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Effect of First Impressions on Student Evaluations of Lecturers

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“The boers lived happily in Reitz until the day that previously disadvantaged [people] discovered the word ‘integration’ in a dictionary. Reitz was then forced to integrate and we started our own selection process” (“Reitz Racist Video Bloemfontein”, 2010)
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITERATURE REVIEW</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender discrimination</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial discrimination</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health effects of discrimination</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical overview of discrimination in South Africa</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartheid (pre-1994)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-apartheid</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation in South Africa</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation in the workplace</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation in higher education institutions in South Africa</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges in attracting and retaining Black academic staff</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors contributing to students’ evaluation of lecturers’</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional factors</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First impressions and student evaluations of lecturers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHOD</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring Instrument</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Study</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring Instrument / Design</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot study</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main study</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULTS</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot Study</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey results</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of students’ gender on ratings of male and female lecturers’ faces</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of students’ race on ratings of White and Black African lecturers’ faces</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey version differences and the rating of faces</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Study</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey results</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISCUSSION</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and interpretation of results</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of lecturer race on student evaluations of lecturers</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of student race on lecturer evaluations</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of students’ and lecturers’ gender on lecturer evaluations</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations and Recommendations</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables
Table 1 Descriptive Statistics of the 20 Faces Presented in the Study 31
Table 2 Means, Standard Deviations (in brackets) and Number of Student 34
Ratings (n) Based on Black African and White Lecturers’ Averaged
Evaluations, and Female and Male Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations on
the Three Questionnaire Versions
Table 3 Number of Participants Who Indicated Knowledge of the Presented 35
Faces
Table 4 Test of Between Subject Effects, Means and Standard Deviations (in 37
brackets) Based on White and Black African Lecturers’ Averaged
Evaluations on the Six Variables’
Table 5 Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) for Evaluations of White 39
and Black African Lecturers by Students of Different Races; as well as
Paired Samples T-Statistics for Differences in Evaluations
Table 6 Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) Results of Black African 41
and White Lecturer Ratings, using Pillai’s Trace
Table 7 ANOVA Results of Black African and White Lecturer Ratings 42
Table 8 Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) Based on Female and 45
Male Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations on the Six Variables’
Table 9 Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) for Evaluations of Male 47
and Female Lecturers by Male and Female Students, as well as Paired
Sample T-Statistics for Differences in Evaluations

Figures
Figure 1. Mean Student Ratings of Black African and White Lecturers 38
Figure 2. Student Ratings of Black African and White Lecturers According to 40
Student Race
Figure 3. Mean Student Ratings of Male and Female Lecturers 45
Figure 4. Mean Ratings from Male and Female Students of Female and Male 48
Lecturers
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ABSTRACT

Academic institutions (particularly historically White tertiary institutions) are experiencing challenges in attracting and retaining Black African and female academic staff. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Black African academic staff at historically White universities in South Africa experience more resistance from students than White staff do. This study consequently investigated whether students rate lecturers differently on first impression, based on the lecturers’ and students’ race and gender. A pilot study consisting of 136 students from the University of Cape Town (UCT) was conducted using paper-based questionnaires, which consisted of 20 photographed faces (said to be lecturers). These faces were rated on a 5-point Likert scale for perceived attractiveness. From this study, eight faces, found to be most equal in attractiveness, were selected for the main study. For the main study, a total number of 1461 UCT psychology students were invited to participate, of which 193 students participated. The final sample demographics included 42 males and 151 females; of which 94 classified themselves as White, 37 as Black African, 20 as Indian, 22 as Coloured, five as ‘other’, and 15 preferred not to indicate their race. For the main study, a photograph experiment was conducted which required participants to rate the eight faces selected from the pilot study (two White female faces, two Black African female faces, two White male faces and two Black African male faces) on six variables, representing two broad dimensions: likeability and ability. Results revealed that Black African lecturers were rated more favourably on the likeability dimension (friendlier, less strict and more attractive), whereas White lecturers were rated more favourably on their ability (teaching ability and competence) and students had a greater desire to be taught by these lecturers. White and Indian students indicated a preference to be taught by White lecturers, whereas Black African students preferred to be taught by Black African lecturers. Both male and female students rated female lecturers more favourably, which shows that only female students portrayed an in-group bias. Results thus showed that students form opinions of lecturers based on minimal demographic information.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Discrimination is a worldwide phenomenon that can manifest in an overt or covert manner (Seekings, 2008). Overt forms often result in immediate physical or emotional harm to an individual, whereas covert or subtle forms of discrimination often affect individuals in the long term (Pascoe & Richman, 2009; Pavalko, Mossakowski & Hamilton, 2003). During South Africa’s apartheid era, discrimination was supported by government legislation, and as a result there was more overt discrimination (Landis, 1961). Apartheid had various negative effects on South Africa, and the Black African population was the worst affected -- socially, economically, and in terms of education and employment (Seekings, 2008).

With new, democratic governance in 1994 (when the African National Congress (ANC) came to power), apartheid legislation was revised and new laws were implemented that prohibited all forms of discrimination. Transformational strategies were implemented in various sectors, including tertiary institutions, in order to redress the negative effects of apartheid (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010; Employment Equity Act, 1998).

Despite efforts to successfully implement these strategies, many historically White tertiary institutions (HWTIs) have been unsuccessful in implementing these strategies effectively (Grant, 2007). Throughout this thesis, the terms higher education and tertiary education will be utilised interchangeably to refer to educational institutions that offer post-secondary education. Secondly, the terms lecturer, instructor, faculty member, academic staff member, professor and teacher will be used interchangeably to describe an individual responsible for leading a class in learning academic material.

Within these tertiary institutions, it is found that Black (Black African, Coloured and Indian) academic staff are often the target of discrimination, and that Black African individuals are often the most negatively affected (Thaver, 2009). There is anecdotal evidence suggesting that Black academic staff (Black African staff in particular) experience more resistance from students than White academic staff do. This study therefore aims to investigate whether such anecdotal evidence is supported by empirical data. The focus of this thesis is thus to investigate whether students rate lecturers differently on first impressions, based on the lecturers’ and students’ race and gender.
Discrimination

Discrimination can be defined as the act of making a distinction between individuals or groups of individuals unjustly, based on various characteristics (Oxford Dictionary, 1987). Individuals are most often discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, age, religion, education, status, nationality and disability; however, during apartheid, racial discrimination was the predominant form of discrimination (Landis, 1961). Regarding racial group classification, the following definitions will be utilised in this thesis: White refers to people of European descent, while Black is the name given to individuals from the following three racial groups: Black African, Coloured and Indian. Black African refers to people native to the African continent; Indian refers to people of Indian origin; and Coloured refers to individuals who are racially mixed, from White, Black African and Indian groups (Finchilesescu & Tredoux, 2010). Black individuals are also referred to as previously disadvantaged, and White individuals as previously advantaged.

Despite continued discrimination along racial lines, there has been a decline in the severity of discrimination experienced in countries such as South Africa and America (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1997, as cited in King et al., 2011). Dovidio & Gaertner argue that this is mostly as a result of evolving norms, a changing political disposition and, in turn, changed legislation, prohibiting forms of discrimination. Literature on the subject shows that in the twenty-first century, more overt forms of discrimination have decreased, with subtle forms of discrimination being more prominent (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). When dealing with subtle forms of discrimination, it is often unclear that discrimination is in fact occurring. For this reason it is important to account for individuals’ perception of whether or not they are being discriminated against. These perceptions may reveal valuable information that would not generally be visible to others.

In a study by Pascoe and Richman (2009), individuals often perceived that they were being discriminated against even though no explicit words or actions were being projected towards them. They found that the most common form of perceived discrimination was racial or ethnic (found in 65% of the articles that they reviewed), with gender discrimination (found in 17% of those articles) being the second most common form. The relevant literature shows that people are more willing to speak about discrimination in a general, third-person fashion, but are often unwilling to indicate whether they have personally been the victim of discrimination (Sechrist &
Delmar, 2009). This could be due to the negative stigma of being a victim, especially for males. It has been found that members of previously disadvantaged racial groups, as well as females, were often more aware of, and at times more sensitive to, potential discrimination (Crocker & Major, 1989; Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995).

Gender discrimination
Women have been found to perceive more behaviours as being discriminatory than their male counterparts (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Hirsh & Lyons, 2010). It is often found that when women report or confront sexism, they are viewed as complainers, and they often refrain from reporting discrimination for fear of retaliation (Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991; Kaiser & Miller, 2001).

Gender discrimination is also found in the form of salary disparities, in that men are often paid a higher salary than females (Tapia, Kvasny & Trauth, 2004). Tapia et al noted that, despite the existing difference, the salaried gender gap has narrowed over the last century due to efforts to retain female employees. They have found that men are often selected for promotions ahead of females, and that this is mostly evident in predominantly male-dominated industries. White women are more likely than Black women to report gender discrimination at work, whereas Black women are more likely to report racial discrimination (Pavalko et al., 2003). With regards to race and gender, almost all industries are dominated by White male management, with Black employees and female employees reporting to these individuals (Hirsh & Lyons, 2010; Pavalko et al., 2003). This factor could help us to understand the difficulty in overcoming both racial and gender discrimination, as this hierarchical structure very often holds it in place.

Racial discrimination
In a study by Hirsh and Lyons (2010) conducted in the United States of America (USA), several factors were found to affect peoples’ perceptions of race discrimination. Firstly, people of low-status groups from all races believed that they were discriminated against in terms of employment opportunities, with African-American and Hispanic workers, in particular, perceiving more racial discrimination on the job than White workers did. It was found, however, that White women perceived more racial discrimination than Black women. Among women and African
Americans, those who had a higher qualification had an increased awareness of racial discrimination. For all race groups, promotion opportunities were found to be positively associated with perceptions of discrimination. This meant that if an individual was confident that they would and should be promoted, the more sensitive they would be to perceiving discrimination. Hirsh and Lyons found that a company’s racial demographics, especially the racial demographics of immediate colleagues and supervisors, was the most important factor affecting employees’ perception of discrimination. Should a certain racial group be underrepresented within the organisation or in the department, the minority group was prone to be more sensitive to possibly discriminatory behaviour.

King et al. (2011) found in an American workforce that interpersonal insults were the most common form of discrimination experienced by women and Black individuals. Further literature reveals that discrimination is mostly perceived in the form of not being promoted, or not being interviewed or hired (Pavalko et al., 2003). They also found that a higher percentage of Black women (5.8%), when compared to White women (8%), reported that they experience racial discrimination at work (Pavalko et al., 2003). Pavalko et al. gathered their results from longitudinal data of 1,778 employed women, from the National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women, collected by the U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics and the Centre of Human Resource Research at Ohio State University. As these findings were made in America, they would need to be tested in a South African context to determine their relevance to this country.

Hirsh and Lyons (2010) also found that Black employees generally experienced more discrimination than their White counterparts. They also concluded that specific characteristics of the work environment, such as hiring practices and the company’s racial composition, have a tremendous impact on individuals' perceptions of discrimination. Discrimination can have negative consequences on the country in which it manifests (evident from apartheid), and also on the individuals being discriminated against. These negative consequences on individuals will be investigated below.
Health effects of discrimination

Pascoe and Richman (2009) conducted a meta-analysis of 134 articles retrieved from electronic databases such as PsycINFO, Sociological abstracts and MEDLINE. A summary of these articles revealed that discrimination has negative effects on an individual’s health (both physical and psychological). Discrimination was found to contribute to lower self-esteem and increased stress levels. They have found that mere perceived discrimination also has negative effects on health, and often leads to negative behaviour patterns and decreased participation in healthy behaviours. One such consequence is that individuals who perceive being the victim of discrimination could withdraw emotionally from activities they enjoy doing, even from work activities, which often results in decreased work performance.

Pascoe and Richman (2009) found that mental health symptoms associated with perceived discrimination ranged from depression and psychological distress to anxiety. Physical health problems, on the other hand, include hypertension, generally poor health, breast cancer, as well as other consequences such as obesity and substance abuse. It was found that for all races and for both gender groups, higher levels of perceived discrimination impacted negatively on mental health. A significant negative relationship is therefore seen between perceived discrimination and all health outcomes (physical or psychological). Despite the negative effects of perceived and actual discrimination, Pascoe and Richman found that there are variables such as social support, personal coping style, and personality that may moderate the effects of discrimination on the individual’s health.

There are still many other consequences of discrimination beyond those that impact on the individual, but for purposes of this study, it was most appropriate to only focus on the individual. It is important to look at the context in which individuals live and, having found evidence about the impact that discrimination has on individuals, it is important to consider the current state of South Africa with regard to the phenomenon of racial discrimination. For this reason, an historical overview of discrimination in South Africa will be given.
Historical overview of discrimination in South Africa

Apartheid (pre-1994)
South Africa experienced a regime of apartheid, which was implemented by the National Party (NP) government, and was functional from 1948 to 1994 (Seeking, 2008). Apartheid was experienced through racial discrimination and segregation within the country and was promoted by government laws (Landis, 1961) such as the Group Areas Act (1950), Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), Population Registration Act (1950), Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), Immorality Amendment Act (1950), Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Extension of University Education Act (1959). Although ascribed racial labels are found throughout the world, the South African apartheid system was an extreme attempt to stratify the country systematically according to race (Seekings, 2008).

Finchilescu and Tredoux (2010) note that these laws prevented different races from living in the same residential area, from attending the same educational institutions, from travelling in the same buses and train carriages, and from having access to the same public spaces. The Population Registration Act (1950) ensured that a record was kept of the race group of all South Africans. This Act constructed four races, namely: Bantu (currently Black Africans), White, Indian, and Coloured. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Amendment Act (1950) prohibited marriage or any form of sexual intercourse between people from these four different races. The Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Extension of University Education Act (1959) prohibited Black people from studying at White educational institutions, and Finchilescu and Tredoux mention that the Bantu Education Act ensured that Black Africans received education that would only equip them to work as labourers.

As can be seen, apartheid policies promoted the separate development of White and Black South Africans, in a situation in which White people held power in all spheres of life (Swilling, Humphries, & Shubane, 1991, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). Despite the exclusion of Black people from most areas of life, White employers relied on the employment services of Black individuals, but these relationships were predominantly of a master-servant nature (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2010).

An attempt at political reform in the 1980s saw the integration of White and Black individuals in the city centres, but only in the 1990s was segregation cancelled.
(Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). This contributed to the end of apartheid, and, in turn, the introduction of democracy.

**Post-apartheid**

In the new democratic South Africa, legislation specifies that all forms of discrimination, including racial discrimination, are illegal (Labour Relations Act of 1995). This law, along with others, was instituted in South Africa in order to counter the negative effects of apartheid. In order to accelerate change and to narrow the gap of inequality between White and Black individuals, transformation strategies were implemented (Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). These transformational changes that took place were similar to those that occurred in the USA in the 1950s and 1960s, when the desegregation ruling was implemented along with the Civil Rights Act (Omi & Winant, 1994, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). During this period of transformation, affirmative action was also implemented in the USA to assist with racial equality and integration (Omi & Winant, 1994, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2010). It can therefore be seen that apartheid and transformation are not unique to South Africa, although the challenges experienced in each country are sure to differ.

Within South Africa, new legislation, such as the Labour Relations Act (1995), the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1997), the Constitution (1996) and the Employment Equity Act (1998), was implemented to assist with transformation. These legislative statutes refer to fair treatment of individuals, and prohibit all forms of discrimination. The Employment Equity Act recognises that simply removing discrimination does not result in automatic equality. The Act has therefore imposed an obligation on certain employers to implement affirmative action measures to advance designated groups (including Black Africans and females), with a focus on the labour market.
Transformation in South Africa

The political transformation that was experienced in 1994, has led to social, economical, cultural and educational changes (De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). Such changes include banning all forms of discrimination, so that people of all races can attend the same institutions, can live in the same neighbourhoods and can be afforded the same opportunities irrespective of race. Despite the implementation of such initiatives over a decade ago, the steps of transformation in South Africa has been challenging, and there is still evidence of both racial and gender inequality (Soudien et al., 2008).

Despite pressure from government for organisations to become more representative of the country’s racial and gender composition, many organisations still fall short of this ideal (Nuttall, 2004). Nuttall does state, however, that a number of recent studies show that South Africa’s Black African middle class is currently larger than the White middle class population. This indicates an improvement from pre-1994. A more detailed review on transformation in the South African workplace follows.

Transformation in the workplace

The relevant literature reveals that when applying for jobs, Black individuals are less likely to receive an interview or job offer than White people (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager, 2003). Despite efforts to increase the number of Black employees, and even the success thereof; Black individuals continue to remain at the lower levels of organisational hierarchies (Grant, 2007; Stainback & Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009; Tomaskovic-Devey et al., 2006). Grant (2007) has, however, noted that more recently, Black people have been employed into more senior positions, not open to these individuals in the past. It is, however, found that the top positions within South Africa are even more dominated by White males than before (Grant, 2007; Green, 2003). This is accounted for by the fact that in relation to employment applications, previously disadvantaged individuals are often discriminated against in a more subtle manner than they were previously, when more overt forms of discrimination predominated (Green, 2003).

The main reason for the difficulty in bringing about successful transformation is the fact that management, which makes company decisions, is predominantly White (Grant, 2007). In relation to this, another hindering factor to transformation is
the language barrier; a certain level of English proficiency is required for an individual to be viewed as competent (Grant, 2007). Many Black African individuals do not have the required level of English language proficiency and are therefore very often are not shortlisted for further job interviews (Grant, 2007). In Grant’s (2007) interview with Steyn, she mentioned that in order for true transformation to occur, deep structural/cultural changes needed to occur, in addition to changes in the upward mobility of individuals. Often, after a Black African individual resigns, companies still report the fact that they have employed a Black African individual, and then simply revert to doing business as normal, often replacing that post with someone who is not Black African (Grant, 2007). As per the focus of this study, transformation within higher educational institutions will be investigated further.

Transformation in higher education institutions in South Africa

Transformation strategies within the education sector have been an area of extensive focus over the past 15 years (De Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). In certain sectors, such as government, transformation has been successful in that Black African individuals (who form the majority of South Africa’s population) now form the majority of staff occupying positions within this sector (Soudien et al., 2008). Soudien et al. mention that aspects differ in the private sector: progress in addressing inequalities by transforming the staff complement into one that is representative of South Africa’s population is slow in many of these organisations, including HWTIs.

Sennett, Finchilescu, Gibson and Strauss (2003) conducted a study at the University of Cape Town (UCT), comprising a sample of 339 undergraduate students from five different courses across three faculties. Participants had a mean age of 20 years, with the following demographics: 169 males and 170 females, of which 46.6% were Black African and 53.3%, were White. The study was conducted to assess the factors that affected student adjustment to HWTIs. Results revealed that White students scored higher on social adjustment than Black African students. This indicates that Black African students were not able to socially integrate as quickly and effectively as White students. White students were also found to score higher on the personal-emotional adjustment subscale, suggesting an association between race and psychological and physical well-being. Would these results be similar for White and Black African academic staff (lecturers in particular)? The findings from
this study illustrate that employing Black African individuals into an HWTI requires more than the appointment letter; there should be an intervention to ensure that once individuals are hired, they are appropriately socialised.

In relation to the above-mentioned point, Thaver (2009) notes that there is a focus on appointing Black African and female academic staff in order to increase numbers, and in order to change HWTIs’ culture of employing predominantly White, older men. The challenge is amplified when Black individuals are appointed in an institute where Afrikaans is the first language, or where, despite the initial appointment, promotional opportunities are limited (Thaver, 2009). Thaver conducted a study that took the form of a semi-structured interview. The sample consisted of 19 academics at a HWTI in South Africa, of which the sample demographics included 42% White, 42% Coloured and 16% Black African people, of which 21% were women and 79% men. The findings revealed that there is continued conflict between White and Black academics, which takes place in an overt, as well as a covert, manner. Research also indicates that there are perceptions that there is a lack of uniform criteria for evaluating Black and White academics (Thaver, 2009). Employment equity figures for academic staff do in fact indicate that White individuals still form the majority in senior positions in the workplace (Soudien et al., 2008). Increasing numbers of Black African academic staff in HWTIs can have devastating effects on these Black African individuals, if the current White staff are not prepared to abandon the stereotypes they hold of these individuals.

Soudien (2010) critically discusses the case of the Reitz four, which took place in 2007 at the University of the Free State. The Reitz four refers to a video that captured the “initiation” of five Black African university workers by White students. The Black workers had to partake in a series of initiation events, which included the consumption of food that was supposedly urinated on (“Reitz Racist Video Bloemfontein”, 2010). There were a total of four White university students who instigated and filmed this initiation process. Soudien mentions that the purpose of the video was to argue against the integration of Black individuals into the university’s residences. At the end of the video, one of the students claims that “op die einde van die dag is dit wat ons regtig van integrasie dink”, translated as “at the end of the day, this is what we really think of integration” (“Reitz Racist Video Bloemfontein”, 2010). The rector of the University of the Free State mentioned that the video received an award at the residence for its content; this illustrates that those
that voted seemed to have condoned the events on the video (Soudien, 2010). If this is the manner in which students treat Black African hostel workers at the academic institution, then a question can be asked as to how White students treat and evaluate Black African lecturers? The events of the Reitz four potentially illustrate that students at HWTIs may appear to have accepted transformational changes, but that in reality students may merely co-exist.

The next section presents the challenges in attracting and retaining Black (in particular Black African) academic staff within HWTIs; two potential reasons for these challenges are listed below.

**Challenges in attracting and retaining Black academic staff**

Prior to 1994 it was nearly impossible for Black individuals to be appointed into well earning jobs that required technical skills (Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010). Currently, besides the challenge of finding skilled Black individuals, there is an even bigger challenge, that of retaining those currently employed (Tapia et al., 2004). In assessing the world of academia (especially HWTIs), the same challenge (if not a bigger challenge) presents itself (Soudien et al., 2008). Two potential reasons for these challenges are presented below.

Firstly, staff turnover among White academic staff (especially in senior positions) is relatively low (Soudien et al., 2008). For this reason, relatively few positions are becoming available that could be filled by Black candidates. This could suggest that White academics are comfortable in their positions. According to findings, students evaluate White academic staff more favourably than they do Black academic staff, with Black African staff being rated least favourably compared to the other racial groups (Reid, 2010; Soudien et al., 2008; Bavishi, Hebl & Madera, 2010).

Secondly, according to Soudien et al. (2008) there is a high staff turnover rate of Black academic staff (especially Black Africans), with possible reasons being: better financial prospects, especially within government and the private sector; limited growth opportunities; and an unpleasant work environment based on discrimination from co-workers and students. If students do discriminate against lecturers based on race, it would be valuable to determine the factors that affect their evaluation ratings, and in turn to address these factors appropriately to ensure transformation and a decrease in academic staff turnover.
Factors contributing to students’ evaluation of lecturers’

Research has identified a number of criteria that students use to evaluate lecturers. These include the lecturer’s teaching style, qualifications, reputation, communication, personality and attractiveness; exposure to the instructor; course difficulty; and lecturer demographics such as race, gender, age, nationality (Arbuckle & Williams, 2003; Basow, 2000; Bavishi et al., 2010; Reid, 2010; Soudien et al., 2008; Sprinkle, 2008). Literature related to some of these factors will be reviewed in this section.

Race

The demands faced by Black African professors are said to be greater than is recognised (Bavishi et al., 2010). Bavishi et al. conducted a study with a sample size of 375 high school students in Texas. Results showed that students rated professors based on gender and race. African-American professors were rated as less qualified and less competent than White and Asian professors. Results showed that, in comparison to other groups, female African Americans were rated least favourably on the competency, interpersonal and legitimacy scales.

When individuals from certain groups (race and/or gender) are in the minority then evaluations of individuals are often driven by stereotypes rather than by objective qualifications or information (Huffcutt & Roth, 1998). As Black Africans are under-represented in academia, there is a higher risk of these individuals being evaluated by their colleagues and by students based on stereotypes (Astin, Korn, & Dey, 1991, as cited in Bashivi et al., 2010; Blackwell, 1981; Sax, Astin, Arredondo, & Kom, 1996, as cited in Bavishi et al., 2010). According to Bavishi et al., a potential solution to the negative use of stereotypes would be to increase the number of individuals from Black racial groups, so as to ensure greater representation and more student exposure to various races. Research using high-school students found that students are influenced by the race of their teachers when making evaluations (Galguera, 1998, as cited in Bavishi et al., 2010).

Reid (2010) conducted a study by gathering the data of 3717 faculty members at institutions in the United States (n = 1493 females and n = 2224 male; of which n = 3079 were White, n = 142 Black, n = 238 Asian, n = 130 Latino and n = 128 ‘other’). Student evaluations of faculty members were gathered from a website named Rate My Professor (RMP). The data collected concerned professors from the top 25 liberal arts colleges, as listed according to the 2006 U.S. News and the 2005
World Report rankings. The ratings of the final sample of Reid’s study were based on four characteristics, namely: overall instructor quality, instructor’s easiness (the level of being accommodating and free-spirited), helpfulness, and clarity (this refers to how understandable the lecturer was). These were all based on student perceptions of the lecturer. The results revealed that White faculty members were rated significantly more favourably than Black faculty members on overall quality, helpfulness and clarity of the instructor. Black lecturers were in fact rated least favourably on these characteristics. Black faculty members were, however, rated as being easier than White faculty. Evidence therefore shows that lecturers are frequently evaluated based on their race. The paper will now consider whether or not student ratings of lecturers are affected by the lecturer’s gender.

Gender
The relevant literature on gender indicates that students often rate male lecturers as more effective than female lecturers (Arbuckle & Williams, 2003). Other findings indicate that gender identification often occurs, so that female students rate female lecturers higher than male lecturers, and male students rate male lecturers higher than female lecturers (Basow, 2000; Sprinkle, 2008). These findings can be explained by drawing on social identity theory, which states that individuals tend to evaluate members of their own group (in-group) more positively than members of another group (out-group) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, as cited in Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985).

Despite Reid’s (2010) previous findings, he also found that there were, however, no significant differences along racial lines in student evaluations of lecturers’ on overall quality, helpfulness and clarity of the lecturer. A difference was, however, found in that male lecturers were rated as easier than female faculty members. This could potentially explain findings by Sprinkle (2008) which indicate that older students prefer male lecturers. This is potentially accounted for by Reid’s findings, which suggest that male lecturers are more accommodating, which might be appreciated by older students who are balancing a family life with their studies. Younger students, on the other hand, seem to prefer female lecturers.

Upon assessing interactions between lecturers’ race and gender, it was found that, although Black faculty members were rated less favourably on overall quality and clarity, differences were even more distinct for Black male lecturers (Reid,
Black male faculty members were rated as easier than female faculty members of all races, and were also rated as easier than White male faculty. Black African females were rated as being more clear (having more clarity) than Black African male faculty members (Reid, 2010), but no significant gender differences were found between White, Asian and Latino faculty members. As indicated, there were observed gender differences for Black African faculty members.

Additional factors
Sprinkle (2008) conducted research at a university in the south-eastern region of the USA, which consisted of a sample of 202 undergraduate students \( (n = 177 \text{ females and } n = 25 \text{ males, of which } 85.1\% \text{ were White; } 8.9\% \text{ Black, } 3.5\% \text{ Asian, and } 2.5\% \text{ Hispanic/Latino} ) \). This study tested the effects of lecturer and student characteristics on student perceptions of lecturers. Students rated the lecturers’ personality traits and their type of instruction as most determinative of clarity. Older students believe that lecturers older than fifty-five were more effective than younger lecturers, whereas younger students indicated that lecturers under the age of fifty-five were more effective (Sprinkle, 2008). Sprinkle found that students evaluate lecturers with higher qualifications as being more effective, but that ratings based on qualifications varied if the lecturer’s age varied considerably.

Sprinkle (2008) also notes that it is not only lecturer characteristics that influence student evaluations of lecturers, but that student characteristics also influence their evaluations of lecturers. However, there were no findings in this regard, and for this reason, the hypothesis testing the effect of student characteristics (in particular gender) on ratings of lecturers is exploratory in nature.

Despite varying factors contributing to student evaluations, this study aims to assess whether student evaluations of lecturers differ based on lecturers’ and students’ race and gender. Findings suggest that students do in fact evaluate lecturers differently based on the lecturers’ demographics. It is important to know how soon students form impressions of lecturers and the effect of first impressions on student evaluations. This information could assist in determining how important lecturers’ first interactions with students really are.
First impressions and student evaluations of lecturers

In this thesis, ‘first impressions’ are defined as the thoughts and feelings regarding an individual when seen for the first time, either in person or in a picture or video. The negative perceptions that students have of Black African professors, before even meeting them, indicate that these professors experience even more pressure to prove themselves than White professors do (Bavishi et al., 2010). Given this, it seems plausible that Black African lecturers have to work hard to be seen to be as competent as their White colleagues. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Black professors indicate concern about their work being devalued, and feel they need to prove that they deserve their positions (Astin, Antonio, Cress, & Astin, 1997, as cited in Bashivi et al., 2010; Bourguignon et al., 1987; Reyes & Halcon, 1988; Menges & Exum (1983); Reyes & Halcon (1988), as cited in Bavishi et al., 2010).

Laws, Apperson, Buchert and Bregman (2010) conducted a study on 384 undergraduate psychology students from 14 different courses. All students completed student evaluations of instruction surveys during their first week of instruction. From this sample, 208 completed the survey after day 1, whereas 178 students completed it at the end of week 1. The same surveys were then administered to all students again during the last week of class. Results revealed that students form lasting impressions of lecturers as early as the first day of interaction. When these evaluations on the first day were compared to evaluations collected on the last day of lectures, there appeared to be minimal intra-student variation. Considering that perceptions of lecturers seem to be formed that early in student-lecturer interaction, reasons could be drawn regarding the factors that have been noted in the three subsections above (race, gender and additional factors).

In addition to the factors mentioned in the previous sections, it was also found that student evaluations of an instructor (SEIs) were affected by the instructor’s reputation (Kelly, 1950; Wheeler, Wright & Frost, 2005). Laws et al. (2010) defined instructor reputation as “the effect of information received before being exposed to the instructor on subsequent evaluations of the instructor”. Kelly conducted an experiment at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and utilised 55 psychology students, all of whom were male. Students were selected from three sections of a psychology course, with the majority of students being in their third year of study. A stimulus person (a male instructor), unknown to the students, was presented to each class and introduced by the experimenter. Before introducing the instructor, the
experimenter randomly distributed two notes (one note describing the instructor as “rather warm”, the other as “very cold”). The students were not made aware of the differing notes. When asked to rate the instructor after being in a twenty-minute discussion with him, those students who received the note describing the instructor as “very warm”, consistently rated the instructor more favourably than those who received the note describing the instructor as “rather cold”. The “very warm” instructor was rated as more considerate of others, more informal, and more sociable, to name a few descriptions. The “rather cold” instructor was rated as less considerate of others, more formal, and so forth.

In another study, students indicated that end of semester evaluations of their instructors were affected by information received about the instructor’s reputation, and not necessarily by their first-hand experience of the lecturer (Griffin, 2001, as cited in Laws et al., 2010). Kelly (1950) also found that first impressions of the instructor, based on the instructor’s reputation, affected students’ behaviour towards the instructor. Students were found to interact more with instructors of whom they had formed a positive impression (“very warm” instructor). A limitation to Kelly’s study is that the sample was small and only consisted of males. Nevertheless, it is interesting that students’ behaviour towards the instructor was affected by their first impressions.

The findings of Babad, Kaplowitz, and Darley (1999) somewhat contradicted those of Kelly (1950); they found that lecturers’ reputations affected evaluations early in student-instructor interactions, but that these early evaluations differed from the students’ ratings at the end of the semester. Buchert, Laws, Apperson, and Bregman (2008) conducted a study which included handing SEI surveys to 418 undergraduate psychology students (from 19 courses) during the second week of lectures. Similar evaluation surveys were handed to the same groups of students during the last week of lectures. The following year, 377 undergraduate psychology students from 19 courses completed student evaluation surveys on the first day of the semester, before ever seeing the lecturer. Once again, similar evaluations were handed to the same groups of students to complete during the last week of lectures. They had similar findings to that of Babad et al. (1999), in that initial evaluations differed from ratings later in the year.

Despite the similarity in findings there were also differences: Buchert et al. (2008) found that first impressions of the professor (impressions formed within the
first two weeks) affected end-of-the semester results more than the instructors’ reputations did. This is shown by the significant difference between student evaluations on the first day (before meeting the lecturer) and end of semester results, in comparison to minimal difference between evaluations during the second week and end-of-semester results. Buchert et al. therefore concluded that lasting first impressions are not formed on the first day of interaction, but only by the second week of interacting with the lecturer. In order to receive positive end-of-the semester results, lecturers should therefore make every effort to make a good lasting first impression (within the first two weeks) on students, as a negative start to the student-lecturer relationship could be irreparable.

Contrary to the above conclusions, Laws et al. (2010), who conducted a field-based study in which 384 undergraduate psychology students completed SEI surveys, found that students form an opinion of an instructor during the first class. It was found that students’ opinions of the lecturer had not changed significantly at the end of the semester. They mention that the importance of these evaluations needs to be noted, as results from student ratings have implications for the instructors’ academic careers. After all, these results are often used for promotion and monetary increase purposes. Further research therefore needs to be conducted to determine whether factors outside of the course content affect student evaluations of lecturers.

Although there are many lecturer demographics that could be considered, this study aims to investigate two specific variables, namely race and gender (of both the lecturer and the student). Student evaluations of lecturers could very likely be a contributing factor to Black African academic staff not moving into more senior positions. Moreover, lecturers that are perceived unfavourably by students may perceive their work environment as sub-optimal and be at greater risk of resigning. Based on the literature, the following three hypotheses were derived:

**Hypothesis One:** Students evaluate Black African lecturers less favourably than White lecturers.

**Hypothesis Two:** Students from different racial groups evaluate White and Black African lecturers differently.

**Hypothesis Three:** Students evaluate lecturers from their own gender group more favourably than they do lecturers from the opposite gender group.
METHOD

Pilot study
The pilot study was used to account for the possibility of students rating lecturers based on their physical attractiveness instead of the other variables being tested. It was thus important to choose eight faces (equally representative of gender and race) for the main study that were most equal in attractiveness. For this reason, the pilot study was the foundation for the main study. Convenience sampling was chosen as a sampling method for both the pilot and main studies. The reason for choosing convenience sampling was easy accessibility to this student base, as well as the potential that students would respond more willingly.

Participants
A total of 136 participants were surveyed, of which the sample consisted of Finance and Accounting students from the University of Cape Town (UCT), an HWTI. From the sample, 97.1% were in their third year of study and 2.9% were in different years of study. A total of 45 (33.1%) students completed questionnaire version 1, 46 (33.8%) completed version 2 and 45 (33.1%) completed version 3. Included in the sample were 59 males (43.4%) and 75 females (51.1%), with two participants opting not to specify their gender. The race of respondents included 56 White (41.2%), 31 Black African (22.8%), 26 Indian (19.1%), 13 Coloured (9.6%), eight other (5.9%), and two participants did not specify their race (1.5%). Sample nationality included 113 South African (83.1%) and 20 non-South African (14.7%) participants, with three participants opting not to specify their nationality. The sample age ranged from 19-27 years, with the majority of the sample, 126 students (92.6%) ($M = 20.83; SD = 1.03$), ranging between ages 20–22 years.

Measuring Instrument
The pilot study consisted of a 5-point Likert scale questionnaire, on which participants were required to rate 20 photographed faces (five White female faces, five Black African female faces, five White male faces and five Black African male faces) on attractiveness. These faces belong to individuals who agreed for their photographs to be used for experimental purposes, and the photographs were obtained from a UCT student in psychology, for the purposes of this study.
Three different versions of the questionnaire were created and distributed to participants in a hard-copy form. The difference between the three versions was the order in which the 20 faces appeared in the questionnaire. This was done to assess whether students rated faces that were lower down in the questionnaire differently from those in the beginning. The different versions would ensure that, if the positioning of the face affected ratings, all the faces would be equally represented and therefore the results could be utilised.

**Procedure**

Participation in the study was voluntary, with responses being anonymous and confidential. Students were informed by the instructor that the survey would take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete, and that should they at any stage wish to opt out of the survey, they could do so by simply refraining from submitting the questionnaire. Hard-copy questionnaires were utilised for the pilot study as there was easy access to students, and because of time constraints. Students who agreed to participate in the study received the questionnaire and the completed questionnaires were placed by them in a box. An incentive to participate in the survey was an entry into a lucky draw for a R150 gift voucher. Students who opted to enter the lucky draw were required to write their name on a separate page and submit it in a separate box. The lucky draw and prize-giving took place a week later at the same venue at which the questionnaires had been completed.

The pilot study questionnaire consisted of 20 photographed faces, which students were told were those of university lecturers. The items for both the main study and the pilot study were designed for the purposes of this research. All questionnaire items within the pilot study were identical and therefore only tested for attractiveness.

Students were required to rate each face on a 5-point Likert scale by circling the number representing how attractive they perceived the face to be (see an example of the 5-point Likert scale in the appendix; for the full questionnaire, see the appendix). The 5-point scale represented the following: 1 = highly attractive, 2 = attractive, 3 = average, 4 = unattractive, 5 = highly unattractive.

The purpose of the study was made out to be how people rate faces on attractiveness based on certain facial features. The pilot study actually served to determine the eight faces (equally representative of gender and race) rated as being
most equal in attractiveness, in order to include them in the main study. It was
essential to select eight faces most equal in attractiveness to ensure that the
variables under research could be tested without the possibility of the faces’
attractiveness contributing to differences in participants’ ratings.

At the end of the questionnaire, students were requested to provide their
demographic information: race, gender, age, nationality and year of study. The
reason for students providing demographic information was that, in addition to the
core purpose of the pilot study, the pilot study results would also be used to
determine whether the race and gender of participants affected attractiveness
ratings.

From the pilot study findings, the eight faces (equally representative of gender
and race) that were rated most equal in attractiveness were selected for the main
study (two White female faces, two Black African female faces, two White male
faces and two Black African male faces). The results obtained in the pilot study were
re-coded to ensure statistical comparison between the pilot study and main study.
Re-coding of the pilot study results ensured, for example, that a rating of 1 in both
studies would be considered as being on the negative end of the scale. For this
reason, participant results in the pilot study were re-coded so that 1 became 5, 2
became 4, 4 became 2 and 5 became 1. Lastly, in order to compare the average
attractiveness ratings between the pilot and main study, the pilot study scale was
converted from a 5-point Likert scale to a 4-point Likert scale, as the main study
used a 4-point Likert scale. This was done by dividing the mean score in the pilot
study by five and then multiplying that answer by four. For this reason, the original
mean score on the 5-point Likert scale in the pilot study corresponds to the new
mean on a 4-point Likert scale.
Main Study
The main study was conducted to investigate whether students rate lecturers differently on first impressions (by seeing a photograph of their faces), based on the lecturers' and students' race and gender. Eight faces most equal in attractiveness and equally representative according to race and gender were selected from the pilot study and utilised in the main study.

Participants
Undergraduate and postgraduate UCT psychology students were invited via email to participate in the survey. The link to the survey was included in the email that was sent. An incentive was that they would receive a course credit for their participation. A total of 1461 students were invited to participate in the study. Of these, 193 completed the online questionnaire, corresponding to a response rate of 13%. Included in the sample were 42 males (21.8%) and 151 females (78.2%). Of the respondents, 94 classified themselves as White (48.7%), 37 as Black African (19.2%), 20 as Indian (10.4%), 22 as Coloured (11.4%), five as 'other' (2.6%), and 15 preferred not to indicate their race (7.8%). The sample included 164 South Africans (85%) and 29 non-South Africans (15%). There were 73 first-year students (37.8%), 56 second-year (29%), 56 third-year (29%), 6 fourth-year (3.1%), 1 Honours (0.5%) and 1 other (0.5%) student in the sample. Participants’ ages ranged from 18–51 years, but the sample majority of 178 (92.2%) had an age range of 18–22 years, with the average age being $M = 20.71$ ($SD = 3.3$). Due to students’ age not being a variable under study, data was used from students across all age groups (18-51 years), thus retaining a sample size of 193.

Measuring Instrument / Design
The study utilised a quasi-experimental design in that it had predetermined groups as independent variables, namely groups of lecturers categorised according to race and gender, with the dependant variable being student evaluations of lecturers. The study made use of a cross-sectional, self-completed questionnaire. A 4-point Likert scale questionnaire was used. The questionnaire required participants to rate eight photographed faces on six variables: friendliness, strictness, attractiveness, teaching ability, desire to be taught by the lecturer, and competence (see the appendix for the questionnaire). These six variables can be classified under two broad dimensions:
likeability and ability. The likeability dimension included: friendliness, strictness and attractiveness of the lecturer. The ability dimension included: teaching ability, desire to be taught by the lecturer, and competence. It should be noted that no mention was made of these two broad dimensions in the questionnaire. Rather, these two dimensions were important for result reporting purposes.

Students were required to rate each face on a scale from 1–4, by clicking on the number they felt best described the face presented. The 4-point scale represented the following: 1 = not at all and 4 = extremely. A lower rating on the scale (e.g. 1) was interpreted as being less favourable than a rating of 4. This was the case for five of the six variables (friendliness, attractiveness, teaching ability, desire to be taught by the lecturer, and competence), with the exception being strictness. It is less favourable to be viewed as strict than it is to be viewed as friendly; therefore, a higher rating (e.g. 4, which would indicate that the lecturer is very strict) is interpreted as being less favourable than a rating of 1 (less strict). For the purposes of this study, friendliness and strictness are seen as opposites and therefore should be negatively correlated (a high rating on the one variable should result in a lower rating for the other variable).

In addition to the Likert scale questions, there was also an open-ended question (the first question), which participants could answer freely. This question was used purely to assist in disguising the true purpose of the study. There was also a section that required a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ response, which was used to determine whether or not participants knew the person represented by the face. Lastly, there was a section used to collect demographic information from participants, which included race, gender, nationality, year of study and age.

Participants were able to complete the questionnaire simply by scrolling down to the next question, but once participants clicked submit, they were not able to go back and make changes. Only one submission of the questionnaire was allowed, which was monitored via the student identification numbers that were used to log into Vula – the universities’ internal content management and communication platform, to which all university staff and students have access. All questionnaires were completed and submitted electronically, and all student numbers were stripped from the responses.
Procedure

The faces (as labelled in the pilot study) did not retain the same variable name when used in the main study; rather, the face names were re-coded for ease of reference. For this reason the following face names in the pilot study – White male 1 (WM1), White male 3 (WM3), White female 2 (WF2), White female 3 (WF3), Black African male 2 (BM2), Black African male 4 (BM4), Black African female 1 (BF1), and Black African female 3 (BF3) – were re-coded for the main study, and became White male 2 (WM2), White male 1 (WM1), White female 2 (WF2), White female 1 (WF1), Black African male 2 (BM2), Black African male 1 (BM1), Black African female 1 (BF1), and Black African female 2 (BF2) respectively.

All psychology students were notified of the study via an email which redirected them to an online announcement on Vula. Although the questionnaire link was sent to all UCT psychology students, it was specified that participation was voluntary. The questionnaire specified that their student numbers served no purpose for the research and the reason for logging into the site with their student number was purely for course credit purposes, and for this reason their responses were confidential.

Once students followed the link to participate in the study, they were presented with information about the study, as well as instructions for each section. At the beginning of the questionnaire, participants were informed that if at any stage they wished to opt out of the study they were free to do so. Participants were informed that the faces in the study were to be viewed as lecturers. Students were not informed that the true purpose of the study was to investigate whether students rate lecturers differently on first impressions, based on the lecturers’ and students’ race and gender. In order to avoid students guessing the purpose of the study, two distracter questions were included in the questionnaire. The first distracter question asked students to list the two facial features that they find most appealing in people, and they were given the opportunity to provide open-ended answers to the question. Results for this question are therefore not recorded in this thesis.

The second distracter question required participants to indicate if they knew any of the people represented by the faces. Aside from this question functioning as a distracter question, the information provided by students in this section was vital for controlling other variables that could affect student ratings. As the study served to establish how students rate lecturers based on first impression, any prior knowledge
of the individual presented by the face was a confounding variable. For this reason, if a student recognised a particular face, the data provided by that student for that face was omitted from the analysis.

Due to the deceptive nature of the study, students were debriefed after the study as to the true purpose of the study, and the reasons for the deception were provided. This was done via an online announcement on Vula. Students were also afforded the opportunity to contact the researcher if they had any questions or concerns regarding the study.

Data Analysis
Data was analysed separately for the pilot and main studies. Descriptive statistics were used for both studies to analyse student ratings of lecturers. This was done by using the following descriptive statistics: mean ($M$), median, standard deviation ($SD$), minimum ($min$), maximum ($max$), kurtosis and skewness. All statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Pilot study
A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used to investigate whether significant differences were found in ratings between the gender groups and the race groups. Thereafter, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run to assess where these significant differences were found. If there were significant results found through ANOVA, then post hoc tests were run for the significant results to determine how these ratings differed in relation to the students’ demographics.

Main study
Data for the main study was analysed in relation to the three hypotheses being tested. For hypotheses one and three, six paired sample t-tests were run to investigate differences between the demographic groups under investigation. For hypothesis two, the same procedure was used as specified in the pilot study. Upon assessing effects of student race on ratings, results were only analysed and reported for participants who specified their race as White, Black African, Coloured and Indian (other and non-specified races were not included). All statistical results are provided in the section below.
RESULTS

Pilot Study

Survey results

All results presented in the pilot study are based on 136 participant ratings of 20 faces’ attractiveness. Descriptive statistics were used to determine the minimum (min), maximum (max), mean (M), standard deviation (SD), skewness and kurtosis of the ratings for each face (Table 1). The eight faces (as specified in the methods section) were selected for the main study based on being rated most similar in relation to their mean scores, and due to their ratings being normally distributed based on skewness.

On the 5-point Likert scale, the mean score of the 20 faces was $M = 2.55$ ($SD = .56$) which indicates that, on average, faces were rated more towards the unattractive side of the scale. When further analysing the descriptive statistics it can be seen that only four (WF1 $M = 3.23$, WF4 $M = 3.49$, WM4 $M = 3.06$, BF2 $M = 3.23$) of the 20 faces were considered attractive as their mean scores were above $M = 3$.

Despite BF2 being rated favourably, ratings between participants varied more ($SD = 1$), of which this $SD$ score was the second largest when compared to the other 19 faces (Table 1). This indicates that some participants rated the face as attractive and others rated the face as unattractive, whereas other faces were rated more consistently between the participants. White females had the lowest $SD$ (WF1 $SD = .83$, WF4 $SD = .77$, WF2 $SD = .80$), of which WF1 and WF4 were also rated as being attractive. This suggests that participants were in agreement with the ratings of these faces. The face rated as being most unattractive, and the only face rated lower than 2 ($M = 1.99$; $SD = .84$), was BF4 (Table 1).

In relation to skewness, all faces were approximately symmetrical except for WM4 (-.51), which was moderately skewed. Seven of the faces that were negatively skewed were White faces; only three Black African faces were negatively skewed. All faces normally distributed as kurtosis values are smaller than two times the standard error value.
Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of the 20 Faces Presented in the Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faces</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Min.</th>
<th>Max.</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
<th>Standard error</th>
<th>Standard error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WM1</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.54</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.41</td>
<td>.41</td>
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<td>2.10</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.48</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
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<td>WM3</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>.88</td>
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<td>.21</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
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<td>5</td>
<td>3.06</td>
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<td>.21</td>
<td>.41</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>2.12</td>
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<td>.28</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.65</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>.83</td>
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<td>.21</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.41</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>.21</td>
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<td>.41</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>.21</td>
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<td>.41</td>
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<td>.21</td>
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<td>.21</td>
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<td>.41</td>
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<td>.44</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.52</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM2</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.52</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM3</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.69</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM4</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.69</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM5</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.67</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF1</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>-.27</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.21</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF2</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-.47</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF3</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.52</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF4</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.99</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.44</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF5</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.45</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abbreviations in the table represent the following:
WM1 = Face of White male 1; WM2 = Face of White male 2; WM3 = Face of White male 3;
WM4 = Face of White male 4; WM5 = Face of White male 5; WF1 = Face of White female 1;
WF2 = Face of White female 2; WF3 = Face of White female 3; WF4 = Face of White female 4; WF5 = Face of White female 5;
BM1 = Face of Black African male 1; BM2 = Face of Black African male 2;
BM3 = Face of Black African male 3; BM4 = Face of Black African male 4;
BM5 = Face of Black African male 5; BF1 = Black African female 1;
BF2 = Face of Black African female 2; BF3 = Face of Black African female 3;

It was tested whether the ratings of faces’ attractiveness (Dependant Variable [DV]) differed based on the participants’ gender and race and on the questionnaire version completed (Independent Variables [IVs]). In order to do this, mean student ratings and standard deviations were first computed for the four categories of faces (female, male, Black African and White). For the statistical tests that follow, significance levels were accepted at \( p < .05 \).
Impact of students’ gender on ratings of male and female lecturers’ faces

The mean student ratings as per the lecturers’ gender reveals that female lecturers ($M = 2.72; SD = .55$) were rated as more attractive than male lecturers ($M = 2.4; SD = .64$). A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference in the way male and female faces were rated. Pillai’s trace shows that ratings of male and female faces differ in a significant manner ($F[2, 131] = 7.013, p < .01, \eta^2 = .097$).

Two analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted to determine whether significant differences would be obtained for each of the dependent variables. The gender of the students served as the IV and the two DVs were (1) the average rating of male lecturers’ faces and (2) the average rating of female lecturers’ faces. The ANOVAs revealed that female faces were rated significantly different by men ($M = 2.55, SD = .64, n = 59$) and women ($M = 2.85, SD = .43, n = 75$) ($F[1, 132] = 11.016, p < .01, \eta^2 = .077$), whereas ratings for male faces showed no significant difference ($F[1, 132] = 1.986, p = .161, \eta^2 = .015$) based on the gender of the participant (female participants: $M = 2.47, SD = .53, n = 75$; male participants: $M = 2.31, SD = .76, n = 59$).

Impact of students’ race on ratings of White and Black African lecturers’ faces

Upon assessing the average student ratings of White and Black African lecturers, it was found that students rate White lecturers ($M = 2.71, SD = .5$) as more attractive than Black African lecturers ($M = 2.43, SD = .67$). A MANOVA was conducted to determine if there was a significant difference in White ($n = 56$), Black African ($n = 31$), Indian ($n = 26$) and Coloured ($n = 13$) participants’ ratings of White and Black African faces. The race of the students served as the IV and the two DVs were (1) the average rating of Black African lecturers’ faces and (2) the average rating of White lecturers’ faces. According to Pillai’s trace, student ratings of White and Black African faces differ in a statistically significant manner ($F[6, 244] = 4.130, p < .01, \eta^2 = .092$).

An ANOVA was utilised to determine whether significant differences would be attained for each of the dependent variables. Results showed that participants from different racial groups rated both White faces ($F[3, 122] = 3.363, p < .05, \eta^2 = .076$) (White participants: $M = 2.69, SD = .48, n = 56$; Black African participants: $M = 2.78, SD = .45, n = 31$; Coloured participants: $M = 3.03, SD = .53, n = 13$; Indian
participants: $M = 2.52, SD = .55, n = 26$) and Black African faces ($F[3, 122] = 4.234, p < .01, \eta^2 = .094$) (White participants: $M = 2.38, SD = .65, n = 56$; Black African participants: $M = 2.73, SD = .49, n = 31$; Coloured participants: $M = 2.52, SD = .67, n = 13$; Indian participants: $M = 2.13, SD = .78; n = 26$) significantly differently.

A post hoc test using Scheffe’s procedure was conducted to detect whether further significant differences were to be found between ratings of students from different racial groups. Two significant differences were found. Firstly, Coloured participants ($M = 3.03, SD = .53, n = 13$) rated White faces as significantly more attractive than Indian participants did ($M = 2.52, SD = .55, n = 26$) ($p < .05$). Black African participants ($M = 2.73, SD = .49, n = 31$) rated Black African faces as more attractive than Indian participants did ($M = 2.13, SD = .78, n = 26$) ($p < .01$), at a significance level of $p < .01$.

Survey version differences and the rating of faces

The questionnaire versions differed based on the order in which the faces were presented in the questionnaire. In order to test whether there was a significant difference in the way students rated lecturers in the different questionnaire versions, a MANOVA was conducted. The questionnaire version served as the independent variable (IV) and the four dependant variables (DVs) were (1) average rating of Black African lecturers’ faces, (2) average rating of White lecturers’ faces, (3) average rating of female lecturers’ faces, and (4) average rating of male lecturers’ faces. The dependant variables were determined using the attractiveness ratings for the 20 faces presented in the questionnaire. These 20 faces comprised 10 Black African faces (five male and five female), 10 White faces (five male and five female), 10 female faces (five White and five Black) and 10 male faces (five White and five Black). Average ratings were calculated for the 10 Black African lecturers’ faces, for the 10 White lecturers’ faces, for the 10 female lecturers’ faces and for the 10 male lecturers’ faces. A total number of four new variables were thus calculated. Table 2 presents the means, standard deviations and number of student ratings for the four variables in the three different questionnaire versions.

The MANOVA results revealed no significant differences in ratings of male, female, Black African and White faces across questionnaire versions (Pillai’s trace test: $F[6, 264] = .689, p = .658, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .015$). From this it can be inferred that students rated faces equally across all three versions of the questionnaire. It can
thus be concluded that the differences in the perceived attractiveness of the faces were not caused by the order in which the faces were presented.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations (in brackets) and Number of Student Ratings (n) Based on Black African and White Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations, and Female and Male Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations on the Three Questionnaire Versions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire Version (number of student ratings) (n)</th>
<th>Black African Lecturers (averaged ratings) M (SD)</th>
<th>White Lecturers (averaged ratings) M (SD)</th>
<th>Male Lecturers (averaged ratings) M (SD)</th>
<th>Female Lecturers (averaged ratings) M (SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 (n = 45)</td>
<td>2.28 (.73)</td>
<td>2.63 (.59)</td>
<td>2.30 (.72)</td>
<td>2.62 (.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (n = 46)</td>
<td>2.52 (.68)</td>
<td>2.81 (.48)</td>
<td>2.51 (.61)</td>
<td>2.82 (.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (n = 45)</td>
<td>2.40 (.61)</td>
<td>2.67 (.46)</td>
<td>2.36 (.58)</td>
<td>2.72 (.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (n = 136)</td>
<td>2.40 (.68)</td>
<td>2.70 (.51)</td>
<td>2.39 (.64)</td>
<td>2.72 (.55)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Main Study

Participants were asked whether they knew the person presented by each face. This had to be determined as the study served to establish how students rate lecturers based on their first impressions of them; therefore, any prior knowledge of the individual was a confounding variable. Knowing the person presented by a particular face meant that the participant’s rating was not based on their first impression of that person.

For each face there were some participants who indicated that they knew the person represented by the face. If a student was familiar with a face, that particular student’s ratings for that face were discarded from the analyses. Table 3 shows the number and percentage of participants who knew a face.

Table 3
Number of Participants Who Indicated Knowledge of the Presented Faces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Face</th>
<th>Know (Yes)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WM1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WM2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BF2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The abbreviations in the table represent the following:
WM1 = Face of White male 1; WM2 = Face of White male 2; WF1 = Face of White female 1; WF2 = Face of White female 2; BM1 = Face of Black African male 1; BM2 = Face of Black African male 2; BF1 = Black African female 1; BF2 = Face of Black African female 2.

Survey results

Results presented in the main study were based on 193 participant ratings of eight faces across six variables (friendliness, strictness, attractiveness, teaching ability, desire to be taught by the lecturer, and competence). Mean scores for the variable attractiveness were generated for the main study results. This was done in order to compare attractiveness results in the pilot and the main studies. The pilot study mean attractiveness of $M = 2.55$ ($SD = .56$) on a 5-point Likert scale, when converted to a score on a 4-point Likert scale (for the purposes of comparing the results with that of the main study), corresponded to $M = 2.03$ ($SD = .56$) (see the methods section for a brief explanation). When assessing the mean on a 4-point
Likert scale, the mean attractiveness in the main study \((M = 2.08, SD = .55)\) was equivalent to mean attractiveness in the pilot study \((M = 2.03, SD = .56)\).

Descriptive statistics revealed that when student ratings were averaged across all six variables, female faces \((M = 2.65, SD = .39)\) were rated more favourably than male faces \((M = 2.45, SD = .39)\), and White faces \((M = 2.61, SD = .37)\) were rated more favourably than Black African faces \((M = 2.49, SD = .40)\). These results were tested further to determine if any of these noted differences were proved to be significantly different. The results of each hypothesis tested are reported below.

**Hypothesis One:** Students evaluate Black African lecturers less favourably than they do White lecturers.

In order to test the first hypothesis, six paired sample t-tests were run. In order to counter alpha inflations, Bonferroni correction was used to adjust the significance level of \(p < .05\) to account for the risk of finding significant results when there are none. As six paired-sample t-tests were conducted, the significance level was adjusted to \(p < .008\). White and Black African faces were paired against one another in relation to each of the six variables (friendliness, strictness, attractiveness, teaching ability, desire to be taught by the lecturer, and competence). Means and standard deviations based on White and Black African lecturers’ averaged evaluations on the six variables are presented in Table 4. Paired sample differences t-tests were also conducted to determine significant differences between student ratings of lecturers where student race was not specified. Upon assessing how student ratings across the six variables differed statistically for Black African and White lecturers, significant differences were found for five of the six variables, with the exception being students’ ‘desire to want to be taught by the lecturer’, which was not significant \((t[192] = -2.63, p = 0.009)\).
Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) Based on White and Black African Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations on the Six Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average rating per variable</th>
<th>Black African Lecturers (averaged ratings)</th>
<th>White Lecturers (averaged ratings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
<td>M (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td>2.92 (.41)</td>
<td>2.69 (.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness</td>
<td>2.26 (.45)</td>
<td>2.69 (.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness</td>
<td>2.16 (.62)</td>
<td>2.01 (.57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching ability</td>
<td>2.62 (.55)</td>
<td>2.94 (.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
<td>2.37 (.56)</td>
<td>2.46 (.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>2.65 (.57)</td>
<td>2.87 (.57)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thereafter, ratings of White and Black African faces on the six variables were tested separately for the four subgroups of participants (White, Black African, Coloured, and Indian). The White and Black African lecturers’ statistical results (mean, standard deviation, and paired samples differences t-tests) are presented below in Table 5. The paired samples differences t-tests were conducted to determine if any of the results were significant (significant results in Table 5 are identified with an asterisk).

According to the results presented in Table 5, hypothesis one is partially supported in that White lecturers are rated more favourably in relation to ability (teaching ability, competence, and desire to be taught by the lecturer), although Black African lecturers are rated more favourably on likability (friendliness, strictness, and attractiveness).

Merely by looking at the means and t-tests results, one can see that there are differences in the way students from different racial groups evaluate lecturers. This will be tested further under the second hypothesis.
Figure 1. Mean Student Ratings of Black African and White Lecturers

Student Ratings

- Friendliness
- Strictness
- Attractiveness
- Teaching ability
- Desire to be taught by the lecturer
- Competence

Dimensions: Variables

- Likeability
- Ability

- Black African Lecturers
- White Lecturers
Table 5
Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) for Evaluations of White and Black African Lecturers by Students of Different Races, as well as Paired Samples T-Statistics for Differences in Evaluations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating dimension:</th>
<th>Friendliness</th>
<th>Strictness</th>
<th>Attractiveness</th>
<th>Teaching ability</th>
<th>Competence</th>
<th>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.65 (.4)</td>
<td>2.92 (.42)</td>
<td>(t (93) = 7.2, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.68 (.42)</td>
<td>3 (.42)</td>
<td>(t (36) = 3.97, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.81 (.34)</td>
<td>2.75 (.32)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -.8, p = .5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.74 (.31)</td>
<td>3.1 (.34)</td>
<td>(t (21) = 4.13, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.65 (.45)</td>
<td>2.22 (.45)</td>
<td>(t (93) = -9, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.85 (.57)</td>
<td>2.45 (.53)</td>
<td>(t (36) = -3.76, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.46 (.46)</td>
<td>2.09 (.39)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -3.873, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.77 (.44)</td>
<td>2.23 (.35)</td>
<td>(t (21) = -4.66, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.93 (.48)</td>
<td>2.08 (.58)</td>
<td>(t (93) = 3.3, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.2 (.64)</td>
<td>2.53 (.58)</td>
<td>(t (36) = 4.21, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.06 (.59)</td>
<td>2 (.61)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -6, p = .5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.99 (.55)</td>
<td>2.15 (.66)</td>
<td>(t (21) = 1.5, p = .1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9 (.57)</td>
<td>2.56 (.56)</td>
<td>(t (93) = -7.5, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.17 (.42)</td>
<td>2.97 (.45)</td>
<td>(t (36) = -3.16, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.91 (.64)</td>
<td>2.58 (.49)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -4.034, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.14 (.33)</td>
<td>2.65 (.41)</td>
<td>(t (21) = -5.06, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.45 (.47)</td>
<td>2.29 (.49)</td>
<td>(t (93) = -3.2, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.61 (.56)</td>
<td>2.78 (.54)</td>
<td>(t (36) = 2.2, p = .04)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.61 (.33)</td>
<td>2.29 (.41)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -3.577, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.42 (.45)</td>
<td>2.39 (.57)</td>
<td>(t (21) = -0.2, p = .9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>White (n = 94)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.85 (.54)</td>
<td>2.57 (.53)</td>
<td>(t (93) = -6.4, p &lt; .008)*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black African (n = 37)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.06 (.48)</td>
<td>3.03 (.45)</td>
<td>(t (36) = -0.4, p = .7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian (n = 20)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.81 (.61)</td>
<td>2.53 (.51)</td>
<td>(t (19) = -3, p = .01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloured (n = 22)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (.43)</td>
<td>2.74 (.42)</td>
<td>(t (21) = -2.7, p = .01)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance levels were accepted at p < .008.
Significant paired sample t-statistics results are marked with an asterisk.
For a visual representation of the figures presented in Table 5, see Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Student Ratings of Black African and White Lecturers According to Student Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecturers and Variables</th>
<th>Student Ratings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code Index
- F = Friendliness
- S = Strictness
- A = Attractiveness
- TA = Teaching ability
- D = Desire to be taught by the lecturer
- C = Competence
- Black = Black African

Legend:
- White Students
- Black African Students
- Indian Students
- Coloured Students
Hypothesis Two: Students from different racial groups evaluate White and Black African lecturers differently.

It can be seen from the results presented in Table 5 that there are differences in ratings between students from different racial groups. In order to test hypothesis two further, six multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were conducted. Significance levels were accepted at $p < .05$. In order to test for differences, the ratings for White faces were aggregated into one overall rating, and the ratings for Black African faces were aggregated into one overall rating. Thus two new variables were created (average rating of White faces and average rating of Black African faces). Race of students’ served as the IV and the two DVs were (1) the average rating of White lecturers’ faces and (2) the average rating of Black African lecturers’ faces. Each MANOVA included one of the six rating dimensions, of which the average ratings of the White and Black African faces were used to run the MANOVAs.

The six MANOVA results are presented by the six Pillai’s trace tests as seen in Table 6 below. As per the MANOVA results shown in Table 6, results across all six variables showed significant differences between student ratings of both groups of lecturers.

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Pillai’s trace</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=2.94, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.05$)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=2.48, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.04$)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=3.43, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.06$)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching ability</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=3.44, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.06$)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=4.91, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.08$)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>(F(6,338)=4.23, $P&lt;.05$, $\eta^2=.07$)*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance levels were accepted at $p < .05$.

Significant results are marked with an asterisk.
As the MANOVA results were found to be significant, 12 ANOVAs were conducted to determine where these significant differences were to be found. As seen in Table 7, students from different races evaluate Black African lecturers significantly differently across all six dimensions. Ratings for White lecturers were, however, only significantly different for strictness and teaching ability (see Table 7).

**Table 7**

**ANOVA Results of Black African and White Lecturer Ratings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Test of Between subject effects</th>
<th>Test of Between subject effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black African lecturers</td>
<td>White lecturers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=2.74, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.05)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=1.14, p=.34, $\eta^2$=.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=3.50, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.06)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=3.17, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.05)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=5.84, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.09)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=2.28, p=.08, $\eta^2$=.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching ability</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=5.68, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.09)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=3.06, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.05)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=8.52, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.13)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=1.53, p=.21, $\eta^2$=.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taught by the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lecturer</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=8.26, p&lt;.05, $\eta^2$=.13)*</td>
<td>(F[3,169]=1.84, p=.14, $\eta^2$=.03)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance levels were accepted at $p < .05$.

Significant results are marked with an asterisk.

A Scheffe post hoc test was used to report significant differences in lecturers’ ratings by students of different races. Results are reported in relation to the six variables being tested. Below is a summary of the significant results that were found concerning student ratings of lecturers based on the lecturers’ and students’ race. For all additional information regarding lecturer mean scores in relation to student race, see Table 5 above (see Figure 2 for a diagrammatical representation of figures presented in the table).

**Friendliness**

Results revealed that Black African lecturers were rated significantly friendlier by Coloured students ($M = 3.1$, $SD = .34$, $n = 22$) than by Indian students ($M = 2.75$, $SD = .32$, $n = 20$) ($p < .05$).
Strictness
Black African students ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .53$, $n = 37$) rated Black African lecturers significantly higher on strictness than White ($M = 2.22$, $SD = .45$, $n = 94$) and Indian students ($M = 2.09$, $SD = .39$, $n = 20$) rated these lecturers ($p < .05$). Black African students ($M = 2.85$, $SD = .57$, $n = 37$) were also found to rate White lecturers higher on this dimension, than White ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .45$, $n = 94$) and Indian students ($M = 2.46$, $SD = .46$, $n = 20$) did ($p < .05$). Another significant difference in ratings was that Coloured students ($M = 2.77$, $SD = .44$, $n = 22$) rated White lecturers as stricter than Indian students did ($p < .05$).

Attractiveness
Black African lecturers were rated most favourably (as attractive) by Black African students ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .58$, $n = 37$), in comparison with White ($M = 2.08$, $SD = .58$, $n = 94$), Indian ($M = 2$, $SD = .61$, $n = 20$) and coloured students’ ratings of this group ($M = 2.15$, $SD = .66$, $n = 22$) ($p < .05$).

Teaching ability
Further results revealed that Black African students ($M = 2.97$, $SD = .45$, $n = 37$) rated Black African lecturers higher on teaching ability than White ($M = 2.56$, $SD = .56$, $n = 94$), Indian ($M = 2.58$, $SD = .49$, $n = 20$) and Coloured ($M = 2.65$, $SD = .41$, $n = 22$) students did. Black African students were consistent with their higher ratings ($M = 3.17$, $SD = .42$, $n = 37$) in that they also rated White lecturers significantly higher than White students ($M = 2.9$, $SD = .57$, $n = 94$) did ($p < .05$).

Desire to be taught by the lecturer
The greatest desire to be taught by Black African lecturers was expressed by Black African students ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .54$, $n = 37$), with these ratings once again exceeding the ratings of the other racial groups, White ($M = 2.29$, $SD = .49$, $n = 94$), Indian ($M = 2.29$, $SD = .41$, $n = 20$) and Coloured ($M = 2.39$, $SD = .57$, $n = 22$) ($p < .05$).
Lastly, Black African lecturers were once again rated highest by Black African students ($M = 3.03$, $SD = .45$, $n = 37$) when compared to ratings of other students, that is, Indian ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .51$, $n = 20$), Coloured ($M = 2.74$, $SD = .42$, $n = 22$) and White students ($M = 2.57$, $SD = .53$, $n = 94$) ($p < .05$).

From the results presented above it can be seen that the majority of significant differences between lecturer ratings by the different student racial groups were found between Black African students and those from the other racial groups. It should be noted that from the 19 significant differences that were found to exist between student races, 17 (90%) of these differences were between Black African students and other groups. From the 19 significant differences, 14 (74%) of these differences were found between ratings of Black African students and other groups in relation to ratings of Black African lecturers, and only four (21%) of the 19 significant differences in total were found between student ratings of White lecturers.

Hypothesis two was supported and results revealed that Black African students evaluated Black African lecturers more favourably than students from other racial groups did, and that Indian students consistently rated Black African lecturers lower than other students. The last hypothesis being tested deals with student ratings of lecturers in relation to gender.

**Hypothesis Three:** Students evaluate lecturers from their own gender group more favourably than lecturers from the opposite gender group.

Descriptive statistics were firstly run to determine the mean ratings of female and male lecturers (see Table 8 for results and Figure 3 for a visual representation). The statistical tools used to test this hypothesis follow after Figure 3.
Table 8

*Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) Based on Female and Male Lecturers’ Averaged Evaluations on the Six Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average rating per variable</th>
<th>Female lecturers (averaged ratings)</th>
<th>Male lecturers (averaged ratings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$M$ ($SD$)</td>
<td>$M$ ($SD$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendliness</td>
<td>3.13 (.51)</td>
<td>2.48 (.43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness</td>
<td>2.25 (.48)</td>
<td>2.66 (.56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractiveness</td>
<td>2.13 (.62)</td>
<td>1.89 (.66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching ability</td>
<td>2.77 (.55)</td>
<td>2.68 (.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
<td>2.49 (.55)</td>
<td>2.38 (.52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>2.76 (.63)</td>
<td>2.62 (.54)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3. Mean Student Ratings of Male and Female Lecturers**

- **Code Index**
  - F = Friendliness
  - S = Strictness
  - A = Attractiveness
  - TA = Teaching ability
  - D = Desire to be taught by the lecturer
  - C = Competence

2 Dimensions: 6 Variables
Paired samples t-tests were used in order to test the third hypothesis, in which the gender of students served as the IV and the two DVs were (1) the average rating of male lecturers’ faces and (2) the average rating of female lecturers’ faces. The Bonferroni correction was used in order to counter alpha inflations. A significance level of $p < .05$ was thus adjusted to $p < .008$.

Results revealed that significant differences were evident in the way male students evaluated lecturers on friendliness ($t_{[41]} = 8.36, p < .008$) and strictness ($t_{[41]} = -4.44, p < .008$). Female students, on the other hand, rated male and female lecturers significantly differently across all six variables (see Table 9 below). Female students were found to rate male and female lecturers significantly different across all six variables (see results in Table 9). Upon closer inspection it was found that female students do in fact rate female lecturers significantly more favourably than male lecturers across all variables (also see Table 9). Male students were also found to rate female lecturers more favourably than male lecturers across all six variables. As mentioned above, significant differences in male ratings of females in comparison to males were only noted for friendliness and strictness. These results suggest that both male and female students have a preference to be taught by female lecturers, as they are rated most favourably on all variables, with male lecturers being rated as being most strict (also see Figure 4, which provides a graph illustrating the reported results).

Hypothesis three is therefore supported for female students who rated female lecturers more favourably than male lecturers, but it was not supported for male students, as they rated female lecturers more favourably than they did male lecturers. The succeeding section provides a critical discussion of the presented results in relation to the reviewed literature.
Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations (in brackets) for Evaluations of Male and Female Lecturers by Male and Female students, as well as Paired Sample T-Statistics for Differences in Evaluations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rating dimension:</th>
<th>Friendliness</th>
<th>Strictness</th>
<th>Attractiveness</th>
<th>Teaching ability</th>
<th>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</th>
<th>Competence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender of students</strong></td>
<td><strong>Female lecturers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male lecturers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Paired sample t-statistic</strong></td>
<td><strong>Female lecturers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Male lecturers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Paired sample t-statistic</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Friendliness</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Strictness</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Attractiveness</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Teaching ability</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Desire to be taught by the lecturer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Competence</strong></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significance levels were accepted at $p < .008$. Significant results are marked with an asterisk.
Figure 4. Mean Ratings from Male and Female Students of Female and Male Lecturers

Student Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecturers and Variables</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>S</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code Index
F = Friendliness
S = Strictness
A = Attractiveness
TA = Teaching Ability
D = Desire to be taught by the lecturer
C = Competence
The following section provides a summary and interpretation of the main results; information on limitations and recommendations for future research; and concluding comments.

**Summary and interpretation of results**

The present study set out to investigate whether students rate lecturers differently on first impressions, based on the lecturers’ and students’ race and gender. Upon reviewing the relevant literature, three hypotheses were derived, which have been tested in this study. Hypothesis one stated that students evaluate Black African lecturers less favourably than they do White lecturers. This hypothesis was partially supported, as will be discussed further in this section. Hypothesis two stated that students from different racial groups evaluate White and Black African lecturers differently; this hypothesis was fully supported. The third hypothesis stated that students evaluate lecturers from their own gender group more favourably than they do lecturers from the opposite gender group. This hypothesis was also only partially supported. This section presents a discussion of all results found, under headings relevant to the three hypotheses.

**Impact of lecturer race on student evaluations of lecturers**

Literature has revealed that in most spheres of life, Black African individuals are treated less favourably than people from other racial groups, with an even larger gap existing between Black African and White individuals (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2010; Hirsh & Lyons, 2010; King et al., 2011; Pager, 2003; Pavalko et al., 2003; Soudien et al., 2008). Literature on discrimination and transformation in tertiary institutions shows that the same trend prevails in these institutions, in that Black Africans are discriminated against by staff of other races (Thaver, 2009)

The results of this study, which assessed how lecturer race affects student ratings of lecturers, revealed that White lecturers were rated more favourably than Black African lecturers on the ability dimension (higher teaching ability, more competent, and students indicated a greater desire to be taught by White lecturers). Black African lecturers, on the other hand, were rated more favourably than White
lecturers on the likeability dimension (friendlier, less strict and more attractive). As Black African lecturers were not rated least favourably across all, or even most of, the variables, hypothesis one is only partially supported by these findings.

These results were similar to the findings of Bavishi et al. (2010), who found that Black professors were rated as less legitimate (less qualified) and less competent than White and Asian professors, with female African Americans being rated less favourably than other groups. The finding of this study that Black African lecturers are rated as most likable by students may lead to a false sense of excitement. This finding could be explained by the fact that more overt forms of discrimination have been replaced by more covert forms of discrimination (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). This potentially suggests that, while on the surface people from different races appear to get along, at the core, discrimination is still rife. This could help explain these results – it could be that students rate Black African lecturers as more likable in order to excuse the fact that they discriminate against these lecturers based on their actual or perceived abilities. According to information from current academic staff, promotions and monetary increases are not necessarily based on how ‘nice’ a person is, but on how competent they are in the jobs they perform.

For this reason, the results of this study support the findings of those scholars that say that in tertiary institutions students evaluate White academic staff more favourably than they do Black academic staff (Bavishi et al., 2010; Soudien et al., 2008). Due to the impact that lecturer evaluations have on academic staff promotions, increases, and so forth, positive technical ratings of White lecturers may be a contributing reason for the lower staff turnover among White academic staff, with low student ratings of Black African staff potentially contributing to the higher turnover of Black African staff (Soudien et al., 2008). In addition to student evaluations, Kelly (1950) found that first impressions of the instructor based on the instructor’s reputation (or stereotype) affected the students’ attitude and behaviour towards the instructor. Behaviour was found to be more negative towards lecturers who were not viewed favourably by the student, and students were even found to interact less with instructors of whom they had developed a negative impression. The possibly hostile environment in which Black African academic staff members are required to work may be another factor contributing to the high staff turnover.

This study differs from other reviewed studies in that evaluations were based on the very first impressions of lecturers (with students having no prior information
about lecturers except for what they look like). Despite minimal information, student ratings were still different between White and Black African lecturers. A practical implication of this is that from the onset, Black African lecturers need to fight negative stereotypes from students, and in turn, would need to be even better than White lecturers in order to receive similar evaluations. This was supported by Bavishi et al. (2010), who mention that the need for Black African lecturers to have to prove that they deserve the positions in which they are appointed places immense pressure on these individuals to perform.

Besides the effect that discrimination has on the institution (high turnover expenses), there are also proven negative effects on the health of those who experience either actual or perceived discrimination (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). They have also found that individuals who perceive being the victim of discrimination are found to withdraw from positive behaviour, which includes positive work performance, and are often found to underperform due to the pressure being experienced.

This result is concerning in the light of the fact that stereotypes infer that Black African workers are less effective than White workers. With the immense pressure being placed on Black African individuals to perform (Bavishi et al., 2010), they could live up to those stereotypes not because it is true, but due to the fact that they are constantly needing to prove that it is not. Huffcutt and Roth (1998) have found that when individuals from certain racial groups are in the minority, evaluations of these individuals are often driven by stereotypes rather than by objective qualifications or information. As Black Africans are underrepresented in academia, there is a higher risk of these individuals being evaluated by their colleagues and by students based on stereotypes (Astin et al., 1991, as cited in Bashivi et al., 2010; Blackwell, 1981; Sax, Astin, Arredondo, & Kom, 1996, as cited in Bavishi et al., 2010). In order to understand these student evaluations better, results regarding the impact of student race on evaluations are presented next. Due to the limited findings on the effects of students’ race on lecturer evaluations, it has been exploratory in nature.
Impact of student race on lecturer evaluations
There were found to be significant differences across all six variables in the way students from different racial groups rate Black African lecturers, but for White lecturers, significant differences were only found for strictness and teaching abilities. With regard to strictness and teaching abilities, on average, White lecturers were rated higher than Black African lecturers by all racial groups. White lecturers were also rated more favourably than Black African lecturers across all four student races on the competency variable, but these results, in relation to the students’ rating of Black African lecturers, were only found to be significant for White students. Results have shown that Indian students were most harsh in their ratings of Black African lecturers in that they rated White lecturers more favourably than they did Black African lecturers across five of the six variables (with the exception being strictness).

Of these ratings, significant differences between the ratings of the two groups of lecturers were only found in relation to strictness, teaching ability and desire to be taught by the lecturer. The only groups of students that indicated a desire to be taught by Black African lecturers were Black African students. There were, however, no significant differences found in Black African student ratings of these two groups of lecturers. With regard to the findings that Black African lecturers were rated more favourably than White lecturers on the likability dimension, this was true for White, Black African and Coloured students. The exception was found for Indian students, who rated White lecturers most favourably across all variables. They did, however, rate White lecturers as stricter than Black African lecturers.

With regard to the ability (teaching ability, competence, and desire to be taught by the lecturer) dimension, White lecturers were rated most favourably by all students, with the only exception being Black African students, who indicated a greater desire to be taught by a Black African lecturer than they did for a White lecturer. It should, however, be reiterated that the difference between Black African students’ ratings of their desire to be taught by Black African lecturers’ in comparison to their desire to be taught by White lecturers’ was not statistically significant.

The above results could potentially be explained using the findings of Reid (2010), who found that White faculty members were rated significantly more favourably than Black American faculty members on the clarity of the instruction received. Black American lecturers were in fact rated least favourably on clarity, as well as on two other characteristics (overall quality and helpfulness), than faculty
members from all other race groups. In relation to this, it is mentioned by Grant (2007) that a hindering factor to successful transformation in higher education is the language barrier, in that a certain level of English proficiency is required for an individual to be viewed as competent. Black African individuals often seem to fall short in this regard, which could explain student ratings. African students would potentially not have that much difficulty understanding these lecturers as they potentially find themselves in a similar situation with regard to language.

Another potential explanation for the results found above is the findings of Sennett et al. (2003), who found that Black African students scored lower than White students on social adjustment, indicating that they were not able to socially integrate as quickly and effectively into HWTIs as White students did. This could potentially be due to the fact that they are not provided with the adequate assistance and attention that they may require from the White lecturers, and that they could even experience discriminatory behaviour from many of these lecturers and from their fellow students. According to Hirsh and Lyons (2010), a company’s racial demographics, especially the racial demographics of immediate supervisors, is often the most important factor affecting employees’ perception of discrimination. Due to the underrepresentation of Black African academic staff in HWTIs, the minority group is prone to be more sensitive to possible discriminatory behaviour, and may therefore believe that being taught by a lecturer of their own race might relieve some of the racial pressure currently being experienced.

Upon further inspection of the results of this study, it was also found that even when Black African students rated White lecturers more favourably than they did Black African lecturers (teaching ability and competence), they were still found to rate Black African lecturers more favourably than students from other races. The only exception was with regard to attractiveness; Coloured students rated these lecturers highest, with Black African students rating them second highest. These results can be explained by drawing on social identity theory, which says that people rate individuals from their own group more favourably than they do people from other groups’ (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, as cited in Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985).

It was also found that the majority of significant differences in lecturer ratings between the different student racial groups were between Black African students and those from the other racial groups, and that most of these differences concerned student ratings of Black African lecturers. These results suggest that there was more
consensus between students regarding ratings of White lecturers than there was regarding ratings of Black African lecturers. What this illustrates is that people from different racial groups have more varied perceptions of Black African lecturers, and more similar perceptions of White lecturers.

Overall, hypothesis two was supported in that students from different racial groups evaluated White and Black African lecturers differently. The next section reflects on the results that eventuated from testing hypothesis three.

Impact of students’ and lecturers’ gender on lecturer evaluations

The results of this study revealed that on average for all six variables female lecturers were rated more favourably than male lecturers. Female students were found to rate male and female lecturers significantly differently across all six variables, with male students only rating these lecturers significantly differently on friendliness and strictness. Upon conducting further statistical tests, significant results were noted, namely that female students rated female lecturers more favourably than male lecturers on all variables. Despite male students also evaluating female lecturers more favourably than male lecturers on all variables, significant results, as mentioned above, were only found for male ratings of female lecturers on friendliness and strictness.

The results relating to female student evaluations of female lecturers can be explained by drawing on social identity theory, according to which students would rate lecturers from their own gender group more favourably than they would lecturers from other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, as cited in Sachdev & Bourhis, 1985). The results of this study partially support results obtained from previous research which says that gender identification often occurs in student evaluation of lecturers (Basow, 2000; Sprinkle, 2008). This was found to be true for the female student evaluations, but was not found to be the case for male students.

The results regarding male student ratings of lecturers contradict previous research which has found that students often rate male lecturers as more effective than their female counterparts (Arbuckle & Williams, 2003). The results also differ from gender identification research results which indicate that male students evaluate male lecturers more highly than they do female lecturers (Basow, 2000; Sprinkle, 2008).
A potential, albeit unlikely, reason for male students rating female lecturers more favourably is the fact that females are very often viewed as people who care for and nurture others (people who have motherly instincts). As males studying psychology, they may value the characteristics of care and nurture highly, and therefore rate female lecturers more favourably than they would male lecturers. Ratings may differ for students from other faculties such as engineering or commerce, as it might be assumed that male lecturers are more competent than female lecturers in these industries. Generalisability of the results is therefore limited.

Another potential reason for male lecturers rating female lecturers more favourably is the fact that within the psychology department, there are more female lecturers than male lecturers, and for this reason their assumption could be that in order to be successful within that department, the lecturer would need to female. The students might assume that the fact that there are more females is that they have proved to be more successful than men in that field. The last possible reason for these ratings is maybe due to the fact that male students have obtained better results in psychology subjects, in comparison to other subjects (which may have been taught by male lecturers), and therefore ascribe their success to the female lecturers.

Based on the findings in this study, hypothesis three is only partially supported: female students rated female lecturers more favourably than they did male lecturers, and male students were also found to rate female lecturers more favourably than male lecturers.

There are always improvements that can be made to research that has been conducted. For this reason the next section looks at the limitations of this study and recommendations for future research.
Limitations and Recommendations

The pilot study used a 5-point Likert scale, where the negative end of the scale was represented by a higher rating (e.g. rating 5), whereas for the main study (using a 4-point Likert scale), the negative end of this scale was characterised by a lower rating (e.g. rating 1). In the most common way of presenting a scale, the negative end of the scale is represented by the lower number (e.g. 1) and the positive end by the higher number (e.g. 5). The fact that the pilot study 5-point Likert was presented in the opposite manner could have had an impact on the results: participants, potentially having answered the questionnaire, might have assumed that a rating of 1 was negative and a rating of 5 was positive. This, however, does not seem to have been the case, as the faces were rated as being of equal attractiveness in the pilot and in the main study. It is nevertheless recommended that for future research the scale reflects in the usual manner, as mentioned above.

Secondly, due to time constraints and for purposes of convenience sampling, different data collection methods were utilised. The pilot study required participants to complete a paper-based questionnaire, while the main study was conducted online. It is recommended that for future research both studies use the same method of data collection. This will ensure consistency of the data collection method and make sure that results are based purely on the intended purpose of the study, thus excluding the effects of test bias. This once again does not seem to have had an impact on the results, as attractiveness of faces in the two studies were rated equally.

Thirdly, there was a poor response rate. The problem with the low response rate is that the students who responded may have different characteristics to those who did not respond. With regard to race, the majority of students who responded were White. With regard to gender, the majority of respondents were female. The students who responded may have had certain positive or negative experiences with lecturers in the past which may have affected their ratings of lecturers’ faces. Another possible difference between those students who responded and those who did not is that those who responded may use Vula more often than others, and therefore would have been more likely to see the invitation to participate. An additional difference between respondents and non-respondents could have been that the respondents required an additional course credit, whereas those who did not participate might have had sufficient credits. The students who participated could be
less diligent than those who had already participated in previous studies, and previously received the required course credits. The participants might, however, be more diligent than those students who did not participate, but who still required course credits. Lastly, the participants may have had a lower work load than those who did not participate. The poor response rate is therefore a limitation as it compromises generalisability of the results.

A fourth limitation is the small sample size; which consisted of psychology students from one HWTI in Cape Town, South Africa. A recommendation is thus that for further research, better means of gathering information should be utilised to ensure a larger sample size. The sample should also be more representative of the population and should therefore consist of students from both HWTIs and from historically Black tertiary institutions within South Africa and not only within Cape Town. In addition to this, a future sample should also use students from different faculties, and not only focus on psychology students. These limitations hinder the generalisability of the results to other tertiary institutions and even to other faculties within the same university. For this reason, these results should be used with caution.

A fifth limitation to the findings is that the additional confounding factors of the pictures (facial expressions, smiling versus unsmiling faces, age, and face sizes) were not accounted for. All photos of females used in the study showed smiling faces, but none of the men in the male photos were smiling. It can also be noted that two of the four women looked older, whereas all the men looked younger. Upon assessing the faces according to race, it can be seen that the two older lecturers were both White. These confounding factors could have affected the manner in which students rated lecturers on the two dimensions of likability and ability. In order to prevent any of these errors from impacting on further research, artificially created faces would be the preference. This would also eliminate or lessen the possibility of any of the students recognising a face.

Sixthly, further research should be conducted to test an additional factor that could affect student ratings, such as the nationality of the lecturers and students. It would be interesting to assess whether Black African and White lecturers of different nationalities (South African versus non-South African) are rated differently by students of different races and nationalities.
Conclusion

It is important to see transformation as more than a matter of numbers. This study suggests that transformation in attitudes has been slow – and that discrimination has harmful effects on both the individuals experiencing forms of discrimination and the institutions within which such discrimination is suffered. Results reveal that Black African lecturers are discriminated against through student evaluations, whereas White lecturers do not experience this problem. Utilising these findings to draft a plan to reduce discrimination would potentially contribute to a more pleasant work environment and, in turn, a reduction in the turnover of Black African academic staff, thus helping to ensure that transformation is achieved in HWTIs.
REFERENCES


Bantu Education Act, 47 (1953).


Extension of University Education Act, 45 (1959).


Group Areas Act, 41 (1950).


Immorality Amendment Act, 21 (1950).


Population Registration Act, 30 (1950).


Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 49 (1953).


APPENDICES

Pilot Study
   Version 1
   Version 2
   Version 3

Main Study
   Preview Evaluation
Version 1

Dear Student

I am a Master’s student at UCT and would value your assistance in completing the questionnaire. Please note that your response to the questionnaire is completely anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. Your participation within the study is voluntary and should at any stage you wish to opt out of the study; you are free to do so.

By completing the questionnaire you will automatically be entered into a lucky draw (should you wish to do so). The draw will take place the Wednesday after completing the questionnaire.

The purpose of the study is to see how student’s rate faces on attractiveness based on certain facial features. You will be presented with 20 faces of which you will need to rate each face on a scale from 1–5 (circle the number representing face attractiveness). The 5-points are represented as follows: 1 = highly attractive, 2 = attractive, 3 = average, 4 = unattractive, 5 = highly unattractive. Imagine that faces presented in this questionnaire belong to university lecturers.
1) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

2) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

3) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

4) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

5) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
Version 1

6) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

7) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

8) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

9) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5

10) Highly attractive
    1  2  3  4  5
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highly attractive</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Highly unattractive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td><img src="image16" alt="Person" /></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td><img src="image17" alt="Person" /></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18)</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td><img src="image19" alt="Person" /></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td><img src="image20" alt="Person" /></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Version 1

Could you please provide the following details (for result reporting purposes); tick the option that applies to you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race:</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (to write in):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality:</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>Non South African</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year of study:</td>
<td>1st year</td>
<td>2nd year</td>
<td>3rd year</td>
<td>Post Grad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, your assistance has contributed to the outcome of my Masters degree. As mentioned above, all responses are anonymous. You have been entered into the lucky draw to take place this week Wednesday in class.
Main Study

(Announcement notice sent to students via email)

Dear student

You are invited to participate in a 15 minute online study, which will earn you 1 SRPP. Participation is both voluntary and confidential.

Please follow the instructions provided when clicking to participate (Link).

Should you wish to make contact with me at any stage, please feel free to do so:
Zeleika Kinnear
Email: zeleika.kinnear@uct.ac.za

Instructions for questionnaire completion

(Displayed when clicking the link to complete the questionnaire)

Instructions
Title: Earn 1 SRPP in ONLY 15 minutes (Online Study) - Rating faces

Please note the following regarding the study: participation should take no longer than 15 minutes, which would earn you 1 SRPP. Your participation is completely voluntary and confidential, and should you at any stage wish to opt out of the study, you are free to do so.

This study will require you to rate a series of 8 faces (i.e. imagined to be lecturers) on a variety of traits and characteristics, e.g., attractiveness, friendliness etc. You are then asked to indicate if you know any of the individuals represented by the faces. Thereafter you are required to provide us with certain demographic information.

SRPP should be awarded approximately 2 weeks after the study has closed.
Should you experience problems in completing the questionnaire, or if you simply wish to make contact with me, please feel free to do so:
Zeleika Kinnear
Email: zeleika.kinnear@uct.ac.za
**Evaluation title here** (Group: Group title here)

**Instructions:** Evaluation instructions would go here if any have been specified. This block may be up to 4000 chars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group/Course Items:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong> List the 2 facial features that you find most appealing in people (e.g. blue eyes, pointy chin):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicate what you think the faces below tell you about the lecturer's friendliness, teaching ability etc. Give your rating on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 4 (extremely). There are no right or wrong answers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong> Friendliness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong> Strictness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong> Teaching ability of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5.</strong> Attractiveness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6.</strong> Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7.</strong> Overall competency of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8.</strong> Friendliness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9.</strong> Strictness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10.</strong> Teaching ability of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11.</strong> Attractiveness of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12.</strong> Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>13.</strong> Overall competency of the lecturer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14. Friendliness of the lecturer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>15. Strictness of the lecturer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>16. Teaching ability of the lecturer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>17. Attractiveness of the lecturer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>19. Overall competency of the lecturer</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **20. Friendliness of the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| **21. Strictness of the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| **22. Teaching ability of the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| **23. Attractiveness of the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| **24. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| **25. Overall competency of the lecturer** | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |

<p>| <strong>26. Friendliness of the lecturer</strong> | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| <strong>27. Strictness of the lecturer</strong> | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| <strong>28. Teaching ability of the lecturer</strong> | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| <strong>29. Attractiveness of the lecturer</strong> | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |
| <strong>30. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</strong> | 4 Extremely | 3 | 2 | 1 Not at all |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* 31. Overall competency of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 32. Friendliness of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>* 33. Strictness of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 34. Teaching ability of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 35. Attractiveness of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 36. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 37. Overall competency of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 38. Friendliness of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 39. Strictness of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 40. Teaching ability of the lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>* 41. Attractiveness of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 42. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 43. Overall competency of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 44. Friendliness of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* 45. Strictness of the lecturer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

https://vula.uct.ac.za/portal/tool/620a0009-49fc-abfb-bbf86a6c83db/preview_ev...  2012/05/03
Please indicate which of the people (represented by the faces) you know prior to the study. If you know the face tick ‘yes’, if you do not, tick ‘no’

* 46. Teaching ability of the lecturer
* 47. Attractiveness of the lecturer
* 48. Your desire to be taught by the lecturer
* 49. Overall competency of the lecturer

* 50.

☐ Yes
☐ No

* 51.

☐ Yes
☐ No

* 52.

☐ Yes
☐ No
• 53.

☐ Yes

☐ No

• 54.

☐ Yes

☐ No

• 55.

☐ Yes

☐ No

• 56.

☐ Yes

☐ No
Please provide the following details below:

**58. Race:**
- [ ] Black African
- [ ] Coloured
- [ ] White
- [ ] Indian
- [ ] Other
- [ ] Prefer not to answer

**59. Gender**
- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female

**60. Nationality:**
- [ ] South African
- [ ] Non South African

**61. Year of study:**
- [ ] 1st year
- [ ] 2nd year
- [ ] 3rd year
- [ ] 4th year
- [ ] 5th year
- [ ] Honours
- [ ] Other

**62. Age:**
Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, your assistance has contributed to the outcome of my Masters degree. As mentioned above, your student number will be stripped/removed from the data once you have been awarded SRPP therefore your results are confidential. SRPP will be awarded 2 weeks after the study has closed. Should you wish to make contact with me at any stage, please feel free to do so: Zeleika Kinnear Email: zeleika.kinnear@uct.ac.za

Please keep the email that gets sent to you once you have successfully completed the questionnaire as proof of participation, should there be any discrepancies (for SRPP purposes).

The End
Dear Student

I am a Master’s student at UCT and would value your assistance in completing the questionnaire. Please note that your response to the questionnaire is completely anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. Your participation within the study is voluntary and should at any stage you wish to opt out of the study; you are free to do so.

By completing the questionnaire you will automatically be entered into a lucky draw (should you wish to do so). The draw will take place the Wednesday after completing the questionnaire.

The purpose of the study is to see how student’s rate faces on attractiveness based on certain facial features. You will be presented with 20 faces of which you will need to rate each face on a scale from 1–5 (circle the number representing face attractiveness). The 5-points are represented as follows: 1 = highly attractive, 2 = attractive, 3 = average, 4 = unattractive, 5 = highly unattractive. Imagine that faces presented in this questionnaire belong to university lecturers.
Version 2

1) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average

2) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average

3) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average

4) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average

5) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average
Version 2

6) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average
   Highly unattractive

7) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average
   Highly unattractive

8) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average
   Highly unattractive

9) Highly attractive
   1  2  3  4  5
   Average
   Highly unattractive

10) Highly attractive
    1  2  3  4  5
    Average
    Highly unattractive
11) Highly attractive
1 2 3 4 5

12) Highly attractive
1 2 3 4 5

13) Highly attractive
1 2 3 4 5

14) Highly attractive
1 2 3 4 5

15) Highly attractive
1 2 3 4 5
16) Highly attractive

17) Highly attractive

18) Highly attractive

19) Highly attractive

20) Highly attractive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highly attractive</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Highly unattractive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Version 2
Could you please provide the following details (for result reporting purposes); tick the option that applies to you:

**Race:**
- African
- Coloured
- White
- Indian
- Other

**Gender:**
- Male
- Female

**Age (to write in):**

**Nationality:**
- South African
- Non South African

**Year of study:**
- 1st year
- 2nd year
- 3rd year
- Post Grad

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, your assistance has contributed to the outcome of my Masters degree. As mentioned above, all responses are anonymous. You have been entered into the lucky draw to take place this week Wednesday in class.
version 3

Dear Student

I am a Master’s student at UCT and would value your assistance in completing the questionnaire. Please note that your response to the questionnaire is completely anonymous.

The questionnaire will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. Your participation within the study is voluntary and should at any stage you wish to opt out of the study; you are free to do so.

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1) Highly attractive

2) Highly attractive

3) Highly attractive

4) Highly attractive

5) Highly attractive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highly attractive</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11) Highly attractive
   1     2     3    4        5
   Average

12) Highly attractive
   1     2     3    4        5
   Average

13) Highly attractive
   1     2     3    4        5
   Average

14) Highly attractive
   1     2     3    4        5
   Average

15) Highly attractive
   1     2     3    4        5
   Average

Version 3
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Highly attractive</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Highly unattractive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16)</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17)</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18)</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19)</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20)</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Version 3

Could you please provide the following details (for result reporting purposes); tick the option that applies to you:

Race:  
- African
- Coloured
- White
- Indian
- Other

Gender:  
- Male
- Female

Age (to write in):  

Nationality:  
- South African
- Non South African

Year of study:  
- 1st year
- 2nd year
- 3rd year
- Post Grad

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire, your assistance has contributed to the outcome of my Masters degree. As mentioned above, all responses are anonymous. You have been entered into the lucky draw to take place this week Wednesday in class.