of needs discussed in chapter three illustrates this point.

Fourthly stereotypes are beliefs and are embedded in a cognitive structure, for example, a feminist will think differently about gender differences compared to a Moslem or Christian person with conservative values. Modern black writers and conservative White politicians will see differences between Black and White groups differently. Group differences cannot be ignored or wished away. When beliefs are attached to other central beliefs they are difficult to change. Wellman's model of belief-desire reasoning illustrates this.

Stereotypes, the traits, must be differentiated from *stereotyping,* which is the process.

The process of *stereotyping*

Oakes, Haslam en Turner 1994: 1 describe stereotyping as " ...the process of ascribing characteristics to people on the basis of their group memberships".

Gudykust & Young 1992: 146-147 explain stereotyping as "the natural result of a communication process". Both these definitions complement each other as communication takes place people categorise and attribute traits to individuals according to their own experiences and knowledge of the world, stereotyping takes place.

Stereotyping, Lippmann 1922: 17 asserts is in all of us, as a reflection of our culture, our language and most importantly our manner of thinking as Wellman's 1992: 109 model of be-

lief-desire reasoning discussed in chapter three clearly indicates. Lippmann's analysis of stereotyping gave rise to subsequent research and theorizing on stereotyping as a phenomenon.

Gordon Allport 1954: 191 holds similar views to those of Lippmann. Allport also does not accept stereotypes as simple, cognitive generalizations but recognizes that the stereotyping process involves describing how people think about others and why they think as they do. Allport claims that a dislike requires justification, and that any justification that fits the immediate conversational situation will do.

Perhaps inevitably then, stereotypes and stereotyping play a key role in intergroup conflict and interpersonal strife.

From the above small set of definitions it is obvious that there are many definitions of stereotypes and stereotyping and they reveal a range of different opinions. There are, however, also similarities.

Most definitions give emphasis to consensus as an important feature of stereotypes. Stereotypes are not just products of our cognitive system but culture and society play an important part in development of most stereotypes. Thus stereotyping deals with social perceptions and the perceiver attributes a trait or attitude to a group or an individual to qualify the perception. The stimulus for the stereotype comes from the individual's physiological or biological identity (race, age, gender or physical appearance) or the individual's social behavioural identity (ethnicity, religion). Stephan and Rosenfield 1982: 93 state "stereotypes emphasize the cognitive component of attitudes, since they are sets of beliefs about the traits that characterize a given group". Van den Heuwel 1992: 6 supports this idea, referring to stereotypes as "social phenomena that are part of the ideology and ideological practices within any society". Van den Heuwel 1992: 2 argues stereotypes are "first of the intergroup perceptions

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that are both influenced by and themselves influence the relations between groups".

To deal with intergroup conflict it is important to understand the role of stereotypes in intergroup communication.

Most stereotype definitions refer to two basic components: a descriptive component and an evaluative component. A stereotype is a simple, rigid description of a person or group. That person/group is evaluated by another person/group. Frequently such evaluations are based upon a situation or an event or extensions to new situations or events of behaviours in historically earlier events. When a stereotypic description is attached to a racial, ethnic or national group, there is the implication that the characteristics are genetically determined and so cannot be changed.

In South Africa during the apartheid era the White minority group used this idea to enforce the apartheid laws. Many Afrikaners actually believed the psychologists/biologists who claimed that blacks had a different brain structure. Others justified their behaviour on biblical grounds, as did the colonialists that are 'noble savage'. They believed the important traits are inborn.

Brown 1965: 181 states:

Stereotypes are not objectionable because they are generalizations about categories; such generalizations are valuable when they are true. Stereotypes are not objectionable because they are generalizations that have been proven false; for the most time we do not know whether they are true or false - in their probabilistic form... What is objectionable about them? I think it is their ethnocentrism and the implications that important traits are inborn for large groups.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF STEREOTYPES

In Lakoff 1986's analysis of the conceptual basis of lexical categories he shows that such categories have prototypical lexemes as core members, with less typical members being ex-

tended in a radial pattern. According to Lakoff's analysis a lexeme like *mother* can refer to an actual person in the real world, while at the lexical level is serves as a superordinate term for a range of other lexemes that relate to different forms of motherhood. By Lakoff's account a central lexeme (like *mother*) does not generate all the subcategories. Instead the subcategories are defined by convention as variations on the central case. Therefore, there is no general rule for generating kinds of mothers. Lakoff 1986: 84 states:

They are culturally defined and have to be learnt. They are by no means the same in all cultures.

Taking Lakoff 1986 as point of departure, lexical subsets within more general categories can be seen as sub-lexical clusters based on particular underlying Idealised Cognitive Models (ICMs). The superordinate lexical category *mother*, among others, contains the Idealised Cognitive Models NURTURER and BIRTH GIVER. According to Lakoff 1986: 70 such an idealised cognitive model "does not fit the world very precisely. It is oversimplified in its background assumptions."

Because our positive stereotypical (idealised) associations with the lexeme *mother* do not fit with the realities of real-world motherhood Idealised Cognitive Models like NURTURER and BIRTH GIVER are used to distinguish different types of motherhood such as *birth mother, surrogate mother, housewife mother, unwed mother* and *working mother*. For instance Lakoff 1986: 79-83 distinguishes 10 forms of motherhood, namely *mother, stepmother, adoptive mother, birth mother, natural mother, foster mother, biological mother, surrogate mother, unwed mother* and *genetic mother*. To this list can be added *working mother, housewife mother* and *donor mother*. Lakoff argues that particular motherhood terms form particular subordinate subsets of the overall category *mother* because they cluster around different Idealised Cognitive Models underlying the concept of motherhood.

By extending Lakoff 1986's reasoning I will show that such underlying models of mother-

hood contain stereotypical value judgements as part of their shared meaning sets, and that these meaning sets form the basis of stereotypical value judgements:

> There is more than one conceptual model underlying our understanding of terms like *housewife mother* and *working mother*. Two such models are THE MOTHER AS NURTURER and THE MOTHER AS BIRTH GIVER.

> A particular term is primarily based on one cognitive model, rather than on two or more models.

> The term *housewife mother* is stereotypically understood in terms of the nurturance model, not the birth giver model, because the mother is at home, taking care of her child(ren).

> The term *working mother* is understood in terms of the nurturance model. Because the mother is not at home, looking after her child(ren), the *working mother* stereotypically is considered not to be as good a mother as the *housewife mother*. By implication a value judgement with regard to the quality of motherhood forms part of the nurturance model.

> By contrast the terms *biological mother* and *surrogate mother* are understood in terms of the birth giver model, and not the nurturance model. When a *biological mother* or *surrogate mother* is working, no value judgment of her quality of motherhood is implied, because such a value judgement is associated with the nurturance model, not with the birth giver model.

> Keeping in mind that the term *working mother* implies a negative value judgement, it is interesting that an *unwed mother*, can work fulltime without being considered to be a *working mother*. The reason for this is that an *unwed mother* is stereotyped in terms of a yet different Idealised Cognitive Model of motherhood — the model

that associates legitimate birth with the mother being married, and living in a socially stable relationship with the father of the child. An *unwed mother* who is working is not considered to be a *working mother* because she is stereotyped with a value judgement that implies social instability and unsuitability of character — essentially a stronger negative value judgement than being negligent as a mother. Although a *working mother* as well as an *unwed mother* incurs negative value judgements, the judgements are based on different underlying models of motherhood, each containing a different value judgement as part of its meaning. The nurturance model is associated with a value judgement of being negligent, while the illegitimacy model is associated with a value judgement of being socially unacceptable. *These value judgements can change over time and can differ in different cultures and groups.* Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Boon's model of ethnicity

From the above discussion of a number of forms of motherhood it is clear that stereotyping relates to how people categorise one another in terms of underlying Idealised Cognitive Models that are culturally based, and associated with different value-belief systems as part of their overall meanings.

The Individual Approach

According to Stangor & Schaller 1996: 14-19 stereotypes may be conceptualised from two perspectives, namely the individual and the collective perspectives. From the first perspective stereotypes are represented within the mind of the individual person. The conceptual basis for the individual perspective has been demonstrated in the previous section. From the second perspective, stereotypes are represented as part of society, shared by a homogeneous group of people within a heterogeneous culture.

The individual approach focuses on the meaning of the stereotype to the individual. Be-

liefs, including social beliefs, exist in the minds of individuals. People develop beliefs about the characteristics of social groups in their environment and this knowledge influence how they respond towards members of those groups. Thus stereotypes develop within the individual. Recently some proponents of the individual approach have articulated how stereotypes are understood within contemporary social psychology. (Compare, for example, Hamilton & Sherman 1994: 1-68; Stangor & Lange 1993: 357-416). The individual approach has helped to provide a broader theoretical perspective for the study of the stereotyping process.

The Collective or Cultural Approach

While the individual approach focuses on cognitive representations, the collective approach focuses on the transmission and reproduction of stereotypes across individuals and generations, and on the social outcomes of stereotyping. It is the content of stereotypes that is important in this broad social approach, not the process. It matters for example that the stereotypes of Blacks in South Africa include laziness, athletics, musicality and not other traits. These *beliefs* determine the social status of Blacks within the South African society given their largely disempowered status during the apartheid years. Wellman's 1992: 109 belief-desire theories discussed in chapter three illustrates this.

Brigham 1971: 31 describes stereotypes as "a generalization made about an ethnic group, concerning a trait attribution, which is considered to be unjustified by an observer". Such consensual stereotypes lead to negative consequences of behavioural confirmation, biased interpretation of events and discrimination towards that particular group. Consensus of group beliefs would vary between ingroups and outgroups and across cultures. Each ingroup will have their own stereotypes about outgroups as subsequent analysis of data shows in chapter six.

Allport 1954: 191 defines a stereotype as a "fixed idea that accompanies the category."

Emphasizing categorization as an important aspect of stereotyping.

Leyens, Yserbyt en Schadron 1994: 11 define stereotypes as "... shared beliefs about person attributes, usually personality traits, but often also behaviours, of a group of people". This refers to group or social stereotypes emphasizing consensus as an important aspect of stereotyping.

In a recent analysis of stereotypes, Doosje, Spears & Koomen 1996: 212 recognise three important components:

> ➢ The *content* relates to the traits or attributions of a group;

> ➢ The *evaluation* relates to the values given to the stereotypic dimensions; and

> ➢ The *variability* relates to when members of the same group differ from one another

Content plays an important role in most conceptualisations of stereotypes. Stereotypes are personality traits attributed to one group by one or more members of another group, for example Blacks are noisy, Whites are intelligent. This is important, as it will affect inter-group communication. As early as 1933 Katz & Braly used the checklist method to measure typical personality traits attributed to a group. The use of a checklist was the standard method for measuring stereotypes, in the 50's and 60's. Researchers later introduced scales to measure the intensity of an attribution in a group. The idea that stereotypes were traits attributed to a group, however, has remained unchanged even to today.

Personality traits were not only used to describe groups but to evaluate them as well. The values given to the stereotypic dimensions affect intergroup communication. The ingroup, the group to which a person belongs, is differentiated from the outgroups.

The third component of stereotypes is intragroup variability- the differences within a group. This aspect plays a vital role in the theory development as well as in the research on stereotyping. An important phenomena related to intragroup variability is the outgroup ho-

mogeneity effect. This study does not extend to detailed discussion of intragroup variability.

Devine and Elliot's 1995 study of stereotypes is important for further meaningful research of stereotypes for the following reasons:

> Devine 1989 showed that stereotypes and personal beliefs are distinct cognitive structures representing distinct aspects of the person's knowledge of various groups as illustrated by Wellman's 1992: 115 model depicting belief-desire reasoning.

> The content of stereotypes may change over time and outdated adjective checklists cannot assess responses on stereotypes accurately. Therefore stereotypes are not rigid and are influenced by changing social values and beliefs.

> The study demonstrated all individuals (low or high prejudiced) have the same knowledge of a stereotype.

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON STEREOTYPING

Jost and Banaji 1994: 1-27 discuss stereotyping as ego-justification and group justification to propose another category, system justification:

According to *ego justification (Lippmann 1922)* stereotypes develop in order to protect the behaviour or position of the self and according to *group justification* stereotypes develop in order to protect the behaviour and status of the social group and the self. Tajfel 1981 supports this claim.

Jost and Banaji 1994: 2 claim that although both views are important and useful they do not address issues like negative stereotyping of the self or of the ingroup and the degree to which stereotypes are shared across individuals and social groups. They propose *system justification* is necessary to address the social functions of stereotyping. Stereotypes, which are widespread beliefs about social groups, are hypothesized to go together with any system

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characterized by people being separated into roles, classes, positions or statuses because members can explain and perceive the arrangements as justifiable. They do recognize that people do not always have beliefs to reinforce *system justification* that can lead to false consciousness. The more painful, or unfair a system is, the stronger the *system justification*, for example, in the case of South Africa and the apartheid system. This approach requires further research of *system justification* responses in comparison to ego- and group justification responses.

Ashmore and Del Boca 1981: 22-31 discuss three main orientations to the study of stereotypes. They emphasise the sociological orientation (The social learning approach) of stereotypes in culture. According to Ashmore and Del Boca humans acquire stereotypes during socialization and communication and in expressing stereotypes we are reinforcing them. In this orientation, stereotypes constitute norms about how certain individuals and groups are to be treated, for example, the mentally ill or handicapped person. Emphasis is also placed upon the social channels responsible for the transmission of stereotypes. The sociological orientation includes the interpretation of changes in stereotype imagery in accordance with diverse social and cultural changes. Consensuality characterises the sociological perspective, as there is wide agreement about the stereotypes typifying various target groups. Thus stereotypes are learned from the social environment in which children live. Primary sources of stereotypes for children are parents and family members who provide information or reinforce and instruct stereotypic contents. The media, peer groups and the schools also influence children's acquisition of stereotypes. Continued negative stereotypes can lead to conflict, therefore schools can play an important role to emphasize positive images.

Daniel Bar-Tal 1996: 341-370 discusses the development of social categories and stereotypes in early childhood with reference to *Arab* as a concept. He believes a stereotype, de-

fined as set of beliefs about the characteristics of a social category of people, constitutes a cognitive basis for understanding intergroup behaviour. People as individuals and as group members are influenced in their behaviour towards other group members by the stereotypes they have formed.

Bar-Tal 1996: 341-370 in his study of the acquisition of the stereotype of the *Arab* shows almost all of the Jewish children, regardless of their social environment, stereotype Arabs negatively. As noted earlier children are not born with such attitudes but acquire them from the input around them. Studies (Bar-Tal, Teichman and Zohar 1994;) show that when young Israeli children between 2.5 -3.5 years use the word *Arab;* they do so in a manner which reflects neutral evaluation. There are no signs of the term being used pejoratively or in any derogatory way. Gradually information from their environment shapes their view and by the time the children are 6 they have constructed a negative stereotype of Arabs, which is manifested in the way they use the term *Arab*. It is important to expose the children to positive traits of Arab with the hope of changing the negative stereotype of Arabs. By reducing the negative stereotypes of Arabs intergroup conflict between Jews and Arabs can be reduced.

Devine 1989: 6 points out that the effect of early acquisition of stereotypes has a lasting effect. She suggests that stereotypes "are well established in children's memories before children develop the cognitive ability and flexibility to question or critically evaluate the stereotype's validity or acceptability." Devine asserts early-established stereotypes are based on widely spread belief, which are cultural stereotypes in society. Individuals later develop personal beliefs about groups and personal stereotypes develop with ingroup and outgroup perceptions. Personal stereotypes may differ or even contradict the cultural stereotypes in some instances. However Devine 1989: 5 emphasises that as cultural stereotypes are acquired at an early age they "have a longer history of activation and are therefore likely to be more acces-

sible than are personal beliefs". Cultural stereotypes are therefore more entrenched and more likely to dominate. Wellman's 1992 model of belief—desire reasoning supports Devine 1989.

Given these findings it is obvious that stereotypical attitudes need to be changed/ corrected when children are very young. The role parents and social values play in the acquisition and the use of stereotypes are important, as these roles, if they are negative, would need to be neutralised, before any changes could be effected in children's response to others/outgroups. Schools should inculcate positive perceptions of the outgroups as this will help reduce conflict situations. The National Education Minister, Kader Asmal's, emphasis on core values in education is vital to the interpersonal relationships and to help reduce conflict situations in the schools.

The psychodynamic orientation (The psychodynamic approach) emphasises that stereotypes reflect the inner drives or motivational needs of the person holding the stereotypes. Psychoanalytic and related ego-defence theories suggest that individuals will be hostile towards innocent targets because of unpleasant personal experience with members of the target group or possibly feelings of superiority. In The Authoritarian Personality Adorno (1950) elaborated the psychodynamic theory of prejudice. In this theory, the role of stereotyping is based on the premise that a person categorized, as 'very authoritative' will be intolerant of outgroups. The disposition to be harsh and punitive towards low status groups is linked in the theory to the general concept of stereotyping. Stereotypes appear to be fundamentally involved in incidents of unrestrained aggression. This is clearly indicated by the incidents at school as discussed in chapter two of this study.

Therefore the Psychodynamic Approach focuses on childhood emotional experiences. Parent's rearing practices may result in formation of strong negative stereotypes that reflect children's intrapersonal conflict or difficulty of adjustment within society as Bettelheim and

Janowitz's 1950 study pointed out. Discussion of this is not within the limits of this study.

The following table shows how the ingroup's evaluation of the same concept differs from the outgroup.

Ethnocentrism as ascribed to the own and other groups	
Self description	Stereotype of outgroup
We have pride, self respect and revere the traditions of our ancestors	They are egotistical and self-centred. They love themselves more than they love us.
We are loyal.	They are clannish and exclude others
We are honest and trustworthy among ourselves, but we are not suckers when foreigners try their tricks.	They will cheat us if they can. They have no honesty or moral restraint when dealing with us.
We are brave and progressive. We stand up for our own rights, defend what is ours, and can't be pushed around or bullied.	They are aggressive and expansionistic. They want to get ahead at our expense
We are a peaceful, loving people, hating only our vile enemies.	They are hostile people who hate us.
We are moral and clean.	They are immoral and unclean

Fig. 7: How individuals use contrastive attributes to rationalise their own behaviour, while condemning the same behaviour in other groups, adapted from LeVine & Campbell, 1972:173.

The cognitive orientation (The cognitive developmental approach) emphasises the social cognition of stereotypes. In this theory, people are believed to have limited capabilities for processing information about the social world. It is believed that, given this limited capability, stereotypes help to reduce the complexity of the world. The theory further states that the phenomena associated with stereotyping, for example, are attributable to processes that are fundamental to human thought -categorization, judgemental inference, concept formation, among others. Thus the cognitive developmental approach focuses on the cognitive changes

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in cognitive structures as a basis for stereotype acquisition. As children develop, different cognitive abilities emerge which serve as a basis for the development of stereotypes as Bar-Tal 1996: 341-370 indicated. This current approach emphasises that all people are susceptible to perceptual biases and distortions (stereotyping). We are all inclined to hold initial expectations and impressions and will unconsciously seek information that validates the images we have constructed. Different groups have different perceptions and this can lead to cultural misunderstanding and conflict.

This misunderstanding and conflict is reflected in the functional aspect of stereotypes which show stereotypes not only evolve from but also preserve the values of, the ingroup by differentiating the ingroup from negatively evaluated outgroups. The evolving system of differences between the groups leads to a hierarchical representation of the intergroup relations in society.

STEREOTYPING AND LEVELS OF CATEGORISATION

In this section I will briefly explain how humans categorise entities into different hierarchical levels by using the shared and differentiating attributes of entities.

Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 60-109 discuss three levels of categorization, namely the superordinate level, the basic level and the subordinate level. These levels are demonstrated by means of Fig. 8:

Levels of Categorisation: the functions of shared & differentiating attributes

Fig. 8: Superordinate, basic level and subordinate levels of categorization

The basic or generic level has a large number of common attributes and not much cognitive effort is required to obtain information about a concept. All members in the group have a common shape or a gestalt perception. Organisms and objects are identified by specific actions, for example birds can fly. According to Ungerer & Schmid 1996 Rosch and her associates' experiments confirmed these factors for basic level categories.

Basic level categories are closely related to prototype categories. Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 72 claim:

Prototype categories are most fully developed on the basic level and basic level categories only function as they do because they are structured as prototype categories.

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Basic level categories with prototypes are needed to categorize the objects and organisms in the world.

The superordinate level or category have general attributes, have no common shape (gestalt) and differs from the basic category in different ways. Chair and Table are basic level categories under the superordinate category of furniture. Highlighting of important attributes and collecting of important attributes from other categories are two functions of the superordinate category.

Subordinate level or category have specific attributes which is used to categorise. These categories are based on prototypes, have common attributes, have good and bad members, has compound or composite forms, has almost identical gestalt.

Ungerer and Schmid 1999: 102 claim that cognitive categorisation of actions or activities are important, for example, actions like eating or drinking can be perceived or categorised as a gestalt action indicating that actions have basic level and super ordinate categories. Subordinate categories are linguistically expressed by composite terms where one element specifies and the other element refers to the basic level term, for example words like lemon juice (juice referring to the basic level and lemon specifying). Action categories are perceived in terms of prototype categories but become less conclusive at the superordinate and subordinate levels. (Ungerer 1999: 104).

Ungerer and Schmid 1999: 107 question whether properties like *tall* and *hot* can be regarded as cognitive categories as in the case of organisms, objects and action categories or are they representatives of a different kind of cognitive experience. It is therefore important to remember in the cognitive context the cognitive phenomena are based on sensory events derived from our interaction with objects, people and ourselves, for example, something could be *sweet, hot* or *bitter*. These are basic experiences that are important for our percep-

tion of the world as the basic level categories.

The term *primary ethnic group* refers to a group that has occupied a territory for a long time and which functions as a comprehensive society satisfying the social needs of its members. This group perceives itself to be first in its ethnic hierarchy. The secondary groups will be dependent on the primary group. In South Africa, the second primary group, the black majority, disputed the dominant position of the primary White minority. Each group's reflecting and asserting its own value system would inevitably lead to conflict. This is illustrated in reports of conflict in the schools discussed in chapter two of this study.

The following three functions of stereotypes will be discussed:

> Social categorization;

> Value preservation and

> Own group differentiation

Firstly, stereotypes provide the criteria for social categorization. The relationship between stereotypes and social categorization is a reciprocal one as categorization can activate a stereotype or a stereotype can activate a category. A person behaving as what is thought to be typically Italian will be classified Italian and from this Italians will be expected to display typically Italian behaviour. Stereotypes provide information about others and the experience and knowledge stored in stereotypes feeds the categorisation process. Tajfel 1981: 150 calls this the cognitive function of stereotypes. Ethnic categorizations can be further differentiated by gender, age and socio-economic status.

Secondly, stereotypes are used to effect the preservation of values according to Tajfel 1981: 150. From a social psychological view people develop stereotypes to describe and evaluate group differences. The value system of the ingroup is used for intergroup evaluations. This explains the differing positions of various groups and the frequency of misunder-

standing among diverse groups. To maintain a positive social identity ingroup members differentiate between ingroup and outgroups in a way that favours the ingroup. This will be discussed in the data analysis of this study in chapter seven of this study.

Thirdly, stereotypes are used to differentiate one's own group from other groups in a positive way according to Tajfel 1981:150. By choosing dimensions of comparison by which the ingroup is superior, the ingroup remains positively positioned in relation to the other groups.

The differentiating and evaluative functions of stereotypes drives the search for a favourable self-categorization, thus indicating all functions linked. In a multi-ethnic context, like the new multicultural classroom situation in South Africa, each group will have stereotypes about several outgroups accentuating as negatives differences from the ingroup. The greater and the more important these differences are to the ingroup the further away outgroups will be placed from the ingroup. As differentiation generally leads to groups being ranked, it can be said that stereotypes generate an ethnic hierarchy. Consequently group position in society plays an important role in the structure ethnic hierarchies.

Functional aspects of stereotypes and the generation of ethnic hierarchies has been researched by *inter alia* Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989, Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991, and Kleinpenning & Hagendoorn, 1991. These researchers found that deviance attributed to outgroups leads to the avoidance of contact with outgroup members. Lack of contact leads to lack of understanding and this in turn will lead to friction and conflict among the groups. This is what happens in the new South African multicultural schools, for example, when negative attributions like laziness, dirtiness or unreliability asserted of outgroup members are central values of the ingroup it can have a negative effect on intergroup contact especially where people are dependent on each other. This can relate to colleagues, neighbours or learners in the same class or school.

THEORIES OF STEREOTYPING

In this section I will discuss the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the Categorization Theory because they form part of the overall conceptual framework of this study.

Social-Identity Theory

Tajfel's 1972 Social-Identity Theory refers to the social psychological analysis of inter-group relations. This theory assumes people want to evaluate themselves positively and when group membership is important to their self-definition that they will evaluate the ingroup positively. Later in 1981 in his paper Social Stereotypes and Social Groups Tajfel brought the group and the realities of the group back into stereotyping research. Tajfel felt earlier cognitive analysis had not covered these issues of stereotyping adequately.

Tajfel identified five basic functions of social stereotypes - two, individual, and three, group level functions. As noted earlier stereotypes systematize and simplify the environment (cognitive function) and they represent and preserve important social values (motivational function) for the individual. At group level, stereotypes helped to create and maintain group beliefs that are then used to explain social events and justify collective action. Stereotypes differentiate the ingroup positively from selected outgroups. Tajfel points out that research in stereotyping in the 1970's focused primarily on the individual's cognitive function.

Tajfel 1981: 163 sees group-level functions as foundations for analysis of stereotype content and he emphasises the need to link individual functions to group functions. For Tajfel 1981: 163 the group, 'cultural traditions, group interests, social upheavals and social differentiations' are the main factors causing stereotyping. Stereotypes reflect and make possible group life. According to Tajfel stereotyping is a context- dependent process that serves to represent the changing nature of inter-group relations.

Although Tajfel was not able to contribute to the research his ideas have influenced research on groups in social psychology of stereotyping. Tajfel's work informs this dissertation to the extent that stereotypes are representations of groups; representations that are often used to describe, interpret and predict the actions of individuals. (According to the Belief Theory-beliefs are representations to capture something real). His work is thus vital to the primary aim of the current study: to offer some interventions for changing intergroup relations and encouraging positive and peaceful co-operation among the different ethnic groups in the South African schools.

Brown & Turner 1981 adapted Tajfel's conception of social identity as the reflecting of group affiliations to that of the social categorizations of the self which give rise to group phenomena. Turner developed what is known as the self-categorization theory.

Self-Categorization Theory

According to Turner & Oakes 1989: 270, the Self-Categorization Theory deals with the interrelation of personal and social aspects and emphasises the individual as well as the group identity. While the theory recognizes the grouping as a distinctive psychological process, in so doing it reminds us that group functioning is also part of the psychology of the person. The individual and the group must be psychologically reintegrated before there can be an adequate analysis of either.

Secord and Backman 1974: 29 recognized three aspects of stereotyping that emphasize self-categorization theory:

➢ Identification of a group;

➢ Social comparison takes place on different levels and (superordinate, basic and subordinate levels); This is related to Ungerer & Schmid's 1996: 72 prototype categories discussed earlier in this chapter.

➤ Identity depends on the social context.

Stereotyping and group identification

A group is identified, for example, Whites. Then it is accepted that people in that category have certain traits. These traits are then associated with everybody in the designated group. Secord 1976: 29 believes:

... stereotyping is a sociocultural phenomenon, in that it is a property characteristic of people sharing a common culture. The ideas in the stereotype are part of the culture.

Hewstone & Brown 1986: 29 hold supporting views:

Often individuals are categorized, usually on basis of easily identifiable characteristics such as sex or ethnicity. A set of attributes is ascribed to all (or most members of that category, individuals belonging to that stereotyped group are assumed to be similar to each other, and different from other groups, on this set of attributes. The set of tributes is ascribed to any individual member of that category.

STEREOTYPING AND SOCIAL COMPARISON

An important aspect of the self-categorization theory is that social comparison can take place on different levels. Doosje 1995: 12 explained the three general levels:

(1) The interpersonal or the subordinate level of abstraction refers to personal identity where 'self' is regarded as a unique individual;

(2) The intergroup or the intermediate level (basic level) of abstraction refers to the social identity where 'self' is a member of a social group;

(3) The interspecies or superordinate level of abstraction refers to the human identity where 'self' is a human being.

From Doosje's explanation it is clear that the different levels of identity are dependent upon each other; for example, personal identity depends on social identity. Social categorization of the self and others become more evident as intergroup differences increase and intragroup or interpersonal differences decrease. The different levels of categorisation were fully illustrated in figure 8 and by Ungerer and Schmid 1996's discussion of how the different levels of categorisation takes place.

STEREOTYPING AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Categorization at the personal (individual level) becomes more evident as intergroup differences decrease and intragroup, interpersonal differences increase. Thus the identity of self-categorization used depends on the social context.

Turner 1985 discusses the principle of meta-contrast that is important for stereotyping. If a person is in a group but there is no outgroup, personal identity is important and interpersonal or intra-group comparisons will evolve and develop.

Within an intergroup context, for example, in the school, social identity as a member of a group plays a major role. The differences and similarities among the different groups are emphasized and group identity becomes important. The "us" and "them" causes friction and conflict.

Meta-contrast is the categorization theory's principle of "comparative fit" which refers to selective categorization. This happens when the differences among people within the category is reduced in comparison to the differences between the categories.

The "normative fit" is the match between category and the content properties of stimuli. This study will not deal with the details of these aspects. It is important to understand that when we use the categories to identify individuals or groups, we are stereotyping.

CONCLUSION

The resurgence in research on stereotypes began in the mid-1970's. Modern theories and powerful methods about stereotypes developed in the last twenty years. Schneider 1996: 448 advises researchers not to assume stereotypes have particular qualities but simply to begin with the basic assumption that stereotypes are generalizations. Schneider 1991 states that the main research interest of researchers into stereotyping is about the way in which stereotypes affect the manner in which we process information about people. This will affect social reactions. This is the social cognitive perspective of stereotyping which is important in this study. It is also the current research perspective on stereotyping.

Within the social cognitive perspective stereotypes are beliefs we have about people in groups. They may or may not be false, negative or rigid. They need not be shared with other people and are closely related to prejudice and discrimination. Schneider 1996: 422 claims stereotypes are derived from the general cognitive processes we all share. While all stereotypes are generalizations not all generalizations are stereotypes.

MEASURING ETHNIC STEREOTYPES

PREVIEW

In this chapter I will discuss the problems researchers encounter about the definition and measurement of ethnic stereotypes. Different definitions require different measuring procedures. Beliefs form an important part of stereotypes and measurement of beliefs is a conundrum wrapped up in a mystery at the moment.

Based on my review of these problems, I will in chapter six synthesise the method that I will be using for this investigation of ethnic stereotyping in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region.

PROBLEMS WITH MEASURING STEREOTYPES

Social psychologists have difficulty to agree about the definition and measurement of ethnic stereotypes. The first investigation of ethnic stereotypes by Katz and Braly 1933 was an adjective selection technique. Gardner, Lalonde, Nero &Young 1988: 40 claim that Katz and Braly's 1933 technique assessed the content of the stereotype, but did not allow for individual differences regarding the extent to which subjects subscribe to the stereotype.

Brigham 1971: 31, Gardner 1973: 332, McCauley & Stitt 1978: 929 suggested slightly differing definitions of, and procedures for measuring stereotypes as will be discussed below. Brigham 1971: 31 defined a stereotype as an unjustified generalization and proposed that a generalization can be considered unjustified if a subject indicates that 80% or more or 20% or fewer of the individuals in that group have that trait. Gardner's 1973: 332 evaluative semantic differential scales defined a stereotype as comprising consensual beliefs about the character-

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istics of a particular group. He argued that the consensual component of stereotypes should be retained in their assessment because stereotypes are cognitions that are important in the intergroup context. Gardner 1973: 332 defined an ethnic stereotype in terms of consensus in the traits attributed to the group, as subjects agree that one or the other end of a bipolar scale is applicable to that group.

McCauley & Stitt 1978: 929 defined an ethnic stereotype of a group in terms of attributes that distinguish the group from the others. The diagnostic ratio as a stereotype measure includes the extent to which information about group membership affects trait predictions. They argue that this definition relates stereotyping to the psychology of prediction, to the study of conceptual behaviour and to attribution theory. According to McCauley & Stitt 1978: 938 the study of stereotypes defined by diagnostic ratios is a part of the study of human conceptual behaviour. This links up with Wellman's 1992: 109 model of belief–desire reasoning, discussed in chapter three that clearly illustrates how perceptions and thinking eventually lead to actions and reactions.

There seems to be consensus that stereotypes are over-generalised beliefs. Gardner et al 1988: 57-59 points out that the three assessment procedures discussed above bring different connotations: beliefs are consensual, beliefs are unjustified, because beliefs are relative to the general class of all people. It is important for researchers to decide which conceptualisation they want to emphasize when choosing the assessment procedure as different procedures tap different dimensions.

Researchers should focus on consensual beliefs (cultural stereotypes) because the beliefs shared in the community are reflective of and influence intergroup relations. It is believed all stereotypes are personal (beliefs held by the individual). Cultural stereotypes are a subset of those beliefs that are shared by many individuals. If the researcher wishes to investigate these

consensual beliefs then the assessment procedure used should recognize this shared element. According to Gardner 1994: 1-31 by focussing on stereotypes as consensual beliefs information about social behaviour can be obtained as beliefs represent social reality.

Dijker 1987: 305-325 in his study shows that contact with members from ethnic out-groups can evoke emotions like anxiety, irritation and concern and these emotions lead to avoidance of contact with ethnic outgroups. These emotions are strongly related to ethnic attitudes that can be positive or negative. Attitudes are linked to beliefs and values and this will lead to a particular type of positive or negative behaviour. In classroom situations where avoidance of outgroups is not possible different ethnic groups are forced to have contact and negative attitudes about members of the outgroup can lead to racial friction and violence as media reports discussed in Chapter two have indicated.

More than 60 years after Katz and Braly's 1933, 1935 work on racial and ethnic stereo-types issues of definition and measurement have not been settled. Different definitions re-quire different measurements and emphasize different aspects about what makes stereotypes important.

Biernat & Crandall's 1994: 659-677 longitudinal study measured subjects' stereotypes of various target groups using multiple measure techniques: trait ascription (Likert scales), group differentiation (diagnostic ratio and deviation from group consensus).

The results of Biernat & Crandall's study suggest that the Likert type measures showed consistent cross-sectional associations with contact and liking and were understandable and reliable to subjects. Although the percentage and diagnostic ratio added little more than the Likert measures. They did not perform well in producing consistent cross-sectional and longi-tudinal effects. Biernat & Crandall 1994: 676 claims that it is not easy to separate the short-comings of the measurement instruments from the individuals' abilities to process informa-

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tion about groups. Any study comparing location, distribution and frequency must rely on different sorts of measures thus complicating the issues of measurement sensitivity, reliability and meaningfulness of the underlying construct. According to Biernat and Crandall's 1994: 674 the study favoured the trait ascription methods as the best performing measures of group stereotypes but suggest that the method a researcher chooses to use to assess stereotypes should be based on his/her specific goals and on the nature of the social group(s). Trait ascription methods are useful as they are straightforward indicators that capture the affective quality of group perception. The diagnostic ratio method is useful to measure how groups are perceived to differ.

Haslam & Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Hayes 1992: 3-20 analyses indicated social perception of groups could change depending on the social changes that take place. New comparison groups are introduced or the positions of existing groups are redefined. For example, in times of war alliances are formed with the emergence of new enemies and after the war there is a redefinition of the political system. Social reality and social comparison of the self-categorization processes underpin group formation and the cognitive representation of groups that are regarded as stereotypes.

The discussion by Hamilton, Sherman & Ruvolo's 1990: 35-60 on the effects of stereotype-based expectancies on information processing and social behaviour is important in the stereotyping process. It helps us understand how perceivers seek and use information to process understanding of incidents. A stereotype is a cognitive structure containing the perceivers' knowledge and beliefs about a social group and its members. A stereotype is therefore an important source of expectancies regarding what the group is like as well what the attributes of the individual members are. The following discussion examines the impact of these expectancies on processing information about the groups and the behaviour towards members of

the stereotyped groups. This links up with Wellman's 1992: 109 belief-desire theory discussed in chapter three where it is clearly indicated how attitudes, beliefs, values lead to actions and reactions. To address these issues, Hamilton et al 1990: 36 adopted an information-processing framework for understanding social perception. A number of cognitive processes can influence the observer's use of available information. Hamilton et al 1990: 36 refers to three categories of cognitive effects:

- ➤ Information acquisition and elaboration
- ➤ Information seeking and hypothesis testing
- ➤ Behavioural direction

In adopting an information-processing framework Hamilton et al 1990: 36 assume that there are common general mechanisms underlying expectancy effects in most contexts. Their analysis is not limited to a specific stereotype or stereotyped group, or to a specific social problem or context. Some general implications of stereotypic expectancies, their functioning and their consequences are considered.

THE COGNITIVE CONFIRMATION OF STEREOTYPIC EXPECTANCIES

The stereotypes we develop and the intergroup attitudes are learned as part of our socialization into culture and as part of the different ethnic groups to which we belong as was illustrated by Wellman's 1992: 109 belief-desire reasoning model discussed in chapter three of the present study.

According to by Hamilton et al 1990: 37-40 in perceiving we use information that is available to add meaning to what we see or hear about persons or events. This selective perception processes the information and affects the perceiver's subsequent judgements and behaviours.

The perceiver's mental representation of available information can differ from the actual information on which that representation is based. The effects of stereotypes on these processes can result in misconceptions, biases, inaccurate predictions and ineffective communication that may have negative consequences. It is important to understand the processes that cause these negative consequences of stereotypes.

A person's motives, goals and other internal states are not clear to the perceiver. Sagar and Schofield's 1980: 590-598 study has shown that behaviours whose meanings are unclear are more likely to be interpreted as aggressive when performed by a Black than by a White person, for example, during a heated discussion one person pushes another or a child poking another child with a pencil. These behaviours can take on a different meaning as a result of the stereotypes the perceiver holds about the relevant social groups of the person involved in the action. Stereotypic expectancies affect the perceivers' interpretation of the action.

Once an individual's group membership is recognized, the relevant stereotype provides the basis for inferring additional information about the individual. These evaluative inferences become part of the perceivers' cognitive representation of that person.

The cause of behaviour lies in the personality attributes, attitudes and motivational goals of the stereotyped person. All these processes are biased in maintaining the pre-existing belief system, the stereotype that initiated these biasing mechanisms. These processes can produce the cognitive confirmation of ones stereotypic beliefs. Although the actual information available may not confirm the stereotype, the observers' perceptual experience is consistent with those beliefs. Wellman's 1992: 115 final elaborated scheme illustrates how perceptions and cognitive emotions influence beliefs which is part of thinking that will lead to intention and actions. The *receptive, coherent* mind changes into an *action orientated* mind. The traits are the underlying factor as was discussed in chapter three.

EXPECTANCIES AND STEREOTYPES

Expectancies influence the perceiver's interpretation of the available information or influence the retrieval of information from memory or the information consistent with expectancies will be retained to affect subsequent judgements. All three of the above could also occur.

The first mechanism focuses on the initial coding of information. Once a concept, for example, a stereotype, is activated it can be used to interpret new information that is acquired. Research by Devine 1989: 5-18 has shown that when stereotypic concepts are activated they can influence the interpretation of new information about a target person or group. The second possible mechanism is that expectancies influence retrieval of information from memory. There are three possible retrieval effects.

Firstly, a stereotype that is activated may selectively retrieve information from memory and produce a biased recall of stereotype consistent information, for example, a person recalls that Frank pushed Johan, not that Johan pushed Frank first, as Bodenhausen 1988: 726-737 indicates. In chapter three I referred to Mersham and Skinner's 1999: 99-100 discussion of the Johari window. The Johari window concept illustrates how selective retrieval of information can affect interpersonal communication.

Secondly, information retrieved from memory may be distorted or bias according to the stereotype that is activated. There is little evidence for the reconstructive consequences of stereotype activation. This can lead to misinterpretation and miscommunication. Lakoff 1986: 79-83 showed that the concept of motherhood is based on a number of underlying metonymic idealised cognitive models. Lakoff argued that the housewife mother subcategory stands for the category as a whole and that it serves the purpose of defining cultural expectations.

Thirdly, the perceiver may not be able to differentiate between what is known to be true and what is believed to be true. Values and beliefs can influence judgement in this instance. Wellman 1992: 109 discussed in chapter three gives a detailed picture of how this happens.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I briefly reviewed recent studies on stereotyping and showed which problems regarding the measurement of stereotypes emerge from the different approaches that different researchers follow. The cognitive confirmation of stereotype-based expectancies and its effects on information processing and social behaviour was briefly discussed. This was followed by a discussion of mediating mechanisms of stereotypes and their link to Wellman's 1992: 109 belief-desire model, Lakoff's 1986: 79-83 stereotypic model of motherhood, and the Johari window as discussed by Mersham and Skinner 1999: 99, 100.

Lakoff's 1986: 79-83 discusses the conceptual models that underlie motherhood from which categories like stepmother, housewife mother and donor mother are conceptualised. These categorizations are nominal compounds where the first members of the category, for example, *step*, *house* and *donor* are nouns that have a descriptive function, which is similar to adjectives. Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 60-109 show how we use different levels of categorization to simplify and understand the world. From the generic category *children* we derive smaller subcategories like *friendly children, unfriendly children, honest children, stupid children,* and *hardworking children.* With each concept we are mentally subcategorising the generic category *children.* We are stereotyping the children.

The literature I have reviewed in this chapter implies that when people stereotype one another they subconsciously categorise one another at the generic level by using sets of adjectives like *honest- dishonest; friendly -- unfriendly; stupid -- clever.* In the following chapter I will present this synthesis as basis for measuring stereotypes in this study.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter I discussed studies on stereotyping and the different assessment procedures used by researchers to tap different dimensions of stereotypes and stereotyping. The consensual aspect of stereotypes was emphasised and how stereotypes as cognitions play a vital role in intergroup contexts. Stereotypes are beliefs that affect thinking, behaviour and communication of individuals and of groups. In this study the conceptualisation of stereotypes as consensual beliefs are taken as point of departure because these beliefs are shared in the community and are reflective of and influence intergroup relations.

In this chapter I will briefly present a profile of stereotyping in the KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools and the problems emanating from this general characterization. I will state the aims of the research regarding stereotyping in the secondary schools in the Durban Metropole and briefly discuss how these aims can be achieved. Thereafter I will deal with a number of preliminaries to conducting the survey, such as getting permission for conducting the survey from the appropriate officials in the KwaZulu Department of Education and culture and from the principals of the participating schools. After reviewing the questionnaire that was used, I explain how the survey was conducted, and review the procedures of the quantitative analysis that were used.

The latter section of this chapter deals with the central hypothesis that is being tested and the statistical tests that were used to determine the degree of significance of the results that were obtained.

PROFILE OF STEREOTYPING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In chapter 2 I showed that racism and racial stereotyping is still a substantive issue in South Africa today, six years after the first democratic elections. Using reports in the print media I also showed in chapter two that schools across the country have experienced incidents of inter-ethnic tension that led to racial conflict in a significant number of instances. In view of this, I decided to study the incidence of ethnic stereotyping at a selected number of schools in the Durban metropolitan area in order to determine the level of inter-ethnic tension in this region

THE PROBLEMS THAT WILL BE INVESTIGATED

From the perspective of educational reform the problem that faces South African schools is that there is no substantive policy framework to deal with racial tension and its manifestations in our schools. This lack of policy can be further analysed into a number of separate problems.

The Department of Education and Culture has no policy framework for dealing with racial conflict in schools

Although one of the key principles guiding curriculum development for Curriculum 2005 includes, among others, an anti-biased approach, the Department of Education and Culture has no adequate procedures for dealing with racial conflict in schools other than the broad guarantees offered by the *S.A Constitution* (Act No. 108 of 1996, amended by Act 10 of 1997) and *The South African Schools Act* 1996 (SASA).

Unawareness of the crucial role that cooperative communication plays in Outcomes-Based Education

Although the new South African education policy, bolstered by the constitution, prescribes racial integration at schools as equity principle, many schools *de facto* remain segregated, while other schools that have been desegregated, experience racial tension and conflict.

The new model of Outcomes-Based Education, which is being implemented as *Curriculum*

2005[8] in South Africa at present, ideally entails a fundamental shift from teaching—where the educator is in total control, does all of the talking, and learners are silent listeners—to a co-operative form of learning where learners and the educators interact, and where learners interact with one another in the process of knowledge construction.

By all media accounts educators and learners are however confronting one another from within "us" versus "them" mindsets across a diversity of cultural divides while communicating in the classroom. Consequently conflict and racial friction have erupted in many schools across the country as I have indicated in chapter two. Individuals from the different racial groups are suspicious, and afraid of one another—apparently because they are uncertain of how to behave towards one another during cross-cultural communication.

According to Mersham & Skinner 1999: 67 social and cross-cultural stereotyping is an important aspect of how people think about and communicate with others that belong to either another social or cultural group.

Both Wellman 1992: 109 and Mersham & Skinner 1999: 88 indicate that communication is always context-specific, and is therefore informed by participants' sensations, perceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs. Social and cross-cultural stereotyping forms important aspects of how people think about and communicate about others that belong to either another social or cultural group.

THE AIMS OF THE RESEARCH

In the light of the information that I have provided in the previous section I therefore identify the following specific aims for this study:

1. To determine the extent of ethnic stereotyping in multi-ethnic classrooms in KwaZulu-

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8 A restructured curriculum launched in March 1997 to reflect the values and principles of a new democratic society to achieve the following vision for South Africa: "a prosperous, truly united, democratic and internationally competitive country with literate, creative and critical citizens leading productive, self-fulfilled lives in country free of violence, discrimination and prejudice." (*S.A Constitution* (Act No. 108 of 1996, amended by Act 10 of 1997)).

Natal secondary schools by means of an attitude survey among grade 8 learners in a representative sample of schools in the Durban metropolitan region;

2. To present a clear model of the conceptual basis of stereotyping at the cognitive level;

The first aim mentioned in the preceding paragraph can be achieved by testing the validity of the major hypothesis of this study, which I will outline later in this chapter. The second aim of the study can be achieved by a review of academic literature on ethnic stereotyping and an analysis of media reports about stereotyping and inter ethnic conflict in KwaZulu –Natal, and by showing how in relationship to these reviews the respondents of this survey portrayed their own and other ethnic groups. Aims three and four are not dependent on the outcome of the survey.

In the following section I will provide information that constitutes a prelude to the actual conducting of the survey and the interpretation of the results.

PRELIMINARIES TO CONDUCTING THE SURVEY
Pilot study in the Netherlands

Several studies report the incidence of negative stereotyping, racism and discrimination to-wards minorities in the Netherlands (Hagendoorn & Hraba 1987: 317-333, 1989: 441-468; Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning 1991: 63-78). In view of this I decided to carry out a small pilot study in the Netherlands, while on an academic exchange visit in 1997, as a precursor to a full survey on ethnic stereotyping in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan area. The pilot study was developed and conducted in consultation with academics at a University of Tilburg in the Netherlands.

The questionnaire that was developed was used to standardise the measuring of attitudes for the present study. The pilot study respondents, aged between 11 and 13, were from the following ethnic groups: Antillean, Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese. Because manuals on the techniques of conducting attitude surveys commonly recommend the use of a graduated 6-point

scale to measure attitudes, the questionnaire for the Dutch pilot study contained a six-point scale, which the respondents had to use to associate a range of trait-adjectives with each ethnic group.

Without going into specific details about the pilot study, it can be indicated that it measured strong levels of stereotyping among learners from the above-mentioned ethnic groups in the two schools that were tested.

For the present study I however opted for a five-point scale, which includes point 3 on the scale as a neutral midpoint in the range 1 2 3 4 5. This decision was motivated by the fact that the six-point scale has no neutral midpoint, which forces respondents to choose between "agreeing somewhat" or "disagreeing somewhat" with a statement, or not to respond at all.

Obtaining permission form the KZN Department of Education & Culture and participating schools for the present survey

Letters, contained in Addendum 3, were sent to the officials of the KZN Department of Education & Culture to get permission to conduct the survey in schools in the Durban metropolitan region. In these letters I indicated that the survey would be of a constructive nature, and that it would be conducted on a voluntary and anonymous basis. After receiving positive responses from the officials, letters were sent to principals of specific schools to obtain permission to conduct the survey in their schools. The principals were very co-operative and indicated they would like to know what the results of the study were.

Instructions to the persons who conducted the survey

Educators on a voluntary basis conducted the actual survey during school time in the course of a single lesson period at 13 particular schools. Prior to the survey they were interviewed about its purpose, and how the questionnaire had to be completed. Subsequently they were provided with the following information in writing:

1   *Participation in the survey is voluntary and responses are confidential.*
2   *Questionnaires to be completed by grade 8 learners.*
3   *Learners can choose to answer the questionnaire in the language they are most comfort-*

able with.

4   *Allow a little break (5 minutes) between the responses about each cultural group.*
5   *Ask learners to make a cross where applicable.*
6   *Ask learners to use a black or blue pen to complete the questionnaire.*
7   *All questionnaires must be returned whether they have been completed or not.*
8   *Please explain how the five point scale (1 2 3 4 5) works.*

Thank you for your cooperation

Mano Moodley

The Questionnaires

Questionnaires were done in three official languages (English, Afrikaans and Zulu) to allow

the respondents to fill in the questionnaire in a language of their choice. It was observed that

the majority of the respondents preferred to fill in the questionnaire in English. This included

even the mother tongue speakers of another language, for example, Zulu).

I took the Dutch survey as point of departure and had informal talks with individual learn-

ers and educators, principals and colleagues. Questions like "What three words come to mind

when you think of Whites? Blacks? Indians? Coloureds?" were asked.

In this way a list of 25 evaluative and descriptive traits equally attributable to any of the

ethnic groups was drawn up. The traits portrayed universal values, for example, honesty, tidi-

ness. The twelve positive traits were friendly, hardworking, clever, honest, rich, tidy/neat,

punctual, religious, brave, trustworthy, generous and helpful. The thirteen negative traits were

stupid, aggressive, untidy, loudmouthed, irritable, physically aggressive, noisy, suspicious,

unfriendly, racist, selfish, difficult and direct. The term "direct" could be regarded as a posi-

tive in some groups or as a negative in other groups.

Questions 1-5 in the questionnaire solicited information that presented a general profile of

the respondent. It solicited information about the respondents' school, age, grade, gender, and

ethnic group. For gender terms like *boy* and *girl* were used. The use of terms male and

female are formal category terms, which may have had an unnerving effect on learner

responses

Question 6 solicited responses from respondents about their friends from the different ethnic groups in class.

Question 7 solicited responses from respondents about their friends from the different ethnic groups outside of school.

Questions 8 solicited responses from respondents about how long they had friends in these groups.

Question 9 solicited responses from respondents about how long they had friends in these groups outside of school.

Question 10 solicited responses from respondents about the language the teacher used in class with respondents.

Question 11 solicited responses from respondents about their attachment to their language group.

Questions 12-36 solicited responses from respondents about the 25 adjectival traits according to the following five-point graduated bipolar scale:

Agree Fully	Neutral	Disagree Completely
1 2	3 4	5

Before the survey was conducted it was explained to the respondents how the scale worked. Respondents marked the points 1 to 5 according to how strongly they felt about the trait for the different groups While 1 represented agree fully 2 implied I agree somewhat, 3 implied neutrality or having no strong opinions, 4 implied disagree somewhat and 5 represented disagree completely.

After the results of the survey were in hand, statistical analysis revealed that a three-point scale rendered more significant results than a five-point scale. Consolidation routines in the

statistical programme that was used, SPSS Base 9, were then used to consolidate the five-point scale to the following three-point bipolar scale:

Agree Fully	Neutral	Disagree Completely
1	2	3

How the survey was conducted

The survey population included respondents from the four ethnic groups. The respondents were contacted with the assistance of their school principals in June 1999. They were requested to be anonymous voluntary participants in the survey. All of the respondents were willing to participate in the survey. Educators in the different schools conducted the survey in a single period during the school day. Not all schools conducted the survey on the same day. All surveys in all schools were completed within a week.

Educators distributed the questionnaire and conducted the survey. It was assumed respondents would be more at ease with the educator with whom they are familiar rather than with a stranger. A stranger may influence the responses. Respondents' were in different class groups in the school. It was decided with the educators in each class to conduct the survey at 8 o'clock in the morning. This will prevent discussion of the questions by respondents. In each classroom the educator read a standard instruction (discussed earlier in this chapter) out to the class before the questionnaires were filled in. In some schools educators had to explain the meanings of some of the adjectives like aggressive and loudmouthed that were not clear to respondents. Respondents took about 40 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

The measurement of the characterization of the group was as follows: each respondent marked the traits for his/her own group as well as for each of the other three outgroups. None

of the respondents withheld responses. Each of the characterizations 12-36 was scored on a five-point bipolar scale. The questionnaires were collected and dispatched to me.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The statistical program that was used to quantify the results

Questionnaires were quantitatively analysed using a statistical program SPSS Base 9 for Windows, a comprehensive statistical analysis and data management system.

Information from the completed copies of the questionnaire was coded and the coded data captured in SPSS Base 9. A codebook was drawn up and the coding key used is indicated in the next section under quantification of responses. The nominal variables are coded as numbers, which serve as labels, for example, 1 for boy and 2 for girl. Each response was assigned a numeric value. The raw data collected was coded and entered into the computer by a data capturer. I checked and rechecked the data to ensure their validity.

The coding of the database

A codebook is drawn up in the planning phase of research to give an explicit account of all possible responses in a numeric form. The codebook forms the basis of the quantification options coded into the database used to analyse the results of the survey. The codebook for this study is given in Addendum D.

In SPSS Base 9 the term *case* refers to the subject of the survey. In this instance the respondent. In this survey there were 1322 cases or respondents. The database consists of columns and rows. Each column represents one of the categories with its incumbent subcategories. In the case column numbers 1- 1322 uniquely differentiate respondents from one another. The names of schools were not used. School names were codified to ensure verifiability on the one hand and guarantee anonymity of the schools and the respondents on the other hand. In all questions no response and spoilt response was originally coded as numeric value 6 and 7.

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In consultation with the promoter of this study these value labels were recoded to 14 and 15 as the numeric value of 6 and 7 were assigned to different schools. *No response* was recoded to 14 and *spoilt response* was recoded to 15. There were an insignificant number of no responses and spoilt responses in comparison to the number of respondents in the database.

Questions 8 and 9 solicited information about how long the respondents had friends in this/ these groups at school and outside of school. It was assumed that the respondents would use specific numbers. It was not anticipated that respondents would use general quantifiers like *some, few* and *many* instead of numbers. In consultation with the promoter of this study it was taken into account that the respondents ranged from 12- 16 years of age. Given the expected age range of the respondents it was not anticipated that respondents would indicate years like 13, 14, 15, 16 and above as responses for question 8 and 9 for and the envisaged upper limit of 10 years. In these instances all years above 10 were consolidated, along with 10 into year range 10 years.

The general quantifiers, few, some and many responses in questions 8 and 9 were consolidated *Many* was coded to 7; *few* was coded to 3; *some was* coded to 5:

Verifying the accuracy of the database

The database was thoroughly checked and the promoter of this study made some changes as was discussed in the previous section. After the responses were captured on the database the accuracy of the data was tested in the following ways:

➢ Questionnaires were compared with the coded database.

➢ The SPSS search facility was used to check the numbers that did not correspond with the codes given in the codebook.

➢ Significance tables and frequency tables helped to identify coding errors.

➢ Bar and line graphs showed up *wild card* responses in the database.

➢ Recoding of 40 data capture errors were identified and corrected

After the accuracy of the database was verified the data was analysed. Each statistical manipulation of the data provided a new view as will be seen in chapter seven when the data analysis is discussed.

THE HYPOTHESIS THAT WILL BE TESTED

The following hypothesis will be tested in this study:

Learners from the four major ethnic groups in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region stereotype their own ethnic group positively, while at they at the same time stereotype other ethnic groups negatively.

I will use the term *central hypothesis* when referring to this hypothesis in order to distinguish it from another type of hypothesis, the *null hypothesis*, a theoretical construct used as point of departure when determining the statistical validity of a study. I will shortly explain the difference between these two hypotheses, after some preliminary observations about validating hypotheses.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ABOUT VALIDATING HYPOTHESES

There is a common misconception that research is only significant if hypotheses are proven to be valid — that is the intention of research to "prove hypotheses." To be sure, high levels of significance form the prerequisite for testing the validity of hypotheses. In the case of this study, validating the central hypothesis requires that it must be demonstrated that significant underlying causes form the basis for similarities in responses within groups, while at the same time forming the basis for different responses between ethnic groups, age groups or genders.

Tests of significance then, constitute the rocky shore upon which any research journey can strand. If no levels of significance can be objectively demonstrated, no hypotheses can be tested. High levels of significance however do not imply that a central hypothesis will be vali-

dated. Statistics that exhibit high levels of significance may also bring to light that the converse is true of an expectation or belief that forms the basis of a central hypothesis.

TESTING FOR SIGNIFICANCE

The null hypothesis and the central hypothesis

Leedy 1997: 61 describes the concept null hypothesis as "an indicator only, [which] reveals that some influence, force, or factor has resulted either in a significant statistical difference (one that cannot be accounted for by mere chance, that occurs within certain arbitrary statistical limits) or in no such difference."

In terms of this study the null hypotheses is that the quantified responses will reveal no significant factors to account for such responses. If this proves to be the case, statistical tests will not discern underlying factors (a) that cause members of groups to respond in similar ways, and (b) that cause different groups to respond in clearly different ways.

The null hypothesis therefore is a technical indicator of significance. If it stands, the central hypothesis falls. If the null hypothesis is however disproved, the way is clear to test the central hypothesis of this study.

Tests of significance applied to the data of this study

The tests of significance applied in this study measure central tendencies in the responses of individuals whose attitudes were surveyed. These tests are employed to determine whether the responses of individuals within particular ethnic groups, age groups, grades or genders are significantly similar that a central pattern of responses within particular groups can be discerned, with at the same time there being clear enough group differences so that variance between groups can be discerned. The tests of significance used, appear in tables 3 to 6 under Addendum C. They are briefly outlined as part of the General Linear Model below.

General Linear Model (GLM) multivariate analysis

The GLM Multivariate procedure provides regression analysis and analysis of variance for multiple dependent variables by one or more factor variables or covariates. Factor variables (also known as covariates and multiple dependant variables) such as ethnic group, school, age, grade and gender study are used in this to demarcate the population subgroups. Using this general linear procedure, one can investigate interactions between factors as well as the effects of particular factors on the process being tested. In addition, the effects of covariates and co-variate interactions with other factors can be included.

In a multivariate model — a model that considers multiple factors to co-determine variations in response between groups — various tests of significance can be employed. If more than one dependent variable is specified, SPSS Base 9 automatically provides multivariate significance tables that report the results per variable for the following four tests: Pillai's Trace, Wilks' Lambda, Hotelling's Trace and Roy's Largest Root. The example below gives the results for the Intercept, when all factors are combined for the range of 25 evaluative statements such as *Whites are friendly / hardworking / stupid / clever*, etc.

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Pillai's Trace	.391	165.520	5.000	1289.000	.000
Wilks' Lambda	.609	165.520	5.000	1289.000	.000
Hotelling's Trace	.642	165.520	5.000	1289.000	.000
Roy's Largest Root	.642	165.520	5.000	1289.000	.000

Fig. 9: Partial table of the tests of significance that are used to test the level of significance for a range of statements that respondents assessed in terms of Whites.

This information is provided here for explanatory purposes only, and will not be interpreted at this stage. On the actual multivariate tables in Addendum C the significance tests for each of the 25 statements are given below the Intercept range. SPSS Base 9 gives explicit data for each ethnic group for each of the 25 attributes being surveyed because individual statements may not exhibit the same levels of significance among members of the various ethnic groups

as the overall pattern for all 25 statements combined per ethnic group. Addendum C contains such extensive multivariate significance tables (Tables 3-6) for each of the ethnic groups.

Even a cursory inspection of the above-mentioned clip from one of the multivariate tables shows that, while the actual values of the four listed tests may differ, they all render the identical F value (165.520), the same Hypothesis degree of freedom (5.000), the same Error degree of freedom (1289.000) and the same Significance values (.000). Closer inspection of the complete range of multivariate tables under Addendum C reveals this to be the case right through for all the traits that were measured. In view the identical results obtained by the four different tests of significance, the interpretation of the results will be limited to Wilks' Lambda test.

Actual Values in Wilk's Lambda Test

Wilks' Lambda test is a convenient multivariate test of significance of which the values range between 0 and 1. It is based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means for the factors used as parameters in the tests. A value of 0 indicates that the mean responses of the groups tested vary significantly. For the purposes of this study it can be interpreted as meaning that different groups have different responses to the variable that is being tested. Values close to 1 indicate that the group means are undifferentiated — that there is consensus among different groups about the variable that is being tested.

F Values in Wilk's Lambda Test

The F value constitutes the ratio of two mean squares. When the F value is large and the significance level is small (typically smaller than 0.05 or 0.01) the null hypothesis can be rejected. In other words, a small significance level indicates that the results probably are not due to chance factors.

Significance (Sig.) Values in Wilk's Lambda Test

Significance values between 0.01 and 0.05 indicate that the variable being tested is considered to be significant, while a value of 0.000 indicates that results are extremely significant.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented a brief profile of stereotyping in the KwaZulu-Natal secondary schools and the research problems that were derived from this general characterization. After stating the aims of the research regarding stereotyping in the secondary schools in the Durban Metropole, and briefly discussing how these aims can be achieved, I dealt with a number of preliminaries to conducting the survey.

In the latter section of this chapter I dealt with the central hypothesis that is being tested and the statistical tests that were used to determine the degree of significance of the results that were obtained. In the following chapter I will report the results of this research.

RESULTS

PREVIEW

In the previous chapter I explained various aspects of the research methodology of this study. In this chapter I will present and interpret the results of my research, mainly by presenting and interpreting series of bar and line graphs. Before I however get to that, I briefly explain how these graphs should be interpreted.

INTERPRETING INFORMATION PRESENTED AS GRAPHS

The horizontal axis

The horizontal axis of graphs always represents subcategories within superordinate categories as can be seen in Figure 10 where the various bars represent different ethnic groups. I am emphasising this point in view of the fact that stereotyping essentially entails instances of generic categorisation.
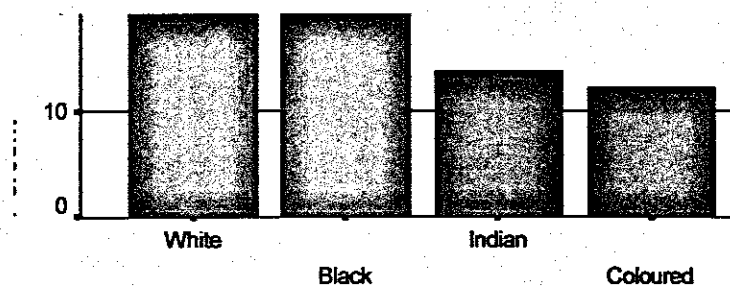
Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

Figure 10: The horizontal axis of graphs always represents subcategories within superordinate categories

In the example illustrated in figure 10 each bar represents a subcategory. The terms *White, Black, Indian,* and *Coloured* are subcategories within the superordinate category *ethnic group.*

The vertical axis

The vertical axis of graphs represents different types of quantified figures as can be seen in

the three representations in Figure 11:
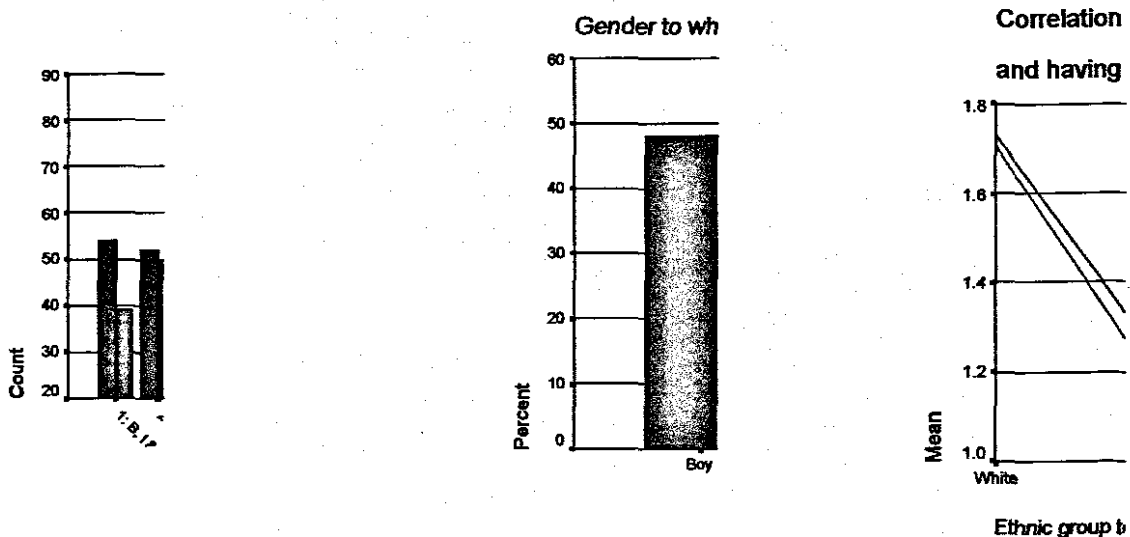
Figure 11: The vertical axis of graphs can represent raw figures, termed *Count*, averages per hypothetical hundreds on entireties, termed *Percent*, or centralised averages, termed *Mean*

Interpreting Counts

The Count interval on the vertical axis of a graph, as on the leftmost graph in Figure 11,

provides a scale for determining how many respondents there were as subtotal of the overall

number of respondents in the sample. The first graph of Figure 11 shows a bar that can be read

off as a count of 54 on the vertical axis. This means that the number of respondents repre-

sented by that particular bar constituted 54 out of the total number of 1, 322 respondents in the

sample.

Interpreting Percentages

The Percentage interval on the vertical axis of a graph, as on the middle graph of Figure 11,

provides a scale for determining how many respondents as proportions of a hypothetical 100

respondents, formed part of the subgroup regardless of the actual number of respondents in the

subgroup or the overall group.

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Interpreting Means

The Mean interval on the vertical axis of a graph, as on the rightmost graph of Figure 11, indicates the degree of centralising tendencies within groups. On this graph the close proximity of the red and green lines, just above 1.7 on the scale, is an indication that White respondents in the sample were almost equally divided with regard to the factors that are being measured. If the one measurement was high on the scale, and the other one very low, it would be an indication that the majority of White respondents displayed one trend, with very few White respondents displaying the second trend — in effect such an instance would be an indication of unanimity among Whites with regard to the factor being measured.

The preferred way of representing scales on graphs in this study

Because percentage scales have commonly been used to help visualise general trends over the past 300 years, people readily understand information presented in this way. By contrast Count and Mean scales have not been commonly used. For this reason I will use Percentage scales on graphs, in preference to Count and Mean scales, where appropriate.

Interpreting relative differences within groups and between groups on graphs

The gaps between the coloured lines on the accompanying graph, given as Figure 12, need to be explained because their relative sizes per ethnic group can be misleading. At first glance they for instance seem to suggest a greater internal variation among Blacks and among Whites than among Indians and Coloureds:

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Ethnic responses to the statement:

Coloureds are hardworking (sig. .024)
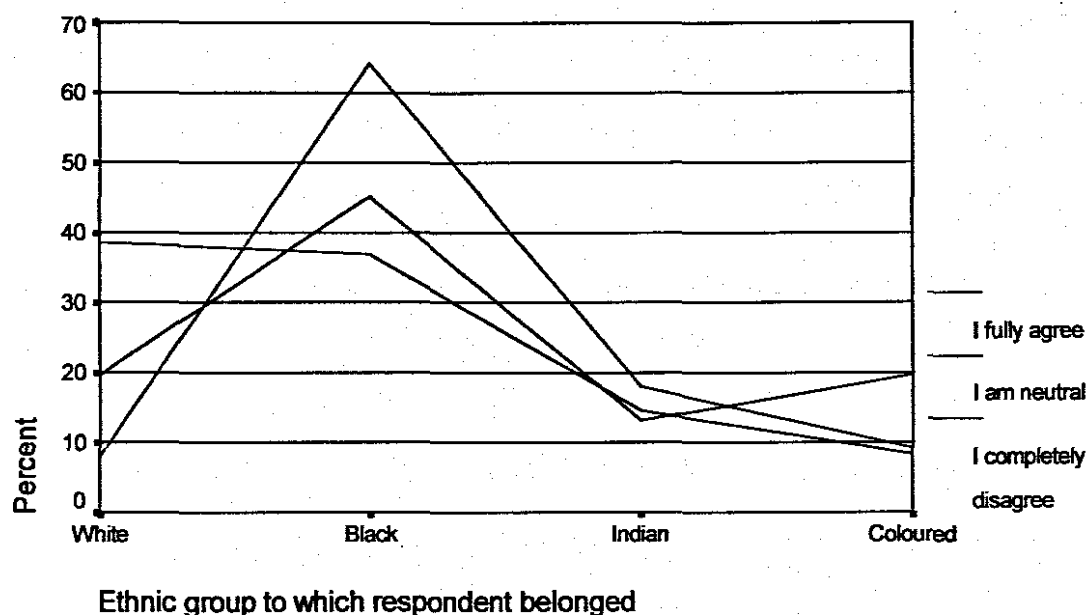
Figure 12: The percentages in line graphs indicate proportions in relation to the total number of respondents

On this graph there are greater gaps between the red, blue and green lines for Whites and Blacks than for Indians or Coloureds. This is because, in order of relative ranking, Blacks and Whites form bigger percentages of the total sample than Indians and Coloureds. The bigger gaps between the colour-coded lines among Blacks and Whites than among Indians and Coloureds are therefore due to the fact that Blacks and Whites constituted a larger proportion of the total number of respondents than Indians and Coloureds. They do not indicate that there was greater internal variation of responses among Blacks than among the other groups.

It is a better measure of the significance of responses to compare the *sequences* of responses in groups across groups. On the graph in Figure 12 for instance, the majority of White respondents took a neutral stance to the statement *Coloureds are hardworking* while the majority of Blacks and Indians completely disagreed, and Coloureds themselves fully agreed with this statement.

GENERAL PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

In this section I will, by way of introduction, give a general overview of the respondents of this study. In the next section I will characterise them in greater detail. The respondent profile that I am presenting in this section has been derived from Figure 13, Table 1, which appears on the next page.

The schools that were selected to obtain a representative sample of learners from all ethnic groups

Thirteen secondary schools were selected from the urban and semi-urban areas in the metropolitan area of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal. They are listed on the bottom third of the table in Figure 13, given on the next page.

Gender to which respondent belonged	Boy	Count	636
		Table %	48.1%
	Girl	Count	680
		Table %	51.4%
	No response	Count	5
		Table %	.4%
	Spoilt response	Count	1
		Table %	.1%
Age between 12 and 16 years or older of the respondent	12 years old	Count	52
		Table %	3.9%
	13 years old	Count	513
		Table %	38.8%
	14 years old	Count	504
		Table %	38.1%
	15 years old	Count	195
		Table %	14.8%
	16 years and older	Count	21
		Table %	1.6%
	No response	Count	6
		Table %	.5%
	Spoilt response	Count	31
		Table %	2.3%
Grade	Grade 7	Count	8
		Table %	.6%
	Grade 8	Count	1304
		Table %	98.6%
	No response	Count	8
		Table %	.5%
	Spoilt response	Count	2
		Table %	.2%
Ethnic group to which respondent belonged	White	Count	403
		Table %	30.6%
	Black	Count	551
		Table %	41.8%
	Indian	Count	181
		Table %	13.7%
	Coloured	Count	161
		Table %	12.2%
	No response	Count	7
		Table %	.5%
	Spoilt response	Count	16
		Table %	1.2%
School	1: B, I & C Eng Co-ed	Count	96
		Table %	7.3%
	2: W Afr Co-ed	Count	102
		Table %	7.7%
	3: C, B & I Eng Co-ed	Count	126
		Table %	9.5%
	4: B Eng Co-ed	Count	145
		Table %	11.0%
	5: W, B & I Eng Co-ed	Count	147
		Table %	11.1%
	6: W, B & I Eng Fem	Count	72
		Table %	5.4%
	7: W Afr Co-ed	Count	61
		Table %	4.6%
	8: I, B & C Eng Co-ed	Count	100
		Table %	7.6%
	9: B & C Eng Co-ed	Count	98
		Table %	7.4%
	10: C & B Eng Co-ed	Count	99
		Table %	7.5%
	11: W Afr Co-ed	Count	104
		Table %	7.9%
	12: B Eng Co-ed	Count	118
		Table %	8.9%
	13: B Eng Co-ed	Count	54
		Table %	4.1%

Figure 13: Profile of respondents at a glance

In order to obtain a representative cross ethnic profile of learners these specific thirteen

secondary schools were selected from the North Durban and Durban South Regions, instead of

selecting respondents by random sampling. A random sampling method would have ensured that mostly, if not only Black respondents formed part of the sample given the fact that Blacks form the vast majority of learners in KwaZulu-Natal (81, 7%).

From my duties as an official in the KZN department of Education I knew a random selection at best would have given a very small percentage of White, Indian and Coloured respondents. Because multiethnicity forms an important part of a study on stereotyping I intentionally selected thirteen schools that would render respondents from the major ethnic groups. – White, Black, Indian and Coloured. At the stage of selection it was not possible to select schools with equal numbers of respondents from the different ethnic groups.

In the next sections I will discuss the profile of respondents with regard to gender, age, grade, ethnic group and school.

The gender of the respondents

There were about the same number of male and female respondents in the survey as can be seen from the accompanying graph in Figure 14:
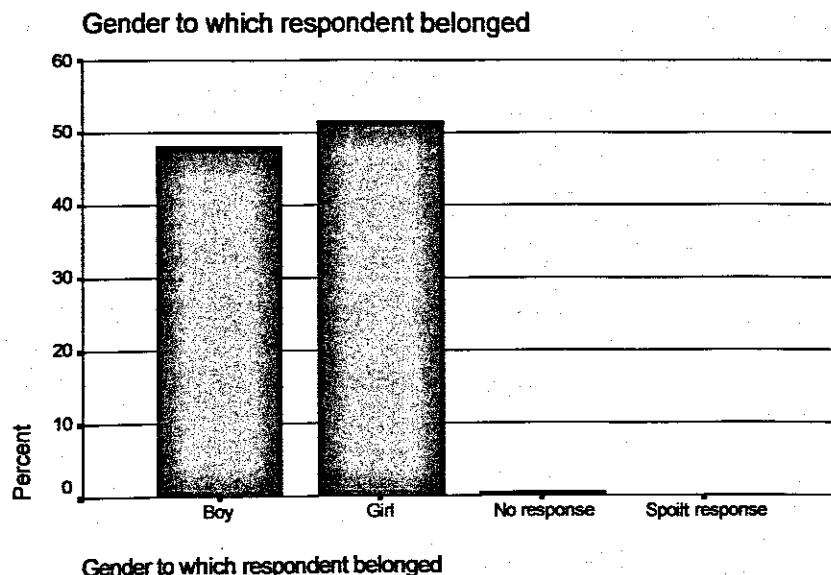
Figure 14: The gender distribution of the respondents

The terms *boy* and *girl* were used in the questionnaire to indicate gender in order to obviate possible confusion with regard to the more formal terms *male* and *female*. For this reason the terms *boy* and *girl* are reflected as gender terms on the tables and graphs.

Of the 1322 respondents 636 (48.1%) were males (boys), and 680 (51.4%) were females (girls). There were only 3.3% more female respondents than male respondents. The graph also shows that *No response* and *Spoilt response* constituted a negligibly small fraction of the gender data on the questionnaires.

The age groups of the respondents

The majority of the respondents' ages ranged between 13 –14 years as can be seen from the accompanying graph in Figure 15:

Age between 12 and 16 years or older of the respondent

Age between 12 and 16 years or older of the respondent
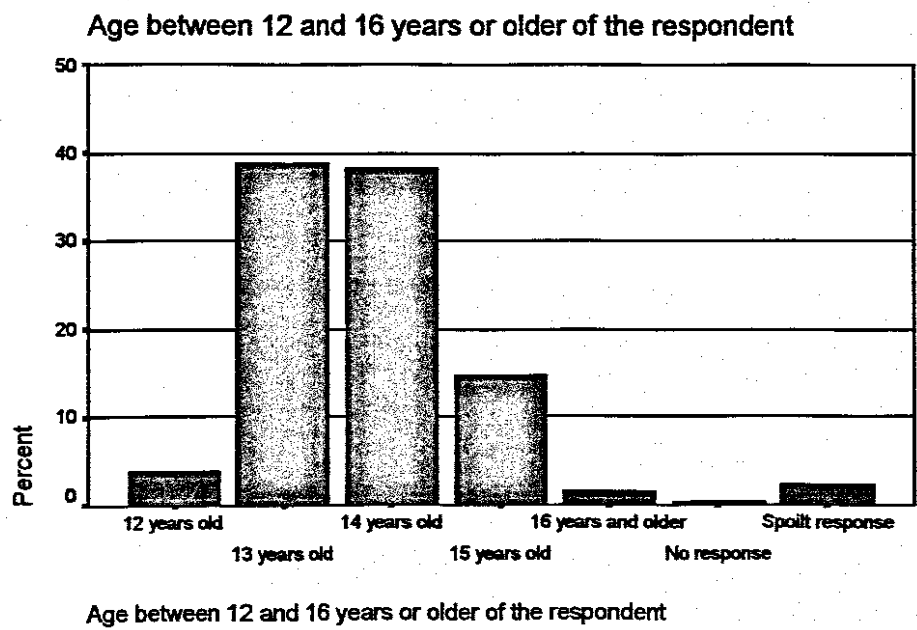
Figure 15: The age distribution of the respondents

There were 3.9% 12-year-old respondents, 38.8% 13-year-old respondents, 38.1% 14-year-old respondents, and 14.8% 15-year-old respondents. Only 1.6% of the respondents were 16 years old, or older.

As indicated in chapter 4, research on stereotyping indicates that at ages 13-14 stereotypes are still being formed, and that the formation of stereotypes could still be influenced at this

age. Bar-Tal 1996: 341-370 illustrates this with reference to how young Israelis conceptualise the term *Arab*. Therefore respondents of that age group were targeted for this study. At this age children begin to use more defining features of categories. If they were younger they would be too young to have formed definite stereotypes. If they were older stereotypes would already be well established and too entrenched to be changed.

As is the case with gender responses, there were very few *No response* and *Spoilt response*. In a subsequent section I will analyse the age distribution of respondents greater detail on a school-by-school basis.

The grade distribution of the respondents

The majority of respondents were in grade 8 (98.6%) as can be seen from the accompanying graph in Figure 16:
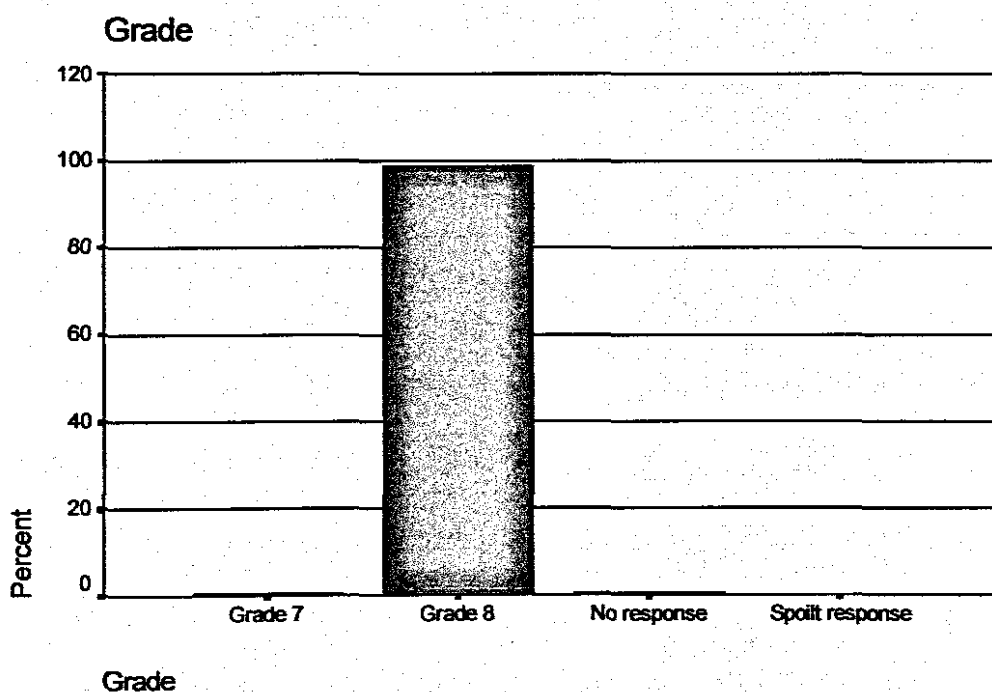
Grade

Figure 16: The grade distribution of the respondents

There were very few respondents from grade 7 (0.6%). The graph also shows that *No response* and *Spoilt response* constituted a negligibly small fraction of the grade data on the questionnaires.

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The Ethnic distribution of the respondents

In spite of concerted efforts to get a fair representation of respondents from all four ethnic groups in the sample most of the respondents were from the Black and White ethnic groups, with Indian and Coloured respondents constituting significantly smaller groups, as can be seen from the accompanying graph in Figure 17:
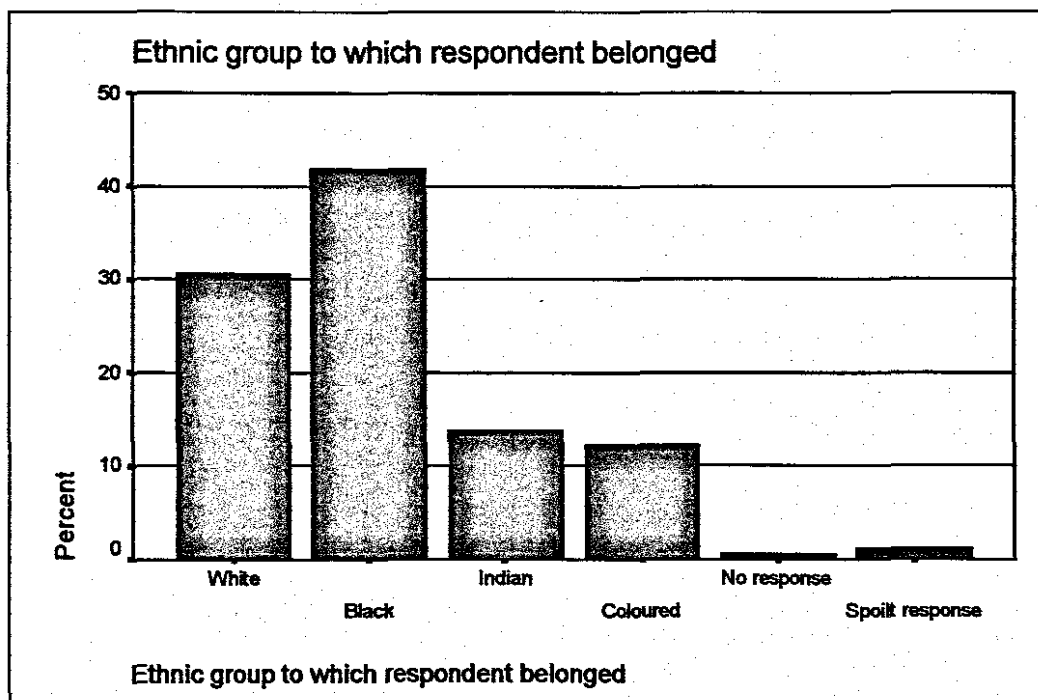
Figure 17: The ethnic distribution of the respondents

The sample included the following percentages of learners from the four ethnic groups: White (30.6%), Black (41.8%), Indian (13.7%) and Coloured (12.2%).

Some schools had respondents from only one ethnic group (Black or White), some schools had respondents from two ethnic groups (Indian and Black, or Coloured and Black) and other schools had respondents from all four ethnic groups (Black, White, Indian and Coloured). The 13.7 % Indians form a relatively small proportion of the overall sample in spite of the fact that 75% of South African Indians live in KwaZulu-Natal. This is due to the fact that Indians only constitute 9, 4% of the population in KwaZulu-Natal.

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At 1, 4% the Coloured community forms an even smaller percentage of the KwaZulu-Natal population according to the 1999/2000 survey conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations. Because they formed part of the learner population and they no doubt contributed to the ethos of schools where they attended, I decided to also include them in the survey.

As in the case of gender, age and grade responses, *No response* and *Spoilt response* constituted insignificant proportions with regard to the ethnic affiliation reported by respondents.

Schools to which respondents belonged

Thirteen schools from the former Departments of Education were selected to ensure the most representative sample possible with regard to the four ethnic groups:
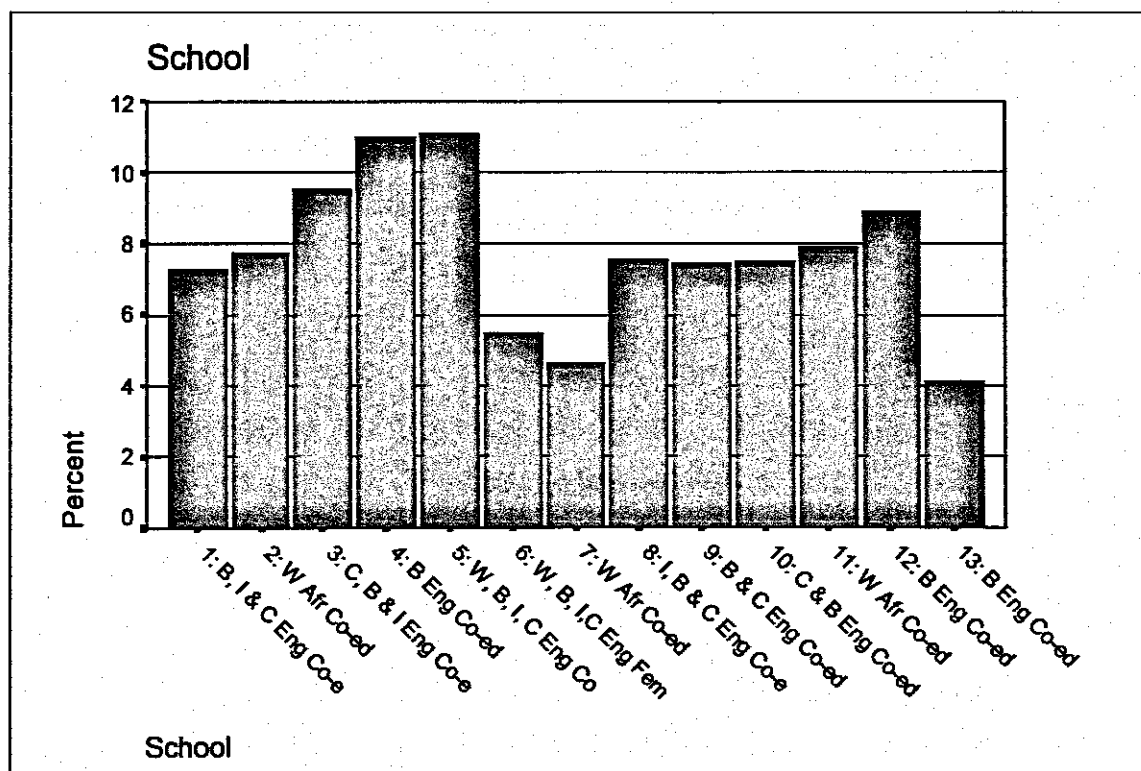
Figure 18: The school affiliations of the respondents

On average six schools had more or less the same number of respondents. The six schools (1, 2, 8, 9, 10 and 11) each had just below 8% of the total number of respondents. The two bigger schools (4 and 5) each constitute about 11% of the total respondents. Schools 3 and 12 each constituted about 9% of the respondents. There were two schools (6 and 7) each with

below 6% of the total respondents. In school 13 respondents constituted about 4% of the total sample.

The schools were labelled generically to indicate their main ethnic compositions without identifying them by name as Figure 13 (table 1) shows. On this table *W* indicates White learners *B* Black learners, *I* Indian learners and *C* Coloured learners. *Eng* denotes English, *Afr.* denotes Afrikaans and *Co-ed* indicates that the school has both males and females. *Fem.* indicates that there are only females in the school. Such abbreviations are due to the limitations of SPSS Base 9.

The various schools made up the following percentages of the overall size of the sample:

> School 1 (Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed) —7, 3%;
> School 2, (White Afrikaner co-ed) — 7, 7%;
> School 3 (Coloured, Black & Indian English co-ed) — 9, 5%;
> School 4, (Black, English co-ed) — 11, 0%;
> School 5 (White, Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed) — 11, 1%;
> School 6 (White, Black, Indian & Coloured English Female) — 5, 4%;
> School 7 (White Afrikaner co-ed) — 4, 6%;
> School 8 (Indian, Black, & Coloured English co-ed) — 7, 6%;
> School 9 (Black & Coloured English co-ed) — 7, 4%;
> School 10 (Coloured & Black English co-ed) — 7, 5%;
> School 11 (White Afrikaner co-ed) — 7, 9%;
> School 12 (Black, English co-ed) — 8, 9%;
> School 13 (Black, English co-ed) — 4, 1%.

As in the case of the previous factors the incidence of *No response* and *Spoilt response* were low.

As can be seen from the before-mentioned explanations *No response* and *Spoilt response* constituted insignificant proportions of overall responses in this survey. They were therefore removed from all subsequent graphs to enhance the focus of such graphs.

A MORE DETAILED CHARACTERISATION OF THE RESPONDENTS GIVEN PER SCHOOL

In the previous section I gave a general overview of the respondents. In this section I provide a more detailed characterisation of the respondents in each school, illustrated by means of a series of bar graphs (Figure 19-21), based on Table 2, which can be found under Addendum C.

The overall picture emerges from Table 2 is that we have got desegregated schools in the Durban Metropole with only a minority of schools in the survey being integrated. Schools 2, 7 and 11 and 12 show mainly respondents from a single ethnic group present. We could then ask how realistic are the assessments of the respondents in those schools. Are they showing clear ingroup–outgroup differences?

Gender distribution per school

The accompanying graph illustrates the gender composition of respondents in the schools surveyed:
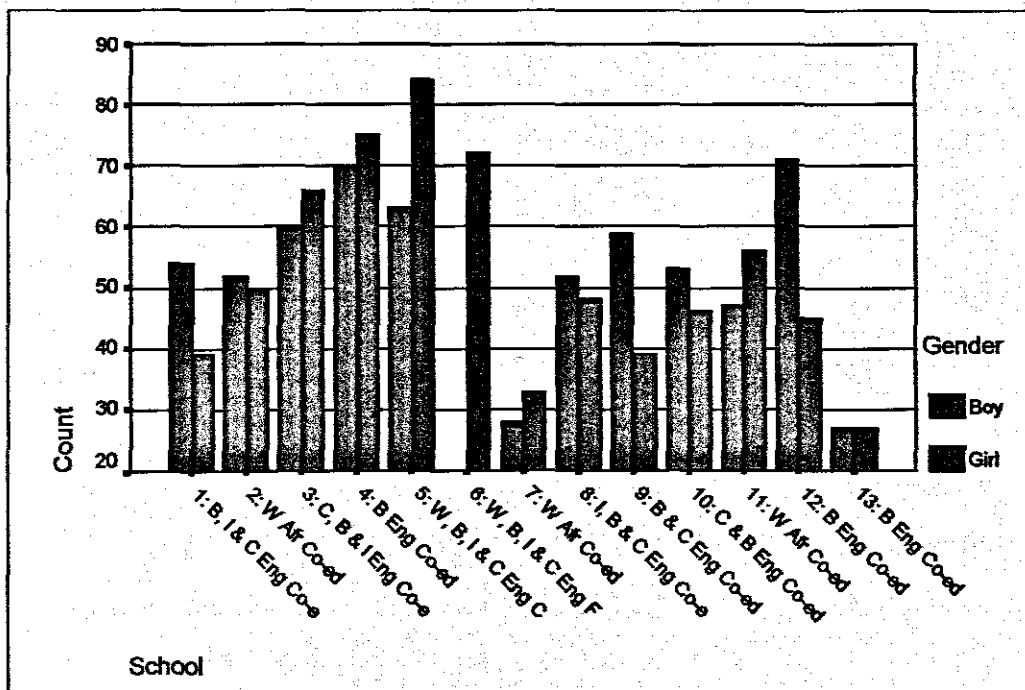
Figure 19: The Ratio of Female and Male Respondents per School

In general there were slightly more females than males in the sample: 48.1% Male, 51.4%

Female (See Figure 13). School 6 (White, Black, Indian & Coloured English Female) has only

female respondents. In a further five schools: school 3 (Coloured, Black & Indian English co-

ed), school 4, (Black, English co-ed); school 5 (White, Black, Indian & Coloured English co-

ed), school 7 (White Afrikaner co-ed) and school 11 (White Afrikaner co-ed) indicated there

were more females than males.

Six schools in the survey showed a higher number of male respondents than female respon-

dents: school 1 (Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed); school 2, (White Afrikaner co-ed)

school 8 (Indian, Black, & Coloured English co-ed) school 9 (Black & Coloured English co-

ed); 10 (Coloured & Black English co-ed) and school 12 (Black, English co-ed). School 13

(Black, English co-ed) show an equal distribution of male and female respondents.

Age Distribution per School

Most respondents were between 13 and 14 years old as can be seen in the accompanying

graph in Figure 20:
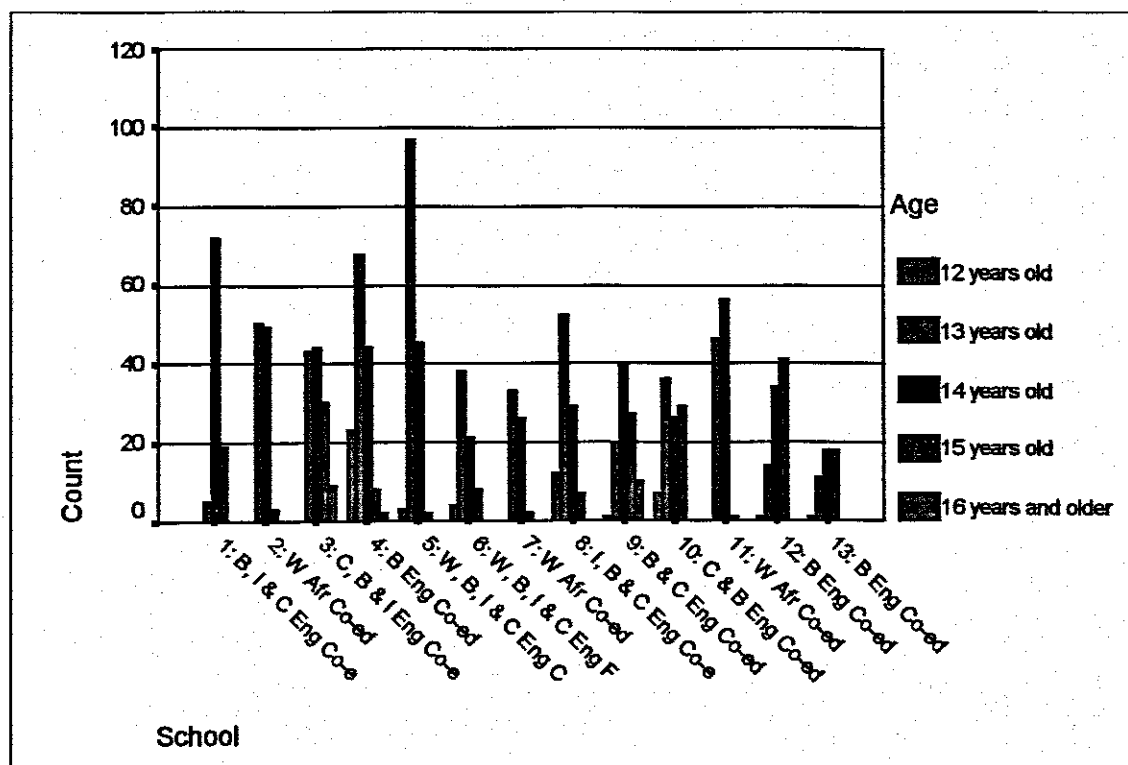
Figure 20: The Age Distribution of Respondents per School

The breakdown per age group is: 12 years 3.9%, 13 years: 38.8%, 14 years: 38.1% 15 years: 14.8%, 16 years & older: 1.6% of the total sample as Figure 13 indicates. The accompanying graph illustrates the age distribution of respondents per school: school 1 (Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed) shows the majority of the respondents were 14 years of age followed by 15 year olds. In school 2 (White Afrikaner co-ed), school 7 (White Afrikaner co-ed) and school 11 (White Afrikaner co-ed) respondents were almost equally distributed between 13 and 14 years of age showing a small fraction of respondents 15 years of age in school 11. In school 12 (Black English co-ed) the majority of the respondents were much older than 15 years of age in comparison to the other schools where the respondents were mainly 13-14 years of age. A number of 16 years and older respondents came from school 9 (Black & Coloured English co-ed) and school 3 (Coloured, Black & Indian English co-ed).

Ethnic Distribution per School

For all intents and purposes most schools were functionally desegregated with particular ethnic groups forming either the only group, or the predominant group in each school as can be seen from the accompanying graph in Figure 21:
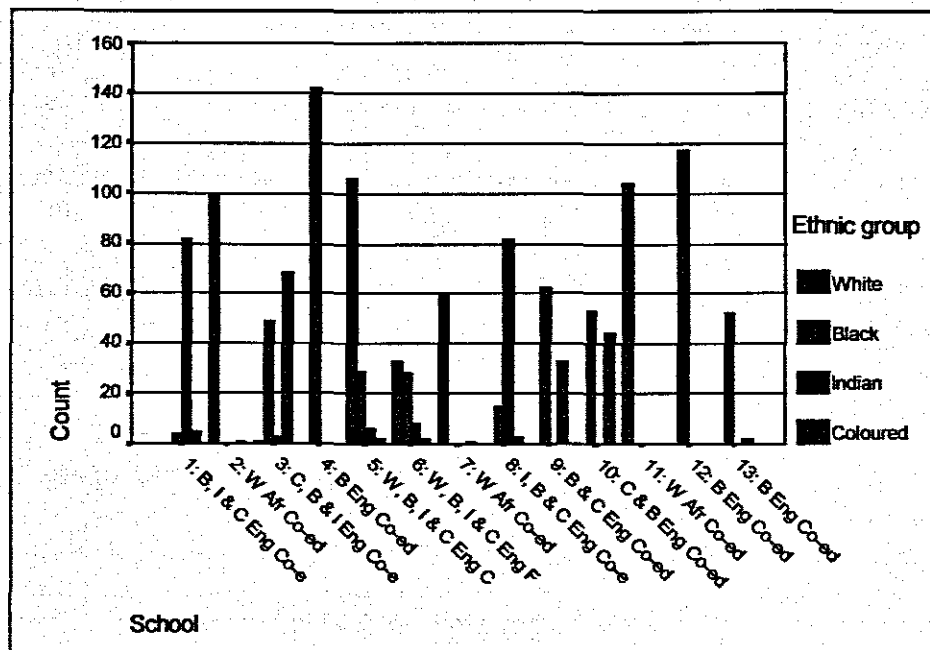
Figure 21: The Ethnic Distribution of Respondents per School

Despite the constitutional policies regarding mixed schools (South African Schools Act and the South African Constitution) many schools remained segregated with one ethnic group as the accompanying graph indicates. Schools 2, 7 and 11 remain as White Afrikaner co-ed schools showing one ethnic group (White) and schools 4, 12 and 13 remain as Black English co-ed schools showing only one ethnic group (Black). School 1 (Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed) and school 8 (Indian, Black & Coloured English co-ed) has a small percentage of respondents from other groups with the majority of the respondents from the Indian group. School 3 (Coloured, Black & Indian English co-ed) have mainly Coloured respondents with a small number of respondents from other groups (Black and Indian). In school 9 (Black & Coloured English co-ed) and school 10 (Coloured, Black English co-ed) there are a large number of Coloured respondents with Blacks in the majority. Schools 5 (White, Black Indian & Coloured English co-ed) and 6 (White, Black, Indian & Coloured English co-ed) have respondents from all four of the ethnic groups (White, Black, Indian and Coloured) with White respondents in the majority. The above graph indicates although there was a policy of flexible admission criteria little integration of learners from other ethnic groups has taken place. It

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must be acknowledged that social, economic and demographic realities influence desegregation and integration of schools. Although the macro government policy advocates desegregation implementation of the policy at micro level has not taken place.

INVOLUNTARY AND VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION OF RESPONDENTS OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS

The accompanying graphs in Figure 22- 25 show the association of the different ethnic groups in school and outside of school.

Figure 22 illustrates the correlation between being in class with Whites and having White friends outside of school among the ethnic groups:
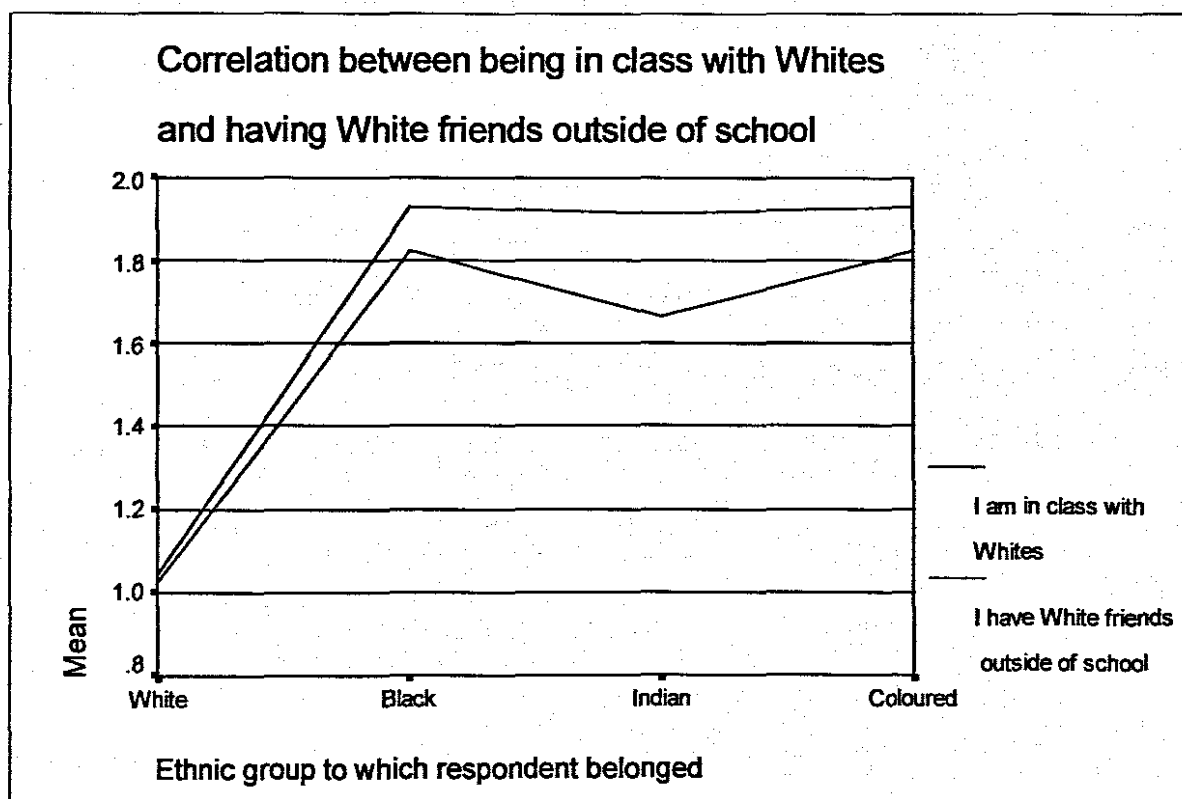
Figure 22: Having White class mates and having White friends outside of school.

Respondents from all ethnic groups, including Whites, report having more White class-mates than White friends outside of school.

Figure 23 illustrates the correlation between being in class with Blacks and having Black friends outside of school among the ethnic groups:
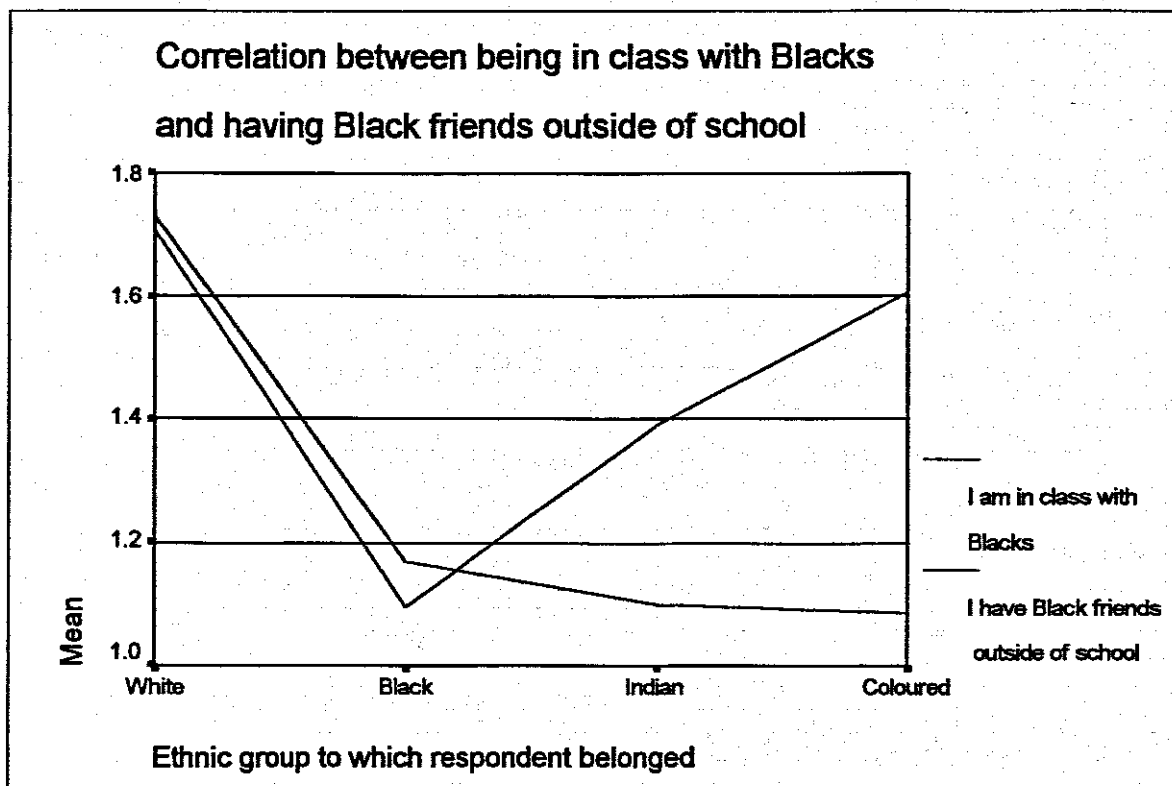
Figure 23: Having Black class mates and having Black friends outside of school

Both White and Black respondents report having more Black class mates than Black friends outside of school. Indian respondents report having significantly more Black friends outside of school than Black classmates. Coloured respondents report having overwhelmingly more Black friends outside of school than Black classmates.

Figure 24 illustrates the correlation between being in class with Indians and having Indian friends outside of school among the ethnic groups:

Correlation between being in class with Indians and having Indian friends outside of school
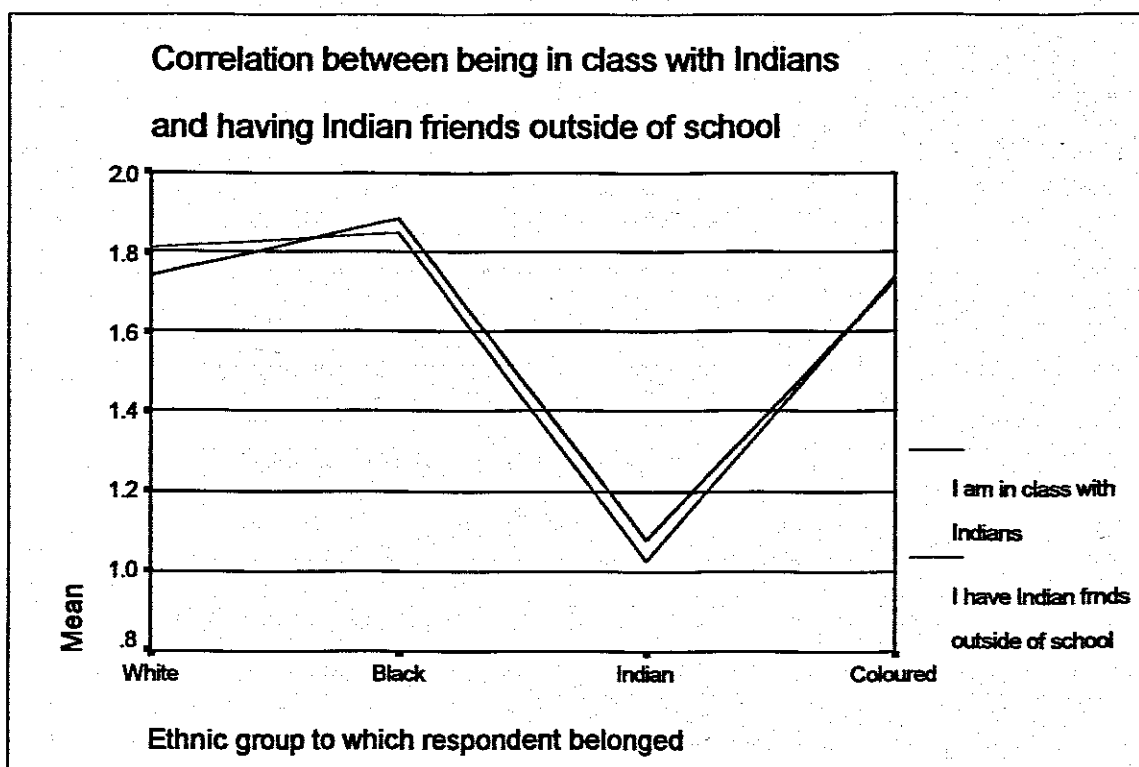
Figure 24: Having Indian class mates and having Indian friends outside of school

White respondents report they have more Indian friends outside of school than Indian classmates. Blacks report they have more Indian classmates than Indian friends outside of school. Indian respondents report having slightly more Indian class mates than Indian friends outside of school. Coloured respondents report having the same number of Indian friends outside of school and Indian classmates.

Figure 25 illustrates the correlation between being in class with Coloureds and having Coloured friends outside of school among the ethnic groups:
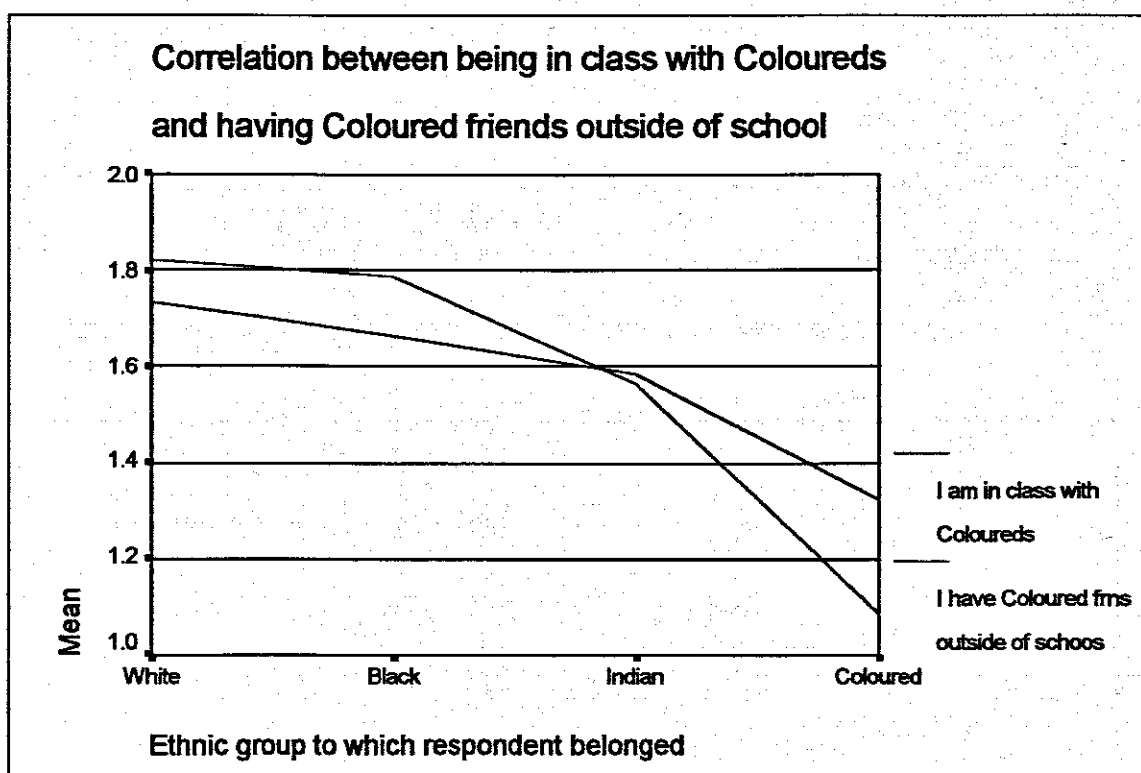
Figure 25: Having Coloured class mates and having Coloured friends outside of school

White and Black respondents reported having more Coloured friends outside of school than Coloured classmates. Indian respondents reported having slightly more Coloured classmates than Coloured friends outside of school. Coloured respondents reported having considerably more Coloured classmates than Coloured friends outside of school.

USING GRAPHS TO DEMONSTRATE INGROUP AND OUTGROUP ASSESSMENT

In this section I use a single line graph to demonstrate how the incidence of ethnic stereotyping can be discerned on such graphs. In the section following this one I will use panels of such line graphs to determine the degree of stereotyping manifested by respondents from the various ethnic groups.

When summarising responses I will intentionally use the past tense, as in *Black respondents strongly disagreed that Blacks are dishonest*, instead of *Black respondents strongly disagree that Blacks are dishonest*. This is done because present-tense statements can be interpreted to

mean that they reflect the general attitudes of ethnic groups, rather than the more limited atti-

tudes of the specific groups that were tested.

A general human tendency is to favour the ingroup (one's own group) with positive traits

and the outgroup with the negative attributes. This is illustrated in the graph in Figure 26

where Indians rate themselves and other groups rate Indians about stupidity:

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Indians are stupid (sig. .029)
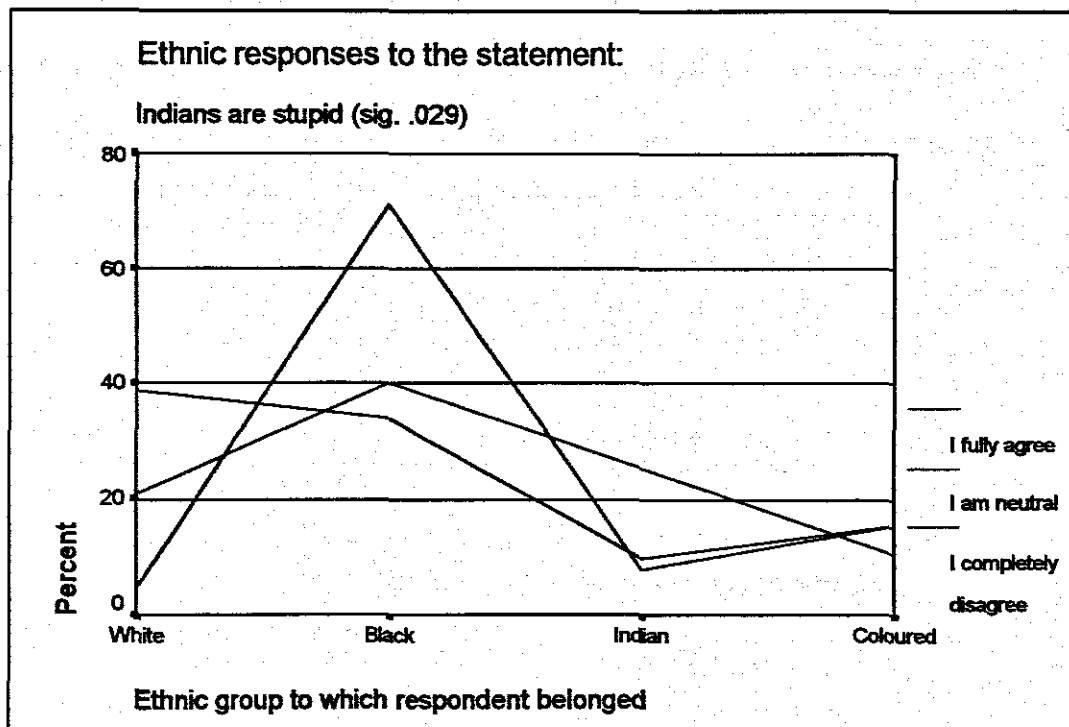
Figure 26: How a group assesses itself and how others assess them

The ingroup is favoured as Indians show high levels of completely disagreeing about Indi-

ans being stupid. The outgroup is considered to have negative attributes as Blacks fully agreed

about Indians being stupid.

While most Whites preferred to be neutral there are a large number of Whites that believed

Indians are not stupid, with only a very small percentage of Whites that fully agreed that Indi-

ans are stupid.

Coloureds respondents were equally divided in being neutral or fully agreeing that Indians

are stupid. A smaller group of Coloureds totally disagreed that Indians are stupid.

This negative stereotyping of the outgroups is further illustrated by the graphs in Figure 27 regarding the statements *Blacks are clever Blacks are stupid, Whites are clever* and *Whites are stupid.*

ASSESSING LEVELS OF INGROUP FAVOURITISM AND OUTGROUP STEREOTYPING BY MEANS OF GRAPHS

According to Wellman 1992: 116 our basic desires and emotions influence our thinking, colour our thoughts and distort our judgement. The following graphs show ingroup favouritism and outgroup stereotyping, an illustration of the points that Wellman makes:
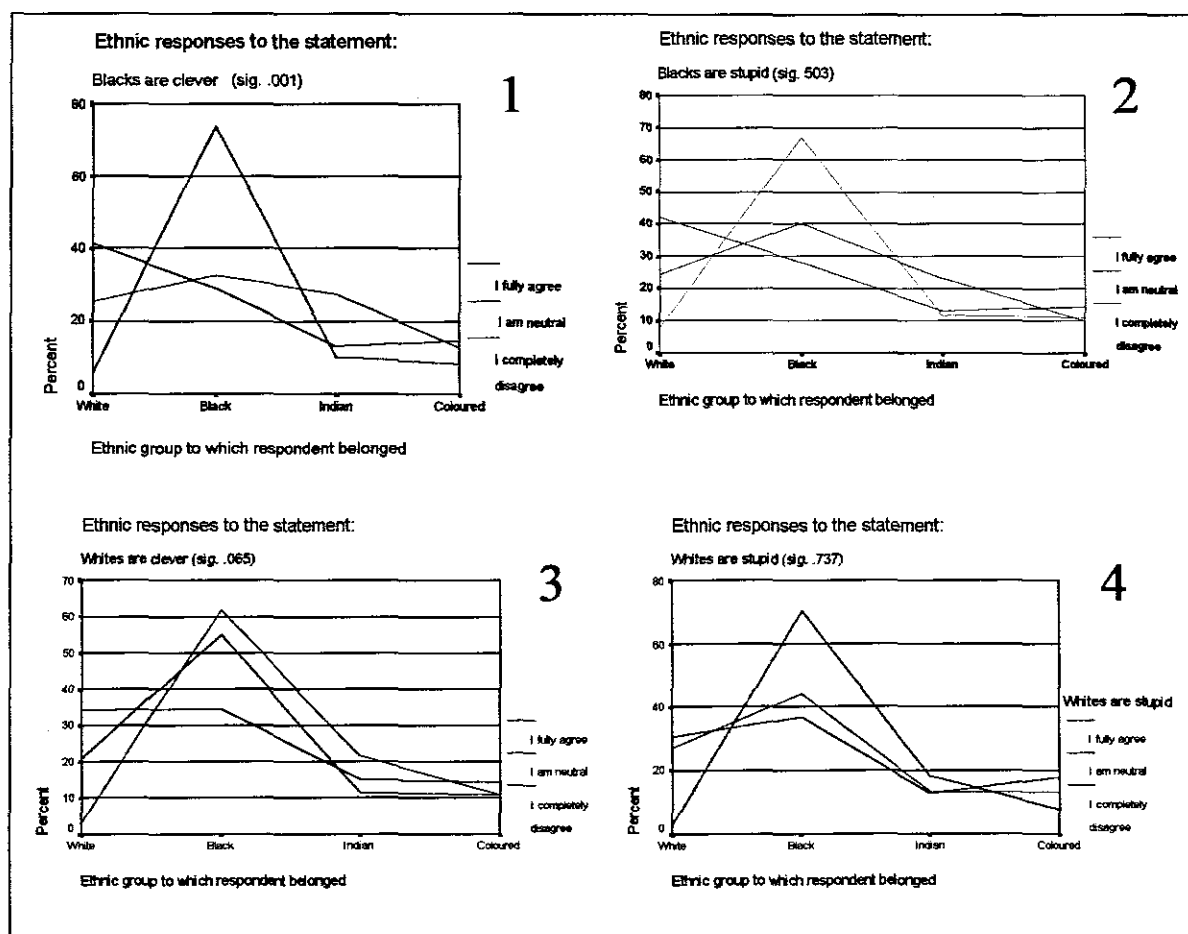
Figure 27: How Blacks rated themselves and how they rated Whites regarding the same positive and negative traits

On graphs 1 and 2 respectively a large number of Black respondents fully agreed that Blacks are clever and completely disagreed that Blacks are stupid illustrating ingroup favouritism. There are smaller groups that disagreed that Blacks are clever and agreed that Blacks are

stupid. There is a third group of respondents that was neutral about Blacks are clever and Blacks are stupid. Although Blacks in general showed three different models the majority of Blacks favoured their own group with the positive trait, clever. While most of the White respondents showed neutrality about both statements, there is a group of White respondents that fully agreed that Blacks are stupid and completely disagreed that Blacks are clever indicating negative stereotypical value judgements about Blacks.

Most of the Indian respondents fully agreed that Blacks are stupid and completely disagreed that Blacks are clever, showing negative stereotypical value judgements about Blacks. Most of the Coloured respondents were neutral on both statements, but there are a number of respondents that fully agreed that Blacks are stupid and completely disagreed that Blacks are clever.

In comparison on graphs 3 and 4 statements about Whites are clever and Whites are stupid most of the White respondents were neutral. A smaller number of White respondents indicated ingroup favouritism by agreeing that Whites are clever and disagreeing that Whites are stupid. A very small number of Whites disagreed that Whites are clever and Whites are stupid. Black respondents completely disagreed that Whites are clever and agreed fully that Whites are stupid, indicating negative stereotypical value judgements about Whites. Indians showed the same negative value judgements about Whites as they did about Blacks. Most of the Coloured respondents had neutral points of view about Whites as they did about Blacks on graphs 1 and 2 with regard to the statement Whites are clever and Whites are stupid.

I used two of the traits, being clever and stupid to demonstrate how the groups (Graphs 1-4) tended to favour their own ethnic group with positive traits while stereotyping outgroups with negative traits. The following graphs 28-35 further elaborate on how the different ethnic groups ranked themselves and how their peers ranked them.

How Whites ranked themselves and how their peers ranked them

Individuals use large numbers of attributes to conceptualise entities in the real world. When perceiving and thinking about something as mundane as a blue vase for instance one will use a multiplicity of attributes relating to it — for instance its shape, size, colour, hue, texture, and functions.

It must therefore be emphasised that individuals have many more attributes in their minds about themselves, their ethnic identity, and those of others than the attributes that are used in this study.

When humans think about human attributes, we call them character traits. In the sections that follow I will first discuss how members of ingroups ranked themselves, and then how other groups ranked them in terms of positive and the negative traits.

Positive and negative stereotyping

One can positively stereotype someone else by ranking him or her high in terms of positive traits like being honest and hardworking, or by ranking him or her low in terms of negative traits like being dishonest and lazy.

Likewise one can negatively stereotype someone else by ranking him or her low in terms of positive traits like being honest and hardworking, or by ranking him or her low in terms of negative traits like being dishonest and lazy.

Positive traits

Graphs 1-4 illustrate how Whites ranked themselves and how their peers from other ethnic groups ranked them:

Figure 28: How Whites rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same positive traits

A general pattern of value judgements can be discerned on graphs 1-4. Most Whites maintained a neutral stance about Whites being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. The second largest group among the Whites however fully agreed that Whites are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous, showing that they favoured their own group. The smallest group of respondents completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. This indicates that Whites as a group did not show a strong tendency towards ingroup favouritism when it comes to the positive traits associable with their group. Their predominant attitude is one of reserve.

According to graphs 1-3 most of the Blacks completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest and hardworking. This is a clear indication of outgroup stereotyping of Whites by the

majority of Blacks regarding positive traits. The negative stereotype however does not extend to how Blacks saw Whites with regard to generosity, for according to graph 4 most Blacks fully agreed that Whites are generous. The second largest group among the Black respondents however completely disagreed that Whites are generous. A clear majority of Blacks therefore positively stereotyped Whites as being generous, while a significant minority of Blacks negatively stereotyped them as being non-generous / miserly / stingy.

On graphs 2-4 most of the Indians completely disagreed that Whites are honest, hardworking or generous, while a smaller number of Indians fully agreed or were neutral about Whites being honest, hardworking or generous. Graph 1 shows that most of the Indians had no strong opinions about Whites being friendly, but that a smaller number of Indians completely disagreed. It also shows that only a small group of Indians fully agreed that Whites are friendly. These results indicate a general trend where most Indians negatively stereotyped Whites as an outgroup with regard to positive attributes.

Graph 4 shows that most Coloured respondents completely disagreed that Whites are generous. A smaller number of Coloureds fully agreed, and even fewer Coloureds were neutral about Whites being generous. Graphs 1-3 show that there are almost equal numbers of Coloureds that fully agreed, were neutral or completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest and hardworking. This can be interpreted to mean that Coloureds showed only a weak level of positive stereotyping towards Whites regarding positive traits.

Negative traits

Graphs 1-4 in Figure 29 illustrate the general tendencies with regard to perceived negative traits about Whites:

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Whites are loudmouthed (sig. .000)

1

Percent

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree

I am neutral

I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Whites are unfriendly (sig. .051)

2

Percent

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree

I am neutral

I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Whites are untidy (sig. .181)

3

Percent

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree

I am neutral

I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Whites are racist (sig. .149)

4

Percent

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree

I am neutral

I completely disagree

Figure 29: How Whites rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same negative traits

Graphs 1-4 indicate that most of the Whites again, like with the positive attributes, showed no strong opinions about the negative attributes associable with their own group – being loud-mouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. A small number of Whites completely disagreed that Whites show these negative characteristics. Only a small percentage of the Whites fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. This varied response is an indication of a moderate tendency towards ingroup favouritism among Whites.

The fact that most of the White respondents were noncommittal about associating negative attributes with their own group, and that only a small percentage agreed that their group shows such negative tendencies, ameliorate the stance of ingroup favouritism among White respondents. It can therefore be said that Whites showed only a moderate tendency towards ingroup favouritism when it comes to their perception of the negative traits exhibited by their group.

Graphs 1-3 show most of the Blacks fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, and untidy. Blacks clearly negatively stereotyped Whites regarding these negative traits. However, graph 4 shows a change in this pattern of negative stereotyping of Whites, because Blacks completely disagreed that Whites are racist.

Graphs 1-4 show that most of the Indians fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist, indicating negative stereotyping of Whites by Indians.

Graphs 1-3 show that almost an equal number of the Coloured respondents fully agreed, were neutral and disagreed completely about Whites being loudmouthed, unfriendly, and untidy. Graph 4 shows that most of the Coloured respondents believed that Whites are racist, and that an equal number of Coloured respondents completely disagreed, or were neutral about Coloureds being racist. This equal division of responses by Coloureds with regard to both positive and negative traits in Whites can therefore at most signify only a weak tendency towards stereotyping of Whites by Coloured respondents.

HOW BLACKS RANKED THEMSELVES AND HOW THEIR PEERS RANKED THEM
Positive traits

Graphs 1-4 in Figure 30 illustrate how Blacks ranked themselves and how their peers from other ethnic groups ranked them:

Figure 30: How Blacks rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same positive traits

Graphs 1-4 show that most of the Black respondents fully agreed that Blacks are friendly, honest, generous and hardworking. This response is a clear indication of strong ingroup favouritism among Blacks. Graph 4 show there was a large percentage of Blacks that completely disagreed that Blacks are hardworking.

Graphs 1-4 show that White respondents were neutral about Blacks being friendly, honest, generous and hardworking. A smaller number of White respondents completely disagreed about Blacks being friendly, honest, and generous and hardworking. Very few of the White respondents fully agreed that Blacks are friendly, honest, generous and hardworking. A greater

percentage of Whites completely disagreed about Blacks being honest, generous and hard-working indicating stereotypical value judgements about Blacks.

According to graphs 1-3 Indians completely disagreed that Blacks are friendly, honest and generous, but graph 4 shows that Indians fully agreed that Blacks are hardworking. Graphs 1-3 indicate that there is almost the same number of Indians that fully agreed and disagreed that Blacks are friendly, honest and generous, but that as a group they are neutral about Blacks being hardworking. These results indicate that Indians most Indians negatively stereotype Blacks regarding associable positive traits.

Graphs 1-3 indicate that most of the Coloured respondents completely disagreed about Blacks being friendly, honest and generous, but graph 4 shows they fully agreed that Blacks are hardworking. Coloureds negatively stereotype Blacks regarding associable positive traits.

Negative traits

Graphs 1-4 of Figure 31 illustrate the general tendencies with regard to the negative traits that are associable with Blacks:

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Blacks are loudmouthed (sig. .000)

1

Percent

White — Black — Indian — Coloured

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree
I am neutral
I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Blacks are unfriendly (sig. .524)

2

Percent

White — Black — Indian — Coloured

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree
I am neutral
I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Blacks are untidy (sig. .125)

3

Percent

White — Black — Indian — Coloured

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree
I am neutral
I completely disagree

Ethnic responses to the statement:

Blacks are racist (sig. .024)

4

Percent

White — Black — Indian — Coloured

Ethnic group to which respondent belonged

I fully agree
I am neutral
I completely disagree

Figure 31: How Blacks rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same negative traits

Graphs 1-4 clearly show that Black respondents strongly disagreed that Blacks are loud-mouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. This is a clear indication of ingroup favouritism among Blacks. Graphs 1, 3, 4 indicate that few Blacks fully agreed about Blacks being loudmouthed, untidy and racist. However, in graph 2 a significant percentage of Blacks fully agreed that Blacks are unfriendly.

Graphs 1 and 4 indicate that most of the Whites fully agreed that Blacks are loudmouthed and racist. On graphs 2 and 3 most of the Whites indicate neutrality about Blacks being un-friendly and untidy. Graphs 1-4 show very few Whites completely disagreed that Blacks are

loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist revealing a negative stereotypical view of Blacks by the White respondents.

Graphs 1 and 4 show that most of the Indians completely disagreed that Blacks are loud-mouthed and racist while on graphs 2 and 3 most of the Indians fully agreed that Blacks are untidy and unfriendly.

Graph 1 shows that most of the Coloured respondents fully agreed that Blacks are loud-mouthed, but graph 2 shows that most of the Coloured respondents completely disagreed that Blacks are unfriendly. Graphs 3 and 4 show almost an equal number of Coloured respondents fully agreed, completely disagreed and are neutral about Blacks being untidy and racist. The pattern that emerges is that other groups show a negative stereotypical view of the Blacks while Blacks have a positive view of themselves.

HOW INDIANS RANKED THEMSELVES AND HOW THEIR PEERS RANKED THEM
Positive traits

Graphs 1-4 illustrate how Indians ranked themselves and how their peers from other ethnic groups ranked them:
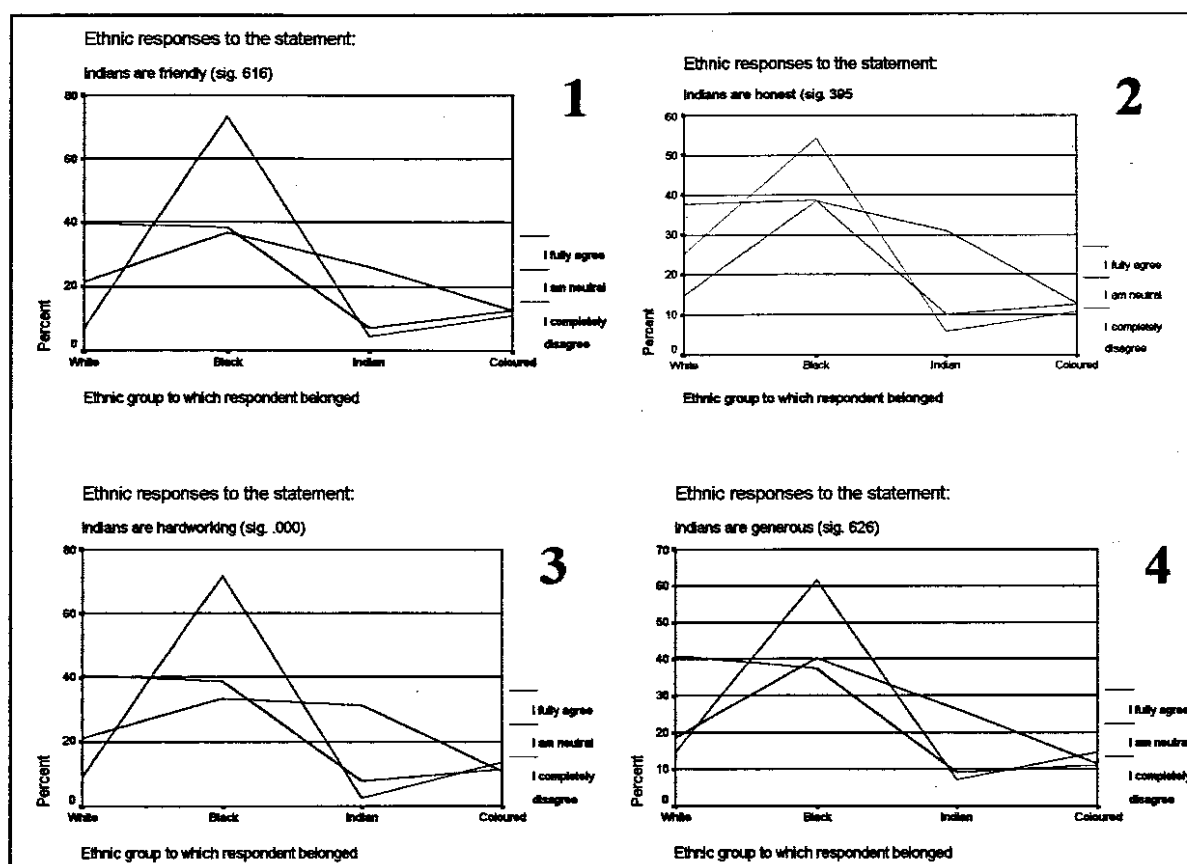
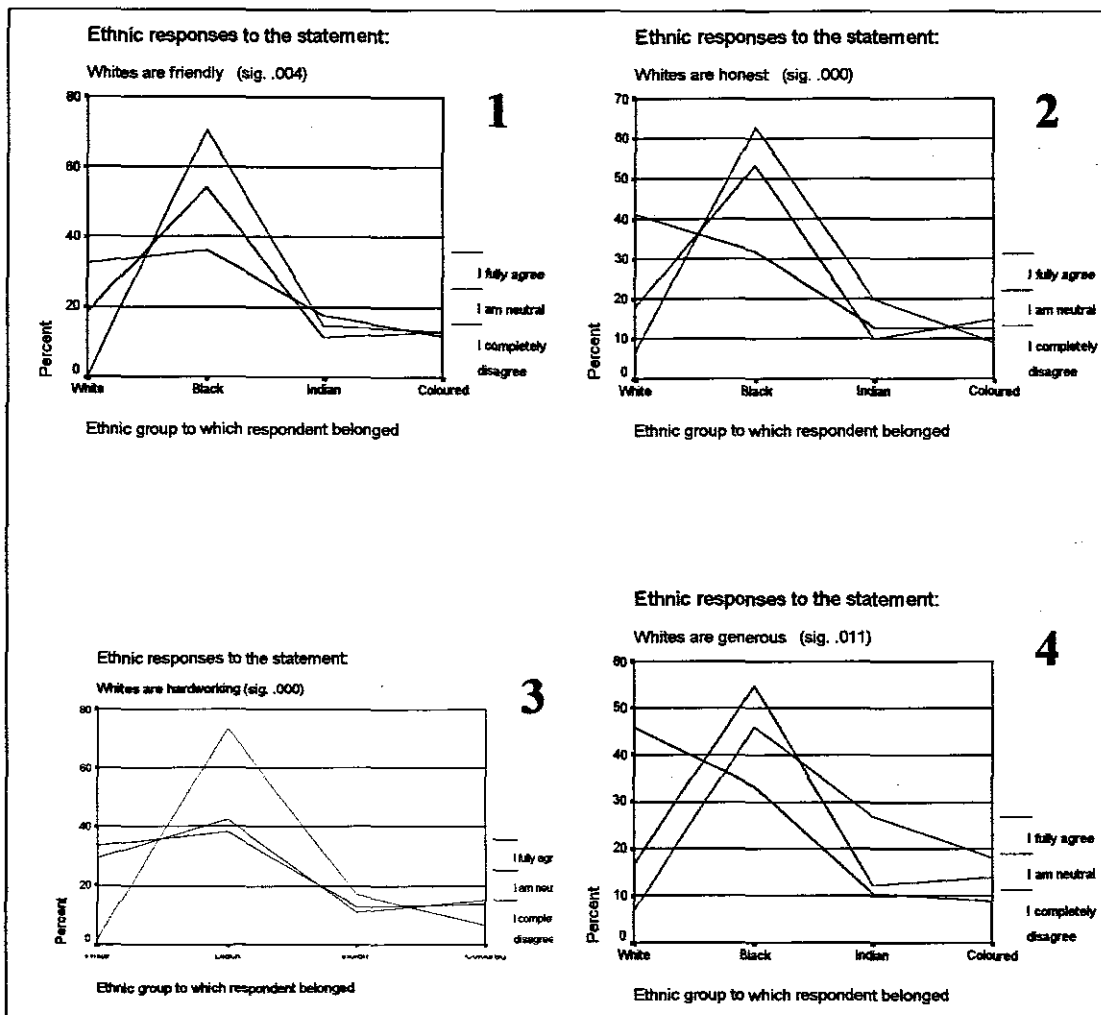Figure 32: How Indians rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same positive traits

Graphs 1-4 show that most of the Indian respondents fully agreed that Indians are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. Very few Indian respondents were neutral or completely disagreed about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. The fact that most Indian respondents rated themselves highly with regard positive traits is an indication of strong ingroup favouritism.

Graphs 1-4 show that most of the White respondents reserved judgement about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. The second largest group of Whites fully agreed about Indians being friendly, hardworking and generous. A minority of Whites see Indians as being honest. Generally most Whites adopt an attitude of reserve about Indians with regard to the positive traits, but there is negative stereotyping with regard to Indians being honest.

Graphs 1– 4 show that most of the Black respondents completely disagreed that Indians are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous, showing a strong negative stereotypical view of Indians. Almost the same number of Blacks fully agreed and are neutral about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

Graphs 1-4 show that Coloured respondents were almost equally divided with regard to the positive traits that could be associated with Indians. This means that roughly one third of Coloured respondents positively stereotyped Indians, that another third negatively stereotyped Indians, and that the last third of them took a neutral stance with regard to the traits associable with Indians.

Negative traits

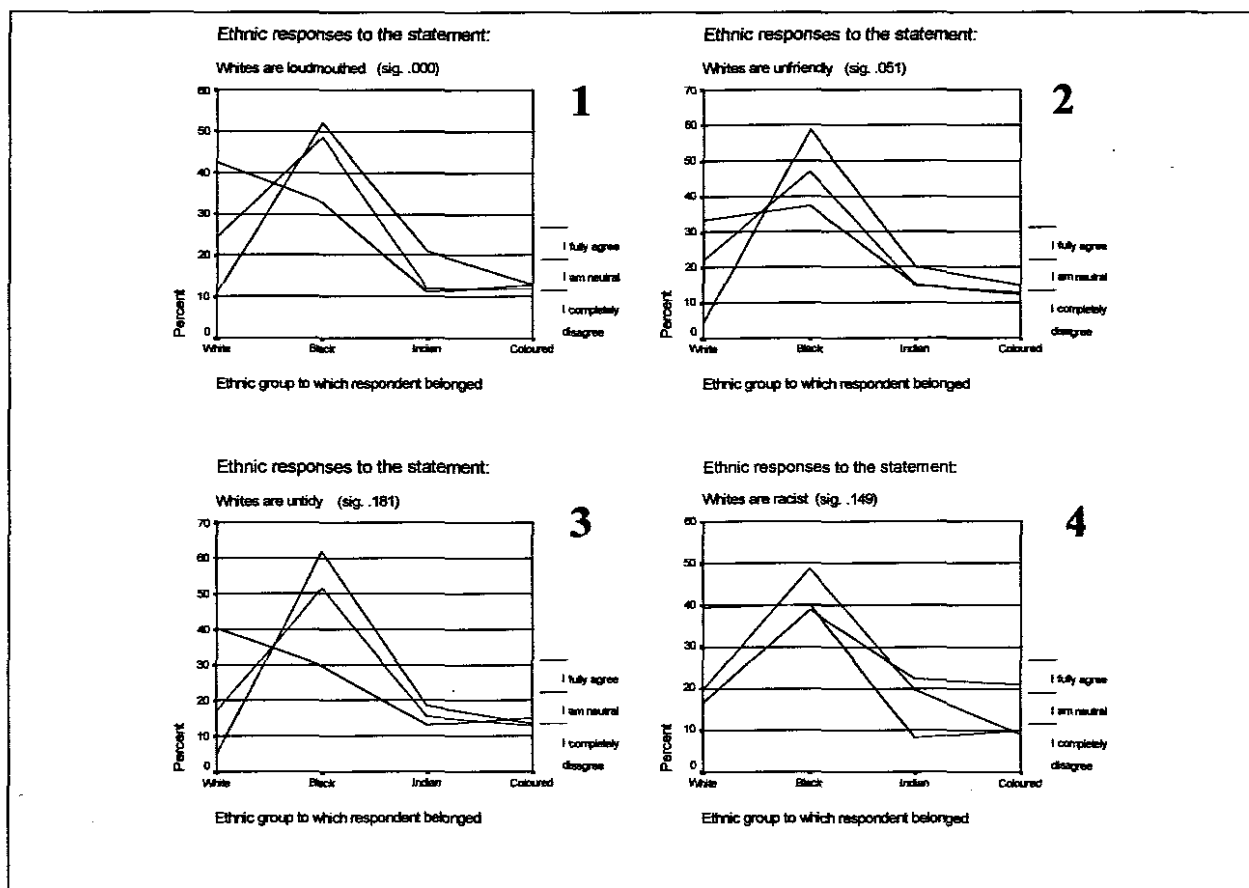Graphs 1-4 illustrates the general tendencies with regard to the negative traits associable with Indians:
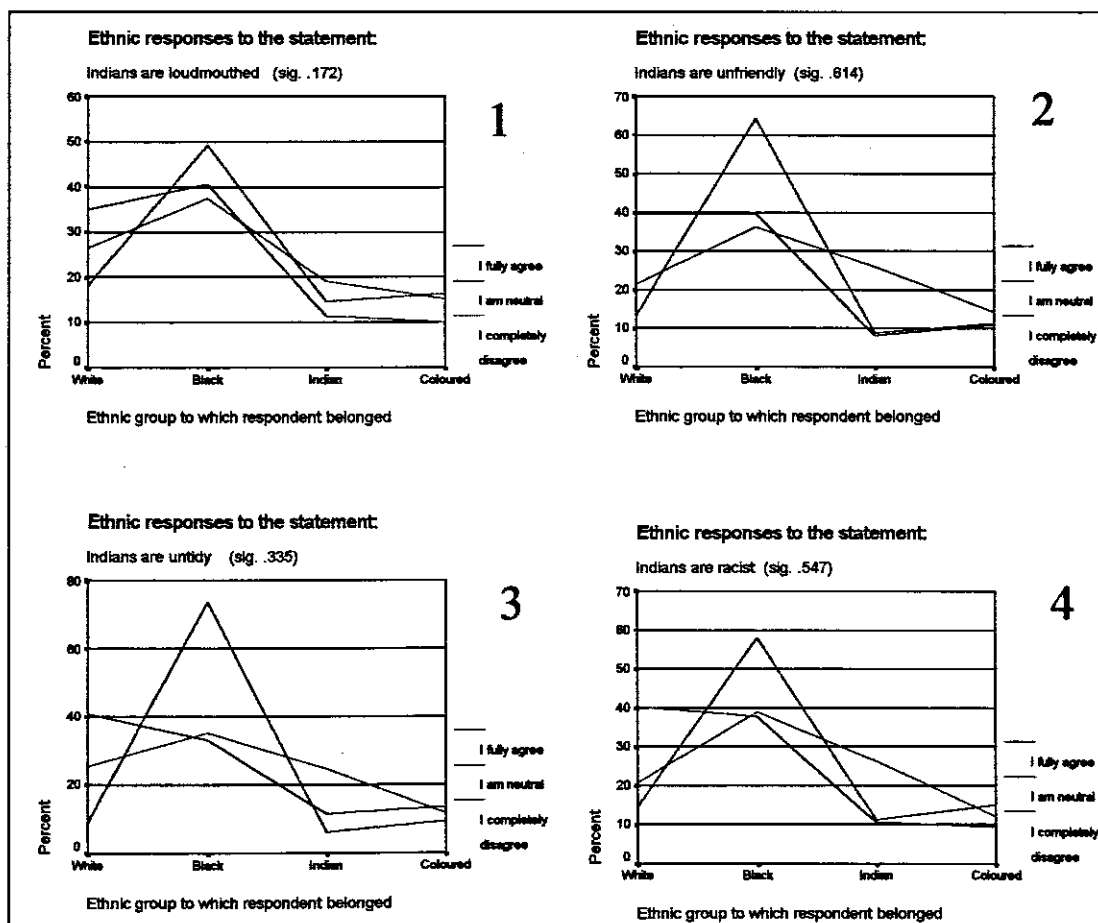
Figure 33: How Indians rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same negative traits

Graphs 1-4 clearly show that Indian respondents strongly disagreed that Indians are loud-mouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist indicating Indians have a positive view of their own group. Very few Indian respondents fully agreed or were neutral about the negative traits of Indians indicating ingroup favouritism.

Graphs 1-4 show that the White respondents have a common pattern for all four negative traits about Indians. The majority of Whites take a neural position about the negative traits that are associable with Indians. The second largest group of Whites completely disagreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Very few White respondents fully agreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. White respondents had no strong opinions about Indians being are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist or disagreed regarding these negative traits.

Graphs 1-4 clearly show that most of the Black respondents fully agreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. The outgroup (Indian) is therefore negatively stereotyped by Blacks. Graphs 1 and 2 show that the majority Black respondents are neutral about Indians being loudmouthed and unfriendly and that a smaller group completely disagreed that Indians are untidy and racist (graph 3 and 4). The general tendency is that Black respondents negatively stereotype Indians.

Coloureds did not show great differences of opinion about Indians. Almost the same numbers of Coloureds fully agreed, completely disagreed and were neutral about Indians being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist.

HOW COLOUREDS RANKED THEMSELVES AND HOW THEIR PEERS RANKED THEM
Positive traits

Graphs 1-4 in figure 34 illustrate how Coloureds ranked themselves and how their peers from other ethnic groups ranked them:
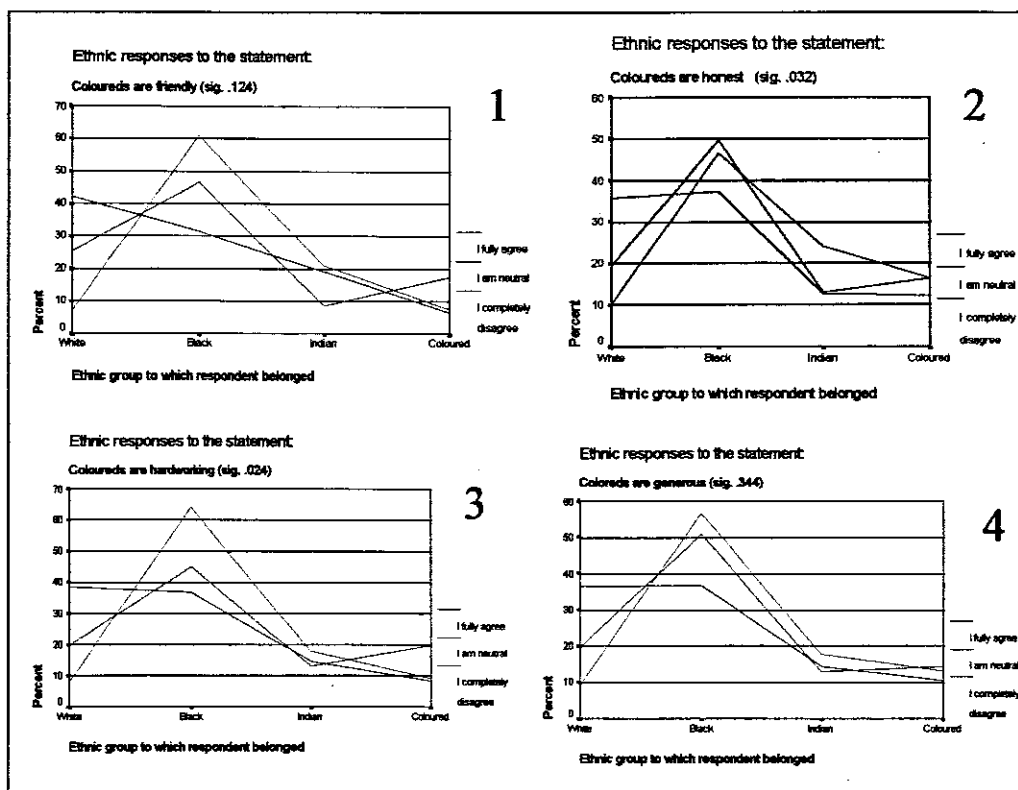
Figure 34: How Coloureds rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same positive traits

Graphs 1, 3 and 4 show that most of the Coloured respondents fully agreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. The ingroup (Coloureds) is favoured. Graphs 1-4 show most of the White respondents do not indicate strong opinions about Coloureds being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous, but a smaller group of Whites fully agreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous and a few White respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

Graphs 1, 3, 4, show that most of the Black respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, hardworking and generous indicating negative stereotyping of the outgroup (Coloured). A smaller group of Blacks fully agreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous and very few Blacks are neutral about Coloureds being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous and very few Coloureds completely disagreed that Col-

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oureds are friendly, honest, hardworking. Graph 2 shows most of the Black respondents fully agreed that Coloureds are honest.

Graphs 1-4 show that most Indian respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous indicating a negative perception of Coloureds. A small group of Indian respondents fully agreed and are neutral about Coloureds being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

Negative traits

Graphs 1-4 in figure 35 show how Coloureds rate themselves, and how other groups rate Coloureds with regard to negative traits:
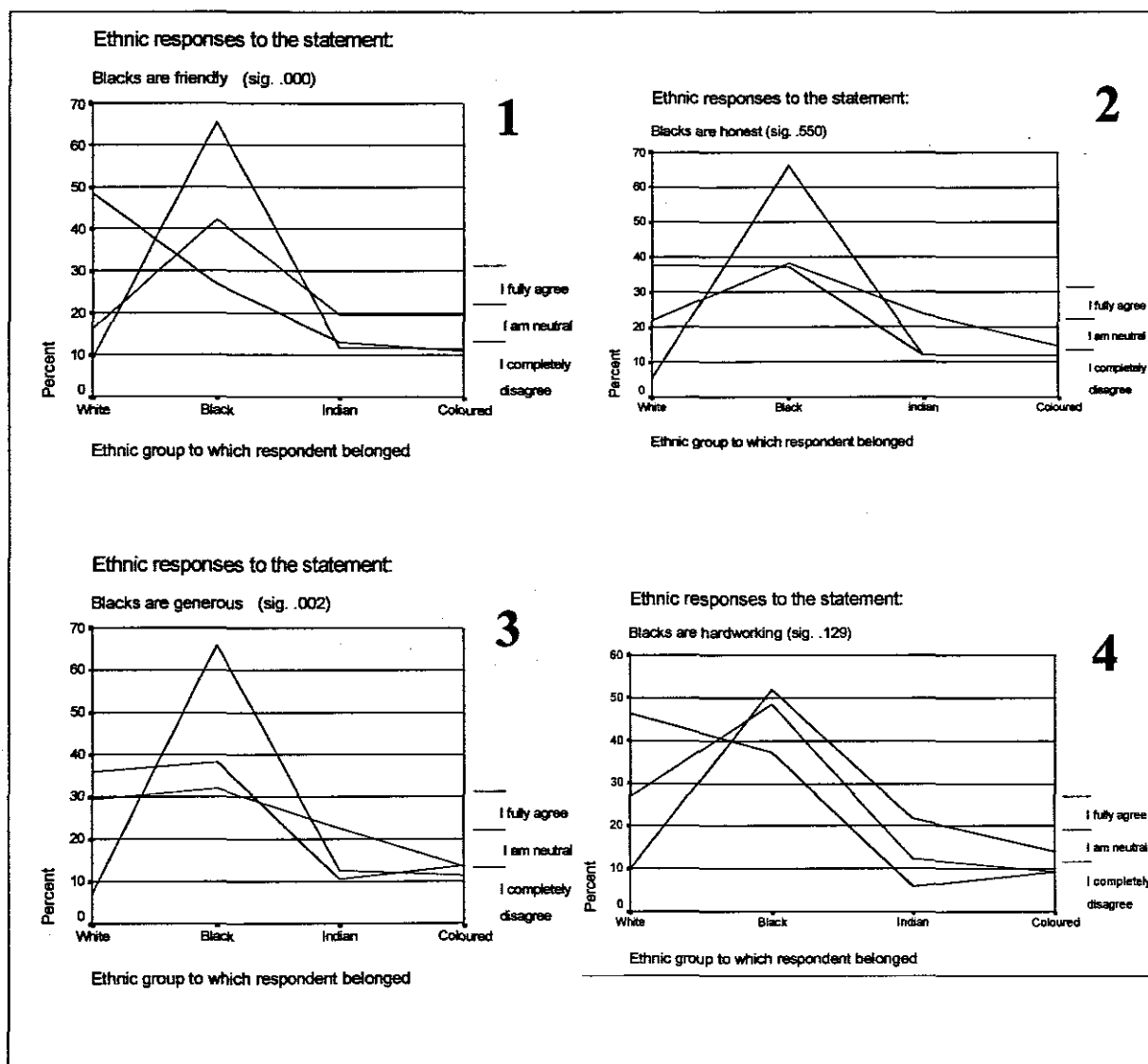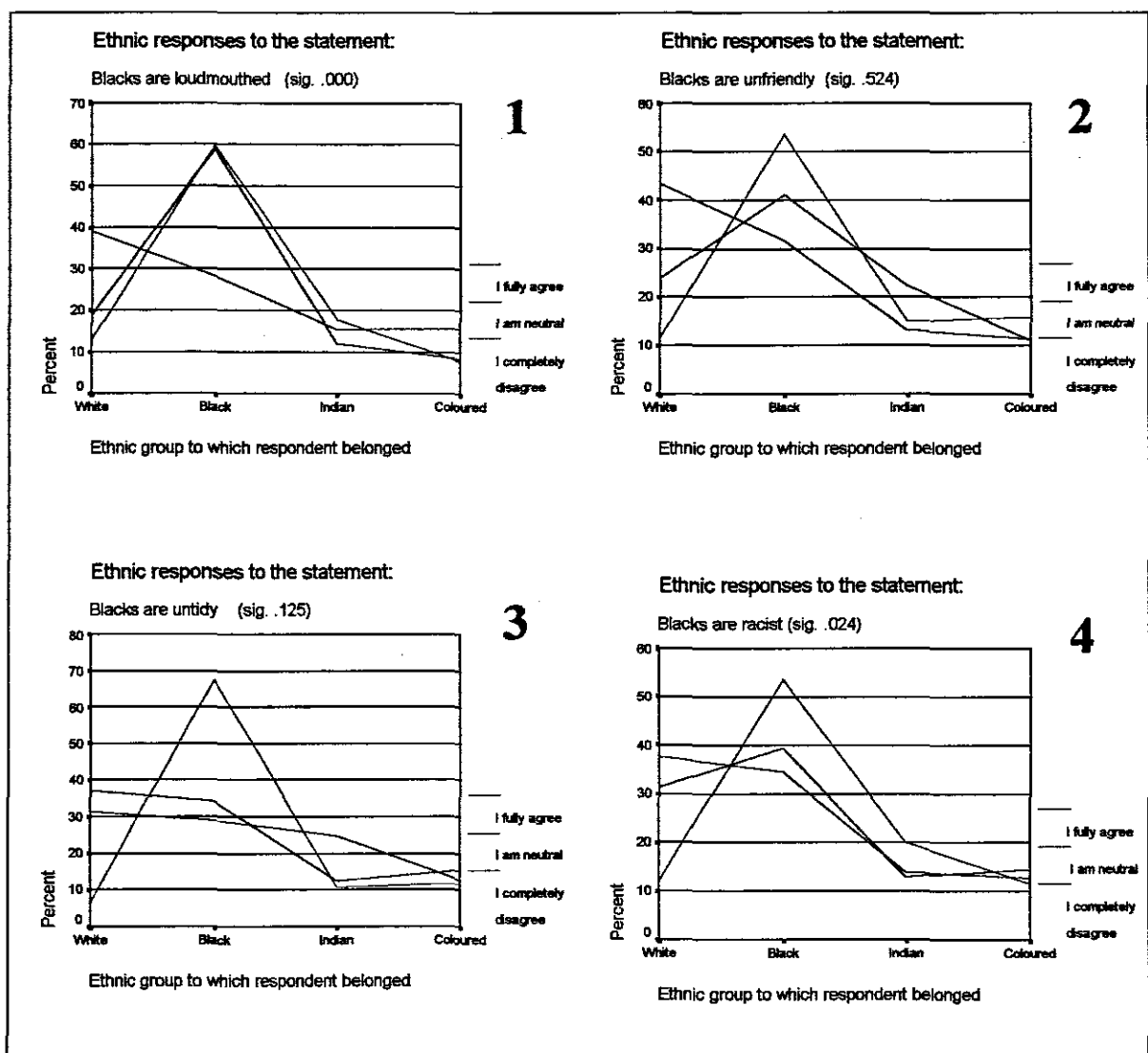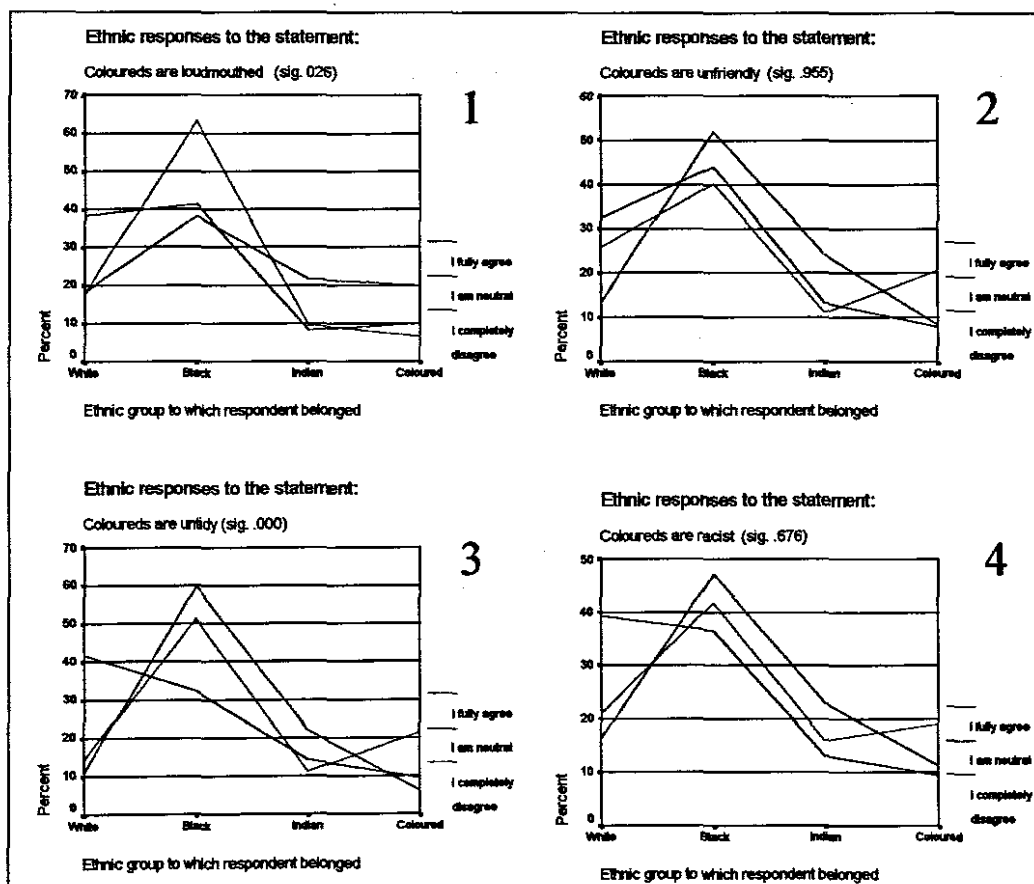

Figure 35: How Coloureds rated themselves and how they were rated by the other groups regarding the same negative traits

Graphs 2-4 show that most of the Coloured respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are unfriendly, untidy and racist. Graph 1 shows that Coloured respondents fully agreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed. Graphs 1-4 show that White respondents show high

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levels of neutrality about Coloureds being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Almost even numbers of White respondents fully agreed and completely disagreed about Coloureds being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist.

Graphs 1 show most Black respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed. Graphs 2-4 show that most of the Black respondents fully agreed that Coloureds are unfriendly, untidy and racist showing a negative stereotypical view of Coloureds. Graphs 3 and 4 show a number of Blacks completely disagreed and even fewer are neutral about Coloureds being untidy and racist.

Graphs 1-4 show most of the Indian respondents fully agreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist displaying a negative stereotypical view of Coloureds. Graph 1 and 4 show a small number of Indian respondents completely disagreed and even fewer are neutral about Coloureds being loudmouthed and racist. Graph 2 and 3 show a small number of Indian respondents completely disagreed and even fewer are neutral about Coloureds being unfriendly and untidy.

The graphs of how groups rated themselves and how others rated them on positive and negative traits reveal how members of different ethnic groups categorise their own ethnic group positively and negatively stereotype other ethnic groups.

The graphs in figures 28-35 clearly show how groups positively or negatively stereotype one another. This will be further elaborated in the next section.

EVIDENCE FOR INGROUP FAVOURITISM AND OUTGROUP STEREOTYPING

As discussed in chapter 4, Lakoff 1986 proposed that Idealised Cognitive Models play a significant role in how humans conceptualise their environments. By applying the same generic attributes differently during stereotyping members of particular ethnic groups model their own group differently from the way in which they model other groups.

The graphs in this chapter, reflecting respondents' reactions to positive and negative statements, show the extent to which groups agreed or disagreed in associating positive, or negative attributes with their own group and other ethnic groups.

In chapter 4 I showed that Lakoff 1986: 70 analysed the concept of motherhood in Western culture in terms of two separate idealised cognitive models that relate to the mother figure as nurturer and birth giver. Lakoff 1986: 70 warns that such models are oversimplified and are not precise examples of real-world mothers. This oversimplification also forms the basis of stereotyping. Lakoff 1986: 84 furthermore states that idealised cognitive models are not the same in all cultures, or even the same for all individuals within a particular culture. The graphs presented in this chapter show that particular ethnic groups do not show unified responses to the attributes that were tested. They in fact mostly show that at least three sets of attitudes can be discerned within each ethnic group for each of the statements that respondents were asked to assess. Within each group a majority attitudinal response is however mostly discernable.

THE STATUS OF THE CENTRAL HYPOTHESIS OF THIS STUDY IN THE LIGHT OF THE REPORTED RESULTS

The following hypothesis was tested in this study:

Learners from the four major ethnic groups in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region stereotype their own ethnic group positively, while at they at the same time stereotype other ethnic groups negatively.

A weaker form of this hypothesis can be formulated, namely:

Learners from the four major ethnic groups in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region tend to stereotype their own ethnic group positively, while at they at the same time tend to stereotype other ethnic groups negatively.

In order to confirm the strong version of the hypothesis, empirical proof must confirm that learners from all four ethnic groups in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region with equal levels of intensity positively stereotype their ingroup, while at the same time negatively stereotyping outgroups. The weaker version of the hypothesis would accommodate variable degrees of stereotyping among the respondents.

While Ethnic groups clearly do stereotype themselves positively and do stereotype outgroups negatively, they in fact do not do so in equal degrees. With the exception of the statements *Blacks are loudmouthed* (Figure 31, graph 1) and *Blacks are racist* (Figure 31, graph 4) White respondents consistently take a neutral position with regard to both their own group (the ingroup) as well as toward outgroups.

Black respondents clearly favour their ingroup by strongly disagreeing that Blacks are loud-mouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist (Figure 31), and by fully agreeing that Blacks are friendly, honest, generous and hardworking (Figure 30). The general trend for them was to negatively stereotype outgroups (Figures 28 and 29).

Indians positively stereotyped their ingroup by agreeing that Indians were friendly, honest, hardworking and generous (Figure 32). They negatively stereotyped Whites (Figures 28 and 29), Blacks (Figures 30 and 31) and Coloureds (Figures 34 and 35).

Coloureds clearly favour their ingroup by agreeing that they are friendly, honest, hard-working and generous (Figure 34). They were however equally divided with regard to the positive traits associated with Indians (Figure 32). They negatively stereotyped Indians with regard to being loudmouthed and racist (Figure 33, graphs 1 and 4), but disagreed that Indians were unfriendly (Figure 33, graph 2) and were neutral about Indians being untidy (Figure 33, graph 3). Coloureds show the same general pattern of variable stereotyping with regard to Blacks (Figure 31).

From the patterns of results reported above it is clear that the weaker version of the hypothesis is confirmed by the results of the research, but not the stronger one.

THE IDEALISED COGNITIVE MODELS THAT RESPONDENTS HAVE OF THEMSELVES AND MEMBERS OF OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

According to Klopper 1999: 248-272 humans understand their environment by constructing mental models of the entities that they encounter and the events that they either observe or form part of. According to Klopper each individual constructs such mental models of entities by associating an extensive array of attributes with that entity.

When people stereotype their own groups, or other groups, they selectively use a small number of generic group-attributes instead of the full array of individual-specific attributes at their disposal.

The challenge for a study on stereotyping, such as this one, is to identify the really significant generic attributes that are used during stereotyping, and to measure the extent to which such generic attributes are used when respondents conceptualise their own and other ethnic groups.

In the examples given below I will demonstrate how four individual respondents stereotype their own and other groups by means of such generic attributes. These four examples demonstrate that generic attributes form part of the various idealised cognitive models that individuals have of members of other groups. The four respondents were selected randomly from among 1322 respondents in the database:

Respondent 5 is an Indian female, 14 years of age and in grade 8. I will show how she stereotypically models Whites. She is not in class with Whites and does not have White friends outside of school. Her mental model of Whites contains the following generic perceptions: Whites are hardworking, Whites loudmouthed, Whites are untidy, and Whites are not honest. She has no strong views about Whites being friendly or unfriendly.

Respondent number 103 is a White male, 14 years of age and in grade 8. I will show how he stereotypically models Blacks. He is not in class with Blacks and does not have Black friends outside of school. His mental model of Blacks contains the following generic perceptions: Blacks are loudmouthed, Blacks are honest, and Blacks are not untidy. He has no strong views about Blacks being friendly, unfriendly or hardworking.

Respondent number 1163 is a Black male, 15 years of age and in grade 8. I will show how he stereotypically models Indians. He is not in class with Indians and does not have Indian friends outside of school. His mental model of Indians contains the following generic perceptions: Indians are friendly and hardworking, but not honest. Indians are not loudmouthed, not untidy and not unfriendly.

Respondent number 1015 is a Coloured female, 13 years of age and in grade 8. She is in class with Blacks, but does not have Black friends outside of school. Her mental model of Blacks contains the following generic perceptions: Blacks are not friendly, Blacks are not honest, but Blacks are hardworking. Blacks are loudmouthed and untidy, but she has no strong views about Blacks being unfriendly.

By using correlational statistical procedures in SPSS Base 9 the 1322 individual responses contained in this survey were averaged for each of the ethnic groups, after which tests of significance were applied to determine whether generic attributes for each ethnic group could be discerned. The extent to which ethnic specific mental models could be discerned is discussed in the rest of this section.

The mental models of White learners

How Whites modelled themselves

A general pattern is discerned in figure 28 about Whites. Most of the Whites showed no strong opinions about Whites being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. The second largest group of Whites fully agreed that Whites are friendly, honest, hardworking and gener-

ous showing that they favoured their own group. A small number of Whites completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

In figure 29 most of the Whites again, like with the positive attributes, showed no strong opinions about the negative attributes - loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. The second largest group of Whites completely disagreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist showing ingroup favouritism. A small percentage of the Whites fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Whites showed only a moderate tendency towards ingroup favouritism when it comes to their perception of the negative traits exhibited by their group.

This indicates that Whites do not have a singular idealised cognitive model about themselves. The predominant model is the one of reserve by Whites about the positive and the negative attributes associable with their own group themselves. Whites as a group do not show a strong tendency towards ingroup favouritism.

How Whites modelled Blacks

In figure 30 most of the Whites indicate no strong opinions about Blacks being friendly, honest, and generous and hardworking. Very few of the Whites fully agreed that Blacks are friendly, honest, generous and hardworking. A greater percentage of Whites completely disagreed about Blacks being honest, generous and hardworking indicating stereotypical value judgements about Blacks.

In figure 31 most of the Whites fully agreed that Blacks are loudmouthed and racist and indicate neutrality about Blacks being unfriendly and untidy. Very few Whites completely disagreed that Blacks are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist revealing a moderate negative stereotypical view of Blacks by Whites.

How Whites modelled Indians

In figure 32 most of the Whites reserved their view about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. They were neutral about these positive traits. More Whites fully agreed that Indians are friendly, hardworking and generous and fewer Whites see Indians as being honest.

In figure 33 most of the Whites indicated no strong opinions about Indians being loud-mouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. A small group of Whites completely disagreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Very few Whites fully agreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist.

The cognitive idealised model of Whites about Indians was one of neutrality with regard to the positive and negative traits about Indians.

How Whites modelled Coloureds

In figure 34 most of the Whites did not indicate strong opinions about Coloureds being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous, but a smaller group of Whites fully agreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous and a few Whites completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

In figure 35 most of the Whites showed high levels of neutrality about Coloureds being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Almost even numbers of Whites fully agreed and completely disagreed about Coloureds being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist.

The cognitive idealised model of Whites about Coloureds was one of neutrality with regard to the positive and negative traits about Coloureds.

The mental models of Black learners

How Blacks modelled themselves

In figure 30 most of the Blacks fully agreed that Blacks are friendly, honest, generous and hardworking, showing strong ingroup favouritism, but there was a large percentage of Blacks that completely disagreed that Blacks are hardworking.

Figure 31 clearly shows strong disagreement by Blacks about Blacks being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist, indicating strong ingroup favouritism. Few Blacks fully agreed that Blacks are loudmouthed, untidy and racist and a percentage of Blacks fully agreed that Blacks are unfriendly. Most Blacks showed strong ingroup favouritism with regard to positive and negative attributes about themselves.

How Blacks modelled Whites

In figure 28 most of the Blacks completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest and hardworking, but fully agreed that Whites are generous. A small number of Blacks fully agreed that Whites are friendly, honest and hardworking, but completely disagreed that Whites are generous. Few Blacks have neutral opinions about the positive attributes of Whites.

In figure 29 most of the Blacks fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, and untidy indicating negative stereotyping of Whites by Blacks.

The predominant model is a strong negative stereotypical view of Whites by Blacks with regard to positive and negative attributes of Whites.

How Blacks modelled Indians

In figure 32 most Blacks completely disagreed that Indians are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous indicating a strong negative stereotypical view of Indians by Blacks. A small number of Blacks fully agreed or are neutral about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

Figure 33 clearly shows that most of the Blacks fully agreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. More Blacks are neutral about Indians being loudmouthed and unfriendly and a smaller group completely disagreed that Indians are untidy and racist. The general tendency is that Blacks display a strong negative stereotypical view of Indians with regard to positive and negative attributes about Indians.

How Blacks modelled Coloureds

In figure 34 most Blacks completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, hardworking and generous indicating negative stereotyping of Coloureds by Blacks. However most Blacks fully agreed that Coloureds are honest.

In figure 35 most Blacks completely disagreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed, but fully agreed that Coloureds are unfriendly, untidy and racist showing a negative stereotypical view of Coloureds by Blacks. A small number of Blacks completely disagreed and even fewer are neutral about Coloureds being untidy and racist.

Blacks display a strong negative stereotypical view of Coloureds with regard to positive and negative attributes about Coloureds.

The mental models of Indian learners

How Indians modelled themselves

Figure 32 show the Indians fully agreed that Indians are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous indicating strong ingroup favouritism. Very few Indians are neutral or completely disagreed about Indians being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

In figure 33 Indians strongly disagreed that Indians are loudmouthed, unfriendly, and untidy and racist. Very few Indians fully agreed or were neutral about the negative traits of Indians. Indians favoured their own group with regard to positive and negative attributes about themselves.

How Indians modelled Whites

In figure 28 most of the Indians completely disagreed that Whites are honest, hardworking or generous and a smaller number of Indians fully agreed or are neutral about Whites being honest, hardworking and generous. Most of the Indians have no strong opinions about Whites being friendly. A small number of Indians completely disagreed or fully agreed that Whites are friendly.

In figure 29 most of the Indians fully agreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. There is evidence of strong negative stereotyping of Whites by Indians with regard to negative and positive attributes about Whites.

How Indians modelled Blacks

Figure 30 shows that Indians completely disagreed that Blacks are friendly, honest and generous, but fully agreed that Blacks are hardworking. Almost the same numbers of Indians fully agreed or are neutral about being friendly, honest and generous. A small number of Indians completely disagreed or are neutral about Blacks being hardworking.

Figure 31 show that most of the Indians completely disagreed that Blacks are loudmouthed and racist and fully agreed that Blacks are untidy and unfriendly. Indians stereotype Blacks negatively on certain negative and positive attributes about Blacks.

How Indians modelled Coloureds

In figure 34 most of the Indians completely disagreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous indicating a strong negative stereotypical view of Coloureds by Indians. A small group of Indians fully agreed or are neutral about Coloureds being friendly, honest, hardworking and generous.

In figure 35 most of the Indians fully agreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist again displaying a strong negative stereotypical view of Coloureds. A small number of Indians completely disagreed or are neutral about Coloureds being loudmouthed,

racist, unfriendly and untidy. Most Indians negatively stereotype Coloureds on the positive and negative attributes about Coloureds.

The mental models of Coloured learners

How Coloureds modelled themselves

In figure 34 most of the Coloureds fully agreed that Coloureds are friendly, honest, hard-working and generous indicating ingroup favouritism.

In figure 35 most of the Coloured respondents completely disagreed that Coloureds are unfriendly, untidy and racist, but fully agreed that Coloureds are loudmouthed. Coloureds favour their own group with regard to the majority of the positive and negative attributes about Coloureds.

How Coloureds modelled Whites

In figure 28 most of the Coloureds completely disagreed that Whites are generous. A small number of Coloureds fully agreed or are neutral about Whites being generous and there is almost an even number of Coloureds that fully agreed, are neutral and completely disagreed that Whites are friendly, honest and hardworking.

In figure 29 almost an equal number of the Coloureds fully agreed, are neutral and completely disagreed that Whites are loudmouthed, unfriendly, and untidy. Most of the Coloureds believe Whites are racist. Coloureds stereotype Whites on certain positive and negative attributes about Whites.

How Coloureds modelled Blacks

Figure 30 indicates that most of the Coloureds completely disagreed that Blacks are friendly, honest and generous, but fully agreed that Blacks are hardworking.

In figure 31 most of the Coloureds fully agreed that Blacks are loudmouthed, but completely disagreed that Blacks are unfriendly. Almost an equal number of Coloureds fully

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agreed, completely disagreed or are neutral about Blacks being untidy and racist. Coloureds stereotype Blacks on certain attributes about Blacks.

How Coloureds modelled Indians

In figure 32 the Coloured's responses were almost equally distributed between fully agreeing, being neutral or completely disagreeing that Indians are friendly, honest, hardworking and generous. This in effect means that Coloureds showed three distinct sub-patterns of attitudes about the extent to which the above-mentioned positive attributes apply to Indians. Figure 33 shows that almost the same numbers of Coloureds fully agreed, completely disagreed or were neutral about Indians being loudmouthed, unfriendly, untidy and racist. Some Coloureds completely disagreed that Indians are unfriendly and fully agreed that Indians are racist.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented the results of my research by means of series of graphs, which I then interpreted. The initial sets of graphs were used to establish general profiles of the respondents. They provide information about the schools that were selected the ethnic, gender, age, and grade profiles of the respondents.

Subsequent to that I used a series of graphs to provide a more detailed characterisation of the respondents in each school. A further set of graphs revealed the voluntary and involuntary association of respondents of different ethnic groups.

In the central section of this chapter I used arrays of graphs to determine the level of ingroup favouritism and outgroup stereotyping, assessment of levels of ingroup favouritism and outgroup stereotyping among White, Black, Indian and Coloured respondents.

I showed that the before-mentioned graphs strongly support the validation of the central hypothesis of this study, namely that ethnic stereotyping takes place in secondary schools in the Durban metropolitan region.

After demonstrating the results support the hypothesis, I then proceeded to show what evidence these graphs present about the cognitive models that individual respondents use to positively stereotype their own ethnic group, while at the same time negatively stereotyping other groups. In the last part of the chapter I showed that these graphs present evidence that not only individuals, but also ethnic groups as a whole positively stereotype themselves, while negatively stereotyping other groups.

The group results showed that in general Whites took neutral positions regarding both the positive and negative traits of other ethnic groups. The results also showed that Blacks showed high levels of negative stereotyping of Indians and Whites, Indians in turn mainly stereotyped Blacks negatively. Finally, Coloureds mainly stereotyped Indians and Blacks negatively.

In the next chapter I will briefly summarise the findings of this study make very brief recommendations about how to reduce negative stereotyping among learners from the various ethnic groups.

CONCLUSIONS

PREVIEW

In this study I documented the incidence of ingroup favouritism and cross-cultural stereo-typing among secondary school learners in the Durban metropolitan region. In this chapter I will present a concise summary of the outcome of my research.

FINDINGS

The results that I reported were obtained by means of an attitude survey that was conducted with the assistance of educators at thirteen secondary schools in June 1999, and quantified by means of the statistical program SPSS Base 9.

The contents of the questionnaire for the survey were based on insights that I obtained in the course of a pilot study that I conducted in the Netherlands while on a research exchange visit in 1997, followed by an exhaustive review on current literature on stereotyping, docu-mented in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Although stereotyping can be studied at the conceptual as well as the expressive level, I de-cided to limit the analysis to an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon at the conceptual level, which is in any case a precursor to the study of stereotyping pejoratives and expletives at the expressive level.

The above-mentioned literature survey revealed that at the conceptual level stereotyping is based on a process of generic categorisation, where individuals use group attributes to fa-vourably characterise members of their own ethnic group, while at the same time negatively

characterising members of other ethnic groups.

The contributions of several authors proved particularly relevant to this study. Firstly there is the work done by Maslow & Boon (as reported in Mersham & Skinner 1999:69-72) on the relationship between a perceived physical threat and high levels of ethnic identity. Stereotyping typically occurs when individuals perceive themselves and members of their ethnic groups to be threatened by the sort of large-scale social changes that followed on the introduction of the new political dispensation in 1994.

Secondly, there are the insights brought by Lakoff's 1986 analysis of how human conceptions of our external environments are based on subsets of interrelated idealised cognitive models, which according to Lakoff predispose us to overgeneralisations. This typically is what happens when positive and negative stereotypes are conceptualised.

Finally, there is the work reported in Wellman 1992 about the interrelationship of perceptions, values & beliefs and behaviour. Wellman's work implies that one can only alter pejorative behaviour by altering people's perceptions, because these inform people's conceptions and values and beliefs as subsets of their conceptual categories. Wellman namely proposes a causal chain, starting with perceptions that alter conceptions, which in turn alter intentions, which finally can lead to altered behaviour.

Thirdly, this study showed that learners from all ethnic groups reveal tendencies of ingroup favouritism and outgroup stereotyping, although different ethnic groups tended to target particular outgroups during stereotyping:

➤ Whites were neutral with regard to positive traits as well as negative traits with regard to both themselves, Indians and Coloureds, but negatively stereotype Blacks with regard to a limited number of traits.

➤ Blacks positively stereotyped themselves and negatively stereotyped Whites, Indians and Coloureds.

- ➢ Indians positively stereotyped themselves and negatively stereotyped Whites, Blacks and Coloureds.

- ➢ Coloureds positively stereotyped themselves and negatively stereotyped Whites, Blacks and Indians.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this study pertain to the incidence of ethnic stereotyping among learners in the Durban metropolitan region only. A review of current media reports and academic literature regarding stereotyping however reveal ethnic stereotyping to be a worldwide phenomenon, of being part of the conceptual framework of humans. Taking this as point of departure, one can assume — until proven wrong by empirical research — that ethnic stereotyping also manifests itself among learners elsewhere in South Africa. If this proves to be the case, learning materials should be developed and explicitly introduced as part of the study of life orientation skills in the Arts and Culture, Life Orientation and Human & Social Sciences learning areas in the foundation phase, the intermediate phase and the senior phase. Such life orientation themes should inter alia deal with, good citizenship, ethical and unethical forms of behaviour, human equality, the employment of cooperative forms of communication rather than confrontational forms.

Finally, this study has focused on ethnic stereotyping. Of equal importance are studies, yet to be done, on other forms of group stereotyping such as gender-based stereotyping, age-based stereotyping and the stereotyping of persons that are physically challenged.

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Addendum A: Preliminary Correspondence with Officials

The Regional Chief Director   8 March 1999
Durban North
KZN Department of Education and Culture
Private Bag X54323
Durban
4000

Dear Dr. Nair

Permission sought to conduct research in schools in the North Durban Region

I am a doctoral student busy with research. My study deals with ethnic stereotyping in the classroom. To test the validity of the theories I will need to conduct research in 6 secondary schools in the North Durban Region.
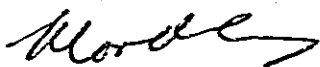
Participation of all grade 8 learners needed for the survey will be both voluntary and anonymous. Learners will be required to complete a 30 minute questionnaire on how they see their own ethnic group as well as how they see three other ethnic groups.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will be used to assist educators' deal with multicultural classes.

I need the approval in principle of your department before I can proceed to finalise arrangements for conducting the survey in the secondary schools in your region.

I am making a similar request to Mr. JJ Marais in the Durban South Region. Hoping to get a positive response from you soon.

Sincerely

Mano Moodley

	PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL		DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
	ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATAL		UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO NAMASIKO
	PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL		DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN KULTURE

DURBAN SOUTH REGION **ISIFUNDA SASENINGIZIMU NETHEKU** **DURBAN SUID STREEK**

Address : Malgate Building	Private Bag :	Private Bag X54330	Telephone : (031) 3270911
Ikheli: 72 Stanger Street	Isikhwama Seposi :	Durban	Ucingo :
Adres: Durban	Privaatsak :	4000	Telefoon :
4001			Fax : (031) 3270244
Enquiries :	Reference :		Date :
Imibuzo : **DM Moodley**	Inkomba :		Usuku **26 March 1999**
Navrae :	Verwysing :		Datum :

M/S M. Moodley
Malgate Building

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Your letter dated 8 March 1999 in respect of the above matter refers.

Kindly be informed that permission is granted for you to conduct the research subject to the following.

1.   The schools which participate in the project would do so on a voluntary basis.

2.   A copy of the questionnaire must be forwarded to this office before the research commences.

3.   Forward a list of the schools which would participate in the project.

4.   A copy of the thesis must be made available to the Department of Education.

I wish you all the success in the research you are undertaking.

Kind regards

DM MOODLEY
CHIEF EDUCATION SPECIALIST

al/letheadwp6.1/03/crs

PROVINCE OF KWAZULU-NATAL
ISIFUNDAZWE SAKWAZULU-NATAL
PROVINSIE KWAZULU-NATAL

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
UMNYANGO WEMFUNDO NAMASIKO
DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN KULTUUR
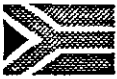
NORTH DURBAN REGION   ISIFUNDAZWE SENYAKATHO NETHEKU   NOORD DURBAN STREEK

Address:	Truro House	Private Bag:	Private Bag X54323	Telephone:	(031) 360-6911
Ikheli:	17 Victoria Embankment	Isikhwama Seposi:	Durban	Ucingo:	
Adres:	Esplanade	Privaatsak:	4000	Telefoon:	
				Fax:	(031) 337-4261
Enquiries:	Dr D W M Edley	Reference: 2/12/2/3		Date:	19 April 1999
Imibuzo:	360-6247	Inkomba:		Usuku:	
Navrae:		Verwysing:		Datum:	

Ms Mano Moodley
Subject Advisor: Afrikaans
Durban South Region

Dear Ms Moodley

PERMISSION FOR RESEARCH TO BE CONDUCTED IN SCHOOLS IN THE NORTH DURBAN REGION

1. Your letter dated 8 March 1999, in this regard, refers.

2. Permission is hereby granted for the research, as outlined in your proposal, to be conducted in schools in the North Durban Region, subject to the following conditions:

   a. You are required to negotiate access to the schools required for the study yourself;
   b. No school or educator may be compelled to take part in the study;
   c. A list of schools to be used in the study must be forwarded to this office so that Superintendent/s of Education (Management) and the District Manager/s may be informed of your study;
   d. The normal teaching and learning programmes of the selected schools may not be disrupted; and
   e. A copy of your completed study is handed to the Regional Chief Director of this Region.

3. May I take this opportunity to wish you every success in this important study.

Yours faithfully

Dr D W M Edley
Chief Superintendent of Education (Academic)
Research Co-ordinator: North Durban Region

10 MAY 1999
URGENT

The Principal

_____

Dear Sir / Madam

Permission sought to conduct a survey in your school within the next couple of weeks.

The KZN Department of Education has-granted me permission to conduct a survey of Inter cultural attitudes among the different ethnic groups. I will use the research results in a Phd. dissertation that I am doing at the University of Natal.

The participation of pupils and teachers is both voluntary and anonymous. Your school has been selected to be one of only 10 schools in the Durban region where the survey will be conducted. Time is of the essence to ensure the survey does not interfere with the June examinations. If your school is willing to participate in this important project, please notify me without delay by means of the notice at the end of this page.

Thank you for your kind assistance.

Mano Moodley
BOX 19542
DORMERTON
4015
TEL. 3270544 /2626702
FAX : 3270465 / 3270222

I hereby give permission for the Intercultural Attitude Survey to be conducted in this school.

Name of School _____

Name of Principal_____

Signature_____   Date_____

ADDENDUM B: THE ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS AND ZULU QUESTIONNAIRES

Research Project: Intercultural attitudes

Thank you for the co-operation. The information you are giving is extremely important to the promotion of intercultural attitudes. Please follow the instructions:

Instructions:

- A. Answer the questions in terms of your own beliefs and ideas.
- B. Please be honest about how you feel.
- C. All information will be confidential
- D. Answer all the questions.

Questionnaire for pupils

A.   Personal information

1.   I am a pupil at .... school.

2.   I am .... years old.

12	13	14	15

3.   I am in grade:

7	8

4.   I am a:

boy	girl

5.   I belong to the following group:

white	black	indian	coloured	other

6.   Mark the groups who are with you in class:

white	black	indian	coloured	other

7.   Mark the groups with whom you have contact outside school:

white	black	indian	coloured	other

8.   I have had friends in this/these groups at school for .... years.

9.   I have had friends in this/these groups outside of school for .... years.

10.   Which language does your teacher use most often when speaking to you?

English	Afrikaans	IsiZulu	Other

11.   How attached are you to your language group?

Not very attached   Very attached

1	2	3	4	5

B. Make a cross on the number which you think best applies. (Make only ONE cross for each example).

To what extent do **Whites** show the following characteristics?

		Agree Fully				Disagree Completely
12	friendly	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
14	stupid	1	2	3	4	5
15	clever	1	2	3	4	5
16	honest	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
18	rich	1	2	3	4	5
19	tidy/neat	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctual	1	2	3	4	5
21	religious	1	2	3	4	5
22	brave	1	2	3	4	5
23	untidy	1	2	3	4	5
24	loudmouthed	1	2	3	4	5
25	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
26	generous	1	2	3	4	5
27	irritable	1	2	3	4	5
28	physically aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
29	helpful	1	2	3	4	5
30	noisy	1	2	3	4	5
31	suspicious	1	2	3	4	5
32	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
33	racist	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfish	1	2	3	4	5
35	difficult	1	2	3	4	5
36	direct	1	2	3	4	5

B. Make a cross on the number which you think best applies. (Make only ONE cross for each example).

To what extent do **Blacks** show the following characteristics?

		Agree Fully				Disagree Completely
12	friendly	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
14	stupid	1	2	3	4	5
15	clever	1	2	3	4	5
16	honest	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
18	rich	1	2	3	4	5
19	tidy/neat	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctual	1	2	3	4	5
21	religious	1	2	3	4	5
22	brave	1	2	3	4	5
23	untidy	1	2	3	4	5
24	loudmouthed	1	2	3	4	5
25	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
26	generous	1	2	3	4	5
27	irritable	1	2	3	4	5
28	physically aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
29	helpful	1	2	3	4	5
30	noisy	1	2	3	4	5
31	suspicious	1	2	3	4	5
32	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
33	racist	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfish	1	2	3	4	5
35	difficult	1	2	3	4	5
36	direct	1	2	3	4	5

B. Make a cross on the number which you think best applies. (Make only ONE cross for each example).

To what extent do **Indians** show the following characteristics?

		Agree Fully				Disagree Completely
12	friendly	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
14	stupid	1	2	3	4	5
15	clever	1	2	3	4	5
16	honest	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
18	rich	1	2	3	4	5
19	tidy/neat	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctual	1	2	3	4	5
21	religious	1	2	3	4	5
22	brave	1	2	3	4	5
23	untidy	1	2	3	4	5
24	loudmouthed	1	2	3	4	5
25	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
26	generous	1	2	3	4	5
27	irritable	1	2	3	4	5
28	physically aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
29	helpful	1	2	3	4	5
30	noisy	1	2	3	4	5
31	suspicious	1	2	3	4	5
32	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
33	racist	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfish	1	2	3	4	5
35	difficult	1	2	3	4	5
36	direct	1	2	3	4	5

B. Make a cross on the number which you think best applies. (Make only **ONE** cross for each example).

To what extent do **Coloureds** show the following characteristics?

		Agree Fully				Disagree Completely
12	friendly	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardworking	1	2	3	4	5
14	stupid	1	2	3	4	5
15	clever	1	2	3	4	5
16	honest	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
18	rich	1	2	3	4	5
19	tidy/neat	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctual	1	2	3	4	5
21	religious	1	2	3	4	5
22	brave	1	2	3	4	5
23	untidy	1	2	3	4	5
24	loudmouthed	1	2	3	4	5
25	trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
26	generous	1	2	3	4	5
27	irritable	1	2	3	4	5
28	physically aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
29	helpful	1	2	3	4	5
30	noisy	1	2	3	4	5
31	suspicious	1	2	3	4	5
32	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5
33	racist	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfish	1	2	3	4	5
35	difficult	1	2	3	4	5
36	direct	1	2	3	4	5

Navorsingsprojek: Interkulturele houdings

Baie dankie vir die samewerking. Die inligting wat u gee is baie belangrik om interkulturele houdings te probeer verbeter. Volg asseblief die volgende instruksies:

Instruksies:

- A. Vul asseblief die volgende vraelys in volgens jou eie menings en gedagtes.
- B. Dui asseblief hoe u regtig hieroor voel.
- C. Die inligting wat u verskaf sal vertroulik wees.
- D. Beantwoord alle vrae.

Vraelys vir leerders

A. Persoonlike inligting

1. Ek is 'n leerling by .... skool.

2. Ek is .... jaar oud.

12	13	14	15

3. Ek is in graad:

7	8

4. Ek is 'n:

seun	dogter

5. Ek behoort aan hierdie groep:

blanke	swarte	indiër	kleurling	ander

6. Noem die groepe wat saam met jou in die klas is:

blanke	swarte	indiër	kleurling	ander

7. Noem die groepe met wie jy het kontak (vriende) buite die skool:

blanke	swarte	indiër	kleurling	ander

8. Ek het vriende van diè groepe op skool vir .... jaar.

9. Ek het vriende van diè groepe buite skool .... jaar.

10. In watter taal praat jou onderwyser die meeste met jou?

Engels	Afrikaans	IsiZulu	Ander

11. Hoe geheg is jy aan jou eie taalgroep?

Nie baie geheg nie   Baie geheg

1	2	3	4	5

B. Maak 'n kruisie by die nommer wat jy dink die beste pas. Onthou jy moet net EEN kruisie maak.

In watter mate vertoon **BLANKES** die volgende kenmerke?

		Stem ten Volle saam			Stem glad nie saam nie	
12	vriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardwerkend	1	2	3	4	5
14	dom	1	2	3	4	5
15	slim	1	2	3	4	5
16	eerlik	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressief	1	2	3	4	5
18	ryk	1	2	3	4	5
19	netjies	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctueel	1	2	3	4	5
21	godsdienstig	1	2	3	4	5
22	dapper	1	2	3	4	5
23	slordig	1	2	3	4	5
24	praat te hard	1	2	3	4	5
25	betroubaar	1	2	3	4	5
26	vrygewig	1	2	3	4	5
27	altyd kwaad	1	2	3	4	5
28	hou daarvan om te baklei	1	2	3	4	5
29	wil mense help	1	2	3	4	5
30	maak geraas	1	2	3	4	5
31	agterdogtig	1	2	3	4	5
32	onvriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
33	rassisties	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfsugtig	1	2	3	4	5
35	moeilik	1	2	3	4	5
36	direk	1	2	3	4	5

B. Maak 'n kruisie by die nommer wat jy dink die beste pas. Onthou jy moet net **EEN** kruisie maak.

In watter mate vertoon **SWARTES** die volgende kenmerke?

		Stem ten Volle saam				Stem glad nie saam nie
12	vriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardwerkend	1	2	3	4	5
14	dom	1	2	3	4	5
15	slim	1	2	3	4	5
16	eerlik	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressief	1	2	3	4	5
18	ryk	1	2	3	4	5
19	netjies	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctueel	1	2	3	4	5
21	godsdienstig	1	2	3	4	5
22	dapper	1	2	3	4	5
23	slordig	1	2	3	4	5
24	praat te hard	1	2	3	4	5
25	betroubaar	I	2	3	4	5
26	vrygewig	1	2	3	4	5
27	altyd kwaad	1	2	3	4	5
28	hou daarvan om te baklei	1	2	3	4	5
29	wil mense help	1	2	3	4	5
30	maak geraas	1	2	3	4	5
31	agterdogtig	1	2	3	4	5
32	onvriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
33	rassisties	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfsugtig	1	2	3	4	5
35	moeilik	1	2	3	4	5
36	direk	1	2	3	4	5

B. Maak 'n kruisie by die nommer wat jy dink die beste pas. Onthou jy moet net EEN kruisie maak.

In watter mate vertoon INDIëRS die volgende kenmerke?

		Stem ten Volle saam			Stem glad nie saam nie	
12	vriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardwerkend	1	2	3	4	5
14	dom	1	2	3	4	5
15	slim	1	2	3	4	5
16	eerlik	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressief	1	2	3	4	5
18	ryk	1	2	3	4	5
19	netjies	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctueel	1	2	3	4	5
21	godsdienstig	1	2	3	4	5
22	dapper	1	2	3	4	5
23	slordig	1	2	3	4	5
24	praat te hard	1	2	3	4	5
25	betroubaar	1	2	3	4	5
26	vrygewig	1	2	3	4	5
27	altyd kwaad	1	2	3	4	5
28	hou daarvan om te baklei	1	2	3	4	5
29	wil mense help	1	2	3	4	5
30	maak geraas	1	2	3	4	5
31	agterdogtig	1	2	3	4	5
32	onvriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
33	rassisties	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfsugtig	1	2	3	4	5
35	moeilik	1	2	3	4	5
36	direk	1	2	3	4	5

B. Maak 'n kruisie by die nommer wat jy dink die beste pas. Onthou jy moet net **EEN** kruisie maak.

In watter mate vertoon **KLEURLINGE** die volgende kenmerke?

		Stem ten Volle saam				Stem glad nie saam nie
12	vriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
13	hardwerkend	1	2	3	4	5
14	dom	1	2	3	4	5
15	slim	1	2	3	4	5
16	eerlik	1	2	3	4	5
17	aggressief	1	2	3	4	5
18	ryk	1	2	3	4	5
19	netjies	1	2	3	4	5
20	punctueel	1	2	3	4	5
21	godsdienstig	1	2	3	4	5
22	dapper	1	2	3	4	5
23	slordig	1	2	3	4	5
24	praat te hard	1	2	3	4	5
25	betroubaar	1	2	3	4	5
26	vrygewig	1	2	3	4	5
27	altyd kwaad	1	2	3	4	5
28	hou daarvan om te baklei	1	2	3	4	5
29	wil mense help	1	2	3	4	5
30	maak geraas	1	2	3	4	5
31	agterdogtig	1	2	3	4	5
32	onvriendelik	1	2	3	4	5
33	rassisties	1	2	3	4	5
34	selfsugtig	1	2	3	4	5
35	moeilik	1	2	3	4	5
36	direk	1	2	3	4	5

Ucwaningo: Indlela esibukana ngayo siyizizwe ezahlukene

Ngibonga kakhulu ukubambisana kwakho nami. Ulwazi onginikeza lona lubaluleke kakhulu ekuzameni ukwenza ngcono indlela esibukana ngayo siyizizwe ezahlukene. Ngicela ulandele lemithetho elandelayo:

Imithetho:

- A. Ngicela uphendule lemibuzo ngendlela obona nocabanga ngayo.
- B. Ngicela kube umbono wakho ngempela.
- C. Ulwazi olinikezayo luzoba yimfihlo.
- D. Phendula yonke imibuzo.

Imibuzo eqondene nabafundi

A. Imininingwane ephathelene nawe

1. Ngingumfundi wesikole: ....

2. Ngineminyaka .... ubudala.

| 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 |

3. Ngifunda ibanga:

| 7 | 8 |

4. Ngingu/Ngiyi:

| umfana | intombazane |

5. Ngiseqenyini elilandelayo:

| ngimhlope | umuntu omnyama | khaladi | indiya | okunye |

6. Shono izinhlobo zabantu onazo:

| ngimhlope | umuntu omnyama | khaladi | indiya | okunye |

7. Shono izinhlobo zabantu oxhumana nazo uma ungekho esikoleni:

| ngimhlope | umuntu omnyama | khaladi | indiya | okunye |

8. Sengibe nabangane kuleli/kulawa maqembu asesikoleni iminyaka engu ....

9. Sengibe nabangane kuleli/kulawa maqembu ngaphandle kwasesikole iminyaka engu ....

10. Yiluphi ulimi olusetshenziswa nguthisha wakho njalo uma ekhuluma nawe?

| Isingisi | Isibhunu | IsiZulu | Ezinye |

11. Usondelene kangakanani neqembu elikhuluma ulimi lwakho?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

B. Bhala isiphambono esizodwa ocabanga vokuleyo naleyo mpendulo esikhonko sini.

Abantu abamhlophe akukhombisa kanjani lokhu okulandelayo.

		Ngivuma Ngokugcwele				Angivumi
12	ubungane	1	2	3	4	5
13	ukukhuthala	1	2	3	4	5
14	ubuphukuphuku	1	2	3	4	5
15	ukuhlakanipha	1	2	3	4	5
16	ukwethembeka	1	2	3	4	5
17	inhliziyo encane	1	2	3	4	5
18	ukuceba	1	2	3	4	5
19	ubunono	1	2	3	4	5
20	ukugcina isikhathi	1	2	3	4	5
21	ukukholwa	1	2	3	4	5
22	isibindi	1	2	3	4	5
23	ubunuku	1	2	3	4	5
24	ukukhulumela futhi	1	2	3	4	5
25	ubuqotho	1	2	3	4	5
26	ukuphana	1	2	3	4	5
27	ukuthukuthela njalo	1	2	3	4	5
28	ukuba nguphumasilwe	1	2	3	4	5
29	ukuthanda ukusiza	1	2	3	4	5
30	ukubanga umsindo	1	2	3	4	5
31	ukungethembi abanye	1	2	3	4	5
32	ubutha	1	2	3	4	5
33	ubuhlanga	1	2	3	4	5
34	ukuba ugimbela kwesakhe	1	2	3	4	5
35	ukuba nguntamo lukhuni	1	2	3	4	5
36	ukungananazi	1	2	3	4	5

B. Bhala isiphambono esizodwa ocabanga vokuleyo naleyo mpendulo esikhonko sini.

Abantu abamnyama akukhombisa kanjani lokhu okulandelayo.

		Ngivuma Ngokugcwele				Angivumi
12	ubungane	1	2	3	4	5
13	ukukhuthala	1	2	3	4	5
14	ubuphukuphuku	1	2	3	4	5
15	ukuhlakanipha	1	2	3	4	5
16	ukwethembeka	1	2	3	4	5
17	inhliziyo encane	1	2	3	4	5
18	ukuceba	1	2	3	4	5
19	ubunono	1	2	3	4	5
20	ukugcina isikhathi	1	2	3	4	5
21	ukukholwa	1	2	3	4	5
22	isibindi	1	2	3	4	5
23	ubunuku	1	2	3	4	5
24	ukukhulumela futhi	1	2	3	4	5
25	ubuqotho	1	2	3	4	5
26	ukuphana	1	2	3	4	5
27	ukuthukuthela njalo	1	2	3	4	5
28	ukuba nguphumasilwe	1	2	3	4	5
29	ukuthanda ukusiza	1	2	3	4	5
30	ukubanga umsindo	1	2	3	4	5
31	ukungethembi abanye	1	2.	3	4	5
32	ubutha	1	2	3	4	5
33	ubuhlanga	1	2	3	4	5
34	ukuba ugimbela kwesakhe	1	2	3	4	5
35	ukuba nguntamo lukhuni	1	2	3	4	5
36	ukungananazi	1	2	3	4	5

B. Bhala isiphambono esizodwa ocabanga vokuleyo naleyo mpendulo esikhonko sini.

Abantu amandiya akukhombisa kanjani lokhu okulandelayo.

		Ngivuma Ngokugcwele				Angivumi
12	ubungane	1	2	3	4	5
13	ukukhuthala	1	2	3	4	5
14	ubuphukuphuku	1	2	3	4	5
15	ukuhlakanipha	1	2	3	4	5
16	ukwethembeka	1	2	3	4	5
17	inhliziyo encane	1	2	3	4	5
18	ukuceba	1	2	3	4	5
19	ubunono	1	2	3	4	5
20	ukugcina isikhathi	1	2	3	4	5
21	ukukholwa	1	2	3	4	5
22	isibindi	1	2	3	4	5
23	ubunuku	1	2	3	4	5
24	ukukhulumela futhi	1	2	3	4	5
25	ubuqotho	1	2	3	4	5
26	ukuphana	1	2	3	4	5
27	ukuthukuthela njalo	1	2	3	4	5
28	ukuba nguphumasilwe	1	2	3	4	5
29	ukuthanda ukusiza	1	2	3	4	5
30	ukubanga umsindo	1	2	3	4	5
31	ukungethembi abanye	1	2	3	4	5
32	ubutha	1	2	3	4	5
33	ubuhlanga	1	2	3	4	5
34	ukuba ugimbela kwesakhe	1	2	3	4	5
35	ukuba nguntamo lukhuni	1	2	3	4	5
36	ukungananazi	1	2	3	4	5

B. Bhala isiphambono esizodwa ocabanga vokuleyo naleyo mpendulo esikhonko sini.

Abantu amakhalidi akukhombisa kanjani lokhu okulandelayo.

		Ngivuma Ngokugcwele				Angivumi
12	ubungane	1	2	3	4	5
13	ukukhuthala	1	2	3	4	5
14	ubuphukuphuku	1	2	3	4	5
15	ukuhlakanipha	1	2	3	4	5
16	ukwethembeka	1	2	3	4	5
17	inhliziyo encane	1	2	3	4	5
18	ukuceba	1	2	3	4	5
19	ubunono	1	2	3	4	5
20	ukugcina isikhathi	1	2	3	4	5
21	ukukholwa	1	2	3	4	5
22	isibindi	1	2	3	4	5
23	ubunuku	1	2	3	4	5
24	ukukhulumela futhi	1	2	3	4	5
25	ubuqotho	1	2	3	4	5
26	ukuphana	1	2	3	4	5
27	ukuthukuthela njalo	1	2	3	4	5
28	ukuba nguphumasilwe	1	2	3	4	5
29	ukuthanda ukusiza	1	2	3	4	5
30	ukubanga umsindo	1	2	3	4	5
31	ukungethembi abanye	1	2	3	4	5
32	ubutha	1	2	3	4	5
33	ubuhlanga	1	2	3	4	5
34	ukuba ugimbela kwesakhe	1	2	3	4	5
35	ukuba nguntamo lukhuni	1	2	3	4	5
36	ukungananazi	1	2	3	4	5

ADDENDUM C: TABLES AND GRAPHS

Gender to which respondent belonged	Boy	Count	636
		Table %	48.1%
	Girl	Count	680
		Table %	51.4%
	No response	Count	5
		Table %	.4%
	Spoilt response	Count	1
		Table %	.1%
Age between 12 and 16 years or older of the respondent	12 years old	Count	52
		Table %	3.9%
	13 years old	Count	513
		Table %	38.8%
	14 years old	Count	504
		Table %	38.1%
	15 years old	Count	195
		Table %	14.8%
	16 years and older	Count	21
		Table %	1.6%
	No response	Count	6
		Table %	.5%
	Spoilt response	Count	31
		Table %	2.3%
Grade	Grade 7	Count	8
		Table %	.6%
	Grade 8	Count	1304
		Table %	98.6%
	No response	Count	8
		Table %	.6%
	Spoilt response	Count	2
		Table %	.2%
Ethnic group to which respondent belonged	White	Count	403
		Table %	30.6%
	Black	Count	551
		Table %	41.8%
	Indian	Count	181
		Table %	13.7%
	Coloured	Count	161
		Table %	12.2%
	No response	Count	7
		Table %	.5%
	Spoilt response	Count	16
		Table %	1.2%
School	1: B, I & C Eng Co-ed	Count	96
		Table %	7.3%
	2: W Afr Co-ed	Count	102
		Table %	7.7%
	3: C, B & I Eng Co-ed	Count	126
		Table %	9.5%
	4: B Eng Co-ed	Count	145
		Table %	11.0%
	5: W, B & I Eng Co-ed	Count	147
		Table %	11.1%
	6: W, B & I Eng Fem	Count	72
		Table %	5.4%
	7: W Afr Co-ed	Count	61
		Table %	4.6%
	8: I, B & C Eng Co-ed	Count	100
		Table %	7.6%
	9: B & C Eng Co-ed	Count	98
		Table %	7.4%
	10: C & B Eng Co-ed	Count	99
		Table %	7.5%
	11: W Afr Co-ed	Count	104
		Table %	7.9%
	12: B Eng Co-ed	Count	118
		Table %	8.9%
	13: B Eng Co-ed	Count	54
		Table %	4.1%

Figure 13: Profile of respondents at a glance

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Whites[b]

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.391	165.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.609	165.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.642	165.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.642	165.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
W12 Whites are friendly	Pillai's Trace	.013	3.501[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Wilks' Lambda	.987	3.501[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Hotelling's Trace	.014	3.501[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Roy's Largest Root	.014	3.501[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
W13 Whites are hardworking	Pillai's Trace	.044	11.902[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.956	11.902[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.046	11.902[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.046	11.902[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
W14 Whites are stupid	Pillai's Trace	.002	.552[a]	5.000	1289.000	.737
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.552[a]	5.000	1289.000	.737
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.552[a]	5.000	1289.000	.737
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.552[a]	5.000	1289.000	.737
W15 Whites are clever	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
W16 Whites are honest	Pillai's Trace	.018	4.677[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	4.677[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	4.677[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.018	4.677[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
W17 Whites are aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.003	.869[a]	5.000	1289.000	.501
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.869[a]	5.000	1289.000	.501
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.869[a]	5.000	1289.000	.501
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.869[a]	5.000	1289.000	.501
W18 Whites are rich	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.673[a]	5.000	1289.000	.138
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.673[a]	5.000	1289.000	.138
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.673[a]	5.000	1289.000	.138
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.673[a]	5.000	1289.000	.138
W19 Whites are tidy / neat	Pillai's Trace	.004	.973[a]	5.000	1289.000	.433
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.973[a]	5.000	1289.000	.433
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.973[a]	5.000	1289.000	.433
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.973[a]	5.000	1289.000	.433
W20 Whites are punctual	Pillai's Trace	.003	.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.507
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.507
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.507
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.507
W21 Whites are religious	Pillai's Trace	.011	2.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.018
	Wilks' Lambda	.989	2.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.018
	Hotelling's Trace	.011	2.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.018
	Roy's Largest Root	.011	2.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.018

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Whites

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
W22 Whites are brave	Pillai's Trace	.008	1.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.078
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	1.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.078
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	1.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.078
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	1.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.078
W23 Whites are untidy	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.181
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.181
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.181
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.520[a]	5.000	1289.000	.181
W24 Whites are loudmouthed	Pillai's Trace	.019	5.070[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.981	5.070[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.020	5.070[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.020	5.070[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
W25 Whites are trustworthy	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.610[a]	5.000	1289.000	.154
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.610[a]	5.000	1289.000	.154
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.610[a]	5.000	1289.000	.154
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.610[a]	5.000	1289.000	.154
W26 Whites are generous	Pillai's Trace	.011	2.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Wilks' Lambda	.989	2.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Hotelling's Trace	.012	2.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Roy's Largest Root	.012	2.988[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
W27 Whites are irritable	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.106[a]	5.000	1289.000	.062
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.106[a]	5.000	1289.000	.062
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.106[a]	5.000	1289.000	.062
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.106[a]	5.000	1289.000	.062
W28 Whites are physically aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.098
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.098
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.098
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.860[a]	5.000	1289.000	.098
W29 Whites are helpful	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.438[a]	5.000	1289.000	.208
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.438[a]	5.000	1289.000	.208
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.438[a]	5.000	1289.000	.208
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.438[a]	5.000	1289.000	.208
W30 Whites are noisy	Pillai's Trace	.002	.527[a]	5.000	1289.000	.756
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.527[a]	5.000	1289.000	.756
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.527[a]	5.000	1289.000	.756
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.527[a]	5.000	1289.000	.756
W31 Whites are suspicious	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.433[a]	5.000	1289.000	.209
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.433[a]	5.000	1289.000	.209
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.433[a]	5.000	1289.000	.209
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.433[a]	5.000	1289.000	.209
W32 Whites are unfriendly	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.207[a]	5.000	1289.000	.051
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.207[a]	5.000	1289.000	.051
	Hotelling's Trace	.009	2.207[a]	5.000	1289.000	.051
	Roy's Largest Root	.009	2.207[a]	5.000	1289.000	.051

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Whites[b]

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
W33 Whites are racist	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.629[a]	5.000	1289.000	.149
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.629[a]	5.000	1289.000	.149
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.629[a]	5.000	1289.000	.149
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.629[a]	5.000	1289.000	.149
W34 Whites are selfish	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.090
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.090
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.090
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.090
W35 Whites are difficult	Pillai's Trace	.003	.817[a]	5.000	1289.000	.537
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.817[a]	5.000	1289.000	.537
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.817[a]	5.000	1289.000	.537
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.817[a]	5.000	1289.000	.537
W36 Whites are direct	Pillai's Trace	.008	1.992[a]	5.000	1289.000	.077
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	1.992[a]	5.000	1289.000	.077
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	1.992[a]	5.000	1289.000	.077
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	1.992[a]	5.000	1289.000	.077

a. Exact statistic

b. Design:
Intercept+W12+W13+W14+W15+W16+W17+W18+W19+W20+W21+W22+W23+W24+W25+W26+W27+W28+W29+W30+W31+W32+W33+W34+W35+W36

General Linear Model

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Blacks[b]

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.525	284.660[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.475	284.660[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	1.107	284.660[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	1.107	284.660[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
B12 Blacks are friendly	Pillai's Trace	.018	4.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	4.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	4.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.018	4.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
B13 Blacks are hardworking	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.712[a]	5.000	1286.000	.129
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.712[a]	5.000	1286.000	.129
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.712[a]	5.000	1286.000	.129
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.712[a]	5.000	1286.000	.129
B14 Blacks are stupid	Pillai's Trace	.003	.866[a]	5.000	1286.000	.503
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.866[a]	5.000	1286.000	.503
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.866[a]	5.000	1286.000	.503
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.866[a]	5.000	1286.000	.503
B15 Blacks are clever	Pillai's Trace	.015	3.976[a]	5.000	1286.000	.001
	Wilks' Lambda	.985	3.976[a]	5.000	1286.000	.001
	Hotelling's Trace	.015	3.976[a]	5.000	1286.000	.001
	Roy's Largest Root	.015	3.976[a]	5.000	1286.000	.001
B16 Blacks are honest	Pillai's Trace	.003	.800[a]	5.000	1286.000	.550
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.800[a]	5.000	1286.000	.550
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.800[a]	5.000	1286.000	.550
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.800[a]	5.000	1286.000	.550
B17 Blacks are aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.000	.087[a]	5.000	1286.000	.994
	Wilks' Lambda	1.000	.087[a]	5.000	1286.000	.994
	Hotelling's Trace	.000	.087[a]	5.000	1286.000	.994
	Roy's Largest Root	.000	.087[a]	5.000	1286.000	.994
B18 Blacks are rich	Pillai's Trace	.004	.913[a]	5.000	1286.000	.472
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.913[a]	5.000	1286.000	.472
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.913[a]	5.000	1286.000	.472
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.913[a]	5.000	1286.000	.472
B19 Blacks are tidy / neat	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.773[a]	5.000	1286.000	.115
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.773[a]	5.000	1286.000	.115
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.773[a]	5.000	1286.000	.115
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.773[a]	5.000	1286.000	.115
B20 Blacks are punctual	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.914[a]	5.000	1286.000	.089
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.914[a]	5.000	1286.000	.089
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.914[a]	5.000	1286.000	.089
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.914[a]	5.000	1286.000	.089
B21 Blacks are religious	Pillai's Trace	.002	.476[a]	5.000	1286.000	.795
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.476[a]	5.000	1286.000	.795
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.476[a]	5.000	1286.000	.795
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.476[a]	5.000	1286.000	.795

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Blacks

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
B22 Blacks are brave	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.019
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.019
	Hotelling's Trace	.011	2.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.019
	Roy's Largest Root	.011	2.721[a]	5.000	1286.000	.019
B23 Blacks are untidy	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.728[a]	5.000	1286.000	.125
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.728[a]	5.000	1286.000	.125
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.728[a]	5.000	1286.000	.125
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.728[a]	5.000	1286.000	.125
B24 Blacks are loudmouthed	Pillai's Trace	.019	5.070[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.981	5.070[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.020	5.070[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.020	5.070[a]	5.000	1286.000	.000
B25 Blacks are trustworthy	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.113[a]	5.000	1286.000	.061
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.113[a]	5.000	1286.000	.061
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.113[a]	5.000	1286.000	.061
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.113[a]	5.000	1286.000	.061
B26 Blacks are generous	Pillai's Trace	.014	3.711[a]	5.000	1286.000	.002
	Wilks' Lambda	.986	3.711[a]	5.000	1286.000	.002
	Hotelling's Trace	.014	3.711[a]	5.000	1286.000	.002
	Roy's Largest Root	.014	3.711[a]	5.000	1286.000	.002
B27 Blacks are irritable	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.759[a]	5.000	1286.000	.118
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.759[a]	5.000	1286.000	.118
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.759[a]	5.000	1286.000	.118
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.759[a]	5.000	1286.000	.118
B28 Blacks are physically aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.002	.473[a]	5.000	1286.000	.796
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.473[a]	5.000	1286.000	.796
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.473[a]	5.000	1286.000	.796
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.473[a]	5.000	1286.000	.796
B29 Blacks are helpful	Pillai's Trace	.005	1.182[a]	5.000	1286.000	.316
	Wilks' Lambda	.995	1.182[a]	5.000	1286.000	.316
	Hotelling's Trace	.005	1.182[a]	5.000	1286.000	.316
	Roy's Largest Root	.005	1.182[a]	5.000	1286.000	.316
B30 Blacks are noisy	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.669[a]	5.000	1286.000	.139
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.669[a]	5.000	1286.000	.139
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.669[a]	5.000	1286.000	.139
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.669[a]	5.000	1286.000	.139
B31 Blacks are suspicious	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.940[a]	5.000	1286.000	.085
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.940[a]	5.000	1286.000	.085
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	1.940[a]	5.000	1286.000	.085
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	1.940[a]	5.000	1286.000	.085
B32 Blacks are unfriendly	Pillai's Trace	.003	.836[a]	5.000	1286.000	.524
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.836[a]	5.000	1286.000	.524
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.836[a]	5.000	1286.000	.524
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.836[a]	5.000	1286.000	.524

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Blacks

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
B33 Blacks are racist	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.595[a]	5.000	1286.000	.024
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.595[a]	5.000	1286.000	.024
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.595[a]	5.000	1286.000	.024
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.595[a]	5.000	1286.000	.024
B34 Blacks are selfish	Pillai's Trace	.004	.989[a]	5.000	1286.000	.423
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.989[a]	5.000	1286.000	.423
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.989[a]	5.000	1286.000	.423
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.989[a]	5.000	1286.000	.423
B35 Blacks are difficult	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.678[a]	5.000	1286.000	.137
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.678[a]	5.000	1286.000	.137
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.678[a]	5.000	1286.000	.137
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.678[a]	5.000	1286.000	.137
B36 Blacks are direct	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.480[a]	5.000	1286.000	.030
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.480[a]	5.000	1286.000	.030
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.480[a]	5.000	1286.000	.030
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.480[a]	5.000	1286.000	.030

a. Exact statistic

b. Design:
Intercept+B12+B13+B14+B15+B16+B17+B18+B19+B20+B21+B22+B23+B24+B25+B26+B27+B28+B29+B30+B31+B32+B33+B34+B35+B36

General Linear Model

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Indians[b]

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.517	276.447[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.483	276.447[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	1.072	276.447[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	1.072	276.447[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
I12 Indians are friendly	Pillai's Trace	.003	.710[a]	5.000	1289.000	.616
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.710[a]	5.000	1289.000	.616
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.710[a]	5.000	1289.000	.616
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.710[a]	5.000	1289.000	.616
I13 Indians are hardworking	Pillai's Trace	.018	4.778[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	4.778[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.019	4.778[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.019	4.778[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
I14 Indians are stupid	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.505[a]	5.000	1289.000	.029
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.505[a]	5.000	1289.000	.029
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.505[a]	5.000	1289.000	.029
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.505[a]	5.000	1289.000	.029
I15 Indians are clever	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.367
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.367
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.367
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.367
I16 Indians are honest	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.035[a]	5.000	1289.000	.395
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.035[a]	5.000	1289.000	.395
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.035[a]	5.000	1289.000	.395
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.035[a]	5.000	1289.000	.395
I17 Indians are aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.003	.873[a]	5.000	1289.000	.498
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.873[a]	5.000	1289.000	.498
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.873[a]	5.000	1289.000	.498
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.873[a]	5.000	1289.000	.498
I18 Indians are rich	Pillai's Trace	.001	.189[a]	5.000	1289.000	.967
	Wilks' Lambda	.999	.189[a]	5.000	1289.000	.967
	Hotelling's Trace	.001	.189[a]	5.000	1289.000	.967
	Roy's Largest Root	.001	.189[a]	5.000	1289.000	.967
I19 Indians are tidy / neat	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.711[a]	5.000	1289.000	.129
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.711[a]	5.000	1289.000	.129
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.711[a]	5.000	1289.000	.129
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.711[a]	5.000	1289.000	.129
I20 Indians are punctual	Pillai's Trace	.002	.546[a]	5.000	1289.000	.741
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.546[a]	5.000	1289.000	.741
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.546[a]	5.000	1289.000	.741
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.546[a]	5.000	1289.000	.741
I21 Indians are religious	Pillai's Trace	.002	.578[a]	5.000	1289.000	.717
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.578[a]	5.000	1289.000	.717
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.578[a]	5.000	1289.000	.717
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.578[a]	5.000	1289.000	.717

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Indians

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
I22 Indians are brave	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.062[a]	5.000	1289.000	.068
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.062[a]	5.000	1289.000	.068
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.062[a]	5.000	1289.000	.068
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.062[a]	5.000	1289.000	.068
I23 Indians are untidy	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.145[a]	5.000	1289.000	.335
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.145[a]	5.000	1289.000	.335
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.145[a]	5.000	1289.000	.335
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.145[a]	5.000	1289.000	.335
I24 Indians are loudmouthed	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.547[a]	5.000	1289.000	.172
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.547[a]	5.000	1289.000	.172
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.547[a]	5.000	1289.000	.172
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.547[a]	5.000	1289.000	.172
I25 Indians are trustworthy	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.109[a]	5.000	1289.000	.354
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.109[a]	5.000	1289.000	.354
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.109[a]	5.000	1289.000	.354
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.109[a]	5.000	1289.000	.354
I26 Indians are generous	Pillai's Trace	.003	.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.626
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.626
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.626
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.626
I27 Indians are irritable	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.103[a]	5.000	1289.000	.357
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.103[a]	5.000	1289.000	.357
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.103[a]	5.000	1289.000	.357
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.103[a]	5.000	1289.000	.357
I28 Indians are physically aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.001	.353[a]	5.000	1289.000	.880
	Wilks' Lambda	.999	.353[a]	5.000	1289.000	.880
	Hotelling's Trace	.001	.353[a]	5.000	1289.000	.880
	Roy's Largest Root	.001	.353[a]	5.000	1289.000	.880
I29 Indians are helpful	Pillai's Trace	.002	.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.834
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.834
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.834
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.834
I30 Indians are noisy	Pillai's Trace	.013	3.424[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Wilks' Lambda	.987	3.424[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Hotelling's Trace	.013	3.424[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
	Roy's Largest Root	.013	3.424[a]	5.000	1289.000	.004
I31 Indians are suspicious	Pillai's Trace	.002	.439[a]	5.000	1289.000	.822
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.439[a]	5.000	1289.000	.822
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.439[a]	5.000	1289.000	.822
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.439[a]	5.000	1289.000	.822
I32 Indians are unfriendly	Pillai's Trace	.003	.713[a]	5.000	1289.000	.614
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.713[a]	5.000	1289.000	.614
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.713[a]	5.000	1289.000	.614
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.713[a]	5.000	1289.000	.614

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Indians

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
I33 Indians are racist	Pillai's Trace	.003	.803[a]	5.000	1289.000	.547
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.803[a]	5.000	1289.000	.547
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.803[a]	5.000	1289.000	.547
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.803[a]	5.000	1289.000	.547
I34 Indians are selfish	Pillai's Trace	.003	.674[a]	5.000	1289.000	.643
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.674[a]	5.000	1289.000	.643
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.674[a]	5.000	1289.000	.643
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.674[a]	5.000	1289.000	.643
I35 Indians are difficult	Pillai's Trace	.003	.750[a]	5.000	1289.000	.586
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.750[a]	5.000	1289.000	.586
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.750[a]	5.000	1289.000	.586
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.750[a]	5.000	1289.000	.586
I36 Indians are direct	Pillai's Trace	.004	.990[a]	5.000	1289.000	.422
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.990[a]	5.000	1289.000	.422
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.990[a]	5.000	1289.000	.422
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.990[a]	5.000	1289.000	.422

a. Exact statistic

b. Design:
Intercept+I12+I13+I14+I15+I16+I17+I18+I19+I20+I21+I22+I23+I24+I25+I26+I27+I28+I29+I30+I31+I32+I33+I34+I35+I36

General Linear Model

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Coloureds

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.680	548.235[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.320	548.235[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	2.127	548.235[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	2.127	548.235[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
C12 Coloureds are friendly	Pillai's Trace	.007	1.732[a]	5.000	1289.000	.124
	Wilks' Lambda	.993	1.732[a]	5.000	1289.000	.124
	Hotelling's Trace	.007	1.732[a]	5.000	1289.000	.124
	Roy's Largest Root	.007	1.732[a]	5.000	1289.000	.124
C13 Coloureds are hardworking	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.591[a]	5.000	1289.000	.024
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.591[a]	5.000	1289.000	.024
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.591[a]	5.000	1289.000	.024
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.591[a]	5.000	1289.000	.024
C14 Coloureds are stupid	Pillai's Trace	.003	.708[a]	5.000	1289.000	.618
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.708[a]	5.000	1289.000	.618
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.708[a]	5.000	1289.000	.618
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.708[a]	5.000	1289.000	.618
C15 Coloureds are clever	Pillai's Trace	.005	1.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.214
	Wilks' Lambda	.995	1.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.214
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.214
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.422[a]	5.000	1289.000	.214
C16 Coloureds are honest	Pillai's Trace	.009	2.449[a]	5.000	1289.000	.032
	Wilks' Lambda	.991	2.449[a]	5.000	1289.000	.032
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.449[a]	5.000	1289.000	.032
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.449[a]	5.000	1289.000	.032
C17 Coloureds are aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.005	1.287[a]	5.000	1289.000	.267
	Wilks' Lambda	.995	1.287[a]	5.000	1289.000	.267
	Hotelling's Trace	.005	1.287[a]	5.000	1289.000	.267
	Roy's Largest Root	.005	1.287[a]	5.000	1289.000	.267
C18 Coloureds are rich	Pillai's Trace	.011	2.836[a]	5.000	1289.000	.015
	Wilks' Lambda	.989	2.836[a]	5.000	1289.000	.015
	Hotelling's Trace	.011	2.836[a]	5.000	1289.000	.015
	Roy's Largest Root	.011	2.836[a]	5.000	1289.000	.015
C19 Coloureds are tidy / neat	Pillai's Trace	.002	.440[a]	5.000	1289.000	.821
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.440[a]	5.000	1289.000	.821
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.440[a]	5.000	1289.000	.821
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.440[a]	5.000	1289.000	.821
C20 Coloureds are punctual	Pillai's Trace	.009	2.281[a]	5.000	1289.000	.045
	Wilks' Lambda	.991	2.281[a]	5.000	1289.000	.045
	Hotelling's Trace	.009	2.281[a]	5.000	1289.000	.045
	Roy's Largest Root	.009	2.281[a]	5.000	1289.000	.045
C21 Coloureds are religious	Pillai's Trace	.004	.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.473
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.473
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.473
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.911[a]	5.000	1289.000	.473

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Coloureds

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
C22 Coloureds are brave	Pillai's Trace	.018	4.680[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	4.680[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	4.680[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.018	4.680[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
C23 Coloureds are untidy	Pillai's Trace	.020	5.215[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.980	5.215[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.020	5.215[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.020	5.215[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
C24 Coloureds are loudmouthed	Pillai's Trace	.010	2.563[a]	5.000	1289.000	.026
	Wilks' Lambda	.990	2.563[a]	5.000	1289.000	.026
	Hotelling's Trace	.010	2.563[a]	5.000	1289.000	.026
	Roy's Largest Root	.010	2.563[a]	5.000	1289.000	.026
C25 Coloureds are trustworthy	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.021[a]	5.000	1289.000	.404
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.021[a]	5.000	1289.000	.404
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.021[a]	5.000	1289.000	.404
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.021[a]	5.000	1289.000	.404
C26 Coloureds are generous	Pillai's Trace	.004	1.127[a]	5.000	1289.000	.344
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	1.127[a]	5.000	1289.000	.344
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	1.127[a]	5.000	1289.000	.344
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	1.127[a]	5.000	1289.000	.344
C27 Coloureds are irritable	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.015[a]	5.000	1289.000	.074
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.015[a]	5.000	1289.000	.074
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.015[a]	5.000	1289.000	.074
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.015[a]	5.000	1289.000	.074
C28 Coloureds are physically aggressive	Pillai's Trace	.018	4.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.982	4.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.018	4.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.018	4.696[a]	5.000	1289.000	.000
C29 Coloureds are helpful	Pillai's Trace	.012	3.002[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Wilks' Lambda	.988	3.002[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Hotelling's Trace	.012	3.002[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
	Roy's Largest Root	.012	3.002[a]	5.000	1289.000	.011
C30 Coloureds are noisy	Pillai's Trace	.006	1.559[a]	5.000	1289.000	.169
	Wilks' Lambda	.994	1.559[a]	5.000	1289.000	.169
	Hotelling's Trace	.006	1.559[a]	5.000	1289.000	.169
	Roy's Largest Root	.006	1.559[a]	5.000	1289.000	.169
C31 Coloureds are suspicious	Pillai's Trace	.004	.977[a]	5.000	1289.000	.430
	Wilks' Lambda	.996	.977[a]	5.000	1289.000	.430
	Hotelling's Trace	.004	.977[a]	5.000	1289.000	.430
	Roy's Largest Root	.004	.977[a]	5.000	1289.000	.430
C32 Coloureds are unfriendly	Pillai's Trace	.001	.217[a]	5.000	1289.000	.955
	Wilks' Lambda	.999	.217[a]	5.000	1289.000	.955
	Hotelling's Trace	.001	.217[a]	5.000	1289.000	.955
	Roy's Largest Root	.001	.217[a]	5.000	1289.000	.955

Multivariate Tests for dependent variables: Ethnic Group, School, Age, Grade and Gender with regard to a range of statements about Coloureds

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
C33 Coloureds are racist	Pillai's Trace	.002	.632[a]	5.000	1289.000	.676
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.632[a]	5.000	1289.000	.676
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.632[a]	5.000	1289.000	.676
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.632[a]	5.000	1289.000	.676
C34 Coloureds are selfish	Pillai's Trace	.003	.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.583
	Wilks' Lambda	.997	.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.583
	Hotelling's Trace	.003	.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.583
	Roy's Largest Root	.003	.755[a]	5.000	1289.000	.583
C35 Coloureds are difficult	Pillai's Trace	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Wilks' Lambda	.992	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Hotelling's Trace	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
	Roy's Largest Root	.008	2.084[a]	5.000	1289.000	.065
C36 Coloureds are direct	Pillai's Trace	.002	.481[a]	5.000	1289.000	.791
	Wilks' Lambda	.998	.481[a]	5.000	1289.000	.791
	Hotelling's Trace	.002	.481[a]	5.000	1289.000	.791
	Roy's Largest Root	.002	.481[a]	5.000	1289.000	.791

a. Exact statistic

b. Design:
Intercept+C12+C13+C14+C15+C16+C17+C18+C19+C20+C21+C22+C23+C24+C25+C26+C27+C28+C29+C30+C31+C32+C33+C34+C35+C36

ADDENDUM D: THE CODEBOOK

The following codebook was used in this survey:

1. I am a pupil at_____school.

    1. 1 B, I & C Eng co-ed

    2. 2 W Afr co-ed

    3. 3 C, B & I Eng co-ed

    4. 4 B Eng co-ed

    5. 5 W, B & I Eng co-ed

    6. 6 W, B & I Eng co-ed

    7. 7 W Afr co-ed

    8. 8 I, B & C Eng co-ed

    9. 9 B & C Eng co-ed

    10. 10 C & B Eng co-ed

    11. 11 W Afr co-ed

    12. 12 B Eng co-ed

    13. 13 B Eng co-ed

    14. No response

    15. Spoilt response

2 I am.....................................years old.

12	13	14	15

1. = 12 years old

2. = 13 years old

3. = 14 years old

4. = 15 years old

5. = 16 years and older

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

3. I am in grade

7	8

1 = Grade 7

2 = Grade 8

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

4. I am a

Boy	Girl

1. = Boy

2. = Girl

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

5. I belong to the following group:

White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Other

1. = White

2. = Black

3. = Indian

4. = Coloured

5. = Other

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

6. Mark the groups who are with you in class:

White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Other

I am in class with Whites: 1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I am in class with Blacks: 1 = Yes

2 = No

14   = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I am in class with Indians: 1   = Yes

2   = No

14   = No response

15   = Spoilt response

I am in class with Coloureds: 1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I am in class with another group than Whites, Blacks, Indians, Coloureds:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

7. Mark the groups with whom you have contact outside school:

White	Black	Indian	Coloured	Other

I have White friends outside of school:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I have Black friends outside of school:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I have Indian friends outside of school:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I have Coloured friends outside of school:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

I have friends outside of school in other groups than Whites, Blacks, Indians, Coloureds:

1 = Yes

2 = No

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

8. I have friends in this/these groups at school for......................... years.

1 = 1 year

2 = 2 years

3 = 3 years / few

4 = 4 years

5 = 5 years/ some

6 = 6 years

7 = 7 years /many

8 = 8 years

9 = 9 years

10 = 10 years or more

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

9 I have friends in this/these groups outside of school for.......years.

1 = 1 year

2 = 2 years

3 = 3 years / few

4 = 4 years

5 = 5 years/ some

6 = 6 years

7 = 7 years /many

8 = 8 years

9 = 9 years

10 = 10 years or more

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

10. Which language does you teacher use most often when speaking to you?

English	Afrikaans	Zulu	Other

1. = English

2. = Afrikaans

3. = Zulu

4. = Other

14 = No response

15 = Spoilt response

11. How attached are you to your language group?

Not very attached   Very attached

1	2	3	4	5

1. = Not very attached

2. = Somewhat attached

3. = Reasonably attached

4. = Quite attached

5. = Very attached

14 = No response

For questions 12 –36 the following codes were used for each of the statements: 1 - Agree Fully; Points 2- 4 were left unnamed on the scale. It could mean 2- Agree somewhat; 3- No strong views held (neutral); 4- Disagree somewhat; 5- Disagree completely:

12W   Whites are friendly:

Agree Fully   Disagree Completely

1   2   3   4   5

14 =   No response

15 =   Spoilt response

13W: Whites are hardworking

14 W: Whites are stupid

15 W: Whites are clever

16 W: Whites are honest

17 W: Whites are aggressive

18 W: Whites are rich

19 W: Whites are tidy/neat

20 W: Whites are punctual

21 W: Whites are religious

22 W: Whites are brave

23 W: Whites are untidy

24 W: Whites are loudmouthed

25 W: Whites are trustworthy

26 W: Whites are generous

27 W: Whites are irritable

28 W: Whites are physically aggressive

29 W: Whites are helpful

30 W: Whites are noisy

31 W: Whites are suspicious

32 W: Whites are unfriendly

33 W: Whites are racist

34 W: Whites are selfish

35 W: Whites are difficult

36 W: Whites are direct

12 B: Blacks are friendly

13 B: Blacks are hardworking

14 B: Blacks are stupid

15 B: Blacks are clever

16 B: Blacks are honest

17 B: Blacks are aggressive

18 B: Blacks are rich

19 B: Blacks are tidy/neat

20 B: Blacks are punctual

21 B: Blacks are religious

22 B: Blacks are brave

23 B: Blacks are untidy

24 B: Blacks are loudmouthed

25 B: Blacks are trustworthy

26 B: Blacks are generous

27 B: Blacks are irritable

28 B: Blacks are physically aggressive

29 B: Blacks are helpful

30 B: Blacks are noisy

31 B: Blacks are suspicious

32 B: Blacks are unfriendly

33 B: Blacks are racist

34 B: Blacks are selfish

35 B: Blacks are difficult

36 B: Blacks are direct

12 I: Indians are friendly

13 I: Indians are hardworking

14 I: Indians are stupid

15 I: Indians are clever

16 I: Indians are honest

17 I: Indians are aggressive

18 I: Indians are rich

19 I: Indians are tidy/neat

20 I: Indians are punctual

21 I: Indians are religious

22 I: Indians are brave

23 I: Indians are untidy

24 I: Indians are loudmouthed

25 I: Indians are trustworthy

26 I: Indians are generous

27 I: Indians are irritable

28 I: Indians are physically aggressive

29 I: Indians are helpful

30 I: Indians are noisy

31 I: Indians are suspicious

32 I: Indians are unfriendly

33 I: Indians are racist

34 I: Indians are selfish

35 I: Indians are difficult

36 I: Indians are direct

12 C: Coloureds are friendly

13 C: Coloureds are hardworking

14 C: Coloureds are stupid

15 C: Coloureds are clever

16 C: Coloureds are honest

17 C: Coloureds are aggressive

18 C: Coloureds are rich

19 C: Coloureds are tidy/neat

20 C: Coloureds are punctual

21 C: Coloureds are religious

22 C: Coloureds are brave

23 C: Coloureds are untidy

24 C: Coloureds are loudmouthed

25 C: Coloureds are trustworthy

26 C: Coloureds are generous

27 C: Coloureds are irritable

28 C: Coloureds are physically aggressive

29 C: Coloureds are helpful

30 C: Coloureds are noisy

31 C: Coloureds are suspicious

32 C: Coloureds are unfriendly

33 C: Coloureds are racist

34 C: Coloureds are selfish

35 C: Coloureds are difficult

36 C: Coloureds are direct