

FACTORS INFLUENCING INTERRACIAL MIXING AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

BY:

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that any work that is not mine has been rightfully and properly acknowledged. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Social Psychology (Counselling Psychology) at the University of Fort Hare, East London.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the reasons given for the lack of interracial contact among 188 (142 Black, 25 White and 19 Coloured) university students. The most pervasive factor influencing such contact for the whole group (79.1%) was language differences. The statements endorsed by most black participants were; differences in behaviour (62.9%), socio-economic status (56.0%) and culture (52.5%). The coloured participants endorsed statements concerning socio-economic status (61.1%), culture (42.1%) and dissociation (42.1%). The white participants endorsed statements regarding race issues (64.0%), differences in behaviour (60.0%) and cultural differences (44.0%). This study found that metastereotypes social distance and contact correlate with prejudice. Metastereotypes and social distance positively influence prejudice in that an increase in these factors is associated with heightened levels of prejudice. The amount of contact between groups has a negative relationship with prejudice, indicating that increased levels of contact are associated with a decrease in prejudice.

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Chapter 1

The Problem:

1.1. Background of the problem:

Segregation and racism permeate local, national and international contexts. Universities may be regarded as one of the more favourable contexts to break down racial barriers, as students are given the opportunities to access accurate information and interact with people from a range of backgrounds, but they still prefer to socialise with members of their own race groups (Alexander, 2007).

1.2. Rationale and significance of the Problem:

Even with the establishment of democracy and the demolition of laws prohibiting integration there is still a high rate of informal segregation in South Africa. Individuals are now able to inhabit the same 'space' but largely choose to remain in their own subgroups. This is particularly evident in universities and at schools where students are exposed to one another and have contact but still identify with members of their own ethnicity or racial background and voluntarily segregate themselves. An extreme example of the continued racism in universities is the racist video that was made at the University of the Free State, where Afrikaner students at the all-white university residence persuaded black cleaners to participate in an initiation ceremony that involved dancing in a pub, playing rugby and eating food that

the students pretended to urinate on (MacGregor, 2008). Since most first year university students were not born during the time of apartheid it is interesting to note that there is still so much animosity between races when they had not experienced the racial inequality first-hand.

1.3. Statement of the problem:

Segregation has been a major issue in South Africa for many years and even though there are not any formal laws prohibiting integration; members from different race groups still prefer to socialize with members of their own race groups. This study aims to identify factors influencing interracial mixing among university students.

1.4. General Hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: A correlation exists between prejudice and social distance.

Hypothesis 2: A correlation exists between prejudice and social contact.

Hypothesis 3: Racial differences exist for segregatory behaviours.

1.5. Definitions:

Segregation: "Systematic isolation of one group especially a racial or ethnic minority from the rest of society" (Brookes, Munro, O'Donoghue, O'Neil

& Thomson, 2004: 1096), this study will use this term to evaluate the lack of racial mixing between university students.

Integration: “The process of integrating” (Brookes, et al., 2004: 617), this study will refer to integration as the process of racial mixing between university students.

Race: “Any major divisions of humankind distinguished by a particular set of physical characteristics, such as size, hair type or skin colour” (Brookes, et al., 2004: 985), this study will use race to differentiate between racial groups on the basis of skin colour. This study will focus on the Black, White and Coloured racial groups.

Racism: “Belief in inherent superiority of a particular race or races over others, usually with the implication of a right to be dominant” (Brookes, et al., 2004: 986).

Prejudice: “a feeling, favourable or unfavourable, toward a person or thing prior to, or not based on, actual experience” (Allport, 1954: 7).

1.6. Summary and Overview:

This chapter discussed the nature of the problem that will be researched in this study, namely the factors relating to the lack of interracial mixing among university students.

In chapter two a brief overview of previous studies relating to the topic of interracial mixing amongst university students will be discussed. This section will include those factors that have been identified as being influential in interracial mixing of university students.

In chapter three the procedures used to gather the data that were used in the study will be discussed. It will specify the data to be obtained and discuss appropriate methods of handling the data.

In chapter four the results that were obtained from the data in Chapter three will be discussed.

In chapter five an analysis and discussion will be given of the data obtained.

Chapter 2

Literature Review:

2.1. Introduction

Foster and Finchilescu (in Foster, 2005: 495) state that Apartheid provided

“[a] formidable battery of laws, regulations, proclamations and judicial interpretations that prescribe behaviour in a vast array of potentially interracial situations such as wedding, bedding, dining, entertaining, learning, praying, playing, defecating, voting, resisting, fighting, working; that is the medley of actions and activities that constitute a person’s life”.

Finchilescu (2005) argues that the history of South Africa makes it particularly difficult for racial barriers to be broken down because even though the present generation had no direct experience of apartheid, their parents and older members of the communities would have had such exposure. Therefore the distorted views on race held during the apartheid period are likely to be transferred through the socialisation process and as a result stereotypes and negative attributions would still be prominent. Similarly Patchen, Davidson, Hofmann and Brown (1977) argue that students’ racial attitudes and behaviour tend to be consistent with the attitudes of their families and same-race peers.

Since the 1994 elections there are no longer any laws that prohibit contact between different races and one would assume that there would be more integration among members of different race groups as they are now able to

go to the same universities; live in the same residential areas and have access to the same public space. However many people tend to gravitate towards individuals of their own race and in many formally integrated societies, groups remain segregated and distanced from each other (Alexander, 2007).

Leibowitz, Rohleder, Bozalek, Carolissen and Swartz (2007) argue that South Africa still remains imprinted with the legacy of apartheid and enforced segregation of its population along racial lines. Urban areas still remain highly segregated and race relations continue to reflect segregation and racism in people's spatial and linguistic practices. This segregation not only prevents contact between different racial groups but produces and legitimates an ideology for defining 'our' relationship with 'them'.

Durrheim (2005) explains this segregation as patterns of migration, arguing that black and white representations of each other are grounded in broad patterns of racial migration according to which blacks are now making use of areas that were previously reserved for whites. White individuals experience the influx of blacks in terms of their displacement; blacks have entered into these areas and pushed the whites out. This displacement occurs in two ways. Firstly, whites are physically displaced as blacks enter into their spaces and pushed whites out and secondly, once blacks have occupied these spaces there are complaints that they have changed the nature of these places (Durrheim, 2005). Whites experience social change in terms of an

invasion and on the other hand, blacks experience social change in terms of their entry into previously segregated space (Durrheim, 2005).

Although segregation has been recognised as having some favourable consequences such as the maintenance of minority group identity, security and well-being, most of the research has emphasised its harmful effects on society (Clack, Dixon & Tredoux, 2004). Some of the harmful effects on society are; maintaining ethnic and racial inequalities and the unequal distribution of wealth. Social psychologists have also demonstrated how segregation has maintained prejudiced stereotypes, attitudes and behaviours (Clack et al., 2004). As a result of this segregation, the contact between groups is often and limited to superficial and asymmetrical types of contact (Finchilescu, 2005).

Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay and Muianga (2007) state that the degree of segregation still prevalent in South Africa is disturbing and it suggests that there is a lack of reconciliation in the country. A slow rate of racial integration may hinder movement towards more positive interracial relations. The concept of 'illusory contact' has begun to emerge consistently in research on segregation. This is where the appearance of integration belies the reality of continued segregation (Clack et al., 2004).

Leibowitz, et al. (2007) conducted a study concerned with the strategies used by university students to negotiate difference. They found that when negotiating diversity there is more than just a simple continuum ranging from

avoidance through to confrontation, and that issues such as acknowledgement of the impact of the past, or examination of one's own role or responsibility play an important role in learning about diversity from other individuals. The main themes, which emerged from the study, were: *denial* – this was a common strategy used by university students whereby they used ideas of common human experience as a basis to deny the impact of the past on the present. Students who did not want to focus on the past implied a desire to move focus away from apartheid and thus from issues of race and racism (Leibowitz et al., 2007). *Appreciation of strengths* was the second theme that emerged from the study; the students expressed appreciation of the strengths of the marginalised. The next theme that emerged from the study was the *acknowledgement of the past* where students acknowledged the impact of the past and apartheid on their own lives by bringing their own experiences and racialised history into discussions (Leibowitz et al., 2007). The next theme that emerged from the discussions was *guilt*, some students responded empathically and spoke about a raised awareness and in some cases this was expressed from a position of guilt. *Taking responsibility* was the final theme that emerged from the study. This was expressed mostly by minority students, it involved a combination of students acknowledging the past and simultaneously, taking responsibility for shaping the future (Leibowitz et al., 2007)

Finchilescu et al (2007) conducted a study to identify the reasons for the lack of interracial mixing among university students. They found that there was a definite race difference in the reasons endorsed for interracial mixing. They

found two principal component factors that underlie reasons believed to explain the lack of interracial mixing.

Table 1: Factors that underlie reasons believed to explain the lack of interracial mixing according to Finchilescu et al (2007)

	Finchilescu et al. (2007)	
	Factor 1 'Blame'	Factor 2 'Difference'
Language	-	0.640
Interests	-	0.754
Dissociation	-	-
Behaviour	-	0.624
Race Issues	0.802	-
Cultures	0.689	-
Rejection	0.803	-
SES	-	0.545
Eigenvalue	2.120	2.000
Proportion of variance explained	0.265	0.250

Finchilescu et al. (2007) named the two factors they found blame and difference. They stated that the items in the blame factor related to individuals blaming the other race for the lack of mixing. The items in the difference factor related to individuals stating that the difference between race groups is the responsible for a lack of mixing. In the Finchilescu et al. (2007) study the blame factor comprised of the following items: race issues, cultures and rejection. The difference factor comprised of the following items: language, interests, behaviour and SES (Finchilescu et al., 2007). Dissociation did not load on either factor in their study (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez and Finchilescu (2005) conducted a study that aimed to understand the nature of prejudice by observing how students inhabited space on a university's front steps. They found an uneven

distribution of space according to racial lines. Further the study illustrated that certain regions in space are consistently preferred by race groups, which could imply a process of spatial organisation at an inter-group level. They argue that one could state that this organisation is merely habitual, however the question then arises as to why it always occurs along racial lines every time. An explanation of this racial organisation is that there is a shared understanding among members of a particular racial group regarding their place on the steps (Tredoux et al., 2005).

A study conducted by Dixon and Durrheim (2003) aimed to chart some varieties of informal segregation by plotting the racial distribution on an 'open' beach over a period of time. They found that even though integration was possible individuals still segregated themselves in three major ways. The first segregation technique is referred to as "umbrella space" (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003: 10), where pairs and small groups of occupants tend to cluster together within specific areas. The next form of distribution occurred through unevenness of distribution, exposure and clustering. The final form of segregation occurred through the collective processes of influx and withdrawal of different race groups on the beach (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003).

Scheriff, Tredoux, Dixon and Finchilescu (2005), found that students from different races consistently occupied tables in separate sections of a university cafeteria. Internationally studies illustrate the separation in black and white seating patterns on public buses (Davis, Siebert & Breed, 1996),

separation in school class rooms (Campbell, Kruskall & Wallace, 1966) and groups continue to arrange themselves along racial lines (Alexander, 2007).

2.2 The contact hypothesis:

When considering interracial mixing it is important to pay attention to prejudice. Allport (1954) saw prejudice as the central problem of majority – minority relations, the most fundamental cause of social, political, and economic inequalities between groups and the most formidable barrier to change in the status quo (Katz, 1991). What separates a prejudice from other negative social attitudes for Allport (1954) was, firstly, the inaccuracy of the belief component, which presumably resulted from overgeneralisation from a set of limited observations. Secondly, prejudices were stubbornly persistent even in the light of contradictory information (Katz, 1991).

Research on prejudice has demonstrated that racial attitudes do not assume a singular or fixed form. Not only may their nature vary over time and across different contexts and communities but they may also assume disparate expressions within the same individual (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007). The recognition of the variability of racial attitudes has clarified why prejudice is resistant to change even in societies where segregation has become unacceptable (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007).

Even though most South Africans support the principles of equity, they do not always support the various interventions required to make these principles a reality (Louw-Potgieter & Nunez, 2007). Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2007) refer to this as the principle-implementation gap. This gap indicates that there has been a decline in support for the principle of racial inequality, for example in most societies very few individuals endorse the principles of racial inequality in spheres of employment, residence and education. However, there is still a resistance to concrete policies of racial equality (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007). The principle-implementation gap is most evident in evaluations of policies that are *race preferential*; such as affirmative action, as opposed to *race compensatory*; such as programmes that reduce skills deficits. This may be because preferential policies are perceived as threatening the status quo of the dominant group within a racial hierarchy (Dixon, Durrheim & Tredoux, 2007).

The contact hypothesis states that interracial contact under positive conditions, such as equal status and mutual interdependence, reduces stereotypes and prejudice, and promotes cross-racial respect and liking (Cook, 1985). Those writers opposed to the contact hypothesis argue that contact between the races under conditions of equality would breed suspicion, fear, resentment, disturbance and at times open conflict (Petigrew & Tropp, 2006). Further theorists may argue that the contact hypothesis only predicts optimal contact effects and does not address how these effects occur (Leibowitz et al., 2007). Dixon and Reicher (in Leibowitz et al., 2007) argue that the contact hypothesis avoids situated meanings in intergroup contact

and that contact between different groups acquires particular meaning in everyday contact as individuals interpret and make sense of the interactions. The contact hypothesis has therefore neglected the realities of intergroup relations in everyday life and the lived experiences and interpretations of ordinary people.

The basic premise of the contact hypothesis is that it predicts that prejudice will be reduced if members of two opposing groups are brought into contact under certain conditions, namely: a) where there is equal status in the contact situation; b) where the groups have a common goal; c) where the contact is cooperative and not competitive; d) and where there is support for the contact (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

a. Equal status of participants within the contact situation:

It is vital that participants involved in the contact perceive equal status between each other. This perception will allow participants in the contact situation to become better acquainted with each other as they begin to realise that they differ less in respect of opinion than they previously believed (Allport, 1954).

b. Where participants strive for a common goal within the contact situation:

This condition works together with the intergroup cooperation condition. When participants involved in intergroup contact are goal-oriented and actively join to achieve a mutually desirable goal, prejudice can be reduced (Allport, 1954).

c. Cooperation and mutual interdependence among intergroup participants:

According to Allport (1954) this condition specifies that intergroup contact between participants in the contact situation should be characterised by cooperation.

d. Support of authorities, laws and social norms:

Intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects if there is increased social support from authorities, social laws and the rest of the community (Allport, 1954).

Robinson and Preston (1976) argue that for prejudice to be reduced the following conditions must also be met: contact must occur where majority members are interacting with high-status representatives of the minority groups; contact is occurring on a voluntary basis, when the parties concerned are engaged in intimate interactions and pursuing common goals in a cooperative relationship with institutional supports.

Whilst favourable results have been achieved using the contact hypothesis, there are reviews that have reached more mixed conclusions. Amir (in Petigrew & Tropp, 2006) states that contact under optimal conditions tends to reduce prejudice among participants but these reductions may not generalize to entire outgroups, hence contact can cure individual prejudice, but not group conflict or prejudice. Further he noted that contact under unfavourable conditions might increase prejudice and intergroup tension (Petigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Interracial contact is most likely to yield unfavourable results, such as intensifying prejudice and stereotypes, when participants are of unequal statuses; majority group members interacting with low-status representatives of the minority group; in involuntary contact situations; where members are engaged in casual interaction, competing and in conflict for goals which cannot be shared (Robinson & Preston, 1976).

According to Robinson and Preston (1976) studies done within the armed forces indicated that contact with members of a minority group on an equal-status basis tends to reduce prejudice toward the entire minority group. Similarly if the contact is between members of a majority group and higher status members of the minority group the chances for the reduction of prejudice increase (Robinson & Preston, 1976). The chances of the contact yielding unfavourable results increase if the minority group members are of a lower status. Contact is more likely to be favourable and reduce prejudice when participants come together on a voluntary basis, that is, primarily for the purpose of associating with members of the other group. Since the process of contact should be voluntary some process of self-selection is present. Individuals who are the most prejudiced are most likely to avoid contact situations, thus the contact situation is more likely to yield positive results and lead to the reduction of prejudice (Robinson & Preston, 1976).

If the contact has both normative support and that of legislation, it is more likely to yield favourable results. This support may come from the law, custom or any authority accepted as legitimate by the interacting groups. Conversely,

if the existing social climate defines the contact as being undesirable within the existing normative structure, then the contact and resultant attitudes of the participants are likely to develop in an unfavourable direction and reiterate stereotypes and increase prejudice (Amir in Robinson & Preston, 1976).

The nature of the contact also plays an important role in determining whether the contact will have favourable or unfavourable results. The contact may be casual or intimate, cooperative or competitive, or even conflicting in nature. Casual contact is not enough to foster conditions, which reduce prejudice (Robinson & Preston, 1976). The frequency of the contact does not necessarily equate to intimate contact, for example a member of a minority group can be in constant contact with members from the majority group but the contact may remain superficial. Intimate contact is necessary, but not sufficient to reduce prejudice. Intimate cooperative interaction of members of different ethnic groups in the pursuit of common goals is likely to reduce prejudice (Robinson & Preston, 1976).

Stein, Post and Rinden (2000) suggest that intergroup contact has two forms, context and individual behaviour (contact). Context is the size of the minority group within a specific area (e.g. neighbourhood) and behaviour or contact is the amount of contact between the members of both the in-group and out-group. These two forms yield different results for the contact hypothesis. According to Stein, Post and Rinden (2000) literature on context shows that majority group members living in an area with a high concentration of minority group members have a negative opinion of those members and their policy,

when compared to majority group members who live in an area with a low concentration of minority group members. Intergroup contact between individual majority and minority group members significantly decreases the rate of prejudice (Stein, Post & Rinden, 2000). Stein, Post and Rinden (2000) found that special proximity alone will not reduce prejudice; this again confirms the premise that prejudice will be reduced when interaction occurs voluntarily and under favourable conditions.

2.3. Factors related to inter-group contact, attitudes and behaviour:

Allport (1954) contends that people mate with their own kind, they eat and play in homogenous clusters, they visit with their own kind and they prefer to worship with their own kind. This separation is due to nothing more than convenience. As there is an abundance of people to socialise with, one does not have to turn to out-groups for companionship. It is not always the dominant majority that force the minority groups to remain separate, but they often prefer to keep their own identity (Allport, 1954).

Space can be described as an invaluable resource for all individuals, one that does not determine behaviour, but rather constrains or promotes opportunities or potential activities within a given context (Alexander, 2007). People from different social groups constantly come into contact with one another. They may avoid contact by inhabiting different spaces or when obliged to use the same space they may structure their use of it so that they are unlikely to encounter members of the other group (Tredoux et al., 2005).

Patchen et al, (1977) state that personality traits that reflect hostility or aggressiveness produce hostile behaviour toward out-group individuals. Individuals who experience frustration will also be more likely to display hostility toward out-groups. Finchilescu (2005) has shown that to a large extent groups actively avoid contact and that in some instances contact between groups can lead to increased intergroup hostility. This avoidance has been termed intergroup anxiety (the anxiety stemming from contact with out-group members). This anxiety results in a range of destructive outcomes in addition to the desire to avoid contact (Finchilescu, 2005).

Finchilescu et al. (2007) argue that this anxiety results in the avoidance of contact or the experience of contact as negative. It can also lead to the reinforcement of negative attitudes and beliefs about the out-group. Prejudice also leads to contact avoidance. Generally prejudiced people tend to avoid contact with a group against which they are prejudiced. Prejudice against certain groups involves various beliefs and stereotypes about those groups and feelings of threat and aversion. None of these factors lead to the promotion of contact between groups. Thus prejudice can emerge from socio-cultural factors or from personality factors within an individual (Finchilescu, 2007).

Louw-Potgieter and Nunez (2007) argue that there are specific factors that influence the choices we make when choosing groups or group members for contact situations. Dovidio and Gaertner (in Low-Potgieter & Nunez, 2007) found that when in ambiguous decision-making situations individuals tended

to make selections that favoured their own group. In situations where more information was available, selections tended to be more equitable, and thus did more to promote intergroup contact. From these results it was speculated that when black participants were to choose team members in situations of high ambiguity, their stereotypes about white team members might be activated. As a result they would avoid choosing team members who they perceive to be less friendly and less trustworthy. It would thus seem that the less ambiguous the situation the less team members would rely on ethnocentric preferences and they would make more equitable choices in selecting a diverse team.

The role of perceived threats plays a further role in intergroup attitudes. These threats may be real or symbolic. Real threats refer to the perception that the out-group represents a threat to the in-group's material resources or well-being. Symbolic threats refer to the perception that the out-group violates the norms or cultural beliefs of the in-group in some way and relate to perceived differences in the groups (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

According to Allport (1954) the basic feeling of members of a minority group who are the objects of prejudice is one of insecurity. Members from the 'persecuted' group feel a sense of impending doom as members of their particular ethnic group. As a result, alertness is the first step the ego takes for self-defence. It must constantly be on guard. This sensitivity develops into surreal levels of suspicion where even the smallest cues may be loaded with feeling (Allport, 1954). This sensitivity leads to a lack of trust towards

members of the other group. The out-group believes that they have been hurt so often that they have learnt to protect themselves, therefore they cannot trust the other group as this leads to injury (Allport, 1954). This suspicion and lack of trust can be experienced by members of the in-group and out-group and can thus be a serious barrier towards interracial integration.

Minority group members may avoid contact in order to preserve their social identity. When interacting with majority groups their identity may become assimilated into the majority culture (Hopkins, Greenwood & Birchall, 2007). Durrheim and Mtose (in Finchilescu et al., 2007) state that there is a range of black identities that students subscribe to, and terms that are used to describe these positions, namely: 'native', 'comrade', 'black-black' and 'white-black'. These positions demonstrate the diverse ways in which black identity is constructed relative or in reaction to colonialism, whiteness, Westernness, community and tradition. Some interventions relating to discrimination (Including contact) may work by attempting to change the degree of differentiation. In some contexts this may be welcomed by minorities, however in others it may not. Minorities wish their collective identity to be valued (Hopkins, Greenwood & Birchall, 2007).

Power dynamics are inherent in all interactions. When dealing with interracial contact or avoidance, one must be aware of the purpose the lack of contact is serving. Reicher (in Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2007) argues that racism is a critical tool of leadership. Leaders made use of racism to produce a certain kind of work from the ingroup. This tool can be used to accuse the leaders'

rivals of inadequate protection from the outgroup, and to police the ingroup identity by associating any form of dissent with the hated outgroup. Thus racism is a strategy of collective self-enhancement.

An important factor that mediates intergroup attitudes is the anxiety and fears about how one will be treated or viewed by members of the other group. This also includes the anxiety of not knowing the correct way to act or behave if the one's group norms are dominant (Finchilescu et al., 2007). Groups who have a history of prejudice are likely to fear that they will be met with hostility when in contact with members from the prejudiced group. Even when there was no history of prejudice, most people are aware that some groups have stereotypes and hostility towards them (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

Ego defensiveness will frequently be found among members of groups who have experienced ridicule, disparagement and discrimination. There are two considerations to bear in mind when considering persecution-produced traits (1) They are not all unpleasant traits – some may be socially pleasing and constructive; (2) Just what ego defences will develop is largely an individual matter (Allport, 1954). Every form of ego defence may be found among members of a persecuted group. Some individuals will handle their minority-group membership with little evidence in their personalities that membership to this group is of any concern to them, however others will be so rebellious that they constantly provoke those individuals from the majority group whom they resent (Allport, 1954). This 'rebellious' behaviour will lead to members from different groups feeling uncomfortable among one another and thus limit

the amount of contact that they have. Even with minority-group members who do not exhibit overt resentment for majority-group members the contact may be limited or superficial.

Patchen et al., (1977) report that black girls have been found to have less positive attitudes toward relationships with white students than black boys. Prior contact with other race groups, especially that of a positive nature is said to make later interracial contact more positive (Patchen, et al., 1977).

Withdrawal and passivity can also be seen as barriers against interracial mixing. Allport (1954) argues that from the beginning of time 'outcasts' have hidden their true feelings behind a façade of passive acquiescence. Their feelings of resentment could be so well hidden that individuals seem completely content with their lives. This withdrawal and passivity leads to the minority member leading his/her life in two compartments, the first is more active with members of the same minority group and the second is more passive with the outer world (Allport, 1954). This passive interaction with members from the other group leads to superficial contact and is thus a barrier to interracial mixing.

Yet another barrier against interracial mixing could be the solidarity found between members of the same group. Allport (1954: p.145) states that

"the threat from a common enemy is not only the basis of human association,
but it is a strong cement",

thus the members of a particular in-group find unity with each other and unite against the out-group members. Therefore in-group members will not readily

mix with out-group members. Different groups have real cultural differences. These differences include a range of attitudes, behaviours, norms, beliefs and knowledge systems, which offer difficulty in intergroup relations (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

Studies conducted at schools to determine factors relating to interracial contact have shown that as the proportion of students from the other race increases in a student's class, interracial friendship choice also tends to increase (Patchen et al., 1977). Further the behavioural and attitude change outcomes are determined by the amount of opportunity for interracial contact in the classroom; the amount of participation in school activities and the amount of contact that students have had with other race teachers (Patchen et al., 1977).

The socio-economic status of individuals also determines the amount of intergroup contact. Finchilescu et al. (2007) state that socio-economic status has always been a determinant of friendship and social engagement, even in racially homogenous societies.

2.4 Summary

South Africa has a history of inequality and even though the formal laws have been eradicated and most South Africans support principles of equality there is still limited interracial interaction occurring. Most research completed on interracial interaction focus on the contact hypothesis, which states that if

contact occurs under positive conditions such as equal status and mutual interdependence, reduces stereotypes and prejudice, and promotes cross-racial respect and liking. When groups are brought together and contact occurs with the intention of developing a relationship prejudicial attitudes will be reduced. This chapter has discussed the contact hypothesis as well as those factors that may hinder interracial contact between groups.

Chapter 3

Procedures:

3.1. Introduction:

This chapter will present the methods that will be implemented to analyse the data

Aim:

1. To identify factors which influence interracial mixing among university students
2. To determine if the reasons for segregatory behaviours differ among different race groups.
3. To identify which factors correlate with prejudice.

3.2. Sample:

The participants were a convenience sample of 188 first year psychology student. The age of the participants ranged from 17 years old to 52 years old. The total sample consisted of 142 (75.5%) black participants, 25 (13.3%) white students and 19 (10.1) coloured students. This study does not condone Apartheid nomenclature, but since people distinguish themselves according to these groups this study will make use of this classification. Two (2) participants did not indicate a race group and were excluded. Of the total sample 74.5% were female and 25.5% male. Most (73.4%) of the participants

are Xhosa speaking, 19.1% English speaking, 5.3% Afrikaans speaking, 0.5% Zulu speaking and 1.6% Sotho speaking.

3.3. Instrumentation:

The following scales will be used in the present study:

Reasons for lack of interracial mixing: eight reasons for lack of interracial mixing are selected from literature. Responses were required to express their agreement or disagreement on a 6-point Likert scale (Finchilescu et al., 2007). This analysis focused on the reasons that students gave for lack of interracial mixing. Marking the statements as 'agree', 'slightly agree', and 'strongly agree' was seen as endorsement. Conversely marking the statements 'disagree', 'slightly disagree', and 'strongly disagree' was noted as non-endorsement. In the table 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' are replaced by 'black' or 'white' depending on the race of the participant.

Affective prejudice scale: This scale consists of 6 items. Each item consisted of two bipolar adjectives anchoring the ends of a 7-point continuum. The students indicated their feelings towards the other group using these sets of adjectives. The scoring is such that a high score indicated a high level of prejudice. The affective prejudice scale was originally proposed by Zanna (1994) and has successfully been used in South Africa (Finchilescu et al., 2007). Finchilescu et al., (2007) found an alpha coefficient of 0.88 for the entire group being studied (0.87 for black students and 0.93 for white

students). In the present study an alpha coefficient of 0.78 was found with 0.77 for black students, 0.93 for white students and 0.62 for coloured students.

Social distance scale: This scale is based on the original scale by Bogardus (1925). It consists of six items answered on a 5-point scale. This scale measures how closely the respondents are willing to allow members from the other groups into their lives. A high score in this scale indicates a high level of social prejudice / desired social distance (Finchilescu et al., 2007). Finchilescu et al. (2007) used this scale and found an alpha coefficient of 0.88 for the whole group, 0.88 for black students and 0.87 for white students. The present study found an alpha coefficient of 0.82 for the whole group, 0.80 for black students, 0.83 for white students and 0.70 for coloured students.

Meta-stereotypes: This scale measures the degree to which respondents believe that the other group thinks badly of them as members of their race group. The scale consists of fourteen pairs of bipolar adjectives anchoring each side of a 6-point scale. A high score indicates that the respondent believes that the out-group views the in-group negatively. This scale was created by using classic stereotypes. The present study found an alpha coefficient of 0.89 for the whole group, 0.89 for black students, 0.87 for white students and 0.88 for coloured students.

Amount of contact with people of other races: This scale consists of eight items asking whether the respondents have contact with people of the other

race in a number of situations. The respondents answered on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) Never to (5) very often. The higher the score on this scale the more frequent the contact (Finchilescu et al., 2007). Finchilescu et al. (2007) found an alpha coefficient of 0.77 for the whole sample, 0.76 for black students and 0.77 for white students. The present study found an alpha coefficient of 0.77 for the whole sample, 0.78 for black students, 0.62 for white students and 0.84 for coloured students.

3.4 Data Analysis:

Firstly the reasons for lack of interracial mixing were analysed to identify which statements received endorsement. In order to determine if these endorsements are different for the different race groups a Chi-square analysis was calculated. Similar to the study completed by Finchilescu et al. (2007) a factor analysis was run to determine whether the statements for interracial mixing can be grouped together. A Pearson's product-moment correlation was used to determine the relationship between the items in each factor. To identify which factors can be used as predictors of prejudice and the amount of contact between the race groups we analysed the scales using Pearson's product-moment correlation to determine the relationship between the scales.

Chapter 4

Results:

4.1 Endorsement of the reasons for lack of interracial mixing:

Table 2: Percentage of respondents agreeing with particular reasons for avoiding interracial contact.

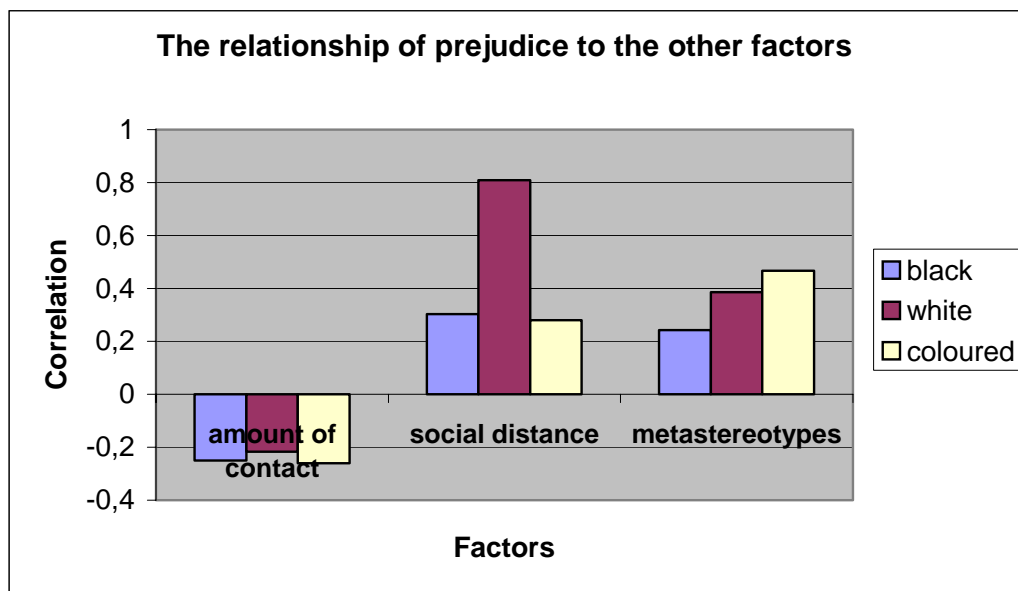
Statement	Whole sample	Black	White	Coloured	Chi square (df = 2)
People like to talk to their friends in their home language. This is a major barrier to social mixing between white and black students. [Language]	79.1%	80.4%	72.0%	79.8%	0.634
[Ingroup] students do not mix socially with [Outgroup] students because they have different interests in sport, music, etc. [Interests]	38.9%	40.4%	48.0%	15.8%	0.071
[Ingroup] students who mix socially with [Outgroup] students are seen as dissociating themselves from the [Ingroup] group [Dissociating]	37.3%	40.4%	16.0%	42.1%	0.060
[Ingroup] and [Outgroup] students have different ways of behaving which makes it difficult for them to mix socially [Behaviour]	59.2%	62.9%	60.0%	31.6%	0.034*
It is difficult to mix with [Outgroup] students because they are so preoccupied with race issues. [Race issues]	49.7%	50.4%	64.0%	26.3%	0.044*
It is difficult to mix with [Outgroup] students because they have no understanding of the culture of [Ingroup] students [Culture]	50.3%	52.5%	44.0%	42.1%	0.554
There is very little social mixing because [Outgroup] students do not want to have [Ingroup] friends [Rejection]	35.1%	38.3%	32.0%	15.8%	0.146
[Ingroup] students find it difficult to mix socially with [Outgroup] students because they generally come from a different socio-economic class. [SES]	66.0%	56.0%	31.6%	61.1%	0.013*

Note: * p < 0.001

4.2 Which factors show a strong relationship with prejudice?

To determine which factors show a strong relationship with prejudice the scores from the different scales were subjected to a Pearson's product-moment correlation. The social distance scale had the highest correlation with the affective prejudice scale for the whole group ($r = 0.359$) this was followed by the metastereotype scale ($r = 0.269$). The results also show that prejudice has a negative correlation with amount of contact ($r = -0.251$). When prejudice was examined for each of the difference race groups it was found that social distance between the groups is the highest predictor for black participants ($r = 0.303$). For the white participants affective prejudice was most highly correlated with social distance ($r = 0.809$). The highest correlation for prejudice for the coloured participants was metastereotypes ($r = 0.476$).

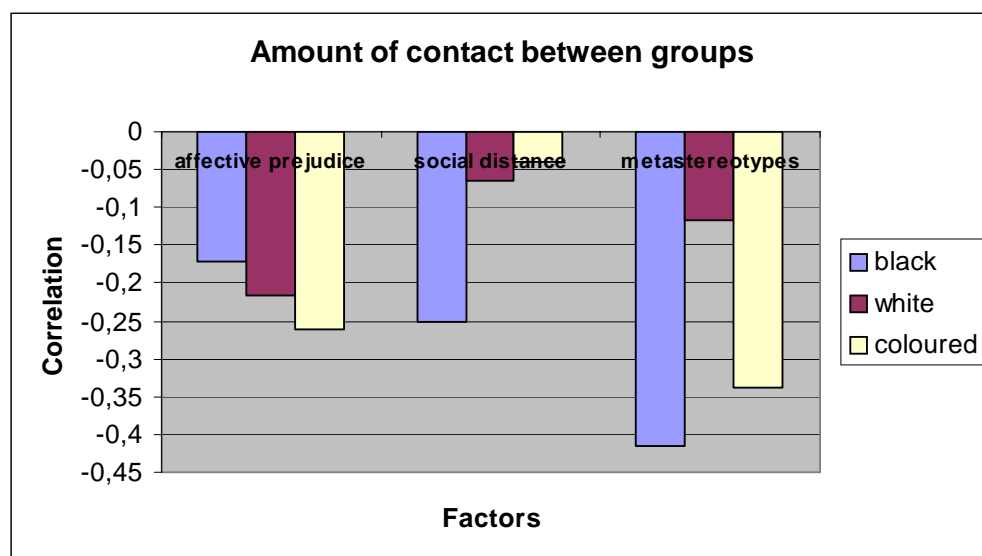
Figure 1: The relationship of prejudice to the other factors



4.3 Which factors have a strong correlation with the amount of contact?

To determine which factors have a strong relationship with the amount of contact between the different race groups, a Pearson's product-moment correlation was used to analyse the relationship between the different scales. We found that the amount of contact scale has a negative relationship with all the other scales. For the whole group the scale with the strongest relationship is metastereotypes ($r = 0.398$). When the amount of contact was examined for each of the different race groups we found that the metastereotype scale had the strongest correlation for the black participants ($r = -0.416$), for the white participants the affective prejudice scale had the strongest correlation with the amount of contact ($r = -0.217$) and a strong correlation was found between metastereotypes and the amount of contact for the coloured participants ($r = -0.337$).

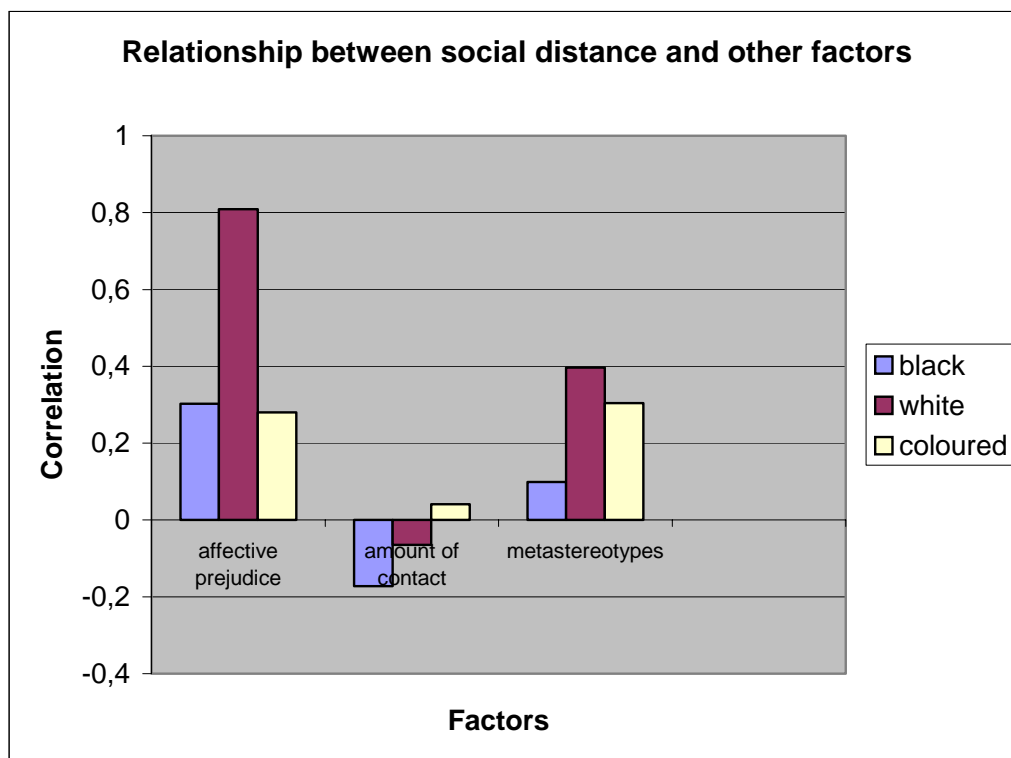
Figure 2: Correlation of other factors to the amount of contact



4.4 Which factors have a strong correlation with social distance?

To determine which factors would have a strong relationship with the social distance scale a Pearson's product moment correlation was used to analyse the relationship between the different scales. We found that for the whole group, social distance had the highest correlation with affective prejudice ($r=0.359$). For the black ($r=0.303$) and white ($r=0.309$) groups, social distance had the strongest correlation with affective prejudice, for the coloured participants ($r=0.304$), social distance had the strongest correlation with metastereotypes.

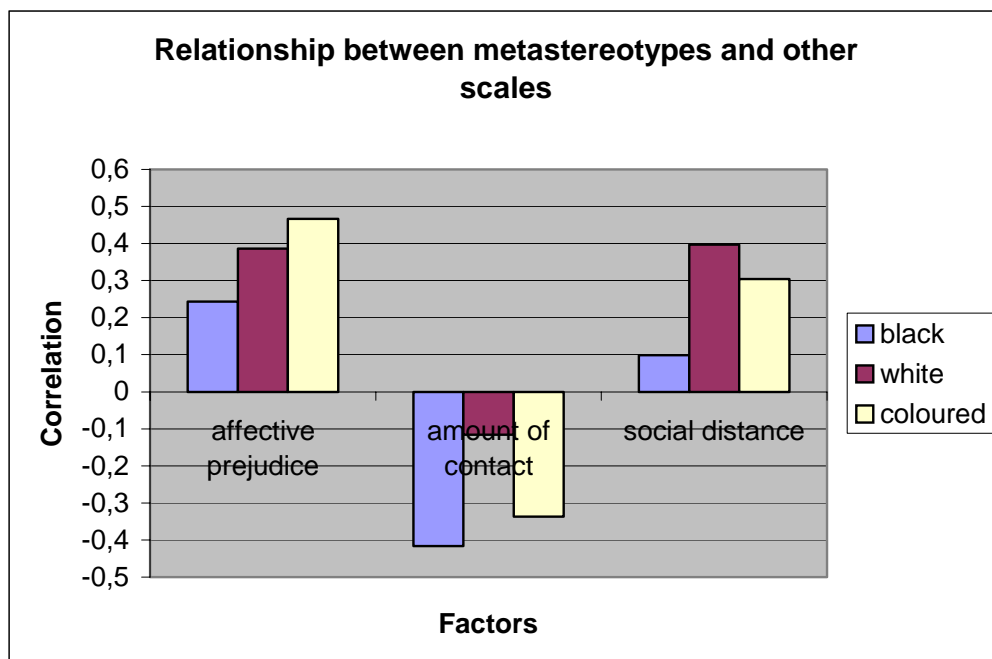
Figure 3: Correlation between social distance and other factors



4.5 Which factors have a strong correlation with metastereotypes?

To determine whether there was a correlation between metastereotypes and the other scales, and the strength of that relationship a Pearson's product moment correlation was used to analyse the data. For the whole group metastereotypes had the strongest correlated the strongest with the amount of contact, ($r = -0.398$). For the black participants the metastereotypes had the strongest correlation with the amount of contact scale ($r = -0.416$). For the white participants the metastereotypes had the strongest correlation with the social distance scale ($r = 0.397$), for the coloured participants the strongest correlation was between metastereotypes and affective prejudice ($r = 0.467$).

Figure 4: Correlation between metastereotypes and other scales



Chapter 5

Discussion:

5.1 Endorsement of the reasons for lack of interracial mixing:

The reason that received the most endorsement is *language difference*, with 79.1% of the whole sample considering this factor to be a major obstacle to interracial mixing; this reason also received high endorsement from all the different race groups (80.4% for black participants, 72.0% for white participants and 79.8% for coloured participants). The next factors, which received the most endorsement by the whole sample is *socio-economic status* (66.0%) and *behaviour differences* (59.2%).

The statement of *dissociation* was endorsed by 42.1% of the coloured participants and 40.4% of the black participants compared to the 16.0% endorsement rate of the white participants. This illustrates the tendency of the black and coloured populations to stigmatise members of their respective race groups who mix with whites by stating that they would want to play white, or insulting them with names such as 'coconut' and 'oreo'. Further Finchilescu et al (2007) argue that members from the black group have a number of identities, endorsement of this item shows that the participants are aware of these identities.

The black (56.0%) and coloured (61.1%) participants also endorsed socio-economic status as more of an obstacle to interracial mixing than white

participants (31.6%). This could indicate that even though there have been initiatives to enhance the economic status of the black and coloured groups there has not been enough in order to change the view that white people are still more privileged than the other race groups. According to Finchilescu et al (2007) endorsement of this item could suggest that the association of race with advantage or disadvantage is still high in South Africa.

The two statements that the white participants endorsed more highly than the other race groups were concerned with the *preoccupation of race issues* and *difference* in issues. Endorsing the statement that it is difficult to mix with black students as they are so preoccupied with race issues could illustrate that many white individuals in South Africa still believe that black individuals hold a grudge against them for the inequalities of the segregatory past.

The statements endorsed more strongly by the black participants are: *language, behaviour, culture and rejection*. Most of these statements correspond with factor 2 (differences). This could be evidence that black respondents do not blame the white group for the lack of integration, but emphasise the fact that there are differences between the population groups, which make integration difficult.

5.2 Are the reasons endorsed different for the different race groups?

To determine if the different race groups endorsed different reasons differently the scores were subjected to a chi-square analysis. With most of the reasons

the percentages of endorsement for black and white participants were relatively similar, with a difference found in the coloured sample. A similar proportion of black and white students (40.4% and 48.0% respectively) agreed that a *difference in interests* is a barrier to interracial mixing. This item was not strongly endorsed by coloured participants with only 15.8% so doing.

The next reason that was strongly endorsed by black and white participants (62.9% and 60.0% respectively) was the reason that different race groups have *different ways of behaving*. This reason was not highly endorsed by the coloured participants (31.6%).

Only one reason received more endorsement from coloured students than the other race groups. Coloured students (61.1%) endorsed *socio-economic* differences more than black (56.0%) and white (31.6%) respondents. The issue of *cultural differences* was most strongly endorsed by black participants (52.5%) followed by white participants (44.0%) and lastly by coloured participants (42.1%). *Race issues* were the only reason that was endorsed more highly by white participants (64.0%) than the black and coloured race groups (50.4% and 26.3% respectively).

To determine if this study would find similar results as the Finchilescu et al. (2007) study a Principal Component analysis was performed on the 6-point continuous scale. Two factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00 were found. Similarly to Finchilescu et al. (2007), loadings of 0.5 and above were taken as

definitive factors. Table 2 depicts the results of the factor matrix with a comparison of the results achieved by Finchilescu et al. (2007).

Table 3: Factor loadings for reasons of interracial mixing.

	Present Study		Finchilescu et al. (2007)	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1 'Blame'	Factor 2 'Difference'
Language	-	-	-	0.640
Interests	-	0.846	-	0.754
Dissociation	-	0.789	-	-
Behaviour	-	0.642	-	0.624
Race Issues	0.719	-	0.802	-
Cultures	0.723	-	0.689	-
Rejection	0.732	-	0.803	-
SES	0.668	-	-	0.545
Eigenvalue	3.134	1.058	2.120	2.000
Proportion of variance explained	0.392	0.133	0.265	0.250

In the present study the items corresponded with each other differently. The reason for lack of interracial mixing stating that people like to talk in their home language and is thus a major factor for interracial mixing did not load on to any factor. This differs from Finchilescu et al. (2007) where language differences loaded onto factor 2 (differences). Factor 1 in the present study; which corresponds with the blame factor from Finchilescu et al. (2007) is comprised of the following items: race issues; culture; rejection and SES. This shows a difference as SES loaded on Factor 2 (differences) for Finchilescu et al., (2007). Factor 2 in the present study; which corresponds with the difference factor from Finchilescu et al. (2007) is comprised of the following items: interests, dissociation and behaviour. This differs from Finchilescu et al., (2007) as language did not load as an item and dissociation has loaded on this factor. Further Finchilescu et al. (2007) found SES to be an item on this factor but it corresponded with factor 1 in the present study.

5.3 Which factors have a high correlation with prejudice?

Since a higher rate of prejudice would be associated with more racism and less contact between the different race groups, the next aim of this study was to determine which factors related to prejudice. This was accomplished by correlating the affective prejudice scale with the social distance scale, amount of contact and metastereotypes. For the whole group we found that the social distance scale had the highest correlation. From this we can deduce that the more prejudiced an individual is, the more social distance they would attempt to have from other race groups.

The results then indicated a correlation between metastereotypes and prejudice. Therefore the more the ingroup believed that the outgroup had negative thoughts about them the higher the rate of prejudice would be. The study found that the affective prejudice scale had a negative correlation with the amount of contact scale. This indicated that the more contact a group or individual had with the outgroup the lower the rate of prejudice. This corresponds with the basic premise of the contact hypothesis. When the affective prejudice was analysed according to the different race groups we found that for black and white participants social distance was the greatest predictor of prejudice. For the coloured participants metastereotypes had the highest correlation with prejudice.

5.4 Which factors have a high correlation with the amount of contact?

The present study then identified which factors affected the amount of contact between the different race groups. In order to do this we correlated the amount of contact scale with the social distance scale, affective prejudice scale and metastereotypes. The first finding was that the amount of contact was negatively correlated with all the other scales. Therefore an increase in the amount of contact between the different race groups leads to a decrease in all the other scales, this once more confirms the contact hypothesis.

For the whole group the amount of contact had the strongest relationship with metastereotypes, indicating that the more contact different race groups have the less they will believe that the outgroup has negative thoughts about them as the ingroup. When the amount of contact was examined for each of the race groups we found that for both black and coloured groups amount of contact had the highest correlation with metastereotypes. For the white group the affective prejudice scale had the highest negative correlation with the amount of contact scale, indicating that the more contact groups have the lower their rate of prejudice will be.

5.5 Which factors have a high correlation with social distance?

The present study identified which factors had strong relationships with social distance. In order to do this we correlated the social distance scale with the affective prejudice scale, amount of contact scale and the metastereotypes

scale. For the whole group we found that social distance had the highest correlation with the affective prejudice scale. This suggests that the less contact groups have with each other the higher their levels of prejudice will be.

Once again we notice a difference in correlations for the different race groups. For the black and white group the strongest correlation was between affective prejudice and social distance. For the coloured participants social distance had the strongest correlation with the metastereotypes scale, suggesting that the more distance there is between different groups the more negative thoughts groups will feel the other group has toward them.

5.6 Which factors have a strong correlation with metastereotypes?

The present study identified which factors have a strong relationship with the metastereotype scale. In order to this, metastereotypes were correlated with affective prejudice, social distance and amount of contact. For the whole group metastereotypes had the strongest correlation with the amount of contact. This was a negative relationship, indicating that the less contact groups have with one another the greater their belief that the other group has negative stereotypes about them.

For the black participants the metastereotypes scale had the strongest correlation with the amount of contact with scale. This was a negative scale, suggesting that more contact between groups would lead to a decrease in the

levels of metastereotypes. For the white participants metastereotypes had the strongest correlation with the social distance scale, suggesting that having greater distance between groups increases the tendency for group members to believe that the other group views them negatively. For the coloured participants the metastereotype scale had the highest correlation with the affective prejudice scale. This suggests that the more a group perceives the other group to view them negatively the higher the rate of prejudice between groups.

5.7 Summary

This study investigated which factors would receive the most endorsement for the lack of interracial mixing among university students. The participants identified language differences as being the biggest obstacle toward interracial mixing; this was followed by socio-economic status and behaviour differences.

We identified whether the endorsed statements differ for different racial groups. We found that the black participants endorsed language differences, behaviour differences and socio-economic status to have the greatest effect on interracial mixing between groups. The white participants attributed language differences, preoccupation with race issues and differences in behaviour as reasons for segregatory behaviour. The coloured participants identified language, socio-economic status, dissociation and cultural

differences as being key factors in the lack of interracial mixing between students.

The study identified a correlation between affective prejudice, social distance, the amount of contact and metastereotypes. The results obtained confirm the findings of the contact hypothesis stating that the more contact groups have with one another the lower their levels of prejudice would be and that groups will develop stronger relationships with one another.

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Appendix 1:

Dear student,

In this study we would like to get your opinion about your experience of contact with students who belong to another population group. There are no right or wrong answers so please be as honest as possible.

Please answer all of the following questions about yourself.

1. Age (years):

2. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

3. University education level:

☐ Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate

4. Population group:

☐ Black ☐ White

☐ Indian ☐ Coloured

☐ Other (Which?):

5. Home language:

☐ Afrikaans ☐ English

☐ Xhosa ☐ Zulu

☐ Sotho ☐ Tswana

☐ Other (Which?):

6. Religion:

☐ Christian ☐ Muslim

☐ Jewish ☐ Hindu

☐ Other (Which?):

7. Please read the following statements and tick the block that best describes the reasons you identify as barriers towards interracial contact.

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
People like to talk to their friends in their own home language. This is a major barrier to social mixing between white and black students.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Ingroup] students do not mix socially with [Outgroup] students because they have different interests in sport, music, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Ingroup] students who mix socially with [Outgroup] students are seen as dissociating themselves from the [Ingroup] group	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Ingroup] and [Outgroup] students have different ways of behaving which makes it difficult for them to mix socially	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is difficult to mix with [Outgroup] students because they are so preoccupied with race issues.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
It is difficult to mix with [Outgroup] students because they have no understanding of the culture of [Ingroup] students	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
There is very little social mixing because [Outgroup] students do not want to have [Ingroup] friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
[Ingroup] students find it difficult to mix socially with [Outgroup] students because they generally come from a different socio-economic class.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Please describe how you feel about the [Outgroup] population group in general. Please select the number that best represents your feeling, by shading a circle.

I feel the following way towards [Outgroup] people in general:

- 8a. Warm ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Cold
- 8b. Negative ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Positive
- 8c. Friendly ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Hostile
- 8d. Suspicious ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Trusting
- 8e. Respect ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Disrespect
- 8f. Admiration ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐ 7 Disgust

9. Please shade the circle next to the word which expresses or most closely expresses your feelings in relation to the statement.

My first feeling is to willingly allow:

- 9a. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] students to my University.
- 9b. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] people to my street as neighbour.
- 9c. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] guests to my home.
- 9d. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] people to be my personal friends.
- 9e. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] in my work/group study.
- 9f. ☐ Any ☐ Most ☐ Some ☐ Few ☐ No [Outgroup] people in close kinship by marriage.

10. Please indicate the way you think [Outgroup] people feel about you as being part of the [Ingroup] group by shading the circle which best describes these feelings.

10a. Lazy	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Hard
Working							
10b. Reliable	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Unreliable
10c. Tolerant	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Intolerant
10d. Undisciplined	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Disciplined
10e. Sociable		<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6
Unsociable							
10f. Intelligent		<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6
Stupid							
10g. Unproductive	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Productive
10h. Polite	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Rude
10i. Careless		<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6
Careful							
10j. Friendly	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Hostile
10k. Chaotic	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Organised
10l. Warm	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Cold
10m. Late	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Punctual
10n. Open-minded	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5	<input type="radio"/> 6	Narrow-
minded							

11. How often do you have contact with [Outgroup] people in the following situations? Please select the appropriate number by shading the circle next to it.

- 11a. With [Outgroup] people in your residential area?
☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often
- 11b. With [Outgroup] people at your own home?
☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often
- 11c. With [Outgroup] people at the homes of other people?
☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

11d. With [Outgroup] people at their homes?

☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

11e. With [Outgroup] people at religious events?

☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

11f. With [Outgroup] people at social events?

☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

11g. Do you sit next to [Outgroup] students during lectures?

☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

11h. Do you have friendly conversations with [Outgroup] people?

☐ Never ☐ Seldom ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Very often

Thank you for your participation.