

Figure 5.

Consistent with the rest of the data so far, the results showed that younger Xhosas showed markedly more interaction with and acceptance of other races than their older counterparts. Speculatively, this may make sense because it may be easier for Xhosa people to accept other races in an environment where they hold political power, but also, as surveys suggest, where they must often defer to the authority or power of members of other more -advantaged racial groups. Also, memories of negative experiences during apartheid may make it more difficult for older Xhosa people to fully accept other races. Cultural differences also suggest that more traditionally -minded older Xhosas would be less likely to accept interracial marriages than younger Xhosas on the grounds of keeping their culture intact. However, given the percentages of young Xhosa people who still felt lingering emotions because of apartheid and who testified to having experienced racism, it is somewhat of a puzzle as to why their interaction/acceptance rate is so much higher than the other groups, and this may simply be due to a small sample size.

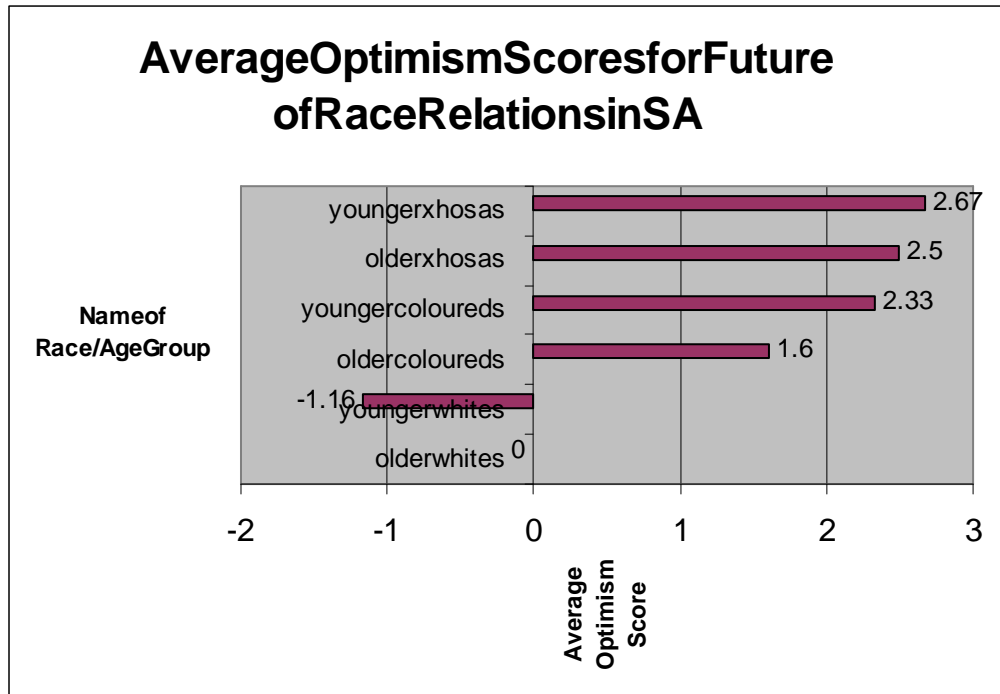
As for the white group, their data is also consistent with previous charts. For none of these, however, is it apparent whether a result is the cause or the effect of the other, or perhaps not related at all. For example, does the lack of acceptance and interaction with other races among white youth cause them to experience more racism because of this lack of cultural exposure, or does their greater experience of racism cause them to have more difficulty accepting and interacting with other races, or yet still, are these two things not causally -related at all?

With regard to the colored group, it was surprising to find that there seem to be little or no generational attitude changes since the end of apartheid regarding their acceptance of or attitudes toward other races. Acceptance scores seem moderate among older coloreds, and only slightly higher than (though not significantly different from) the white group, and gain a statistically insignificant amount with the arrival of the younger colored generation.

Noting many testimonials of colored people stating that they have “always been in the middle,” are often ignored, and “that things have not really changed” for them, this idea seems to confirm such an insignificant change in colored attitudes toward other racial groups.

Figure 6.

Given the level of acceptance and interactions shown in Figure 5 according to the various groups, the data for the Figure 6 chart also seems reasonable. For example, there is a high acceptance of other



racess among younger Xhosas, and this is consistent with their high levels of optimism about the future of race relations in South Africa.

Also, the low levels of acceptance and interaction with other races among older and younger whites is consistent with their extremely low levels of optimism shown in Figure 6, as well as their testimony of having experienced increasing incidence of racism with the advent of the younger white generation.

The higher levels of optimism among the older Xhosas, as well as both generations of the colored group, is a bit of a mystery, however, and simply be due to reduced incidence of being targeted for racism.

**Discussion:**

Given the extremely divisive implements of South Africa's previous government, one of the most decidedly unequal nations on the planet, one may be compelled at first to doubt the validity or the sincerity of a new South Africa. This new version of South Africa, presenting itself *in principle* as the antithesis to its former regime and consequently one of the most politically correct countries in the world, maybe difficult to envision *in practice* as a truly united citizenry, valuing all its diverse cultures. Therefore, is the implementation of the notion of "unity in diversity," as the new South African seal now proudly heralds in a forgotten Bushmentongue, really possible against the backdrop of the recent history of apartheid, and what are the conditions of its possibility?

According to Adam's and Moodley's South Africa Without Apartheid, a work written presumably before the end of apartheid rule, such an idea is not only possible but, in fact, likely. The work opens, "Several factors unique to South Africa suggest that the dream of a relatively democratic society has a better chance of being realized in an integrated South Africa than elsewhere (Adam and Moodley: 196)."

One of the author's justifications for this position is that, except for the whites who are very much the minority, "few South Africans [have desired] legislated protection of their racial identity. (Adam and Moodley: 196). Yet the more popular view among the South African majority, even at the time of the authors' writing, was that it would be preferable to form a citizenry and a political system not based on race categories and promoting instead only the qualifications and efforts of the individual (Adam and Moodley: 196). It is obvious that because the rights of the majority have so long been determined by skin color, that there was then a desire to abolish this system, and more recent events have not engendered any

disturbances in this way of thinking. Thus the average South African would likely be interested in fostering an socio-political environment that is more amenable to multiracial and, perhaps, multicultural acceptance.

This basic viewpoint is exemplified in many places, from the country's constitution (<http://polity.org.za>) to the manifesto of the Azanian People's Organization, a political party relic that had great influence on today's South African ideals (Greenberg: 278-9).

The black majority and its present political power might logically suggest that South Africa will have an earlier transition to an equal society and broad multicultural acceptance than, for example, the United States, where non-whites are the minority and must accept that whites -- and sometimes very racial ly-prejudiced whites -- will maintain the political power for some time yet in that country.

Moreover, on a practical level, it is also more difficult, because of the South African non-white majority, for a white person to avoid contact with non-whites, the result being a bubble of ignorance about all that does not fall within the scope of the traditional white South African world-view and way of life. Conversely, because of such a recent history of domination and oppression by a white Afrikaner culture, many non-whites will by necessity have been exposed to and become aware of the world outside of their own ethnic or cultural tradition, because of the necessity of knowing exactly what apartheid was denying them.

Consequently, many South Africans, whites and non-whites alike, share many of the same traditions and perspectives. Thus, should we speak of unity in diversity -- the concept of the cultural mosaic, on the one hand? Or would simple unity -- the melting pot -- be closer to the truth? Thus say Adam and Moodley, "When Blacks and Whites share aspirations, Hollywood soap operas and leisure activities, jokes, tastes, and sacred texts (as is particularly true of White and Brown Afrikaners)... their political segregation lacks any moral or cultural basis. (Adam and Moodley: 211)."

After all, because of the mental urbanization of growing numbers of migrants to the cities, and because of the even hand of the mass media, there has been a shift toward a balancing of cultures, resulting in a more normalized, standard South African culture. This is evident to some extent evidenced by the voting habits of urban children of rural people, many of whom vote with the more mainstream ANC, while their parents are staunch supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party (Gottschalk). Such facts may lead us to speculate on the extent to which they exemplify the "evening out" of South African culture.

Also, along with an overlapping of culture and language in South Africa, because of the religious make-up of the country, Christianity can actually serve as a unifying factor among the mostly Christian peoples of the nation. Though many denominations proliferate, none of them consist of a large enough sect to represent a majority and thus many people's common Christianity is a greater focus than their difference in sect. Thus, despite a few small churches who refuse to racially integrate, the majority of South Africans are in a relative equilibrium with regard to a basic religious viewpoint, and this may potentially serve as a factor contributing to a more united country (Adam and Moodley: 198).

It is perhaps one of the most basic factors possibly helping the country move toward a mosaic that lastly comes to mind. The South African economy is dependent upon the labor of non-whites to operate. Apartheid had in more ways than one, become too expensive to perpetuate (Greenberg: 392). Given the consequently growing number of highly qualified non-white job-seekers, for example, it will become more and more common to see such people in previously white-reserved employment, thus normalizing non-whites who hold such positions.

Thusly, it seems that South Africa indeed has many characteristics that may lead it to reach the status of a true mosaic culture. Though it is never a guarantee that potentialities will form actualities, there seem to be a greater likelihood for this country than for most others in similar situations. From the already vast commonalities in outlook and culture for most South Africans, to the common religious perspective, to the pervasive desire by many South Africans not to repeat the painful mistakes of the previous regime, there is indeed much to inspire South Africa to live up to its motto of "Ixam Xere Xam": "Unity in Diversity".

However, the socio-economic structure of apartheid had an important influence on the relevance of race issues to South African society today. Many white households in the past, and also today, employ African servants (Adam 39-109), which may be where the existing race hierarchy was, if not established, begun to be put in place. The servants serve every member of the employing white family equally, regardless of their gender, class, generation (i.e., whether the served is an adult or child), and so it is that the only obvious difference, race, between the servant and the served family that becomes the psychological criterion associated with servitude, exploitation, and the hierarchy of authority. Whites identify as those who are reserved and who command; blacks as those who serve and obey. Thus it is to some

extent that the socio-economic structure of South African society has contributed to race beings such a visibly salient issue.

### **Conclusion:**

Many younger people demonstrated my expectation that they would be more accepting of other races than their older counterparts. Yet this was true in only two cases with the colored and the Xhosa groups, but the exact opposite was true of the younger white Afrikaans-speaking group.

Generally, there was more optimism about race relations to be observed among the colored and Xhosa groups and a similar amount of pessimism to be observed among the Afrikaans-speaking white group.

It remains unclear, however, as to whether this will bode well for the actual future of race relations in South Africa, but as stated previously, there are many aspects of the society which would favor a positive eventuality.

Despite expectations that younger people might not be politically aware, many respondents in the 16 to 25 age range seemed more confident in their knowledge and their opinion than those respondents in the over 25 age range, many of whom demonstrated conflicting feelings and offered several different perspectives for each interview question.

- nearly everyone surveyed expressed pride in being a South African
- most people expressed at least some dissatisfaction with the government
- most people felt that the media was attempting to show a multicultural South Africa.

### **Possible Errors and Ways to Improve Study:**

The data may be unrepresentative of the actual racial reality of Cape Town to the extent that the sample size was small and inconsistent across categories. During one-on-one interviews with some Xhosa people, it also became clear that some of the questions are quite abstract and would require participants to have a high level command of the English language or a translator to be present during interviews.

The study might have been improved by having more consistency in the sources of data; for example, not using data gathered from interviews as well as data gathered from written questionnaires. Also, there are many dynamics relating to the effects of gender and class that due to constraints of time and resources were not addressed within this study.

### **Ethical Problems:**

Many of the research questions have been formulated with presumptive notions of racial divisions, classifications, allegiances, and identifications, and many of the research's assumptions may inadvertently perpetuate notions of racial, ethnic, or gender division.

**Interview Questions.**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ (optional). Age: \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you identify with an ethnicity (racial group)? Do you identify with either of the classifications:

*Afrikaans-speaking white person, colored person, or Xhosa person?*

Racially, how do you identify? \_\_\_\_\_.

Are there any benefits to being a \_\_\_\_\_? **YES NO** (Please circle one.)

If so, quickly name a few: \_\_\_\_\_.

Were there benefits prior to the 1994 change of establishment? **YES NO**

Are there challenges? **YES NO** If so, quickly name a few: \_\_\_\_\_.

Were there challenges prior to the 1994 change of establishment? **YES NO**

Do you remember much before 1994? **YES NO**

If so, were you involved in anti-apartheid activism? **YES NO**

Are you proud to be South African? **YES NO**

Do you support the current government? **YES NO**

Do you trust the current government? **YES NO**

In your view, why is the current government in power today? How do you feel about this?

\_\_\_\_\_

Do you ever get very excited or very upset about politics or issues in government? **YES NO**

Are you loyal to any political party? **YES NO** If so, which one: \_\_\_\_\_. How long have you been loyal? \_\_\_\_\_ years.

Is there less racism or more racism in South Africa today than a few years ago? **LESS, SAME, MORE**

Do you know anybody who is racist? **YES NO**

Is it possible for the different race groups in South Africa to live in complete harmony? **YES NO**

Have you ever been the target of racism? **YES NO** If so, please describe a memorable encounter: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Will racism ever go away? **YES NO** If so, how many years in the future? \_\_\_\_\_ years.

Will your children or your grandchildren ever live in a truly non-racist South Africa? **YES NO**

How optimistic are you that this will become true? Circle one: **1) VERY OPTIMISTIC, 2) OPTIMISTIC, 3) NEITHER OPTIMISTIC NOR PESSIMISTIC, 4) PESSIMISTIC, 5) VERY PESSIMISTIC.**

Do you know many people who are of a different race from yours? **YES NO**

How many of your friends are of a different race from yours? \_\_\_\_\_.

How many are black Africans? \_\_\_\_\_. How many are colored people? \_\_\_\_\_.

Do you think your life would be very different if you were of a different race? **YES NO**

Is a person's race very important in South Africa today? **YES NO**

Can you tell a lot about a stranger by their facial features and skin color? **YES NO**

Do you watch much television? **YES NO** If so, how much? \_\_\_\_\_/per day.  
Do you read the newspapers? **YES NO** How often? \_\_\_\_\_/week.

Do you think TV programs show South Africans how the different race groups can get along together?  
**YES NO**

Are the newspapers generally **RACIST** or **NON-RACIST**? Circle one.

Is it **ACCEPTABLE** or **NOT ACCEPTABLE** for people of different races to get married or to go out on dates together? Please circle one of the above.

Would you ever consider dating someone of a different race? **YES NO**

What can the government do to make people of different races understand each other better in the future?  
\_\_\_\_\_.

Do people treat your race differently from the way they treat others? **YES NO**

Do you have many things in common with people of different race groups? **YES NO**

Do the different race groups in South Africa interact with each other: **TOO MUCH, TOO LITTLE, JUST ENOUGH**? Please circle one.

When was the last time you heard someone use a word like *kaffir, hotnot, or coolie*?  
\_\_\_\_\_.

Do you ever feel anger or resentment toward other races because of apartheid? **YES NO**

Do you ever feel guilty because of apartheid? **YES NO**

Do you know anyone who experienced forced land removals during apartheid? **YES NO**  
Did you? **YES NO**

Has South Africa learned its lesson from apartheid? **YES UNSURE NO**

Would you have chosen a different career or field of study if your race had been different? **YES NO**

Has your life turned out as you thought it would? **YES NO**

Do you often dream of one day having more money? **YES NO**

Are you comfortable with the present lifestyle your income affords you? **YES NO**

Is being wealthy something to be proud of? Circle one: **ALWAYS SOMETIMES NEVER** .

Is being poor something to be ashamed of? **ALWAYS SOMETIMES NEVER** .

How important is God or spirituality in your life? \_\_\_\_\_.

Are you active in a church or religion? **YES NO** If so, how active? \_\_\_\_\_.

Were you happy in 1994? **YES NO**

Are you happy now? **YES NO**

Do you think you will be happy in 5 years? **YES NO**

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