

## Patterns of intergroup attitudes in South Africa after 1994

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### Abstract

In the heterogeneous South African society, race has become not only the major organizing principle, but also the primary unit of social analysis. The concept “intergroup relations” has consequently predominantly been associated with racial relations and “intergroup attitudes” with “interracial attitudes” . Interest in South African race relations has furthermore been enhanced by the tumultuous struggle against apartheid. A substantive body of research acquired during apartheid indeed points to interracial tension. The advent of a new political dispensation in 1994 has been accompanied with expectations that increased intergroup contact, in particular, would result in improved interracial relations. The current study investigates intergroup attitudes after 1994. Three countrywide surveys were conducted in 1998, 2001 and 2009 using representative samples of all major racial groups. The results indicate that overall attitudes were more positive among more affluent and urbanized communities. However, there are indications of prevailing negative relations, in particular between Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. While the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites seem to have become more positive, that has not been the case to the same extent for Blacks. Blacks also appear to be less positive towards English-speaking Whites than during apartheid. Overall, the results point to more positive intergroup attitudes in some instances, but also to potential emerging points of tension.

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### Highlights

- ▶ Three countrywide surveys on intergroup attitudes in South Africa were conducted in 1998, 2001 and 2009.
- ▶ South Africans living in urbanized and affluent areas held more positive intergroup attitudes.
- ▶ Attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks and vice versa were noteworthy negative.
- ▶ However, attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks became more positive since 1998.
- ▶ Attitudes of Blacks towards English-speaking Whites were not as positive as during apartheid.

### Keywords

Intergroup relations;

Intergroup attitudes;

South Africa;

Post-apartheid;

### 1. Introduction

The study of intergroup relations is a relatively new field of enquiry in the social sciences (Brown, 1998). However, although it only became a recognized field within various social scientific disciplines after World War II, negative intergroup attitudes and the concomitant societal tension and conflict were some of the most “bedevilling” social problems of the 20th century that are, according to Stevens, Swart, and Franchi (2006, p. 8), bound to become an enduring and even more vexing social issue in the 21st century. The more so as globalizing tendencies tend to emphasize and revitalize various forms of group awareness and identification and have caused intergroup tensions and conflict to leap back to life even under conditions where instigating factors are not present ( [Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2009] and [Cashmore, 2004]). Brown (1998) draws the conclusion that the study of intergroup relations might have a short history, but it will probably have a long future. Ongoing research into intergroup relations consequently remains important for social scientists to be able not only to analyze and predict relational problems, but also to identify ways to improve relations in heterogeneous societies.

South African society offers one of the most profound examples of negative intergroup relations in recent history (Stevens et al., 2006). Most analysts describe South African society as deeply segmented and complexly plural on the basis of factors such as race, culture, class, historical background, language and religion ( [Horowitz, 1991] and [HSRC, 1987]). Societal structures are furthermore complicated by the fact that many social divides overlap and converge so that factors such as race, ethnicity, culture, language, religion and/or class have become interdependent and closely interwoven. Yet, despite the existence of multiple dividers, race has become the dominant concept in explaining and analyzing South African society (Louw & Foster, 1991). This pre-occupation with racial divisions can be perceived throughout the historical development of intergroup relations in South Africa, as well as in research within the social sciences.

The racialization of South African society has prevailed despite acrimonious debates in scientific circles on the validity of the term “race” to describe apparent differences between people belonging to particular groups (Duncan, 2003). Currently the prevailing view is that the range of differences characterizing the human species is not sufficiently significant and systematic to warrant distinctions between particular “racial” groups. Thus the term “race” has fallen in disfavor among many social scientists. It has nevertheless prevailed as a tenacious symbolic marker of social, political and economic organization in many parts of the world and also in South Africa ( [Duncan, 2003] and [Stevens et al., 2006]). This study aims to provide insight into racial attitudes in South Africa after the advent of a new political dispensation in 1994.

### 2. Theoretical frameworks in the study of race relations

Initial theorizing on intergroup relations ascribes negative intergroup attitudes and prejudice predominantly to individual personality, cognitive and motivational factors as well as other individual

differences. Two of the first theoretical frameworks that emerged within this orientation are the aggression – frustration hypothesis (Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, & Sears, 1939) and the theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). According to the aggression – frustration hypothesis, people transfer the aggression and frustrations that they experience in daily life to the members of other groups. The theory of the authoritarian personality, on the other hand, ascribes negative intergroup attitudes to a particular authoritarian personality structure that results mainly from rigid discipline during childhood.

Although not embedded in a theoretical framework, Jowell (2010) identifies various personal characteristics associated with prejudice. According to Jowell, the results of social surveys in Europe have indicated level of education to be an important predictor of social attitudes. The more advanced people's education, the more liberal their attitudes with regard to a wide range of social issues tend to be – including their attitudes with regard to xenophobia, and thus potentially also regarding intergroup relations.

One of the most influential frameworks that emerged after World War II is the contact hypothesis and the extended contact hypothesis ( [Pettigrew, 1998], [0265] and [0380]). According to this hypothesis – first formulated by Allport (1954) in his seminal work *The Nature of Prejudice* – a lack of contact between members of different groups leads to prejudice and negative intergroup attitudes. The hypothesis consequently predicts that more contact between members of different groups will lead to a reduction in prejudice and group stereotyping and will result in an improvement in intergroup relations.

It has initially been believed that contact per se will result in more positive intergroup attitudes. However, the accumulation of contrasting research results has led to the inclusion of additional stipulations that have been integrated with the contact hypothesis over time ( [Miller and Brewer, 1984] and [0265]). The most important of these are that contact situations should have the following characteristics: members of various groups should enjoy equal status; cooperation between members of various groups to achieve common goals should be fostered; relationships should be stimulated in which members of different groups learn to know each other as individuals and not merely as members of a particular group; relations should be of such a nature that stereotypes are unmasked; and the contact between groups should be supported and condoned by authorities. Pettigrew furthermore emphasizes the important role of intergroup friendships in enhancing the effects of intergroup contact.

A major meta-theoretical study by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) of more than 516 studies conducted in 38 countries confirmed that intergroup contact indeed reduces prejudice. The results of the study furthermore demonstrate that, although Allport's optimal conditions can facilitate attitude change, they are not essential to establish a reduction in prejudice. Another major question regarding intergroup contact has been whether the effects of intergroup contact generalize beyond the immediate contact situation. The results of the meta-theoretical study of Pettigrew and Tropp indicate that the effects of intergroup contact do indeed generalize beyond the participants in the contact situation.

The extended contact hypothesis represents a further extension of contact theory (Wright & Aron, 2009). This theory holds that merely knowing a member of the ingroup who has a close friendship

relationship with a member of an outgroup can lead to a reduction in prejudice towards the outgroup. The implications are that intergroup relations can be improved even when only a small number of the members of a particular group have cross-group friendships. It is proposed that the extended contact effect occurs due to the fact that it reduces the anxiety associated with cross-group contact; it changes beliefs about appropriate ingroup behavior and it creates a multitude of informal links with the outgroup.

In 1958, Blumer called on social researchers to move beyond personal feelings and to focus on the functional relations between groups and their position in society. A number of theories that focus on group-related processes, rather than on individual dynamics, have emerged since the 1960s. The term realistic group conflict theory has been given to a set of theories that emphasize the competitive struggles between groups for various resources ( [Olzak, 1992], [0300] and [Sherif, 1966]). Thus conflicting interests, and especially cases where the success of one group blocks the goal attainment of other groups as well as intergroup competition for various resources, are regarded as the main sources of intergroup conflict and tension.

Closely related to realistic group theory are theories that ascribe negative intergroup relations to threats to vital group resources or the position of a particular group in society ( [Grant, 1993] and [Stephan and Stephan, 1985]). Relative deprivation theory represents yet another variant of realistic group conflict theory. This theory focuses on social comparison processes and in particular comparisons that have negative outcomes for the ingroup in comparison with outgroups (Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996). Thus a person experiences relative deprivation when the outcomes of social comparisons are negative for the ingroup that can, in turn, give rise to negative intergroup attitudes and behavior.

Another group of theories focus specifically on the position of groups within a society. According to the social dominance theory, most heterogeneous societies are structured according to group-based hierarchies ( [0285] and [Pratto et al., 1994]). Group members are furthermore well aware of the position of their group in society. Hierarchies are maintained by the unequal distribution of whatever people value such as political or economic power, wealth, prestige, health care, and so forth and/or the exclusion of some groups from these. Societal hierarchies are furthermore legitimized by powerful myths that also prescribe how people should act towards and treat the members of other groups.

Group position theory, on the other hand, views the structural relationship of groups in society as the source of racial prejudice (Blaylock, 2009). A sense of group position originates from the first contact between groups and is formed and reformed by the ongoing relations between them. Factors such as power, skills, economic factors and opportunities play an important role in structuring the position of a particular group in relation to other groups. The theory focuses in particular on the attitudes of majority groups towards minority groups. It proposes that majority groups hold a sense of superiority towards minority groups; the minority groups is perceived as qualitatively different from the ingroup; members of the dominant group feel that they are entitled to certain advantages and resources; and majority group members experience a deep-seated fear that subordinate groups threaten their position. These feelings, in turn, serve to justify racial prejudice and the exclusion of minorities from particular

privileges. Prejudice among members of minority groups can, on the other hand, be fuelled by feelings of alienation and a sense of group deprivation.

A more recent addition to theoretical frameworks explaining societal prejudice is the theory of subtle racism (Sears, 2009). This theory attempts to provide an explanation for the reactions of Whites in the USA to attempts to promote racial integration. The theory proposes that overt racism has been replaced by symbolic racism that is more subtle than earlier forms of racial antagonism. Symbolic racism involves coherent societal belief systems that involve, among others, conceptions that Blacks no longer face discrimination; that the failure of Blacks to progress can be ascribed to personal weaknesses rather than societal structures; and that Blacks make excessive demands and already have more than they deserve. In essence, symbolic racism is rooted in abstract moral systems rather than in individual experiences and it involves deep underlying racial prejudice that come to the fore in more nuanced and subtle ways.

The social identity theory approach represents an umbrella term for a number of theories based on processes of cognitive group categorization and social identification (Elmors, 2009). It involves a novel approach that focus on the minimal conditions under which people are willing to discriminate in favor of the own group and against other groups. It originates from a series of experiments conducted during the 1970s by Tajfel (1981) and his colleagues (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). The results indicate that when people are divided into groups – any group based on any criterion – they immediately, automatically and almost reflexively begin to think of that group as the ingroup. This process of ingroup categorization, in turn, gives rise to social competition and attempts to place the ingroup in a better position than relative outgroups. Contradictory to the major tenets of realistic group conflict theory, the results demonstrate that actual intergroup competition is not a prerequisite for self-categorization and ingroup bias to occur.

Self-categorization theory holds that human groups are social categories that represent complex sets of attributes that reflect the similarities between members of particular groups and the differences between groups ( [0165] and [Tajfel, 1981]). A network of social categories are present in the social world and the tendency of individuals to categorize their social world in terms of ingroups and outgroups already forms part of early socialization processes. The consequences are ingroup bias, outgroup stereotyping, competitive behavior and negative attitudes towards outgroups.

Social identity theory follows directly from the tenets of self-categorization theory as it provides a link between cognitive thought processes, on the one hand, and behavioral processes on the other (Elmors, 2009). According to Tajfel (1981), human groups helps people to make sense of their social environment. Thus membership of a particular group helps people to define who they are and to interpret their relationship with other people. Thus group membership is integrated as the social component of a person's identity. Social identity is consequently defined as a person's knowledge and awareness of his or her membership of a particular group as well as the emotional and value significance of membership of the group. Group motivated behavior is regarded as a direct outflow of the cognitive processes that leads to self-definition in terms of membership of particular groups.

Recent explanations for the effects of intergroup contact are derived from social identity theory ( [Brewer and Miller, 1984] and [0265]). It is believed that optimal contact leads to the reduction of the salience of group categories and foster an interpersonal rather than a group-based orientation towards outgroup members. Contact can also serve to nurture the formation of a single overarching identity or dual identities, that is a sense of membership of the own group as well as of an overarching, common group.

The conclusion can be drawn that intergroup attitudes and behavior hinge on an intricate combination of personal, group-related and group categorization and social identification processes (Hogg & Abrams, 2003). Although research has established the relevance of individual differences, the mere presence of more than one group in a society can give rise to processes of group categorization and the concomitant processes of social identification that, in turn, lead to ingroup bias, group competition and negative outgroup attitudes and behavior. It has furthermore to be kept in mind that intergroup relations are in essence competitive and that the societal hierarchies that result from this competition can furthermore fuel antagonism among groups. Although intergroup contact can serve to improve relations and foster the formation of a common identity, threats to the identity or valuable resources of a group can have the opposite effect. Thus the promotion of intergroup relations involves the maintaining of a precarious balance among a number of factors. Hogg and Abrams draw the conclusion that the creation of conditions that serve to respect group differences and identities, while simultaneously promoting the reconfiguration of intergroup relations by fostering the formation of a superordinate identity hold the most promise for creating positive intergroup relations. The promotion of optimal intergroup contact and group equality can be added to these.

### 3. The South African context

Wilson and Thompson (1985) identify the central theme in South African history as the interaction of groups and individuals of diverse origins, languages, social and cultural systems, ideologies and technologies on South African soil. In the process the society has become rigidly stratified. It has consequently become difficult to provide both a historical or current perspective on groups and their relations as any particular perspective runs the danger of reflecting the viewpoint of one particular group only. This section nevertheless provides some background notes on the history of groups and their interaction with other groups within the South African context.

#### 3.1. Historical notes on South African groups and the development of intergroup relations in South Africa

The earliest inhabitants of South Africa for which artifacts and eyewitness records exist, were yellow-skinned hunters and herders ( [0320], [0325] and [Wilson and Thompson, 1985]). These were the hunter-gatherer San, also known as Bushmen, and the Khoikhoi or Hottentots who kept livestock – collectively the two groups are known as the Khoisan. Small groups of Bushmen still live in arid areas of South Africa and its neighboring countries. Due to their small numbers they, however, have a limited influence on intergroup relations in general. The Khoikhoi who were the first to come into contact with European settlers as they lived in the well-watered southern and western coastal strips, disappeared as

a distinguishable group due to the effects of diseases such as smallpox that were brought by Western settlers as well as assimilation with European settlers and Malaysian slaves who came to South Africa during the period of colonial rule.

The next arrivals were African farmers (herewith referred to as “Blacks” ) who entered the country from East and Central Africa more or less 1700 years ago (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Although the term “Black migration” is often used in this regard, Giliomee and Mbenga regard this term as a poor depiction of the slow and gradual processes through which people of African origin came to inhabit large parts of South Africa. Black clans who settled in different regions of the country are the forefathers of the current Nguni language group (Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele people) and Tswana-Sotho group (Sotho/Basutho, Tswana and Pedi people) ( [0325] and [Wilson and Thompson, 1985]).

The arrival of the first White settlers during the 17th century have had a vast impact on intergroup relations ( [Giliomee and Mbenga, 2007] and [HSRC, 1987]). Not only were more groups added to the racial mix, but Whites also introduced European and/or Western values and practices to South Africa. Since 1652 European colonial authority – first that of the Netherlands and then, from 1806, that of the British Empire – had been established in the Cape and was gradually expanding to the interior. With the exception of the two Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State which existed for approximately 30 years during the last half of the 19th century, large parts of South Africa was under colonial rule for nearly two centuries.

An important outflow of colonial rule was the establishment of White colonist populations with permanent interests in South Africa (HSRC, 1987). From these colonist populations, the Afrikaners developed as a conspicuous group with a strong ethnic identity. Since the British occupation of the Cape in 1806, a significant number of English-speaking colonists had also settled in South Africa. Although they remained largely British orientated, they developed a strong South African identity. Nevertheless, Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites have remained two separate groups, despite extensive social and economic contact.

White settlers and Blacks met one another in typical frontier situations – first in the Eastern Cape when White settlers started to migrate inwards in search of more land and later also on other frontiers (Wilson & Thompson, 1985). The competition for land and other resources gave rise to a number of racial and ethnic conflicts that, in fact, only ended in 1994 (South African History Online, n.d.).

In the early years of White settlement in the Cape a large degree of social equality existed and racial mixing, interracial marriages and the mixture of blood were in the order of the day (HSRC, 1987). From the racial mixing of Whites, slaves (mainly imported from Dutch colonies in Asia), Blacks, the San and the Khoikhoi a group developed which later became known as Coloreds (or Cape Coloreds). Coloreds often resist the racial label “Coloreds” and, during the apartheid era in particular, they often preferred to be categorized as Blacks ( [Bekker, 1993] and [Duncan, 2003]). South Africa also has one of the largest Indian populations living outside of India. The first Indians arrived in the country during the period of British rule, from 1860 onward, as contract workers on the sugar plantations in Kwazulu-Natal. They

were later followed by Indian merchants. As Indian immigration was later stopped, most South African Indians are descendants of the original settlers.

### 3.2. The apartheid era

The growth of Afrikaner nationalism was one of the most important factors that influenced intergroup relations during the 20th century. The establishment of Afrikaner political authority in 1948 heralded the implementation of coordinated, concerted and legalized efforts towards racial segregation – the advent of the so-called apartheid policies ( [Finchilescu and Tredoux, 2010], [Franchi, 2003], [HSRC, 1987] and [Louw and Foster, 1991]). Since 1950, the Population Registration Act decreed by the apartheid government stipulated that all South Africans should be categorized according to their membership of four population groups, namely Blacks, Coloreds, Indians and Whites (Franchi, 2003). This distinction is still used in official statistics published during the new dispensation by Statistics South Africa (SSA, n.d.).

The Population Registration Act and the concomitant laws aimed at “separate development” accelerated racial segregation and in the end lead to discrimination against and the oppression of all groups of color (Franchi, 2003). Foster and Finchilescu (1986) depict apartheid South Africa as a “non-contact” society where interracial contact was to a large extent limited to the work environment. Contact within the work environment was furthermore mostly of an unequal nature, as Whites were predominantly appointed in leadership positions. Opportunities for the development of intergroup friendships within equal-status relationships were therefore limited.

Intergroup tension and conflict reached crisis proportions during the struggle against apartheid from the 1970s onward. During this period the African National Congress (ANC) and other Black consciousness movements organized various forms of mass resistance against apartheid laws. Not only workers, but also women participated in boikots, strikes and demonstrations (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Intergroup relations in South Africa also became the focus of intense international interest and involvement and South Africa became a pariah state in the eyes of the world (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010).

The struggle against apartheid furthermore gave rise to alternative meanings for racial labels as race became indicative of the system of enforced racial segregation and the struggle against the capitalist apartheid system ( [Bekker, 1993] and [Terre Blanche, 2006]). The term Black became an umbrella term for all groups of color (Blacks, Coloreds and Indians) who suffered under apartheid, while the term White was used to refer to those individuals and groups who benefited from the apartheid system. The original racial labels are nevertheless still used in current academic literature (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010).

### 3.3. The advent of a new democratic dispensation

A combination of internal and external pressure finally led to the dismantlement of the apartheid government (Giliomee & Mbenga, 2007). Multiparty negotiations started in 1993, which led to the dawn of a new political dispensation in 1994. The first democratic elections in which South Africans of all races were able to vote were conducted in April 1994. In doing so, a more equal political environment was



created in which all citizens – notwithstanding race, culture, ethnicity or religion – enjoy equal rights. The advent of the so-called “new South Africa” has been accompanied by worldwide optimism that the new democratic environment would bring peace, reconciliation and unity within the strife-torn and deeply divided South African society (Möller, Dickow, & Harris, 1999).

It was foreseen that the transformation of South African society would result in increased contact and interaction between the members of various racial groups and that this, in turn, would have positive effects on intergroup relations ( [Duckitt and Mphuthing, 1998], [Finchilescu and Tredoux, 2010] and [Pettigrew, 2010]). The more so, as the South African government embarked on a nation-building initiative as a step to overcome the divisions left by apartheid and to foster an overarching national identity and nationhood (Eaton, 2002). The results of several studies conducted after 1994 indicate that national pride and a common South African identity has indeed took hold among South Africans of all groups ( [Bornman, 2006], [Bornman, 2010] and [Möller et al., 1999]).

However, a number of authors point to factors that can affect intergroup relations within the context of a new political dispensation in South Africa. An important consequence of the racialization of South African society since the 19th century is that other societal divisions are often ignored. It is often not taken into account, for example, that the major racial groups are also characterized by differences due to divergent cultural, language and religious factors as well as historical experiences. For example, Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites are not only regarded as two different language and cultural groups, but the relationship between the two groups has also been characterized by a legacy of conflict and tension such as the Anglo-Boer War from 1899 to 1902, ongoing competition for political control of South Africa before 1994 and increasing political polarization during the apartheid era (HSRC, 1987). Nine Black languages are furthermore officially recognized that are representative of different cultures and historical traditions. These are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu ( [0070] and [0325]). Historical processes have furthermore brought two main civilization paradigms to live in close contact in South Africa: the African and Western civilizations ( [Huntington, 1996] and [Venter, 1999]). However, it has to be borne in mind that globalization have resulted in the worldwide spread of a homogeneous Westernized culture – a process that can also be observed in Africa and, in particular, in African urban communities ( [0150] and [Lechner and Boli, 2008]).

Horowitz (1991) refers specifically to South Africa in his warning that awareness of ethnic, cultural as well as racial differences would not necessarily vanish once ethnic and racial equality has been achieved within a democratic system. It was possible that, in the new political scene characterized by relative equality and increased contact and interaction between ethnic and racial groups, South Africans might experience a greater need to identify themselves by contrast, to emphasize social borders, to confirm their ethnic, cultural and/or racial identity and that this could, in turn, sustain former negative attitudes. Horowitz's warning has been confirmed by the results of the study of Bornman (2010) which indicate that various forms of racial and ethnic identity are alive and well in South Africa despite the existence of a strong overarching national identity.

Terre Blanche (2006) furthermore points to the existence of immense economic disparities in South Africa. Despite the fact that South Africa is often classified as an upper-middle-class country, a large percentage of South Africans still live in utmost poverty, while the distribution of wealth is one of the most unequal in the world. Although the poor is not confined to a particular racial group, the largest percentages of low-income households are Black or Colored – with the exception of a small group of elite. Terre Blanche draws the conclusion that racial apartheid has been replaced by class apartheid and that the persistence of severe poverty among a large percentage of Blacks in contrast to the relative wealth of Whites presents a serious threat to relations in the post-apartheid dispensation.

Stevens et al. (2006) also warn against the potential consequences of the effects of globalization on the post-apartheid South Africa. Although globalization has galvanized worldwide resistance against racism, the effects on social formations are often contradictory and difficult to predict. While globalization forces have generated cultural homogeneity and sameness all over the world, it has also revitalized awareness of heterogeneity and difference. Economic globalization and the deregulation of trade can furthermore serve to enhance existing inequalities and lead to the exploitation of workers of already marginalized groups.

#### 4. Research on intergroup relations before 1994

Given the tumultuous history of intergroup relations and the central role of race as an organizing principle of society, it is no wonder that social research in South Africa – and in particular research within the discipline of Social Psychology – has been dominated by issues related to intergroup relations (Louw & Foster, 1991). As mentioned previously, the term “intergroup” has predominantly been interpreted as referring to relations between racial groups and – during the apartheid period – to racial domination. Thus attitude studies have primarily been concerned with racial attitudes and, in particular, with White attitudes towards Blacks.

Pioneering work in the study of racial attitudes was done by MacCrone, a former head of the Department of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, from 1930, stretching over a period of more than 30 years (Louw & Foster, 1991). In MacCrone's (1930) first study, 25 senior White students were simply asked to describe their attitudes towards Blacks. Afrikaans-speaking Whites were found to be the most prejudiced. Their attitude scores also had the lowest variability and showed little evidence of change in follow-up studies from 1934 to 1944. The English-speaking White and Jewish students were less prejudiced, the variability was higher and they showed evidence of a decrease in prejudice in follow-up studies ( [MacCrone, 1932], [MacCrone, 1937] and [MacCrone, 1949]).

Following in MacCrone's footsteps, numerous studies on White racial attitudes were conducted since the 1950s. Surprisingly, the results of later studies consistently confirmed the findings of MacCrone (1930), despite the fact that MacCrone's pioneering study was conducted on a relatively small non-probability student sample. A number of studies among relatively large samples all found that the attitudes of English-speaking Whites towards Blacks were not only consistently more positive than those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, but also tended to show more variability ( [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977], [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983] and [0360]).

Despite the fact that the two White groups were in opposite camps with regard to support for and/or opposition to the apartheid system (HSRC, 1987), most studies report relatively positive attitudes towards each other ( [0040], [HSRC, 1987], [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977], [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983] and [0360]). It appears that the strongly opposing viewpoints did not affect general relations between members of the two groups.

Much less research has been done on Black attitudes, and the existing studies mostly involved relatively small, non-probability samples (Foster & Nel, 1991). Once again, MacCrone (1947) was one of the first to study Black attitudes towards Whites. In a study among a small group of educated Blacks, he reports the expression of extreme hostility and antagonism towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites – a tendency that he typifies as “Boer phobia” . MacCrone interprets this tendency as a reaction of Blacks against White domination. In contrast, relatively more favorable attitudes were expressed towards English-speaking Whites. It is of interest that this study of MacCrone was conducted before the advent of apartheid in 1948. The trends identified by MacCrone were confirmed by the later studies of Edelstein (1972), Kuper (1965), and Van den Berghe (1962), the series of studies reported by Plug and Nieuwoudt (1983), as well as the HSRC (1987). In fact, in the series of studies reported by Plug and Nieuwoudt Blacks evaluated English-speaking Whites almost on par with the ingroup (Blacks). In 1974 Plug and Nieuwoudt found that Blacks even evaluated English-speaking Whites slightly more positively than the ingroup. The only exception is the study of Crijns (1959) which found general hostility towards Whites (Foster & Nel, 1991).

The HSRC (1987) depicted Black attitudes during apartheid as a mirror image of White attitudes. Foster and Nel (1991), however, oppose this viewpoint on the grounds that there has always been a considerable gap between the attitudes of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The fact that Blacks were relatively positive towards English-speaking Whites is also perceived as an indication that Black attitudes cannot be typified as racist – at least not during the apartheid era.

If limited research exists regarding Black attitudes during the apartheid era, even less is known about the attitudes of Blacks and Whites towards Coloreds and Indians and the reciprocal attitudes of these groups towards other racial groups. MacCrone (1949) found that White students regarded Coloreds and Indians as more socially distant from themselves than Blacks. However, these findings were not confirmed by Nieuwoudt et al. (1977), Plug and Nieuwoudt (1983), and Thiele (1988). In all of these studies Whites tended to be more positive towards Coloreds and Indians than towards Blacks. The HSRC (1987) furthermore found that both Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites regarded contact and interaction with Coloreds and Indians as more acceptable than contact with Blacks.

Similar trends in the attitudes of Coloreds and Indians could be observed in the studies of Nieuwoudt et al. (1977), Plug and Nieuwoudt (1983), Bornman (1988), and Thiele (1988). Colored attitudes tended to be more positive towards Blacks and English-speaking Whites, but more negative towards Indians and extremely negative towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites. However, in the series of studies among students reported by Plug and Nieuwoudt (1983), Colored attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites tended to improve slightly over the years. Social distance measurements reported by the HSRC (1987) revealed a somewhat different picture. Coloreds mostly preferred contact and interaction with English-

speaking Whites and preferred the least contact with Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Overall, Coloreds were, however, more open to interaction and contact with other groups than any other South Africa group. Thiele (1988) also found that Coloreds evaluated all outgroups more positively than was the case with the two White groups.

Similarly, Indians tended to display relatively positive attitudes towards Blacks and English-speaking Whites ( [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977] and [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983]). Before 1978 Indian attitudes were more positive towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites than towards Coloreds, but from 1978 they evaluated Coloreds slightly more positively. According to the HSRC (1987), Indians were – next to Coloreds – more open to contact and interaction with other groups. However, while Indians mostly preferred interaction with English-speaking Whites and were willing to have contact with Coloreds and Afrikaans-speaking Whites on the same level, they were the least willing of all the groups to have contact with Blacks.

Overall, Foster and Nel (1991) draw the conclusion that the dominant pattern of intergroup attitudes during the apartheid era was that of consistency rather than change – for White attitudes towards Blacks and other groups, and vice versa. It is even more remarkable that these consistent patterns of intergroup relations were maintained despite major political upheaval.

#### 5. Research on intergroup relations after 1994

Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) view the transition from White to Black majority rule as a unique opportunity to study intergroup relations during and after major political change. They investigated a cohort of Black college and secondary school students in Johannesburg shortly before and 4 months after the advent of the new dispensation. The findings confirmed the results of pre-1994 studies in the sense that the Black students evaluated English-speaking Whites significantly more favorably than Afrikaans-speaking Whites (they used the term “Afrikaners” in the questionnaires). However, although the mean scores for all three attitude scales (attitudes towards Afrikaners; attitudes towards English-speaking Whites and attitudes towards Whites in general) were slightly more positive after the elections than before, the differences were not statistically significant.

Mynhardt's 2003 study represents a follow-up to the studies conducted by the Department of Psychology at Unisa during the 1970s ( [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977] and [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983]). Mynhardt, however, chose not to make use of student samples. The data were gathered by students who had to interview four members of their own ethnic group within their immediate environment. A countrywide sample of 3688 respondents from all four racial groups was obtained in this way. No dramatic changes could, however, be observed between the results of the post-election studies and those conducted during the 1970s. Some of the major findings were that the attitudes of English-speaking Whites towards Blacks were still more positive than those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, while Blacks still evaluated English-speaking Whites more positively than Afrikaans-speaking Whites. However, the attitudes of English-speaking Whites, Indians and Coloreds had become more negative towards Blacks. The most distinct changes were found in the relations between Blacks and Indians. Both groups evaluated each other remarkably more negatively. These trends were especially distinctive for respondents living in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, where the largest number of Indians live.

An overview of various studies conducted since the 1990s in which a variety of measures such as semantic differentials and social distance scales were employed, bring Durrheim, Tredoux, Foster, and Dixon (2010) to the conclusion that prejudice has decreased among Whites, whereas it has remained fairly consistent among Blacks. Furthermore, while Blacks were more likely to discuss their prejudiced attitudes freely, Whites were more reluctant and were less likely and less prepared to express prejudice or to evaluate any group negatively. Durrheim et al. furthermore found that no matter what measure was employed, all groups expressed favoritism towards their own group (or ingroup).

Although they did not measure intergroup attitudes per se, the studies of Gibson and Claassen (2010), Gibson and Gouws (2000), and Schlemmer (2001) provide interesting perspectives on intergroup relations after 1994. Gibson and Claassen (2010) measured the responses to a series of nine questions on intergroup tolerance and reconciliation among large samples of all major population groups in 2001 and 2004. Among Whites and Coloreds no changes could be discerned for the majority of items (no distinction was drawn between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites) between the 2001 and 2004 surveys. However, Whites did show an increase in tolerance for two of the items and Coloreds for one of the items. The most dramatic changes were found for Indians who showed significant increases in tolerance on all nine items. Black respondents, on the other hand, showed an increase in prejudice (a decrease in tolerance) towards Whites in respect of four of the nine items, with no significant changes for the other items. In summary, the various measures indicated some positive changes among Whites and Coloreds, robust positive changes among Indians, but negative changes in prejudice towards Whites among Blacks.

While Gibson and Gouws (2000) focused primarily on patterns of social identification among South Africans, some indications of intergroup attitudes can be discerned in responses to questions in which respondents were requested to identify the groups with which they most strongly did not identify. Although almost one fifth of the respondents did not name such an “anti-identity”, Whites were most likely to choose the term “Blacks” as their anti-identity. The majority of Indians and Coloreds also disassociated themselves from Blacks. It is of particular interest, on the other hand, that Black respondents did not choose an overarching racial group such as “Whites” as their anti-identity, but rather “Boers” (a term for Afrikaans-speaking Whites originating from the Anglo-Boer War) or “Afrikaners”. Thus, in accordance with the findings of the early studies of MacCrone (1947), negative attitudes among Blacks focused on the Afrikaans-speaking subgroup of Whites, rather than on Whites in general.

In a study preceding the United Nations World Conference Against Racism held in South Africa in 2001, Schlemmer (2001) investigated attitudes regarding various issues related to race relations. Although the majority of Blacks, Coloreds, Indians and English-speaking Whites indicated that they felt that race relations had improved, the majority of Afrikaans-speaking Whites indicated the opposite, namely that relations had deteriorated. Noteworthy percentages of Coloreds (30%), Blacks (29%) and Afrikaans-speaking Whites (23%) furthermore indicated that they experienced problems with the way they were treated by others. Schlemmer draws the conclusion that these groups were most likely to experience problems in intergroup relationships and to feel that such problems were serious. In a follow-up

question, majorities of all the groups – as much as 73% of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, 66% of Coloreds and 65% of Blacks – indicated that they trusted their fellow-South Africans less than before. As much as 16% of Afrikaans-speaking Whites mentioned race-related factors as a reason for their mistrust.

A number of qualitative studies also provide insight into the nature of race relations in both the old and new dispensations. Duncan (2003) conducted focus groups with Colored youth before 1994 as well as with Black students after the advent of a new dispensation. The discussions focused on their perceptions of race and racism in South Africa. The negative intergroup relations at the time are reflected in the fact that the Colored group drew a sharp distinction between themselves and what was portrayed as the dominant Other, namely Whites. Whites were perceived in a negative light and portrayed as “lazy” , “stupid” and “inhuman” . In the second discussion with Black youth, Whites were no longer seen as the dominant Other, but rather Coloreds and to a lesser extent also Indians. The respondents furthermore emphasized the closeness and harmonious relations among Blacks. Although the participants of both groups made use of apartheid race labels to refer to other groups, there were also signs of the rejection of these labels, especially among Coloreds. Duncan draws the conclusion that the responses of the two groups were influenced by the political context at the time each study was conducted. Whereas Coloreds in the first study conducted during apartheid felt the need to distance themselves from the White oppressor, the differences between Coloreds and Blacks were emphasized in the politics of the Western Cape after 1994. However, the sharp distinctions drawn between racial categories point to the relevance of race in both the old and the new dispensation.

Durrheim and Mtose (2006) investigated the construction of Blackness in the post-apartheid South Africa by means of focus group discussions among White and Black students at the University of Natal. The White students drew a distinction between two groups of Blacks, namely Westernized Blacks who are fluent in English (so-called “white Blacks” or “coconuts” ) who were regarded as much more acceptable than the second group, namely more traditional, less Westernized Blacks (or “black Blacks” ). Durrheim and Mtose conclude that the deconstruction of race and racism in terms of cultural fit represents an emerging form of subtle racism. Interestingly, a similar trend could be observed in the responses of the Blacks students. Even in the new dispensation Whiteness still served as the benchmark against which they measured themselves. They grappled with negative stereotypes of Blacks associated with criminality and economic disadvantaged. These Black students also positioned them as “white Blacks” and distinguished themselves from other Blacks that were less “white” than they were. Durrheim and Mtose remark that White supremacy still appears to be a relevant factor in the new dispensation and that the Black students in their study struggled with the issue of being Black in the new South Africa.

In summary, quantitative studies conducted after 1994 provide indications of some improvements in racial attitudes. However, there are also signs of prevailing negative attitudes, as well as indications that in some cases relations might have deteriorated. The results of qualitative studies, on the other hand, point to the continued relevance of race as a social stratification factor in the new dispensation.

The current longitudinal study intends to provide further insight into evolving patterns of intergroup attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa by comparing the results of studies on intergroup attitudes conducted in 1998, 2001 and 2009. The overarching hypothesis guiding the research was the following:

.

The intergroup attitudes of all South African groups towards all other groups would have become more positive towards all other groups since 1994.

More specifically, the following subhypotheses directed the study:

1. Owing primarily to the project of nation-building in the new political dispensation, all groups will be as positive towards all other groups as they are towards the ingroup.
2. The attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks, Indians and Coloreds would have improved.
3. The attitudes of Blacks, Coloreds and Indians towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites would have improved.
4. The differences between the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites towards other groups would have become less profound.
5. The relatively positive attitudes between English-speaking Whites and other groups within the South African context would have been maintained.
6. The relatively positive attitudes between Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites would have been maintained.

## Method

### 6.1. Measuring instrument

Three surveys were conducted. In all three surveys attitudes towards the ingroup as well as other South African groups were established by means of single-item five-point Likert-type scales. The question “Please indicate how much do you like each of the following groups ...” was posed and respondents had to indicate the extent to which they liked five South African groups – Blacks, Coloreds, Indians, Afrikaans-speaking Whites and English-speaking Whites – on a one-item scale with the response options very much (5), reasonably much (4), uncertain (3), not very much (2) and not at all (1). Thus a higher score indicates more affinity towards a particular group.

The measuring instrument employed in the three studies deviates from most other social psychological studies conducted in South Africa which are characterized by the use of scales with a relatively large number of items (Foster & Nel, 1991). However, as all three studies formed part of omnibus surveys (large composite surveys in which questions from various interested parties are included – participants usually pay per item for the inclusion of questions), the use of multi-item scales was not financially and

practically viable and a single-item scale was developed. Thus, in addition to providing insight into intergroup attitudes, the three studies also provide some indication of the usefulness of a single-item scale in measuring intergroup attitudes.

In all three surveys the utmost care was taken to ensure that respondents felt free and confident to express their honest opinions.

## 6.2. Samples and procedures

### 6.2.1. 1998 study

This study formed part of an omnibus questionnaire survey conducted during November/December 1998 by Market Research Africa (a private research organization) on behalf of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). A multistage stratified cluster sampling design was employed. Stratification was aimed at the proportionate representation of all racial groups, provinces, and rural and urban areas. Census enumerator areas served as clusters. Within the randomly selected enumerator areas, households were systematically selected, while a respondent within a selected household was chosen by means of a selection grid. If no suitable respondent could be found in a particular selected household, the household was replaced by a household directly to its left or right side.

The questionnaires were completed by means of personal interviews conducted by interviewers trained by personnel of Market Research Africa and the HSRC. The questions were set in Afrikaans and English, but the fieldworkers were trained to explain the meaning of questions in vernacular Black languages when required. The final realized sample consisted of 2182 respondents of 18 years or older, of which 67.5% were Blacks (n = 1472), 9.3% were Coloreds (n = 204), 3.2% were Indians (or Asians – n = 69) and 20.0% were Whites (of which 306 were Afrikaans-speaking and 120 were English-speaking).

### 6.2.2. 2001 study

Similar to the 1998 study, the 2001 study formed part of an omnibus survey conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE – a non-governmental research organization) on behalf of the HSRC in August/September 2001. The survey involved a countrywide random sample of 2530 respondents representative of all the population groups, provinces and regions of South Africa. Multistage stratified cluster sampling was employed to draw the sample. The sample-drawing procedure was similar to that used for the 1998 study. The racial composition of the final realized sample was as follows: Blacks – 71.2% (n = 1802); Coloreds – 12.8% (n = 323); Indians – 2.6% (n = 66); and Whites – 13.0% (of which 221 respondents were Afrikaans-speaking and 107 were English-speaking). A relatively small percentage of 0.4% of the sample did not respond to the question on race.

The questionnaires were completed by means of personal interviews conducted by interviewers trained by personnel from CASE and the HSRC. The questions were set in English only, but the fieldworkers were selected and trained to be able to explain the meaning of questions in the vernacular languages when necessary. Thus fieldworkers in traditionally White areas had to be proficient in Afrikaans and English, fieldworkers in Kwazulu-Natal in isiZulu, and so forth.



### 6.2.3. 2009 study

Due to financial reasons, the questions for the 2009 study were included in a countrywide telephone survey. The study was conducted by Ipsos-Markinor, a marketing research agency in South Africa. Although a probability sampling design was implemented, it has to be borne in mind that the penetration of landline telephones in South Africa is relatively low in rural areas and less affluent communities. The sample can therefore be regarded as essentially an elite sample.

The annual All Media and Product Study (AMPS) conducted on behalf of the South African Advertising Research Agency (SAARF) served as blueprint for the design of the sample. In 2008, the SAARF AMPS® was conducted in two waves (SAARF, n.d.). The first wave, conducted from mid-January to June, involved a national sample of 12,400 respondents 16 years or older from urban, semi-urban and rural areas. The second wave, conducted from July to December, involved a sample of 8600 respondents from urban and semi-urban areas (including large towns). In total, 21,000 respondents were interviewed. The target population for this study was defined as the population of people with landline telephones as indicated by the 2008 AMPS study. Thus the results of the 2008 AMPS study served as basis to allocate the required sample sizes of 500 for non-urban areas and 1000 for urban areas proportionally to various urban and non-urban regions in South Africa.

The RANTEL program was used to randomly select pages in telephone books. The RANTEL program furthermore randomly selected a telephone number on each selected page by indicating the column number and row number to be selected. CATI (computer-assisted telephone interviewing) was then employed to call the selected numbers. A selection grid was employed to select a respondent if more than one person qualified. No further quotas were applied, except for a 50%/50% allocation to males and females. The final realized sample consisted of 1489 respondents: 36.5% Blacks (n = 544); 23.0% Coloreds (n = 342); 8.0% Indians (n = 119); and 32.1% Whites (of which 17.1% (n = 255) respondents were Afrikaans-speaking and 15.0% (n = 223) were English-speaking). It should be noted that, due to the skewness of telephone ownership in South Africa, the racial proportions of this sample deviate considerably from the racial proportions of the South African population as reported in the latest census report (SSA, n.d.).

### 6.3. Data analysis

Mean scores and standard deviations were calculated for the scales measuring the degree to which respondents liked the ingroup, as well as other South African groups (see Table 1). For each of the three studies, multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAS) were performed to determine the overall existence of differences, as well as between-group differences for each of the attitudinal measurements. The various attitudinal measures (attitudes towards Blacks, attitudes towards Coloreds, and so forth) were included in the model as dependent variables, while group membership was the independent variable. Tukey HSD tests were conducted on all pairs of means to determine the nature of the differences between the groups. Partial Eta squared values (ES) indicated effect size. A distinction was made between Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites, as the political transition could potentially have had the most far-reaching effects on the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, the group that held

political power before 1994. Moreover, previous research consistently indicated differences in the attitudes of Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites towards other groups, as well as vice versa. In order to determine changes over time, the files for the three studies were merged. A MANOVA was conducted with the attitudinal measures as dependent variables and the year of study and group membership as independent variables. Again, partial Eta squared values (ES) indicated effect size. The estimated marginal means for attitudes towards the various groups as calculated by this MANOVA are reflected in Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5.

Table 1. Mean scores, standard deviations and results of Tukey HSD tests for attitudinal measures.

	Blacks		Coloreds		Indians		Afrikaans-speaking Whites		English-speaking Whites	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1998 Survey										
Attitudes → Blacks	4.9d	0.3	3.6c	1.0	3.6c	1.0	2.7a	1.0	3.4b	1.1
Attitudes → Coloreds	3.6b	1.2	4.5c	0.6	3.7b	0.9	3.0a	1.1	3.6b	0.9
Attitudes → Indians	3.3b	1.3	3.5b	0.9	4.6c	0.5	2.7a	1.1	3.6b	0.9
Attitudes → Afrikaans-speaking Whites	2.7a	1.4	3.6b	0.9	3.4b	1.0	4.7d	0.6	4.1c	0.7
Attitudes → English-speaking Whites	3.6a	1.2	3.7a,b	0.8	4.0b	0.8	4.4c	0.7	4.5c	0.6
2001 Survey										
Attitudes → Blacks	4.9d	0.3	4.2c	0.9	3.9b	1.0	3.4a	1.0	3.9b	0.7
Attitudes → Coloreds	3.8a,b	1.2	4.6c	0.6	3.9a,b	1.0	3.6a	0.9	4.0b	0.6
Attitudes → Indians	3.5a	1.3	3.8a,b	1.0	4.4c	0.8	3.5a	1.0	4.0b	0.7
Attitudes → Afrikaans-speaking Whites	2.6a	1.4	3.7b,c	1.2	3.3b	1.1	4.5d	0.6	4.0c	0.8
Attitudes → English-speaking Whites	3.6a	1.3	3.8a	1.0	3.8a	0.9	4.3b	0.6	4.4b	0.7

	Blacks		Coloreds		Indians		Afrikaans-speaking Whites		English-speaking Whites	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
2009 Survey										
Attitudes → Blacks	4.7c	0.84	4.1a,b	1.04	4.3b	0.94	4.0a	1.0	4.3b	1.0
Attitudes → Coloreds	3.8a	1.24	4.6c	0.74	4.1b	1.04	4.1b	0.9	4.3b,c	1.0
Attitudes → Indians	3.6a	1.34	4.0b,c	1.04	4.6d	0.84	4.0b	1.0	4.3c	1.0
Attitudes → Afrikaans-speaking Whites	3.4a	1.44	4.1b	1.04	4.0b	1.24	4.5c	0.7	4.4c	0.9
Attitudes → English-speaking Whites	3.9a	1.24	4.2b	0.94	4.2b	1.04	4.4b,c	0.8	4.6c	0.7

Means that are significantly different are marked with different letters (a-d).

Full-size table

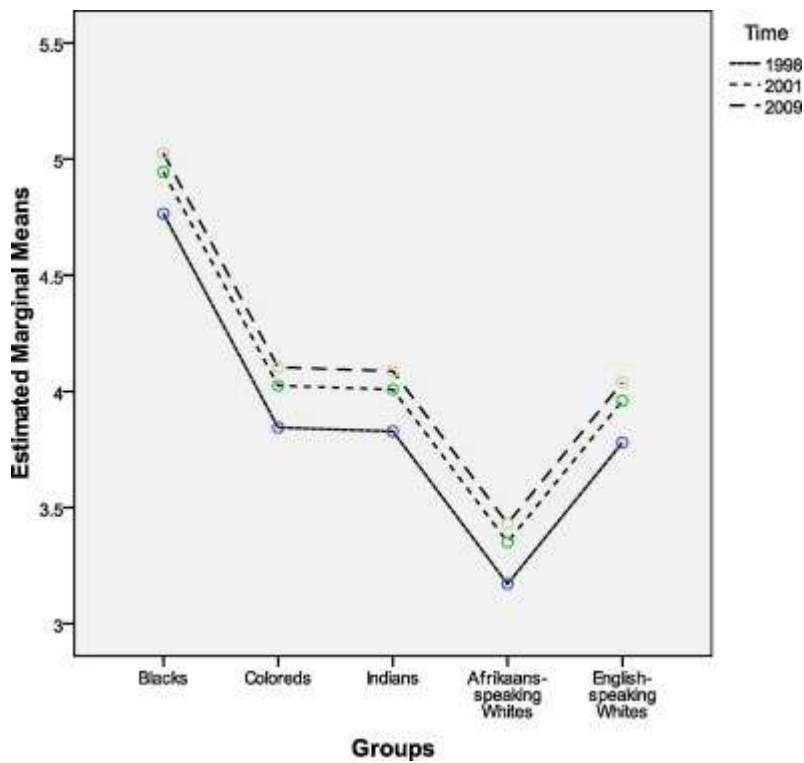


Fig. 1. Estimated marginal means for attitudes towards Blacks.

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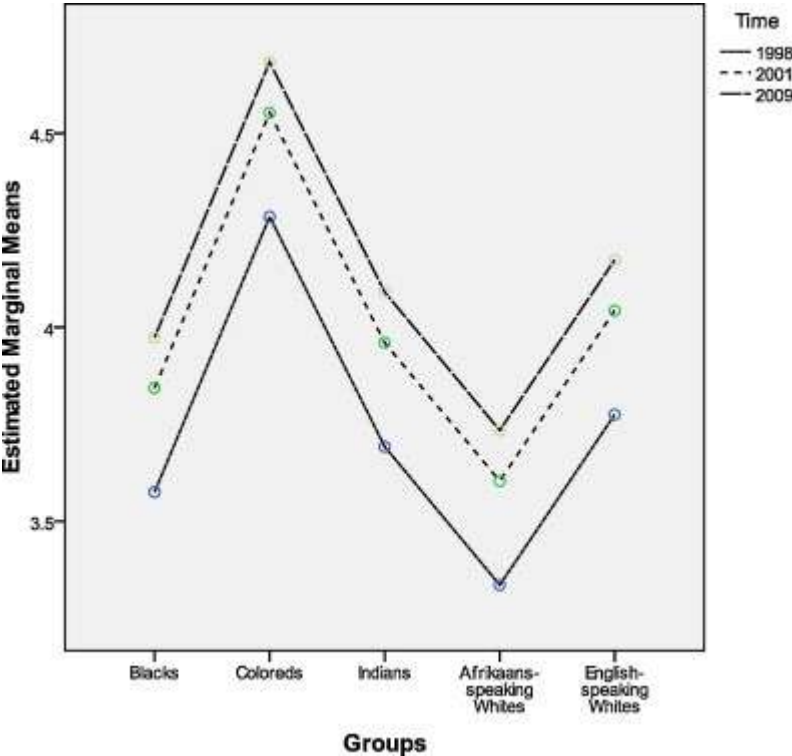


Fig. 2. Estimated marginal means for attitudes towards Coloreds.

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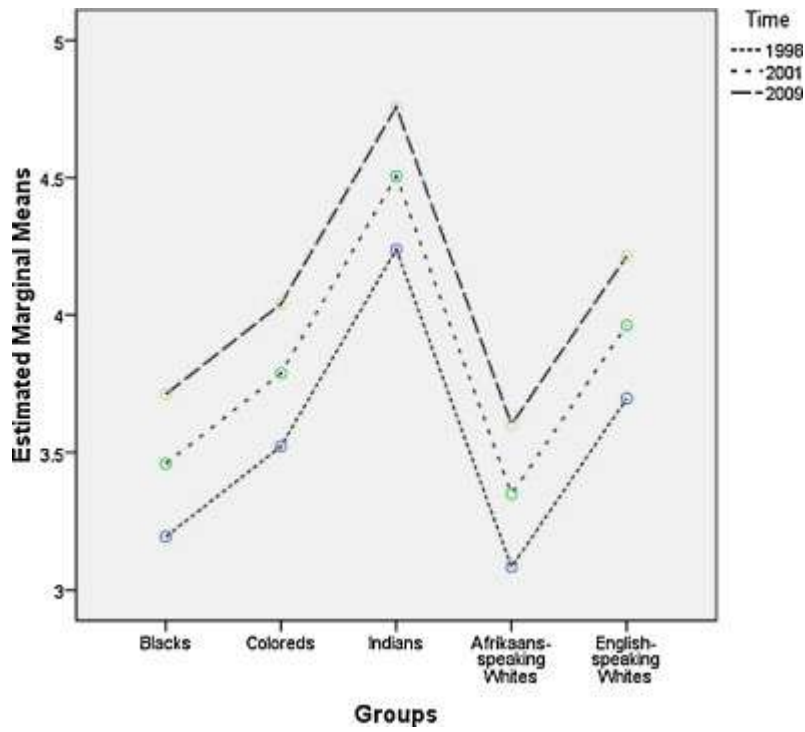


Fig. 3. Estimated marginal means for attitudes towards Indians.

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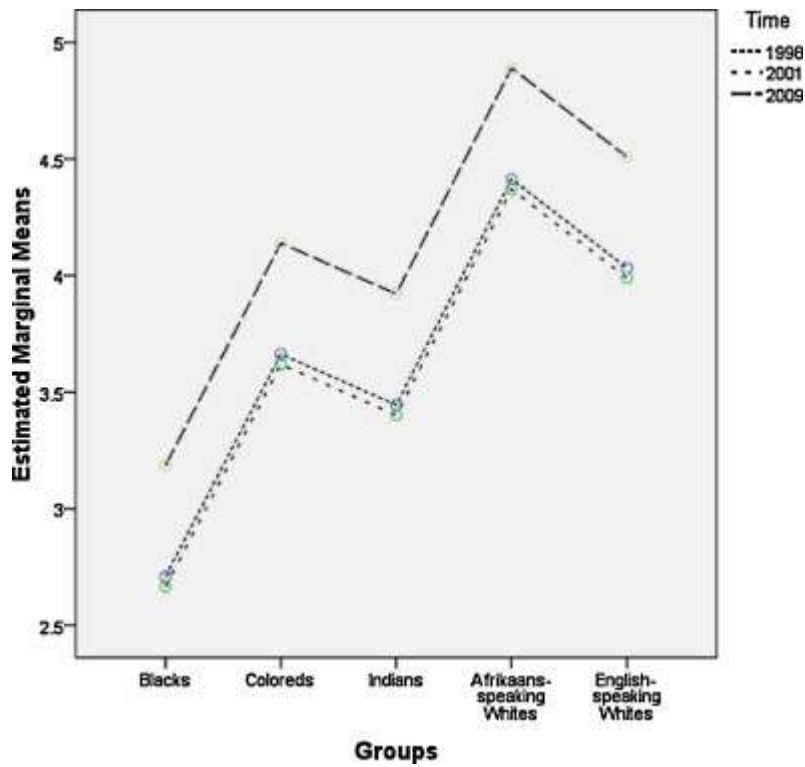


Fig. 4. Estimated marginal means for attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites.

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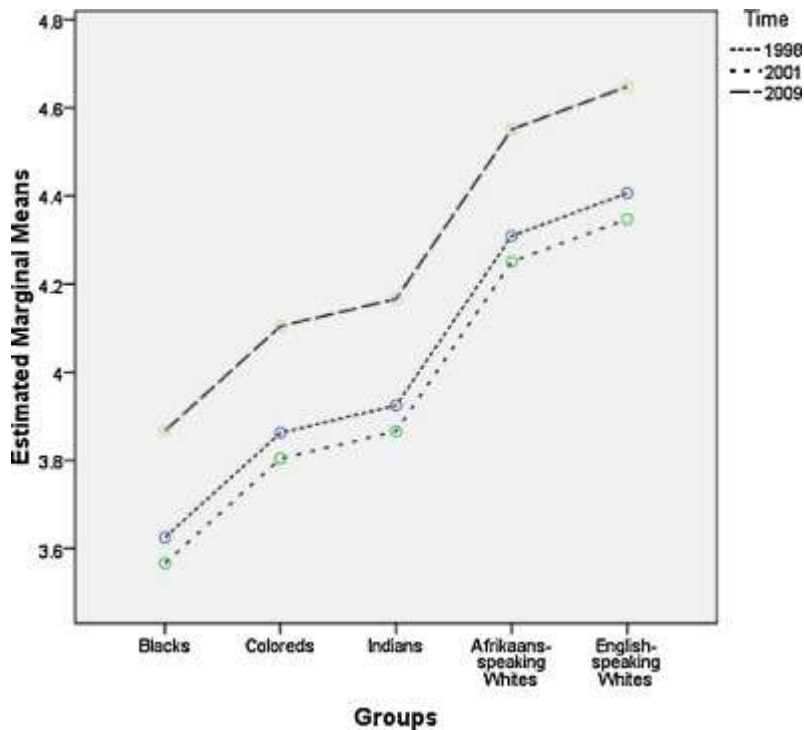


Fig. 5. Estimated marginal means for attitudes towards English-speaking Whites.

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## 7. Results

### 7.1. 1998 study

The Wilks' Lambda statistic of .233 for the overall effect of the independent variable on the five attitudinal variables for the multivariate analysis of variance was approximated by  $F(5, 20) = 195.347$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .306$ ), indicating the existence of significant differences (see Table 1).

Significant differences were found for attitudes towards Blacks ( $F(4, 2136) = 1011.479$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .654$ ). The greatest effect size was recorded for this variable, indicating that the largest difference existed with regard to attitudes towards Blacks. Blacks had the most positive attitudes – significantly more positive than any other group – towards their ingroup, while the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites were the most negative and significantly more negative than those of any of the other groups. The attitudes of English-speaking Whites towards Blacks were significantly more positive than those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, but significantly more negative than those of Coloreds and Indians.

Coloreds also held significantly more positive attitudes towards the ingroup than any other group ( $F(4, 2136) = 54.436$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .093$ ). The attitudes of Blacks, Indians and English-speaking Whites towards Coloreds were significantly less positive than those of Coloreds themselves, but more positive

than those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The most negative attitudes towards Coloreds were reported for Afrikaans-speaking Whites.

A nearly similar pattern could be detected for attitudes towards Indians ( $F(4, 2136) = 43.335$ ;  $p = .000$ ;  $ES = .075$ ). While Indians held the most positive attitudes towards the ingroup, the attitudes of Blacks, Coloreds and English-speaking Whites were significantly less positive than Indian ingroup attitudes, but significantly more positive than the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Indians.

With regard to Afrikaans-speaking Whites ( $F(4, 2136) = 193.800$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .266$ ), the relatively great effect size also indicated a large extent of differences, albeit smaller than in the case of attitudes towards Blacks. Similar to Blacks, Coloreds and Indians, Afrikaans-speaking Whites also evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than any other group. The attitudes of English-speaking Whites towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites were more negative than those of the ingroup (Afrikaans-speaking Whites) towards themselves, but significantly more positive than the attitudes of Coloreds and Indians towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The attitudes of Coloreds and Indians towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites were, on the other hand, significantly more positive than those of Blacks. Thus Blacks held significantly more negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites than any other group.

With regard to English-speaking Whites ( $F(4, 2136) = 43.931$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .076$ ), no significant differences were found between their ingroup attitudes and the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards them. The most negative attitudes towards English-speaking Whites were found among Blacks. However, no significant differences were found between the attitudes of Blacks and Coloreds towards English-speaking Whites. The attitudes of Indians towards English-speaking Whites were significantly more negative than those of the two White groups, but significantly more positive than the concomitant attitudes of Blacks. However, no significant differences were found between the attitudes of Coloreds and Indians towards English-speaking Whites.

It is noteworthy that the highest overall mean score was recorded for the ingroup attitudes of Blacks ( $M = 4.9$ ). The standard deviation of 0.3 furthermore indicates little difference of opinion. Overall, the lowest mean scores were recorded for the attitudes of Blacks towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites and vice versa. The mean scores of 2.7 in both cases were below the midpoint of the scale – an indication of reciprocal negative attitudes. In the case of Black attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites, the standard deviation was, however, markedly lower ( $SD = 0.3$ ) than for Afrikaans-speaking White attitudes towards Blacks ( $SD = 1.4$ ), indicating less variety of opinion among Blacks than among Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Not only did these two groups evaluate each other more negatively than any other group, but Afrikaans-speaking Whites evaluated all three groups of color (Blacks, Coloreds and Indians) more negatively than any other group. Blacks furthermore also evaluated English-speaking Whites significantly more negatively than any other group.

## 7.2. 2001 study

The Wilks' Lambda statistic of .431 for the overall effect of the independent variable on the five attitudinal variables for the multivariate analysis of variance was approximated by  $F(5, 20) = 117.292$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .157$ ), indicating the existence of significant differences (see Table 1).

Similar to the 1998 study, Blacks evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than any other group ( $F(4, 2450) = 503.961$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .451$ ). In fact, the mean score for Black ingroup evaluations was the highest overall and equal to the corresponding mean in 1998 ( $M = 4.9$ ;  $SD = 0.3$ ). The low variability furthermore indicates little intragroup difference in opinion. Also similar to the 1998 study, Afrikaans-speaking Whites evaluated Blacks significantly lower than any other group. However, their mean score for attitudes towards Blacks was markedly higher than in 1998 ( $M = 3.4$ ;  $SD = 1.0$ ) and no longer below the midpoint of the scale. English-speaking Whites liked Blacks significantly more than Afrikaans-speaking Whites did, but significantly less than Coloreds liked Blacks. No significant differences were found between the attitudes of Indians and English-speaking Whites towards Blacks. Coloreds, on the other hand, evaluated Blacks significantly more positively than Indians, English-speaking Whites and Afrikaans-speaking Whites did.

Coloreds also evaluated the ingroup more positively than any other group ( $F(4, 2450) = 37.509$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .058$ ), while Afrikaans-speaking Whites evaluated Coloreds lower than any other group evaluated Coloreds. However, the differences between the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites, Indians and Blacks towards Coloreds were not statistically significant. English-speaking Whites held significantly more positive attitudes towards Coloreds than Afrikaans-speaking Whites, but the differences between the attitudes of English-speaking Whites, Blacks and Indians towards Coloreds were also not statistically significant.

A nearly similar pattern can be discerned for attitudes towards Indians ( $F(4, 2450) = 17.332$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .028$ ). Indians evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than any other group. Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Blacks evaluated Indians significantly more negatively than any other group did, but no significant differences were found between the attitudes of Blacks, Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Coloreds towards Indians. English-speaking Whites evaluated Indians significantly more positively than Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Blacks, but no significant differences were found between the attitudes of Coloreds and English-speaking Whites towards Indians.

Similar to Blacks, Coloreds and Indians, Afrikaans-speaking Whites evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than any other group ( $F(4, 2450) = 136.883$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .183$ ). Blacks held significantly more negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites than any other group. Although Indians evaluated Afrikaans-speaking Whites significantly more positively than Blacks, their attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites were significantly more negative than those of English-speaking Whites. No significant differences were found between Coloreds and Indians regarding attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The attitudes of English-speaking Whites were, on the other hand, significantly more positive towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites than those of Blacks and Indians. No significant differences were, however, between the attitudes of Coloreds and English-speaking Whites towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites.

Similar to the 1998 study, no significant differences were found between the ingroup evaluations of English-speaking Whites and the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards English-speaking Whites ( $F(4, 2450) = 29.423$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .046$ ). The attitudes of Blacks, Coloreds and Indians towards English-speaking Whites were, on the other hand, significantly more negative than those of the two



White groups, while no significant differences were found between the attitudes of these three groups (Blacks, Coloreds and Indians) towards English-speaking Whites.

Similar to 1998, the greatest effect size was recorded for attitudes towards Blacks, indicating the largest extent of differences of opinion between the various groups. The second-largest effect size was found for attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites, while the effect sizes for Coloreds, Indians and English-speaking Whites were markedly lower, indicating fewer differences of opinion.

### 7.3. 2009 study

The Wilks' Lambda statistic of .631 for the overall effect of the independent variable on the five attitudinal variables for the multivariate analysis of variance was approximated by  $F(5, 20) = 38.903$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .115$ ), indicating the existence of significant differences (see Table 1).

The highest overall mean score was found for Black attitudes towards the ingroup – which is similar to the findings of the 1998 and 2001 studies. This mean was also significantly higher than the means for all other groups regarding their attitudes towards Blacks ( $F(4, 1478) = 32.179$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .080$ ). Similar to the previous two studies, Afrikaans-speaking Whites evaluated Blacks lower than any of the other groups. However, the mean score of Afrikaans-speaking Whites ( $M = 4.0$ ;  $SD = 1.0$ ) was well above the scale midpoint, indicating relatively positive attitudes. Furthermore, the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks no longer differed significantly from the concomitant attitudes of Coloreds. Indians and English-speaking Whites evaluated Blacks significantly more positively than Afrikaans-speaking Whites, but more negatively than Blacks evaluated themselves. No significant differences existed, however, between the evaluation of these two groups (Indians and English-speaking Whites) and Coloreds.

With regard to attitudes towards Coloreds, Blacks revealed significantly more negative attitudes than any of the other groups ( $F(4, 1478) = 29.196$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .073$ ). Although the highest mean score was recorded for the ingroup evaluations of Coloreds, the difference between the ingroup evaluations of Coloreds and English-speaking White evaluations of Coloreds was not significant. Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Indians evaluated Coloreds more negatively than Coloreds evaluated themselves, but significantly more positively than Blacks did. The differences between the means of these two groups and the concomitant mean of English-speaking Whites were not statistically significant.

Indians evaluated themselves significantly more positively than any other group ( $F = 31.368$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .078$ ), while Blacks evaluated Indians significantly more negatively than any other group. The mean scores of Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Coloreds were significantly more positive than those of Blacks, while English-speaking Whites evaluated Indians even more positively. The difference between the means of Coloreds and English-speaking Whites was, however, not statistically significant.

The mean score of Blacks reflecting attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites was overall the lowest recorded mean. Blacks furthermore evaluated Afrikaans-speaking Whites significantly more negatively than any of the other groups ( $F = 60.739$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .141$ ). It is also noteworthy that no significant differences were found between the ingroup evaluations of Afrikaans-speaking Whites and English-

speaking Whites' evaluations of Afrikaans-speaking Whites. Indians and Coloreds evaluated Afrikaans-speaking Whites significantly more positively than Blacks did, but significantly more negatively than both White groups.

Similarly, Blacks attitudes towards English-speaking Whites were significantly more negative than those of any other group ( $F(4, 1478) = 26.089$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .066$ ). Also, as was the case for Afrikaans-speaking Whites, no significant differences were found between the ingroup evaluation of English-speaking Whites and Afrikaans-speaking White attitudes towards English-speaking Whites. Coloreds and Indians evaluated English-speaking Whites significantly more positively than Blacks did, but more negatively than English-speaking Whites evaluated themselves. However, no significant differences were found between the attitudes of Coloreds, Indians and Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards English-speaking Whites.

Overall, a tendency worth noting is that Blacks displayed significantly more negative attitudes towards all outgroups than any other group. The greatest effect size in this study was recorded for attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites, indicating the largest extent of between-group differences in the evaluation of this group. The smallest effect sizes were again noted for attitudes towards Indians and English-speaking Whites.

#### 7.4. Comparisons between the three surveys

The results of the MANOVA conducted on the combined data set for the 3 years in which the independent variables were group membership and the year of the study, indicated significant differences in attitudes over these years, as depicted in Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5.

The Wilks' Lambda statistic for the overall effect of group membership was .439. It was approximated by  $F(5, 20) = 283.772$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .950$ , indicating significant overall differences between the five groups. The statistics for the five dependent variables are as follows: attitudes towards Blacks –  $F(4, 6077) = 945.265$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .384$ ; attitudes towards Coloreds –  $F(4, 6077) = 95.023$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .059$ ; attitudes towards Indians –  $F(4, 6077) = 69.108$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .044$ ; attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites –  $F(4, 6077) = 376.796$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .199$ ; and attitudes towards English-speaking Whites –  $F(4, 6072) = 93.368$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .058$ . Overall, the effect sizes indicate that the greatest degree of difference existed for attitudes towards Blacks and the second greatest for attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites. The between-group differences are discussed in greater detail in the results of the MANOVAS conducted separately for the 3 years.

With regard to the overall effect of the year of study, the Wilks' Lambda statistic of .942 was approximated by  $F = 36.805$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .029$ . If the effect size of the year of study is compared with the concomitant effect size for group membership, the conclusion can be drawn that the differences between the groups were more pronounced than the differences over time. The statistics for the year of study for the five groups were as follows: attitudes towards Blacks –  $F(2, 6072) = 60.543$ ,  $p < .000$ ,  $ES = .20$ ; attitudes towards Coloreds –  $F(2, 6072) = 64.513$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .21$ ; attitudes towards Indians –  $F(2, 6072) = 79.480$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .026$ ; attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites –  $F(2,$

6072) = 80.903;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .026$ ; attitudes towards English-speaking Whites –  $F(2, 6072) = 32.775$ ;  $p < .000$ ;  $ES = .011$ . When the effect sizes are compared, the most profound differences were recorded for attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Indians, while the smallest differences were found for attitudes towards English-speaking Whites.

Post-hoc comparisons of the results of 1998 with 2001 indicate statistically significant overall positive differences in attitudes towards Blacks, Coloreds and Indians. Although attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites were more negative in 2001 than in 1998, these changes were not statistically significant on the .05-level. Comparisons of the results of 2009 with the previous 2 study years indicate statistically significant differences in attitudes towards all the groups: the overall attitudes towards all five groups were more positive in 2009 than in 1998 and 2001. Despite these shifts, Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 indicate that the overall patterns of attitudes towards each group as discussed in the results of the MANOVAS for the 3 study years remained essentially the same.

## 8. Discussion

Overall, the results of the three studies give the impression that the main hypothesis can be accepted, namely that the attitudes of all groups towards all other groups have become more positive as democracy progressed in the new South African dispensation. It is in particular the results of the 2009 study that appear to confirm this hypothesis. This finding is furthermore partly in accordance with other studies, such as those of Durrheim et al. (2010) and Gibson and Claassen (2010), which also found an improvement in intergroup attitudes among some groups – Whites and Indians in particular.

However, conclusions of more positive attitudes in general in general should be drawn with care. It should firstly be borne in mind that the sample for the 2009 study was essentially an elite sample which differed substantially from the 1998 and 2001 samples. It is therefore not possible to draw a unilateral conclusion of a positive change in attitudes since 1998. The question should rather be asked whether other factors such as enhanced intergroup contact, extended contact effects in the more urbanized areas and higher levels of education among elite group could not at least partially explain the more positive attitudes in the 2009 study ( [Finchilescu and Tredoux, 2010], [Jowell, 2010], [Pettigrew, 1998], [0265], [Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006], [Tajfel, 1981] and [0380]). It could furthermore be that a superordinate national identity might be stronger in more urbanized areas where people have larger access to the media (Hogg & Abrams, 2003). Furthermore, a comparison of the 1998 and 2001 studies which involved comparable samples of the total South African population indicates significant improvement in attitudes towards Blacks, Indians and Coloreds, but also reveals that attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking Whites tended to become more negative. Although the latter trend was not statistically significant, it warns against drawing premature and simplified conclusions regarding a general overall improvement in attitudes.

What is noteworthy when comparing the three studies, is that the general patterns of intergroup attitudes stayed approximately the same for the three studies (see Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4 and Fig. 5). It would appear that consistent patterns of intergroup relations are emerging in the post-apartheid dispensation. However, as discussed in the following paragraphs, these patterns are no longer exactly

similar to the patterns identified during the apartheid era (Foster & Nel, 1991). Furthermore, the multivariate analysis of variance indicates that between-group differences explain more of the variance than the differences between the three studies, which confirms that it cannot be assumed that all groups within the South African context hold equally positive attitudes towards all other groups. The comparisons of the three studies rather indicate that particular groups consistently showed more affinity towards one another than towards other groups – a trend that will be discussed in greater detail in the discussion that follows. The separate analyses of the three studies also indicate that attitudes towards Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites accounted for the largest extent of between-group differences. In the 1998 and 2001 studies the largest effect sizes were recorded for attitudes towards Blacks and the second largest for Afrikaans-speaking Whites. In the 2009 study it was just the other way around.

The first sub-hypothesis can also not be accepted. In accordance with the findings of Durrheim et al. (2010), attitudes towards the ingroup were consistently more positive for all groups, with only two exceptions. The fact that most of the groups evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than outgroups is in accordance with the main tenets of self-categorization theory and social identity theory ([0165] and [Tajfel, 1981]). This finding furthermore points to the fact that group awareness remains high in South Africa, as predicted by Horowitz (1991), despite a strong drive towards nation-building ([Bornman, 2010] and [Eaton, 2002]). Particular noteworthy was the high ingroup evaluations for Blacks in all three studies. In the 1998 and 2001 studies the standard deviations for Black ingroup evaluations were also relatively low, indicating little difference of opinion, which might suggest a high degree of ingroup solidarity. Ingroup identification among Blacks could have been enhanced by their awareness of their higher position in the South African hierarchy due to the fact that political authority is now in their hands ([0030] and [Tajfel, 1981]). This finding is furthermore in accordance with the responses of respondents in the study of Duncan (2003) who emphasized the close and harmonious relations among Blacks.

A noteworthy exception to this trend was found for the relations between Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites. In the 1998 and 2001 studies no significant differences were found between the ingroup evaluations of English-speaking Whites and the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards English-speaking Whites. However, Afrikaans-speaking Whites did evaluate their ingroup significantly more positively than any other group in these two studies. That was not the case in 2009. In this study the differences between the ingroup attitudes of both White groups and their attitudes towards each other were not statistically significant – an indication that the boundaries between the two groups might be becoming less distinct – in particular in more urbanized and more affluent areas. The fact that these two groups no longer compete for political authority in South Africa and probably need to cooperate to further their common Western values could have contributed towards a decrease in their between-group boundaries ([Olzak, 1992] and [Sherif, 1966]). It could also be that a common racial identity based on Western civilizational values has become more important than their separate ethnic identities within the context of a new political dispensation ([Huntington, 1996], [Tajfel, 1981] and [Venter, 1999]).

Another exception in the 2009 study was found for attitudes towards Coloreds. The difference between the ingroup evaluations of Coloreds and the attitudes of English-speaking Whites towards Coloreds was not statistically significant. This finding could be an indication that English-speaking Whites in urbanized and more affluent areas also did no longer draw a sharp distinction between themselves and Coloreds. This finding is particularly interesting when borne in mind that the majority of Coloreds are Afrikaans-speaking. Yet there still appears to be – similar than during the apartheid era – a closer relationship between Coloreds and English-speaking Whites than between Coloreds and Afrikaans-speaking Whites.

On the other hand, there are indications in the results of the three studies that confirm one dimension of the second sub-hypothesis, namely that the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks, and also towards Coloreds and Indians, could have become more positive. In the 1998 study the mean for Afrikaans-speaking White attitudes towards Blacks was – similar to the mean of Black attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites – the lowest overall mean. As these mean scores were also below the scale midpoint, they signified extremely negative attitudes. The negative attitudes towards Blacks displayed by Afrikaans-speaking Whites in 1998 were in accordance with trends identified during the apartheid era ( [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977], [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983] and [0360]). Afrikaans-speaking Whites furthermore also tended to display more negative attitudes than other groups towards Coloreds and Indians in 1998 and 2001.

However, in the 2001 study the mean for Afrikaans-speaking Whites' attitudes towards Blacks rose to well above the scale midpoint, indicating a noteworthy positive shift. Although the relatively high mean of the 2009 study can be ascribed to the nature of the sample and the general more positive attitudes recorded in this study, the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites did not differ significantly from the concomitant attitudes of Coloreds. Thus it would appear that the attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks tend to be more positive and more in line with the attitudes of other groups in wealthier, urbanized areas. Similar trends can be observed for Afrikaans-speaking White attitudes towards Coloreds and Indians. Whereas Afrikaans-speaking Whites also tended to display more negative attitudes towards Coloreds and Indians in the 1998 and 2001 studies, this was no longer the case in the 2009 study. These findings are in accordance with the research results of Gibson and Claassen (2010) and Durrheim et al. (2010), who found a positive change in White attitudes in the new dispensation. The more positive attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards other groups in urbanized, more affluent areas can also be ascribed to a larger degree of intergroup contact, the effects of extended contact as well as the effects of higher education levels ( [Jowell, 2010], [Pettigrew, 1998], [0265] and [0380]). The overall more positive attitudes of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks as reflected in the results of the 2001 study could be an effect of the formation of a common and overarching South African identity ( [Bornman, 2006], [Bornman, 2010] and [0170]). Contrary to the predictions of group position theory, more positive attitudes towards other groups could also be a survival strategy of Afrikaans-speaking Whites in the new dispensation as members of this group could have become acutely aware of their position as a numerical and political minority in the new dispensation (Blaylock, 2009). It could, however, also be that although they voiced more overt positive attitudes towards Blacks, that more subtle forms of racism are displayed in their attitudes towards policies aimed at Black empowerment (Sears, 2009).

However, there also exists evidence that points to the rejection of the third sub-hypothesis, namely that the attitudes of Blacks, Coloreds and Indians towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites would have become more positive. This is particularly the case as far as Black attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites are concerned. Although the results of the 2009 study might give the impression that the attitudes of Blacks, Coloreds and Indians towards other groups have improved, the specific nature of the 2009 sample should be borne in mind. There are other indications that the attitudes of Blacks in particular towards other groups might have become more negative. As already mentioned, the mean for Black attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites was one of the lowest overall mean scores in the 1998 study and indicated extremely negative attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites. In the 2001 study this mean was even slightly lower. Moreover, in the 2009 study Blacks evaluated all other groups significantly more negatively than any other group.

The negative attitudes of Blacks towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites confirm the findings of MacCrone (1947) who typified this trend as “Boer phobia”, as well as those of Gibson and Gouws (2000), who found Afrikaans-speaking Whites to be the main anti-identity for Blacks. Black negativity towards Afrikaans-speaking Whites could possibly still be ascribed to the legacy of White domination during colonialism and apartheid. However, the fact that Blacks appear to be the most negative group in the 2009 confirms the responses reported by Duncan (2003), namely that Blacks tend to distance themselves in the new dispensation not only from Whites, but also from Coloreds and Indians. It appears that factors in the new dispensation are the reason for the negative attitudes of Blacks towards other groups. One explanation could be that the negative attitudes towards other groups are the consequence of enhanced Black ingroup identification as reflected in the high positive ingroup evaluations in all three studies ( [O’Reilly, 1989], [O’Reilly, 1990] and [Tajfel, 1981]) Another reason could be increased competition for economic resources and feelings of relative deprivation on an economic level due to the wealth disparities in South Africa ( [Appelgryn and Bornman, 1996], [Olzak, 1992], [Sherif, 1966] and [Terre Blanche, 2006]). It could furthermore be that the psychological supremacy of Whites still presents a threat to Black identity ( [Durrheim and Mtose, 2006], [Grant, 1993] and [Stephan and Stephan, 1985]).

It appears though, that Coloreds and Indians – and also English-speaking Whites – serve, in a sense, as a kind of cushion between Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites that tend to form the two poles of the attitudinal continuum. In the 1998 study Indians, Coloreds and English-speaking Whites were more positive towards both Blacks and Afrikaans-speaking Whites than the last two groups were towards each other. However, as already mentioned, the differences between the attitudes of these three groups (Indians, Coloreds and English-speaking Whites) towards Blacks and those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites are less pronounced in the 2001 and 2009 studies. The fourth sub-hypothesis must nevertheless be rejected. Similar than during the apartheid era (as indicated in the overview of Foster & Nel, 1991) and as also found by Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) and Mynhardt (2003) in studies conducted after 1994, there still exists a considerable gap between the attitudes of Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites. In almost all instances the attitudes of English-speaking Whites were more positive than those of Afrikaans-speaking Whites towards Blacks, Coloreds and Indians.

There furthermore exists evidence that prompts the rejection of the fifth sub-hypothesis, namely that the relatively positive attitudes between Blacks and English-speaking Whites during the apartheid era were maintained. Whereas Blacks tended to evaluate English-speaking Whites almost on a par with their own group during the apartheid era ( [Foster and Nel, 1991], [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977], [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983] and [0360]), this was no longer the case in the current research. Blacks consistently displayed the most negative attitudes of all groups within the South African context towards English-speaking Whites. In the 1998 and 2009 studies their attitudes towards English-speaking Whites were more negative than those of any other group within the South African context, although the differences with the attitudes of Coloreds in 1998 and the attitudes of Coloreds and Indians in 2001 were not statistically significant. However, in 2009 Blacks displayed significantly more negative attitudes towards English-speaking Whites than any other group. Enhanced Black ingroup identification could have caused Blacks to distance themselves to a larger extent from Whites in general who could be perceived to be more different from themselves than any other South African groups ( [0170] and [Tajfel, 1981]). As the wealth of the country is largely in the hands of Whites, the more negative attitudes towards Whites could also be an effect for increased competition for economic resources and the strive towards economic equality in the more equal political environment ( [Olzak, 1992], [0300], [Sherif, 1966] and [Terre Blanche, 2006]).

There does, however, exist evidence to support the acceptance of the sixth sub-hypothesis, namely that the relatively positive attitudes between Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites during the apartheid era have been maintained ( [Foster and Nel, 1991], [Nieuwoudt et al., 1977], [Plug and Nieuwoudt, 1983] and [0360]). If anything, it would appear that Afrikaans- and English-speaking Whites have moved closer to each other – to such an extent that there were no differences between their evaluations of the ingroup and the other White group in the 2009 study. It could be that a common Western identity serves to draw the two White groups closer together under a common civilizational identity ( [Huntington, 1996], [Tajfel, 1981] and [Venter, 1999]).

With regard to methodology, it does appear as if the single-item Likert-type scale yielded fairly robust indications of intergroup attitudes. Considering that at least some of the trends corresponded with research conducted with more elaborate measuring instruments such as those of Gibson and Claassen (2010) and Durrheim et al. (2010), it appears to be a fairly reliable research instrument. On the other hand, the three studies indicate the important impact that sampling can have on the measurement of intergroup attitudes. It would seem that the effect of sampling could be more important than the number of items in the scale being used. As it is often problematic to use elaborate measuring instruments in large-scale surveys that involve countrywide probability samples, comparative research is needed to establish the reliability and validity of this one-item measuring instrument.

In conclusion, the three studies confirm that the new political dispensation has had a profound impact on intergroup relations in South Africa. It is, however, premature to speak of a general improvement in intergroup attitudes. More research with comparable samples is needed to come to more definite conclusions about particular trends identified in one or more of the three studies. It nevertheless appears as if South Africans living in more urbanized and affluent areas hold more positive intergroup attitudes than the population as a whole. Enhanced intergroup contact, extended contact effects as well

as higher educational levels could explain this tendency ( [Finchilescu and Tredoux, 2010], [Jowell, 2010], [Pettigrew, 1998], [0265], [Pettigrew, 2010] and [0380]). Still, the three studies did identify a degree of tension between particular groups such as between Blacks and the two White groups. Factors such as emerging patterns of social identification and increased intergroup competition within the new dispensation could serve as explanations for these tendencies ( [0170], [Olzak, 1992], [0300], [Sherif, 1966] and [Tajfel, 1981]), but also other factors not often considered in attitude research in South Africa, such as theories on group position and social dominance ( [0030] and [0285]).

Overall, the results demonstrate that a new political dispensation that ensures social and political equality in a democracy does not necessarily solve the problems associated with intergroup relations once and for all (Horowitz, 1991). On the contrary, the complex interaction between a number of factors on various levels can enhance current forms of group identification or give rise to new forms of group awareness that can, in turn, lead to intergroup competition, the experience of threat to the ingroup as well as relative deprivation ( [Appelgryn and Bornman, 1996], [0165], [Olzak, 1992], [Sherif, 1966], [Stephan and Stephan, 1985] and [Tajfel, 1981]). Although enhanced intergroup contact and the creation of an overarching identity can serve to soften ingroup boundaries, it is unlikely that separate group identities will be eradicated completely. The more so as globalization processes not only foster sameness and homogeneity, but often serve to emphasize differences and to revitalize group identities (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009). Whereas current theorizing tends to focus on group-related, categorization and identification processes, a promising result in the current study is the indications that individual characteristics such as a higher education level may give rise to more positive attitudes towards other groups (Jowell, 2010). Ongoing social scientific research on the individual, cultural, social and political factors that influence intergroup relations remains however important.

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