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**Residence students' perceptions of institutional support for inter racial contact at the
University of Cape Town**

By

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of the Degree of
Master of Arts in Psychological Research**

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Declaration

Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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Abstract

While inter-racial contact in university settings has been researched previously, the important concept of institutional support has not. This construct was listed by Allport as a necessary condition under which contact will yield positive results i.e. reduced prejudice towards outgroup members. This study investigated University of Cape Town residence students' perceptions of institutional support for inter-racial contact to assess whether such perceived support had a noticeable impact on prejudice measures between students. The sample consisted of 582 Black, Coloured, Indian and White residence students. Factors were created to measure the hitherto unstudied construct of perceptions of institutional support. Perceptions of institutional support were found to be important for Black students – as they perceived more support for contact, they felt less prejudice towards Whites. However, for Whites, only frequency of contact with Black students was necessary to reduce prejudice.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Inter-racial contact amongst students in university residences can be assessed with reference to the contact hypothesis. This paper seeks to investigate the contact between students in the residences of the University of Cape Town, as well as students' perceptions of the level of support that the university provides for interracial contact.

Part of the legacy of South Africa's tainted history is that citizens of different race groups were, by law, not allowed to associate with each other, with one law so extreme as to separate citizens into different residential areas (The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950). The segregation of citizens centred on separating Blacks and Whites, both on personal and social contact levels (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). All institutions, including those of tertiary education, had to do their part in not allowing people of the different race groups to mix, but the University of Cape Town did so less willingly and was often heard to protest against such rules. It went so far as to take advantage of ambiguous laws during the Apartheid years to allow Black students to enrol. The university residences became racially integrated as early as 1981 (Saunders, 2000).

Now, fourteen years since South Africa has achieved its democracy, the formal laws that segregate people no longer exist, but segregation is still very much a way of life for many South Africans. Prime examples can be found in Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) study of South African beaches, Underwood's (2003) study of a "dynamic social space" at the University of Cape Town, Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon and Finchilescu (2005) and Alexander's (2003) studies in residence dining halls and Ajodah's (2004) study in popular Cape Town pubs.

The study by Dixon and Durrheim (2003) observed that there were distinct racialised areas on a popular South African beach, despite the fact that the government had repealed the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (49 of 1953) nine years prior to these observations. They observed that the segregation that occurred was of a more informal

nature – by informal, they meant that it was not sanctioned by an institution – but it was very much systematic and organised along racial lines. Underwood (2003) found that students at the University of Cape Town tend to be segregated along racial lines in what he termed a “dynamic social space” on the university campus. Schrieff et. al. (2005), too, observed seating patterns, this time in university residences, finding results that reflected a strong tendency for same-race students to dine together in residence dining halls and finding clusters of different race groups in particular areas. Alexander (2003) chose to invade the social spaces of residence dining halls by seating mixed-race study confederates at tables occupied by students and found that, despite these invasions, students still managed to re-segregate, recreating racial divisions that were evident before the confederates seated themselves. It was clear from this that space plays a major role as a mechanism for reinstating racial boundaries and sustaining segregation. Ajodah (2004) found that, although the social spaces (bars) under observation initially seemed integrated, when seating patterns were analysed, high levels of segregation were, in fact, discernible. Finally, in a review of surveys undertaken both before and after the new democratic dispensation had come into effect, Duckitt and Mphuthing (1998) reported that interethnic attitudes between South Africa’s different race groups were unchanged.

The question, then, is why, after so many years of government-sanctioned integrative policies, are there still visible chasms between the race groups? Schrieff (2004) argues that it is not pragmatic to expect race groups that have adhered to separatist laws for so long to suddenly begin integrating simply because the prohibitive laws are no longer in place. The improvement of intergroup relations is bound to take time and certain mechanisms should be in place to aid the transition.

Research on intergroup relations is important in a country like South Africa, which has such a polarised past but where a multitude of cultures exist and who are now expected to have positive relations with each other. We turn to the contact hypothesis to try to assess and promote contact between previously conflicting groups in South Africa.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

The contact hypothesis was first formally proposed by Allport (1954) in his text *The Nature of Prejudice*. Briefly stated, it asserts that constant or regular interaction between members of different groups can reduce prejudice amongst members of these groups and, thus, build a more tolerant and open-minded society. According to Dixon (2001), it is noteworthy because it signifies one of the few continuing attempts by social psychologists to reduce racism. Allport wrote that, in order for contact to be “successful” i.e. for it to reduce prejudice, four primary conditions must be met – the groups involved should be of equal status, they should not be in competition with one another, they should work together towards the achievement of a common goal and their contact should be supported by authority or an institution (Allport, 1954).

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the voluminous research on the contact hypothesis, in general, nor to delve too deeply into all of Allport’s primary conditions (or the subsequent conditions that have been added by other theorists). However, an opinion from a (non-academic source) is interesting to consider – Ahmed Kathrada, a well-known South African former political prisoner, wrote in a letter to his girlfriend, Sylvia Neame from prison in 1964,

“You know it is such a pity that people from different race groups are not allowed to come into contact with each other in South Africa. Because it is so easy to get along together. Perhaps that is the reason why the Nats (National Party) won’t allow it. This is not a sudden realisation for us. The attitude of jail warders, the police and other officials must and does change after a few weeks of contact”
(Kathrada, 1964, p16).

For more complete reviews of the contact hypothesis, please refer to Pettigrew (1971; 1998), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), Hewstone and Brown (1986), Amir (1969) and

Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami (2003). However, it is necessary to at least *mention* Allport's other three pre-conditions and describe what was meant by them, before delving into the focus of this paper – institutional support.

When Allport (1954) referred to “equal status”, he meant that the groups in question needed to be on the same footing hierarchically – they need to be equal in some way in the contact situation. In terms of co-operative dependence, they need to be working towards a super-ordinate goal where some form of co-operation (and lack of competition) is necessary. Similarly, they need to see themselves as sharing common goals or interests. The contact needs to lead them to believe that they do share these common goals.

This paper focuses on the fourth primary condition of “institutional support” which refers to the notion that the groups believe that an institution supports their interaction and the reduction of prejudice through contact between different groups. When Allport wrote about institutional support, he stated that it could be law, custom or local atmosphere.

There appears to be agreement among theorists and contact researchers that institutional support is important and necessary for contact to be successful in reducing prejudice and, as will be seen throughout this review, several have written about it, stated that it is important and/or referred to it by a different name. However, it has received comparatively little attention in the contact literature, probably because it is more difficult than the other pre-conditions to observe and/or manipulate.

Macomber (2004) confirms that the primary condition of institutional support has received significantly less attention in the contact research than the other conditions because it is difficult to observe, unless the contact occurs in an experimental situation and the level of support can be manipulated. Liebkind and McAlister (1999) concur, citing “*insurmountable methodological obstacles*” as the cause (1999, p766). However, this project deals with *perceptions* of support, which means that the students will reveal whether they think the support is present, or not. Perceptions of institutional support are

of supreme importance as, ultimately, regardless of what the authorities allege, what message the groups *believe* the institution is imparting is what will determine the contact.

This literature review will not exhaustively encompass the major works and theorists behind the contact hypothesis but, rather, will review those papers and studies where institutional support is emphasised most, especially in university and school settings. To this end, this review does not exclusively cover psychological literature, but also mentions studies from other disciplines e.g. education. This, in itself, is testament to the fact that the institutional support is seen as vital, across the board.

Cook (1962) listed five major conditions that need to be considered for the reduction of intergroup prejudice, one of them being institutional support: "*the direction and strength of the expectations with regard to intergroup association believed to characterise authority figures in the situation*" (1962, p76). Yancey (1999) says that authority figures are vital in defining norms for groups because they have the power to change social values from negative segregationist ones to positive integrative ones. These leaders can also serve as role models who teach the followers how to deal with this new integrated situation.

According to Taylor and Moghaddam (1994), intergroup contact will signify harmony when, amongst other things, the surrounding "social climate" is supportive of such contact. Mynhardt and du Toit (1991) also state that contact in a favourable social climate makes for "*positive change*" (1991, p283). This social climate is affected by an assortment of factors, chief among them being the attitude of the authorities. They feel that the authorities (the institution) are usually significant characters in the formation of common goals. If they resist contact, then close co-operation, positive attitudes and firm friendships are less likely to be formed.

Amir (1969) also stated that the support need not necessarily be conceptualised formally. Rather, it can be a general climate of support that is perceived by groups or individuals:

“The effectiveness of interracial contact is greatly increased if the contact is sanctioned by institutional support. The support may come from the law, a custom, a spokesman for the community or any authority which is accepted by the interacting group. In many cases, institutional support comes simply from a social atmosphere or a general public agreement” (1969, p334).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), in a meta-analysis of 515 contact studies revealed that, of Allport’s essential conditions, institutional support may be especially important to aid the positive effects of contact. They admit that the analysis of institutional support was “crude” but that those samples that were part of formal programmes showed more positive contact effects than the other samples, regardless of whether they were judged to have exhibited the other pre-conditions. However, it is imperative to note that, given that these programmes were structured to allow for the development of the other optimal conditions, institutional support, while extremely important, should not be executed in isolation.

From a non-psychological point of view, Christopher (2001), in an analysis of 1996 South African Census data found that, while there had been a decline in overall levels of segregation in urban areas, this was not uniform for all race groups. This was partly attributed to the fact that, while the Apartheid laws were repealed, no immediate programmes geared toward rebuilding stepped in to replace these laws. He concluded that segregation levels remained “exceptionally high” and that integration would need to be enhanced by government intervention, which he expected to come into effect under the guidance of President Mbeki, emphasising his belief in the need of institutional support.

The preceding paragraphs show that, despite the fact that there is no agreed-upon formal conceptualisation of institutional support, it is still considered as important by theorists. This is further emphasised by the fact that there is mention of the need for support from authorities in non-psychological literature. However, there is also need of evidence of practical application, however crude it may be.

Schools

A leading American court case, in which the notion of institutional support is highlighted, is *Brown v Board of Education 1954 347 US* where a new government policy was adopted, under the auspices of which children were to attend inter-racial public schools. The courts had passed an order for this integration, stating that they did not want to foster a sense of inferiority or insecurity amongst Black students. The court relied on testimony from several social scientists, who enlightened them as to the effects of the contact hypothesis (Forbes, 1997). Thus, with this institutional support from the government and courts, inter-racial contact was fostered in a schooling environment. Initially, this move was met with resistance, with many students and parents picketing and protesting outside the schools concerned. However, the social scientists testifying in the case had anticipated this when they said that the desegregation, at first, might exacerbate inter-racial tensions, but that violent behaviour was not a likely outcome. They felt that, based on research, a short period of adjustment was necessary and, provided conditions were favourable (e.g. there was visible institutional support), the desegregation would lead to positive attitudes and friendlier relations between the students of different races (Forbes, 1997).

Schofield and Sagar (1977) and Rodgers and Bullock (1974) also looked at the effective integration of students in schools as long-term projects which cannot succeed in undoing years of inherited values of segregation, but emphasised that the positive conditions needed to be implemented and maintained. This is similar to the discussion in Christopher (2001) and Schrieff et al (2005), both discussed above. Schofield and Sagar (1977) stressed the school's potential to operate as a vehicle for socialisation between students.

In a 1982 study on the racial composition within primary (elementary) school classrooms in the United States, Hallinan found that segregation was *greatest* when there was an overall numerical racial balance of students (presumably because there are sufficient numbers to allow the different race groups to establish and maintain racial cliques).

However, when one group was in the minority, students reacted to “structural constraints” on their relations by making cross-race friendships. The teachers also promoted positive inter-racial attitudes throughout the school year. The author states that, “*Without external intervention, then, maximum desegregation seems to lead to the greatest amount of within-class segregation*” (1982, p70). This highlights the importance of institutional support (structural constraints) in situations when one group outnumbers another noticeably. Hallinan concluded that an effective step would be for schools to design programs to mediate the negative effects of class racial composition on cross-race friendships.

Slavin and Madden (1979) reviewed some studies that examine desegregation in schools. Gerard and Miller (1975, in Slavin & Madden, 1979) found that, when teachers had low levels of prejudice, there were more positive relations between Black, Mexican-American and White children. A 1973 National Opinion Research Centre study (in Slavin & Madden, 1979) revealed that schools whose teachers and headmasters took liberal positions on race issues had students who more favourable to racial integration. Wellisch, Marcus, MacQueen and Duck (1976, in Slavin & Madden, 1979) found that, when children sat in segregated seating patterns in the classroom, they were less likely to mix during recess (break-times) and lunch-time than the students who sat in mixed arrangements in class. And Slavin and Madden themselves (1979) found that several factors contribute to positive race relations among students: teaching methods that are aimed at improving race relations; good racial attitudes on the part of the educators; support for integration (as measured by the degree to which staff members communicated this support to the students); and low conflict and tension. These first three factors, while not formally termed “institutional support” clearly constitute some indication from the institution that interaction and racial tolerance are desirable. In their study they argue that the most effective way of improving relations is to *require* students to work together but that class discussions of race relations were also effective changing behaviours and, sometimes, attitudes of students. Overall, there must be a school-wide concern and commitment to making desegregation work

Universities

Levin, van Laar and Sidanius (2003) in a longitudinal study on a university campus, focused a small part of their enquiry on the effect of perceived institutional support on ingroup and outgroup friendships. They found that students who perceived institutional support for inter-ethnic contact had fewer ingroup friends, but that institutional support did not appear to affect the number of outgroup friends one had. Students who perceived discrimination on campus had more ingroup friends and this was particularly true for Black students. Again, the perception of discrimination did not particularly affect the number of outgroup friends. The authors argue that, more especially, perceptions that the student population comprises many different groups (rather than conceiving of themselves as one large group), perceptions that the university does not support good intergroup relations, perceptions that intergroup conflict abound on the campus and perceptions of campus discrimination all lead students to form more ingroup friendships. This was found to be so even after controlling for other factors such as pre-college friendships, suggesting that perceptions of the climate on campus and institutional support have an independent effect on friendship choices.

They conclude in support for institutional support for contact – they say that, taking a long-term view, improving the “racial climate” in institutions will negate the need for students to have ingroup friends (which, in the short-term, protects them psychologically – they call this a form of self-preservation resulting from experiences with discrimination at a mainly White institution). They argue that, if a university can capitalise on good contact conditions by showing full support for diversity on campuses, encouraging intergroup friendships, encouraging a shared identity (i.e. as members of the university rather than as members of different racial groups) and effectively deal with conflict and discrimination, then the harmful effects of ingroup contact will be counteracted and students’ ethnic attitudes will develop in a positive direction for the duration of their time at the institution.

Van Laar, Levin, Sinclair and Sidanius (2005) found that, when the university randomly assigned outgroup roommates in the students' first year in residence, students experienced improved intergroup attitudes and reduced prejudice by the end of the year and increased heterogeneity of friendship circles, decreased symbolic racism and increased interethnic competence. This is consistent with contact theory and was undoubtedly helped by the fact that, not only did the university appear to support the students' mixing, but also facilitated the situation by housing the different ethnic groups in close proximity to each other.

Clement and Noels (1992 in Clement, Noels & Deneault, 2001) looked at students' outgroup identification in daily situations e.g. at university, in the media and in their community. They found that Anglophones identified more with Francophones in the university setting, where they were responding to the "institutional norm of equality", whereas no such norm was present in the other two settings. This suggests that, when the students were left to their own devices, they were not as connected as they were when they were under the influence of the university.

Another, and more recent study, in a university setting was conducted by Whitt, Edison, Pascarella, Terenzini and Nora (2001) and examined students' openness to diversity. Their follow-up assessments at the students' second and third years of university revealed that that this openness was positively influenced by being at an institution which they perceived as having a non-discriminatory racial environment. (Their method of assessing perceptions of a non-discriminatory environment was to ask questions about treatment of students, prejudice, course content and inclusion of minorities. The authors report that it is reasonable to assume that students could infer an institutional commitment to diversity from behaviours and attitudes).

Hurtado (1992) examined comparative institutional data from mainly White campuses, collected between 1985 and 1989, a period when there were several instances of racial conflict on American campuses. She argues that, while there was legislation in place at the time to address the problems of inequality in education and institutional

discrimination, institutional acquiescence to these laws was still problematic, with the education system being stratified and administration procedures being discriminatory. In addition, many universities simply opened their doors to non-White students without paying attention to the “psychological climate” or the relations between majority and minority groups. This can be likened to the situation in South Africa, whereby some writers (e.g. Christopher, 2001) feel that the segregationist laws no longer exist, but that no attention has been paid to devising strategies to integrate citizens – rather, they are just left on their own to co-exist.

Buttny (1999) found that many students on an American university campus agreed that there was racial segregation but that they did not know how to permeate the boundaries that were in place, no matter how much they wanted to. He concluded that universities should promote contact and communication amongst students by providing or seeking venues and organisations that will help to surmount their uncertainty when they are unable to accomplish this for themselves. Again, it is clear that institutions need to take a more active role in breaking down the walls between previously-segregated groups.

The findings in the study by Hurtado (1992) support the notion that an institutional commitment to diversity can noticeably improve minority and, to a lesser degree, White students’ perceptions of race relations in the institution. Institutions may foster racial tension when they support priorities that work *against* promoting a better climate. In particular, traditional notions of quality that are based on exclusivity and prioritisation of reputation are associated with perceptions of high racial tension. This is probably because traditional conceptions of quality generally favour elitism (as opposed to equal opportunity), homogeneity (not diversity) and the unequal distribution of resources.

A later study by Hurtado (2005) was conducted on 10 American university campuses, and collected survey data from over 4000 students. The results showed that those students who participated in campus-organised diversity classes and extra-curricular activities were more likely (than those who had not engaged in these activities) to recognise that racial inequality existed in society and to believe that it is actually a social problem. The

survey was directed at two distinct groups of students – those who participated in the campus-organised activities and those who were “left to chance” and had only informal contact with students of other race groups. The study showed that the efforts from the university administrators to provide opportunities for the students to learn about and interact with people from a variety of social backgrounds had a noticeable impact on students in preparing them to live and work in a “diverse democracy” and resulted in students showing more support for “race-based initiatives” and for institutional diversity and equity. This is similar to the findings in Clement and Noels (1992, in Clement, Noels and Deneault, 2001) but the study by Hurtado was conducted on a much larger scale and the activities mentioned above were the primary focus.

Petersen et al (1978, in Hurtado 1992), in a review of 13 colleges, found that, although the large institutions had invested great resources in programs and services for minorities, they did not focus on the interpersonal aspects of race relations which were characterised by “voluntary segregation or by indifference”. They concluded that failure to deal with any of the issues at institutional, programmatic or individual level was likely to become a source of difficulty at some point in these institutions’ relations with minorities.

Other settings

Yancey (1999) undertook a study to examine the effects that residential and church integration had on the racial attitudes of Whites in the United States. He was of the opinion that, despite the development toward *overt* racial acceptance, it is naïve to believe that White Americans do not still have some degree of racial hostility. The study compared Whites in contact and non-contact residential areas and contact and non-contact churches. He found that Whites who were members of integrated churches were more “socially tolerant” and “politically progressive” than those who were not, but there was no significant evidence that suggested that residential area had an effect on racial attitudes. Although it was not explicitly stated, it could be argued that the church sanctioned the integration (either implicitly or overtly), therefore the attitudes of Whites were more positive in the mixed church settings than the segregated ones and also why

there was little difference in the residential areas, where there was no institutional support at all.

Mollov and Lavie (2001) state that the important condition of institutional support was demonstrated in their research of inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue between Israeli and Palestinian students at a university in Palestine. The Palestinian Authority was required to approve a dialogue between the Israeli Interfaith Association and the Palestinian Movement for Peace and Equality – the authors felt that this overt sanction was a factor that resulted in the bringing together of many people to participate in the debate and enhance their own understanding of the conflict situation and of the problems faced by the other group. (While this event occurred in a university setting, the institution that sanctioned the contact was not, in fact, the university itself).

Knox and Hughes (1996) discuss the Northern Ireland community relations program that was initiated in that country in 1989, funded by the national government and implemented by local authorities. The aim of the program was to bring Protestants and Catholics together to achieve greater understanding of opposing cultural, religious and political traditions through contact. At the time that the initial report was written, most of the local councils had only completed their third year of program implementation, so the authors felt it was too soon to say whether the program had been successful, or not. However, they did find that there was some contact in many councils and that, in itself, was worthy of mention, considering the lack of contact that was so commonplace previously. In a later report by Hughes and Carmichael (1998), through the use of survey data, they found that there was an improvement in many areas dealing with race relations. For example, citizens were more willing to live in mixed neighbourhoods and work in mixed-religion companies. They also reported a *belief* that community relations had improved between the groups. The authors conclude that the people *could* have mixed by themselves but that the active government efforts had led to these positive results in a relatively short period of time.

In a study of desegregation in the US military, Landis, Hope and Day (1984) found that support from the commanders for the Race Relations/Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) programs was necessary if the programs were to succeed in achieving their aims of desegregating the personnel and attaining good race relations. They found that, at a time when race relations seminars were the key focus of the training for desegregation in the military, attendance and participation on the part of the personnel as well as understanding between minority and majority groups (be it Black/White or female/male) were all influenced by the extent of involvement of the commanders at all levels of administration, with more people in attendance when the authorities had expressed their approval. The researchers also refer to other studies in which the role of the commander and his/her support of such programs are emphasised. (See Day, 1983; Hiatt & Nordlie, 1978; and Hope, 1979 all cited in Landis, Hope & Day, 1984).

Maoz (2002) observed planned encounters between Jews and Arabs between 1999 and 2000. The findings indicated that programs that were designed for high school students and adults resulted in higher levels of intergroup interaction than those targeted at preschool to Grade 9 children. The reasons for this were varied (including a belief that the younger children may not have been as motivated as the older individuals to make contact). However, he discovered that the organisers often did not know to what extent they should structure interactions between the groups (hoping that the contact would occur naturally, but this was not the case). He concludes that organisers should structure activities to a larger extent because people of different nationalities simply "sitting together" does not constitute contact.

Limitations

Of course, as with any theory, there are limitations. Some researchers feel that the contact hypothesis is not generalisable beyond the laboratory context. As Amir stated, "*if most studies have appeared to prove that contact between ethnic groups reduces prejudice, it does not necessarily follow that these results are typical of real social situations. Intergroup contact under the circumstances studied is unfortunately quite rare in actual*

life, and even when it occurs, it generally produces only casual interactions rather than intimate acquaintances” (Amir, 1969, p337).

However, Hewstone and Brown (1986) believe a supportive normative climate can overcome this lack of generalisability:

“Part of the explanation for this lack of generalizability beyond specific situations has to do with the different kinds of social and institutional support for desegregation available in the different settings (Allport, 1954). In the workplace, the way the work is organized or the existence of trade unions cutting across ethnic divisions may help to redefine the intergroup relationship between blacks and whites. The result is a reduction of discrimination, not just in one or two individuals, but generalized across the whole group. Remove this source of influence and the intergroup relationship reverts to the original conflictual definition deriving from a different set of authorities” (Hewstone & Brown, 1986, p)

This is an illustration of the potential power of institutional support for improving the racial climate, not just between a few individuals, but between groups of people.

A further limitation from Dixon and Durrheim (2003) is that the contact hypothesis does not account for social change in the sense that, in its study of contact under ideal conditions, it does not explain social change within the less favourable environment of post-Apartheid South Africa. They add that, in a country such as South Africa, it would not be a good idea to neglect the past and the influence that it still has on the present.

In terms of limitations regarding institutional support, Allport (1954) himself raised the question as to whether legislation alone (a form of institutional support) is enough to counter racialised forms of behaviour. However, he soon quelled those doubts by pointing out two weaknesses in this argument. First, he argued that we know that discriminative laws increase prejudice, so it is only natural to assume that laws that do not victimise certain people will decrease prejudice. Second, he argued that laws of this

nature would not be aimed at prejudice itself – at least, not directly. In fact, what they seek to do is lessen discrimination and afford people equal or equitable opportunities and treatment. Hopefully, then, a by-product of favourable conditions such as equal status and normal acquaintance will be a reduced amount of prejudice. However, as he stated, “*the establishment of a legal norm creates a public conscience and a standard for expected behaviour that check overt signs of prejudice*” (Allport, 1954, p470). But, he still felt that, even though this was only the *expression* of non-discrimination, in time, people’s thoughts would follow and they would view others with no prejudice.

Maoz (2002) states that bringing groups together, even with the necessary institutional support for intergroup relations, does not necessarily result in contact and that authorities should structure contact more formally. Pettigrew (1971) stated that desegregation simply means to mix racial groups and this alone is not likely to produce contact among groups that would lead to positive effects. He felt that more concerted efforts by those in positions of authority (i.e. the “institution”) were needed to create the atmosphere and interpersonal interactions that lead different groups to respect and achieve positive attitudes about each other, which is what the institution expects of them.

Adding on to that, institutions cannot simply place two groups in close proximity to each other and expect them to get along – the institutions need to ensure that the other optimal conditions for contact are also met. For example, Foster and Finchilescu (1986) and Bornman and Mynhardt (1990) (cited in Mynhardt and du Toit, 1991) found that the effects of contact might be different for groups with different statuses – it appears to have a more favourable effect in the attitudes of the high-status groups. The institution (in this case, the University of Cape Town) must be sure not to treat certain groups as being more important, thus according them a higher status and causing other groups to feel inferior.

Similarly, Tropp and Pettigrew (2005) argue that simply focusing on the optimal conditions for contact, as proposed by Allport (1954), may not be enough to enhance intergroup contact among members of majority *and* minority groups. They found that the optimal contact conditions yielded different relationships for the minority and majority

groups involved – the minority groups’ relationships were generally weaker. The authors suggest that researchers focus greater attention on those experiences and perceptions of group members that are likely to inform their own understanding of intergroup relationships i.e. researchers should take into account how the contact conditions as well as the group members’ perceptions of these influence contact for the majority and minority groups.

Levin, van Laar and Foote (2006) caution against viewing diversity simply in numerical terms – they advise that the more challenging aspect of it is the “management” of diversity, as it is easy to have a mixture of race groups in an organisation without them mixing at all. *“Successful management of diversity involves fully integrating minorities into a society, organization, or institution”* (2006, p3).

Conclusion

From this review, it can be seen that the research defines institutional support as an important pre-condition for favourable contact. It has been conceptualised formally – i.e. stating that “law” or legislation must formally sanction contact – and in the abstract – i.e. the institution or authorities must create a “positive atmosphere” or a “supportive” or “normative climate” in which contact should occur. Although it is not always clear how and when it can be measured (unless in an experimental setting), researchers agree that it needs to be present in order for contact to be successful in reducing prejudice. When it has been assessed in prior studies, it is to the degree of observing contact when there is institutional support and again when there is none and showing that there might be an appreciable difference in the amount of contact and prejudice between the groups (see Hurtado, 2005).

As Pettigrew stated *“when a society embraces intergroup harmony, equal-status contact between groups is no longer subversive. Normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier”* (Pettigrew 1998, p79), which positions institutional support as important for the existence of the other primary conditions.

With the potential problems associated with creating the ideal environment for contact between groups, the question can be asked – why is contact so important for university students at all? Apart from the aforementioned reduction in prejudice, which is necessary for survival in a democratic society, a number of studies at universities have indicated positive effects of contact e.g. improved inter-ethnic competence, less inter-ethnic unease/anxiety and more cross-race friendships (see e.g. Hurtado, 2005; Levin et. al., 2003; Levin et. al., 2006; Sidanius, van Laar, Levin & Sinclair, 2004; Van Laar et al, 2005;).

More importantly, other studies reveal that the university climate may have some impact on the academic success of some students, especially those from minority groups. Smedley, Myers and Harrel (1993), found that weak interracial relations and experiences of racism on campus were significantly negatively associated with academic achievement among minority students, a finding supported by Lopez (1995, in Levin et. al., 2006). How students of colour experience the campus will impact on their ultimate success (Hurtado, 2005).

Similarly, Pinel, Warner and Chua (2005) show that racial minorities experience reductions in self-esteem when they are part of principally White institutions. They suggest that policies and “support programs” can only do so much to ensure that these students are comfortable. What is needed are “campus-wide” changes in attitudes and practices dedicated to embracing diversity and diverse populations.

There is no disputing the fact that contact between race groups has the potential to reduce prejudice and improve inter-group relations. More importantly, as Hurtado (2005), puts it – it will “*prepare students as participants in a diverse democracy*” (2005, p605).

Dixon and Durrheim (2004) state that, in a situation such as South Africa’s, the ideal conditions for contact have historically been difficult to find or create. However, in modern South Africa, these conditions should not be as few and far between as they have been previously due to a new democratic government that supports contact and the

reduction of prejudice. This paper seeks to investigate whether students feel the same can be said for the University of Cape Town and whether this impacts on their contact with each other.

Chapter 3

Background – University of Cape Town

Despite the fact that residences became integrated in 1981, few White students were enrolling into the residences in the mid-1980's. One possible reason for this was that they were not very supportive of the move towards integration. However, the vice-chancellor at the time, Stuart Saunders, heard many complaints from White students that Black students seemed to be getting preference with regard to residence accommodation. This was true in a sense, as White householders in the areas surrounding UCT could be persuaded to take White, but not Black students into their homes, thus more residence accommodation was kept open for Black students. As a result, many White parents refused to send their children to the university as they could not be accommodated by the institution itself (Saunders, 2000).

The University of Cape Town appears to want to keep up with the transformation of the country as a whole – it has a Mission Statement that aims to “*transcend the legacy of Apartheid in South Africa and to overcome all forms of gender and other oppressive discrimination*” (University of Cape Town, 1996).

The student enrolment figures should reflect this and, at first glance, they do – in 2005, the full figures (including international students) were 46.5% White, 30% Black, 15% Coloured and 8.5% Indian. In 2006, undergraduate student enrolments by race were: 41% White, 18% Black, 13% Coloured, 7% Indian and 2% “Other”. (These figures do not total 100% - the reason for this is explained below). (UCT does not define what is meant by the term “Other” but, presumably, this would apply mainly to non-Indian Asians, who did not fall into South Africa's traditional racial categories). The remaining 19% was attributed to international students, for which UCT did not provide a racial breakdown. (See Table 2 in Appendix A for the breakdown from 2002-2006, bearing in mind that international students are not accounted for in the statistics according to South Africa's traditional racial categorisation).

In terms of new undergraduate enrolment by race group, Black enrolment has increased at an average of 2.7% over the past 5 years, Coloured enrolment by 2% and Other enrolment by 114%, while White enrolment has only gone up by 0.7%. Indian enrolment has decreased by 1.6% (UCT, 2007). From the figures shown in Table 2 (Appendix A), it is clear that UCT has been progressively enrolling a smaller proportion of White students every year.

Louw and Finchilescu (2003), in a survey of organisational climate undertaken for the University state that the university wishes to develop an “institutional culture” (based on visible respect for human dignity and diversity) and that it wants to move from the image of an elitist White university to open and transparent participation. Steyn and van Zyl (2001, p9, in Luescher et al 2005, p1) define institutional culture as “*the prevailing ethos – the deep-rooted sets of norms, assumptions and values that predominate and pervade most of the environment on a day to day basis*”. For this survey, Smith, 2004 (in Luescher et al, 2005) defined it as the “enacted environment” – those aspects of the institution “*which are conspicuously perceived by its members*” (Luescher et al, 2005, p2).

The residence system at the university is organised into tiers. The first-tier residences are catering residences (with single and sharing rooms), usually inhabited by “junior undergraduates” – first and second year students. Of the second-tier residences, some are catering, but most are self-catering and they house mainly post-graduate and some “senior undergraduate” students. All rooms are single rooms. Third-tier residences are for senior undergraduates and post-graduates and operate like off-campus accommodation in the sense that they do not have Wardens, but are run on a landlord-tenant basis (UCT, 2005).

Student Housing contended in 2005 that it aimed to achieve “representivity” in the residences with regard to race, but that it does not have quotas that it must fulfil. According to Student Housing’s allocation policies, students who live outside of Cape Town have preference when being placed in residences and, for those who do live in Cape Town, preference goes to those who are historically or educationally disadvantaged.

Applicants are required to indicate their three preferred choices for residence and are allocated accordingly if they have achieved the requisite number of points in their Matriculation examinations (for first-tier residences). There is no merit allocation system for the second-tier residences (H Andrews, personal communication, 24 October 2005). In 2006, the policy was changed somewhat, with students being allocated on a first-come-first-served basis, but with a certain number of spots still being maintained in certain residences for students with requisite Matriculation grades.

In 2005, the population group profile in first-tier residences reflected the following: 55% of students were Black, 30% White, 9% Indian and 6% Coloured. However, a number of residences that year did not reflect these ratios – there were four first-tier residences in which White students generally out-numbered Black students. These residences are Tugwell Hall, Smuts Hall, Fuller Hall and Kopano Residence which, incidentally, are among the most desired residences at UCT (the latter three are requested most often by students applying for accommodation) (H Andrews, personal communication, 24 October 2005). However, in 2006, the ratios seemed to have adjusted themselves, with White students outnumbering Black students greatly in only one of the first-tier residences – Kopano (with 51% of residents being White and 36% being Black). At Fuller, White students accounted for 37% of the population and Black students 36% and there were equal numbers of Black and White in Smuts (38%). See Tables 3 – 8 in Appendix A for comparative data

In the second-tier residences in 2006, 82% of the residents were classified as Black, 7% were White, 6% Coloured, 4% Indian. Previously, there was a vast over-representation of White students in the most-requested residence, Woolsack. In 2006, however, Black students account for 67% of this population and White students only 13%. White students were still slightly over-represented, but not to the extent that they were before. (See Tables 3 to 8 in Appendix A). These figures were obtained from Student Housing and do not reflect the number of students in the residences for that year but, instead, indicate the percentages of students to whom offers of residence were made and who accepted these offers. Student Housing deliberately accepts more students than it can accommodate on

the assumption that a certain number of students will not return the following year, therefore the percentages total more than 100).

According to the Luescher et al (2005) report, Liesbeeck Gardens was among the least popular residences and students felt that was the reason why only Black residents were housed there. The demographic profiles show that there were, indeed, very few non-Black students there previously. However, in 2006, the profile changed significantly – an indication that UCT was trying to change the perceptions of students.

The third-tier residences did not constitute part of the Student Climate Survey conducted by the Department of Institutional Planning, although it was established that, of the students occupying these residences, almost all of them are Black. However, it has been established that most White students will leave residence after one, two or three years, citing “costs”, “noise” and “security concerns” as the main reasons (Luescher et al, 2005).

Students seem to have firm ideas as to what constitute the best and the “worst” residences and, according to the Student Climate Survey of 2004 (Luescher et al, 2005) they also feel that some residences receive more attention and resources from Student Housing. Students have gone so far as to classify residences as “Black” and “White”, according to which race group is in the majority. According to the survey, the Black students interviewed felt that the Black residences had “nothing” in terms of resources and White residences had “everything”. However, the Director of Student Housing, Dr. Ian Macintosh, defends the administration by addressing concerns in the second tier system: *“The alleged differential resourcing of Liesbeeck versus Woolsack and MedRes...is simply not accurate. They are very different buildings and located far apart but in terms of internal resources there is very little difference”* (Luescher et al, 2005:17). So, according to the Student Climate Survey of 2004, students seem to take issue with the way in which students are allocated to residences as well as the bases on which resources are allocated. This will be investigated further in this thesis through survey data.

Van Laar et.al. (2005) wrote that roommate conditions are ideal to test contact theory because they meet the necessary conditions laid out by Allport and even later theorists. First, although differences in race status may be present within society at large, within the university setting, and a given living situation, members of different groups are likely to have equal status. Furthermore, even though university students must compete in the academic setting, those who share living spaces must work together to achieve the common goal of satisfactory living conditions. These situations also have high acquaintance potential. The familiarity and mere exposure afforded by living in the space is likely to result in positive affective ties (as discussed by Festinger, 1952 in Van Laar et. al., 2005). Also, the wide range of activities that roommates may share allow them to discover similarities between their groups and also disconfirm some negative stereotypes.

The authors also feel that, given that universities are “egalitarian socialising environments” it is probable that students will perceive authorities to be supportive of cross-race contact. This study, being set in a country where institutions have traditionally not supported contact, seeks to investigate whether students have come to believe that their institution *does* support contact and whether this impacts on the contact they have with members of different race groups and, in particular, whether it affects the contact-prejudice relation.

This paper is a continuation of a project undertaken at Honours level. While that project provided the groundwork, it was completed at a very basic level and had many limitations, chief among them the small sample size. However, it did involve development of a scale that will be further developed and refined in this study.

The results of the previous study revealed that the students surveyed felt that UCT provides support for inter-racial contact and integration (as evidenced by their scores on the variable Perception of Institutional Support). One would then expect students to have greater amounts of contact across racial lines, but this was not found to be the case in formal measures of frequency of contact and social distance between students of different race groups. The reason for this could be that the level of support is not actually as high

as students think it is, which prevents further contact. A further problem was the small sample size – there were only 68 subjects, but this number was further decreased as only scores between Black and White students were measured because the frequency of contact and social distance scales pertained only to these groups and these two groups were more or less equally represented in the original sample.

This lack of contact (although it was observed in a small number of students) corroborates the results in Underwood's (2003), Alexander's (2003) and Schrieff et. al's (2005) studies, also conducted at the University of Cape Town, where it was found that there is considerably little inter-racial contact on the campus.

The current study will investigate whether perceptions of institutional support alter the effects of contact on students' prejudice and social distance towards each other. The concept of perceptions of institutional support (or PIS) will be developed further, by constructing a scale based on survey items presented to residence students. The current study was conducted on a much larger scale than the Honours study, not only because the sample was larger, but also because the scales used were more refined. This will, hopefully, make the results more generalisable.

Chapter 4

Methodology

The information for this study was collected by means of a survey completed by residence students at the University of Cape Town. Among others, questions included those that indicated students' perceptions of institutional support for inter-racial contact. Factors were constructed as measures of these perceptions and these were then utilised in regression analyses, along with contact measures, with prejudice measures as dependent variables.

Sample/Participants

The sample consisted of 616 UCT residence students. The sample was almost equal in terms of gender (54% male and 46% female). 56% was Black, 25% was White, 8% Indian, 5% Coloured and 6% of respondents classified themselves as "Other". (They were also required to state what they meant by "Other"). However, the inclusion of the "Other" group does tend to complicate analyses – firstly because there was such variation in their definitions of "Other" and secondly because this group did not form part of South Africa's traditional classification system of race groups. This group was duly removed and the revised sample took the following form: male 56%, female 44%; Black – 60% (n=347); White – 27% (n=156); Indian – 8% (n=48); Coloured – 5% (n=31). In total, the study sample was 582.

The sample was well-stratified in that there was at least a 10% response rate from each residence. Table 1 in Appendix A provides a full breakdown of all residences sampled, while Table 8 shows (roughly) the number of students in each residence (recall that the figures provided do not show exactly how many students are enrolled into a residence but, rather, the number of students to whom Student Housing made offers of accommodation). A *Chi*-squared goodness-of-fit test showed that the sample was racially representative of the residence population as a whole ($\chi^2 = .37$, $df = 3$, $p = .96$). (Figures

obtained from the Student Housing Department indicate that 64% of residence students are Black, 23% are White, 7% Indian and 6% Coloured).

Data collection and procedure

The participants were recruited via email. Student identification numbers were provided by the Student Housing administration – these were vital to contact students.

A mass email was sent out to the 5300 residence students at UCT using an online survey software package called Zoomerang. (The homepage can be found at www.zoomerang.com). The email contained a request to complete the survey (which was hosted on the Zoomerang website) as well as a brief description of the study. The email also included a hyperlink that redirected recipients directly to the start of the survey. This method was efficient as students were already logged on to a computer when they received the email, meaning that they simply had to click to follow the link and complete the questionnaire.

616 students responded to the email (but it must be noted that, in total, 1004 students had begun the survey – of those, 388 students dropped out, for a number of potential reasons, which will be discussed later). Participants were offered the chance to win one of four large prizes upon successful completion of the survey.

Design

The study, which was quantitative in nature, made use of a survey to gather information. Several free-response items were used to supplement the data and give it some qualitative character: these allowed for the exploration of more complex issues, which would not have been possible had only simple multiple-choice questions been asked. (Please see Appendix C for the complete questionnaire).

As mentioned earlier, this dissertation is a continuation of an Honours project on the same topic. In that study, 18 participants were interviewed and, based on their responses, a survey was constructed. The use of interviews brought to light many issues regarding institutional support and residence management that were of concern to residence students. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed for exploration of topics mentioned by participants. The honours project could now be termed a pilot – good and bad points were highlighted and the current study set about trying to correct some of the flaws.

A new survey was constructed for this study, based on some of the items from the Honours thesis. A considerable limitation with the first survey was that it was quite lengthy and required respondents to answer several free-response questions. In compiling the new survey, a number of these qualitative questions were eliminated, leaving mainly fixed-response items. Some of the Honours survey items that were omitted included those that were not a direct comment on students' perceptions of institutional support.

Survey items were based on responses from the interviewees. Further survey items were chosen from other studies (e.g. Levin et. al, 2003; Sidanius et. al., 2004; van Laar, et. al., 2005; and Schrieff, 2004). The additional scales e.g. the Bogardus social distance scale (1932) and a semantic differential scale (termed an affective prejudice scale in this study) were adopted directly from other studies e.g. Schrieff (2002) and Muianga (2006) where no reliability problems were reported. All scales and items from previous studies were adapted so as to be relevant to students and to the UCT context, in particular.

The majority of the items were created as Likert scale questions with the options being Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Agree or Strongly Agree. The forced choice method was used, where the middle option of "Neither Agree nor Disagree" was not available, in order to oblige respondents to take a firm stance.

The scales to measure contact and prejudice are described below.

The Frequency of Contact Scale: A higher score on this scale indicates more frequent contact with the group under question. Hendricks (2005) used the current version of this scale and reported a Cronbach's α of 0.79. The scale comprises the following items:

How often do you have contact with Black people in the following situations?

With Black people in your residence?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With Black people at your own home?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With Black people at social events?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Do you sit next to Black students during lectures?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Meaning of Contact Scale: A higher score on this scale represents more meaningful contact with outgroup members. Parker (2003) adapted this from a previous scale by Bornman and Mynhardt (1991) and reported a reliability coefficient of 0.88. The wording was edited to reflect the current study situation. The following items made up this scale:

How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with Black people? Please indicate your choice by selecting the circle next to the number you feel accurately describes your experience

Courteous	1	2	3	4	5	Rude
Pleasant	1	2	3	4	5	Unpleasant
Meaningless	1	2	3	4	5	Meaningful
Spontaneous	1	2	3	4	5	Forced
Uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5	Relaxed
Destructive	1	2	3	4	5	Constructive

The Bogardus Social Distance Scale (1932): This was created to measure peoples' willingness to experience different forms of social contact with members of diverse

groups. In this case, it was students of other race groups. The original scale, which included items pertaining to whether the respondent would willingly admit outgroup members to their country of residence, was altered so as to be applicable to the current situation. Bogardus did not originally report the reliability of this scale but subsequent studies (Schrieff, 2002 and Muianga, 2006) report using a revised scale and do not report reliability problems. The revised version was adopted from Muianga (2006). A lower score indicates a smaller social distance between the respondent and the outgroup. The following items formed the scale on the survey:

According to my first feeling/reaction, I would willingly admit

1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people into my university

1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to my street as neighbours

1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to my residence room

1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people as my personal friends

1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to close kinship by marriage

A Semantic Differential / Affective Prejudice Scale: This is a 7-point bipolar semantic differential scale created by Zanna (1994). However, this was adapted for a previous South African study by Gaibie (2003, in Muianga, 2006) and it is this modified version that was used in the current study. The Cronbach's α on this scale is 0.85 (as tested in Gaibie's study). The revised version was also used by Muianga (2006). A lower score means less prejudice toward the outgroup. The following items were included:

I feel the following way towards Black people in general:

Warm	1	2	3	4	5	Cold
Negative	1	2	3	4	5	Positive
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Hostile
Suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	Trusting
Respect	1	2	3	4	5	Disrespect
Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	Disgust

For all the scales, the same questions were also asked about White people. Scoring was reversed on certain items so that all items on a particular scale were scored in the same direction.

Ethical considerations

Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity before completing the questionnaire. The latter was achieved by separating the students' contact details from the rest of the responses before analysis. The participants were not harmed in any way and were fully informed as to the uses of the information and the purpose of the research (see Appendix C for the memorandum that was sent to residence students).

In terms of the incentive, given that the potential for a poor response rate was high, the prizes offered were substantial – the prizes were deliberately selected so as to make the potential reward greater than the effort in the minds of the students. This was approved by a university ethics committee.

Finally, administration structures (including Student Housing) were aware that the research was being conducted and, at different points, the researcher received assistance from staff members in the sourcing of official documents.

Analysis/Results

To analyse the results, factor analyses were run on several of the survey items to create new variables on which to regress scores on the above scales for each of the race groups. The goal was to create a scale of perceived institutional support. The items that were included are listed in the Results section (Chapter 5) and the procedure for selecting these items is discussed below. The reason for using a data reduction analysis is that it is unlikely that one single item is capable of tapping a whole concept that a researcher wishes to study (in this case, institutional support).

In deciding which questions to include in the institutional support scales, two criteria were used – theoretical and empirical. Theoretically, the items that were initially designed as indicative of institutional support were automatically considered. Empirically, there had to have been a sufficiently wide range of responses to the question i.e. each option (Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree) had to have been selected by at least 5% of respondents. 5% is not too stringent – it was set because, for some of the questions, respondents may have felt that the options of Strongly Agree or Disagree were too extreme, which resulted in few people choosing them. For Question 42 (UCT is doing all it can to promote integration amongst students), only 4% of respondents chose the option of Strongly Agree. Empirically, it should be excluded but, since this is a question that so directly questions students' perceptions of institutional support, it was considered justifiable to include it in the analyses. The factor analysis was computed for the whole sample to ensure that the resultant factor scores were able to be compared between the different race groups.

Variables that were included in the factor analysis had to be recoded so that they were scored in the same direction. Two new factors, termed Perceptions of Structural Inequality and UCT's Differential Treatment of Groups, were extracted. This analysis is reported in the Results section. These variables were then included in regression analyses with the established scales mentioned earlier, to find if these new constructs designed to measure institutional support are suitable predictors of prejudice.

In addition to these statistical analyses, more basic *t*-tests and analyses of variance were also conducted on the mean scores of most items e.g. in comparing students' feelings about having a different-race roommate to their parents feelings and comparing institutional support scores between the race groups, among others. The models are presented in tabular form in Appendix B, but all significant models were further tested, post-hoc, to ascertain where the differences lay (i.e. between which specific race groups). Where the differences are further discussed, some post-hoc Bonferroni tables are included in the main text.

Throughout the reporting, results are broken down by race group – this is because it would be interesting to note whether perceptions of institutional support are universal amongst students or whether the experience of this support differs amongst race groups. In addition, if these experiences are found to be different or, if perceptions of institutional support have a different effect on the race groups, university management can be informed as to what intervention measures will be successful and which will not.

Chapter 5

Results

The results have been broken down into several themes, namely “Perceptions of inter-racial contact in residences (and at UCT as a whole)”, “Friendship”, “Whether UCT is doing all it can to promote integration”, “Allocation policies”, “Perceptions that some students’ concerns are more important to UCT”, “Perceptions of discrimination on the basis of race” and “Contact”, with more than one survey item contributing to a theme. The final theme “Perceptions of institutional support” combined the already-discussed items that were used in the factor analysis. The survey items are grouped in this way simply for ease of reporting – similar questions fall under a “theme” based on the content of the items, not results. Some questions did overlap in terms of the theme they could be represented by, but the decision to include an item in one theme over another does not affect the results in any way – as mentioned, the grouping just makes for easier reading and assessment.

In addition, part of the results are set out following some sections of the questionnaire – however, as will be seen by perusing the questionnaire, not all survey items were included in this report for analysis. Rather, it has been limited to those items that speak particularly to institutional support, contact or prejudice.

Overall, some findings are in agreement with those of Luescher et al (2005) from the Student Climate Survey of 2004. Non-White students do perceive that some residences receive better resources than others and that Student Housing treats the “White” residences better.

Black students do not have much positive contact with Whites and perceive greater discrimination against their race group than other groups perceive against theirs. They also perceive less institutional support for interaction but, when they do experience this support, they are positively affected in terms of their feelings toward and contact with Whites.

It must be noted that not all questions were compulsory for respondents to answer, so there was some incomplete data for certain survey items. However, the most missing responses for any particular question was 11, which was deemed not sufficient to greatly affect the analysis.

Percentages are reported for certain items to show what proportion of respondents chose a particular response – the “Agree” and “Strongly Agree” responses were added to show a positive response to an item, while the “Disagree” and “Strongly Disagree” responses were taken together to mean a negative response to an item. These frequency distributions are not reported in tabular form, either in the main text or any appendices, as they are simply an interesting point to make about the number of students who responded in that way to an item, but the *mean differences* between groups are the integral part of the analyses – these were computed using ANOVA’s (which are reported on in the main text and presented in tabular form in Appendix B). The means and standard deviations for the *whole sample* are reported in brackets in the discussion around each item below.

Where the results from analyses of variance are presented below, the outcomes of the post-hoc tests are also discussed (to show, not just that the ANOVA model was significant, but also to express where the differences were found). These post-hoc results are presented, for further appraisal, in Appendix B. The non-significant comparisons in these individual tables have been omitted (for ease of reporting) – the reader should therefore please note that, in some instances, only two race groups may be compared with each other whereas, in others, two or more groups have significant mean differences between them on a particular item.

Perceptions of inter-racial contact in residences (and at UCT as a whole)

Questions 12 – 14 dealt with respondents' perceptions of how comfortable UCT students are with students of other race groups in three different situations – the residence dining halls (Scenario 1 – $F(3,570)=12.78$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.5)$, $SD(0.79)$; Coloured $M(2.48)$, $SD(0.77)$; Indian $M(2.7)$, $SD(0.78)$; White $M(2.94)$, $SD(0.62)$; external social situations (Scenario 2 – $F(3,575)=5.71$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.58)$, $SD(0.73)$; Coloured $M(2.52)$, $SD(0.57)$; Indian $M(2.77)$, $SD(0.63)$; White $M(2.83)$, $SD(0.62)$; and lectures (Scenario 3 – $F(3,577)=18.97$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.83)$, $SD(0.7)$; Coloured $M(3)$, $SD(0.52)$; Indian $M(3.1)$, $SD(0.59)$; White $M(3.29)$, $SD(0.52)$). Higher scores on all these items indicate a high perceived degree of comfort. While the majority of Black and Coloured students (over 50% in each group) do believe that students of different races are comfortable in external social situations, it is clear, from post-hoc Bonferroni tests on an analysis of variance, that Whites are significantly more likely to hold this opinion. Whites and Coloureds are also more likely than Black students to believe that students are comfortable with each other while attending lectures. Finally, the differences between Whites and Coloureds and Blacks in dining halls was also significant – Whites are more likely than either of these groups to perceive comfort between students of different race group at meal times in residence. The complete ANOVA tables and post-hoc comparisons are presented as Tables 1-6 in Appendix B.

Although there were no significant differences between each group's perceptions of comfort in Scenarios 1 and 2, there were significant mean differences between Scenarios 2 and 3 for all groups. That is, all groups were more prone to think that students are comfortable with other race groups at lectures than in external social situations.

Students' feelings about having a roommate from another race group were compared to what they anticipated their parents' feelings would be if their children had roommates from another race group. Paired sample t-tests were run on the constructed variables dealing with students' own feelings of having other race roommates and their perceptions of their parents' feelings.

The question was broken down by each race group, to ascertain feelings in relation to each. The possible options were Happy, Pleased, Indifferent, Disappointed and Angry. The highest possible score was 15 (indicating a very negative feeling) and the lowest was 3 (indicating more positive feelings). The respondent's answers with regard to his/her own group were ignored and the rest were summed, to achieve an overall "feelings about roommate diversity" measure.

No significant differences were found between the students' own feelings and their perceptions of what their parents' feelings would be, suggesting that students think they have similar feelings to their parents with regard to having a roommate from another race group. Almost all scores were above the midpoint of the scale, indicating that they lean towards negative feelings on the matter.

Table 1 – Feelings of students and anticipated feelings of their parents regarding cross-race roommates (mean scores reported with standard deviations in brackets)

	Students	Parents	<i>t</i> -statistic	Sig. (2-tail)
Black	7.99 (2.4)	7.94 (2.26)	-.702	.483
Coloured	7.32 (2.69)	7.65 (2.41)	1.204	.238
Indian	9.23 (1.58)	8.79 (1.9)	1.709	.094
White	9.03 (1.39)	9.12 (0.96)	.758	.449

Also, using an ANOVA to compare the means of the four race groups on their feelings of having other-race roommates, it was shown that Whites differ significantly from Blacks and Coloureds and that Coloureds and Indians differ significantly from each other ($F(3,578)=10.05$, $p<0.01$). (A post-hoc Bonferroni correction was run to determine which between-group comparisons made the overall model significant). Whites had significantly more negative feelings about having another-race roommate than Blacks or Coloureds and the scores of Indians in this regard were significantly higher (more negative) than Coloureds. The full analysis of variance results are reported in Appendix B as Table 7, but the post-hoc table below shows where the significant differences lie.

Table 2 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Own feelings about roommate diversity
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 (Black)	4 (White)	-1.031(*)	.219	.000	-1.61	-.45
	2 (Coloured)	-1.469(*)	.524	.031	-2.86	-.08
	3 (Indian)	-1.703(*)	.447	.001	-2.89	-.52
3 (Indian)	2 (Coloured)	1.469(*)	.524	.031	.08	2.86
	4 (White)	1.031(*)	.219	.000	.45	1.61
4 (White)	2 (Coloured)	1.703(*)	.447	.001	.52	2.89

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Non-significant comparisons omitted for ease of reporting.

Friendship

Frequency reports showed that only 12% of respondents reported having known their current circle of friends before coming to university. An overwhelming majority (78%) stated that they made friends in the residence they were placed in. A large number (56% of sample) said that they made friends during Orientation Week (a very busy social period for residence students, during which residence organisations (House Committees or House Comms) co-ordinate social activities for the new students). 70% said that they made friends at lectures. 28% also said that they befriended students with similar interests in different university societies. (Respondents were allowed to select multiple options to describe in what situations they made friends at UCT, hence the percentages totalling more than 100). 14% also offered alternate opportunities for friendship-formation, which

the researcher had not considered. These included church, meetings through mutual friends and parties. These were either recoded to fit into existing categories or added to the three new categories – social events e.g. clubbing (which only 2% mentioned), through mutual friends (1%) or simply by approaching them (2%). This gives some indication of the fact that the university can have a significant impact on friendship formation between students.

The majority of respondents answered that race is *not* a factor that determines whether they will befriend someone. (Recall, as discussed above, percentages will be reported to show what proportion of students chose a certain response, but mean differences are reported on and discussed further through the use of ANOVA's to show whether one group is more likely than another to choose a response. This is done at various points in the reporting section). A high score on this item means that race is more likely to be a factor when making friends. As shown in the ANOVA in Table 8 in Appendix B, there were significant mean differences between the race groups [$F(3,578)=15.93, p<0.01$; Black $M(2.25), SD(0.96)$; Coloured $M(1.45), SD(0.62)$; Indian $M(1.71), SD(0.62)$; White $M(1.88), SD(0.71)$]. The post-hoc test showed Blacks were significantly more likely than any of the other race groups to consider race as an important characteristic of a potential friend – see table 9 in Appendix B.

Paired sample t-tests were also used to compare the reported diversity of students' friend groups when they were in high school compared with the diversity of these groups at UCT. The most a participant could score was 15 (indicating a high level of diversity) and the lowest 3 (indicating little or no diversity). For the scoring, the respondents' answers regarding their own race groups were ignored and the rest of the scores were summed together, creating an overall "diversity of friends group" measure.

As reported in Table 3 below, both Black and White respondents had significantly more diverse friend groups at UCT than they did at school and, while the mean scores for the other two groups were higher with regard to UCT, these differences are not significant.

Table 3 – Diversity of friend groups at school versus at UCT (mean scores reported with standard deviations in brackets)

	School	UCT	<i>t</i> -statistic	Sig. (2-tail)
Black	4.98 (1.9)	5.41 (1.72)	-3.928	0.001
Coloured	6.55 (2.0)	7.35 (1.6)	-1.927	0.63
Indian	6.69 (1.87)	6.85 (1.72)	-.667	0.508
White	5.38 (1.37)	5.79 (1.49)	-2.907	0.004

Additionally, Blacks and Whites each differ significantly from the other two groups in their diversity of current friend groups at UCT [$F(3,578)=21.47, p<0.01$]. Coloured and Indian students both have significantly more diverse friend groups at UCT than either the Black or White groups. This was judged by conducting an analysis of variance and following this up with a post-hoc test, which is reported below. (The ANOVA table is reported in Appendix B as Table 10).

Table 4 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Diversity of friends at UCT
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 (Black)	2 (Coloured)	-1.943(*)	.312	.001	-2.77	-1.12
	3 (Indian)	-1.442(*)	.256	.001	-2.12	-.76
2 (Coloured)	1 (Black)	1.943(*)	.312	.001	1.12	2.77
	4 (White)	1.560(*)	.327	.001	.69	2.43
3 (Indian)	1 (Black)	1.442(*)	.256	.001	.76	2.12
	4 (White)	1.059(*)	.274	.001	.33	1.79
4 (White)	2 (Coloured)	-1.560(*)	.327	.001	-2.43	-.69
	3 (Indian)	-1.059(*)	.274	.001	-1.79	-.33

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level. Non-significant comparisons omitted for ease of reporting.

Whether UCT is doing all it can to promote integration

The majority of Black, Coloured and Indian students responded that it would be easier for residence students to integrate if Student Housing and residence management provided them with more opportunities (e.g. social functions) throughout the year. The majority of White students disagreed with this sentiment. A higher score on this item shows greater agreement. Comparing the means of all groups on this item, Black and Indian students scored significantly higher than White respondents – suggesting that these non-White students feel that university intervention is necessary to enhance integration between the race groups at residence level [$F(3,578)=15.95$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.86)$, $SD(0.85)$; Coloured $M(2.68)$, $SD(0.91)$; Indian $M(2.9)$, $SD(0.78)$; White $M(2.33)$, $SD(0.75)$]. (Tables 11 and 12 in Appendix B show the ANOVA results and the post-hoc comparisons).

Question 41 required participants to comment on whether they feel that UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of other race groups. A higher score on this measure indicates that respondents feel that UCT *should* do more. As ascertained through a Bonferroni test, the differences between Blacks and Whites and Blacks and Indians were found to be significant on this item. Indians also felt more strongly than Whites that UCT should require students to mix more [$F(3,578)=47.4$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(3.02)$, $SD(0.74)$; Coloured $M(2.77)$, $SD(0.76)$; Indian $M(2.73)$, $SD(0.64)$; White $M(2.2)$, $SD(0.69)$]. (Tables 13 and 14 in Appendix B report the ANOVA results and post-hoc comparisons).

Despite the fact that so many Black respondents stated that UCT should do more to require students to interact across racial lines, 55% said that they felt that UCT is doing “all it can” to promote integration amongst students. Fewer Indian students agreed with this assessment (49%) and even fewer Coloured students felt this way (33%). Consistent with the previous question, 69% of White respondents said that UCT is doing all it can to promote integration.

When asked whether they feel that UCT gives the impression that it wants students of different race groups to segregate, less than 30% in each race group answered in the affirmative, but this amounted to 16% of all respondents. This is surely not how UCT wishes to be perceived by any of its students, let alone a sizeable proportion of residence students. [F(3,578)=4.7, $p=0.03$; Black M(2), SD(0.8); Coloured M(2.03), SD(0.8); Indian M(1.81), SD(0.67); White M(1.74), SD(0.66)]. Comparatively speaking, Black students were significantly more likely than White students to believe this. (A higher score here means that respondents feel that UCT supports segregation). The results of the ANOVA and post-hoc results are reported as Tables 15 and 16 in Appendix B).

Similarly, perceptions of a unified student body were addressed [F(3,578)=4.07, $p<0.01$; Black M(2.37), SD(0.84); Coloured M(2.26), SD(0.73); Indian M(2.73), SD(0.64); White M(2.51), SD(0.75)]. A higher score indicates a strong belief that students are “just one group”. The post-hoc test showed that there was a significant mean difference between Blacks and Indians, with Black respondents being less likely to feel that all students are “just one group”. (Table 17 in Appendix B shows the ANOVA results. See Table 18 for the post-hoc results).

The converse of the above item (“at UCT it feels as if we belong to different groups”), revealed that Black students were significantly more likely than Indian or White students to feel that this is the case (recall that the Black sample is far larger than the Indian one). [F(3,578)=8.03, $p<0.01$; Black M(2.91), SD(0.72); Coloured M(2.81), SD(0.65); Indian M(2.46), SD(0.62); White M(2.71), SD(0.62)]. This is in line with the results of the previous item. A higher score here means that students strongly believe that they belong to different groups. (The results of the ANOVA and the post-hoc results are reported as Tables 19 and 20 in Appendix B).

Allocation policies

Respondents were asked direct questions about their perceptions of UCT’s involvement in separating residence students of different race groups. First, they were asked whether

they felt that management staff of individual residences separate students into *rooms* on the basis of race [F(3,578)=5.69, p=0.01; Black M(2.18), SD(0.84); Coloured M(1.9), SD(0.91); Indian M(2.02), SD(0.86); White M(1.87), SD(0.76)]. The Bonferroni showed a significant difference between Black students and White students on this item, with Black students being more likely to believe this is the case (see Table 22 in Appendix B). The results are reported as an ANOVA table (Table 21) in Appendix B.

The second question dealt with allocation into *residences* and about 40% of Black, Indian and White respondents responded that UCT allocates students into different residences on the basis of race. (35% of Coloured respondents felt that this is the case). No significant differences were found between the groups on this question, suggesting that there is a great deal of agreement [F(3,578)=0.945, p=0.42]. The non-significant ANOVA table is Table 23 in Appendix B.

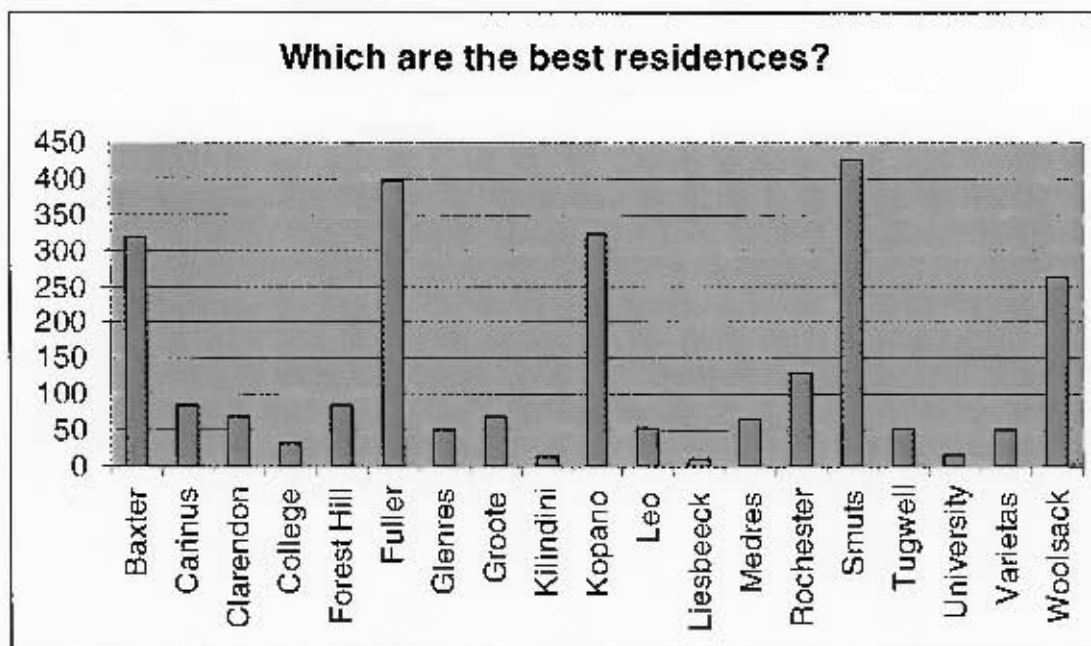
Respondents were also asked about their assessments of allocation practices when it came to academic achievement (either based on high school results, to determine their initial allocation into a first-tier residence or based on university results, to determine allocation into a second- or third-tier residence). Over 60% of respondents in each group felt that UCT allocates students into residences based on their academic achievements. Again, there were no significant differences between groups [F(3,578)=0.526, p=0.67].

Finally, the last method of allocation that respondents were asked about was on the basis of "class" or socio-economic standing [F(3,578)=6.729, p<0.01; Black M(2.38), SD(0.83), Coloured M(2.16), SD(0.16); Indian (2.17), SD(0.81); White M(2.04), SD(0.71)]. A Bonferroni test showed a significant difference between Black and White students, with Black students significantly more likely to believe that UCT/Student Housing use this as an indicator. (The foregoing ANOVA results are reported as Tables 24 and 25 in Appendix B and the latter is further analysed in Table 26). (For all of these allocation-related items, a higher score meant that respondents held a strong belief that those particular allocation practices were in place).

The most desirable residences according to the sample were Smuts (405 votes), Fuller (376), Kopano (315) and Baxter (305). Next was Woolsack with 243 and then Rochester with 120. No other residence received more than 100 votes. The least popular residences were Liesbeeck Gardens (8 votes), Kilindini (13) and University House (17). See Figure 1 below for a more complete break-down. These results are similar to those in the Student Climate Survey of 2004 (Luescher et al, 2005) and the Honours project (Govender, 2005). Tables 3 – 8 in Appendix A show the racial demographic breakdown for each individual residence for the years 2003 – 2006 and 2001. (Neither the Student Housing administration, nor the Institutional Planning Department of UCT could provide a breakdown for 2002).

Respondents were also given the opportunity to name additional residences that might not have been on the list. Only 17 named other residences, but these were mainly third-tier residences that operate more like private accommodation on a landlord-tenant basis. In addition, some respondents named the new women’s residence, Graça Machel, which had not even opened to students at that stage, so these were not included in the figure.

Figure 1 – Students’ opinions of the most desirable residences at UCT



Perceptions that some students' concerns are more important to UCT

When asked whether they thought that some residences received more attention and resources from Student Housing, over 60% of respondents in all groups answered in the affirmative. However, the post-hoc test revealed that only Blacks were significantly more likely than Whites to answer in this way [$F(3,578)=5.121$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(3.05)$, $SD(0.83)$; Coloured $M(2.94)$, $SD(0.77)$; Indian $M(2.98)$, $SD(0.89)$; White $M(2.74)$, $SD(0.8)$]. They were not asked which residences appeared to be the preferred ones. One can only assume that they would be referring to the more desirable residences – better resources would presumably be the reason that the residences are desirable. (The significant ANOVA model is reported as Table 27 in Appendix B and the post-hoc test as Table 28).

About 70% of respondents from the Indian, Coloured and Black groups felt that Student Housing treats the residents of some houses as superior to other students in the other houses. This is compared with only 50% of White respondents who feel this way. As with the previous item, Black respondents were significantly more likely than Whites to answer in this way [$F(3,578)=4.76$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.96)$, $SD(0.86)$; Coloured $M(3.06)$, $SD(0.57)$; Indian $M(2.83)$, $SD(0.88)$; White $M(2.67)$, $SD(0.82)$]. Again, they were not asked to elaborate which students they feel are treated as superior or what has led them to believe this. (Higher scores in this and the preceding question signal a stronger belief that some residences and/or residents are favoured). (See Table 29 in Appendix B for the significant ANOVA model and Table 30 for the post-hoc model).

When asked whether they feel that the concerns of some students are a concern over the concerns of other students for UCT, 42% of Coloured students and 30% of Black students answered in the affirmative, compared with less than 15% of Indian and 22% of White students. However, despite the apparent disparity, comparison of means revealed no significant differences. Those who agreed were asked to elaborate on which concerns (and from which students) were treated as more superior – these will be discussed later. Again, a higher score showed a greater belief that some students are favoured.

Perceptions of discrimination on the basis of race

Despite a slight trend having been established up to this point with Black students appearing to perceive more isolation, segregation or discrimination at UCT, 30% of Black respondents said that they experienced discrimination at UCT because of their race. Between 30 and 40% of White and Coloured students felt discriminated against. The group who felt the least discriminated against were Indians, with only 13% answering in the affirmative. However, no significant differences were found between the groups on this item (See Table 32 in Appendix B, despite the fact that the ANOVA is non-significant).

As per van Laar et al (2005), people are more likely to admit or recognise discrimination against members of their *group* than against themselves. So, the next question asked respondents whether they thought students of their race group experienced discrimination on campus [$F(3,570)=12.235$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(2.56)$, $SD(0.79)$; Coloured $M(2.26)$, $SD(0.63)$; Indian $M(2.02)$, $SD(0.64)$; White $M(2.21)$, $SD(0.82)$]. 56% of Black students said that this is the case. Only 36% of the Coloured group and only 20% of Indians said that their race groups were the victims of discrimination. But, a surprising 39% of Whites felt that their group is discriminated against. The post-hoc test showed that the differences between the Black and Indian and Black and White groups were significant (with Blacks more likely to perceive this discrimination). This is consistent with previous analyses which show that the Black participants perceive greater segregation at the university (Tables 33 and 34 in Appendix B show the significant model and post-hoc results). For both these items, a higher score indicated a stronger perception of such discrimination.

Respondents were asked whether they felt that certain race groups are preferred over others when it comes to the appointment to leadership positions. Coloureds, Indians and Whites were *all* more likely than Blacks to believe that certain race groups are favoured in terms of appointment to leadership positions [$F(3,578)=28.805$, $p<0.01$; Black $M(1.98)$, $SD(0.62)$; Coloured $M(2.42)$, $SD(0.72)$; Indian $M(2.5)$, $SD(0.77)$; White

M(2.56), SD(0.83)]. A related question was whether respondents felt that certain race groups are favoured when it comes to mark allocation in academic courses. Only the mean difference between Blacks and Whites was significant [$F(3,578)=12.76$, $p<0.01$; Black M(2.2), SD(0.86); Coloured M(2.03), SD(0.6); Indian M(2), SD(0.74); White M(1.74), SD(0.62)]. The last of these questions asked respondents whether they believed that any race groups were favoured in terms of acceptance to post-graduate courses of study – the ANOVA showed that there were no significant mean differences between any of the groups. Respondents were asked to elaborate on which groups they believe are favoured and in what ways – these will be discussed later (see Tables 35-39 in Appendix B for the three ANOVA's reported on above and the two models that were tested post-hoc). For all these items, a higher score suggested more agreement with the statements that certain groups are favoured.

Contact and prejudice

Contact and prejudice among race groups was assessed using four scales. Frequency of Contact (a higher score indicates more frequent contact), Meaning of Contact (a higher score signifies more meaningful contact with outgroup members), Social Distance (a lower score represents a smaller “social distance” to another group) and Affective Prejudice / Semantic Differential (a lower score means less prejudice towards the other group).

For all the scales, the same questions were asked about White and Black people. Scoring was reversed on certain items so that all items on a particular scale were scored in the same direction.

Tables 5 and 6 (below) provide descriptive statistics of the various scales. (Note that the *actual* minimum and maximum scores are reported first and the lowest and highest *possible* scores are reported in brackets in the same column).

Table 5 – Descriptive scale results for Black respondents

	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Affective prejudice	16.27	2.05	6 (6)	22 (30)
Frequency of contact	15.52	4.31	5 (5)	25 (25)
Meaning of contact	18.54	1.69	12 (6)	24 (30)
Social distance	10.38	4.69	5 (5)	25 (25)

Black respondents scored above the midpoint of the scales for all scales, except social distance – suggesting that their “contact” scores are positive and they have a low social distance to Whites.

Table 6 – Descriptive scale results for White respondents

	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
Affective prejudice	16.04	1.69	12 (6)	23 (30)
Frequency of contact	17.92	3.73	7 (5)	25 (25)
Meaning of contact	18.56	1.39	14 (6)	23 (30)
Social distance	13.38	3.94	5 (5)	22 (25)

For Whites, all mean scores were above the midpoint – this means that their contact scores were in the positive range. However, their mean scores on the prejudice scales were also above the midpoint, suggesting a somewhat high degree of prejudice.

A comparison of the Black and White groups on each of these scales revealed the following: there were no significant mean differences in Black respondents’ meaning of contact with Whites and vice versa. The same was true for Affective Prejudice.

However, in terms of Frequency of Contact, White respondents reported having significantly more contact with Blacks than Black participants had with Whites. On the other hand, in terms of Social Distance, Black subjects had significantly lower scores in relation to Whites than White respondents had in relation to Blacks. This was assessed through the use of independent *t*-tests. The significant models are represented in Tables 7 and 8 below.

Table 7 –Independent Samples Test – Black and White students’ frequency of contact compared

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
		Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
FreqContact	Equal variances assumed	6.432	.012	6.034	501	.000	-2.407	.399		-3.191	-1.623
	Equal variances not assumed			6.376	342.252	.000	-2.407	.378		-3.150	-1.665

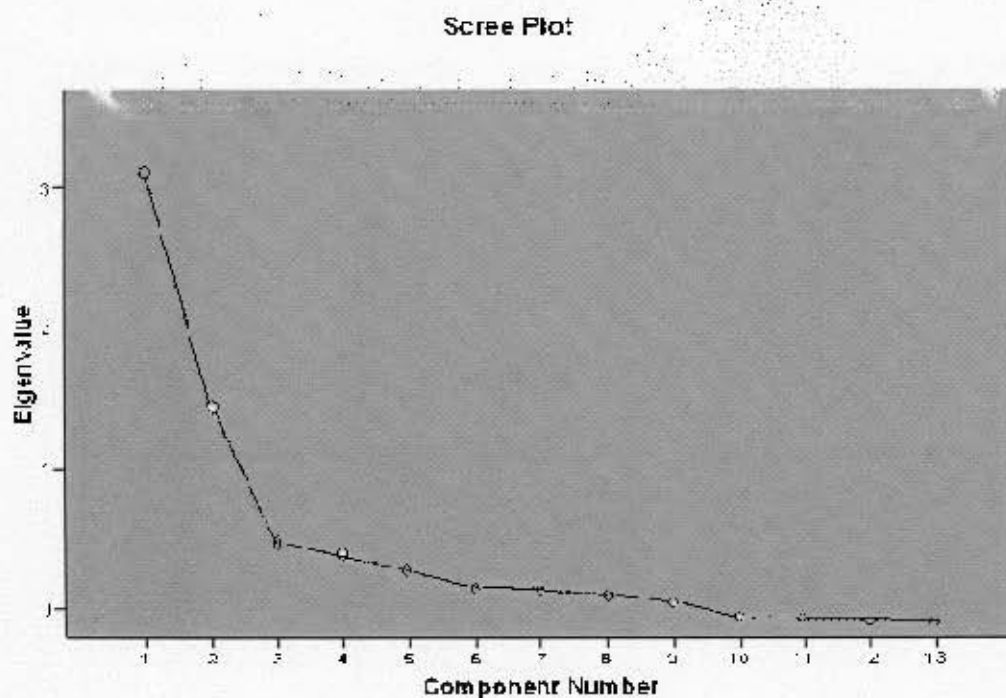
Table 8 - Independent Samples Test – Black and White students’ social distance compared

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances				t-test for Equality of Means					
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference		
		Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
SocialDist	Equal variances assumed	14.680	.000	6.962	501	.000	-3.004	.431		-3.852	-2.156
	Equal variances not assumed			7.434	351.342	.000	-3.004	.404		-3.799	-2.209

Perceptions of institutional support

All variables that were included in the factor analysis (listed below) were recoded so that they were scored in the same direction. The eigenvalues indicated that four factors should be extracted (all with eigenvalues over 1). However, there was a large decrease in the eigenvalues from Factor 2 to Factor 3 – hence the last two factors were excluded using the scree plot. While it may be argued that a third factor was justifiable (based on the decrease shown in the scree plot), the items that loaded well on a third factor in the rotated component matrix, were, in fact, better represented in the existing two factors – hence a theoretical decision was made to run the analyses on just two factors.

Figure 2 – Eigenvalue Scree Plot



(The factor analysis was computed for the whole sample). Table 9 shows the eigenvalue analysis of the total variance explained by the two factors.

Table 9 – Total Variance Explained (Eigenvalue Analysis)

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of	Cumulative	Total	% of	Cumulative	Total	% of	Cumulative
		Variance	%		Variance	%		Variance	%
1	3.108	23.905	23.905	3.108	23.905	23.905	1.976	15.197	15.197
2	1.492	11.480	35.385	1.492	11.480	35.385	1.717	13.208	28.404

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Factor 1, “Perceptions of Structural Inequality”, consisted of the following survey items – Q20: UCT gives the impression that it wants students of different race groups to segregate; Q33: Student Housing treats some residences and the students therein as superior to others; Q36: The concerns of some students are a priority over the concerns of others for UCT; Q47: Other members of my race group experience discrimination on campus; and Q50: Certain race groups are favoured over others when it comes to mark allocation in courses. A lower score is more positive i.e. a higher score indicates that respondents have a greater perception of structural inequality.

Factor 2, “UCT’s Differential Treatment of Groups”, comprised these items – Q28: Residence management staff in charge of room allocation separate students into rooms on the basis of race; Q29 – UCT allocates students into residences on the basis of race; Q42 (scoring reversed): UCT is doing all it can to promote integration amongst students; and Q48: UCT prefers certain race groups over others when appointing students to leadership positions. A higher score on this variable indicates that respondents perceive that UCT treats the groups differently (and this difference is negative).

Table 10 presents the rotated component matrix – the factor loadings below 0.4 have been eliminated for ease of reporting (a cut-off of 0.4 was used, as anything below that was deemed a weak correlation between items used and the factors).

Table 10 – Rotated Component Matrix(a)

	Component	
	1	2
Question 17 It would be easier for residence students to integrate with people from other race groups if there were more functions and social opportunities provided throughout the year by Student Housing and residence management (reversed)		
Question 20: UCT gives the impression that it wants students of different race groups to segregate.	.519	
Question 28: Residence management staff in charge of room allocation separate students into rooms on the basis of race.		.734
Question 29: UCT allocates students into residences on the basis of race.		.737
Question 33: Student Housing treats some residences and the residents therein as superior to others.	.533	
Question 36: The concerns of certain students are a priority over the concerns of others for UCT.	.715	
Question 39 Despite the different groups at UCT, there is frequently the sense that we are all just one group (reversed)		
Question 40: At UCT, it usually feels as though we belong to different groups.		
Question 41: UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of different race groups.		
Question 42 UCT is doing all it can to promote integration amongst students (reversed)		.412
Question 47: Other members of my race group experience discrimination on campus.	.539	
Question 48: UCT prefers certain race groups over others when appointing students to leadership positions.		.471
Question 50: Certain race groups are favoured over others when it comes to mark allocation in courses.	.672	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
 Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
 a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

The reliability analyses of each of these factors are presented below, in Tables 11 and 12. As per Kline (1994) a suitable reliability co-efficient for preliminary or basic research is

0.7. Generally, in studies undertaken in the field of psychology, an acceptable level is Cronbach's α of 0.8 or more. However, this might be a little stringent in a study of this nature (i.e. it is preliminary research in that a scale of this nature has never been constructed before).

Table 11 – Reliability Statistics (Factor 1)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.755	5

Table 12 – Reliability Statistics (Factor 2)

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
0.674	4

Initially, the reliability coefficients were 0.607 and 0.509, respectively, presumably because the number of items was small. A Spearman-Brown prediction statistic was computed to combat this problem, thus yielding slightly more acceptable reliability levels (as presented in the above tables). Although, admittedly, that of the second factor is lower than the generally-accepted level, this is being ignored on the grounds of this research being exploratory and this particular scale being an innovation. In addition, the measure is not intended to be a very stringent empirical measure of institutional support, given that this is an initial construction of such a scale. The α -coefficient is also not far below the accepted level. Further, when item 48 (which theoretically has a better fit in Factor 1) is removed, the reliability only increases to 0.7, suggesting that it does not make much difference to keep or exclude it. The results based on this measure will be interpreted with caution.

This statistic was computed as follows:

$$\frac{2 \times \text{observed } \alpha}{1 + \text{observed } \alpha}$$

$$1 + \text{observed } \alpha$$

(This formula is acceptable when the length of the test, or the number of items is being doubled. A low Cronbach's α in this case is not entirely surprising, given the low number of items being used to calculate the reliability).

The descriptive statistics of perceptions of institutional support scores (both factors) for Blacks and Whites are presented below in Tables 13 and 14. Again, the highest and lowest possible scores are presented in brackets after the actual minimum and maximum scores. Recall that a high score on both factors is negative – high scores suggest that students believe that UCT is treats groups differently and that inequality exists at the university.

Table 15 shows that there were significant mean differences between the two groups on both factors. Black students perceive a lesser degree of institutional support.

Table 13 – Descriptives for perceptions of institutional support scores for Black respondents

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Factor 1	12.01	2.53	5 (5)	19 (20)
Factor 2	9.53	1.91	4 (4)	15 (16)

Table 14 – Descriptive perceptions of institutional support scores for White respondents

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Factor 1	10.51	2.10	5 (5)	18 (20)
Factor 2	8.94	1.98	4 (4)	15 (16)

Table 15 – Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference		95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
							Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper
Factor 1 - Perceptions of Structural Inequality	Equal variances assumed	5.783	.017	6.475	501	.000	1.505	.232	1.048	1.962
	Equal variances not assumed			6.951	356.119	.000	1.505	.217	1.079	1.931
Factor 2 - Differential treatment	Equal variances assumed	.608	.436	3.142	501	.002	.585	.186	.219	.951
	Equal variances not assumed			3.104	290.049	.002	.585	.188	.214	.956

It is acknowledged in the literature that more frequent and meaningful contact leads to reduced prejudice and a smaller social distance. The aim of this research is to explore whether perceived institutional support (as measured by the two newly-constructed factors) changes the effects of contact on prejudice. This was measured through the use of regressions. In this section, only data from Black and White participants was utilised. This was done for two reasons – 1. while the sample was representative of the population (in terms of proportions), the sample size of the four groups were so different as to make comparisons difficult and largely meaningless; 2. the contact and prejudice scales mentioned previously were only constructed in terms of subjects' relations with Black and White students.

Frequency and meaning of contact were used as mediating variables in the regressions because it has already been shown in the literature that more frequent and meaningful contact leads to reduced prejudice and a smaller social distance.

The variables were entered into the regression model in steps: first, one contact variable; second, the other contact variable; and, finally, the newly-constructed institutional support variables. (The “steps” are presented in the first column of the tables below). So, as an example, the model took the following form:

Frequency of Contact	Frequency of Contact	Frequency of Contact
	Meaning of Contact	Meaning of Contact
		Factor 1
		Factor 2

The dependent variables were, of course, the “prejudice” measures, Affective Prejudice and Social Distance.

If one of the variables was found not to have an effect on the model at a particular stage (i.e. if the prediction was non-significant), the variable was removed and the analysis was

run again. (As is clear from the tables below, where the factors or contact measures had no effect, this was not reported).

In the first model, Frequency of Contact with Whites and Perceptions of Structural Inequality were found to be significant predictors of Blacks' Affective Prejudice towards Whites. The table below shows the model once the other two variables (Meaning of Contact with Whites and UCT's Differential Treatment of Groups) had been removed. As Blacks' contact with Whites increases, their affective prejudice towards Whites decreases. In addition, as their Perceptions of Structural Inequality increase, Affective Prejudice scores move in the same direction i.e. as they perceive that there is structural inequality, they are more prejudiced towards Whites. Table 17 (below) shows the model summary, including the R² adjustment at each step.

Table 16 – Regression analysis

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	17.491	.408		42.875	.000
	Freq Contact White	-.079	.025	-.165	-3.112	.002
2	(Constant)	16.382	.698		23.480	.000
	Freq Contact White	-.073	.025	-.152	-2.861	.004
	Factor 1 - Perceptions of Structural Inequality	.084	.043	.104	1.955	.050

a Dependent Variable: Affective Prejudice towards Whites

Table 17 - Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.165(a)	.027	.024	2.032
2	.195(b)	.038	.032	2.023

a Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactWhite

b Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactWhite, Factor 1 - Perceptions of Structural Inequality

Similarly, Frequency of Contact and Perceptions of Structural Inequality are significant predictors of Social Distance for Blacks. As Blacks have more contact with Whites, the social distance between them decreases and, as they perceive that there is greater structural inequality, the social distance increases. (See Tables 18 and 19 below). For

both these measures of prejudice, Meaning of Contact and Factor 2 (UCT's Differential Treatment of Students) had no significant effect on the model.

Table 18 – Regression analysis

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	13.918	.923		15.077	.000
	Freq Contact White	-.228	.057	-.209	-3.977	.000
2	(Constant)	10.593	1.572		6.738	.000
	Freq Contact White	-.210	.057	-.193	-3.661	.000
	Factor 1 - Perceptions of Structural Inequality	.253	.097	.137	2.602	.010

a Dependent Variable: Social Distance towards Whites

Table 19 - Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.209(a)	.044	.041	4.597
2	.250(b)	.062	.057	4.559

a Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactWhite

b Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactWhite, Factor 1 - Perceptions of Structural Inequality

With regard to the White respondents, Frequency of Contact with Blacks was a predictor of Affective Prejudice at all stages of the regression model. That is, as they have more contact with Blacks, they have less prejudice towards them. However, neither of the two new factors had any effect. (See Tables 20 and 21).

Table 20 – Regression analysis

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	17.465	.657		26.572	.000
	Freq Contact Black	-.079	.036	-.175	-2.207	.029

a Dependent Variable: Affective Prejudice to Blacks

Table 21 – Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.175(a)	.031	.024	1.665

a Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactBlack

Finally (as shown in Table 22), only Frequency of Contact was a predictor of Social Distance for Whites – as White students have more contact with Blacks, they have a smaller social distance from Blacks.

Table 22 – Regression analysis

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta	B	Std. Error
1	(Constant)	20.088	1.462		13.737	.000
	FreqContactBlack	-.373	.080	-.352	-4.668	.000

a Dependent Variable: SocialDistBlack

Table 23 – Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.352(a)	.124	.118	3.705

a Predictors: (Constant), FreqContactBlack

Chapter 6

Discussion

The findings of this study seem to support, in part, those in the Student Climate Survey of 2004 (Luescher et al, 2005). In that study, there was a strong conviction from the Black students interviewed and surveyed that UCT is not doing enough to promote integration and encourage contact between students of different race groups. Most of those respondents also felt that Student Housing allocates students into residences on the basis of race, which was an issue on which the respondents in the present study were somewhat less sure. The results are also similar to those found in the Honours project (Govender, 2005), where it was found that Black students perceive less institutional support than White students do but where their relations with Whites improve as their perception of institutional support increase.

A recent article in the South African Sunday Times newspaper investigated a similar phenomenon in four other South African universities (Govender, 2007). While this was completed at a superficial level and more for journalistic interest, as opposed to scientific research, it revealed that students from other universities have similar concerns and that institutional support at universities is beginning to be addressed at a national level.

At the universities reviewed, there were several residences that, by the admission of the management structure personnel, could be classified as “Black-only” or “White-only”. However, those same staff members stated that talks and procedures were already in place to review the placement policies and address these divisions. They were quoted in the article as saying this would give “momentum to the transformation agenda”.

Perceptions of inter-racial contact in residences (and at UCT as a whole)

With regard to interaction across racial lines in the residence dining halls, the respondents' opinions about their fellow students' levels of comfort are contrary to the findings of the Schrieff et. al. (2005) and Alexander (2003) studies. In these studies, students seldom interacted across racial lines. While this does not comment directly on the level of "comfort" they felt, it does suggest that they would rather *not* sit with each other. The Alexander study, in particular, is interesting because it showed that a table of students could change from exclusively White to exclusively Black (or vice versa) just with the arrival of other-race confederates. This might be slightly stronger evidence than the Schrieff et. al. (2005) study of students not wanting to cross racial lines because, in that study, one could argue that the students simply arrived at the dining halls in homogenous groups and chose to sit together. In the current study, while it is clear that White students are *more likely* than the other groups to perceive "comfort" in the dining halls, the majority of respondents in the other groups did indicate that they thought students were comfortable.

While the setting of residence dining halls was originally included as an institutional setting, it is important to note that it can also be viewed as a social one – residence students can come and go as they please during the designated meal times and, invariably, dine with their established friend groups. They are also not, technically, *required* to be there – the same cannot be said for the lecture setting.

These results should be interpreted with caution. Respondents might hold the opinion that students are comfortable with each other in the dining halls, but this is not necessarily the reality of the situation. For starters, there could have been an element of social desirability at play, not on a personal level, but on a residence level – respondents could have wanted their particular residence to seem as progressive as possible. More likely, however, is the possibility that students just do not realise that divisions do, in fact, exist. The observational studies by Schrieff et. al. (2005) and Alexander (2003) were objective in their measurements of segregation, whereas the self-report data from these survey

respondents may not be entirely accurate. On the other hand, however, given that three or four years had lapsed since the completion of the other two studies, there is the possibility that the attitudes and “comfort levels” of residence students have changed – this is not impossible, given that the current residence students are likely to have attended more integrated schools and have had more contact across racial lines (since the advent of democracy) than their predecessors in the older studies.

The fact that fewer Black and Coloured participants than the other race groups commented that students are comfortable in social situations is supported by some of the qualitative answers received to other questions in the survey. More than one Black student commented that there are “White (night)clubs” in the Claremont area of Cape Town (not far from the UCT campus), where most White students go over weekends. Black students, however, choose to go to central Cape Town. Further anecdotal evidence was provided in the form of comments from (mainly) Black students who said that certain UCT social events have become “all-White” or “all-Black” activities e.g. the annual residence Beach Braai attracts mainly Black students, while Intervarsity (an annual rugby match against Stellenbosch University) and all RAG events cater for White students. (RAG is a fund-raising body at UCT that hosts several innovative activities over the course of the year). Given that they are seldom in the same areas, it would be difficult to conclude that students are “comfortable” with other race groups when they go out socially. Further, the answers given by White, Indian and Other students are contradicted by the Underwood (2003) study, the only study dedicated exclusively to observing UCT students in a social space. He found that there was little inter-racial contact between students on Jameson steps, a central meeting point on the UCT campus. Again, the problem of self-report data arises – the Underwood study was observational in nature and observed distinct racial divisions between the students. However, as mentioned earlier, it is possible that students, over time, have become more comfortable with race groups other than their own.

A potential reason as to why Black students may not be comfortable around other-race peers in academic settings may be due to feelings of intellectual inferiority. As a result of

South Africa's former separatist education system, they may have attended schools that were deemed beneath the level of "White" schools; hence they feel that the education they received was inferior. Or, as mentioned by some survey respondents, the White students just seem "smarter" or they are treated as such by lecturers and tutors, making it difficult for Black students to come into their own academically. Or, for the non-White students, the reason may be that they are in the minority, which will be much more pronounced on a campus of over 10 000 students than it is in a residence of, at most, 500.

These figures reveal that, while the students generally feel that students are comfortable with members of other race groups in these situations, far fewer Black students believe this to be the case. Some Black students also mentioned that they are not treated with as much respect as their White counterparts by lecturers and tutors – this will undoubtedly foster a sense of discomfort and animosity between groups.

Questions 12 – 14 show two institutional situations (dining halls and lectures) and one non-institutional (social) setting. The fact that respondents were more likely to perceive comfort in the institutional setting of lecture theatres suggests that they are not yet at a level where they can associate socially of their own accord but that they still need institutional influence. This can be as informal as simply sitting next to a person from a different race group in lectures (but obviously not being *forced* to interact) or it can be highly engineered or structured e.g. UCT can allocate students to tutorial groups and classes and achieve racial diversity in these groups.

There were no significant differences between students' perceptions of their parents' feelings and their own about having a roommate from a different race group. This is unexpected because, being from an older generation, parents are not as likely as their children to have been exposed to more people of diverse race groups. Younger people are also more likely to have had exposure in *positive* situations, which may have reinforced the contact experience for them. Parents, who may have experienced Apartheid more directly than their children, are bound to be resistant towards their children having different-race roommates. The fact that the mean scores do not differ greatly suggests that

the influence of a family could be greater than that exerted by an institution. Indeed, parents, themselves, are seen as something of an institution that can provide (or withhold) support for contact. In fact, Farren et al (1992, in Knox & Hughes, 1996) wrote that, despite students attending a mixed-race higher education institution for 3 or 4 years in Ireland, the home environment was the most significant determinant of social attitudes for these students. However, since it is not the aim of this paper to discuss the influence of the family institution, it ought to be noted that this should be considered in the interpretation of results and that this is perhaps an avenue for further research.

Of course, the limitation with this question is that, not only does it require students to self-report on their own feelings, but it also requires them to conjecture as to the feelings of their parents.

In terms of the scores themselves, these are quite high (suggesting a more negative feeling towards having a roommate of another race). Considering the preceding answers (where respondents have said that there is inter-racial interaction and that students are generally "comfortable" interacting across racial lines) these results are surprising. It is possible that they feel that *other* members of their race group interact far more but that they, personally, have problems in doing this.

When comparing the means of the four race groups on their feelings of having other-race roommates, it was shown that Whites had significantly more negative feelings about having another-race roommate than Blacks or Coloureds and the scores of Indians in this regard were significantly higher (more negative) than Coloureds. It could be argued that that White students, in general, experience negative feelings about having roommates at *all* – i.e. even White roommates because (in terms of historical advantage) they are likely to be of higher socio-economic standing and not used to sharing personal living spaces. This is confirmed by looking at this group's mean score for having White roommates – 3.68 – which is above the midpoint of the scale (the highest possible score was 5, which suggested a highly-negative feeling).

Friendship

The information provided by respondents on Question 11 (friend-making at UCT) suggests that interactions and friendship-formation occur as a function of institutional arrangements. The fact that 78% and 56% reported that they made friends by virtue of the residence they were placed in at UCT or during Orientation Week indicates the active role that UCT can play in helping students make friends and promoting inter-racial contact via these forums.

As per Question 10, it seems that race does seem to be a determining factor of a Black student's friendship with someone. While the figure is not that high (37% of respondents), it is much higher than the number of other race group students who answered in this way. The main ways in which race affects Black students' friendship formation is elaborated on below.

By and large, respondents said that it was "culture" that prompted them to stick to their own racial groups, as well as the assumption that people of their own race groups had had similar upbringings and, thus, now share the same values [*"It is just easier to associate with people of similar background. More comfortable to converse because of similar interests"*]. (For Black students, "culture" extended to speaking the same language as their friends). Others felt that it is only "natural" to separate along racial lines as people feel most comfortable in their own racial groups [*"People socialise mostly within their race and most people feel more comfortable around those of their race"*]. Other reasons were that respondents (mainly Black) felt that there is still racial tension in South Africa or that, because there are naturally segregated groups that, even if they wanted to cross racial lines, it would be difficult and uncomfortable. This is in agreement with findings of Buttny's (1999) study, where participants reported that they did not know how to cross racial divides, despite wanting to do so. Other respondents of the present study also said that they stick to their own race groups to avoid conflict. Socio-economic standing and "intellectual capacity" were provided as reasons by a small number of respondents.

Several Black students related stories of trying to cross the racial barriers and not succeeding and concluding that UCT is a racially-divided organisation [*“My white friends from school and I can no longer maintain our friendship because of the almost ‘separate development’ atmosphere – in C.T (Cape Town) race groups keep to themselves”*]. Still others said that they “felt” that White students, in particular, are not receptive when it comes to accepting friends from other race groups.

Overall, however, the main reasoning was that *“birds of a feather flock together”*.

Blacks and Whites appear to have greater diversity in their friend groups at UCT than they did when they were at school. The increase in diversity is probably because they are exposed to so many more people so, logically, they are bound to interact more. They are probably also exposed to a greater *variety* of people than they were at school level. In this way, UCT could be seen as a bigger or more influential institution than a high school – the fact that diversity of friends may have increased says that UCT can play a role, passive or active, in helping students of different race groups interact with each other. It is unclear why the same would not apply to Indians and Coloureds but, because the sample size of these two groups was small, perhaps it is not really an accurate reflection of the situation.

The fact that Coloureds and Indians have significantly more diverse friend groups at UCT than Whites and Blacks do is explained by the fact, in terms of UCT population, there are far more Black and White than Indian or Coloured students – therefore the latter two groups’ exposure to other-race students is more likely.

Whether UCT is doing all it can to promote integration

Question 17 (about whether Student Housing should host more functions to promote inter-racial integration) ties in with Questions 41 (“UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of different race groups”) and 42 (“UCT is doing all it can to promote integration amongst students”). The results were consistent – few White

students felt that Student Housing should host more functions and, similarly, most felt that UCT is doing all it can to promote integration and that it does not need to do more. All other groups felt that UCT is not doing enough and that it should do more to promote integration and that Student Housing should host more interactive functions. The results provide strong evidence that non-white students feel that UCT should do more to promote inter-racial interaction between student groups.

Despite the fact that so many Black respondents stated that UCT should do more to require students to interact across racial lines, 55% said that they felt that UCT is doing “all it can” to promote integration amongst students. (This could mean that they feel that UCT is doing all it can with the resources at its disposal, but that it could stand to do more if it had better means). It is acknowledged that there were subtle differences in the wording of these questions, which may have been confusing for respondents.

Those who felt that UCT is not doing all it can to promote integration were asked to elaborate on why they felt this. This produced many anecdotes of examples of racism on campus, but a number of answers were common. First, several students (mainly Black) said that lecturers are either overtly racist or just seem to show preference for one race group (generally Whites) over others. Not only does this give the impression that UCT does not care about Black students, it also fosters further animosity between the race groups: “*Discrimination from the university staff and services prolongs the divide among students*” (Black student). (It is accepted that lecturers are an integral part of the institution – in many cases, they are taken as proxies for the institution because they are the staff members with whom the students arguably have the most contact). Second, there was a feeling that, while UCT does not *discourage* integration, it does not particularly *encourage* it, either, and that it tends to turn a blind eye to the lack of interaction that exists: “*It’s not something that is talked about at all. The segregation is visible but never mentioned*”. Also, while UCT seems to have integration as a goal at policy level, there is little to prove this in practice. Third, several respondents from each race group commented that, after Orientation Week, there are no opportunities for students to interact and that, often, connections are formed only at a superficial level – this is

possibly a call from students for institutional involvement. *“The Orientation programmes are only based around making temporary friendships to help you through, but don’t help you with making long lasting connections”*. Finally, several people who had said that UCT is doing all it can, as well as those who disagreed, said that it is *not* UCT’s job to promote interaction – its primary focus is (and should be) education. In addition, they felt that students already have a particular mindset when they reach university – their attitudes towards and opinions of other race groups cannot or will not change, especially not in the short space of time that they are at university.

Those who answered Agree or Strongly Agree to the question “UCT gives the impression that it prefers for members of different race groups to segregate” were required to elaborate on what led them to this belief. On the whole, more participants who answered this question cited the homogenous racial patterns in some residences as their reason (23%). Another popular belief, was that UCT societies are exclusionary. As one Black student pointed out, *“It has societies for different races like the Hindu Society and it is unsaid but Hlanganani is supposed to be a society where people get to meet other people but, on Jammie plaza, their representative only approached black students to join the society”*. It must be acknowledged, however, that some of these comments are premised on incomplete knowledge or faulty reasoning – the student that commented on the Hindu Students’ society did not comment on the fact that most Hindus are, in fact, Indian – logically, most, if not all, members of this society would be Indian. Similarly, Easoc, the East African Society comprises students from East Africa, where the majority of the population is Black. Now, while these societies may once upon a time have been created to keep students of certain race groups together and exclude others (something we will never be certain of, so this comment is simply for the sake of argument), their purpose today is simply to bring together students who have similar interests and backgrounds and to help them cope with the pressure of being away from home by bringing a little of home to them.

Along the same lines, both Whites and Blacks pointed out that very few Whites are involved in leadership at the university. The Black respondents attributed this to apathy,

but the White students called it exclusionary: *"The predominance of black students in the SRC gives the impression that UCT is racially segregated"*. As mentioned earlier, numerous Black students had expressed a belief that most social events at UCT were classified as "White" i.e. appealing to and attracting only White students. *"...the party events that occur are a classic example. The Tennis club and the trolley races are the epitome of white social events and the Zim soc, Easoc are perfect examples of Black events. The Indian community manage to keep to themselves, and stay in impenetrable social groups around campus. The various societies that exist in UCT are the leaders as causes for the racial rifts in UCT"*.

A problem is that there are not enough opportunities to help students integrate and no programmes to educate people of different race groups about each other. In addition, an Indian student felt that too much emphasis was placed on difference: *"Nothing is done to promote interaction between race groups, and too much emphasis is put in courses (specially humanities courses) on apartheid, race and culture differences...keeps reminding people of the past instead of moving ahead"*.

It could be that students feel that, since no integration seems to exist at organisational level i.e. between staff members, students were simply taking their cue from there. *"It is the most racially segregated place I have been to and UCT does not deal with integration as a methodology. Looking at its recruitment policies and professional hierarchy and practice, whites do protect themselves. Top black appointments are just window dressing. So I don't expect any integration among students"*.

Finally, several said that they had been exposed to racist behaviour from their lecturers and/or tutors and several lecturers just seemed to "favour" certain groups or focused on differences between the race groups. *"People of different races are not treated equally. The department that I was in in undergrad had a very racist undertone to it and treated White people better than they did Black, Coloured or Indian. This treating of people differently effectively "segregates" people"* (Black student).

Other students either gave anecdotal evidence of situations they felt could have been interpreted as exclusionary or separatist or said that they just “got a feeling” that UCT prefers segregation.

Allocation policies

While the majority of respondents clearly feel that Student Housing does *not* allocate along racial lines, for almost 40% of the sample to feel that this is the policy in place is worrying. Ideally, no students should feel that this is the case as this is surely not how UCT would like to be perceived as managing race relations – actively segregating students. The ways in which race might play a role in allocation policies (i.e. examining which groups may be favoured) was not addressed.

Another qualitative question that was posed to respondents was to ask them what other bases Student Housing might have for allocating students into residence. 417 respondents offered ideas in response to this question. Many students responded with practical reasons e.g. students being placed in “convenient” residences. Medical Residence, Clarinus Village (comprising Clarendon and Carinus) and Rochester are all close to the UCT Medical School, so respondents said that many medical students are placed in these residences. Similarly, many dance and music students are housed in the Lower Campus residences such as Tugwell and Baxter, which are close to the Music and Dance Schools. Another “practical” explanation that was offered for allocation was that Student Housing places students who are enrolled in the same course or completing the same degree in close proximity to each other. (This reason was offered by about 7% of all respondents – it was the most cited reason put forward).

Some (about 6% of the sample) stated that the allocation process was random, while about the same number said that it depends on the students’ own preferences (which are captured on the residence application form). Some said that students are allocated on a first-come first-served basis.

White students made a point based on preferences, suggesting that past patterns of allocation determine where students will choose to live today – *“Its (sic) a more sophisticated process than merely UCT's allocation. Residences acquire a certain reputation, and, owing to inbred economic or racial stereotypes and the need of many people to ‘stick with their own’, they become more attracted to residences based on this reputation, thus apply to residences (sic) on racial or economic lines and so the trend is perpetuated”* – thus, it is not a case of Student Housing making allocations along racial lines but, rather, students *choosing* along racial lines.

The only reason associated with merit was that respondents suggested that those who had been student leaders, either in school or university, were assigned to the “better” residences or residences of their choice.

Several respondents said that allocation happened according to how the student’s studies were paid for i.e. by scholarship, financial aid or privately. However, it was not clear from this *how* the students would be allocated or into which residences. In other words, we do not know whether having a scholarship would work in a student’s favour or whether a student on University Financial Aid would be “disadvantaged” when it came to residence allocation. Similarly, about 5% of the respondents offered “background” or “schools attended” as an allocation basis. Few, however, indicated which schools would result in sought-after accommodation. One Black student simply said *“the place where you came from, from suburbs (sic) or from township”*. Several respondents said that students are allocated to certain residences on the basis of nationality.

Religion was also cited as a possible criterion on which to base allocation, albeit by very few respondents and several also observed that they believed Student Housing has to fulfill “quotas” in terms of race, but this was only after other criteria had been fulfilled e.g. academic achievement.

Finally, a reason listed by many respondents, mainly Black and White, was that parents and/or alumni of certain residences have a fair amount of influence in terms of allocation.

Sometimes, this spilled over into racial allocation (*“Influence of parents who are alumni or those who don’t want their children to share with people of other races”* – Black student). Most students observed that this sort of “nepotism” generally only came into play with regard to Smuts and Fuller – *“When someone has a high profile parent or family member they are more likely to be housed in one of the “flagship” residences (smuts or fuller)”* – Coloured student.

These preceding qualitative comments suggest that students have given some thought to UCT’s allocation policies. While some reasons given are very practical, others are worrying because they show that students do not feel that UCT is being objective when making allocations. Their opinions may not speak directly to their perceptions of institutional support or perceptions of racial segregation, but there is some merit in assessing the indirect implications and the fact that, even if they are being segregated on grounds other than purely race, the essence of the matter is that they are still segregated. (For example, the fact that Smuts and Fuller are two of the oldest residences at UCT are indicative of the fact that they would have had far more White residents than non-Whites over the years. If the alumni are the people influencing their descendants’ allocation into these residences, it stands to reason that there would be more White students in these residences today. If, Student Housing is pandering to the whims of these former students, this makes them collaborators in this form of allocation).

Some students from the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups and one White student observed that some residences e.g. Smuts, Fuller, Kopano and Baxter seem to have an over-concentration of White students – *“I’m not sure what actually happens, but it seems that most white people end up in Baxter or Fuller, with most black people in residences like Forrest Hills. This is silly. Glen and Tugwell seem to have a healthy mix of people of different races”* – White student. As per residence profiles from the past few years, these students are correct in their assessments – this, of course, can be seen as a lack of institutional support for interaction, as perceived by the students.

However, more Whites than any other group think the allocation is random. Many commented on how the academic achievement criterion was the best measure to use to allocate students. One White respondent offered a comment on why the questions posed were problematic i.e. why it is not “simply” a case of Student Housing allocating along racial lines. “...*they (the questions) don't leave room for things I have heard versus things that I know for a fact. For example, student housing might not specifically "allocate" someone because of class but the way they decide on the pricing indirectly excludes certain students*”. By this, s/he was referring to the fact that certain residences are more expensive to stay in than others. These include Smuts, Fuller and Kopano (UCT Fees Booklet, 2007). By pointing this out, s/he was suggesting that more White students live in these residences simply because they are better able to afford to. This might also answer the question as to why some Black and Coloured respondents felt that UCT allocates according to socio-economic standing. However, this does not seem plausible, given that, according to figures from Student Housing, close to 5000 students (of varying race groups) apply to these residences and, in addition, when allocating students to residences, UCT does not know much about the financial status of students – other than whether they will receive financial assistance (known as Financial Aid) from UCT, or not.

Respondents were in agreement as to which the best or most desirable residences are. Even when own-residence preference was accounted for, there were a number of residences that emerged as far more popular than others. Most respondents reported a preference for Smuts Hall, Fuller Hall, Kopano Residence and The Woolsack which, according to the statistics from Student Housing, show an overrepresentation of White students relative to the number of Black students (which is inconsistent with the residence demographic profile as a whole). The opinions of these students are consistent with those surveyed in the Student Climate Survey of 2004, where it was stated that Smuts, Fuller and Kopano were among the most desired first-tier residences, while Woolsack is the most-requested second-tier residence. According to reports from Student Housing, at least 5000 of the 10000 new applicants annually choose Smuts, Fuller, Kopano and Baxter as their top choices (H Andrews, personal communication, 2005).

Again, this is not conclusive support, but, given that these are the most desirable residences according to residents and potential residents, the fact that there are so many White students in these houses (effectively separating them from the Black majority) suggests that the institution does not support contact. The current residence profile and composition of individual residences is not known. However, in 2006, Student Housing began to phase in a new “first-come-first-served” policy for student applicants into residences. Then again, personal communication with a staff member (H Andrews, mentioned above) revealed that the system would also allow for “certain students” to be allocated into their top choice, whether their applications were received first, or not. These students were those who were high academic achievers, based on their Matriculation results and it is generally accepted in the residence community that these students will reside in Smuts or Fuller. We cannot comment on whether these students are more likely to be White or Black, but we can speculate that it will probably be some time before the allocation practices become completely random, based on the fact that accomplishing change is not an overnight process and that much administration goes into such a move.

Perceptions that some students’ concerns are more important to UCT

Respondents in this study were in unequivocal agreement as to the suggestion that Student Housing treats some residences and the residents therein as superior to others and, similarly, that some residences receive more attention and resources from Student Housing, but this does not say anything directly about perception of institutional support for integration per se. However, on an indirect level, if it is established that more resources are allocated to those residences in which there is less racial variation than in some other residences, institutional preference for certain race groups can be inferred and, from this, lack of support for integration.

With regard to the concerns of those students in the more desirable residences, the feeling was that those students have access to better amenities e.g. Internet connections, laundry facilities, better security and more parking. Presumably, this is what makes these

residences desirable in the first place. Sometimes, this turns into a racial issue for students – *“It was interesting how Glenres which had only black students living in it got revamped and upgraded in 2004. Security was tightened and internet was install (sic) in most of the rooms. Only when all these drastic changes were made-the demographics of this res changed. Suddenly Glenres was a mixed res with 50% white and black students. This drastic transformation sends a clear message that certain racial groups take priority over others”* and *“Broken furniture, broken windows, dirty windows- there is a feeling that if you are black you can live with anything. Reaction is only after continuous complaints”*.

Those who said that the concerns of some students are a priority for UCT were required to elaborate on these answers by saying which students’ concerns were a priority as well as what concerns might be prioritised. 22% of those who answered said that White students’ concerns seemed more important to UCT – interestingly, one White student actually agreed with this. Other shared answers included “privileged/rich students” and “students in the desired residences” (with most participants actually going so far as to list Smuts and Fuller and a few also listing Kopano). Other students whose concerns appear to take precedence are student leaders, the academically “superior”, disadvantaged or previously disadvantaged students (with some participants actually elaborating by saying “Black students”) and children of UCT alumni. A few students stated that Black students’ concerns are UCT’s priority – interestingly, two Black students felt this way. Finally, one White student offered one last category – *“student’s who “cry” for transformation”*.

Generally speaking, when elaborating on what concerns take priority, most respondents who answered said that White students seem to be more important to UCT and that *any* concerns that they have are seen as of great magnitude – *“see a white student throw a tantrum over something small in a residence and see the way that student housing or the warden reacts. Let any other student throw a tantrum and nothing happens”*.

With regard to the children of alumni, respondents feel that these students can have anything they want and not have to account for their actions. *“Misdemeaners (sic)*

committed are overlooked because of their plentiful resources and old boy networks they inherit from their fathers” and “on many occasions white parents have begged supervisors to remove their child from sharing a room with a black child. They have to do what the parents want- otherwise- white folk just won’t use the residences anymore”.

Perceptions of discrimination on the basis of race

It is, of course, perplexing that such a high proportion of White students felt that their group is discriminated against, given that White South Africans have traditionally been on the receiving end of privileges and advantages. However, it is not *altogether* surprising that they feel discriminated against given that recent Affirmative Action policies are now part of South African law. Still, with so many non-White students (the ones who were traditionally oppressed) nevertheless feeling that their groups continue to suffer, it is unusual to witness such a reaction from a significant number of White students.

Those who answered that they Agree or Strongly Agree with the thought that some race groups are preferred for leadership positions were required to elaborate on which race groups were favoured. Many Black students who answered (about 25%) said that Black students are favoured. They were also the only group who said that White students do get some preference. All other groups said that Black students are definitely preferred, but many also observed that it is likely that other race groups might just be apathetic (when it comes to vying or voting for leadership positions). *“Often it seems that black individuals are looked more favourably upon when it comes to the appointment of leadership positions. Or only black people run for leadership positions or whites are just indifferent”.*

Generally, it depends on the type of leadership position involved i.e. Black students appear to prefer politicised student governance positions e.g. the Student Representative Council, whereas White students prefer to be on committees in activity-related societies

and sports clubs. More Whites also appear to be chosen as tutors, which prompted some respondents to say that they were probably more intelligent than everyone else.

Several, including Black respondents, said that Blacks appear to be preferred to keep in line with Black Economic Empowerment policies or government Affirmative Action policies. (While students were not adhering to the technical meaning of BEE, we assume here that they were referring to any policies that exist for the advancement of Black people). Most did, of course, express their opinions on these policies, some in emotive terms, saying that Black people are not necessarily qualified to fill positions appropriately e.g. *“Blacks who may not be as qualified for the position as they are eligible in terms of their skin colour. I'm all for black empowerment, but empower intelligent blacks please”* – Coloured student and *“unfortunately we have to deal with what the previous generation did. So yes a person of colour will be chosen over a white, due to the needed ratios. Although some of the positions (sic) are democratically voted for, can't fault them. As a white person you just learn to deal with the fact that a person of colour or the same std (sic) in whatever will get the position over you, its just one of those things”* and *“The black race get preference because of the unfair system by the government of people of colour getting jobs over whites”* – White student.

Some said that students do not necessarily vote for people who will be best suited for the job but, instead, just vote for people of their own race groups. A few White students said that they were supportive of Black students being favoured for leadership positions because this, in part, made up for past injustices but mainly because this is representative of nation-wide demographics. One White student said that Black students get more support because of the largely Black student body – without really realising that White students are, by far, in the majority at UCT.

Finally, some Black students said that UCT does favour a lot of Black students, but this is so that the university will appear “transformed” and a few said that they did not need BEE policies and that they could become leaders on their own.

In qualitative responses, almost 75% of the Black students who answered said that Whites are favoured in terms of mark allocation. Very few said that other groups are favoured, but some did point out that it is more likely that people whose first language is English automatically perform better, or are preferred by lecturers and tutors. Since UCT implemented an “anonymous” exam number system about 3 years ago, one Black student concluded that this must have been to curb racist marking practices. *“There must be something to it, since UCT implemented the exam papers without a Name Field. They would not alter these if there was no truth in the allegations”*. However, a few Black students who had actually answered Disagree or Strongly Disagree chose to air their opinions on the matter, saying that race is not an issue. *“No one ever gets to see their test scripts, how can you get favoured in multiple choice. People just use that as a scape goat when they are making no effort to pass”* and *“A fail is a fail. There is no excuse...”*. Several White students said that Black students are favoured – they did not select any other race group.

Those who believe that UCT favours certain race groups for acceptance into post-graduate studies were also required to elaborate. Most of the Blacks who answered this question said that Whites were the favoured group. Few said that Blacks were favoured and fewer still made reference to Indians and Coloureds. Most Whites said that Blacks were favoured. The few Indians and Coloureds who answered, agreed. All those (including Blacks) who said that Blacks are favoured said that this was probably due to Affirmative Action and BEE policies or because the university was trying to achieve a pre-determined quota. As in previous questions, White students expressed emotional opinions on this: *“I’m not certain of details but the whole of SA seems to prioritise previously disadvantaged peoples to ridiculous points so wouldn’t be surprised”*. Others did not seem opposed to it: *“I think with affirmative action in place, such allocations are to be expected. I do not find it a negative aspect, more just the reality of the society we live in. the pendulum (sic) swings both ways...”* One Black student said that the entrance requirements should be less strict for Blacks.

Loo and Rolison (1986) found that minority students at universities generally report feeling more alienation and prejudice than their White counterparts, and perceive the chiefly White campus to be unsupportive of minority students. Hurtado (1992) also found that minority students perceived more discrimination because they have been exposed to it historically, thus are more aware of and sensitive to it. This was more or less the case in this study, too, and it can only be assumed that Black students feel this way because this is the way institutions have traditionally been run in South Africa.

When considering why certain White students felt discriminated against, Hurtado's argument can be used again – at a time in South Africa when Black empowerment as at an all-time high and institutions are making efforts to promote Blacks over Whites, Whites do tend to feel victimised (a fact alluded to by respondents). Hence, they are more aware of and sensitive to the fact that Black students or employees may be preferred over them.

Contact and prejudice

The Indian and Coloured groups were eliminated from the subsequent analyses because the contact scale questions were only framed in relation to Blacks and Whites. Also, the size of the eliminated groups was much smaller than the ones that were retained, so comparison between these groups would have been complicated and not altogether accurate. Further, in South Africa, much debate has centred on contact between, primarily, Blacks and Whites.

We can only conjecture as to why Whites might show more frequent contact with Blacks. The first point to consider is that White respondents have exaggerated the amount of contact they have with Black students. In the Alexander (2003), Underwood (2003) and Schrieff et al (2005) studies, contact between students was not very high – recall that these were observational studies, therefore the measure may be taken to be more reliable than the self-report measure used here. Another possibility is that White students are not opposed to the sort of superficial contact that was measured in the frequency of contact

scale, but the more meaningful measures e.g. social distance were not positive. In addition, they could see interacting with a small number of Black students as a significant step and they report that they “frequently” associate with them whereas for Black students to consider contact as frequent, they need to experience it with greater numbers of Whites.

There are also a few reasons why Blacks would show more positive scores on the measure of social distance than Whites would. First, having been socialised by parents who experienced (and may even have been involved in) the system of Apartheid, White students may have been led to believe that Blacks are inferior and not to be associated with at all, let alone in the more advanced situations described by the Bogardus (1932) scale. Similarly, having experienced the other side of the system, Blacks have been taught that Whites are superior, so they feel they *should* have contact with them i.e. they aspire to have contact with Whites in whatever way they can, leading to better scores in the social distance measure. Alternately, in a new system where Blacks are rising in status and being appointed to positions which some Whites (including those in the sample) feel they do not deserve, Whites may want little to do with them.

Perceptions of institutional support

The two groups scored high (above the scale midpoints) on the newly-created factors, which is a negative perception – they lean towards the view that UCT does not support contact. As pointed out earlier, there is a greater tendency for Blacks to perceive isolation or segregation and this is reflected in the scores on these new variables. Loo and Rolison (1986) found that 68% of White students, as compared with only 28% of Black and Chicano students, believed that their institutions supported minorities. The reasons for this have been discussed above.

These arbitrary scores are insignificant until we contemplate their meaning. As mentioned, the new variables were included in regressions with the contact and prejudice scales that appeared in the questionnaire. As with the Honours project, more significant relationships were found with regard to the perceptions of Black students than with

regard to the White students. It seems to be very important to Black students that UCT is perceived to encourage a sense of unity and that it does not favour certain race groups over others or segregate students on the basis of race – their scores on one prejudice measures improved as their perceptions of UCT's conduct became more favourable. In a fragile democracy and in an age where people, even the youth, are race-conscious and race-sensitive, this makes sense.

It is clear from the regression results that Perceptions of Institutional Support are more important for Black students than they are for Whites. For Whites to have reduced prejudice towards Blacks, only frequency of contact is necessary. However, for Black students, they need to feel that the institution supports that contact and they must not feel discriminated against. This supports Hurtado's (1992) findings – institutional commitment to diversity visibly improved minority students' perceptions of race relations at the university under study, while the White students' attitudes were changed to a lesser degree.

There are several reasons as to why Black respondents would experience more significant attitudinal changes to Whites (than vice versa) when their scores on the Perceptions of Institutional Support variables decreased (i.e. as they perceived more institutional support). First, the most obvious is that White students are in the numerical majority – as UCT increases its efforts to integrate students, non-Whites simply have a greater chance, statistically speaking, of being exposed to Whites than to each other. Thus, with greater contact (and if all other conditions of the contact hypothesis hold), then it is likely that attitudes towards White students will be more positive than those towards Black students (with whom there is less exposure).

The second possible reason is that, in terms of Apartheid, Whites in South Africa were the group that called for segregation in the first place. In addition, they were always favoured by the institutions of the day. Now, with these policies in abeyance, Whites are presumably on equal footing with other South Africans and are less likely to be the targets of animosity – hence feelings towards them can presumably only improve.

Finally, another possible reason is one that many students (especially Blacks) alluded to themselves. Many of the UCT social events were described as “White” events. In fact, only one function, the annual residence Beach Braai, was classified as a “Black” affair. Hence, for students, UCT’s efforts to integrate them might just be more and more such “White” events which will attract more Whites than Blacks. Hence, if any non-Whites (e.g. those in the sample) attend these functions, they will (again) just be exposed to more Whites than they are non-Whites. Again, assuming that all contact hypothesis pre-conditions have been met, the contact will be constructive, resulting in more positive attitudes towards Whites.

Again, it is emphasised that this is a new avenue of research – institutional support has not been formally measured before – so there is undoubtedly much tweaking to be done on the new factors. However, it must also be noted that Factor 2’s lack of impact on any relationships under study makes it unnecessary to examine the low reliability presented by the Cronbach’s α .

Chapter 7

Limitations

As with any study, there were several limitations present. To begin, those of a logistical nature will be discussed. First, the survey was, admittedly, quite lengthy, which prompted over 300 students who had begun the survey to opt out before completion. While it is encouraging that over 600 more stayed on until completion, it is impossible to tell whether they actually paid attention to the questions and answered thoughtfully and honestly, or whether they mechanically clicked the options until the end to be eligible for the prizes.

Second, a technological problem was that several students were not *able* to complete the survey, due to complications with the computer server. Several attempts proved fruitless for many of them, leading them to quit, but not before contacting the researcher to *communicate the nature of the problem*.

The theoretical problems are much more important to the outcome of the survey. First, as mentioned earlier, the notion of institutional support has not been extensively investigated by contact researchers. Hence, there was no scale against which to compare the measures that were developed here.

Second, although the sample was proportionately representative of the residence population, the sizes of the sub-samples were unequal, meaning that the results (in some instances) do need to be interpreted with caution.

Third, another problem was that, although some literature suggests that it is acceptable to assume that Allport's pre-conditions have been met in a university residence situation, we are not absolutely certain whether they have been. Further, since this study did not control for those conditions, it is possible that factors other than institutional support were at play, which ultimately could have affected the students' contact.

Finally, with regard to the factor analysis itself, as Darlington (2004) concluded, factor analysis can be only as good as the data allows it to be. This can raise problems in the field of psychology, where self-report measures are not necessarily valid and reliable. In addition, there is also the problem of the “heuristic”, where the researcher makes an interpretation to suit his/her purposes. It is possible to have multiple interpretations, but the researcher eliminates others in favour of his/her own.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Many non-Black students appear to feel that Student Housing and the University of Cape Town are providing them with enough institutional support for integration and inter-group contact – based on their own answers to the questionnaire items. Thus, assuming that the other conditions for contact have been met, one would expect the degree and frequency of contact to be higher. However, the level of contact is not very high (as seen through measurement on the Meaning Frequency of Contact Scales, as well as in previous studies in the residences). Only Black respondents' social distance and affective prejudice towards Whites were affected by Perceptions of Institutional Support. Even then, it was only Factor 1, Perceptions of Structural Inequality that had a significant effect.

We can conclude that efforts by UCT to express institutional support can be directed to a particular race group – Black students. This particular group showed adjustments in their social distance and affective prejudice to Whites as their Perceptions of Institutional Support scores varied. For White students, only frequency of contact with Blacks was significant. UCT should thus concentrate on not appearing to want students to segregate and to not prioritise the concerns of one race group over others. For White students, the university should co-ordinate more situations in which they would be exposed to Black students.

It should be the focus of future studies to further unpack the concept of institutional support to aid the university in gauging its success in its aims to promote integration in the residence system. Future research can also work on either controlling for the effects of Allport's other conditions, or studying them together, to test the dynamic between the conditions to ascertain how one affects the others. In addition, residence students are exposed to more institutional authority (in the form of residence management structures) than students who live off-campus. They only constitute approximately 25% of the UCT population and it is possible that they have different ideas about institutional support.

Therefore future research could pursue avenues which explore day-students' perceptions of institutional support. Finally, as mentioned earlier, families can also be seen as an institution, of sorts. Research can also be conducted into the effects that familial opinions have on contact and whether these ameliorate or counteract efforts made by the institution of the university.

In the meantime, however, there are some suggestions for UCT and Student Housing (mainly from respondents themselves). First, it is no secret that UCT *aims* to redress imbalances of the past and to transcend the legacy of Apartheid and to achieve "transformation". However, several students feel that this is just a goal at policy level and that it does not necessarily trickle down to the practical level. "*Public relations. UCT has to give the impression that it is an equal and fair community where everybody interacts.*" This can be rectified by engaging with more feasible solutions than simply just "throwing" students together and hoping that they interact. Some proposals from respondents include educating students about the different cultures of those around them. This purges the "fear of the unknown" and might be an opportunity to show students that they are not so different, after all. Their traditions might not be the same, but they are likely to have similar values and goals in life and this is a pre-condition for the contact hypothesis.

As seen in some of the responses, UCT can play a big part in helping students, not just interact, but make friends. Another functional solution is to physically place students together in specific situations, but to try to make sure some of Allport's conditions are met e.g. in a tutorial or workgroup, requires mixed-race students of similar academic standing to work together on a project. Similarly, in Orientation Week host "competitions" of sorts and encourage (or require) mixed-race students to be on the same team and work toward the achievement of a super-ordinate goal.

It was clearly evident from the data that students believe that certain residences are far more desirable than others and they also noticed the vast over-representation of White students – this is also supported by the demographic data from Student Housing. It would

be advisable for Student Housing to begin allocating more non-White students to these residences if for no other reason than to allay the fears that non-White students have that the UCT believes they are not “good enough” for these residences.

Knox and Hughes (1996) found that transient contact situations e.g. summer camps for children, did not achieve the long-lasting positive contact effects that the Northern Ireland government had hoped for. In addition, for older individuals, the more effective strategies were those that involved entertainment of mutual interest, rather than those aimed at addressing attitudes and divisive issues. This would probably also be most appropriate for the youth as activities that hold entertainment value are undoubtedly preferred to discourse. A suggestion, then, is to ensure that all mixing efforts are prolonged over the academic year and with vigour and enthusiasm.

Loo and Rolison (1986) also list a number of factors which can help minority students feel more comfortable at university: 1. a higher proportion of ethnic representation in the university population (which would mean UCT having to increase its intake of non-White students. But this may prove difficult and face opposition from those who believe that the admission requirements have been relaxed to enrol those whom they feel are not deserving of the acceptance); 2. the presence of residential and academic committees on campus that can provide cultural support where the overall university administration seems unaccommodating (UCT already has some such structures in place in the form of special-interest societies, but these are seen as separate entities, rather than an extension of the university itself). A shared identity would serve to enhance students' perceptions of institutional support; 3. support services like financial aid and career planning (which are already in place at UCT); 4. increased numbers of ethnic academic and administrative staff with whom non-White students can relate (which was suggested by survey respondents themselves). This will not necessarily improve intergroup relations, but it will help non-White students feel more comfortable and lead them to believe that UCT *does*, in fact, support them and their presence on the campus. It might then also improve their attitudes towards each other.

Even though UCT's primary focus is the education of its 20 000 students, this does not mean it should not try to play a role in students interacting. Smedley, Myers and Harrel (1993) feel that it is important to intervene at university level to create a more welcoming, or less alien, environment to minority students, at least initially. In their study, minority students in mainly White universities were less likely to graduate in the allotted time, had lower marks and higher attrition rates than their White counterparts at the same universities or minority students at predominantly minority institutions. The sample identified the "university structure" as a source of stress, indicating that the environment was not conducive to their success.

As mentioned earlier, a newspaper report (Govender, 2007) superficially investigated a similar phenomenon in four other South African universities, where it was found that even management staff viewed residences as "White-only" or "Black-only". While it is obviously not clear from this report whether UCT is ahead of or behind these other universities in bringing about an institutional culture supportive of all students and cultural diversity, it is heartening to remember that, at a time when institutions were forced to be exclusionary, UCT protested. In this respect, it was more progressive than these other universities (Saunders, 2000). Now, at a time when institutions are more or less being forced to be inclusive, UCT needs to question, not only whether its policies are in keeping with the mandate from the government, but also whether its students feel that is supportive enough in the ways discussed in this paper. This will not only lead to more satisfied and, undoubtedly, more productive graduates, but also save it negative publicity like that directed at the universities investigated by the media.

UCT simply cannot afford to turn a blind eye, especially if conflicts begin to brew. South Africa cannot necessarily wait for the "next generation" to begin to integrate naturally – encouragement and example-setting at the highest levels will further the efforts already begun at national level by our government. By cheering on the process at university level, UCT will show its support for this countrywide initiative and *expressing* its own desire to see a unified student body and nation.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1 - Number of survey respondents (broken by race group and residence)

	Black	Coloured	Indian	Other	White
Baxter	17	4	1	2	10
Carinus	19	2	6	2	10
Clarendon	22	2	5	1	8
College	9	0	0	0	5
Forest Hill	39	2	1	1	3
Fuller	11	1	7	2	12
Glenres	8	1	0	1	1
Groote Schuur	9	2	0	0	0
Kilindini	1	0	0	0	0
Kopano	16	0	3	0	33
Leo Marquard	46	4	4	1	12
Liesbeeck	28	0	1	0	3
Med Res	2	0	2	0	1
Rochester	26	1	7	1	7
Smuts	8	4	3	1	9
Tugwell	30	3	2	2	21
University House	6	0	0	0	4
Varietas	16	2	0	3	2
Woolsack	16	4	5	3	4

Table 2 – UCT Demographic Information 2002 – 2006 (expressed as a percentage)

	Black	Coloured	Indian	Other	White	International
2002	19	14	6	0	46	15
2003	18	14	6	0	45	17
2004	18	13	6	0	44	19
2005	17	13	7	0	43	20
2006	18	13	7	2	41	19

Table 3 – Residence Demographic Information - 2000

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	40	3	10	47
Carinus	43	4	4	29
Clarendon	54	4	2	40
College	64	4	2	30
Forest Hill	93	4	2	1
Fuller	34	5	15	47
Glenres	96	4	0	0
Groote Schuur	67	10	6	17
Kilindini	100	0	0	0
Kopano	45	6	6	43
Leo Marquard	44	3	13	40
Liesbeeck	98	2	0	0
Med Res	59	12	20	9
Rochester				
Smuts	40	4	17	39
Tugwell	43	3	9	45
University House	98	2	0	0
Varietas	100	0	0	0
Woolsack	63	8	7	2

Table 4 – Residence Demographic Information – 2001

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	46	6	9	49
Carinus	50	5	9	44
Clarendon	55	7	7	42
College	58	4	3	39
Forest Hill	97	2	1	0
Fuller	34	6	13	53
Glenres	99	1	0	0
Groote Schuur	93	4	1	3
Kilindini	50	0	0	50
Kopano	53	3	6	42
Leo Marquard	55	3	10	39
Liesbeeck	105	1	0	1
Med Res	72	9	20	4
Rochester				
Smuts	38	5	19	48
Tugwell	50	4	10	45
University House	111	0	0	1
Varietas	100	0	0	0
Woolsack	56	6	12	8

Table 5 – Residence Demographic Information – 2003

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	49	9	8	35
Carinus	44	6	12	44
Clarendon	55	4	9	30
College	52	6	4	37
Forest Hill	90	5	3	3
Fuller	36	4	19	43
Glenres	70	5	5	31
Groote Schuur	77	12	3	9
Kilindini	57	6	12	30
Kopano	44	4	10	49
Leo Marquard	60	4	7	29
Liesbeeck	89	3	2	5
Med Res	81	6	10	9
Rochester				
Smuts	27	8	20	49
Tugwell	46	5	4	46
University House	78	5	6	14
Varietas	58	2	4	37
Woolsack	66	2	13	18

Table 6 – Residence Demographic Information – 2004

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	56	10	9	27
Carinus	57	9	11	27
Clarendon	55	4	10	32
College	50	5	9	35
Forest Hill	76	5	4	9
Fuller	41	5	14	45
Glenres	49	12	18	39
Groote Schuur	84	7	8	12
Kilindini	57	6	18	27
Kopano	36	4	12	53
Leo Marquard	65	6	7	24
Liesbeeck	90	3	1	6
Med Res	67	10	8	11
Rochester	67	7	9	22
Smuts	31	10	20	37
Tugwell	44	5	10	51
University House	67	2	13	18
Varietas	52	5	7	67
Woolsack	65	3	3	15

Table 7– Residence Demographic Information – 2005

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	59	11	7	23
Carinus	56	7	9	28
Clarendon	55	6	12	27
College	56	3	5	36
Forest Hill	89	4	3	4
Fuller	39	5	14	42
Glenres	56	7	5	32
Groote Schuur	75	6	6	13
Kilindini	69	3	14	14
Kopano	38	4	9	48
Leo Marquard	66	4	6	22
Liesbeeck	93	4	1	2
Med Res	67	10	14	10
Rochester	67	5	7	20
Smuts	39	8	17	35
Tugwell	45	3	9	42
University House	70	3	7	18
Varietas	61	5	3	27
Woolsack	67	10	13	8

Table 8 – Residence Demographic Information – 2006

	Black	Coloured	Indian	White
Baxter	48	8	9	33
Carinus	54	5	8	33
Clarendon	57	6	13	23
College	53	3	4	39
Forest Hill	71	9	7	13
Fuller	36	10	16	37
Glenres	65	8	3	24
Groote Schuur	85	5	1	8
Kilindini	69	0	9	22
Kopano	36	4	8	51
Leo Marquard	70	6	5	18
Liesbeeck	82	4	5	12
Med Res	69	11	14	9
Rochester	62	6	9	21
Smuts	38	7	17	38
Tugwell	57	5	9	30
University House	62	3	10	24
Varietas	64	6	4	25
Woolsack	67	10	10	13

Appendix B

The following tables present ANOVA result and the post-hoc Bonferroni tests performed on these analyses of variance. The non-significant comparisons have been removed for ease of reporting.

Table 1 – ANOVA summary table

Question 12: Students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are in the residence dining halls at UCT.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	21.398	3	7.133	12.784	.000
Within Groups	318.039	570	.558		
Total	339.437	573			

Table 2 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 12: Students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are in the residence dining halls at UCT.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2					
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1					
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1					
	2					
	4					
4 White	1					
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 3 – ANOVA summary table

Question 13: UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they go out socially.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.042	3	2.681	5.717	.001
Within Groups	269.609	575	.469		
Total	277.651	578			

Table 4 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 13: UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they go out socially.

Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	-.252(*)	.066	.001	-.43	-.08
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.252(*)	.066	.001	.08	.43
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.252(*)	.066	.001	.08	.43
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	.252(*)	.066	.001	.08	.43
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 5 – ANOVA summary table

Question 14: UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are at lectures.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	23.423	3	7.808	18.973	.000
Within Groups	237.438	577	.412		
Total	260.861	580			

Table 6 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 14: UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are at lectures.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	3	-.275(*)	.099	.034	-.54	-.01
	4	-.459(*)	.062	.000	-.62	-.30
2 Coloured	1	.275(*)	.099	.034	.01	.54
	2					
3 Indian	4					
	1	.459(*)	.062	.000	.30	.62
	2					
4 White	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 7 – ANOVA summary table

Own feelings about roommate diversity

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	155.803	3	51.934	10.051	.000
Within Groups	2986.577	578	5.167		
Total	3142.380	581			

Table 8 – ANOVA summary table

Question 10: Race has been a determining factor of whether I will become friends with someone at UCT.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	35.556	3	11.852	15.933	.000
Within Groups	429.963	578	.744		
Total	465.519	581			

Table 9 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 10: Race has been a determining factor of whether I will become friends with someone at UCT.

Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.802(*)	.162	.000	.37	1.23
	3	.545(*)	.133	.000	.19	.90
	4	.375(*)	.083	.000	.16	.60
2 Coloured	1	-.802(*)	.162	.000	-1.23	-.37
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	-.545(*)	.133	.000	-.90	-.19
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.375(*)	.083	.000	-.60	-.16
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 10 – ANOVA summary table

Diversity of friends at UCT

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	178.197	3	59.399	21.477	.000
Within Groups	1598.581	578	2.766		
Total	1776.778	581			

Table 11 – ANOVA summary table

Question 17: It would be easier for residence students to integrate with people from other race groups if there were more functions and social opportunities provided throughout the year by Student Housing and residence management.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	32.265	3	10.755	15.953	.000
Within Groups	389.661	578	.674		
Total	421.926	581			

Table 12 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 17: It would be easier for residence students to integrate with people from other race groups if there were more functions and social opportunities provided throughout the year by Student Housing and residence management.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.532(*)	.079	.000	.32	.74
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.569(*)	.136	.000	.21	.93
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	-.532(*)	.079	.000	-.74	-.32
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.569(*)	.136	.000	-.93	-.21
	2					
	3					

Table 13 – ANOVA summary table

Question 41: UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of different race groups.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	73.197	3	24.399	47.395	.000
Within Groups	297.554	578	.515		
Total	370.751	581			

Table 14 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 41: UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of different race groups.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2					
	3	.294(*)	.110	.048	.00	.59
	4	.824(*)	.069	.000	.64	1.01
2 Coloured	1					
	3					
3 Indian	4	.575(*)	.141	.000	.20	.95
	1	-.294(*)	.110	.048	-.59	.00
	2					
4 White	4	.530(*)	.118	.000	.22	.84
	1	-.824(*)	.069	.000	-1.01	-.64
	2	-.575(*)	.141	.000	-.95	-.20
	3	-.530(*)	.118	.000	-.84	-.22

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 15 – ANOVA summary table

Question 20: UCT gives the impression that it wants students of different race groups to segregate.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	8.017	3	2.672	4.709	.003
Within Groups	328.024	578	.568		
Total	336.041	581			

Table 16 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 20: UCT gives the impression that it wants students of different race groups to segregate.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.256(*)	.073	.003	.06	.45
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	-.256(*)	.073	.003	-.45	-.06
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.256(*)	.073	.003	.06	.45
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.256(*)	.073	.003	-.45	-.06
	2					
	3					

*The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 17- ANOVA summary table

Question 39: Despite the different groups at UCT, there is frequently the sense that we are all just one group.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	7.704	3	2.568	4.068	.007
Within Groups	364.908	578	.631		
Total	372.612	581			

Table 18 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 39: Despite the different groups at UCT, there is frequently the sense that we are all just one group.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	-.363(*)	.122	.019	-.69	-.04
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.363(*)	.122	.019	.04	.69
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.363(*)	.122	.019	.04	.69
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	.363(*)	.122	.019	.04	.69
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 19 – ANOVA summary table

Question 40: At UCT, it usually feels as though we belong to different groups.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	11.361	3	3.787	8.030	.000
Within Groups	272.598	578	.472		
Total	283.959	581			

Table 20 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 40: At UCT, it usually feels as though we belong to different groups.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 Black	2					
	3	.455(*)	.106	.000	.18	.74
	4	.208(*)	.066	.010	.03	.38
2 Coloured	1					
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	-.455(*)	.106	.000	-.74	-.18
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.208(*)	.066	.010	-.38	-.03
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 21– ANOVA summary table

Question 28: Residence management staff in charge of room allocation separate students into rooms on the basis of race.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	11.602	3	3.867	5.691	.001
Within Groups	392.784	578	.680		
Total	404.387	581			

Table 22 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 28: Residence management staff in charge of room allocation separate students into rooms on the basis of race.

Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.313(*)	.079	.001	.10	.52
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.313(*)	.079	.001	.10	.52
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.313(*)	.079	.001	.10	.52
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.313(*)	.079	.001	-.52	-.10
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 23 – ANOVA summary table

Question 29: UCT allocates students into residences on the basis of race.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.209	3	.736	.945	.419
Within Groups	450.348	578	.779		
Total	452.557	581			

Table 24 – ANOVA summary table

Question 30: Student Housing allocates students into residences on the basis of academic achievement.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.997	3	.332	.526	.665
Within Groups	365.156	578	.632		
Total	366.153	581			

Table 25 – ANOVA summary table

Question 31: Student Housing allocates students to certain residences on the basis of "class" or socio-economic standing.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	12.970	3	4.323	6.729	.000
Within Groups	371.333	578	.642		
Total	384.302	581			

Table 26 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 31: Student Housing allocates students to certain residences on the basis of "class" or socio-economic standing.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.336(*)	.077	.000	.13	.54
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	-.336(*)	.077	.000	-.54	-.13
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.336(*)	.077	.000	.13	.54
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.336(*)	.077	.000	-.54	-.13
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 27 – ANOVA summary table

Question 34: Some residences receive more attention and resources from Student Housing.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	10.506	3	3.502	5.121	.002
Within Groups	395.242	578	.684		
Total	405.747	581			

Table 28 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 34: Some residences receive more attention and resources from Student Housing.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.312(*)	.080	.001	.10	.52
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.312(*)	.080	.001	.10	.52
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.312(*)	.080	.001	.10	.52
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.312(*)	.080	.001	-.52	-.10
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 29 – ANOVA summary table

Question 33: Student Housing treats some residences and the residents therein as superior to others.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	10.039	3	3.346	4.760	.003
Within Groups	406.300	578	.703		
Total	416.338	581			

Table 20 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 33: Student Housing treats some residences and the residents therein as superior to others.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.287(*)	.081	.003	.07	.50
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.287(*)	.081	.003	.07	.50
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.287(*)	.081	.003	.07	.50
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.287(*)	.081	.003	-.50	-.07
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 31 – ANOVA summary table

Question 36: The concerns of certain students are a priority over the concerns of others for UCT.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.457	3	1.486	2.991	.030
Within Groups	287.104	578	.497		
Total	291.562	581			

Table 32 – ANOVA summary table

Question 46: I experience discrimination at UCT because of my race group.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	4.683	3	1.561	2.390	.068
Within Groups	374.792	574	.653		
Total	379.474	577			

Table 33 – ANOVA summary table

Question 47: Other members of my race group experience discrimination on campus.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	22.300	3	7.433	12.235	.000
Within Groups	346.307	570	.608		
Total	368.606	573			

Table 34 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 47: Other members of my race group experience discrimination on campus.
Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2					
	3	.543(*)	.120	.000	.23	.86
	4	.355(*)	.076	.000	.15	.56
2 Coloured	1					
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	-.543(*)	.120	.000	-.86	-.23
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.355(*)	.076	.000	-.56	-.15
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 35 – ANOVA summary table

Question 48: UCT prefers certain race groups over others when appointing students to leadership positions.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	42.150	3	14.050	28.805	.000
Within Groups	281.925	578	.488		
Total	324.076	581			

Table 36 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 48: UCT prefers certain race groups over others when appointing students to leadership positions.

Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	-.437(*)	.131	.005	-.78	-.09
	3	-.517(*)	.108	.000	-.80	-.23
	4	-.575(*)	.067	.000	-.75	-.40
2 Coloured	1	.437(*)	.131	.005	.09	.78
	3					
3 Indian	4					
	1	.517(*)	.108	.000	.23	.80
	2					
4 White	4					
	1	.575(*)	.067	.000	.40	.75
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 37 – ANOVA summary table

Question 50: Certain race groups are favoured over others when it comes to mark allocation in courses.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	23.383	3	7.794	12.760	.000
Within Groups	353.071	578	.611		
Total	376.454	581			

Table 38 – Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Question 50: Certain race groups are favoured over others when it comes to mark allocation in courses.

Bonferroni

(I) Race Categories	(J) Race Categories	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Lower Bound
1 Black	2	.465(*)	.075	.000	.27	.66
	3					
	4					
2 Coloured	1	.465(*)	.075	.000	.27	.66
	3					
	4					
3 Indian	1	.465(*)	.075	.000	.27	.66
	2					
	4					
4 White	1	-.465(*)	.075	.000	-.66	-.27
	2					
	3					

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 39 – ANOVA summary table

Question 52: Certain race groups are favoured over others in acceptance to post-graduate studies.

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1.739	3	.580	1.548	.201
Within Groups	216.441	578	.374		
Total	218.180	581			

Appendix C

Dear Residence Student

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your answers will be used as part of a Psychology Masters project dealing with inter-racial contact between residence students. Your personal information will be separated from the rest of the survey as soon as you submit the questionnaire. Your answers will be kept confidential. The email and telephone contact details will only be used when contacting participants about prizes.

As an incentive for completing this questionnaire, you stand the chance of winning a digital camera or one of three cash prizes of R200 each.

Please answer the questions as honestly as possible.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Advaita Govender

Q1 What is your age in years?

Q2 To which race group do you belong?

1 Black

2 Coloured

3 Indian

4 White

5 Other, please specify _____

Q3 Are you male or female?

1 Male

2 Female

Q4 Which residence do you live in?

Q5 How many years have you been at UCT?

Q6 How many years have you been in residence:

Q7 What is your telephone number (to contact you if you win a prize)?

Q8 Alternatively, what is your email address?

Q9 In this question we want to know how you made friends at UCT. Which of the following is the most accurate description of the process? (You may select more than one option).

- Interactional opportunities that UCT provided you with: e.g. Orientation Week
- The particular residence you were placed in by UCT
- By taking the same courses and being in lectures together
- Joining societies where you met students with similar interests
- You knew most of your friends before you came to varsity
- Other (please elaborate) _____

Q 10 Race has been a determining factor of whether I will become friends with someone at UCT.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 11 If you answered “Strongly Agree” or “Agree” to the above question, in what ways is race a determining factor of whether you will become friends with someone?

Q12 Students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are in the residence dining halls at UCT.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 13 UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they go out socially.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 14 UCT students are comfortable with people from a different race group when they are at lectures.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 15 How many cross-race friendships do you think exist in your residence?

1 None 2 Very Few 3 Some 4 Many

Q 16 Were there fewer or more cross-race interactions during Orientation Week in your residence than there are now?

1 Fewer 2 The Same 3 More

Q 17 It would be easier for residence students to integrate with people from other race groups if there were more functions and social opportunities provided throughout the year by Student Housing and residence management.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 18 In high school, how many of your closest friends were Black?

None Few Many Most All

Q 18 In high school, how many of your closest friends were White?

None Few Many Most All

Q 18 In high school, how many of your closest friends were Indian?

None Few Many Most All

Q 18 In high school, how many of your closest friends were Coloured?

None Few Many Most All

Q 19 Here, at UCT, how many of your closest friends are Black?

None Few Many Most All

Q 19 Here, at UCT, how many of your closest friends are White?

None Few Many Most All

Q 19 Here, at UCT, how many of your closest friends are Indian?

None Few Many Most All

Q 19 Here, at UCT, how many of your closest friends are Coloured?

None Few Many Most All

Q 20 UCT breeds the feeling amongst students that it prefers that members of different race groups segregate.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 21 If you answered "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" to the above statement, why do you say so?

Q 22 Race relations in residences would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in different rooms.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 23 Race relations in residences would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in the same rooms.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 24 Race relations in residences would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in different corridors/flats/pavilions/blocks rooms.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 25 Race relations in residences would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in the same corridors/flats/pavilions/blocks rooms.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 26 Race relations at UCT would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in the different residences.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 27 Race relations at UCT would be more harmonious if members of different race groups were housed in the same residences.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 28 Residence management staff in charge of room allocation separate students into rooms on the basis of race.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 29 UCT allocates students into residences on the basis of race.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 30 UCT allocates students into residences on the basis of academic achievement.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 31 Student Housing allocates students to certain residences on the basis of "class" or socio-economic standing.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 32 On what other bases might UCT allocate students into residence?

Q 33 Student Housing treats some residences and the residents therein as superior to others.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 34 Some residences receive more attention and resources from Student Housing.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 35 Which four of the following UCT residences do you think are the most desirable?

a Baxter	b Carinus	c Clarendon
d College House	e Forest Hill	f Fuller
g Glenres	h Groote Schuur	i Kilindini
j Kopano	k Leo Marquard	l Liesbeeck
m Medres	n Rochester	o Smuts
p Tugwell	q University House	r Varietas
s Woolsack		

Q 36 The concerns of certain students are a priority over the concerns of others for UCT.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

37 If you answered "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" to the above question, which students' concerns take priority?

Q 38 Which concerns?

Q 39 Despite the different groups at UCT, there is frequently the sense that we are all just one group.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 40 At UCT, it usually feels as though we belong to different groups.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 41 UCT should do more to require students to interact with people of different race groups.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 42 UCT is doing all it can to promote integration amongst students.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 43 If you answered "Strongly Disagree" or "Disagree" to the above question, why do you say this is so?

Q 44 My parents would feel _____ if I had a Black roommate.
Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 44 My parents would feel _____ if I had a Coloured roommate.
Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 44 My parents would feel _____ if I had an Indian roommate.
Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 44 My parents would feel _____ if I had a White roommate.

Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 45 How would you feel if you had a Black roommate?

Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 45 How would you feel if you had a White roommate?

Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry
Q 45 How would you feel if you had an Indian roommate?

Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 45 How would you feel if you had a Coloured roommate?

Happy Pleased Indifferent Disappointed Angry

Q 46 I experience discrimination at UCT because of my race group.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 47 Other members of my race group experience discrimination on campus.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 48 UCT prefers certain race groups over others when appointing students to leadership positions.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 49 If you answered "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" to the above question, which groups do you think are preferred?

Q 50 Certain race groups are favoured over others when it comes to mark allocation in courses.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 51 If you answered "Strongly Agree" or "Agree" to the above question, which groups do you think are favoured and why?

Q 52 Certain race groups are favoured over others in acceptance to post-graduate studies.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Agree 4 Strongly Agree

Q 53 If you answered “Strongly Agree” or “Agree” to the above question, which groups do you think are favoured and why?

Q 54 Regardless of whether you classify yourself as White, Black, Coloured or Indian (or any other designation), please answer the following questions.

How often do you have contact with White people in the following situations?

With White people in your residence?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With White people at your own home?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With White people at social events?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Do you sit next to White students during lectures?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Do you sit next to White students during meals?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Q 55 How often do you have contact with Black people in the following situations?

With Black people in your residence?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With Black people at your own home?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

With Black people at social events?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Do you sit next to Black students during lectures?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Do you sit next to Black students during meals?

1 Never 2 Seldom 3 Sometimes 4 Often 5 Very often

Q 56 According to my first feeling/reaction, I would willingly admit

- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No White people into my university
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No White people to my street as neighbours
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No White people to my residence room
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No White people as my personal friends
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No White people to close kinship by marriage

Q 57 According to my first feeling/reaction, I would willingly admit

- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people into my university
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to my street as neighbours
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to my residence room
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people as my personal friends
- 1Any 2 Most 3 Some 4Few 5No Black people to close kinship by marriage

Q 58 How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with White people? Please indicate your choice by selecting the circle next to the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

- Courteous 1 2 3 4 5 Rude
- Pleasant 1 2 3 4 5 Unpleasant
- Meaningless 1 2 3 4 5 Meaningful
- Spontaneous 1 2 3 4 5 Forced
- Uncomfortable 1 2 3 4 5 Relaxed
- Destructive 1 2 3 4 5 Constructive

Q 48 How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with Black people? Please indicate your choice by selecting the circle next to the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

- Courteous 1 2 3 4 5 Rude
- Pleasant 1 2 3 4 5 Unpleasant
- Meaningless 1 2 3 4 5 Meaningful reverse scoring for scale
- Spontaneous 1 2 3 4 5 Forced
- Uncomfortable 1 2 3 4 5 Relaxed reverse scoring for scale
- Destructive 1 2 3 4 5 Constructive reverse scoring for scale

Q 59 I feel the following way towards White people in general:

Warm	1	2	3	4	5	Cold
Negative	1	2	3	4	5	Positive reverse scoring for scale
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Hostile
Suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	Trusting reverse scoring for scale
Respect	1	2	3	4	5	Disrespect
Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	Disgust

Q 60 I feel the following way towards Black people in general:

Warm	1	2	3	4	5	Cold
Negative	1	2	3	4	5	Positive reverse scoring for scale
Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	Hostile
Suspicious	1	2	3	4	5	Trusting reverse scoring for scale
Respect	1	2	3	4	5	Disrespect
Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	Disgust