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Master of Commerce Industrial/Organisational Psychology

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The University of Zululand

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Abstract

The study investigated racism amongst students at the University of Zululand. The history of racism in South Africa was briefly described to contextualize the stereotypes and discourses that are found in contemporary. This study was deemed relevant and pertinent due to the increasing reports of racist attacks and xenophobia at tertiary institutions and in the workplace in South Africa. The study assumptions were that racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand (UniZul.); male students will be less positive toward other race groups and that female students will be more positive toward other race groups. Questionnaires adopted from Durrheim (2007) were utilised for data collection as they seek to identify stereotypes that students have about other ethnic groups. Discourse analysis was used to unpack the underlying discourses from the qualitative responses given by participants. These discourses were related to the prevailing paradigm at the time which was more patriarchal and oppressive. Data from the quantitative questions was analysed using descriptive statistics and an independent T test. There were various stereotypes discussed by the respondents indicating that racism does exist amongst students at UniZul. The results also indicate that female respondents are generally not more positive towards other groups than male respondents. However, male respondents did show some negativity toward the Coloured group.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. 1 Introduction

Racism defined by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1996) is dependant on the different biological origins of people from various ethnic groups focusing on cultural differences. Rogers and Bowman (2004) argue that the concept of race was created as a means of classifying human beings with the purpose of legitimizing the dominance of white people over non-white people. According to Wilson (1996) the ideology of racial discrimination is congruent with the old worldview that some men are born to rule while others are born to serve. There have been numerous constructs put forward in an attempt to justify racial discrimination. For instance, religion was used in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries as a means of justifying race discrimination (Olaleye, 2003; Barton, 2003). Appiah (2002) describes how Jewish people were discriminated against and persecuted in Spain during the 15th Century as part of the Spanish Inquisition. Other historical instances of discrimination on the basis of religion include the segregation of Gypsies in England and the persecution of six million Jewish people in Nazi Germany.

In the 19th Century natural and social science was used to justify racism. The theory of evolution put forward by Darwin (1859) was distorted into Social Darwinism by Knox (1850). This resulted in theories such as Phrenology and Eugenics. Sabbatini (1997) defines Phrenology as the study of the structure of the skull to determine a person's character and mental capacity. The theory likened those with flatter skulls to apes and

monkey's whilst Europeans were perceived as a superior race because of their bony skulls (advanced cranial development). This theory was used to justify the colonisation of Africans, as they were perceived to be inferior intellectually because of their flatter skulls. Phrenology culminated in the advent of Eugenics in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. According to Rogers and Bowman (2004) Eugenics was based on the premise that superior races should not cross-pollinate with inferior races. This assumption was used during that era to justify racial cleansing. Hitler embraced eugenics which led to the Holocaust in Nazi Germany where approximately six million Jewish people were exterminated. According to Taylor (2002) an earlier origin of racism was the increased demand for slaves. This demand led to young black men and women being taken from Africa as slaves. This led to the old and very young being left behind. As they were not influential age groups the colonists who remained were able to instill their norms on native populations and enforce colonialism in Africa.

The first inhabitants of South Africa, before the Nguni speaking people and Europeans, were the nomadic Khoi and San people. The Khoi and San were light in colour with a language that has been likened to the sound of the popping of corks. They were enslaved, abused and discriminated against by the Nguni and the European Settlers owing to their perceived strangeness. The Nguni trekked from the north of Africa and settled in South Africa with their herds around the 17th century. Branches of the Nguni settled in different parts of South Africa, for instance the Zulu in KwaZuluNatal and the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape. Conflict between different groups for instance, the Xhosa and Zulu occurred over scarce resources however, they were short lived. Essentially, it

can be argued that racism and xenophobia began before the advent of the European settlers. There is no doubt, however, that because of European colonisation more serious conflict between the Zulu, British and Boers occurred. Europeans with their superior fire-power eventually crushed the native settlers in South Africa (Dubow, 1995).

It has been argued that racism began in South Africa in 1488, when Dias landed in the Eastern Cape. Dias found a sea route that would relieve the Europeans of the Arab middlemen who controlled the land routes to the East. The Dutchman, Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to establish a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company's trading ships. This was the start of a permanent European settlement in South Africa (Van Aswegen, 1993). The Dutch who settled the territory became farmers and spoke a corruption of the Dutch language called Afrikaans. They became known as Boers (farmers in Afrikaans). According to Oakes (1988) the Cape Colony was under Dutch rule from 1652 to 1795. The British took control from 1795 to 1802, and the Dutch regained power for a brief period from 1802 to 1805. The 2nd British occupation of the Cape Colony was from 1806 to the first Anglo-Boer war in 1880. The Boers considered the British foreign invaders and with the advent of increased immigration in 1820 by British Settlers the Boers were forced to move to the interior of South Africa. This was known as the Great Trek (Groot Trek).

The movement of the Boers resulted in four Provinces being created, namely separate colonies of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. These were

commonly known as the South Africa Republic. In 1878 Paul Kruger and Piet Joubert led a delegation to London in an attempt to argue for the reinstating of the South African Republic. This attempt failed resulting in growing resistance from the Boers to British governance. By 1886 the first discovery of gold increased foreign investment which resulted in imported labour. This increased tension between the British and the Boers and there were on-going struggles for power between the colonial nations which resulted in the Anglo-Boer wars. However, both Afrikaners and British agreed on one thing, as emphasised by Milner (1903), Governor of the conquered Boer Territories, political superiority of Whites of both English and Dutch origin must be maintained.

It can be argued that the start of institutionalised racism began with Smuts who served as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa from 1919 until 1924 and from 1939 until 1948. Smuts established and supported racial segregation in South Africa and thought it was the duty of whites to deal justly with Africans (the Natives) and to civilise them. He proposed that Blacks should not be given political power and argued that giving the right to vote to the Black majority would see the ultimate destruction of Western civilization (Oakes, 1988). In 1948 Smuts lost power to the Afrikaans dominated National Party and institutionalised racism (Apartheid) became Government policy in South Africa.

According to Slabbert (2001) Apartheid has resulted in Black-on-Black discrimination, namely tribalism and xenophobia which has been fuelled by the prevailing paradigm of patriarchy. Research indicates that there are significant indications of racial stereotypes

in all ethnic groups. Banks (1996) describes tribalism as a label to distinguish broad population bands from one and another. Examples of this include conflict between ethnic, cultural and political groups for instance, in KwaZulu Natal in the 1980's (Fischer, 2002). According to Shindondola (2002) xenophobia, the other aspect of black-on-black racism refers to the discrimination of foreigners or strangers. In South Africa this subjective fear and dislike has translated into intense tension and violence by South Africans towards foreigners; with the latter earning names such as *makwerekwere* (a). There have been recent reports of racism in tertiary institutions, for example The University of Free State. According to Joubert (2008) racist attacks took place in hostels after white students retaliated to an imposed integration policy. This resulted in on-going investigations in an attempt to establish the extent of racism at the institution. According to Van Rensburg (2008) there is a significant level of prejudice at all tertiary institutions in South Africa.

According to Fischer (2002) after fourteen years into democracy in South Africa racism is still one of the greatest problems. According to Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel (2005) in post-apartheid and democratic South Africa, whiteness, ironically continues to be privileged. Thuram (2001) insists that silence is the worst behaviour when it comes to dealing with racism. A more proactive approach needs to be adopted

(a) A derogatory name used in South Africa to refer to foreigners or people who speak a different language to what the population speaks

in addressing the issue of racism instead of shying away from the problem. Slabbert (2001) asserts that racist perceptions and stereotypes are still prevalent and active in South Africa.

1. 2 Motivation for the study

Racism is seen as a major problem in South African society in all arenas, sport, social and the workplace (Fischer, 2002). This study is relevant to the student society as they are a microcosm of the broad South African society. It is deemed pertinent and appropriate to investigate racism in light of the recent xenophobia in South Africa.

1.3 Statement of the problem

According to Pillay and Collings (2004) racism has various facets including tribalism, xenophobia, discrimination, hostility, and rejection towards minority groups. In previous decades in South Africa this has been reversed and racism was perceived as to the Black majority. However, Black on Black xenophobia is growing in South Africa and it appears that racism in all spheres in South Africa is still prevalent. Studies and research conducted on racism and xenophobia and related discourses help shed light on the root cause of the problem.

1.4 Résumé

Discrimination dates as far back as the 15th century and has manifested itself in various forms over the centuries. The old-fashioned ideology that some men are born to rule

while others are born to serve has fuelled the various types of racial discrimination that have been exhibited over the centuries. Although at the time when these acts were being committed they were not viewed as racist acts but as helping the not so intelligent native people. Colonialisation; the persecution of people perceived to be un-pure and discrimination against people who were different may be interpreted as racist today, but in view of the context at the time these acts promoted the interest of those who governed. Racism is still a major problem in South Africa and has spilled over into all aspects of society (Fischer, 2002). The literature review will examine various examples of discrimination in the global context and South African context. There have been racist attacks tertiary institutions and xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals in their workplaces making the present research relevant.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

According to Fischer (2002) fourteen years into democracy and racism is still a problem in South Africa. Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel (2005) state that in the post-apartheid and democratic South Africa Whiteness ironically continues to be privileged in spite of legislation to redress racial discrimination. Wilson (1996) states the ideology of racial discrimination is congruent with the historical world view that some men are born to rule and others are born to work (or serve their superiors).

There have been numerous constructs put forward in an attempt to justify racial discrimination. It is important to understand that racism is a modern concept (Briscoe, 2001). Discrimination by colonials in past centuries was not perceived, at the time as racism, but when viewed in terms of contemporary thinking it is evident that the bigotry and prejudice reported in history is compatible with what is termed racist discourse today. Essentially, colonialists sought to educate indigenous populations into their ways of doing and thinking. They did not appreciate difference as we do today. History gives numerous examples of violence and discrimination of marginalised human groups, but it is only in the modern era that the violence underpinned by legislation (for instance, Nazi Germany and South Africa).

There are various forms of discrimination and racism, based on for instance differences in culture and religion. These forms, constructs, definitions and historical narratives can all be defined as discourses of racism. Olaleye (2003) and Barton (2003) argue that religion was used from the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries as a means of discriminating against so-called Native populations. People of colour were labeled as pagans and used as slaves in Europe. Appiah (2002) describes how amongst others, those of Jewish religion were discriminated against and persecuted in Spain during the 15th Century in what was latter known as the Spanish Inquisition. Other instances of discrimination on the basis of religion include the segregation of Gypsies in England based on their nomadic behaviour and different lifestyle and the persecution of six million Jewish people in Nazi Germany. Hendricks (2002) asserts that the history of South Africa is closely bound up with colonialism, racial segregation and apartheid. Apartheid ultimately resulted in Black-on-Black discrimination (not only White on Black discrimination), namely tribalism and xenophobia which has been fuelled by the prevailing paradigm of patriarchy. This assumption has been echoed in the findings of Slabbert (2001) who notes that there are significant indications of racial stereotypes in all ethnic groups. South Africans have a strong positive bias towards their own group and a negative bias towards other cultural groups.

2.2 Racism defined

Racism defined by Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1996) is dependant on the different biological origins of people from diverse ethnic groups focusing on cultural differences.

Rogers and Bowman (2004) argue that the concept of race was created as a means of classifying human beings with the sole purpose of giving power to White people and to legitimize the dominance of White people over non-White people. According to Frederickson (2002) racial discrimination is evident in history but the name racism was only coined in the 1930's. He argues that racism is a modern idea and it is a manifestation of the ancient phenomenon of tribalism and xenophobia. Modern forms of racism concentrate more on cultural than on biological differences (Durrheim, Dixon, 2000). However, institutionalised racism when discriminatory laws are part of a country's legal system occurred during the Apartheid era in South Africa. This type of racism is usually predicated on biological difference.

Wilson (1996) states that racism is a modern historical phenomenon which is grounded in exploitative and oppressive economic arrangements where one group dominates another for material gain. In Africa, an example of this is the partition and colonization of Africa by European powers. Racist practice thus contributed to the growth of Western culture and resulted in genocide against people who were perceived to be different. It is further argued that the notion that people of colour were a different species and inferior to the colonials enabled the colonials to justify their oppressive behaviour(s). This desensitised the dominant group who were unable to understand the plight of people of colour.

Aversive Racism is a theory proposed by Gaertner & Dovidio (1986) based on the concept that evaluations of racial and ethnic difference is characterised by dissonance

between for instance, a White groups values and their sub-conscious or unacknowledged negative attitudes toward different racial or ethnic groups. Symbolic racism, on the other hand, means a belief that out-groups have problems that they brought on themselves. For instance, Blacks were poor during the Apartheid era in South Africa because they lack ambition and effort. The in group does not acknowledge that poverty could, in part, be related to discriminatory practices and institutionalised racism by the in or dominant White group or the era.

Today, implicit or subtle racism tends to be acknowledged as the most common form of modern racism. Examples of subtle racism could be the glass ceiling effect, the so-called managerial and/or salary differences between equivalently qualified females and their male counterparts, or positive stereotypical remarks such as Blacks are good at athletics athletes and Indians are good at science (April, 2008).

Tribalism defined by Banks (1996) is a label that distinguishes broad population bands from one another it is embedded in cultural differences such as language. An example of tribalism in South Africa is that of the ongoing conflict, which erupts periodically, between the Zulu and Xhosa nations (who speak different languages).

Shindondola (2002) defines xenophobia as discrimination towards foreigners or strangers. This is manifested in individuals who could be for instance, the same colour as the local inhabitants. In South Africa local Black inhabitants may blame foreign Black individuals who are in the country (either legally or illegally) for taking their jobs. This

could result in discriminatory practice(s) that leads to violence and aggression toward foreigners. They are often called names such as *makwerekwere* which is a derogatory term for foreign individuals who do not understand any of the languages of the country.

Stereotypes also play a role in racism as a label entails predetermined opinions of a certain group. These labels are held as true and result in prejudicial thinking towards the stereotyped group for instance, Blacks were likened to children who could not think for themselves. This patriarchal view can be considered to underpin much stereotypical thinking on the African continent.

2.3 Stereotypes

According to Devine in Devine and Elliot (1995) a stereotype is a well-learned set of opinions or associations that link a set of characteristics with a group label. Stereotypes are reinforced through the socialization of an individual in society determining how the individual relates to people of the stereotyped group and more importantly, how social networks are maintained with these groups. April (2008) further argues that stereotypes have specific discourses which shape an individual's perception of the stereotyped groups. Fundamentally, this means that the individual will see stereotypic characteristics even when they are not present. A stereotype, therefore, associates a certain characteristics with a particular group, an example would be Blacks generically being referred to as lazy workers and Whites generically labelled as energetic workers. A stereotype is thus a well-learned set of associations linking a set of characteristics with

labels to specific groups. Devine et al (1995) further states that the socialisation process contributes to various cultural stereotypes that individuals learn and these learned stereotypes become part of how the individual relates to and perceives groups other than his or her own. A very important concept is that as much individuals know the various stereotypes through their socialisation with society not all of their beliefs are congruent with these stereotypes.

Research conducted has shown that negative stereotypes not only have a negative impact on the victims of racism but also on perpetrators of racist acts. Shebloski (2001) asserts that people who think about stereotypes of other groups may exhibit behaviours consistent with that stereotype. Research was conducted to ascertain the extent to which prejudice impacts on academic performance of both White and Black students in the United States of America (USA). The findings from this research imply that any the person holding a stereotype against a certain racial group also becomes a victim of that stereotype in an indirect way and his or her academic performance suffers as a result of this.

When trying to understand motivators of stereotypical behaviour personal attitudes and beliefs are usually underpinned by cultural prejudice. Prejudiced responses are witnessed in areas where individuals think that their behaviour will not be judged. Fundamentally, like-minded people are more likely to express stereotypical beliefs and attitudes when they are together. These groups unambiguously use racist discourses that distinguish between people on grounds of race. They usually perceive a

hierarchical difference between different cultures. The following is a list of common stereotypical associations which presents Whites in a more positive light than Blacks. The list frames issues in a particular way which is consistent with oppositions in discourse analysis and the terms are often recurrent in terms of constructing particular racist stereotypes for instance, poor uneducated Black individuals from third world cultures.

List 1: Stereotypical Oppositions

Positive – White (European background)

versus Black (African Background)

- | | |
|--|---|
| • Western | versus Non Western |
| • Modern | versus Traditional (Old Fashioned) |
| • First World | versus Third World |
| • Private property | versus Communal property |
| • Nation | versus Tribe |
| • Advanced | versus Backwards (Primitive) |
| • Developed | versus Underdeveloped |
| • Inventive | versus Imitative |
| • Progressive | versus Stagnant |
| • Mature (Adult) | versus Immature (Child) |
| • Open (in attitude, honest)
untrustworthy) | versus Cold (in attitude, therefore |
| • Christian | versus Superstitious (ancestral belief) |
| • Moral | versus Immoral |
| • Self controlled | versus Impulsive (undisciplined) |
| • Educated | versus Uneducated |
| • Clean | versus Dirty |
| • Law abiding | versus Criminal |
| • Civilised | versus Uncivilised |
| • Rich | versus Poor |

2.4 Genocide

The word genocide was coined by a jurist named Raphael Lemkin in 1944 by combining the Greek word *genos* (race) with the Latin word *cide* (killing). Genocide as defined by the United Nations in 1948 means any of the following acts: (a) killing members of a group (b) causing serious bodily or psychological harm to members of a group (c) deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within a group (e) forcibly transferring children of a group to another group. The most cited example of genocide is the Holocaust in Germany when Adolf Hitler's Nazi party persecuted people whom they perceived to be biologically impure. According to Weitz (2002) the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 codified German citizenship as a product of German blood, as defined by German anthropologists, biologists, and doctors. These laws outlawed sexual intercourse between the so-called pure blooded Aryan Germans and German Jews, Gypsies and homosexuals. In the Nazi model, as in the Eugenic one, procreation was the locus of racial protection and purity. These laws affected Germans and foreigners alike. In fact, the list of racial threats expanded with the German Third Reich: Polish, Czechoslovakians and Slavic people were perceived as racial threats to Germany. Hitler wanted a pure Aryan race and was willing to purge all non-pure groups through what we now call the Holocaust. Socialists, Communists, homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses all came to represent biological threats to the pure Aryan. Most importantly, the Nazis proved that race and racism were not merely products of the irrational, intemperate mind, but also dependent on a mind-set defined

by respect for law and a rigidly organized view of the world. This type of thinking led to Apartheid in South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century.

2.5 Constructs of racism

Fredrickson (2002) asserts that the race can be identified in the normal way of life, as it was in the era of the Greeks, Romans and early Christians. These early civilizations distinguished between the civilised and the barbaric. The civilised lived in the city and participated in politics, whereas the barbaric lived an unpredictable life under autocratic rule outside of the civilized cities.

It can be argued that modern constructs of racism are underpinned by the development of the social sciences which have contributed to the construct of modern racism. Roger and Bowman (2004) identified two broad categories for the justification of racism. The first justification was based on religion which was predominant in the 16th and 17th Century. The second justification was social science and Pseudo-science in the 19th century. Towards the end of this century the slave trade and colonisation were prominent culminating in the subjugation of some ethnic groups because they were perceived as not as developed. This led to the construct of racism as we know it in contemporary society. . Constructs are basically schools of thought developed in an attempt to understand specific thing. For instance, the theory of evolution is a construct which seeks to understand the origins of humankind as is the construct of Christianity.

2.6 Religious constructs of racism

There has always been an antagonistic relationship between Jews and Christians. Christians believed that the New Testament superseded the Old Testament, whereas Jews refused to recognize Christ as the Messiah. Differences in belief caused the two religious factions to become intolerant of each other. Jews, according to Fredrickson (2002) were viewed as having defective blood since they were not converted when Christ was amongst them and they were accused by the Christians of being directly responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. A notable phenomenon is that the Bible was quoted by Christians in their endeavor to justify their discriminative behaviour towards Jews.

In the 12th and 13th Century the attitudes of European Christians towards Jews became more hostile and in many ways laid the foundation for racism that later developed. Jews became very successful money lenders, charging interest on moneys lent out to Christian merchants. This made them very unpopular amongst the Christians and sparked various acts of discriminative behaviour towards them. Along with this the intense religiosity of the times exacerbated the situation. Massacres of Jews began with the first Crusade in 1096. Fredrickson (2002) asserts that mobs stirred up by the campaign to redeem the Holy land from the Muslims turned on the local Jews. Continued accusations were made by Christians against Jews and this caused endless friction between the two groups. It is evident that medieval Europe was a persecutory

society, discriminatory and intolerant, not only for Jews but for anyone whose beliefs or behaviour was contrary to the dominant religious doctrine and moral norms of the times. The drive for uniformity and homogeneity of thinking illustrated by this historical example, stimulated resistance to cultural differences and provided fertile soil for ethnic intolerance through successive centuries. These constructs were operationalised into racist ideology in the Second World War when millions of Jews, Eastern Europeans and Gypsies were slaughtered in what is now termed ethnic cleansing. Ethnic cleansing and racist constructs still persist on many continents and are still found in Africa.

2.7 Charles Darwin's theory of Evolution

The construct of un-pure (impure) races was replaced by the theory of evolution in the 19th century when natural science took the forefront. This theory came about after numerous deliberations by scholars in England during the early 1800's over the concept of human cross-pollination. This term was used as it was more palatable than saying human breeding across racial groups. The interest in the theory arose when it came to establishing what would happen should races mix. In the midst of this debate colonialisation was at its peak in Africa, Asia, Australia and the South Pacific. It must be noted that some ethnic groups were wiped out in the late 18th century and early 19th centuries. This was due to germs, bacteria and disease brought by the colonialists. The indigenous peoples had no resistance to these diseases and died in their thousands.

During the 19th century Darwinism was conceptualized and later operationalised in what became the worst scenario of racist ideology and practice in the history of mankind. Darwin according to Bergman (1993) believed that some races were inferior (such as Blacks) to others. According to Barta (2005) Darwin was fascinated by human intervention in nature and was also attracted to the potential of eugenics. This fascination resulted in him founding the theory of evolution. Darwin further believed that the inferior races evolved from the larger primates such as gorilla's and had not yet evolved into the superior Caucasian or White group. Darwin argued that this preservation of favourable individual differences and variations, and the destruction of those which were inferior, was natural selection or survival of the fittest. Although Darwin opposed slavery, he concluded that the strongest evidence of evolution was the existence of living primitive races which were an evolutionarily building block between the civilized races and large primates.

As a result of Darwin's theory Bergman (2004) asserts that from 1880 to 1980, science textbooks depicted Whites as superior to Blacks, who were likened to apes. Western cultural ethos made comparisons between two races, namely the Caucasian and Negroid groups. Scientific books and journals during the late nineteenth and early and mid-twentieth centuries classified races into five categories, based on their superiority. The inferior races were Ethiopians or Negro type, originating in Africa; the Malay or Brown race from the islands of the Pacific; the American Indian; the Mongolian or yellow race, including the natives of China, Japan and the Eskimos; and finally, the most superior race the Caucasians, represented by the civilised White inhabitants of Europe

and North America. Whites were supposedly more highly developed in terms of instincts, social custom and physical structure.

2.8 Social Darwinism, Eugenics and Phrenology

Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin drew from the concept of evolution to give rise to Social Darwinism. According to Quist-Adade (2006) the assumption of social Darwinism is that some races and societies are endowed with superior genes, while others with inherent inferior genes. Social Darwinism inferred that inferior races and societies would naturally wither away and any attempts to save them would be defiance against the laws of nature. Social Darwinism argued that society and government should become actively involved in ensuring that what they believed should happen would in actual fact happen. This type of thinking brought about the birth of eugenics. Eugenics distorted the ideology of phrenology as it promoted the theory of evolution and the promotion of a pure race. Eugenics models were used in the United States and these gave inspiration to Hitler, whose radical adaptation of Eugenics resulted in the Holocaust during the 20th century.

Phrenology according to Bergman (2004) and Wohl and Wyhe (2000) was popular in the late 18th century to the latter part of the 19th century and entailed measuring skulls and bones. It also examined skin pigmentation and the colour of eyes and hair (fair skin and hair and blue eyes were superior to black skin, hair and brown eyes). It was assumed that the structure of the skull determined a person's character and mental

capacity. A common offshoot of Phrenology, according to Sabbatini (1997) was craniology which advocated the use of precise quantitative measurements of cranial features in order to classify people according to race, criminal temperament, and intelligence. Craniology became popular in the Victorian era, and was used by the British to justify racism and colonialisation. After Darwin stated that humans are descended from apes, anthropologists who supported the assumptions of phrenology argued that people with protruding jaws showed signs of lower development and had a close relationship to primitive man. A high large forehead showed a greater capacity for thinking processes than the low brain-cramping skull of underdeveloped (Black) man. Bergman (2004) argues that phrenology conceded that the well-developed forehead of civilised man was a stamp of intellectuality, as compared to the sloping forehead of primitive or Black man. It can be ascertained that a combination of evolution and Eugenics produced a dangerous stereotypical form of racism.

According to Rogers and Bowman (2004) Eugenics provided a new set of arguments to support existing restrictions on inter-racial marriages in the United States of America (USA). By 1915 twenty-eight (28) states made marriage between Negroes, Asians, Indians and Whites illegal. Legislation was passed to this effect, examples being the Virginia Racial Integrity Act of 1924 which included racial segregation certificates as well as giving definitions of what constituted a White and a Black person.

Apart from inter-racial marriages there were proposed sterilisation laws which were promoted in Virginia in 1914. The model Eugenic Sterilization law proposed the

sterilisation of socially inadequate people supported in institutions or maintained wholly or in part by public expense. These individuals included orphans, tramps, the blind and deaf, epileptic people, the diseased, feeble minded, insane and the homeless. Another misuse of Eugenics was in Puerto Rico from 1930 to 1965 where one third of Puerto Rican women were sterilized as a direct result of the influence of the proposed Eugenic Sterilisation Laws in the USA. The Puerto Rican government promoted a massive campaign of public mis-education in attempts to manipulate public opinion. They subsidised the promotion of the programme. It must be noted that they were encouraged to do this by business factions in the USA who promised funds for social development in the country. American Industries wanting to encourage the development of cheap labour by freeing Puerto Rican women from childbirth.

2.9 Types of racism

Pillay and Colley (2004) discuss two broad categories of racism which underpin most dimensions of racism, namely old-fashioned racism and modern or subtle racism. Old-fashioned racism involves a straightforward rejection of, and hostility towards, a minority group. According to Virtanen and Huddy (1998) the new form of racism, namely modern or more subtle racism, has taken over the political role formerly played by old-fashioned racism. This new form of prejudice is more likely to surface as resentment over what the majority see as special treatment of a minority group who are perceived as undeserving. Farley (2009) states that there are four elements of racism which are common to discriminatory and racist practice.

1. Ideological racism or racist ideology – this is a belief system where one group believes it is superior to another group. It believes it is superior because of one, a mixture of or all of the following:
 - Biological – the inherent belief that a group is superior because it is biologically engineered to be so;
 - Intellectual – the inherent belief that a group is superior because it has better cognitive powers or is more intelligent than other groups;
 - Culturally – the inherent belief that a group is superior because it has social processes and cultural norms in place that are somehow better than other groups.
2. Attitudinal racism or racial prejudice – this is about the negative perceptions or attitudes and beliefs that members of one race group hold about another group. These perceptions, attitudes and beliefs are based on faulty knowledge and information.
3. Behavioural racism or racial discrimination – this refers to specific actions and behaviours that are discriminatory or biased and are used by one group against another racial or ethnic group.

4. Institutional racism or institutional discrimination – this refers to any laws, policies or practices that are part of a constitution or put into the laws of the land which are biased, racist or discriminatory against any group in any way.

2.9.1 Xenophobia

Xenophobia comes from the Greek words *xénos*, meaning stranger and *phóbos*, meaning fear. According to Crowther (1995) in Shindondola (2002) xenophobia is an intense dislike or fear of people from other countries. Xenophobia can be related to an unfounded fear of difference that can result in cultural shock. Xenophobic behaviour is based on existing racial, ethnic, religious, cultural and national prejudice(s). Xenophobia can be defined as the attitudes, prejudices and behaviour(s) that reject exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to a community, society or national identity (UNESCO, 2001). Xenophobia and racism often overlap, but are distinct phenomena. Racism entails discrimination based on physical characteristics such as skin colour, hair type and facial features. Xenophobia implies behaviour based on the idea that an individual(s) is foreign to, or originates from outside the home community or nation. It is often difficult, however, to differentiate between racism and xenophobia as motivations for negative behaviour(s). According to Fredrickson (2002) xenophobia may be the starting point upon which racism can be constructed. This further confirms that there is a close correlation between the two phenomena. The expression of xenophobia occurs when people of identical physical characteristics, but who have a different culture and/or language,

arrive in a community and are discriminated against. It can be concluded that xenophobia falls under the category of modern racism as it concentrates more on cultural than biological or physical difference.

It would seem that it is not only people who live illegally in South Africa who experience xenophobia, but also those who live legally. Many reasons have been put forward for the possible roots causes for xenophobic attacks. The first being new migration patterns that have developed in response to the gradual internationalization of labour markets. In the receiving countries, social groups not as skilled as migrant workers consider new comers as competitors for jobs and public services. This has helped cultivate a social and political climate that generates xenophobia, racism and nationalism. The second reason assumed to reinforce xenophobic and racist behaviours is globalisation. Increased competition between countries leads to decreased services in critical areas for instance social welfare, education and healthcare. This reduction is felt by people living on the margins of society. This results in local people being in constant competition with migrant workers for public services. It is likely that this promotes racist and xenophobic stereotypes. It must also be noted that severe economic inequalities and the marginalization of persons from access to basic economic and social amenities gives rise to tension and manifestations of racism and xenophobia. Shindondola (2001) notes that racism manifests itself amongst lower middle-class people trying to cling to their place in fast changing societies.

According to Shindondola (2002) during the colonial era labourers that were skilled in for instance, sugar cane farming (Indians) and the building of railway lines (Chinese) were brought into the country. They imparted knowledge to the indigenous population but at the end of their contracts many of them stayed. This practice fuelled feelings of resentment amongst the existing local population. Between 1960 and 1987, during high Apartheid, almost one million Caucasians (Whites) formally immigrated to South Africa. The local Black inhabitants were, because of Apartheid, denied many basic services because of the racist legislation which added to the resentment of the majority of South Africa's population. This influx of immigrant resulted in both Black and White South Africans displaying behaviour(s) that can be referred to as xenophobic (Bekker and Carlton, 1996).

According to Rowan (2008) South Africa is the most xenophobic nation in the world. A survey conducted on International Attitudes to Immigration indicated that South Africa held the harshest views of foreigners amongst twenty-nine (29%) other nations. The survey revealed that over twenty percent (20%) of South Africans wanted all foreigners barred from entering the country on any grounds, compared to thirteen percent (13%) in Britain and only four percent (4%) in Australia. South Africans hold the same negative views of legal immigrants from Nigeria, Angola, Congo and Somalia as they have of people living in South Africa illegally. Attacks on foreigners have been blamed on food price hikes and the poor response by the ruling government to the scale of migration. The media has also played a part in exacerbating the situation. At least half of the

articles on xenophobic attacks used at least one negative reference for example, calling foreigners job stealers.

It is only recently that Chinese South Africans have managed to enjoy the full benefits of Black empowerment. A court ruling declared that the Chinese fall within the definition of Black persons in South Africa. According to Masombuka (2008) the Chairman of the Chinese Association of South Africa fought for a decade years for the recognition of Chinese people in South Africa as previously disadvantaged. This reaffirms the argument by Rowan (2008) that South Africans do not like foreigners probably because of the perceived difference between themselves and foreign nationals. The Chairman of the Chinese Society further concluded that democracy and fundamental human rights have to be defended and made applicable to all people in the boundaries of South Africa whatever their background.

2.9.2 Tribalism

In KwaZulu Natal tribal conflicts based on political intolerance peaked during 1990 and 1994. Conflicts peaked again in 1994 prior to the general and first democratic elections in South Africa. Zulu communities in Johannesburg were also involved in tribal clashes based on political affiliation. One interpretation of these conflicts, more specifically in KwaZulu Natal, was the competition for grass-roots Zulu support between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Zulu's who joined the ANC were persecuted as they were perceived to be traitors and not proud to of their Zulu legacy. This is an example of political violence underpinned by tribal differences.

Other examples of tribalism in a global context are clashes between the Tutsi's and Hutus in Rwanda and the Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. These conflicts resulted in genocide. Tribalism, therefore, is likened to a form of racism discussed by Halstead (2000) where the dominant ethnic group promotes activities that are intended to protect their advantages. The main aim of these activities is to maintain or widen the unequal position of a subordinate group and promote the authority of the dominating ethnic group.

Tribalism is a form of modern racism where the focal point of discrimination has moved from biological difference to cultural or even political differences. Expressions such as immigrants, integration and cultural values window dress racist perceptions of various cultural groups. Some cultures appear to find it difficult to integrate like the Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe and the Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa. These cultures have historically fought for position and resources and this rivalry continues to manifest itself through for instance, political divisions (Shindondola, 2002).

2.10 A brief history of contemporary racism in the global context

Lewis (1998) describes religion as being one of the origins of racism in the Western world. Specific emphasis is made of Judaism, Catholicism and Muslim beliefs. It is noted that, historically, people of these faiths had no difficulty in accepting enslaved persons to work in their employment. However, racism became commonly known for the enslavement and transportation of many Black Africans to work the plantations of

the New World (USA). The enslavement of Black Africans however, was not new, as it had begun in ancient Egypt. The ancient Egyptians enslaved African Blacks as they needed labourers to help in the building of pyramids.

With further developments in trade and the colonialisation of for instance, Africa slavery became big business in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Black slaves were traded from forts established on the coast of West Africa. It was perceived as a trade and Black slaves were treated and seen as animals not human beings. Slavery was seen as the result of the superior (White) races conquering the inferior (Black) races. It must be noted that slavery was a key factor in the economics of maintaining the British Empire until the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. By this time three and a half million African slaves had been transported away from their homes (Shindondola, 2002).

Davis (2001) argues that slavery produced racism, in the sense that the negative stereotypes that were applied to slaves were ultimately transferred to most people of Black African descent. He argues that (Black) Muslim societies from Spain and North Africa to the Mideast never developed racism in a judicial or institutional way. The theory of evolution which links Blacks to Primates is significant in view of the supposition that slavery was originally modelled on the theory that animals can be domesticated. Fundamentally, if you can train and domesticate an animal then a Black slave (who is similar to a Primate or animal) can be domesticated and trained.

The relationship between racism and slavery evolves around the desire for individual or group supremacy which in most cases is achieved by oppressing the perceived weaker group. By the mid-19th century the United Kingdom (UK) had abolished the slave trade and introduced an Act making slavery and slave trade illegal. This became law in 1834. According to Weitz (2002) scholars in Europe widened their scope of racial definitions in the twentieth century using biological constructs. For instance, Spanish Fascist policy implemented the forced adoption of children born to the wives of political opponents during the Spanish Civil War. This policy was underpinned by Eugenic policies which attempted to disguise discriminatory and racist practices in scientific phraseology.

The rise of European imperialism further promoted racial thought. Contact with and the subjugation of different peoples in Asia, Africa and the Pacific seemed to verify the Social Darwinist view that national success was predicated on conflict and conquest and survival of the fittest. Fundamentally, superior people will rule inferior people. This inequality of development came to justify any mistreatment of non-European peoples, especially in the scramble for Africa that placed almost the entire continent under European dominion by 1900 (Weitz, 2002).

According to Fredrickson (2002) the climax of the history of racism occurred in the twentieth century in the rise and fall of overtly racist regimes. Europe is often one of the first places people think of when racism is discussed. From institutionalized racism, especially in colonial times, when racial beliefs — even Eugenics — were not considered wrong, to recent times where the effects of Nazism is still felt. Europe is

complex with many cultures in a relatively small area of land which has seen many conflicts throughout history. Most of these conflicts have had trade and resource access at their core, but national identities have often exacerbated these conflicts. Racism has also been used to justify exploitation using pseudo-science. Debates over the origins of racism often suffer from a lack of clarity. Some pundits conflate recent forms of racism with earlier forms of ethnic and national conflict. In most cases ethno-nationalist conflict leads to disagreement over land and strategic resources. In some cases ethnicity and nationalism were underpinned by wars between great religious empires (for example, the Muslim Turks and the Catholic Austro-Hungarians). Ethnic identity and nationalism became sources of conflict within such empires with the rise of print-capitalism. Essentially, the press always promotes specific views which are always grounded in the social context, business and politics of the day specific to the country of origin. This promotes ethnic identities and nationalism which can be defined as a collective emphasis on specific ideals which can either be negative or positive.

In its modern form racism evolved in tandem with European exploration and the conquest of much of the rest of the world. As colonialisation expanded theories about race began to develop. These theories helped to justify the differences in position and treatment of people who were different to the colonising powers. Another possible source of racism is Darwin's theory of evolution which appeared to some to give scientific credibility to the inferences that there were superior and inferior races. Phrenology and Eugenics appeared to give credence to biological theories of moral and intellectual traits which were used to justify racial oppression.

Fredrickson (2002) asserts that in the American South, the passing of segregation laws and restrictions on Black voting rights reduced African Americans to, what can be termed, a lower-caste status. This stereotype persisted in spite of later constitutional amendments that gave Black Americans equal rights. The American South has always been associated with slavery because African slaves were used on the cotton plantations in that region. The American civil war which pitted the North against the South of America was fought over economic issues and the emancipation of the slaves in the South. However, into the early part of the 20th century extreme racist propaganda still existed which represented Black males as ravening beasts lusting after White women. The emergence of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a white extremist group, fuelled racism in the South until the mid-seventies. The KKK rationalized the practice of lynching which is a form of punishment for presumed criminal offenses, performed by self-appointed commissions, mobs, or vigilantes without due process of law. These illegal executions were usually reserved for Blacks accused of offenses across the colour bar in the South. In fact, until the late 1960's legislation still existed in the American South which segregated schools and buses. A key feature of racist regimes maintained by State Laws in the Southern States was a fear of sexual contamination through rape or intermarriage, which led to efforts to prevent the conjugal union of Whites with those of any known or discernible African ancestry. Although the KKK still exist and there is lingering discrimination in the American South extreme racist practices no longer exist.

Lewis (1998) puts forward a view of the origin of racism in a global context. He asserts that racial antagonism represents a return to an earlier and more primitive conception of identity and difference. Language and culture, religion and allegiance can be changed for the individual by personal choice and for the group, by gradual assimilation. Race does not fit into this, that is, it cannot change. Hostility to those of other races is endemic in human societies, stronger in the more disadvantaged and weaker in the more advantaged. However, there has been an increase in what is referred to as modern racism. This consists of institutionalised and rationally structured hostility, discrimination and persecution of weaker ethnic groups. This increase has been prevalent in advantaged rather than disadvantaged societies.

2.11 A brief history of early racism in the South African context

According to Maylam (2001) race is one of the themes which has shaped South African history. The history of South Africa is, in the large part, one of increasing racial divisiveness. Today it can also be seen as the story of a journey through obstacles towards the creation, from diversity, of a single nation whose dream of unity and common purpose is now capable of realization

The Hunter-Gatherer San and the Bantu speaking peoples were the earliest inhabitants of South Africa. These are the peoples who came into contact with the early European settlers between 1488 and 1652 (Van Aswegen, 1993). Discrimination was already rife between the San and the Bantu speakers. This discriminative behaviour was more of a tribal nature as the San felt that their resources were going to be depleted by the other

groups and wanted to maintain ownership or control over the land which they believed was theirs.

From as early as the 17th century the relationships between the local inhabitants and that of the Europeans was established and showed a gradual degeneration from good mutual understanding and co-operation to conflict. Conflict resulted for various reasons, the most common being that the Europeans were initially regarded as intruders and as a threat to the indigenous people. Another reason was misunderstandings during bartering transactions or deliberate attempts by both parties to deceive each other. From these early beginnings there was ongoing conflict between the European settlers and the indigenous peoples through the following centuries. The settlers however, made use of the Black population as slaves. In this sense, discrimination and racist practice was upheld by the Europeans.

In latter part of the 19th century the Boer war was fought between the English colonialists and the Afrikaner settlers. This rationale for fighting was economic in nature and had to do with the vast diamond and gold reserves in the country. It was a brutal war where a new type of fighting came into play. The Boer soldiers were the first to embark on what is now termed guerilla warfare. During the period it was seen as unsporting and barbaric as battles had been previously fought in fixed locations with specific rules of conduct. The British started the first concentration camps where many old men, non-military young men, women and children were held. The conditions in these camps were appalling and many Afrikaans speaking people died. The British also

fought guerilla warfare with a policy of slash and burn. Essentially, the land and everything on it was destroyed and burnt so that the Boers were unable to feed their army and their people (Oakes, 1988; Van Aswegen, 1993). This war, which the British ultimately won, resulted in policy thereafter which kept the Afrikaner nation poor. This ultimately led to Afrikaner nationalism which was aimed at uplifting the Afrikaner from poverty and resulted in the policy of Apartheid. The Boer war also led to lingering resentment, stereotyping and some discriminatory practices in what can be termed White on White racism (between Afrikaans and English speaking South Africans).

2.12. Smuts and segregation

Following the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 the Union of South Africa occupied and annexed the German colony of South-West Africa. Jan Smuts worked as Cecil Rhodes personal legal advisor until the Jameson Raid, in 1895-6. During his political career Smuts became one of the most powerful and influential men in South Africa (Oakes, 1988). Fundamentally, Smuts believed in the segregation of the races but did not develop the notion of totally separate development.

Smuts role in the history of South African discrimination was his concept of segregation. According to Alexander (2006) Smuts established and supported a racially segregated society in South Africa, which promoted White supremacy. While he thought it was the duty of Whites to deal justly with Africans and to civilise them, he did not think they should be given political power. Giving the right to vote to Black Africans, he feared, would lead to the ultimate destruction of Western civilization in South Africa. In 1929 he

justified the establishment of an education system that had separate institutions for Blacks and Whites. In general, Smuts' view of Africans was patronising, he saw them as immature human beings that needed the guidance of Whites. This attitude reflected the common patriarchal perceptions of the global context in his life time.

According to Oakes (1998) international criticism of racial discrimination in South Africa led Smuts to modify his rhetoric around segregation in the late 1930's. In a bid to make South African racial policies more acceptable to Europe and America in 1942 he declared that segregation had failed to solve the Native problems in Africa. In 1948 Smuts however, supported the recommendations of the Fagan Commission that Africans should be recognized as permanent residents of South Africa not only as temporary workers who really belonged in reserves. This was in direct opposition to the policies of the political opposition of the day the Afrikaner National Party (NP) who wished to extend segregation and formalise it into Apartheid. There is however, no evidence that Smuts ever supported the idea of equal political rights for Blacks and Whites. The Fagan Commission did not advocate the establishment of a non-racial democracy in South Africa, but rather wanted to liberalise migration of Africans into urban areas in order to facilitate the supply of African labour to South African industry. It also envisaged a relaxation of the Pass laws that had restricted the movement of Black Africans in general. The commission was, however, clear about the continuation of White political privilege. It stated that White men in South Africa cannot be expected to accept the rule of an inferior race.

Smuts's preoccupation with the World War II had severe political repercussions for his party in South Africa. His support of the war and his support for the Fagan Commission made him unpopular amongst Afrikaners resulting in his party losing power to the NP in the 1948 General election. Although widely forecast, it is a credit to Smuts' political acumen that he was only narrowly defeated (and, in fact, he won the popular vote). Smuts, who had been confident of victory, lost his own seat and retired from politics, four decades of Apartheid followed. In his lifetime Smuts still hoped that the Nationalist government would fall. This did not happen and it remained in power until 1994. Smuts died on 11 September 1950.

The election of the NP into power in 1948 signaled the start of South Africa's slide into Apartheid. In the run up to the 1948 election, the NP campaigned on its policy of Apartheid. When they took office they immediately began implementing Apartheid policies and the Separate Amenities Act was passed in 1953. Under this Act, municipal grounds could be reserved for a particular race. It created, amongst other things, separate beaches, buses, hospitals, schools and universities. Institutionalised racism became the norm as signboards outlined things clearly with words like Whites Only (Slegs Blankes). To oversee Apartheid legislation, government bureaucracy expanded, and by 1977, there were more than half a million White state employees.

The purpose of Apartheid legislation was to keep different ethnic groups or races apart and any resistance in check. Nationalist thinking behind Apartheid was that although South Africa was a unitary country its people did not comprise a single nation but,

rather, were made up of four distinct racial groups, namely Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians/Asians. These races were split further into thirteen nations or racial federations. White people encompassed the English and Afrikaans language groups and the Black populace was divided into ten such groups. This had the result of making the White race the dominant one.

2.13 South Africa under Apartheid

According to Fredrickson (2002) Apartheid means separateness in Afrikaans and was a system of legalized racial segregation (or institutionalised racism) enforced by the NP. It arose out of White settler rule and Dutch and British colonialism. Apartheid was the Nationalist Parties ideology for over forty years until legislation built up around it was dismantled because of a series of dialogues from 1990 to 1993. The first democratic elections in South Africa were held in 1994 as a result of these consultations.

According to Van Aswegen (1993) Apartheid legislation classified inhabitants and visitors into racial groups namely Blacks, Whites, Coloureds and Indians/ Asians. The policy of Apartheid sparked significant internal unrest amongst Blacks. The government responded to a series of popular uprisings and protests with police brutality, which in turn increased local support for the armed resistance struggle (the struggle). In response to popular and political resistance, the Apartheid government resorted to detentions without trial, torture, censorship, and the banning of political opposition from organisations. Despite suffering extreme repression and exile these organisations maintained popular support for the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa and forged

connections with international anti-Apartheid groups during this period. White South Africa became increasingly militarised embarking on the so-called Border Wars. South Africa had the covert support of the USA and the United Kingdom because of their business interests in the country.

Van Aswegen (1993) states that anti-Apartheid organisations had strong links with other liberation struggles in Africa, and often describe armed resistance to Apartheid as part of the socialist struggle against capitalism. Under Apartheid, South African Blacks were stripped of their citizenship, legally becoming citizens of homelands that were created for this purpose. The government created the homelands out of the territory of Black Reserves founded during British colonialisation. These reserves can be likened to American Indian (Native American) Reservations. Many Black South Africans, however, never resided in these homelands. Apartheid effectively disenfranchised Black people by restricting their voting rights to these Homelands which had little or no economic base. They were the least economically-productive areas in the country. The government segregated education, medical care and other public services which resulted in inferior service standards for Blacks. The Black education system within White South Africa prepared Blacks for lives as a labouring class. In the 1970s Black children were educated within the Bantu Education system (the Black education system within White South Africa). Bantu education cost the state only a tenth of the amount of each White child's education. Higher education was provided in separate tertiary institutions. Eight Black universities were created in the homelands, an Indian university

was built in Durban and a Coloured university built in Cape Town. In addition, each Black Homeland had its own separate education, health and police system.

The Nationalist government also constructed their policies so that Blacks who didn't work in but resided in White South Africa found it difficult to access public services. It was hoped that this tactic would encourage Black people to move into the Black Homelands (Van Aswegen, 1993). Laws were passed not only to restrict the movement of Blacks into White areas, but also to prohibit their movement from one district to another. Blacks had to carry a signed pass. They were not allowed onto the streets of towns in the Cape and Natal after dark and had to carry their passes at all times. It must be noted that the practice of Apartheid retained and expanded upon many of the features of the segregationist policies of earlier administrations. Examples include the 1913 Land Act and the various workplace colour bars. Many White South Africans supported Apartheid because it was seen as a means of avoiding a one-person-one-vote democracy within a single unified South African state, which would render Whites a politically-powerless minority.

During the 1960's the Black majority became more militant. This spilled over into what is now referred to as the Sharpeville Massacre which took place on 21 March, 1960. Around ten thousand people converged on the Sharpeville police station to give themselves up for not carrying pass books. The police opened fire and began shooting at the crowd which contained many women and children. The official injury figure is that sixty nine people were killed including eight women and ten children and over one

hundre and eighty people injured including thirty one women and nineteen children. Many feel that the death and injury toll was far worst.

In 1976 the Sharpeville Massacre was revisited when, in the worst racial clashes since that time, at least ten people died when police opened fire on learners. The riots began when an estimated ten thousand high school learners marched in Soweto to demonstrate against the Apartheid regimes ruling that Afrikaans be used with English as a medium in the teaching of school subjects for instance, mathematics, history and geography. A schoolboy hero who died in the struggle named Hector Pieterse is remembered as symbolic of the struggle (Herbst, 1976).

Much of the political unrest during the Apartheid era was directed at government and public institutions. However, unrest spilt over into clashes between different ethnic groups amongst Blacks. Rivalries existed between members of for instance, the African National Congress (often seen in that era as a Xhosa stronghold) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (a largely regional and Zulu organisation). Many people died as a result of this violence in the 1980's particularly in Natal (KwaZuluNatal). The leader of the IFP M. Buthelezi was included in government circles in the 1980's and was often seen as a pawn of the Apartheid government by Black groups of different ethnicity (Van Aswegen, 1993).

In the early 1980s, P. W. Botha's National Party government recognised the need to reform Apartheid. These reforms were driven by a combination of internal violence,

international condemnation, changes within the National Party's constituency, and the changing landscape of international business. In 1984 the Tricameral parliament was introduced. This parliament, which allowed the representation of Coloured and Indian groups but not Blacks, triggered intensified political violence through the country as the Black majority, led by the ANC, fought for equality and against racism and discriminatory practices in all spheres of life. It must be noted that between 1986 and 1988 all petty Apartheid laws were repealed and in 1984 a new constitution was introduced which underpinned the Tricameral system by giving parliamentary representation to Coloureds and Indians.

According to Van Aswegen (1993) from 1990 to 1994, F. W. de Klerk led the National Party government in negotiating with the ANC in order to end Apartheid. De Klerk made further political changes in 1990, calling off the State of Emergency, except in KwaZulu-Natal where sporadic violence still occurred, and abolishing the Separate Amenities Act. There was little political violence throughout the country in terms of White on Black and Black on White racism. However, political intolerance deteriorated into tribal rivalry (which can be likened to xenophobia) between the Zulu who belonged to the Inkatha Freedom Party and those (of both Zulu and Xhosa ethnicity) who belonged to the ANC. One of the worst cases of ANC-IFP clashes was the Boipatong Massacre of 1992, when two hundred (200) IFP militants attacked the Gauteng township of Boipatong. In 1993, however an agreement was reached on the election date for the first democratic elections in the country. Twenty (27) million South Africans turned up to cast their votes ending the Apartheid regime and laying the foundations for a new democratic South Africa (Van Aswegen, 1993).

2.14 Examples of racism in Africa

2.14.1 Introduction

South Africa was not the only African country affected by colonialisation. There are numerous African countries which were colonised. Racist and discriminatory behaviour(s) have been exhibited by almost all countries that were under colonial rule. The most important aspect of many of this behaviour is that discrimination and racism was directed at people of the same colour but of different ethnic groups. It can be argued that during the Boer war Afrikaner speaking and English speaking South Africans perpetuated these type of behaviours which led to stereotypical thinking about the Boers (Farmers - Afrikaans speakers) and Rooineks (Red necks – English speakers) which resulted in White on White discrimination and racism. In some cases, for instance, Zimbabwe, Whites were targeted and called oppressors. However, after obtaining independence from colonial rule most, if not all African countries moved from White-on Black racism to Black-on-Black racism in forms commonly known as tribalism or xenophobia.

2.14.2 Botswana

The government of Botswana has been trying to move the San (Bushmen) out of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve since mid-1990. This is in direct conflict with and a contradiction to the country's constitution which guarantees San the right to live in that area. The government enforced its policy of forced relocation of the San by using

armed force and threats of violence or death. This is similar to occurrences under Apartheid where whole communities (Black, Coloured and Indian/Asian) were forced to move. This action was justified by a member of government stating that there cannot be uncivilized communities continuing to exist in the age of computers (Sunday Times, 2005). This type of thinking and speaking perpetuates stereotypes. The United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination condemned the Government of Botswana for its inhumane and racist treatment of the San (UNESCO, 2001).

2.14.3 Congo

Congo gained its independence from Belgium colonial rule in 1960 and five days after this the soldiers turned on their White officers and attacked numerous Europeans in the country. This caused fear amongst the Whites still resident in Congo resulting in Whites seeking refuge in more stable countries. This Black-on-White racism was followed by an extreme form of Black-on-Black racism where the ethnic group then known as Pygmies, who were believed to be the first inhabitants of the vast rainforests of Central Africa, were hunted down and eaten during the Congo Civil War. The local inhabitants believed that the Pygmies were subhuman and claimed that their flesh could confer magical powers. This act of extreme racism is now referred to as a form of genocide (UNESCO, 2001).

2.14.4 Ivory Coast

In the Ivory Coast, an ex-French colony, there has been constant ethnic tribal hatred and religious intolerance over the centuries. The various ethnic groups or tribes of the

northern and southern regions of the country have fought against each other over the years. This ongoing conflict has impacted on foreigners residing, or visiting the Ivory Coast on business as they have also been victims of violent attacks. The Ivory Coast government has been seen as responsible for stirring up ethnic hatred for its own political and financial ends (UNESCO 2001).

2.14.5 Mauritania

Slavery was only abolished in the ex-French colony Mauritania in 1980. The Black Moors (darker skinned) were perceived to be an inferior race to the White Moors (paler skinned). The Black Moors still have menial jobs and, in some instance, effectively serve the White Moors in a capacity which is not far removed from slavery. Discrimination in the country is largely based on skin colour. The practice of keeping servants, in less than optimum working conditions, in Mauritania is most dominant within the traditional upper class of the paler skinned Moors. Social attitudes have changed amongst many urban Moors but in rural areas discrimination and racism is still prevalent (Van Aswegen, 1993).

2.14.6 Sudan

In Sudan, Black African captives in the civil war were often enslaved, and female prisoners were used to satisfy the sexual needs of their Arab captors claiming that it was in the ambit of the Islamic law. Black Africans were discriminated against, not only because of their dark skins but because of their varying religious beliefs were different to that of the Islamic majority. This is an example of how people are discriminated

against based on their religious affiliation(s). The abduction of women and children in the South of the country is consistent with the practice of slavery. However, the government persuaded the International community that this was traditional tribal feuding over scarce resources. In the last decade however, according to UNESCO, (2001) the Sudanese government has lost credibility and been accused of genocide due to such practices and the ongoing civil war. More than two million lives have been lost and a further four million displaced since the ethnic conflict started in 1983.

2.14.7 Uganda

The most brutal of all the acts of racism in Africa was the ethnic cleansing of the Indian/Asian minority by Idi Amin, in the ex-British Protectorate Uganda. This act of genocide has been likened to that in Nazi Germany. Uganda was declared a British Government protectorate in 1894. A system of work permits and trade licenses was introduced in 1969 in an attempt to restrict the role of Indians/Asians in economic and professional activities. Indians/Asians were segregated and discriminated against in all sectors of society. When Amin assumed office he exploited these divisions to spread racist propaganda against Indians /Asians. This involved promoting stereotypical images of Indian/Asians (Fredrickson, 2002). A typical stereotype was the untrustworthy and criminal trader who steals work and thus the food out of the indigenous populations' mouths. In 1972 Amin was determined to rid the country of all Indians/Asians by implementing anti-Asian policies. He stated that he had received a message from God during a dream. Indians/Asians were further stereotyped, during this era, as greedy, conniving, without any racial identity or loyalty and always cheating and conspiring to

commit acts of sabotage against Uganda. Amin used this propaganda to justify a campaign of de-Indianisation, eventually resulting in the expulsion and ethnic cleansing of forty eight thousand of Uganda's Indian/Asian minority. According to Wieviorka (1995) Amin stated that he asked Britain to take responsibility for all the Indians/Asians in Uganda. Belongings, which the expelled Indians/Asians could not take with them when they fled, were to Amin's military favourites. These belongings included businesses, houses and other possessions. In fact, Amin wanted to secure wealth for what he saw as his own people (Black Africans) so that he would be able to remain in power without contest. To further secure his regime Amin launched a campaign of persecution against ethnic groups different to his. In this period between one hundred thousand and five hundred thousand people were killed. His reign was ended after the Uganda-Tanzania War in 1979 in which Tanzanian forces aided by Ugandan exiles invaded Uganda.

2.14.8 Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe was a colony of the British Empire until 1980. The minority White government of Zimbabwe practiced institutionalised racism, similar in most respects to the Apartheid system in South Africa, but not as harsh until democratic rule in the 1980's. White Rhodesians lived in the best houses, owned most of the best land, enjoyed a high standard of living and controlled the executive, the legislature, the

judiciary and the army which was used as a means of coercion (Godwin and Hancock, 1993). Laws enforcing racial segregation were viewed as not only being racist, but expensive and unnecessary. Twenty years after Independence, White Zimbabweans remained dominant in terms of economic factors through their continued ownership of the majority of arable and commercial farming land which was the most valuable resource in the country. According to Astrow (2003) in 2000, the government argued that the country's landownership patterns were the result of a longtime failure to address the legacies of colonialism and racism. Robert Mugabe then began a controversial land re-distribution programme directed at confiscating the land of the White resident farmers and redistributing it to the poor Black majority. After the land redistribution programme was implemented many White Zimbabwean farmers left the country. From a population of two hundred and seventy thousand Whites in Zimbabwe in 1970 there are only a few thousand Whites left in the country at the present time. The White on Black racism dissolved and Black on Black racism, where ethnic clashes in the early 1980's in Matabeleland between the Ndebele people and Shona dissidents, claimed hundreds of lives.

2.15. Studies of racism amongst students in universities in the global context

Studies have been conducted in various tertiary institutions around the world and research findings have indicated that universities are not immune to racism. These studies are relevant as students are microcosms of the broader context both social and in the workplace. If there are race relation problems amongst students at universities

these stereotypes will migrate to the workplace and impact on diversity management in organisations. A review of studies conducted in universities in the global context follows.

A study conducted by Marcus, Mullins, Brackett, Tang, Allen, and Pruett (2003) examined students' perceptions of racial discrimination on a campus in a university situated in the Southern states of the USA. The study focused on discriminatory behaviours exhibited in classrooms, in contact with instructors and on campus generally. The study concluded that hate crimes were still prominent. The findings confirmed that racism remains a social problem in the USA, more especially amongst students in tertiary institutions. A further observation made in the study along with other studies is that the majority of students' attitudes was consistent with old-fashioned racism. Modern racism attempts to discourage racially discriminatory activities on campuses and focuses on speech codes to limit inflammatory presentations. Unfortunately, it has been reported that these attempts have not received favourable responses.

Wimshurst, Marchetti and Allard (2004) conducted an investigation in Australia on the sensitivity of undergraduates to issues of race and diversity. The study assumed that students registering at the university start out with fixed ideas on what constitutes different ethnicity, in terms of Australian Aborigines and that their views change in some ways over time. The study found that students who majored in policing are more negative about ethnic difference than other students. It also found that attitudes towards ethnic difference remain more or less fixed over time. Fundamentally, there is

insignificant change in attitudes over time for students who participated in the study generally.

Beasley (2004) researched ways in which psychological responses to perceived racism promote lower career aspirations in well-educated African-Americans compared to their Caucasian counterparts and how this impedes racial parity. The study assumed that second-generation barriers resulting from the legacy of previously legitimized racism in the American South still pose problems in terms of group self esteem. It was also assumed that the psycho-social responses to past or perceived discrimination among well-educated African-Americans would indicate an avoidance of predominantly White career fields. The respondents were drawn from a sample from two prestigious universities. The findings indicated that African Americans tend to opt out of White dominated fields of work: (a) in reaction to previous experiences of racial discrimination African-Americans isolate themselves from social networks with greater career resources and ties than their own by maintaining segregated social circles, and (b) the experience of stereotype threat. This is defined as the psychological threat arising from a situation or activity for which a negative stereotype about a group exists. The result of this type of threat has been the withdrawal of Black students from science and mathematical majors in the USA. This, because, the stereotype exists that African-American students do not do well in these fields. The findings suggest that claims that affirmative action is ineffective in producing higher academic and occupational accomplishment among minorities are inaccurate and that segregated social ties amongst students in universities are detrimental to the career paths of Black students.

An investigation to determine the impact of experiences with racial diversity in college on students' racial attitudes and values at a small liberal arts university in California was conducted by Kalogrides (2004). Findings indicate that exposure to diversity during college played an important role in changing students' racial perspectives although students' pre-college attitudes were found to be the strongest predictors of change in their attitudes across groups. It was further concluded that college experiences do not have the same impact on all students. Experiences with diversity in college were found to have more of an impact on shifting the racial perspectives of Asian American students and students from low income groups. These racial and economic differences underscore the complexity of the impact of college life and the importance of considering individual differences between students. The impact of experience on individuals with diversity in college varies for different kinds of students depending on variables such as race and economic background. It is concluded that not all students will benefit equally, in terms of learning about and understanding diversity, from the same college experiences.

Research conducted by Shiao and Tuan (2005) explored the experiences of undergraduate students pertaining to campus diversity in the USA using the case of Korean adoptive children. The study, based on relevant literature, assumed that universities are settings which are seen to provide an arena for culture differences that both racialise and ethnicise young adults. The researchers aimed at investigating the relationship between higher education and ethnicity. The study found that institutional

segmentation and social networks delimit the validity of diversity on campuses. This segmentation was seen as having implications on undergraduate socialization and on race, ethnicity and student culture generally.

Castro (2005) studied race relations in a university setting in the USA through interviewing Asian, Black, White and Latino students. The study found that many White students have a type of race related amnesia. Essentially, the white group appears to have a collective unconscious that has not experienced racism per se which, it is postulated, explains their lack of connection and personal experience of other cultural groups' experience of racism. The study revealed predominant patterns of reverse racism and stereotyping. Students in minority groups were critical of their treatment with regard to cultural and gender stereotyping. The research findings confirmed that unofficial segregation occurred on many campus, which both minority groups and White students attributed to three primary reasons namely; *Personal comfort* relating to being more comfortable with people of their own race due to personal history and familial definitions of friendship; *Mechanism of defense* where students explained that they are in a constant battle to defend themselves against the majority White population and *Dollars and Cents* connecting the issue of segregation on campuses to the cost of higher education. Students suggested a variety of possible solutions, including the need for all student racial groups on campuses to use their voices to fight racial marginalization. However, other respondents noted that a university can never force people from different races on campus to associate with one another due to the individualistic nature of choosing one's social circle.

Castro (2006) conducted an investigation into how spaces become racially defined on campuses by conducting interviews with Black, White, Latino, and Asian females at two majority White universities in the USA. Students' perceptions of group activities, including classroom and social group behaviour(s) and unofficial dormitory segregation were investigated. Findings included the perception that interracial friendships did not seem to be forming due to psycho-social boundaries that had been drawn by the majority White group. For example, students believed that social groups on campuses are defined as either a minority group or by default a White group. They also believed that student interaction in large lecture venues does not lead to friendships across race groups. However, in smaller more intimate teaching venues it was perceived that friendships were easier to make across racial lines. Many students perceived that there were certain majors that were predefined for White students and certain majors predefined for minorities. Another finding indicated that on-campus living is very important to friendship formation during a student's years of study but there are issues with unofficial segregation (Minorities tend to be placed in the same hostel and not integrated with White students). Due to the spatial distance between students, many interviewees in the study stated that they did not believe that interracial friendships are possible while completing their undergraduate education. Some respondents reported to making an effort to meet students from different race groups. However, this was reported as individual choice and not institutionally or socially encouraged.

Moore (2006) asserts that elite law schools in the USA serve a gate-keeping function into the profession of law, a profession which dominates positions of power in all branches of government as well as in the business world. As a sub-system of the legal system elite law schools possess institutional power. Law Schools are historically privileged institutions which have tended to favour registration of the dominant Caucasian group. An investigation into registration at these universities indicated that the dominant practices and discourses in these institutions is characterized by subtle racism. As a result, students of colour within these spaces face systematic, sometimes subtle, challenges to their ability, their intelligence, their perceptions and their right to even be in the law school. Examining the racial challenges faced by law students of colour who must negotiate subtle racism, revealed the mechanisms by which concepts of liberal individualism and subtle racism work which ultimately justify and reinforce White power and privilege.

According to Lewis (2006) American universities often promote their diversity as a selling point. However, it is difficult to determine whether students of different races at these universities integrate socially. The Social Energy Theory was used in this study as a framework to examine racial segregation among university students. The findings indicated that students are more segregated than anticipated more specifically Blacks and Hispanics. These students spend large amounts of energy coping with prejudice and discrimination. They also find it difficult to function in a student culture they find unwelcoming and foreign. This means that ultimately they do not enjoy, or get the best out of, university life in a diverse context. The large amount of negative energy these

students' experiences negatively impact their racial interaction which leads to the unofficial and/or social segregation of different ethnic groups. The study conclusions highlight the need for the understanding of social segregation as a function of the interaction of out-group preferences, in-group preferences, and the larger social context.

Parks (2007) investigated the experience of Latino students' regarding racism and discrimination at three large universities, with a predominately Caucasian intake, in different regions of the USA. The focal point for previous research was the experience of African American and Latino students of racial discrimination in education (Feagin, Vera, and Imani 1996). The study concluded that there were cases of discrimination based on race experienced by Latino and African American students at both the individual and institutional levels.

Ile (2008) researched the experiences of international students studying in the USA by exploring their identity constructs and socialization. These students are exposed to social and physical environments that are very different from their home environment(s). In an attempt to adjust and become accustomed to the different social and physical environment international students experience a change in their self identity constructs. Such changes result from their socialization as students in the USA. Several important aspects of international students' experiences were examined for instance, their current identity (that is, at the time of the research) constructs, the extent to which they identify themselves with each construct and how they attempt to resolve the problems with social and environmental problems in the host country. The results indicated that most

international students maintained a strong identity as citizens of their country of origin. Major concerns highlighted by the international students were language difficulties and societal discrimination. In an attempt to address this they actively try to improve their proficiency in language and also tried to fit in better socially by studying harder and socializing more with the locals.

A study conducted by Banks (2008) examined the role emotions play in old fashioned racism and subtle forms of racism. The researcher argues that these two concepts are linked to anger in the early development of individuals. This happens because the ideology surrounding race is filled with attributions of blame and control and these appraisals lead to the experience of anger. It can be further argued that anger drives both forms of racism which are not distinct entities. The study noted that anger is significantly related to old-fashioned racism and racial resentment. The study findings indicated that there was a significant relationship between anger and racial resentment.

2.16 Studies of racism amongst students at South African universities

Studies have been conducted in South Africa to examine race relations amongst students at institutions of higher learning. Some of the studies are presented here to underpin the rationale for the present investigation.

In the early to mid-20th century MacCrone (1932) developed an experimental scale for measuring attitudes. Malherebe (1946) used this scale to investigate the attitudes of

academics to other races at a university in the mid 20th century. He described positive changes in the attitudes of White South Africans who lived and worked with Black people at so-called English universities. He stated that these universities had quite an open attitude toward the admission of Black and Coloured students.

Pettigrew (1960) up-dated and used the attitude scale originally developed by MacCrone (1932) in a study at a tertiary institution in the nineteen sixties. He reported correlations between authoritarianism as measured by a Likert-type F scale and various measures of white prejudice in white South African society. The research concluded that there was a relationship between authoritarianism and race attitudes in South Africa which is a highly prejudiced society.

Louw-Potgieter (1989) conducted research on covert racism in South Africa. The main aims of the study was firstly to illustrate the use of qualitative, linguistic data in the study of overt racism and secondly to focus on the experience of Black people at the receiving end of racist acts. This is very important as some racist behaviour(s) may not necessarily be explicitly expressed. The perpetrator may exhibit behaviour that suggests that they discriminate against a certain person and not say anything to confirm their actions. The findings of the study noted that Black students' accounts of racist experiences did not constitute making snap judgments about other individual's racist leanings (whether White or Black). In addition their accounts illustrated that when judging an incident as racist or not, Black students showed a high degree of tolerance (that is testing all possible alternative interpretations before deciding that an incident

could be construed as racist) and made clear distinctions between racist and non-racist incidents (that is did not react in an over-sensitive manner by classifying all discriminatory instances as racist). It was also found that most Black students expressed a sense of powerlessness and resignation regarding covert racism on campus.

Slabbert (2001) argues that in-order for a non-racial world to exist theories and assumptions regarding race must be rendered irrelevant. In view of the 1994 elections in South Africa research underpinned by this concept was deemed pertinent. An investigation was conducted to ascertain racist paradigms amongst students. The tool measured ethnic group identification and inter-racial attitudes. The findings indicated that there are significant levels of racist stereotypes in all racial groups, with respondents having a strong positive bias towards their own racial group. The primary conclusion of this research was that racist perceptions and stereotypes are prevalent and active in contemporary South African society.

According to Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2001) research on racial attitudes indicates that acceptance of the principle of racial equality is frequently offset by opposition to policies designed to eliminate injustice. Research on the contact hypothesis indicates that positive interaction between groups erodes various kinds of prejudiced attitudes. Integrating these two traditions of research the study examines whether or not interracial contact reduces gaps in racial attitudes. The results suggest that amongst Whites, there remains a stubborn core of resistance to policies designed to rectify the

injustices of Apartheid. The results also indicate that interracial contact has differential and inconsistent effects on the attitudes of Whites and Blacks toward practices aimed at achieving racial justice.

Durrheim and Dixon (2001) conducted a study in South Africa looking at ways in which White South African holidaymakers justify racial segregation and criticise social transformation by explaining segregation as the natural and inevitable outcome of the fact that people are cultural beings. The study investigated the features of racial discourse putting the focus on the way in which ordinary people use theories about humans as cultural beings to normalise racist practices. The arguments given by the respondents justified segregation and criticised social transformation in South Africa. This was carried out by placing limits of belief on what is and what is not possible regarding cultural contact. The researchers suggested that cultural and biological discourse of race share common rhetorical and ideological strategies and functions which can be used to justify racial segregation.

According to Shindondola (2002) in a study conducted at Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) on international students' experiences of xenophobia in South Africa xenophobia appears to be increasing. Xenophobia as an area of study is receiving a lot of attention on both the part of researchers and the media in South Africa. It is not only people who are illegal immigrants in South Africa who seem to be experiencing xenophobia, but also those, from other countries, who are legal, for example students. The aims of the study were to (i) document international students' experiences of xenophobia in South

Africa so that appropriate actions may be taken to ameliorate their situation; (ii) to explore the nature and scale of xenophobia directed towards these students; (iii) to gain some understanding of perceived causes of xenophobia in South Africa and lastly (iv) to learn about other challenges facing international students in South Africa. The main conclusion reached is that xenophobia is about anti-Black sentiments related to African (Black) foreigners. It is not about fear of foreigners, but about intense dislike of difference, which is often expressed in terms of verbal and physical abuse. Tshitereke (1999) in Shindondola (2002) argues that in South Africa this subjective fear and absolute dislike seems to have translated itself into intense tension and violence by South Africans towards African or Black foreigners. Unlike other phobias that are described as psychological conditions, xenophobia is a social condition that requires a social explanation. It is, in reality, only about intense dislike rather than fear as such.

Groenewald, (2004) investigated how young, educated respondents define racism and whether differences in defining racism are linked to population categories such as race and gender in a statistically significant way. The study also examined specific assertions such as the following (i) Black people are generally easily personally offended by race terminology; (ii) White people generally experience fewer things as racist than Black people; (iii) Black people accept generalisations about White people and vice versa and (iv) women are more sensitive about race issues than their male counterparts. The underlying assumption in the study was that racism is institutionalised and needs to be actively opposed, because it is racism, rather than innate racial qualities that prevents access to life chances, freedom from poverty and relative

freedom from violence. If societies understand what different groups experience as racism it may be possible for them to convince a broader constituency of the need to fight against its damaging effects. Apart from tertiary institutions in South Africa, this report proves that there is racism generally on a fairly large scale in South Africa.

Durrheim and Dixon (2004) researched the attitudes of people, in everyday life, with specific reference to the discourse of racial evaluation and the lived experience of desegregation. This investigation critically reviewed the psycho-social literature on race attitudes, which assumes that the prejudicial status of any expression is determined by the underlying psychological attitude that motivated it. Contemporary theories of racial attitudes (symbolic racism, self-presentation and aversive racism) explain how, when and why attitudes vary and propose research paradigms for isolating prejudiced from non-prejudiced expressions. Research in this area may be enhanced by the use of qualitative methods that place fewer constraints on the expression of racial attitudes and variability than quantitative methods do. Using empirical materials from a South African case study, the authors indicate that a focus on attitudinal discourse and the lived experience of desegregation allow researchers to investigate attitudes as social practices.

Pillay and Collings (2004) conducted research on students' experiences and attitudes of racism on a university campus. More than half of the respondents reported having experienced a total of nine hundred and twenty six racial incidents on campus in a period of twelve (12) months. These experiences ranged from discriminatory behaviours perpetuated by not only students but staff as well. It must be noted that that the

university academic staff on the campus are predominately White and the student populace predominately Black. Findings indicated that males were more likely to make racist statements as compared to females and White students rated higher on measures of old-fashioned racism than Black students. It was also found that Indian/Asian and White students scored higher on a measure for subtle forms of racism than Black students.

Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel (2005) examined racism in the South African media in an inquiry for the South African Human Rights Commission. The research explored the discursive practices used by mainstream newspapers in response to accusations of racism. Their findings revealed how several interlocking strategies of denial were used to remodel the field of racist practices and representations into an environment suited to promoting White privilege. Specifically, the media used strategies of splitting, (dis)locating, relativising, trivialising, de-racialising and reversing racism. By constructing racism in this way the South African media is able to sidestep criticism by developing acceptable arguments for reasonable prejudice that marginalise Black experience. It can be concluded that generally speaking, Whites continue to be privileged and Blacks continue to be disadvantaged by the legacy of the past and the practices of the present.

According to Roets (2007) White students are being overlooked in favour of poorly achieving Black students in the awarding of bursaries. Universities in South Africa also discriminate against White students denying them entry although they did better than

their Black counterparts in terms of matriculation results. He noted that special arrangements are made to accommodate Black students from privileged areas while White students from poor areas are passed over because they are regarded as advantaged. A prominent university such as the University of Pretoria was identified as one of the universities discriminating against White students in this regard. This, it was concluded, is reverse discrimination. The paper argues that there is a need for equal distribution and access of resources to all.

Ouma (2008), a postdoctoral fellow from Kenya, detailed his experiences of covert racism, perpetuated by both students and staff, at two universities in South Africa. The universities had different backgrounds thus it was assumed that there would be a perceived difference in race relations. The accounts seem to disprove this and bring to light a general racist mentality against fellow Africans at South African institutions. The racism that was experienced was of the covert, insidious and subliminal type. Ouma (2008) noted that his very black complexion led to him being called the Black guy (by other Blacks). At both institutions White colleagues often made racist comments to the effects that he is not like their own [local Blacks]. This comment was meant in a negative sense. He noted that his acquaintances amongst staff at the institutions felt they could make racist remarks to him about their fellow South Africans. For instance, several Black staff members made comments insinuating that Black South African students would not pass modules offered by specific White Professors. He noted that generally Black South Africans make racist comments about Whites, Coloureds about Blacks, and Whites about Indians/Asians. The comments they made were generally

stereotypes where Blacks and Coloureds were labelled as good for nothing and incompetent, Whites as ruthless and racist and Indians/Asians as crafty and exploitative.

According to Gouws (2008) racism at tertiary institutions in South Africa demonstrates not only the lack of transformation in tertiary education but also the limited impact of reconciliation in the newly democratic country. The researcher further asserts that the biggest challenge for transformation on South African campuses, more specifically in Afrikaans dominated campuses, is the institutional culture that is steeped in patriarchal Apartheid past. Such environments promote what can be termed an invisible rule that alienates and marginalises White groups from other cultures. Blatant racism is indicative of attitudinal racism based on stereotyping and prejudice. The findings indicated that there is no tertiary education institution that is void of racism. Students at tertiary institutions need to be tolerant of one and other and develop respect for diversity. The researcher concluded that the only way to achieve this is for the promotion and understanding of cultural diversity at different levels of society.

2.17. Racism in the workplace in the workplace – global context

According to Lamont and Stallworth (2005), in a study conducted in America, ethnic minorities experience workplace bullying as an everyday experience. Participants belonging to four racial/ethnic groups (Asians, African-Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, and whites) filled in a survey questionnaire of general and racial/ethnic bullying

experiences and returned them with full confidentiality to the authors. This bullying was in some cases reported to be overt but was much more likely to be implicit or subtle racism. The study also found that different types of bullying were perpetrated on individuals depending on their ethnicity. Essentially, bullying is different and more subtle the less Black (African American) an individual is.

McPherson (2008) in a study conducted in Lancashire in the United Kingdom investigated how bullying underpinned by personality clashes can escalate into racist behaviour(s). The author highlighted the importance of establishing a culture where individuals take responsibility for challenging racial and sexual stereotypes and also discriminatory practices towards disabled people. The paper concluded that if staff felt that they were being treated fairly and were valued by the organisation it was unlikely that bullying, harassment and discrimination would take place. It noted that managers need to become sensitive to people's needs by upgrading their leadership skills by gaining an insight into how their behaviour affects the people they manage.

Gooden (2008) researched subtle racism in the workplace in an American state. It was found that subtle racism towards Black employees is still a problem in 21st century society. Results of the study indicate that there is a significant relationship between locus of control and subtle racism. The finding suggests that individuals with an external locus of control are more likely to possess intolerant views toward Blacks than those with an internal locus of control. It was also reported that subtle racist attitudes were highly associated with the workplace promotion of Black individuals.

According to Deitch et al. (2008) research concerning workplace discrimination should be promoted by looking at everyday discriminatory practices. The authors found that stigmatised individuals who were victims of subtle, pervasive discriminatory acts, experienced *problems in living* such as stress, anxiety and depression. In addition to demonstrating the occurrence of subtle discrimination, evidence was presented which indicated that the experience of everyday discrimination is negatively associated with various indicators of well-being. This adds to the employee having more time off sick which leads to a related negative economic problem for the employer. Fundamentally, more people off work sick equals less productivity which means a drop in turnover.

2.18. Racism in the workplace – South African context

Hite (2006) in a study of perceptions of racism and illusions of equity in the workplace in South Africa noted that Black respondents perceived that there was much racism in the workplace. Black staff generally were also in favour of affirmative action in terms of racial and gender equity. White respondents did not perceive workplace racism and felt that affirmative action was not necessary. The study noted that White and Black staff had diametrically opposed views in terms of perceived racism and the need for affirmative action.

Makgetla (2007) states that that individuals who seek legal action in cases of perceived racial discrimination find these cases very difficult to prove. Moreover, the equality courts in South Africa have played almost no role in combating racism in corporate

environments. The author contends that subtle discrimination exists but is difficult to prove as racial discrimination. In some sectors of industry, for instance the mining sector, it seems that persons from previously disadvantaged backgrounds have greatly increased their participation in the industry. However, it appears that Black upward mobility has been interpreted by Whites as encroaching onto their territory not as levelling the playing fields in an industry that was once a White male domain.

Nel and Dlamini (2007) assert that new workplace legislation in South focuses on individual well-being and is reflected in proficient organisational practice. The new South African Labour Act enables individual and collective empowerment in its basic structure. This is particularly important for previously disadvantaged groups who cannot fulfill their full potential unless both physiological and psychological needs are met. The post democracy re-structuring of labour legislation, which will hopefully end racial discrimination in the workplace, supports empowers the employee.

April (2008) conducted a study on xenophobia in the workplace in South Africa. The finding indicated that victims of xenophobia suffer many negative psychological effects. The findings also suggest that xenophobia is not uncommon and that most foreign workers have experienced some level of discrimination at work. It was also found that foreign workers from other African countries face the most discrimination. It seems that South African workers are more accepting of foreigners from Europe and are much less likely to discriminate against them in any way.

2.19 Differing views of Racism in post Apartheid South Africa.

According to Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel (2005) and Groenewald (2004) one of the main ironies of life in post-apartheid South Africa is that Whiteness continues to be privileged. This privilege occurs despite Apartheid legislation being scrapped and policies being put in place to redress previous inequalities. Political opinion is divided about whether racism is still a problem in the country or not. The terms race and racism are considered to constitute emotive language. As such, this type of discourse still has considerable influence on the emotions of many people.

Amodio, Kubota, Harmon-Jones, & Devine, (2006) argue that the ability to imagine political and economic social systems where race makes no sense is an essential, though an underdeveloped part of articulating believable anti-racism strategies. At the beginning of the 21st century it was commonly stated that race is not a valid biological entity. Race is viewed as more of a social entity which has specific social outcomes. However, there are certain biological features which are specific to different races thus science per se has become involved in emotive discourses concerning race. In investigations into discourses of race it was noted that society needs to understand how racial stereotypes have informed our understanding of different cultures. It was concluded that history should be rewritten through a more anti-racist discourse which looks at modern society and confronts issues from the past to formulate a new understanding of how societal stereotypes on racism came into being.

2.20 Résumé

According to Fischer (2002) after fourteen years of a newly democratic South Africa racism is still one of the country's greatest problems. This is supported by Durrheim, Quayle, Whitehead and Kriel (2005) who argue that in post-Apartheid and democratic South Africa Whiteness is still advantaged. Thuram (2001) and Slabbert (2001) insist that silence is the worst approach when dealing with racism. Racist discourse needs a more proactive approach which needs to be adopted in addressing the issue of racism instead of shying away from the problem. Racist perceptions and stereotypes are still prevalent in the global context. In South Africa racism reportedly still occurs in the workplace and in tertiary institutions as they are a microcosm of society generally.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology used in the study will be discussed in this chapter. The research design of the investigation is consistent with that of a randomized non-experimental survey design. The study adopted a holistic approach to data collection, where both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used. A quantitative research tool used was in the form of a questionnaire the responses were we analysed using descriptive statistics, for instance histograms and frequency tables, to give a broad overview or picture of the data. Quantitative methods produce quantifiable and reliable data which can usually be generalized to a larger population. A parametric statistical tool, namely an independent T-test, was used to make inferences about the data collected.

Qualitative data was collected by means of open-ended questions added to the questionnaire. The data collected from these questions was analysed using discourse analysis. According to Lyons and Coyle (2007) discourse analysis is social constructionist approach with the emphasis of language as the core assumption. Specific words were used by the respondents to describe certain racial groups based on specific paradigms. The responses reflected the respondent's perceptions to race groups which are underpinned by the paradigms they have been exposed to in their social and early development.

Questionnaires were distributed to students and were self-report in nature. This ensured that the data collection was confidential and not exposed to administrator bias. The research design is consistent with triangulation or a multi-method approach to the phenomena under investigation.

3.2 Hypothesis

The study has the following assumptions, which are underpinned by relevant literature examined:

- racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand (UniZul);
- male students will be less tolerant of other race groups;
- female students will be more tolerant of other race groups.

3.3 Target population

The study focused on the University of Zululand students. A sample of four hundred (400) students at the University of Zululand was drawn from a sampling frame consisting of all the registered students at the University of Zululand. This method was deemed appropriate as students are generally, homogenous in the demographics of age and education which allows for generalisability of results.

3.4 Sampling methods

Probability sampling was used for this study as every student had an equal opportunity of participating in the investigation. The sample was determined by utilizing stratified

random sampling. According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) stratified sampling is used to establish a greater degree of representativeness where the population consists of subgroups or strata. For the present study a sample size of four hundred students is deemed appropriate in terms of sampling statistics (five percent (5%) of all registered students). A sampling frame was used to establish the sample size (refer to appendix 5 for enrolment summary).

To calculate the sample size the sampling ratio was calculated to be four point five percent (4.5%) ($400/8842 \times 100$). A sampling ratio of about ten percent (10%) is needed for a moderately large population of approximately ten thousand (10,000) participants (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). The population for this study is eight thousand eight hundred and forty-two (8842) students therefore four point five percent (4.5%) was deemed appropriate. A list of all registered students was obtained and every "Nth" participant was selected for the study. The interval was calculated as every twenty second (22^{nd}) student ($8842/400$). The students are homogenous in terms of two key variables, namely age and educational background; it is likely that the findings can be extrapolated to the student population at large.

Of the four hundred (400) questionnaires sent out three hundred (300) were received back. Twelve of these (12) could not be used as the respondents did not fill in the questionnaires. They completed only the demographic detail on the questionnaires which were therefore discarded. The attrition rate (non-return of questionnaires and improperly filled in questionnaires) was twenty-eight percent (28%) thus the final sample

was two hundred and eighty-eight (288) which is three point two five percent (3.25 %) of the total student population. The size of the sample was still deemed an appropriate one for the study, specifically because the respondents are alike in terms of two key variables which are age and education.

3.5 Data collection

The questionnaires were distributed to every 'nth student (22nd) as per the sampling frame. This was undertaken by sending the questionnaire(s) by e-mail to the potential respondents e-mail address. The e-mail requested the individual to return the completed questionnaire to a sealed box (with a slit for posting the questionnaire) placed in a prominent position in the library. The e-mail also informed the student(s) that they need only participate in the study if they wanted to. If they did not want to participate they were requested to ignore the e-mail. The respondent, in the covering letter of the questionnaire, was asked not to reveal their identity on the completed questionnaire. This process ensured their ensured confidentiality.

3.5.1 The Questionnaire

Data was collected by means of distributing four different questionnaires. The survey questionnaires were based on one pioneered by MacCrone (1932) and updated by Pettigrew (1960) and Durrheim (2007). Permission was obtained from Durrheim to use the up-dated questionnaires. The rationale behind using different, but similar versions of the same questionnaire is to establish construct validity. Essentially, four versions of the

same questionnaire are used to establish construct validity that is the extent to which scores on an instrument are reflective of the desired construct rather than some other construct. It is important that a measurement technique is very closely related to known theory and related concepts. If this can be demonstrated, the instrument can be shown to have high construct validity. (See Appendices 1, 2, 3 and 4).

The questions in the up-dated questionnaire require that respondents indicate their attitude(s) and or opinions towards the various racial groups (and/or perceived characteristics) in South Africa. The questions were deliberate in that they were intended to decipher the various stereotypes that individuals hold and how these underlying stereotypes influence racist attitudes towards certain racial groups. The structure of the questionnaire is as follows, a section for demographic detail, followed by one that looked at stereotypes, then social distance followed by self-report of actual inter-racial contact. In another section of the questionnaire respondents had to indicate the racial groups that existed in South Africa. Each questionnaire had a qualitative question at the completion of the quantitative survey relating to race relations. There were four forms of the questionnaires marked A, B, C and D respectively and they were distributed randomly.

3.6 Data analysis

Data analysis of the self-report information gained from the questionnaires was undertaken using the following methods.

3.6.1 Quantitative data - parametric and non-parametric tests

The quantitative data collected was analysed using both parametric and non-parametric statistics.

Parametric statistical tests measure variables on interval and/or ratio scales. Parametric statistical techniques have two assumptions of the hypothesis being tested, namely that the population from which the sample was drawn has a normal distribution or that two populations have equal variances (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). For the parametric analysis in this study it is assumed that the population is homogenous in terms of demographics and education. To establish group differences between males and females an independent T-test was used. The purpose of this technique as discussed by Kerr, Hall, and Kozub (2004) is to compare means within subgroups of the sample to determine whether there are any statistically significant differences. Fundamentally, a sub-group (females or males) may have a wider or narrower opinion or knowledge base to specific questions which can be ascertained by comparing the variance.

Non-parametric statistical tests focus on the ranking of scores and less on the numerical properties of numbers at interval and ratio scales. Descriptive statistics give a clear representation or overall picture of data thus graphical representations in the form of histograms, illustrated with relevant frequency data, is provided.

3.6.2 Qualitative data

- a) Qualitative data was analysed using a technique called Discourse analysis. This is a social constructionist technique where the language used by individuals is used to examine their constructs of the world and what they have either gained or lost from these constructions. According to TerreBlanche et al (2004) discourse analysis refers to expressing oneself using words, with the emphasis being on the broader patterns of talk and not on the actual speech or conversation. The main assumption, therefore, of this technique is that language is a constructive tool allowing the researcher to reveal hidden motivations behind the participant's spoken words. The person using the language is viewed as selecting from linguistic resources available to them through socialisation and using these descriptive words in constructing versions of events. These constructions may not necessarily be used in an intentional manner but most definitely in a contextual manner. Discourse analysis therefore focuses on the collective reality as constructed through the use of language, meaning that it examines how people use language to construct versions of their worlds (Lyons & Coyle, 2007). As cultural background is a cornerstone to conducting discourse

analysis in conducting the technique described above and applying it to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire the following was considered:

- firstly researchers have to distance themselves from living in the culture in order to be able to reflect on the culture. Reflection can be done in three ways including binary oppositions, recurrent terms and phrases and human subjects. When using binary oppositions the researcher looks at opposites such as, for instance, love against hate or anger against happiness. Binary oppositions are implicit in texts as only one side of the opposition is openly mentioned;
- secondly recurrent phrases, terms and metaphors are identified in the text. These give a certain meaning to the objects or events that are spoken about, in the text, by the participant and
- thirdly the human participants in the investigation are considered, in terms of the global, social and contemporary context that exist during the study (TerreBlanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2004).

The discourses presented under the analysis section were gleaned from data gathered from the open-ended questions according to the above criteria and conclusions and inferences made accordingly.

- b) In each questionnaire format one question, which was different in each of the four forms (A, B, C and D), was asked in order to research perceptions of race

relations. These questions asked the respondent to give an opinion in reply to the question. A breakdown of the main responses will be presented in a tabular format and followed by a brief discussion.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Permission to conduct the research was requested from and granted by the Department of Industrial Psychology. The study was underpinned by ethical considerations as stipulated by the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA). Informed consent was obtained from the participants who were part of the sample for the study. Confidentiality and anonymity was ensured by excluding names of the participants from the questionnaires. Respondents were advised not to put any information of a personal nature on the questionnaire. Research participants were reassured that their welfare was not going to be compromised by taking part in the research. They were also asked to answer questions honestly as this would render the research findings valid and useful.

3.8 Résumé

This chapter has covered the aims of the study, target population, sampling methods, data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration. Quantitative data was analysed using a statistical programme and discourses gleaned from the qualitative data were unpacked using discourse analysis. All ethical considerations were adhered to and data collection procedures were adhered to as stipulated by the Department of Industrial Psychology and the University of Zululand.

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

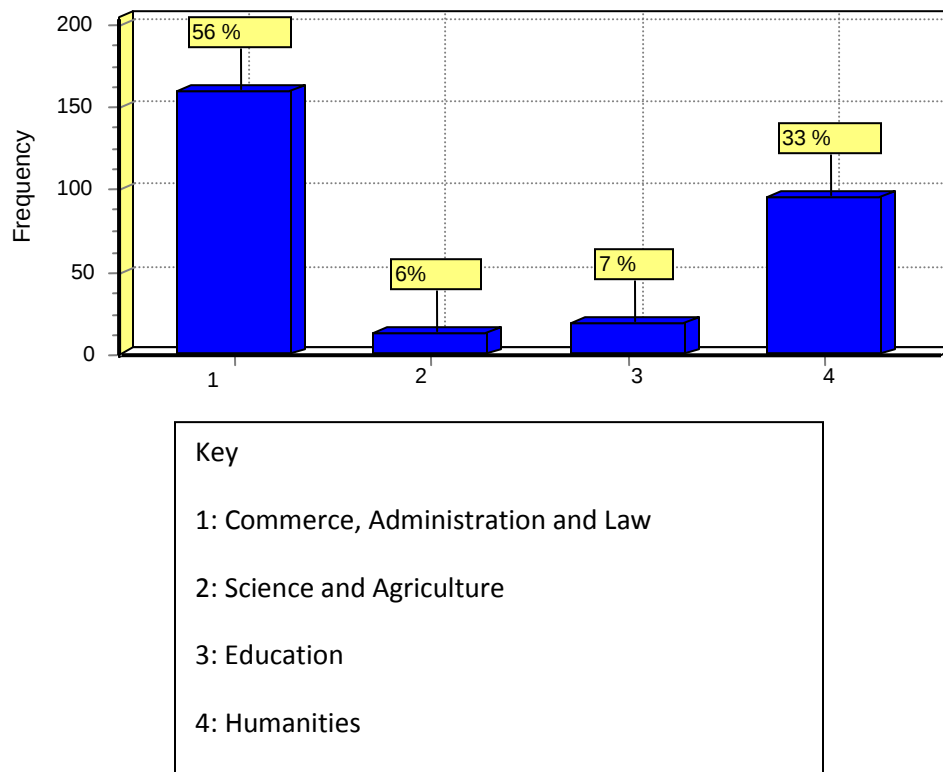
4.1 Introduction

The four questionnaires marked A, B, C and D was distributed and the final sample of two hundred and eighty-eight (288), which is three point two five percent (3.25%) of the total student population, was analysed. The results will be presented in the following way. Quantitative data will be presented first. The results will be displayed in the form of histograms (descriptive statistics) followed by any significant results gleaned from t-test analysis thereafter a discourse analysis of qualitative results.

4.2. Demographic information

Histogram 1:

Faculty to which respondents belong

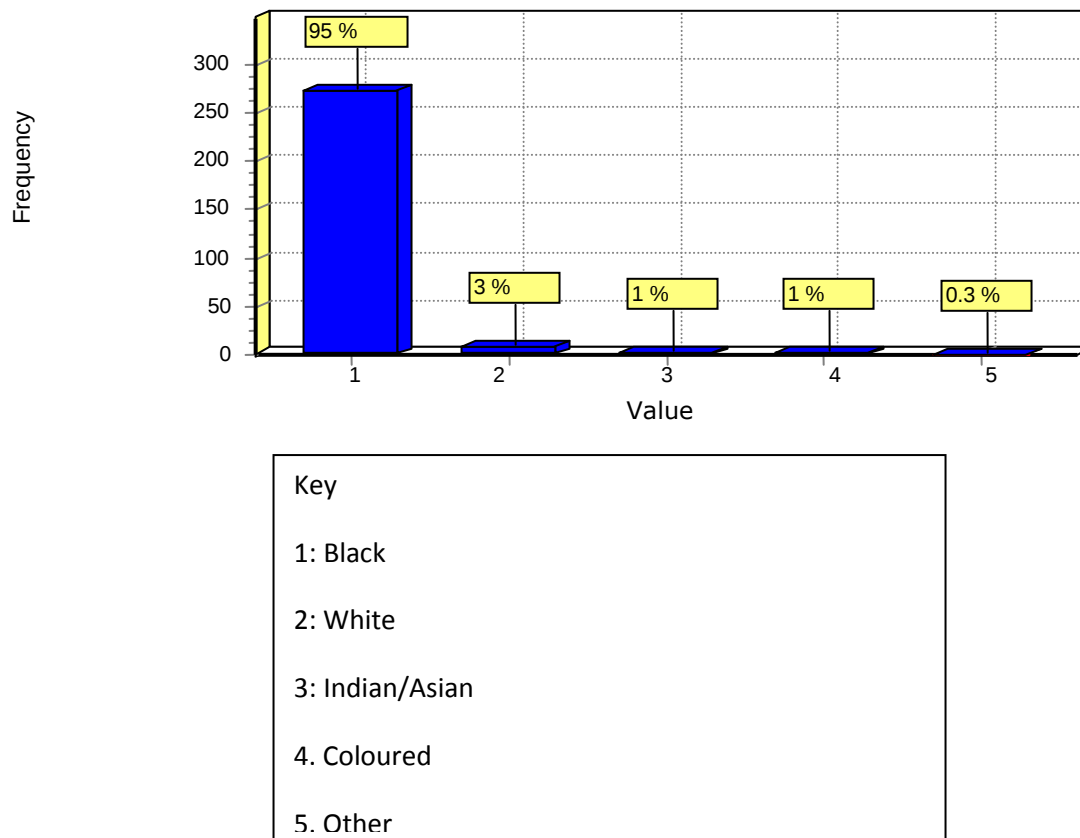


Fifty-six percent (56 %) of respondents were from the Faculty of Commerce, Administration and Law; thirty-three percent (33 %) from the Faculty of Humanities; seven percent (7 %) from the Faculty of Education and six percent (6 %) from the Faculty of Science and Agriculture. It must be noted, however, that although the Faculty of Education has the highest percentage of students enrolled forty-one percent (41 %),

a minimal number of questionnaires were completed and returned by the students from that faculty. The reason for this is not certain.

Histogram 2:

Racial grouping

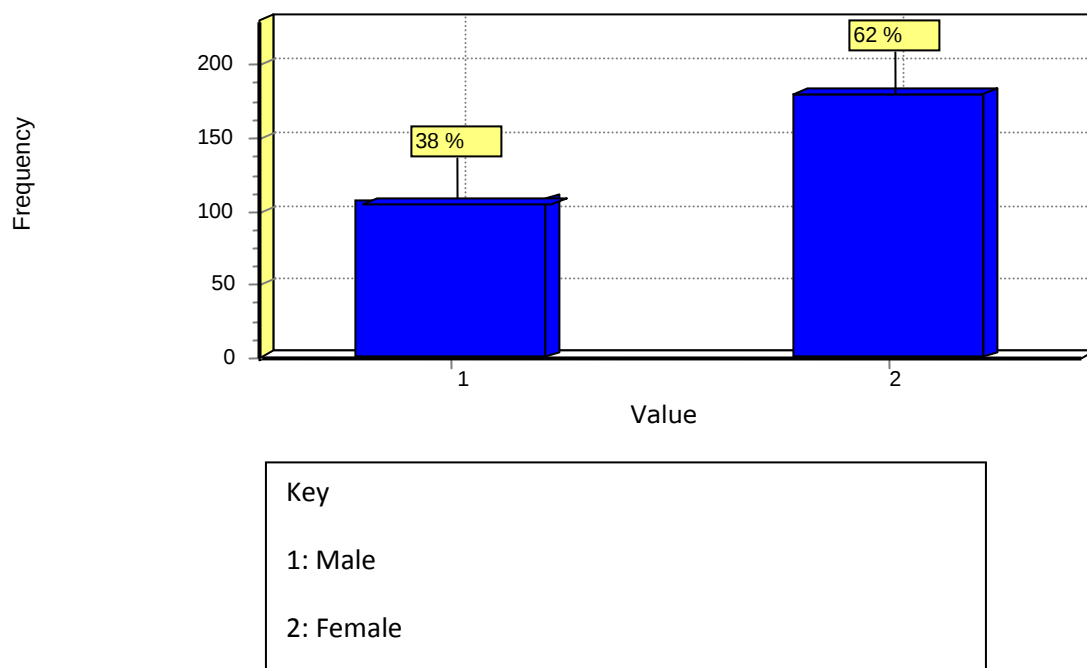


Ninety-five Percent (95 %) of the respondents were Black. This is indicative of the race demographics of the students at the university (see Appendix 5) and the surrounding community. Only three percent (3%) of the respondents were White, one percent (1%) Indian and less than one percent (1%) were Coloured. One student reported that they were Albino in the other category. The respondent evidently did not understand that

being an Albino is not a racial group but a genetic predisposition or this could indicate that the student feels this way possibly from the way in which he or she has been treated by other students.

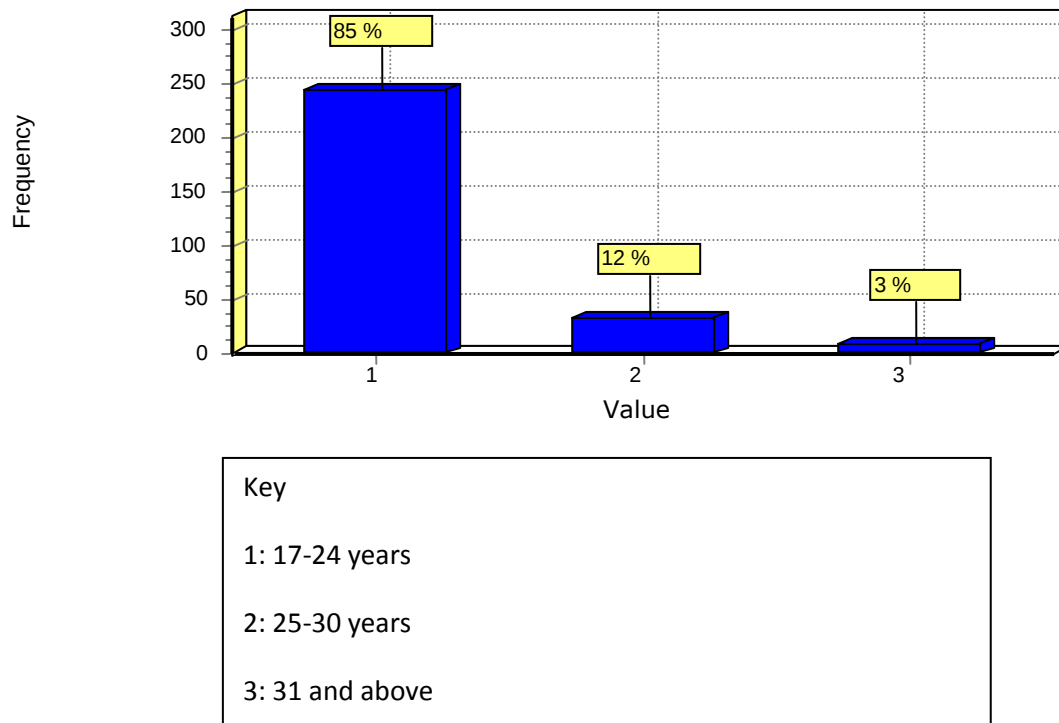
Histogram 3:

Gender



Females make up sixty-two percent (62%) of the respondents in the study and males make up thirty-eight percent (38 %). This is reflective of the gender demographics of the university as there are more female than male students registered at the University of Zululand.

Histogram 4:

Age

The dominant age demographic is the age group between seventeen to twenty-four years (17-24) with eighty-five percent (85 %) of the respondents falling within this age group. This is indicative of the predominant age group at the university and is reflective of the major age category at tertiary institutions generally. Essentially, this means that as respondents are homogenous in terms of age and education it is likely that results can be extrapolated to tertiary institutions generally. Twelve percent (12 %) of the respondents fell in the age group of between twenty-five and thirty years (25- 30) and only three percent (3%) were thirty-one years (31) and above. The findings in this study can be extrapolated to the student populace in general as the majority of students fall

within the age category of seventeen to twenty-five years and are therefore homogenous in terms of age and educational background.

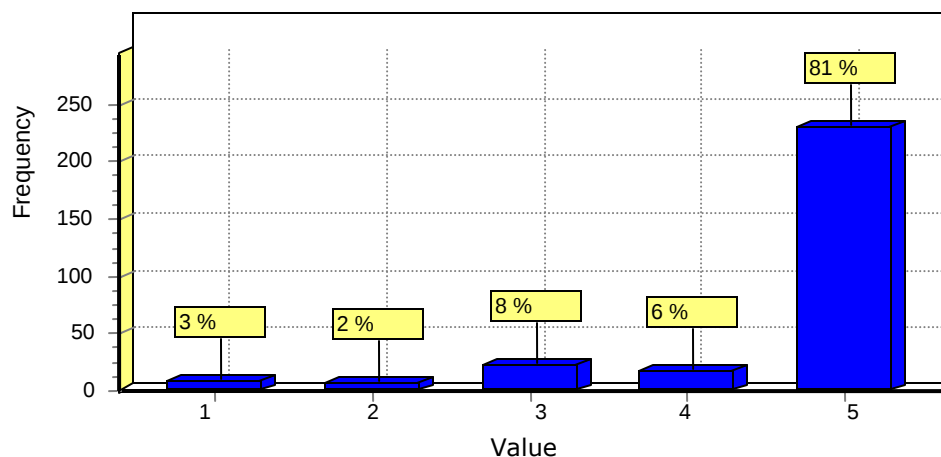
4.3 Results pertaining to social distance and actual contact with other racial groups

These questions examined how respondents interacted with individuals from other racial groups on a scale of either never, rarely, sometimes, often or always. These questions were the same throughout the four questionnaires. The results were combined to give a conceptual picture of the respondents' interaction with the various racial groups. This can be extrapolated to the student body at large at the university because they are homogenous in age and educational background. All histograms in this section have the following key:

1: Never: 2: Rarely: 3: Sometimes 4: Often: 5: Always

Histogram 5:

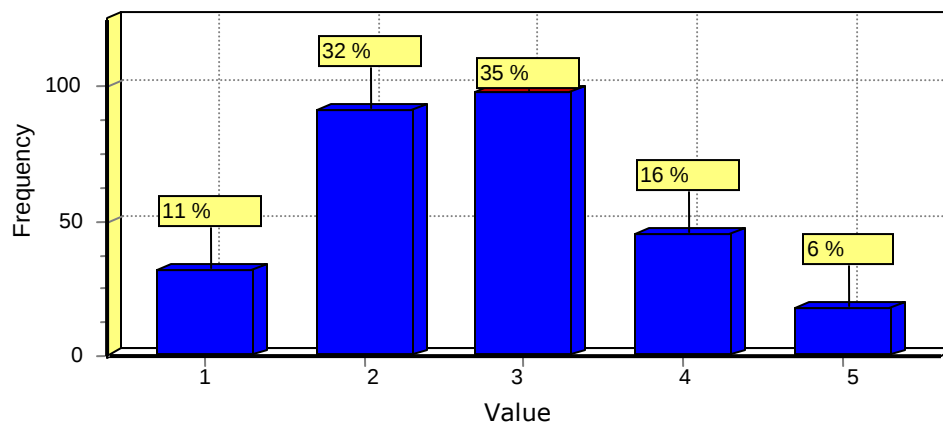
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Blacks as acquaintances?



Eighty-one percent (81 %) of the respondents indicated that they always come into contact with Blacks as acquaintances in their day-to-day life. This can also be seen as an indicator that the majority of students registered at UniZul are Black students thus it is likely that respondents have more Black acquaintances.

Histogram 6:

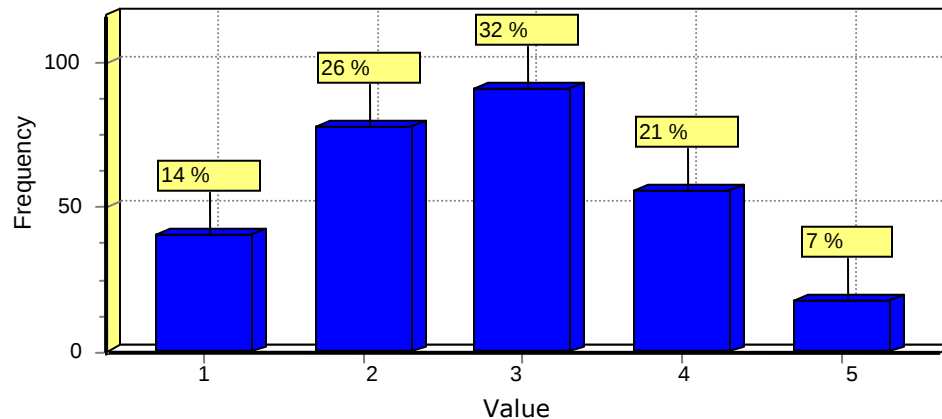
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Whites as acquaintances?



Only thirty-five percent (35 %) of the respondents indicated that they sometimes come into contact with Whites and thirty-two percent (32 %) reported that they rarely come into contact with Whites. This further supports the argument that Black respondents to the questionnaire have limited contact with students from other racial groups.

Histogram 7:

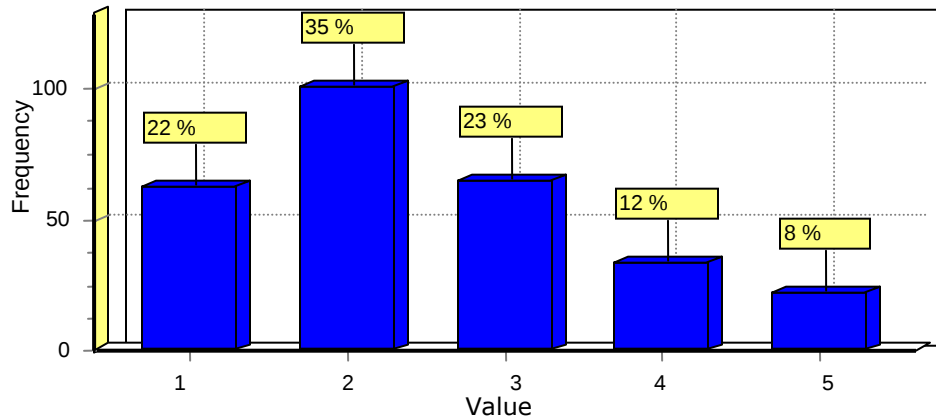
Question - in your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Indians/Asians as acquaintances?



Thirty-two percent (32%) of the respondents indicated that they come into contact with Indians/Asians, while twenty-six percent (26%) indicated that they rarely interact with Indians/Asians and twenty-one percent (21%) said they often come into contact Indians/Asians. According to the statistics (Appendix 5) Indian/Asian students make up one percent (1%) of the student populace at UniZul. The Indians/Asian ethnic group make up three percent (3%) of the total population of the Mhlathuze municipal area generally. It is likely that some of the Black majority at UniZul have some interaction with this ethnic group (Appendix 6).

Histogram 8

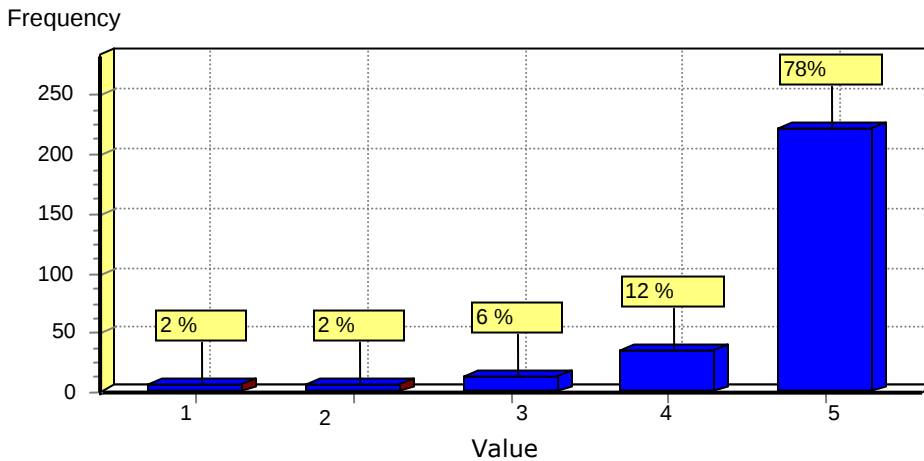
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Coloured as acquaintances?



The majority of respondents indicated that they rarely come into contact with Coloureds as acquaintances. This can be explained by the statistic that Coloureds make up only one percent (1%) of the total population of the Mhlathuze municipal area (Appendix 6). Twenty-two percent (22%) of the participants confirmed that they have never come into contact with Coloured students and twenty-three percent (23%) sometimes come into contact with Coloured students. This is due to the fact that the University has only zero point one percent (0.1%) registered Coloured students. This statistic gives an indication of the small population of Coloureds in the area.

Histogram 9:

Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Blacks as close friends?



Seventy-eight percent (78 %) of the respondents indicate that they when they come into contact with Blacks it's always as close friends. Black students are the largest registered population group at the University of Zululand they will thus form friendships with each other. Black Africans make up eighty-seven percent (87%) of the total population of the Mhlathuze municipal area thus UniZul is a consistent reflection of the broader population demographic.

Table 1:

T test results for contact with Blacks as close friends

Group	N	Mean	Standard deviation	T value	P value
Male	107	4.449	1.092	2.44	0.016
Female	176	4.733	0.652		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender (both male and female), and the variable being analysed (dependent variable) is contact with Blacks as close friends.

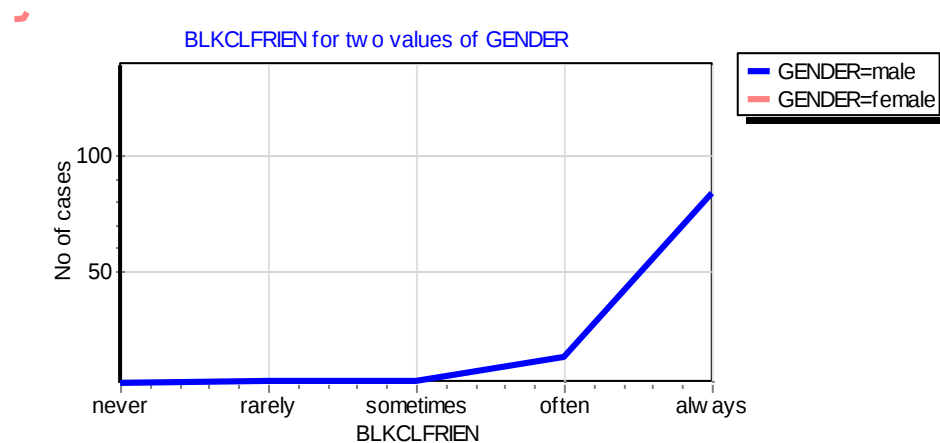
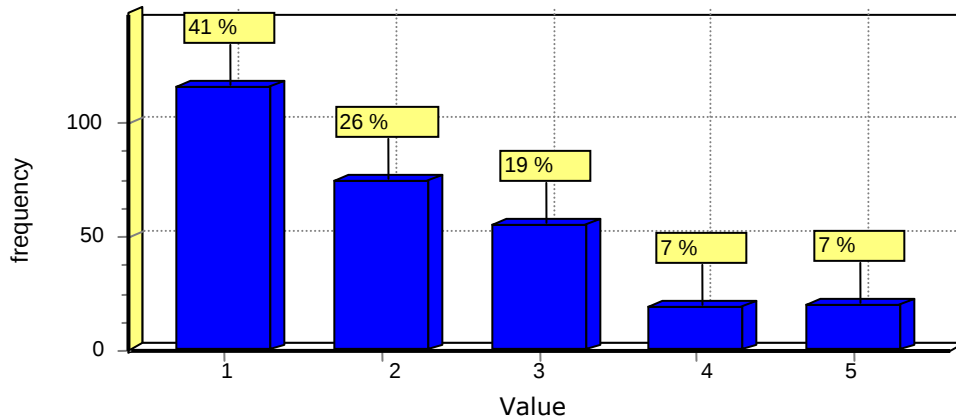


Table 1 indicates the results of a statistical test for difference between the mean score on contact with Blacks as close friends of males and females. The p-value for the test is less than 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. This result indicates that females come into contact with Blacks as close friends more than males. It may be that the term *close friend* has been interpreted by males to mean a more intimate relationship. This is an interesting statistic which is worthy of further investigation.

Histogram 10:

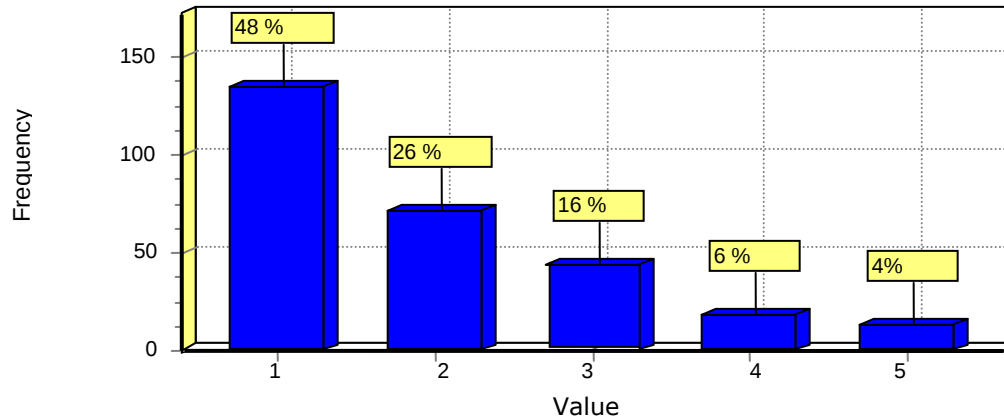
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Whites as close friends?



It is evident from the responses above that the majority of the respondents do not have White students as close friends. This may be indicative of the fact that forty three percent (43%) of the respondents report to rarely or never coming into contact with Whites and a further thirty five percent (35%) only come into contact with them sometimes (See Histogram 6). If it is considered that only twenty two percent (22%) of the respondents report to always or often coming into contact with Whites (Histogram 6) the above table, which indicates that forty one percent (41%) of respondents never come into contact with Whites as close friends and twenty six percent of respondents (26%) rarely come into contact with Whites as close friends, is easily understood. This interpretation is underpinned by the information that ninety five percent of the respondents are Black Africans (Histogram 2).

Histogram 11:

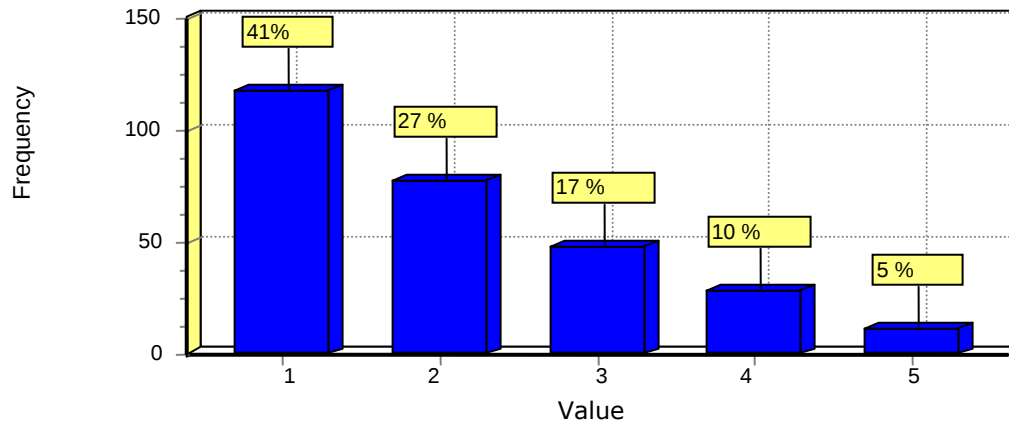
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Indians/Asians as close friends?



Forty-eight percent (48%) of the respondents report that they never come into contact with Indians/Asians in their day - to - day life as close friends and twenty six percent (26%) rarely come into contact with Indian/Asians as close friends. Indian/Asian students make up only one percent (1%) of the student populace (See Appendix 5) and this would substantiate why only four percent (4%) of the respondents indicate that they often or always come into contact with Indians/Asians in their daily lives as close friends. This is supported by the demographic information reported in Histogram 2 where only one percent (1%) of the respondents are Indian/Asian.

Histogram 12

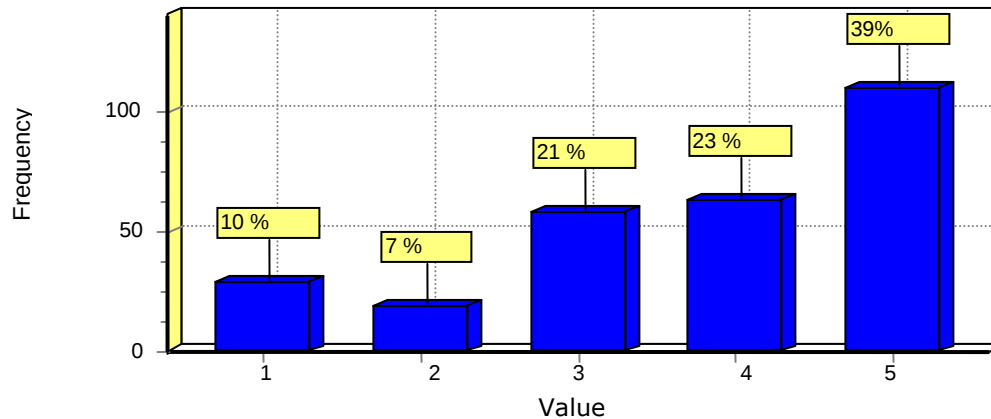
Question - In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with Coloureds as close friends?



Forty-one percent (41%) of the respondents never come into contact with Coloureds as close friends and twenty seven percent (27%) of respondents rarely come into contact with Coloureds as close friends. Seventeen percent (17%) of respondents sometimes come into contact with Coloureds as close friends and a further ten percent (10%) and five percent (5%) come into contact with Coloureds often and always as close friends. There is thus more reported contact with Coloureds than one would expect from the overall demographic that Coloureds only make up zero point one percent (0.1%) of the registered students at UniZul (only one percent (1%) of the respondents to the survey were coloured).

Histogram 13:

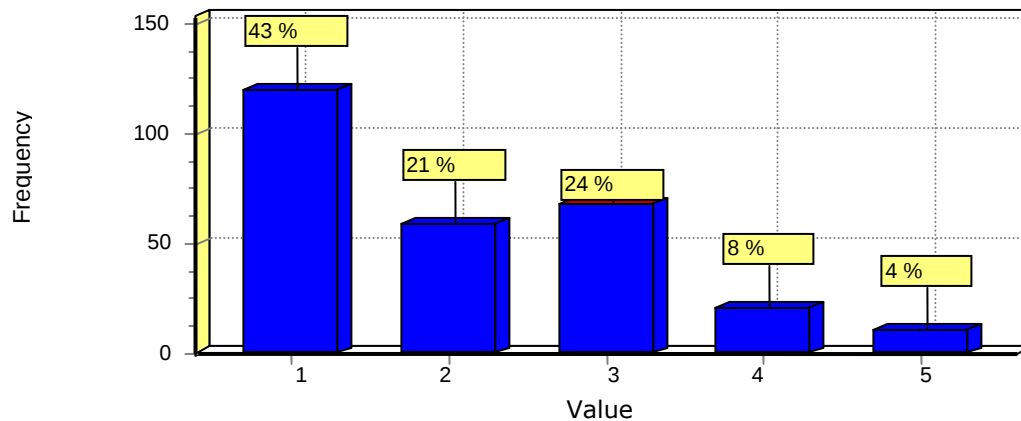
Question - When you come into contact with Blacks is that contact *intimate*



Thirty-nine percent (39%) of the respondents confirmed that when they come into contact with Blacks it is always intimate. Twenty three percent (23%) of respondents and twenty one percent (21%) of respondents respectively report that when they come into contact with Blacks it is often and sometimes intimate. A further seventeen percent (17%) of the respondents report that their contact with Blacks is rarely or never intimate. As ninety-five percent (95%) of the sample is Black (Histogram 2) this is a surprising statistic. It could be that the word intimate has been misunderstood to mean more than friendly or having a close personal association and understood as intimate (sexually) in terms of male and female relationships. Or it could be that this percentage of respondents does not have close friendships on campus owing to intra or inter personal reasons (for instance, an intra personal reason could be having an introverted personality and an inter-personal reason could be Black on Black discrimination because of differing cultural groups).

Histogram 14

Question - When you come into contact with Whites is that contact *intimate*?

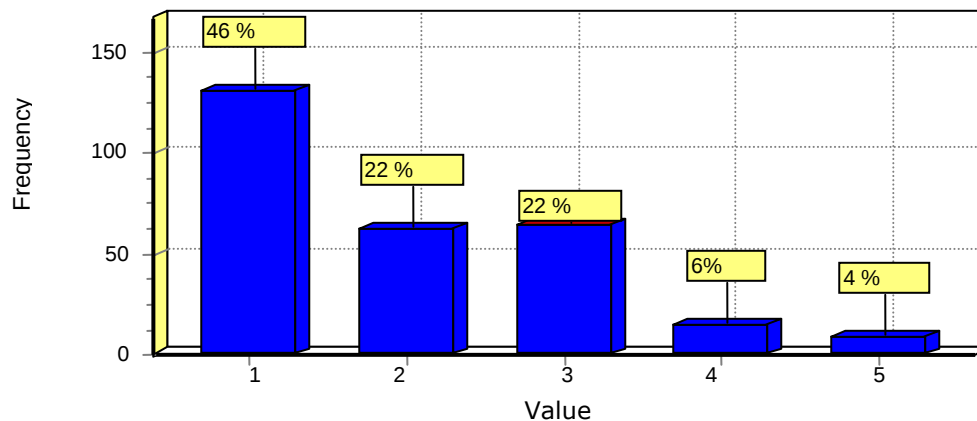


The majority of the respondents never come into contact with Whites on an intimate level and only four percent (4%) indicated that their contact with Whites is always intimate. Whites only make up nine percent (9%) of the population in the Mhlathuze municipal area and Blacks make up eighty-seven percent (87%) of the population. This suggests that most Blacks are not likely to have intimate relationships with Whites based purely on the demographic data of the region. However, overall twelve percent (12%) of respondents indicate that they often or always have intimate relationships with Whites while twenty four percent (24%) of the respondents sometimes have intimate relationships with Whites. Overall, forty percent (40%) of the respondents report to sometimes, often or always having intimate relationships with Whites who account for a demographically small percentage of the university and area demographic. This is over a third of the total respondents and is a higher percentage than might have been

expected. It might be that this percentage of respondents attended schools which had a high proportion of Whites enrolled. The statistic is worthy of further investigation.

Histogram 15

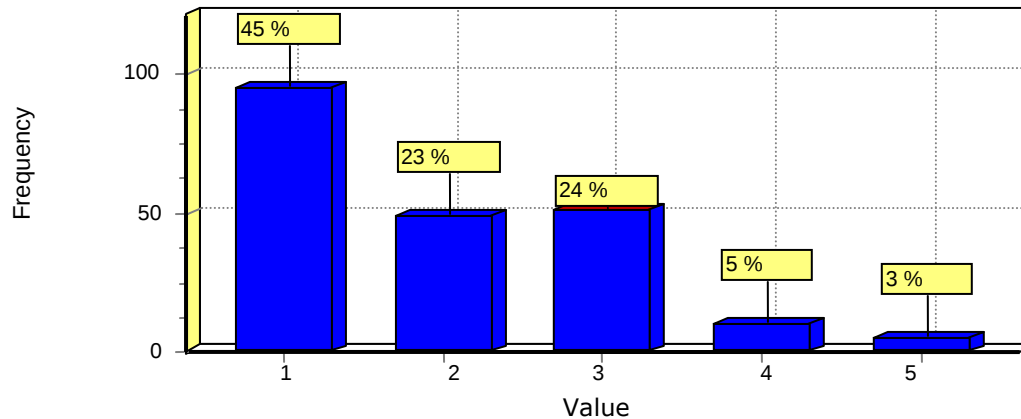
Question - When you come into contact with Indians/Asians is that contact *intimate*?



Forty-six percent (46%) of the respondents have never had intimate contact with Indians/Asians and twenty two percent (22%) of respondents rarely have intimate contact with Indians/Asians. Ten percent (10%) of the respondents have often and always had intimate relationships with this group and twenty two percent (22%) have sometimes had intimate relationships with Indians/Asians. Overall, thirty two percent (32%) of respondents have sometimes, often or always had intimate relationships with Indians/Asians.

Histogram 16:

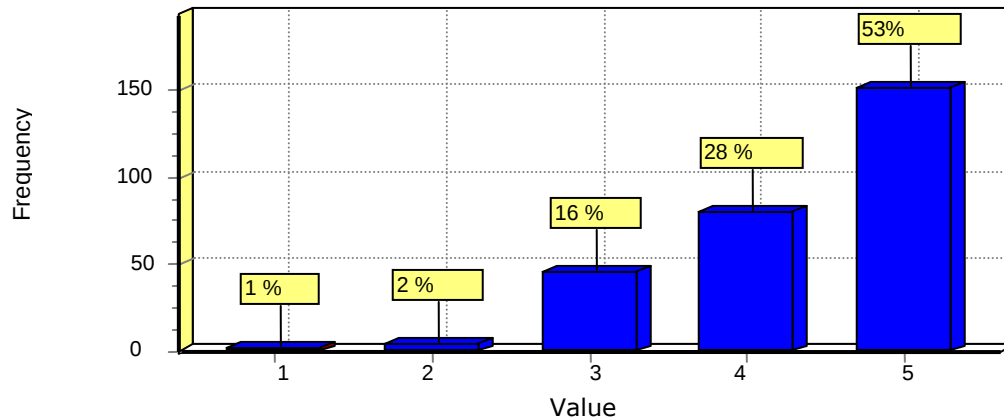
Question - When you come into contact with Coloureds is that contact *intimate*?



The majority of the respondents reported that they never have intimate contact with Coloureds. Twenty-four percent (24%) sometimes have intimate contact with Coloureds and only three percent (3%) always have intimate contact with Coloureds. This indicates the demographic amongst enrolled students which reflects the external community whereby Coloureds only makes up one percent (1%) of the population in the area (Appendix 6). This is further supported by the statistic that Coloured students make up zero point three percent (0.3%) of the student populace at UniZul (Appendix 5).

Histogram 17

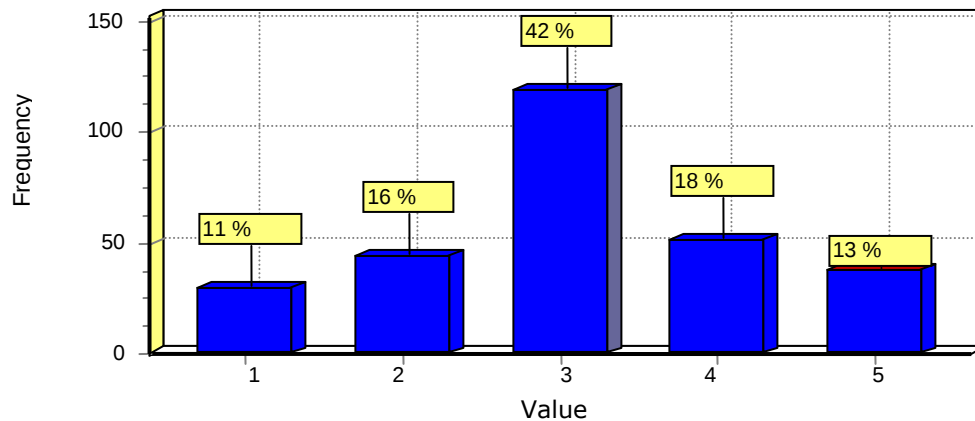
Question- When you come into contact with Blacks is that contact *friendly*?



More than half of the respondents indicated that when they come into contact with Blacks that contact is friendly and only three percent (3%) never or rarely had friendly contact with Blacks. The response, by the three percent (3%), might be based on either single or multiple incidents of unpleasant incidents with other Blacks. It may be that the three percent has a different culture to the majority of students enrolled at Unizul.

Histogram 18

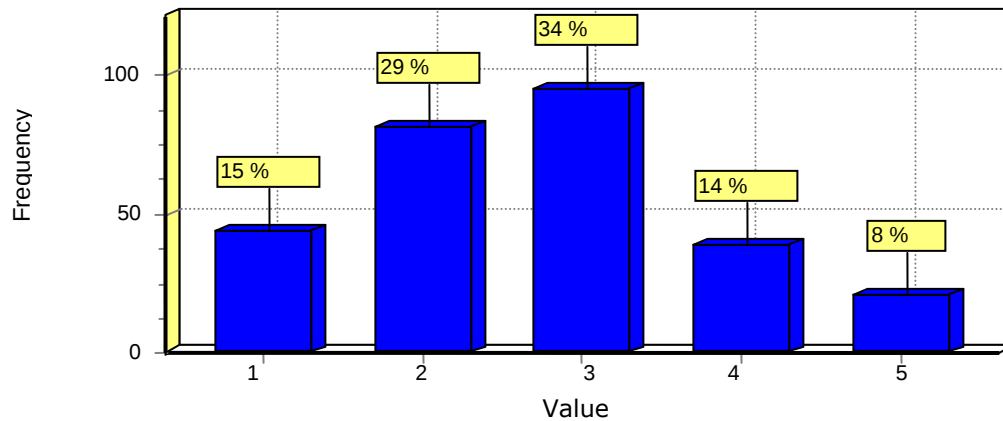
Question - When you come into contact with Whites is that contact *friendly*?



Forty-two percent (42%) of the respondents indicated that sometimes when they come to contact with Whites that contact is friendly while thirteen percent (13%) always have friendly contact with Whites and eighteen percent (18%) often have friendly contacts with Whites. Overall, seventy three percent (73%) of respondents have Always, Often or Sometimes friendly contact with Whites. However, eleven percent (11%) of respondents never have friendly contact with Whites and sixteen percent (16%) of respondents rarely have friendly contact with Whites. This indicates that nearly a third of the sample do not have friendly contact with Whites.

Histogram 19:

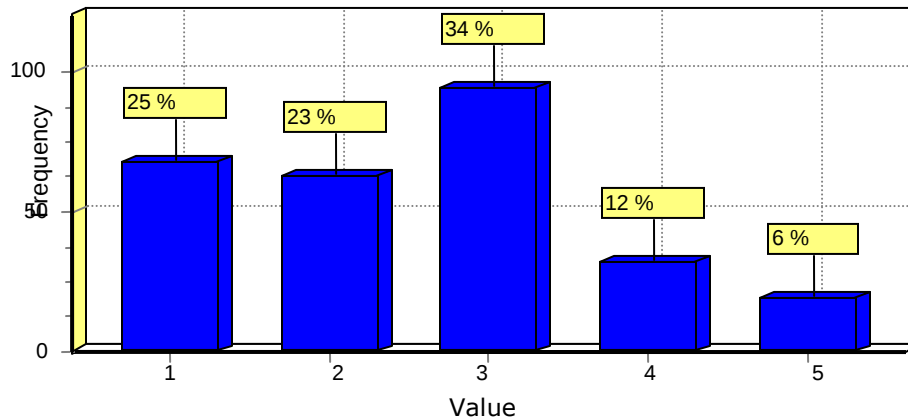
Question- When you come into contact with Indians/Asians is that contact *cooperative*?



Thirty-four (34%) of the respondents found that Indians/Asian are sometimes cooperative while eight percent (8%) found Indians/Asians as always cooperative and 14% of the sample found Indian/Asians often cooperative. However, Fifteen percent (15%) of the respondents indicated that Indians/Asians are never cooperative and twenty nine percent (29%) of the sample found them rarely cooperative. Essentially, more than a third of the respondents found Indian/Asians rarely or never cooperative.

Histogram 20:

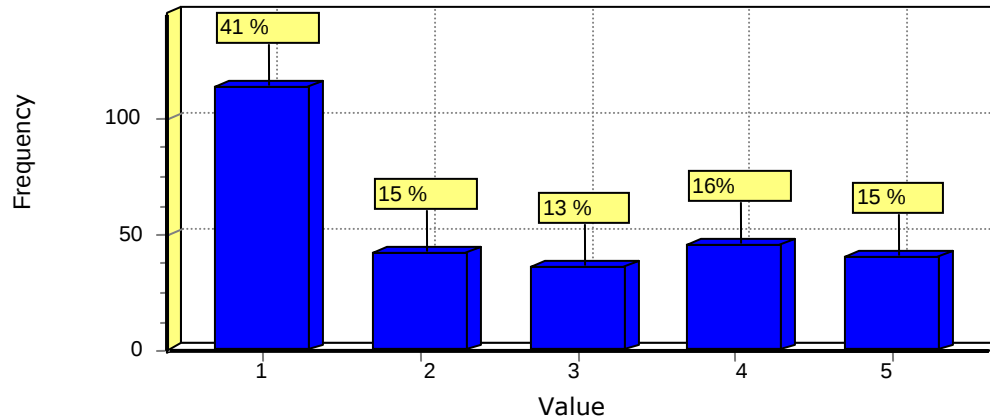
Question - When you come into contact with Coloureds is that contact *cooperative*?



Thirty-four percent (34%) of the respondents found that Coloureds are sometimes cooperative, six percent (6%) find Coloureds always cooperative and twelve percent (12%) of the sample find Coloureds often cooperative. All together fifty two percent (52%) of the respondents found Coloureds sometimes, often and always cooperative. However, forty eight percent (48%) of respondents found Coloures never or rarely cooperative.

Histogram 21:

Question- When you come into contact with Blacks how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?



Forty-one percent (41%) of the respondents indicated that they never perceive Blacks as people who are from a group that is different to theirs. A further fifteen percent (15%) of respondents report that they rarely perceive Blacks as people who are from a group that is different to theirs. This amounts to fifty six percent (56%) of the sample. This could be attributed to the fact that the majority of respondents are Black therefore they perceive each other as belonging to the same group. However, forty four percent (44%) of respondents perceive Blacks as sometimes, often or always from a different group to their own. This indicates that over a third of the sample perceive difference between themselves and other Black groups.

Table 2:

T test for Contact with Blacks as people from a different group

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	106	2.783	1.561	2.55	0.011
Female	173	2.312	1.457		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is Black as people who are from a different group.

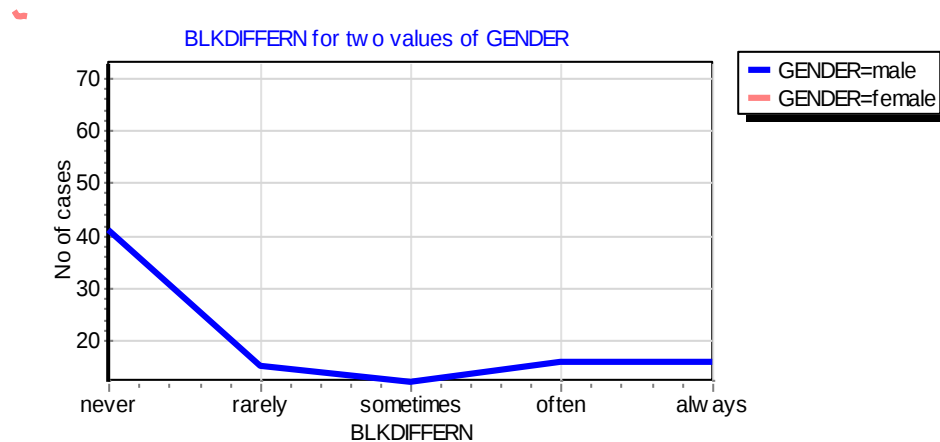
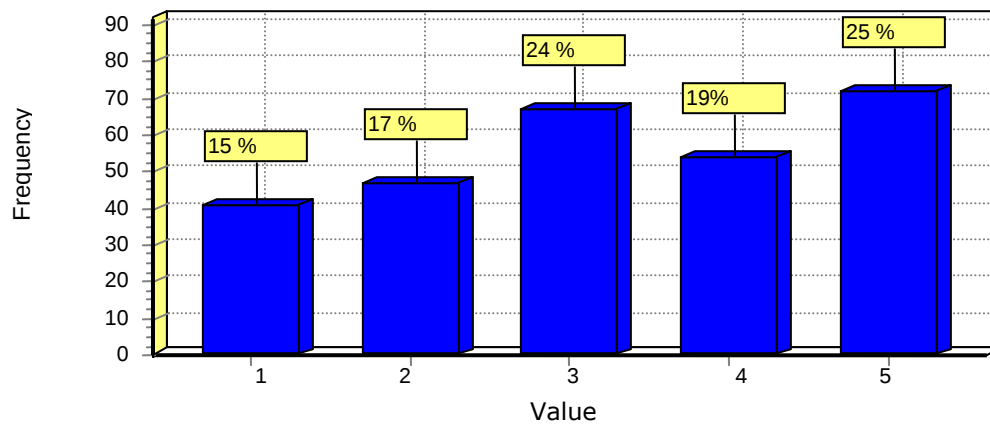


Table 2 above shows the results of a statistical test for difference between the mean score on contact with Blacks as people who are from a different group of males and females. The p-value for the test is less than 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. Females have a lower mean score indicating that they Males perceive Blacks to be from a different group compared to females. This is an indication that Black females perceive gender difference as important and is likely a result of tribal patriarchal norms still being adhered to in African culture.

Histogram 22:

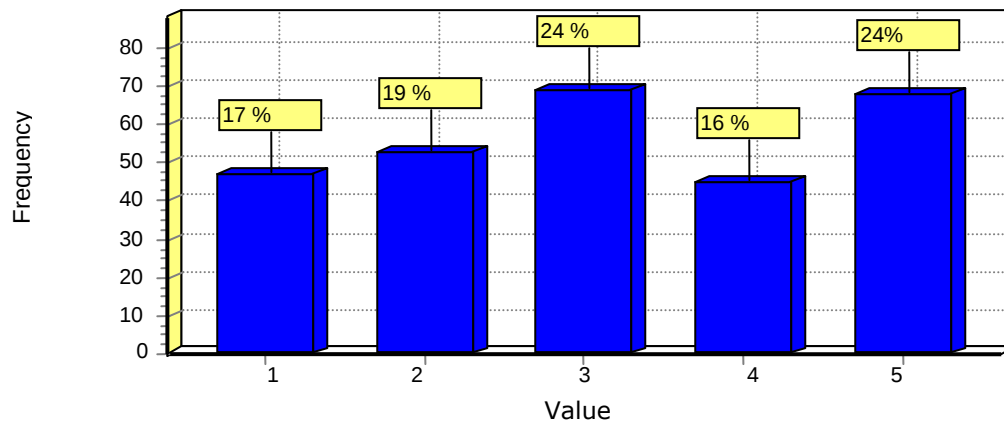
Question - When you come into contact with Whites how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?



Twenty five percent (25%) of the respondents always view Whites as people who are different to their group a further nineteen percent (19%) find Whites often different while twenty-four percent (24%) of the respondents sometimes perceive Whites as different to their group. This statistic indicates that forty-nine percent (49%) of respondents perceive Whites as always, often or sometimes different to their group. However, thirty two percent (32%) or nearly a third of the sample perceives whites as never or rarely different to their group.

Histogram 23:

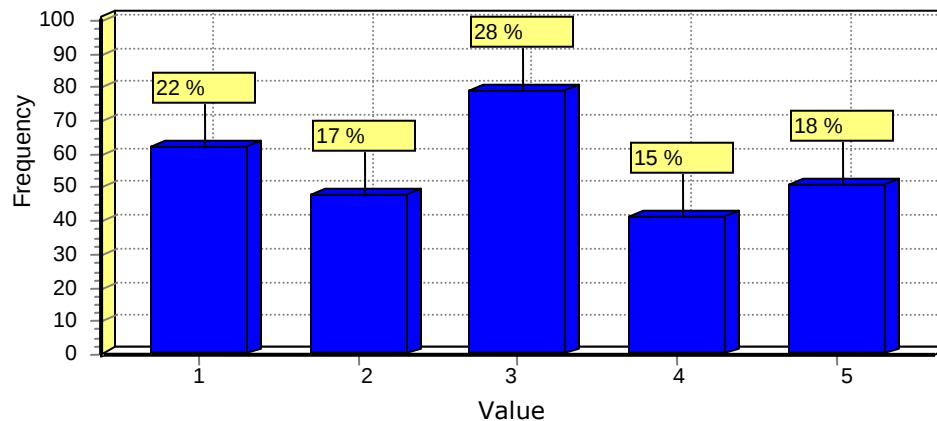
Question - When you come into contact with Indians/Asians how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?



Twenty-four percent (24%) of the respondents indicated that they sometimes perceive Indians/Asians as different from their group while another sixteen percent (16%) often perceive Indian/Asians as different. Twenty four percent (24%) of the sample sometimes perceive Indians/Asians as people from a different group to theirs. In total sixty four percent (64%) of respondents always, often or sometimes find Indians/Asians as different to their own group.

Histogram 24:

Question - When you come into contact with Coloureds how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?

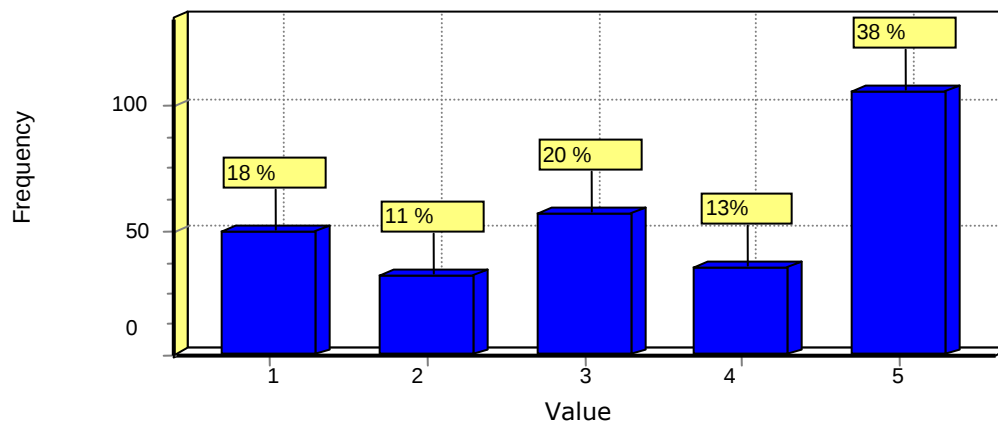


Thirty nine percent (39%) of respondents never or rarely perceive Coloureds as different to their own group. The results indicate that over sixty one percent (61%) of respondents always, often or sometimes perceive Coloureds as different to their own group. A comparison between this statistic and those in the previous two histograms is interesting. In Histogram 22, forty nine percent (49%) of respondents perceive Whites as always, often or sometimes different. In Histogram 23, sixty four percent (64%) of respondents perceive Indians/Asians as always, often or sometimes different to their own group. This infers that the Black respondents perceive less difference between the White group and themselves as compared to the Indian/Asian and Coloured group. A possible explanation for this, in terms of the literature review is that historically, Whites have been prominent in the country in terms of the discourses of colonialism, separate

development and Apartheid. It may be that this prominence has created distorted perceptions of sameness and difference.

Histogram 25:

Question - When you come into contact with Blacks how often do you perceive them as individual people?

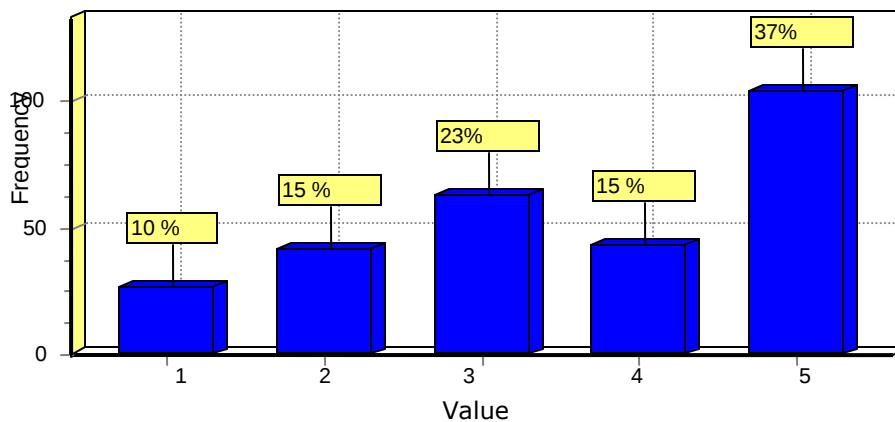


Forty nine percent (49%) of respondents never, rarely or sometimes perceive Blacks as individual people with twenty nine percent (29%) of respondents never or rarely perceiving the group as individual people. However, the majority of respondents or fifty one percent (51%) always or often perceive Blacks as individual people. A possible explanation for the statistic that forty nine percent (49%) of respondents do not see individuals could be attributed to the fact that Black South Africans generally adhere to collective rather than individualistic culture. The fact that the majority of respondents, albeit by a small margin, always see Blacks as individual people may be attributed to the influence of individualistic culture on young people. Another possible explanation is

that respondents see differences between their own cultural groups and other Black cultural groups.

Histogram 26:

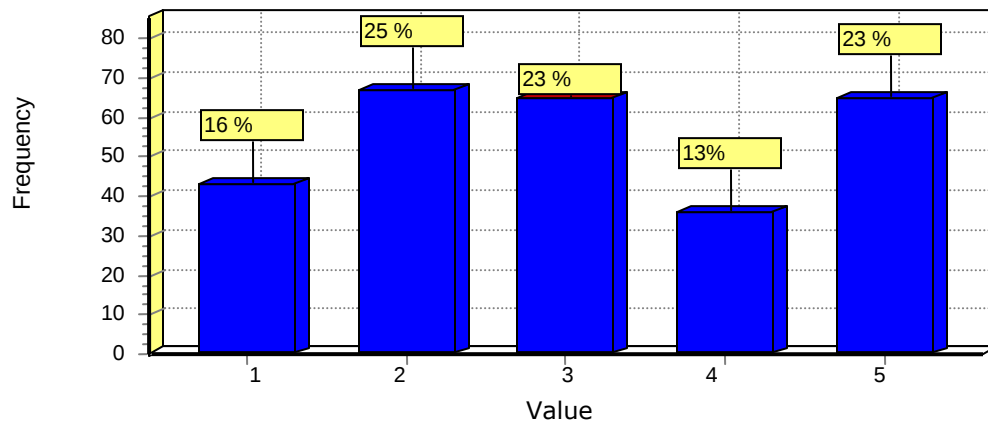
Question - When you come into contact with Whites how often do you perceive them as individual people?



Thirty five percent (35%) of the sample never or rarely see Whites as individual people while fifty two percent (53%) do. Twenty three percent (23%) of respondents sometimes see Whites as individual people. The explanation for histogram 25 is an appropriate inference for histogram 26.

Histogram 27:

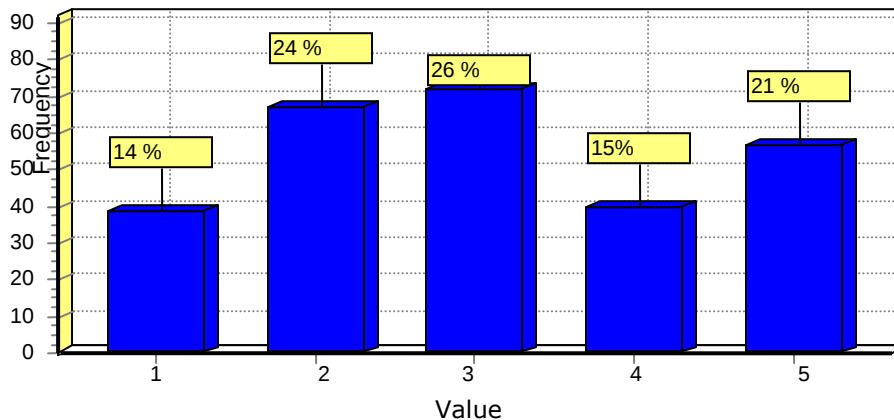
Question - When you come into contact with Indians/Asians how often do you perceive them as individual people?



Forty one percent (41%) of the sample never or rarely perceive Indians/Asians as individual people forty six percent (46%) often or always do. Twenty three percent (23%) sometimes see Indians/Asians as individual people. The explanation for histogram 25 is an appropriate inference for histogram 27.

Histogram 28:

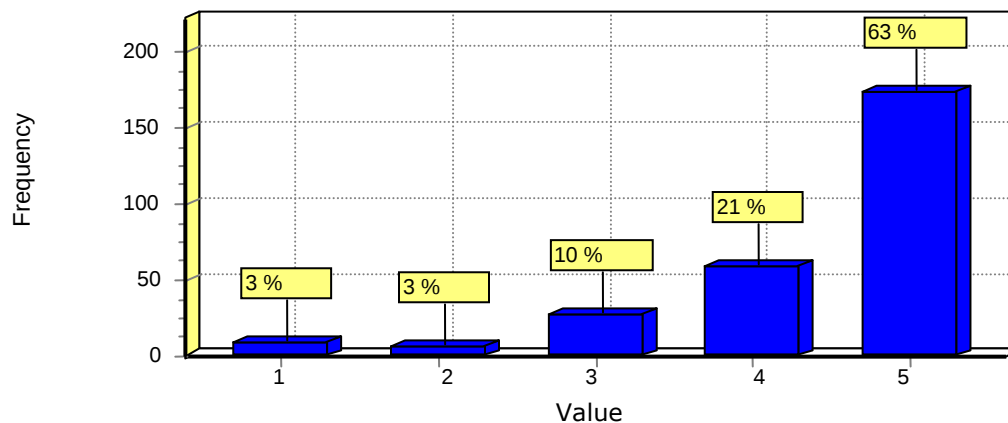
Question - When you come into contact with Coloured how often do you perceive them as individual people?



The statistics indicate that thirty eight percent (38%) of the sample never or rarely perceive Coloureds as individual people whilst thirty six percent (36%) do. Twenty six percent (26%) of the sample sometimes see Coloured's as individual people. The statistics indicate that just over a third of the sample rarely or never perceive Coloureds as individual people and just over a third often or always do. The Coloured group has less difference particularly between the rarely, sometimes and always frequencies than those in the questions concerning Whites, Blacks and Indian/Asians. It may be that because the Coloured group is a small demographic in the area, which is reflected in the student intake, respondents do not have much contact with them. This has likely reflected in the respondents reflecting less difference between the never, rarely, sometimes, often and always intervals.

Histogram 29:

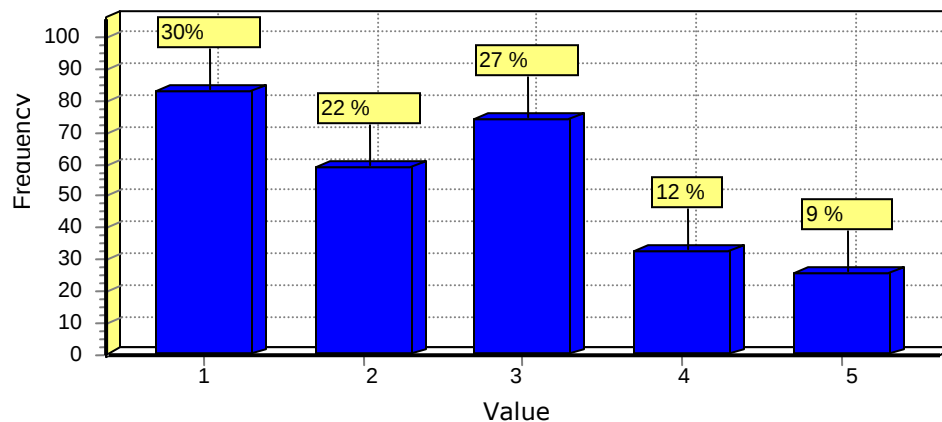
Question - When you come into contact with Blacks how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?



Sixty-three percent (63%) of the respondents perceive Blacks as people who share a common group with them. Twenty-one percent (21%) of the respondents indicated that they often perceive Blacks as people who share a common group with them and ten percent (10%) reported that they sometimes have this perception. Essentially ninety-four percent (94%) of the respondents view Black people as people who share a common group with them and only six percent (6%) either rarely or never view Blacks as people who share a common group with them.

Histogram 30:

Question - When you come into contact with Whites how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?

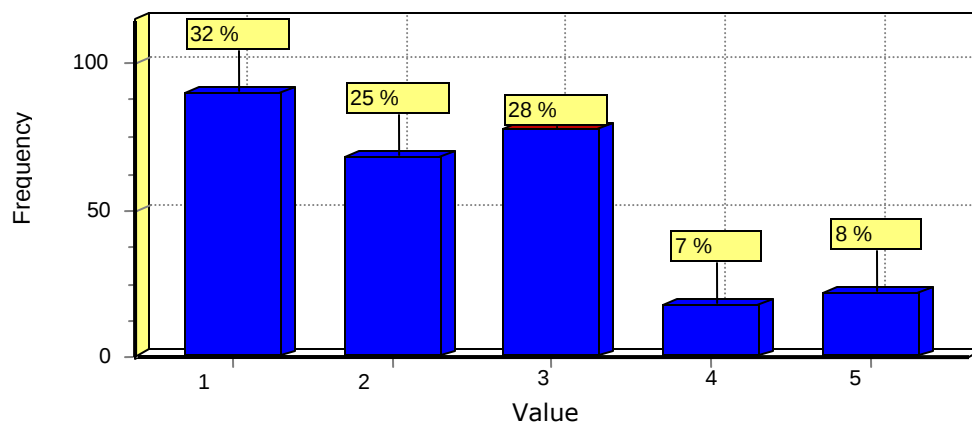


Thirty percent (30%) of the respondents indicated that they never perceive Whites as people who share a common group with them while twenty two percent (22%) rarely perceive Whites as people who share a common group with the. Twenty-seven percent (27%) of respondents sometimes perceive Whites as people who share a common group with them. From the above results it is evident that Whites are not perceived as people who are from a common group as the respondents. This may be attributed to the fact that Whites only make up less than one percent (1%) of the student demographics and only nine percent (9%) of the total population of the uMhlathuze Municipal area (Appendix 6). Fundamentally, respondents and Blacks in the area in general may not have much contact with Whites. It could also be that because of colonialism, separate development and Apartheid Whites are perceived as different. Although the demographic in the sample are too young to remember the laws of Apartheid there is no

doubt that history and social-discourse (for instance, stereotypical attitudes towards specific groups) heard through community networks has an impact on their perceptions.

Histogram 31:

Question - When you come into contact with Indians/Asians how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?

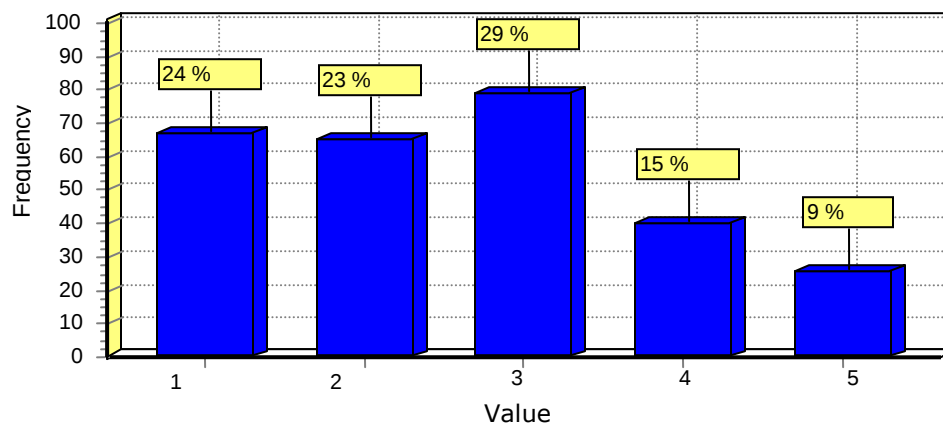


Thirty-two percent (32%) of the respondents never perceive Indians/Asians as people who share a common group with them. Twenty-five percent (25%) rarely perceive Indians/Asians as people who share a common group with them and twenty-eight percent (28%) sometimes perceive Indians/Asians as people who share a common group with them. Fifty seven percent (57%) of the sample thus rarely or never perceive Indians/Asians as people who share a common group with them. Only fifteen percent (15%) of the sample often or always perceive that Indians/Asians share a common group with them. As Indians/Asians were previously disadvantaged in terms of the Apartheid legislation and were often lumped together with the Black group this may

seem surprising. However, Apartheid separated the groups and they lived in separate areas. This led to different groups being unfamiliar with one and other and also to the promotion of stereotyping between cultures.

Histogram 32:

Question - When you come into contact with Coloureds how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?



The majority of the respondents gave negative responses to this question with twenty-four percent (24%) indicating that they never perceive Coloureds as people who share a common group with them and twenty-three percent (23%) of respondents indicating the perception that Coloureds rarely share a common group with them. Twenty nine percent (29%) of the sample sometimes perceive Coloureds as peoples who share a common group with them. Twenty four percent (24%) of the sample often or always perceive Coloureds as people who share a common group with them. In total forty seven percent (47%) of the sample never or rarely perceive Coloureds as people who share a

common group with them. The same inference can be made as that of table 23 in this regard.

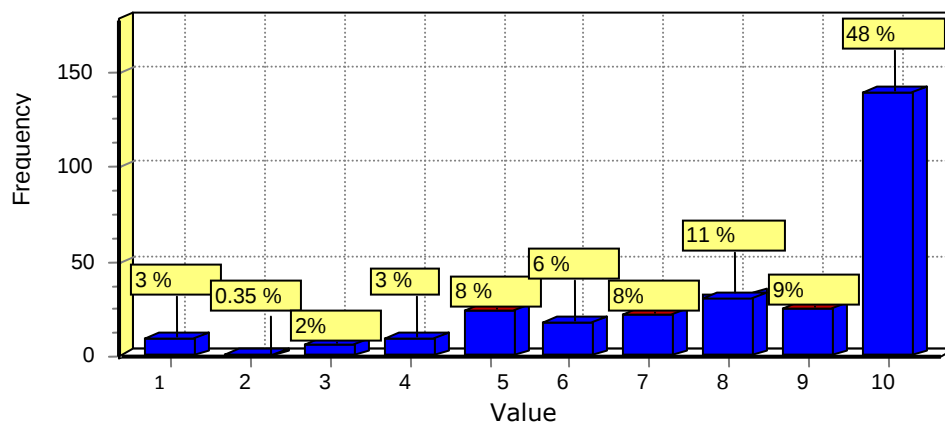
4.4 Analysis of questions investigating Stereotypes

The following histograms reflect the response of the research participants in relation to how they personally feel towards certain racial groups. The intention of these questions is to investigate how individuals felt towards other racial groups and also the possible stereotypes they might hold towards other racial groups.

Histogram 33:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Blacks

Key: Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Positive



Altogether eighty two percent (82%) of the sample feel positive towards Blacks with forty eight percent (48%) of respondents marking the top end of the scale. Eight percent (8%) of respondents marked scale value number 5 which indicates the middle of the

scale which infers neither a positive nor negative feeling towards Blacks. Around eight percent (8%) of the sample feel negative towards Blacks. As only just over five percent (5%) of the entire sample is not Black this infers that a small percentage of Black respondents feel negative towards other Blacks. Around two percent (2%) of the sample did not fill in the rating scale.

Table 3:

T test for feeling negative towards Blacks

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	7.685	2.730	-2.10	0.037
Female	180	8.339	2.240		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is the respondent's relation to Blacks as negative.

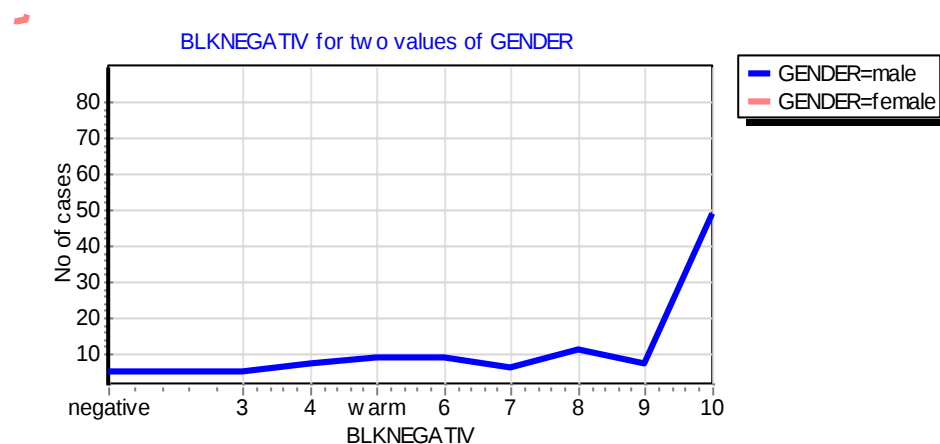
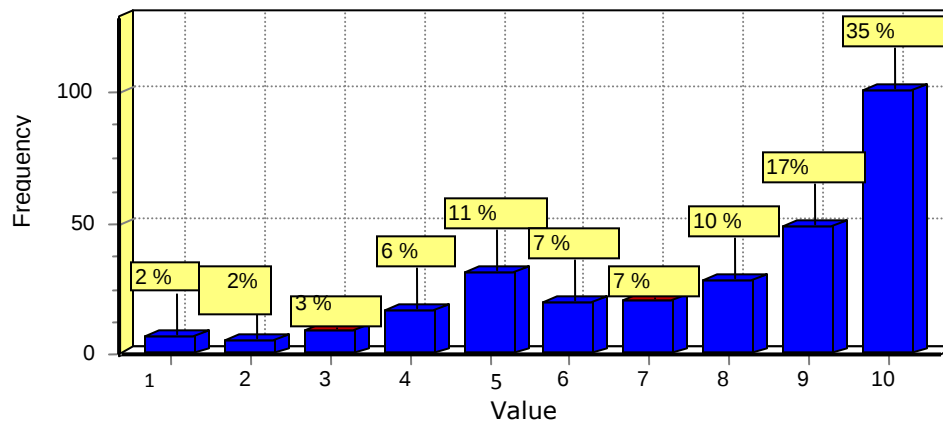


Table 3 above indicates the results of a statistical test for difference between the mean score on perception of Blacks as negative or positive of males and females. The p-value for the test is less than 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. Males have a lower mean score than females indicating that they are more negative towards Blacks than females.

Histogram 34:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Blacks

Key: Cold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm



In total seventy one percent (71%) of the respondents indicated that they personally feel warm towards Blacks. Eleven percent (11%) of the sample marked number 5 on the rating scale which implies that they have neither warm nor cold feelings towards Blacks. A total of thirteen percent (13%) of the sample have cool or cold feelings towards

Blacks. These results are less positive than the ones reported in Histogram 33. It may be the sample perceives feelings of warmth as different to positive feelings in general.

Table 4:

T test for Contact with Blacks and feeling cold towards them.

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	7.130	2.752	-2.74	0.007
Female	180	7.994	2.317		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is the respondent's relation to Blacks as cold.

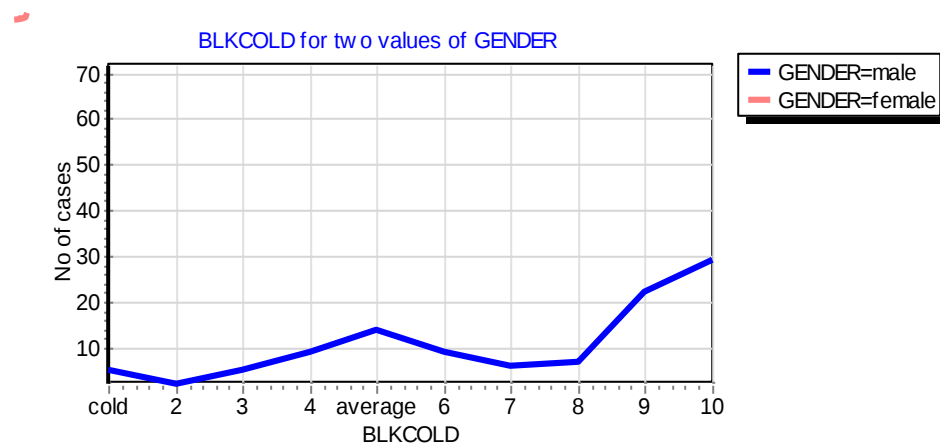


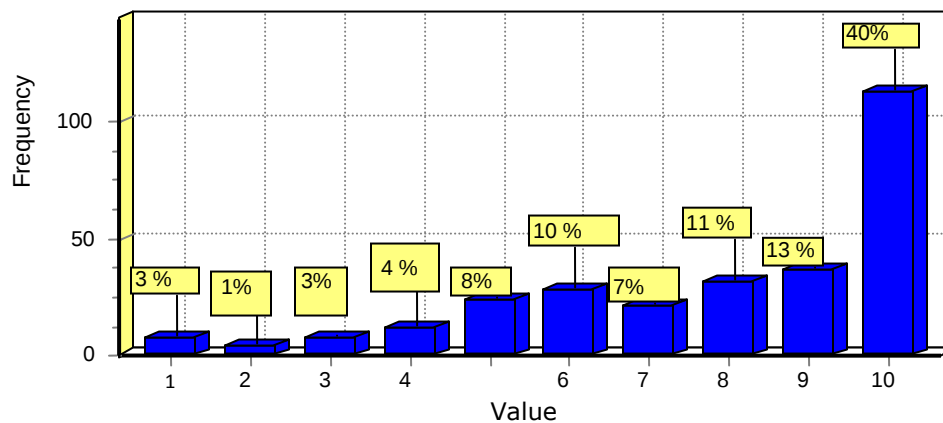
Table 4 above shows the results of a statistical test for difference between the mean score on whether female and male respondents are cold or warm towards Blacks. The p - value for the test is less than 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups (males and females). Females have a

higher mean score than males indicating that they are warmer than males when relating to Blacks.

Histogram 35:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Blacks

Key: Hostile 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly



In total eighty one percent (81%) of the respondents feel friendly towards Blacks, eight percent (8%) are neither friendly nor hostile towards Blacks and eleven percent (11%) of the sample feels some degree of hostility towards Blacks. As only five percent (5%) of the sample is not Black this statistic indicates that at least six percent of Black respondents feel hostile towards Blacks.

Table 5:

T test for Contact with Blacks and feelings of hostility

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	7.231	2.736	-2.981	0.003
Female	179	8.162	2.244		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is the hostility towards Blacks.

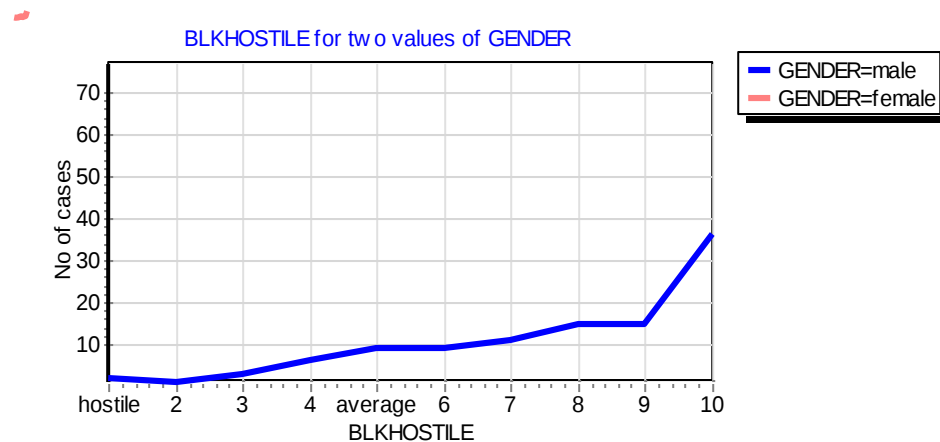
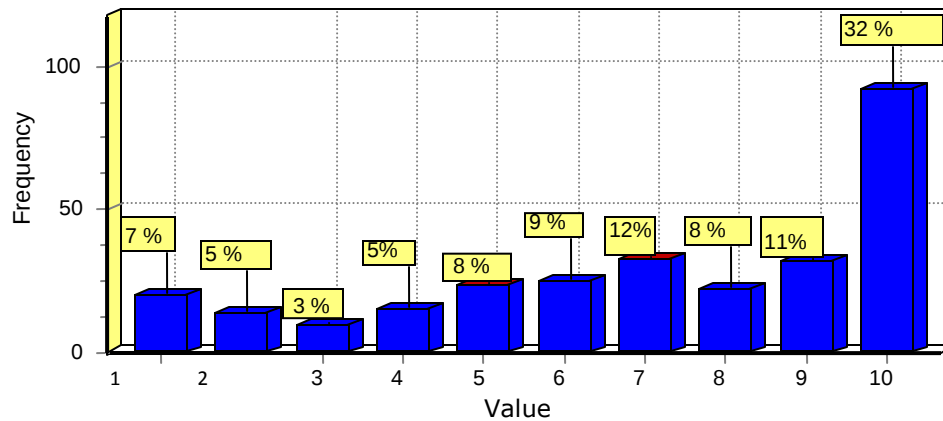


Table 5 above indicates the results of a statistical test (independent T test) for difference between the mean score of whether female and male respondents are hostile or friendly towards Blacks. The p - value for the test is less than 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. Males have a lower mean score compared to females indicating that males have more hostile than females when in contact with Blacks.

Histogram 36:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Blacks

Key: Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting



In total seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents trust Blacks. Eight percent (8%) of the sample used the rating no 5 which indicates that they are neither suspicious nor trusting of Blacks. Twenty one percent (21%) of the sample indicated that they had some degree of suspicion toward Blacks. This is over a fifth of the total sample, which is made up of ninety five (95%) Black respondents and five percent (5%) other racial groups. This infers that at least fifteen percent (15%) of the Black respondents do not trust Blacks.

Table 6:

T test for Contact with Blacks and suspicious of them

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	6.407	3.136	-2.819	0.005
Female	179	7.436	2.744		

Marked effects significant if $p = < 0.05$

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is suspicion towards Blacks.

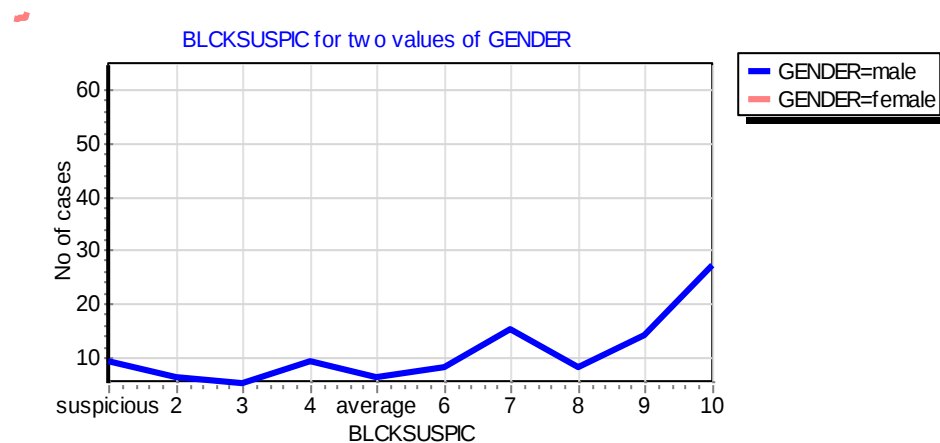


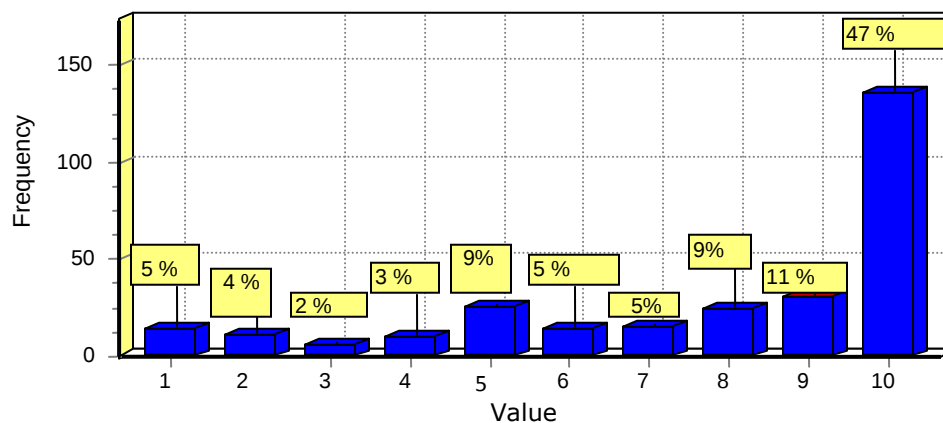
Table 6 above shows the results of a statistical test for difference between the mean score on whether female and male respondents are suspicious of Blacks. The p-value for the test is 0.05 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between

the means of the two groups. Males have a lower mean score compared to females indicating that they are more suspicious of Blacks compared to females.

Histogram 37

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Blacks

Key: Disrespect 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect

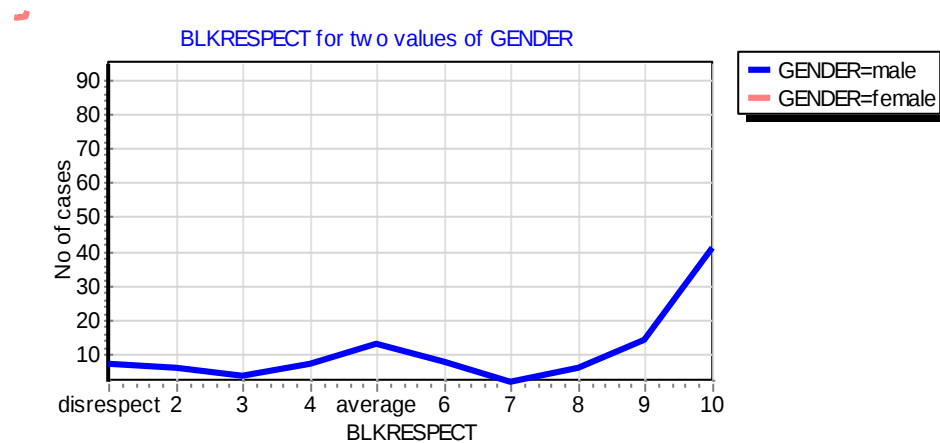


Seventy-seven percent (77%) of the respondents feel a sense of respect towards Blacks. Nine percent (9%) of the sample marked rating 5 which indicate that they felt neither respect nor disrespect towards Blacks. Fifteen percent (15%) of the sample felt some degree of disrespect towards Blacks. This indicates that, using the same inference procedure as for Histogram 36, at least ten percent (10%) of Black respondents felt disrespect towards other Blacks.

Table 7:

T test for Contact with Blacks and having feelings of respect

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	7.130	3.085	-3.132	0.002
Female	180	8.233	2.548		

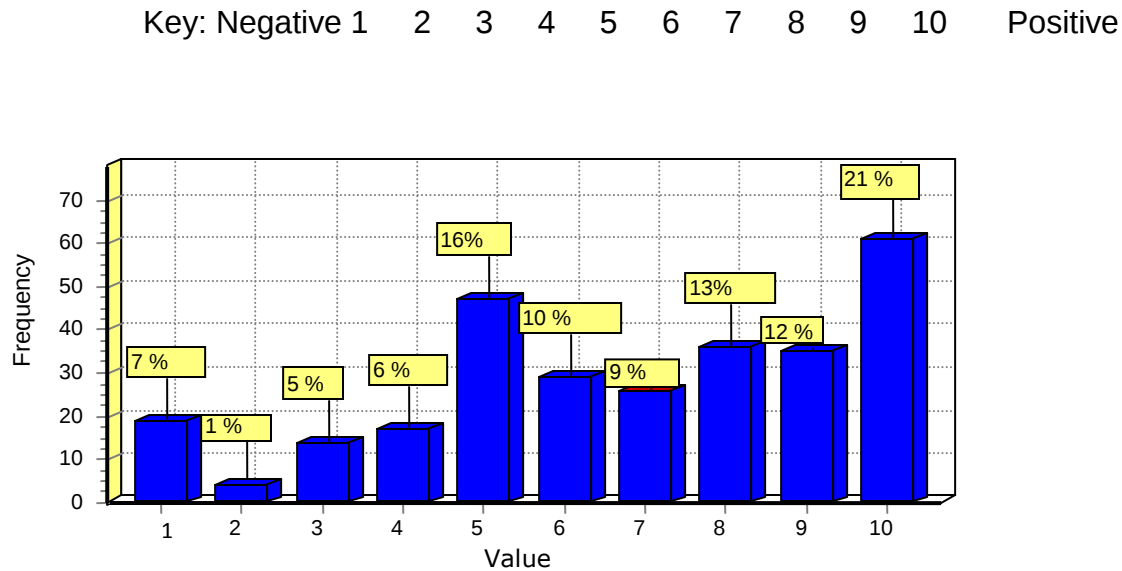


The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is respect towards Blacks.

Table 7 above indicates the results of an Independent T test for difference between the mean score on whether female and male respondents are hostile or friendly towards Blacks. The p - value for the test is 0.002 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. This indicates that females are more respectful of Blacks compared to Males. This statistic appears to reflect the patriarchal nature of Black society, in that females are more respectful. It is interesting that they are respectful but show more negative feelings generally (See Tables 1 through to 7).

Histogram 38:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Whites

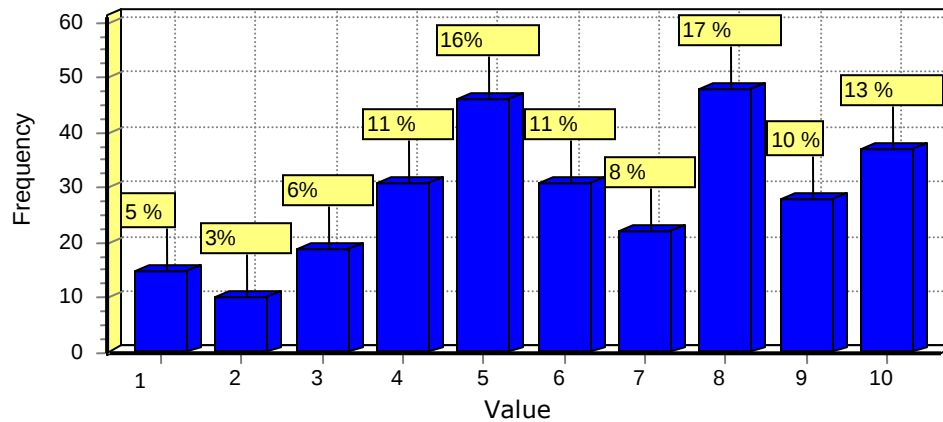


Sixty-five percent (65%) of the respondents feel some degree of positiveness towards Whites. Sixteen percent (16%) felt neither positive nor negative towards Whites. Nineteen percent (19%) of the sample had some degree of negative feelings towards Whites. Essentially, nearly two thirds of the sample felt positive in some degree towards Whites. It may be inferred that as the sample of respondents for the study is similar to the demographic of the area, that is predominately Black, it maybe that some respondents do not have much exposure to Whites. This may have an impact on how Whites are perceived by almost one fifth of the sample (some degree of negativity).

Histogram 39:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Whites

Key: Cold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm

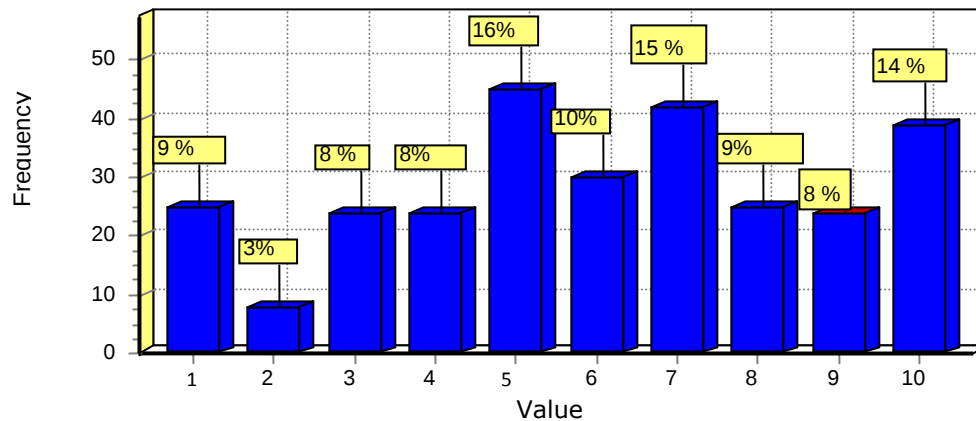


Fifty-nine percent (59%) of the sample feels some degree of warmth towards Whites. Sixteen percent (16%) of respondents marked value 5 on the questionnaire scale for this question indicating that they felt neither warm nor cold towards whites. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the sample felt some degree of coldness towards Whites. The same inference may be made as for Histogram 38.

Histogram 40:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Whites

Key: Hostile 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly

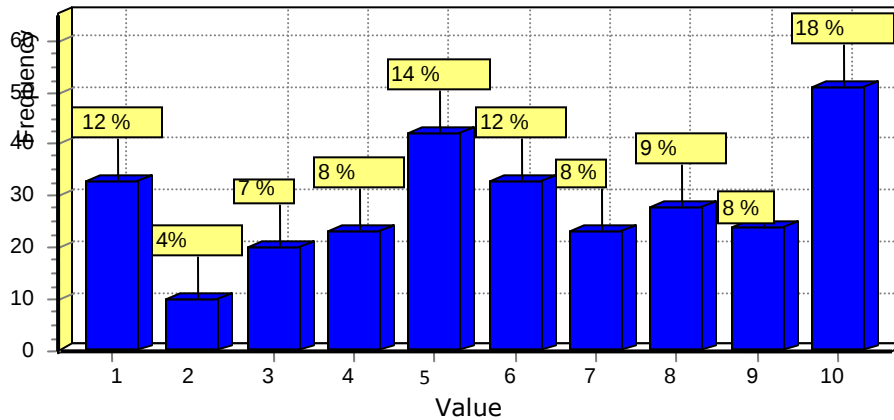


The majority of the respondents, fifty six percent (56%) felt some degree of friendliness towards Whites. Sixteen percent (16%) of the sample felt neither friendly nor hostile towards the group. Twenty eight percent (28%) of the sample feels some degree of hostility towards Whites. The same inference may be made as for Histogram 38.

Histogram 41:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Whites

Key: Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting

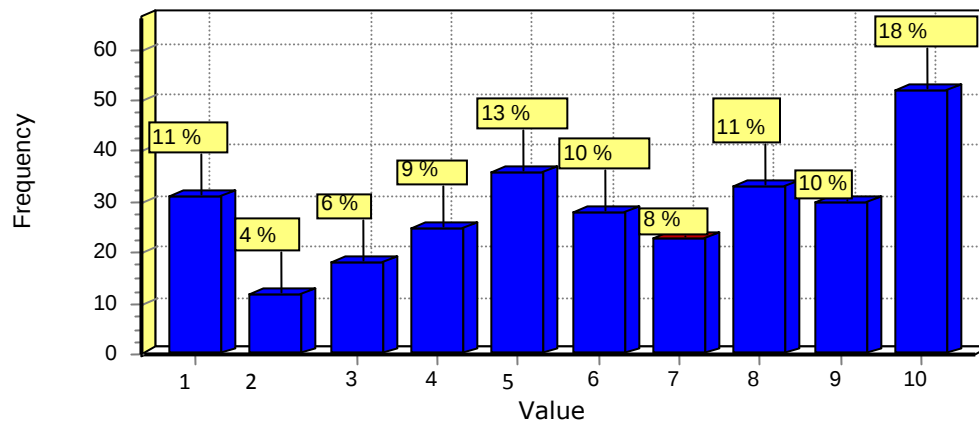


Fifty-five percent (55%) of the respondents feel some degree of trust towards Whites, fourteen percent (14%) feel neither trust nor suspicion of Whites and thirty-one percent (31%) of the respondents are suspicious of Whites. This amounts to nearly a third of the sample feeling suspicious of Whites. It may be something other than not being exposed to the group may have influenced many respondents. For instance, the sample may have been influenced by the history of the country that is colonization, separate development and Apartheid and subsequent stereotypes about Whites that have arisen out of those contexts.

Histogram 42:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Whites

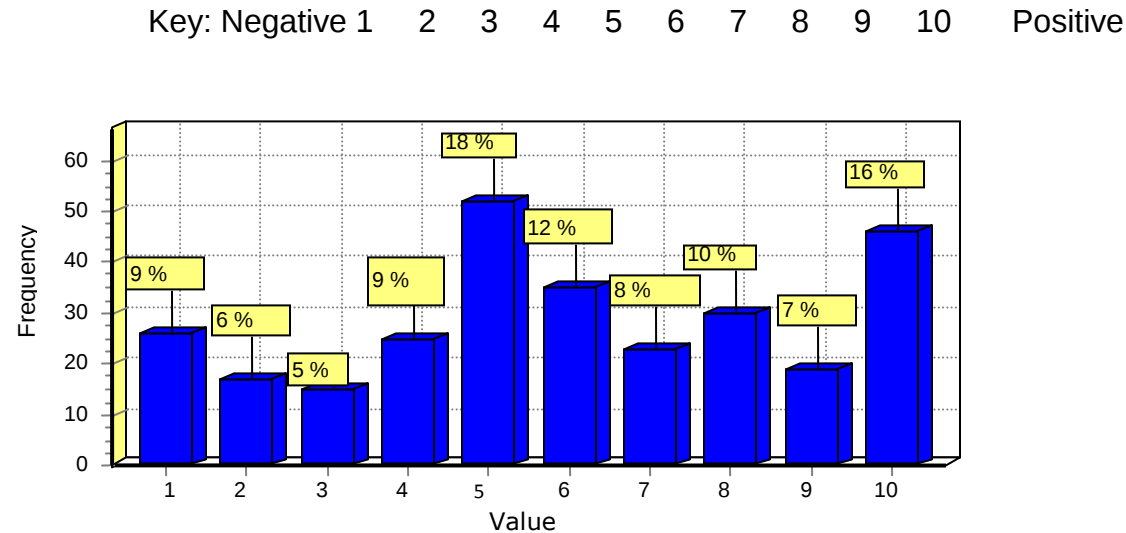
Key: Disrespect 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect



The majority of respondents, fifty-seven percent (57%), have some feelings of respect towards Whites. Thirteen percent (13%) of respondents feel neither disrespect nor respect as they marked number 5 on the rating. Thirty percent (30%) of the sample have feelings of disrespect towards Whites. This may be because they have little exposure to Whites as friends or peers and stereotypes inherited from the past still influence their thinking.

Histogram 43:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Coloureds

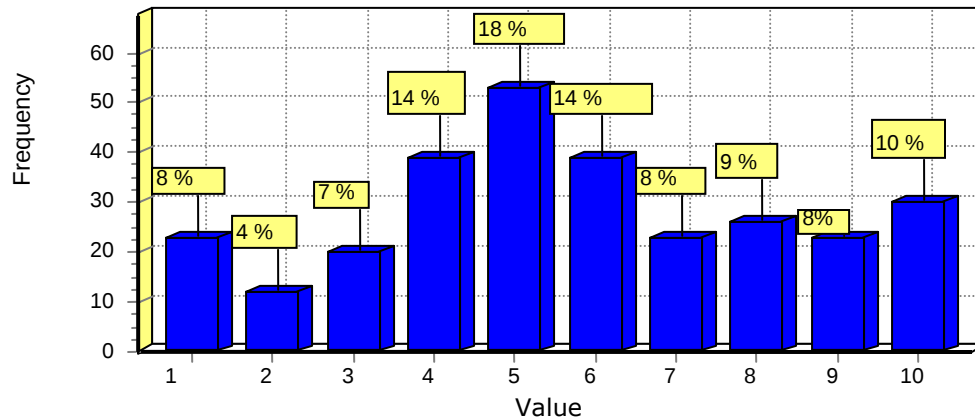


Fifty-three percent (53%) of the respondents feel some degree of positivity towards Coloureds. Eighteen percent (18%) of the sample feel neither positive nor negative and twenty nine percent of the sample has some degree of negative feelings towards Coloureds. This result indicates that generally the sample feel less positive towards Coloureds than Whites (see Histogram 38).

Histogram 44:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Coloureds

Key: Cold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm



The results indicate that forty-nine percent (49%) of the respondents have some degree of warm feelings towards Coloureds. Eighteen percent (18%) of the sample have neither warm nor cold feelings towards Coloureds. A third of respondents or thirty-three percent (33%) have some feelings of coldness towards Coloureds. This may be because they have little exposure to Coloureds as friends or peers and stereotypes inherited from the past still influence their thinking.

Table 8:

T test for Contact with Coloureds and feel cold towards them

Group	N	Mean	Std deviation	t-value	p-value
Male	108	5.278	2.449	-2.127	0.038
Female	180	5.933	2.665		

The independent variable is Gender and the dependent variable is the respondent's relation to Coloureds as cold.

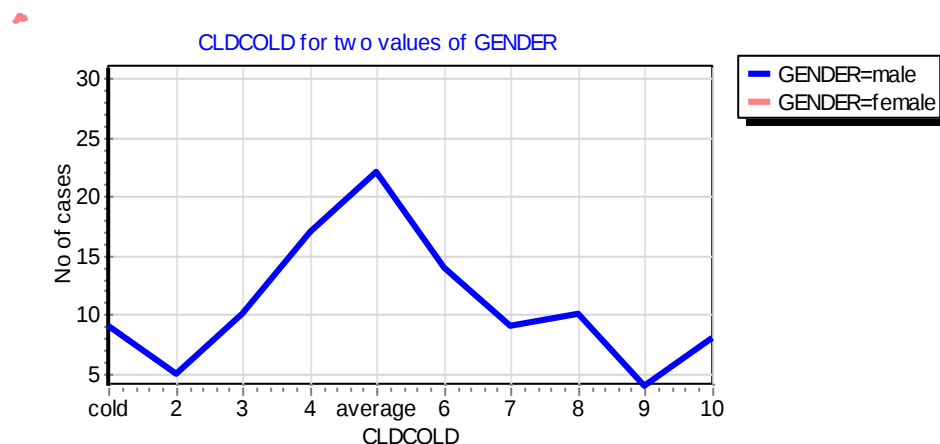


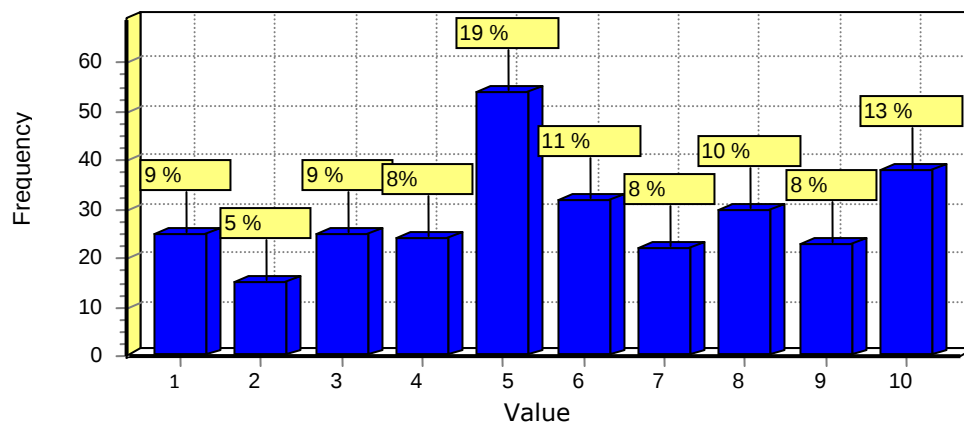
Table 8 shows indicates the results of an Independent T test for difference between the mean score on whether female and male respondents are cold or warm when they relate to Coloureds. The p-value for the test is 0.038 suggesting that there is a statistically significant difference between the means of the two groups. Males have a lower mean score compared to females indicating that they are cold when they relate to Coloureds as compared to females. Overall, in the reported results of t-tests in tables 1

through to 8 male respondents' have generally had positive reactions towards other Blacks but not towards Coloureds. The female respondents reactions, reported in the same tables, have been more negative. This result is different with females having a less negative reaction toward the Coloured group. This may be because Coloureds are not part of Black tribal culture(s) thus are not perceived to be as patriarchal.

Histogram 45:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Coloureds

Key: Hostile 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly

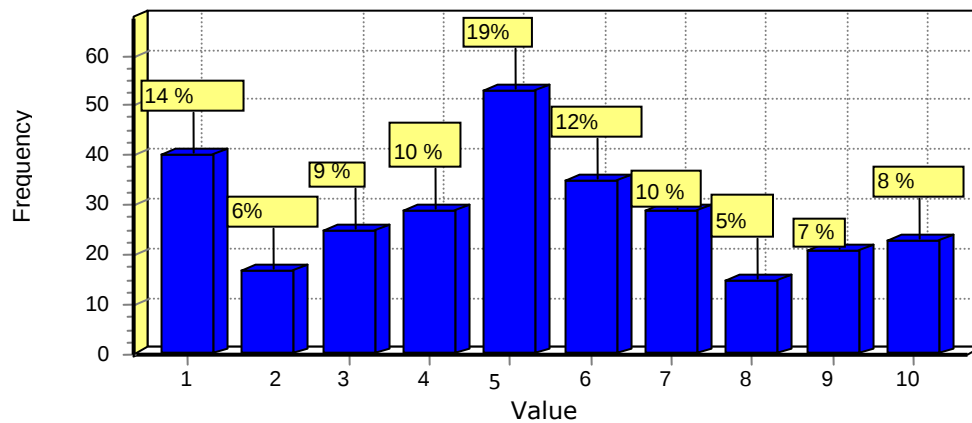


Fifty percent (50%) of the respondents indicated that they felt friendly in some degree towards Coloureds. Nineteen percent (19%) of the sample indicated that they felt neither friendly nor hostile towards Coloureds. Nearly a third of the respondents, thirty one percent (31%) felt some degree of hostility towards the group designated Coloured. The inference made about Histogram 45 is also pertinent to these results.

Histogram 46:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Coloureds

Key: Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting

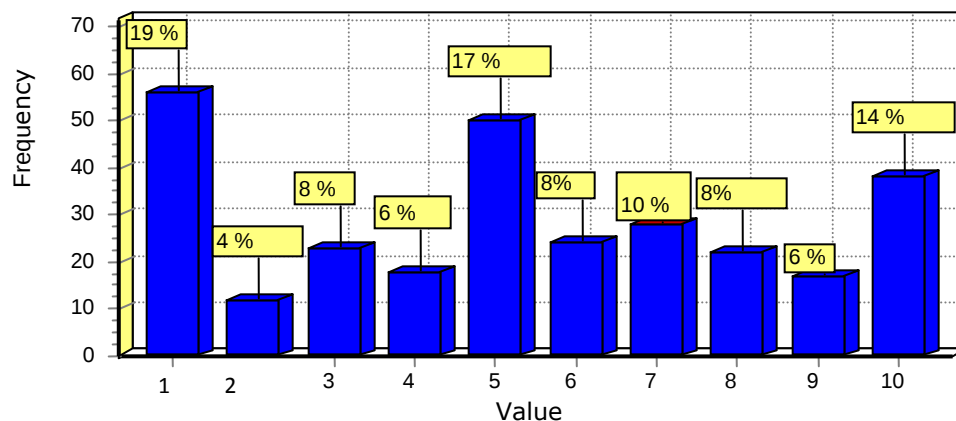


In total, only forty-two percent (42%) of respondents have some degree of trust in the Coloured group, which is less than half the total sample. Nineteen percent (19%) of the sample are neither trusting nor suspicious of the Coloured group. However, more than a third of the respondents, thirty-nine percent (39%), have some degree of suspicion towards Coloureds. The results of this question indicate that respondents are generally negative in terms of trust towards this group. It appears that negative stereotypes towards this group are likely to exist.

Histogram 47:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Coloureds

Key: Disrespect 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect

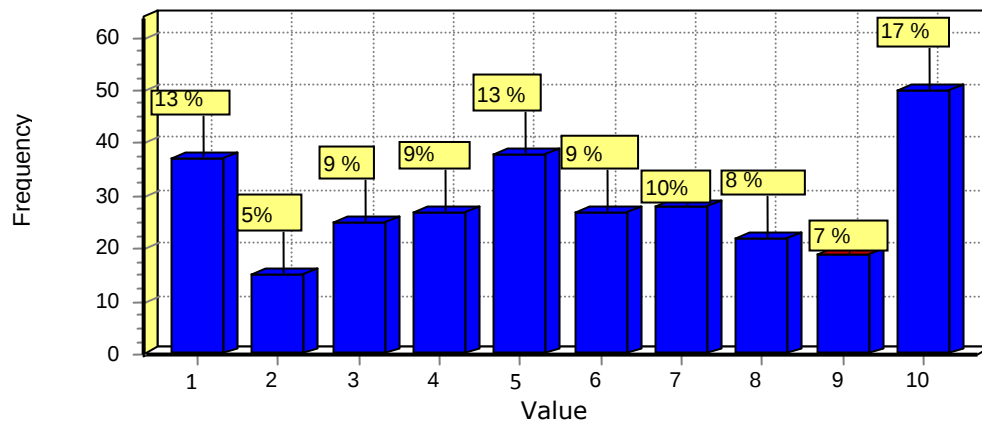


These results indicate that forty six percent (46%) of respondents feel some degree of respect towards Coloureds. Seventeen percent (17%) of the sample feel neither disrespect nor respect towards the group. However, thirty seven percent (37%), or over a third of the sample, feel some degree of disrespect towards this group. These results underpin the inference that respondents appear to have negative stereotypical attitudes towards this group.

Histogram 48:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Indians/Asians

Key: Negative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Positive

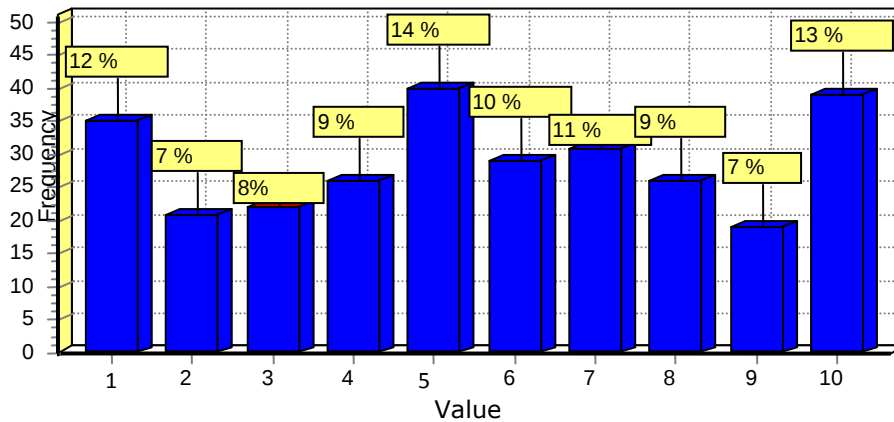


In total fifty one percent (51%) of the sample indicate that they have positive feelings towards Indians/Asians. Thirteen percent (13%) of the sample has neither positive nor negative feelings towards Indians/Asians. Thirty six percent (36%) of respondents (over a third) felt some degree of negativity towards Indians/Asians. It appears that generally the sample of students (95% Black African) has some degree of negative bias towards any group which is not Black African.

Histogram 49:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Indians/Asians

Key: Cold 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm

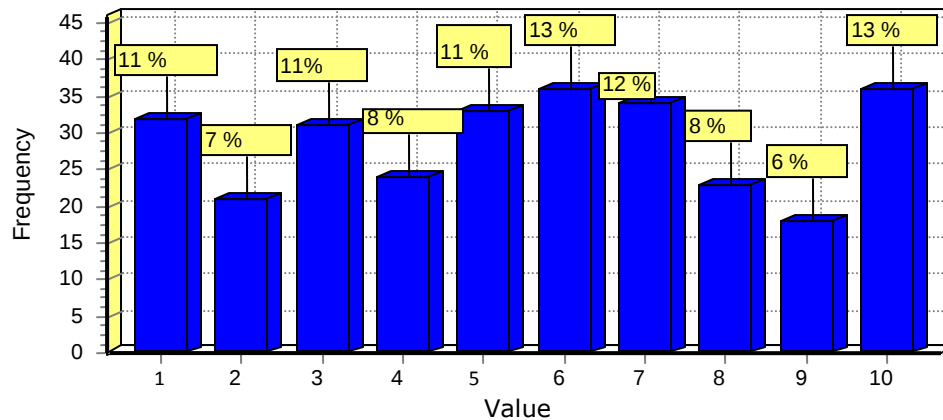


According to the results fifty percent (50%) of the respondents felt some degree of warmth towards Indians/Asians. Fourteen percent (14%) of the sample feel neither warm nor cold towards the group. Over a third of respondents feel some degree of coldness towards Indians/Asians. It could be that the majority of respondents do not have enough contact with members of this group or that stereotypes built up during the Apartheid era still persist. However, it could also be that as the majority of students is Black (African) they could have some degree of bias towards any group other than their own

Histogram 50:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Indians/Asians

Key: Hostile 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly

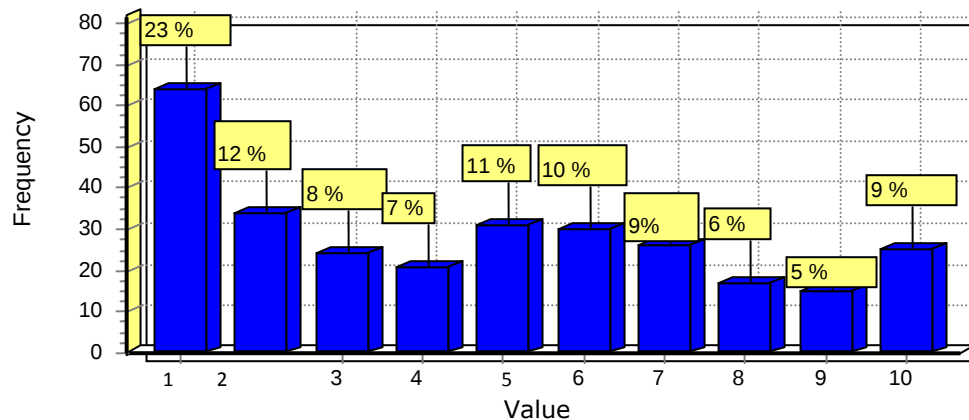


Fifty two percent (52%) of respondents feel some degree of friendliness towards the Indian/Asian group. A total of thirty-seven percent (37%) of the respondents feel hostile towards Indians/Asians and a further eleven percent (11%) feels neither friendly nor hostile towards Indians/Asians. Although the majority of respondents feel some degree of friendliness towards Indians/Asians over a third feels some degree of hostility. The inference noted in Table 50 could underpin this result as well.

Histogram 51:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Indians/Asians

Key: Suspicious 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting

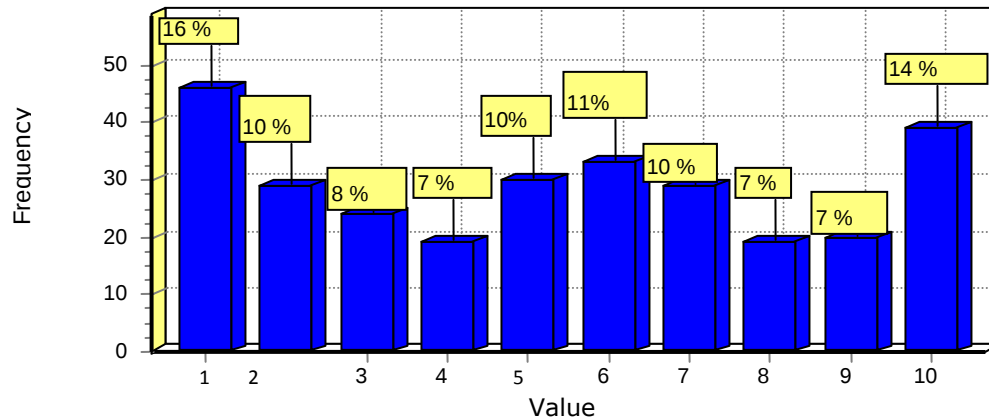


A total of thirty nine percent (39%) of respondents feel some degree of trust towards Indians/Asians while eleven percent (11%) of the respondents is neither suspicious nor trusting of the group. The sample have the least amount of feelings of trust toward this group, well over two thirds of the sample have some degree of suspicion towards Indians/Asians, fifty percent (50%). It is possible that as well as feeling some degree of bias towards the group the sample could have internalised stereotypes about the group that were ingrained during the Apartheid era.

Histogram 52:

Question - On a scale of 1 to 10 rate how you (personally) feel towards Indians/Asians

Key: Disrespect 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 respect



In total forty-nine percent (49%) of the respondents have feelings of respect towards Indians/Asians, ten percent (10%) are feel neither respect nor disrespect and forty-one percent (41%), more than a third of the sample disrespect Indians/Asians. The same inferences made for Histogram 51 can be made for Histogram 52.

4.5 T-test analysis of how the respondents relate to the various races in their everyday lives as close friends.

Independent T tests were conducted and only statistically significant differences were noted under histograms 9; 21; 33; 34; 35; 36; 37 and 44 respectively. It would appear that females are more racist than males in their perceptions of Blacks. This form of

racism may be attributed to the prevailing patriarchal paradigm where females have been forced to submit to males hence males are perceived in a more negative manner. However, this inference does not apply to the Coloured group where a statistical difference was noted in terms of males being more negative toward the Coloured group as opposed to females. Coloureds may not be perceived as part of the patriarchal norm by females thus they are more positive towards them. Males may apply stereotypical attitudes towards this group it is unclear why. This result is worthy of further investigation.

4.6 Qualitative Results

The qualitative questions were included to give respondents an opportunity to detail what they think about other race groups. This section will enable the researcher to unpack underlying stereotypes held by the respondents in the various racial groups in South Africa. These stereotypes will be reported on in the various sections with a reference to the discourse they relate to. It must be noted that not all the respondents answered these questions.

4.6.1 Questions investigating groups of people that exist in South Africa.

The groups mentioned by the respondents were Black, White, Indian and Coloured. Groups that are perceived to exist are listed in Table A below. Chinese for instance, were noted by some to be a separate group this may be attributed to the fact that the Chinese recently won a court case to be considered as people of colour; hence some

respondents included them on this question. Interestingly the Rainbow Nation and different races were also seen by several respondents as different groups. Altogether seventeen (17) different groups are noted which appears to infer that the respondents are attuned to cultural as well as racial (biological) difference.

The results in this section generally underpin the racial oppositions in List 1 (page 25). This supports the inference that the questionnaires have high construct validity in terms of known racial stereotypes and characteristics. It must be stated that these oppositions have been absorbed by the predominately Black sample and used not only for Whites, Indians and Coloureds but for Blacks of other cultures or who are perceived as different for instance, Rural as opposed to Urban Blacks

Table A

Question: What groups of people exist in South Africa?

Group	Questionnaire C - responses	Questionnaire A - responses	Questionnaire B - responses	Questionnaire D - responses	Total number of response s for each group
Blacks/Whites/ Indian/Coloureds	16	100	72	50	238
Chinese	1	3	5	5	14
Africans	2	4	5		11
Asian		1	4	4	9
Afrikaaner	1	2	1	4	8
Rainbow Nation	2	3			5

Different races		4			4
English	1	1	1		3
Zulu		1	1		2
SA citizens		1			1
Xhosa			1		1
Tshwana			1		1
Hottentots			1		1
Foreigners				1	1
Nigerian		1			1
Zimbabwean		1			1

4.6.2 Questions investigating traits believed to be characteristics (stereotypes) of the various groups

The questionnaire(s) had a section where respondents were asked to detail characteristics they would use to describe the labelled groups in South Africa. The questionnaires namely A, B, C and D were each different in attempt to establish construct validity. The tool, in this case the up-dated questionnaire by Durrheim (2007) should be very closely related to known theory and related concepts, characteristics and stereotypes which construct racist discourse. If this is properly demonstrated, the questionnaire can be shown to have high construct validity.

Key: All tables in this section will have the sterotype listed first followed by a column with the Questionnaire (Q) the questionnaire label (A, B, C or D) and the total number of responses to that question Total No.

Table B:

City Blacks

Stereotype	Q-C	Q-A	Total No
No culture	15	86	101
Superior attitude	5	79	84
Rich	1	85	86
Educated	2	14	16
High status	2	12	14
Hardworking	2	10	12

On questionnaires A and C the above question was asked regarding City blacks. The common or recurring phrases are noted below. The most common descriptions or stereotypes of city Blacks is that they have no culture, think they are better than others (more specifically than rural blacks) and that they are rich. This is compatible with racist discourse and the oppositions noted on List 1 (page, 25). Fundamentally, the respondents, most of whom are likely to be from rural backgrounds, have absorbed stereotypes that were prevalent in the Apartheid era pertaining to those who are perceived to have more because they live in urban areas.

Table C:

Rural Blacks

Stereotype	Q - C	Q - A	Total No
Respectful	3	118	121
Poor	2	108	110
Cultural (believe in ancestry)	12	96	108
Not educated	2	79	81
Suspicious	7	69	76
Humble	2	15	17
uncivilised	1	15	16
Physically strong	1	2	3

On questionnaires C and A the same question was asked regarding rural Blacks. The common or recurring oppositions are noted. The most common descriptions or stereotypes of rural Blacks is that they are very respectful, poor, believe in ancestry, humble and are physically strong. However the less positive side is that they are perceived as suspicious, undeducated and uncivilised. These stereotypes are compatible with oppositions in List 1 (page 25). It is apparent that Black Africans have absorbed racist discourse and applied it to each other in what is commonly labelled xenophobia.

Table D:

English – Whites

Stereotype	Q – C	Q - A	Total No
Accommodating of other people	1	85	86
Friendly	4	73	77
Progressive	2	25	27
Superior attitude	2	25	27
Mature	1	19	20
Rich	2	15	17
Hard-workers	1	15	16
Educated	1	14	15
Religious	1	5	6

Table D indicates the common descriptions of English Whites. The respondents had positive descriptions of this racial group commenting on them as accommodating of other people; are friendly; think they are superior, progressive and encourage maturity. The respondents therefore felt more positive towards this group. These positive descriptions may in fact, be because of the historical imbalances in South Africa where English speaking Whites were (for many centuries) in a position of power in the country but lost this power base to Afrikaans speakers during the Apartheid era. Essentially, the discourse of power and patriarchy is still prevalent in the responses of the sample. The stereotypical oppositions noted in List 25 underpin this inference.

Table E:

Afrikaner – Whites

Stereotype	Q – C	Q - A	Total No
Racist	7	108	115
Violent (aggressive)	2	89	91
Hard-workers	1	45	46
Insolent	5	15	20
Selfish	2	15	17
Unfriendly	1	14	15

Table E indicates the stereotypes that respondents hold of Afrikaner Whites are that they are racist, violent/aggressive, insolent and unfriendly. The descriptions of this group were neither positive nor constructive on the whole although they are perceived as hardworking. This is indicative that race relations toward this group by the majority of respondents are negative. This may be attributed to the fact that the Apartheid policy was instituted and upheld by the National Party which was perceived to be made up of mostly Afrikaners. The words used to describe Afrikaner Whites are consistent with that of racial stereotyping.

Table F:

Black - (Africans)

Stereotype	Q – B	Q - D	Total No
Cultural (belief in ancestry)	60	31	91
Respectful	55	13	68
Sociable (friendly)	25	53	60
Loud	10	38	48
Helpful	23	27	40
Uneducated	11	19	30
Immature	10	15	25
Aggressive	9	11	20
Lazy	1	9	10
Poor	3	7	10

Table F indicates the stereotypes that the respondents hold of Blacks include that they are very cultural and believe in ancestry. They are also respectful, sociable/friendly, loud and helpful. However, the oppositions poor, immature and uneducated are indicative of the mostly Black respondents absorbing stereotypical racist discourse into their descriptions of self (See list 1 page 25).

Table G:

White

Stereotype	Q – B	Q - D	Total No
Racist	58	34	92
Dominant (power)	60	32	92
Superior attitude	60	32	92
Rich	54	35	89
Good	37	23	60
Educated	10	20	30
Selfish	17	8	25
Progressive	7	8	15
Independent	2	8	10

Table G indicates how the respondents on questionnaires B and D would describe Whites. The common phrases used to describe Whites are that they are racist, superior, like dominating or being in power, are rich, and are educated. The table above shows the predominant stereotypes that the respondents noted when describing Whites. Interestingly, the White group is generally perceived by respondents in a negative light whereas the Group English – Whites is perceived in a more positive light (see possible explanation Table D). Another reason why the mostly Black respondents may see English speaking Whites in a more positive light is the fact that lectures at the University of Zululand are conducted in English. As White lecturing staff are around a third of the

academic component they could be perceived as English speakers. It is possible that respondents have a positive bias towards this group.

Table H:

Indians

Stereotype	Q – B	Q - D	Total No
Unsociable	56	64	120
Unethical (deceitful)	50	38	88
Business minded	50	26	76
Racist	34	37	71
Selfish	10	30	40
Cultural	4	30	34
Proud	9	11	20

The stereotypes that the respondent's holds of Indians are indicated in table H. The most common descriptions are that they are unsociable, unethical/ deceitful, racist, and selfish. These are likely because of stereotypical attitudes, embedded in racist discourse, which are held by respondents.

Table I:

Coloureds

Stereotype	Q – B	Q - D	Total no
Violent aggressive	68	47	115
No culture	55	43	98

Identity crisis	55	43	98
Substance abusers	37	48	85
Disrespectful (rude)	30	12	42
Friendly	11	24	35
Angry	22	10	32
Proud	1	3	4
Educated	1	2	3

Table I below clearly presents the stereotypes that the respondents hold of Coloured people. The recurring phrases are that they are violent and aggressive, do not have a culture/ have an identity crisis, are substance abusers, and are disrespectful/ rude. This ties in with the descriptive statistics, presented as Histograms, which indicate that Coloureds are associated with many negatives in the perception of the respondents. This negativity is associated with racist discourse towards a South African minority group which historically was not fully accepted by either the majority Black group or the dominant White group.

4.7 Breakdown of responses to questions investigating race relations

The following is a breakdown of the responses to questions investigating perceptions of race relations. The responses are presented in a tabular format and followed by a brief discussion. Each questionnaire had different questions which will be noted above the

table as they appear on the questionnaires. Not all questions were answered by the respondents.

Table J:

Questionnaire A - Please write a few lines on your opinion on race relations in South Africa over the last 20 years

Recurring phrases	Number of Respondents
Improved	83
No improvement	30
Total	113

A total of one hundred and thirteen (113) respondents answered this question. Of these eighty three (83) felt that race relations had improved and thirty (30) felt that there had been no improvement.

One of the observations the respondents gave for improved race relations was that everyone views each other as equal therefore discrimination of other racial groups has decreased. Respondents noted that there is an increase in mixed race marriages. Other comments were that barriers between races have decreased resulting in decreased racism. It must be noted that five (5) respondents referred to the Apartheid era, noting how inhumane it was and compared to how things are now. They stated that race relations had improved over the past two decades and foresee better race relations in future. In contrast to this worldview thirty(30) of the respondents felt that there was no improvement in race relations in South Africa stating that some people are more equal

than others. They noted that some races only pretend (make believe) to accept the concept of a rainbow nation, that is why there is no improvement. The races that were identified as being pretenders are Indians and Whites. Other reasons given were that not all races want to co-operate with each other. Some responses stated that Whites still want to maintain the Apartheid system that was introduced and implemented by the Nationalist Party.

Some of the questionnaires received back did not have responses to this question. This has the table above. The lack of responses might be attributed to the fact that either the respondents were lazy to fill in this question, they did not understand it, or just do not want to express their views. An alternative explanation could be that after answering the short questions in the questionnaire respondents were stuck in response set and were unable to think of answers. Other alternatives are that they felt the questionnaire was too long or the questions irrelevant.

Table K:

Questionnaire B - Please write a few lines on what you see as the solution to South Africa's Race Relations problem

Recurring phrases	Number of Respondents
Positive solution	48
No solution	4
Total	52

Forty eight (48) respondents felt that there are positive solutions for race relation problem(s) in South Africa, whilst four had no solution.

The positive solutions that were highlighted were there should be more mixed races schools where students can learn about the cultures and values of other races. This will enable mutual understanding and respect. This was linked to the spirit of sharing that some of the respondents discussed. They felt that the more the various races interact the more cultures will be shared and the more knowledge will be shared amongst the races. Twenty-three (23) of the respondents indicated that there is a need to respect each other irrespective of racial group. This was needed to help bury the history of Apartheid and discrimination and to look towards a constructive future. The respondents who indicated that there is no solution to the race relations problems further elaborated that Indians and Whites still have an Apartheid mentality of discriminating against Blacks, therefore there is no solution. They further stated that racism will never go away hence there can never be a solution to the race relations problem in South Africa. Their responses correspond with some of the concerns brought up in Questionnaire A that Indians and Whites still discriminate against Blacks.

Table L:

Questionnaire C - Would you support Jacob Zuma as president of South Africa? Why or why not?

Recurring phrases	Number of Respondents
Yes	15

No	3
Total	18

The vast majority of the students studying at the University of Zululand are of Zulu origin. The responses given appear to be underpinned by tribalism. Some of the reasons that respondents gave to support why they would vote for Jacob Zuma as president were “because he is Zulu” and “it is time for a Zulu to be president”. These are typical tribal comments which seem to infer that the respondents are party to Black-on-Black racism. Other recurring phrases noted were that Zuma has shown good leadership qualities and must be given a chance to prove that he can do the job. It was stated by several participants that Zuma is humble and knows what it is like to come from a disadvantaged background. Another reason given to substantiate why Zuma would be voted in for state presidency is that he sacrificed his studies to join the liberation struggle therefore he is a suitable candidate for president. Three (3) of the respondents indicated that they would not vote for Jacob Zuma as president because they felt that Mr. Zuma is not neutral when it comes to cultural practices and that he is a criminal. It must be noted that the general response to this question was not good as only eighteen (18) responses were given. Perhaps in this case the question was felt to be too political and students (as the questionnaire was handed out and answered before Mr Zuma was elected president) did not want give an opinion on such a topical debate.

Table M:

Questionnaire D - How do you see Race Relations in South Africa evolving over the next 20 years?

Recurring Phrases	Number of respondents
Race relations will have improved	59
Rare relations will not improve	10
Total	79

Fifty nine (59) of the respondents were of the opinion that race relations will improve over the next twenty (20) years. Ten (10) of the respondents felt race relations will not improve in this time period

The respondents who felt that there will be an improvement indicated that most races, if not all, will be working together. Another justification for improved race relations is that race will no longer be an issue and that people will respect each other and treat each other equitably and with dignity. A further statement was that there will be more humane relations and the wounds of apartheid would have healed in twenty years time. A concern that these respondents highlighted to be paramount for the situation to improve is that Indians and Whites need to improve their relations with Blacks and improve interaction with theses races. Some respondents indicated that there will be an end to all racism in South Africa in twenty years time. The respondents who saw no improvement after twenty years indicated that Blacks and Whites regard each other as enemies therefore there will be no change. These respondents further insisted that race

problem will never go away therefore there can not be any improvement in the race relations problem in twenty years time. A contrasting view from one of the respondents was that the government is busy empowering disadvantaged groups and this is slowly leading to unending hatred and racism. Policies such as Affirmative Action have, in trying to promote the disadvantaged, prejudiced Whites and other previously advantaged racial groups against Blacks. Some of the questionnaires received back did not have responses to this question the inferences for this are the same as those in Table J.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

The study was aimed at investigating whether racism existed amongst students at the University of Zululand. The predominant age-group was between seventeen and twenty-four years (17-24) which constitutes the majority of the students at the University. It was hypothesised that racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand (Unizul). It was also assumed that that male students will be less tolerant of other racial groups and that female students will be more tolerant of other racial groups. The results from the questionnaires will be discussed in this Chapter with reference to the assumptions of the study.

5.2 Discussion of quantitative results

When examining the demographic information, it was apparent that the Black respondents accounting for ninety-five percent (95%) of the sample is compatible with the demographic composition of the University of Zululand's student registration where ninety-eight percent (98%) of the students are Black. From the demographic statistics it is clear that the university only has zero point seven percent (0.7%) White students, one percent (1%) Indian/Asian students and zero point three percent (0.3%) Coloured students. This may explain some of the responses as respondents are likely to have little contact Indian/Asian, White and White and Coloured students.

Eighty-five percent (85%) of the respondents are within the age demographic of seventeen to twenty-four years (17-24) and sixty-two percent (62%) of the respondents are female whereas thirty-eight percent (38%) of the respondents are male students.

The questions investigating social distance and actual contact with other racial groups yielded the following results. The respondents indicated that they rarely come into contact with Coloureds and sometimes come into contact with Whites in their daily lives. This is supported by the demographic information as per Appendix 5 which reflects the racial composition of the student populace at the University of Zululand. In terms of regarding Blacks as close friends, seventy-eight percent (78%) of the respondents confirmed that they relate to Blacks as close friends whereas with Indians and Coloureds the majority of respondents indicated that they never regard both Coloureds and Indians as close friends. In terms of intimacy thirty-nine percent (39%) of the respondents indicated that they often are intimate with Blacks but never with Indians, Whites, and Coloureds. The meaning of the word “intimate” could have been understood in various ways here but the key was to determine whether there is any kind of affection shared with the particular race group.

Considering whether contact with other racial groups is friendly fifty-two percent (52%) of the respondents considered their contact with Blacks as friendly. Forty-two percent (42%) of the respondents indicated that they sometimes have friendly contact with Whites and thirty-four percent (34%) sometimes had friendly contact with Indians/Asians. Another thirty-four percent (34%) of the respondents indicated that they

sometimes had friendly contact with Coloureds. These figures are congruent with the demographic composition of the university as there are more Blacks and less students from the other racial groups as indicated in the questionnaires.

The questions relating to how respondents felt personally towards people from other racial groups generated the following statistics. Eighty-two percent (82%) of the respondents felt positive towards Blacks, sixty-five percent (65%) felt positive towards whites, fifty-one percent (51%) were positive to Indians/Asians and fifty-three percent (53%) were positive toward Coloureds. These statistics imply that the respondents are more accepting of Whites as compared to Indians/Asians and Coloureds. Seventy-six percent (76%) of the respondents indicated that they felt warm towards Blacks, fifty-nine percent (59%) felt warm towards Whites, fifty percent (50%) felt warm towards Indians/Asians and forty-nine percent (49%) felt warm towards Coloureds. This is indicative that there is potential hostility towards Indians/Asians and Coloureds. This is supported by the stereotypes that the respondents have of both Indians/Asians and Coloureds. Eighty-one percent (81%) of the respondents indicated that they felt friendly towards Blacks, fifty-six percent (56%) would be friendly towards Whites, fifty-two percent (52%) would be friendly towards Indians/Asians and fifty percent (50%) would be friendly towards Coloureds.

Blacks are more trusted by the respondents as compared to the other race groups. Seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents feel more trusting towards Blacks, fifty-five percent (55%) trust Whites, thirty-nine percent (39%) trust Indians/Asians and forty-

two percent (42%) trust Coloureds. More than half of the respondents would trust Whites over Coloureds and Indians/Asians. This is a very interesting statistic that should be investigated further. Blacks are respected more than the other races with seventy-seven percent (77%) of the respondents attesting to this. Fifty-seven percent (57%) of the respondents would respect Whites, forty-nine percent (49%) would respect Indians/Asians and forty-six percent (46%) would respect Coloureds. Generally the respondents feel trust towards their own group and secondly towards the White group. The Indian/Asian and Coloured groups evoke less feelings of trust.

From an overview of the aforementioned it can be inferred that a third to half of the respondents are likely to exhibit some racist behaviour(s) towards people from other racial groups. This supports the assumption that racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand (Unizul).

In terms of significance independent t – test results indicated that male respondents were only more negative toward the Coloured race group than females. It is unclear as to why this is so. In fact the results indicate that females were more inclined to be negative toward the Black group. As the sample of respondents was predominately Black this may indicate that females are more likely to show racist and xenophobic attitudes towards other Blacks than males.

5.3 Discussion of Qualitative results with specific reference to stereotypes

The respondents were required to note traits, which they personally believe characterise the racial groups that are represented by the survey. On Questionnaires A and C the racial groups were city Blacks, Rural Blacks, English whites and Afrikaans Whites. On questionnaires B and D the racial groups were Blacks, Whites, Indians/Asians and Coloureds.

Stereotypes used to describe City Blacks

The stereotypes noted by respondents of city Blacks is that they have no culture, think they are better than others and are rich. The respondents further elaborated on the stereotype of having no culture by indicating that city blacks have adopted a western way of living and have moved away from the Black cultural way of doing things. This stereotype would obviously be highlighted by the student from UniZul because the majority of students come from a very rural background and therefore they would not approve of another black acting in a manner perceived to be not Black. The students at the university uphold their culture therefore they would want everyone who is Black to act the same way as them. The stereotypes that city Blacks think they are better than others and that they are rich are basically supported by the fact that city Black are exposed to a metropolitan way of life meaning that they dress differently and are more exposed to technological advancement compared to rural Blacks. Mannerisms are different, the accent of city Black is different from rural Blacks and therefore city Blacks

would be perceived as thinking they are better than others. Dress codes are different because city Blacks can afford to wear more expensive clothes, they have more technical equipment and have access to facilities and services that rural Blacks would have a difficulty accessing. This would support the description that city Blacks are rich.

Stereotype used to describe Rural Blacks

The majority of students at the university are from a rural background hence it would be expected that respondents were describing themselves or their socioeconomic environments when answering this question. The common traits that the respondents noted included that rural Blacks are very respectful; are poor; are very cultural and believe in ancestry and are not educated. Most of the responses to this question evolve around culture and respect. In terms of being very respectful rural Blacks are brought up in a different manner compared to city Blacks. They are brought up in a more strict and orderly manner. As indicated earlier that responses will include socioeconomic dispositions another trait that was highlighted was that rural Blacks are poor. Respondents elaborated on this by indicating that there are not that many job opportunities in the rural areas as compared to the city and that development is minimal in rural areas in comparison to the urban areas. Rural Blacks are more rooted in their culture and try to adhere to their value system even when they are far from home, compared to city Blacks and are said to believe in ancestry and the power of *muti*. Rural Blacks are uneducated because of the lack of good educational facilities or maybe just the lack of access to educational facilities. These were the most common traits that were used to describe rural Blacks.

Stereotypes used to describe English Whites

Common traits noted to describe English Whites is that they are accommodating of others, are friendly and that they think they are superior and like being in-charge. It was clear how the differentiation here between Afrikaner Whites and English Whites was made. The respondents indicated that English Whites like to learn about other cultures hence they accommodate others. The fact that they are perceived as accommodating of others it would be befitting that they are friendly. The respondents have positive traits about English Whites. The other common description of English Whites is that they think they are superior and like to be in-charge. This is typical of the English as they are an aggressive nation. They believe they are the most intelligent therefore they would think that they are superior to others and would definitely want to dominate. This can be traced back to historical accounts of the British and the Monarchy where they have perceived themselves to be superior.

Stereotypes used to describe Afrikaner Whites

The common descriptions about this group of people were based on the apartheid context. The traits perceived of Afrikaner Whites are that they are racist, aggressive/ violent and that they are hard-working. Most of the brutality was inflicted during the apartheid era under the rule of the Nationalist Party, hence the description that they are racist and violent. The descriptions are congruent with the acts of human violation in the apartheid era. There were reports of how Black people were abused and beaten up by white Afrikaner farmers. Some of the statements noted by some of the respondents

were “aggressive devils who compare Blacks with monkeys” and another respondent wrote that they would “kill an Afrikaner that will try to disturb me in my way”. These are very strong statements which are indicative of the negative attitude that the respondents have toward Afrikaner Whites. The other common trait is that they are hard-workers. This may be attributed to the fact that most Afrikaner Whites own farms and they work their lands productively. This was one of the justifications that the respondents gave for describing Afrikaner Whites as hard-workers. It is apparent that the Blacks in this community have a very low opinion of Afrikaner Whites; they practically despise Afrikaner Whites compared to English Whites.

Stereotypes used to describe Blacks

This question here required the respondents to give a general opinion on how they would describe Blacks and not specific to either a city black or rural Black. The title Black and not being specific whether it is rural or city Black brings to light a different picture. Blacks were described as cultural and believe in ancestry; are respectful; are sociable and friendly; and are loud/ talkative. The stereotypes highlighted by the respondents are more descriptive of rural Blacks. This may be attributed to the fact that nearly the majority of the respondents come from rural areas. They think from their own context, which is what Devine (1995) asserts that stereotypes are contextual and only come out when individuals are talking about a particular topic. These stereotypes would not be a part of the everyday conversation of the respondents but would become apparent when engaged in a conversation requiring individual opinions regarding

certain racial groups. The description that Blacks are friendly and sociable would be congruent with the earlier analysis that the respondents have a friendly contact with Blacks in their daily activities. Blacks are seen as friendly and sociable resulting in the characteristic of being talkative and loud as highlighted by the respondents.

Stereotypes used to describe Whites

As with Blacks, generalised comments have been made to describe Whites, of which some were used to describe White Afrikaners. The traits are that Whites are racist, are superior/ and like being in power; they are wealthy and that they are good pretenders. The trait that they are racist as discussed before may be attributed to the context of the apartheid era. The aspect of superiority and wanting to be in power may be characteristic of more the English Whites as identified by the respondents in the earlier question. The wealth of Whites is attributed to the fact that they own farms and have big mansions as they were able to set themselves up during the apartheid era. The aspect of being good pretenders also became apparent when the respondents had to state their views on how they felt was the solution to the race relations problem in South Africa. One of the main reasons was that Whites and Indians/Asians pretend to like people from other races hence the race relations problem in South Africa will never end. The issue of pretence has come up again implying that the Whites are resisting change from apartheid to democracy. They want to leave things as they were and not interact with people from other racial groups.

Stereotypes used to describe Indians/Asians

The stereotypes used to describe Indians/Asians are that they do not socialise and isolate themselves, are unethical/deceitful; are business minded and they are racist. Comments made by the respondents are that Indian/Asian students tend to isolate themselves and never interact with Black students. This implies that they don't socialise with students of other races thereby supporting the stereotype that they are racist. There is a trait that they are deceitful/ unethical in their practices. Reasons were not given to justify why they are perceived as unethical. Indians/Asians are business minded and this was commented on by the respondents. There was not much said about Indians/Asians as they are not that many on the campus and since they do not socialise with the Black students it may be assumed that the traits mentioned are generalised traits that the respondents have about Indians/Asians.

Stereotypes used to describe Coloureds

The main stereotypes that came up about Coloureds are that they are violent/ aggressive; they do not have a culture/ they have an identity crisis, and that they like alcohol, drugs and fast cars. The respondents felt that Coloureds are violent/ aggressive and stated that they fight a lot. This behaviour was related to the trait of violence. The respondents, because of their background, are very much rooted in culture. They brought up the issue of culture and expressed their view that they think Coloureds have no culture. Culture is very important to the respondents and they stated on their responses that sometimes Coloureds think they are White and sometimes they think

they are Black. This identity crisis as identified by the respondents was attributed to their lack of culture. Another common trait is that Coloureds like drugs, alcohol and fast cars. This may be a generalised comment as there is only zero point three percent (0.3%) Coloureds amongst the student population of the university.

5.4 Résumé

The quantitative results underpin the assumption that racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand. In the qualitative results the stereotypes highlighted by the respondents also support the assumption that racism exists amongst students at the University of Zululand (Unizul). The stereotypical observations made by the respondents in describing how they feel about for instance, Afrikaner Whites indicate that there are feelings of racial tension towards this group. This is also seen in the respondents feeling towards the group Whites generally. However, when the White group is split into Whites – English the responses at first appear positive. However, further analysis reveals that the oppositions used by respondents are consistent with a racist discourse associated with power and patriarchy. Some of the responses indicate Black on Black racism which is also associated with xenophobia.

There is little distinction generally in terms of significant difference, of how Black females and Black males relate to other racial groups delineated in the study. It appears that males are not less positive and females not more positive in general. In only eight (8) questions was significant difference found indicating that females are less positive toward Blacks than males in specific instances. The inference is that this may be due to

the patriarchal nature of African society generally as the majority of female respondents are Black females.

As the university can be considered the workplace of students it is likely that these findings will be mirrored by the broader work place. This assumption is underpinned by the outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa during 2008.

Chapter 6: Implications and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The results of this study indicate that racism does exist amongst students at the University of Zululand (Unizul), both Black on White and Black on Black racism. The study was not able to investigate White on Black racism due to the demographic make-up of the sample. The student respondents are a microcosm of the broader local society thus results can likely be extrapolated to the South African society generally and other tertiary institutions specifically. The results suggest that there is an urgent need for tertiary institutions to look into race relations on campuses and try to implement programmes that will promote better understanding of different cultures

6.2 Recommendations

Recommendations arising out of the study are:

- broadly – the Government should introduce programmes that will encourage good race relations between people of different races. These programmes should encourage and empower people to respect and understand people from other racial groups. A culture of tolerance and acceptance must be promoted;
- specifically - the University of Zululand should design and implement programmes that will encourage students from all backgrounds and of all race groups to be more interactive so as to encourage a spirit of sharing and understanding and acceptance.

6.3 Research evaluation –Methodological strengths and weaknesses.

Methodological strengths of the research

1. The study sample was representative as it was homogenous in terms of level of education and age. It was also a random sample where every portion of the population had an equal opportunity of being part of the sample;
2. The questionnaire was designed for a research study conducted in Durban in 1960; the questions were piloted and further developed by Durrheim (2007). The present study noted high construct validity in terms of stereotypes. The questionnaire was therefore valid and reliable and relevant to the population

Methodological weaknesses of research

1. The questionnaires were too long therefore respondents did not fill in all the sections. It is recommended that a shortened version of the questionnaire be piloted.
2. Some respondents indicated on the questionnaire that they were unsure what was required. This indicates a need, especially in institutions where English is a second language, for a more user-friendly questionnaire with clear instructions. It may also indicate a need for the questionnaire to be translated into all official languages in the country. The fact that the questionnaire is in English may be noted as a racist patriarchal discourse in itself.

6.4 Recommendations for future research.

1. A comparative study should be conducted with Universities and tertiary institutions around the country to establish whether the stereotypes identified at UniZul are congruent with those of students in other tertiary institutions in the country.
2. More qualitative questions should be included to further probe respondents to determine why they hold certain stereotypes about the various racial groups.
3. The questionnaire should be adapted and studies conducted in the workplace to understand the depth and nuances of racism in South Africa.

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Appendix 1- Questionnaire A**An investigation into Racism amongst students at the University of Zululand**

This study is being undertaken as part of a Masters in Industrial Psychology. The information will be used to complete a dissertation that will add to the research base on the subject undertaken at South African Universities. **YOU MUST NOT WRITE DOWN YOUR NAME TO ENSURE THAT THE MATERIAL IS COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.** The research is conducted in an ethically appropriate manner under the auspices of the Industrial Psychology Department of the University of Zululand. **It is really important that you be honest when you fill in the questionnaire otherwise the study will be of little worth.**

Please enclose completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and place in the box situated in the office of the Deans Secretary in your Faculty on or before the 25 July 2008.

Dr. K Nel

Supervisor

Cebile Tebele

Student

What groups of people exist in South Africa?

Please indicate your Faculty

Commerce, Administration and Law ☐

Science and Agriculture ☐

Education ☐

Arts ☐

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOVE

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

PLEASE DO NOT make any other identifying marks on this page

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

Black ☐

White ☐

Indian ☐

Coloured ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your gender by ticking the appropriate box

Male ☐

Female ☐

Please indicate your age demographic by ticking the appropriate box

17-24 ☐

25-30 ☐

31 and above ☐

On the page below you will find labels referring to some of the groups in South Africa next to a series of blank lines. Read the group labels on the page and, on the lines provided, write down the traits which YOU, personally, believe to characterise the group. That is how YOU view this group. These thoughts could include traits, behaviours, beliefs, and so on. The thoughts that you list SHOULD reflect your personal beliefs about the group. List as many traits as you can think of which make up your personal view of each group. Try to be as honest as possible in listing these traits

City Blacks

Rural Blacks

English Whites

Afrikaans Whites _____

Below is a questionnaire assessing how YOU feel towards other groups of people. Each consists of rating your feelings towards other groups on a scale of 1 to 10. The words listed below indicate the ends of the scale.

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards BLACKS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards WHITES

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards COLOURED

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards INDIANS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Below is a questionnaire asking you to assess how much you actually come into contact with groups of other people. Please read each question carefully and respond *Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often or Always* by ticking the appropriate column. Tick only one column in response to each question.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
<i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact <i>friendly?</i>					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>friendly?</i>					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>cooperative?</i>					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>cooperative?</i>					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
people who share a common group with you?					

Please write a few lines on your opinion on race relations in South Africa over the last 20 years:

Appendix 2- Questionnaire B**An investigation into Racism amongst students at the University of Zululand**

This study is being undertaken as part of a Masters in Industrial Psychology. The information will be used to complete a dissertation that will add to the research base on the subject undertaken at South African Universities. **YOU MUST NOT WRITE DOWN YOUR NAME TO ENSURE THAT THE MATERIAL IS COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.** The research is conducted in an ethically appropriate manner under the auspices of the Industrial Psychology Department of the University of Zululand. **It is really important that you be honest when you fill in the questionnaire otherwise the study will be of little worth.**

Please enclose completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and place in the box situated in the office of the Deans Secretary in your Faculty on or before the 25 July 2008.

Dr. K Nel

Supervisor

Cebile Tebele

Student

What groups of people exist in South Africa?

Please indicate your Faculty

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Commerce, Administration and Law | ☐ |
| Science and Agriculture | ☐ |
| Education | ☐ |
| Arts | ☐ |

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOVE

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

PLEASE DO NOT make any other identifying marks on this page

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

Black ☐

White ☐

Indian ☐

Coloured ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your gender by ticking the appropriate box

Male ☐

Female ☐

Please indicate your age demographic by ticking the appropriate box

17-24 ☐

25-30 ☐

31 and above ☐

On the page below you will find labels referring to some of the groups in South Africa next to a series of blank lines. Read the group labels on the page and, on the lines provided, write down the traits which YOU believe to characterise the group. That is how YOU view this group. These thoughts could include traits, behaviours, beliefs, and so on. The thoughts that you list SHOULD reflect your personal beliefs about the group. List as many traits as you can think of which make up your personal view of each group. Try to be as honest as possible in listing these traits

Blacks _____

Whites _____

Indians _____

Coloureds _____

Below is questionnaire assessing how YOU feel towards other groups of people. Each consists of rating your feelings towards other groups on a scale of 1 to 10. The words listed below indicate the ends of the scale.

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards BLACKS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards WHITES

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards COLOURED

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards INDIANS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Below is a questionnaire asking you to assess how much you actually come into contact with groups of other people. Please read each question carefully and respond *Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often or Always* by ticking the appropriate column. Tick only one column in response to each question.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
<i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>intimate?</i>					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact <i>friendly?</i>					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>friendly?</i>					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>cooperative?</i>					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>cooperative?</i>					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					

Please write a few lines on what you see as the solution to South Africa's race relations problems:

Appendix 3- Questionnaire C**An investigation into Racism amongst students at the University of Zululand**

This study is being undertaken as part of a Masters in Industrial Psychology. The information will be used to complete a dissertation that will add to the research base on the subject undertaken at South African Universities. **YOU MUST NOT WRITE DOWN YOUR NAME TO ENSURE THAT THE MATERIAL IS COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.** The research is conducted in an ethically appropriate manner under the auspices of the Industrial Psychology Department of the University of Zululand. **It is really important that you be honest when you fill in the questionnaire otherwise the study will be of little worth.**

Please enclose completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and place in the box situated in the office of the Deans Secretary in your Faculty on or before the 25 July 2008.

Dr. K Nel

Supervisor

Cebile Tebele

Student

What groups of people exist in South Africa?

Please indicate your Faculty

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Commerce, Administration and Law | ☐ |
| Science and Agriculture | ☐ |
| Education | ☐ |
| Arts | ☐ |

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOVE

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

PLEASE DO NOT make any other identifying marks on this page

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

Black ☐

White ☐

Indian ☐

Coloured ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your gender by ticking the appropriate box

Male ☐

Female ☐

Please indicate your age demographic by ticking the appropriate box

17-24 ☐

25-30 ☐

31 and above ☐

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

City Blacks

Rural Blacks

English Whites

Afrikaans Whites

Below is questionnaire assessing how YOU feel towards other groups of people. Each consists of rating your feelings towards other groups on a scale of 1 to 10. The words listed below indicate the ends of the scale.

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards BLACKS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards WHITES

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards COLOURED

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards INDIANS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Suspicious(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Disrespect(1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Below is a questionnaire asking you to assess how much you actually come into contact with groups of other people. Please read each question carefully and respond *Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often or Always* by ticking the appropriate column. Tick only one column in response to each question.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
When you come into contact					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
with BLACKS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact <i>friendly</i> ?					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>friendly</i> ?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>cooperative</i> ?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>cooperative</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					

Would you support Jacob Zuma as president of South Africa? Why or why not?

Appendix 4- Questionnaire D**An investigation into Racism amongst students at the University of Zululand**

This study is being undertaken as part of a Masters in Industrial Psychology. The information will be used to complete a dissertation that will add to the research base on the subject undertaken at South African Universities. **YOU MUST NOT WRITE DOWN YOUR NAME TO ENSURE THAT THE MATERIAL IS COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.** The research is conducted in an ethically appropriate manner under the auspices of the Industrial Psychology Department of the University of Zululand. **It is really important that you be honest when you fill in the questionnaire otherwise the study will be of little worth.**

Please enclose completed questionnaire in the envelope provided and place in the box situated in the office of the Deans Secretary in your Faculty on or before the 25 July 2008.

Dr. K Nel

Supervisor

Cebile Tebele

Student

What groups of people exist in South Africa?

Please indicate your Faculty

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Commerce, Administration and Law | ☐ |
| Science and Agriculture | ☐ |
| Education | ☐ |
| Arts | ☐ |

DO NOT TURN THE PAGE BEFORE ANSWERING THE QUESTION ABOVE

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

PLEASE DO NOT make any other identifying marks on this page

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

Black ☐

White ☐

Indian ☐

Coloured ☐

Other (please specify) _____

Please indicate your gender by ticking the appropriate box

Male ☐

Female ☐

Please indicate your age demographic by ticking the appropriate box

17-24 ☐

25-30 ☐

31 and above ☐

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

Blacks

Whites

Indians

Coloureds

Below is questionnaire assessing how YOU feel towards other groups of people. Each consists of rating your feelings towards other groups on a scale of 1 to 10. The words listed below indicate the ends of the scale.

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards BLACKS

Negative (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Positive (10) (or somewhere in
Cold (1)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)
Hostile (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Friendly (10) (or somewhere in
Suspicious (1) between?)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Trusting (10) (or somewhere in

Disrespect (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards WHITES

Negative (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Cold (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Hostile (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Suspicious(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Disrespect(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards COLOURED

Negative (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Cold (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Hostile (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Suspicious(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Disrespect(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

On the Scale below rate how YOU (personally) feel towards INDIANS

Negative (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Positive (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Cold (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Warm (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Hostile (1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Friendly (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Suspicious(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Trusting (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Disrespect(1) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Respect (10) (or somewhere in between?)

Below is a questionnaire asking you to assess how much you actually come into contact with groups of other people. Please read each question carefully and respond *Never, Rarely, Sometimes, Often or Always* by ticking the appropriate column. Tick only one column in response to each question.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>acquaintances</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with BLACKS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with WHITES as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with INDIANS as <i>close friends</i> ?					
In your day-to-day life, how often do you come into contact with COLOUREDS as <i>close friends</i> ?					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>intimate</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS is that contact <i>friendly</i> ?					
When you come into contact with WHITES is that contact <i>friendly</i> ?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS is that contact <i>cooperative</i> ?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS is that contact <i>cooperative</i> ?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
do you perceive them as people who are from a group that is different to yours?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as individual people?					
When you come into contact with BLACKS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with WHITES how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with INDIANS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common group with you?					
When you come into contact with COLOUREDS how often do you perceive them as people who share a common					

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
group with you?					

How do you see race relations in South Africa evolving over the next 20 years? Please write a few lines in response to this

Appendix 5**Enrolment Summary**

(Extracted from Webreg-University of Zululand database)

For year: Until date:

	WhtM	WhtF	ColM	ColF	IndM	IndF	BlkM	BlkF	
Undergraduates									Totals
faculty: Arts	5	2	1	3	2	11	632	1488	2144
faculty: CommLaw	3	2		3	13	31	827	1043	1922
faculty: Education	2	5			1	3	1134	2454	3599
faculty: Science	9	1	1	3	6	19	502	636	1177
faculty: Other/NDP									null
Totals:	19	10	2	9	22	64	3095	5621	8842

Percentages

Black Students (male + females) 98% $(3095 + 5621) = 8716 / 8842 * 100$ **Indian Students (male + female) 1%** $(22 + 64) = 86 / 8842 * 100$ **Coloured Students (male + female) 0.3%** $(2 + 9) = 11 / 8842 * 100$ **White students (male + female) 0.7%** $(19 + 10) = 29 / 8842 * 100$

Appendix 6

(Extract from Key statistics and Information on the uMhlathuze Municipal area report 2008)

The City of uMhlathuze had an estimated 70 031 households and a total population of about 345776 in 2007. More than 40% of the residents in the municipal area reside in the non-urban (rural and tribal authority) areas outside Empangeni and Richards Bay, and is indicative of a densely populated rural area. More people reside in Richards Bay than Empangeni, although Richards Bay is a younger town, indicating that this town grew at a faster rate than Empangeni.

Population groups

	Richards Bay	Empangeni	Esikhawini	Nseleni	Other areas	Total	%
Black African	20207	13605	72342	14653	178712	299,519	87%
Coloureds	2084	471	72	29	298	2,954	1%
Indian/Asians	10454	1057	120	0	71	11,702	3%
White	21808	9642	7	0	144	31,601	9%
Grand Total						345,776	

Population by gender and age group

Age	Female	Male	Population N	Population (%)
0-4 years	18,028	18,028	36,056	10.43%
5-14 years	37,392	36,724	74,116	21.43%
15-34 years	76,192	70,167	146,359	42.33%
35-64 years	40,739	39,042	79,781	23.07%
Over 65 years	6,084	3,380	9,464	2.73%
Total	178,435	167,341	345,776	

Population density

Suburb / area	Persons per km²
Felixton, farmland and forestry areas	2 - 525
Empangeni, Richards Bay (excluding Aquadene and Brackenham)	526 - 1192
Vulindlela, Brackenham and Aquadene	1193 - 2084
Ngwelezane	2085 - 3989
Nseleni urban, Nseleni rural and Esikhawini urban	3899 - 6421
Total average for entire municipal area	372