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The spaces between us

A spatial analysis of racial segregation amongst university students

by

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A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award

of the

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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

The contact hypothesis asserts that contact between groups can lead to a reduction in prejudiced attitudes if such contact occurs under favourable conditions. Yet, in desegregated settings where a fair amount of interracial contact is expected to occur, the problem of “illusory contact” persists. In these contexts, the appearance of integration is undermined by *de facto* segregation. The present research investigated the resilience of segregation as an informal mechanism for reinstating racial boundaries, in the absence of official policies on racial separation. Two studies and a multi-method approach were employed. In the first study, naturalistic observational techniques were used to examine the seating patterns of twenty-six university tutorial groups across eight observation periods. The data was analysed using the aggregation index (I), as well as adapted segregation indices of dissimilarity (D) and exposure (xPy*). Results from the observational data show a strong pattern of segregation amongst black, white, and coloured students along racial lines, and also provide support for the spatial manifestation of segregation. A questionnaire on contact in Study 2 revealed strikingly low levels of intergroup contact, and less favourable attitudes toward contact, amongst black, white and coloured students. Focus group discussions complemented the quantitative data by providing in-depth information on the practices and underlying processes of informal segregation at the university. The research argues for an implicit system that governs intergroup relations and shape contact opportunities at the university. Furthermore, the historical and contemporary social statuses of groups contribute to group differences in contact experiences.

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INTRODUCTION

As a self-proclaimed “open university”, the University of Cape Town has witnessed a remarkable transformation in racial diversity over the past 20 years. Although white students made up 69% of the total student population in 1993, the proportion of black African students enrolled in their first year of university had risen from under 10% in 1981 to 23% in 1993. During the same period, the proportion of white student enrolments was in steady decline, from an overwhelming 86% in 1981 to 55% in 1993 (Vice-Chancellor’s Report, 1993).

With the democratic elections in 1994, “black” students (consisting of 28.3% Africans, 16.8% Coloured and 6.8% Indian) comprised the majority (52%) of first year student enrolments at UCT for the very first time in the history of the university’s existence. Since then, black student enrolment has remained above the 50% mark, reaching a peak of 57% in 2002 (Vice-Chancellor’s Reports, 1993 – 2003). Despite a steady growth in the numbers of first year “black” students (a label that encompasses African, coloured, and Indian students), UCT is yet to establish a black student majority as a proportion of the total number of students (not just first year students) at UCT. What is even more striking is that during 2002, African students accounted for only 9% of the total student population at UCT, falling far short of the proposed benchmark of 44% (Vice-Chancellor’s Report, 2002).

Current enrolment statistics have not improved with regard to representational student enrolment of students from different race groups. Indeed, it may even have declined. According to the university’s Institutional Planning Department (2005), the proportion of African, coloured and Indian students combined reached a total of 27% of *all* students enrolled at UCT during 2005. This included 17% African, 13%

coloured, and 7% Indian students. Notably, the proportion of international students enrolled during 2005 was higher than the proportions of black African, coloured, and Indian student minorities respectively. In contrast, as a significant numerical majority at UCT, white students constituted 41% of the total student population during this year.

The statistical information presented above suggests that transformational processes at the university are slow. Although institutionalised racial prejudice and discrimination has been abolished, informal racial divisions infused in everyday activities and practices persist (Christopher, 2001a, b; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Woods, 2001). The enduring nature of informal segregation may explain why the mere increase in black student admissions has not signified the elimination or even decline of racism in higher education. In her study on racial inequality at Wits University, Woods (2001) concluded that racism and discrimination occur frequently on campus. Investigating the phenomenon of “everyday racism”, which she defines as “the familiar, routine situations that are repeatedly experienced in daily life” (p. 97), Woods describes how black and white students attend the same classes yet rarely make the effort to forge any kind of meaningful relationship with each other.

A similar trend is evident at UCT, where racial segregation remains pervasive and separation amongst students persists (Schrieff, 2004; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu, 2005; Underwood, 2002). The need to explore the kinds of “everyday racism” that students encounter at UCT, as well as how they make sense of and deal with such experiences is evident. The ultimate question then is not whether students experience racism at UCT, but more importantly, whether racism has become such an everyday occurrence that we have failed to notice its insidious effects.

This research aims to investigate the nature and extent of interracial contact between black, white, and coloured psychology students during their first year of

study at UCT. The ways in which learning and social spaces on campus are utilised and occupied may very well serve to maintain racial barriers (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). The notion of “separate spaces for separate races” reinforces and sustains segregation, effectively preventing students from engaging in meaningful interactions. Levels of segregation amongst students are also determined by the amount of interracial interactions they engage in, as well as the perceived quality or value of such interactions. Thus, it is important to document the kinds of contact students’ experience, if any. The research is therefore divided into two studies. The first study aims to conduct a spatial analysis of segregation at UCT. The second study aims to explore the nature and extent of interracial contact (and segregation) amongst students in greater depth.

Needless to say, any study of race and racial issues is bound up with notions of culture, class, and socio-economic status. While the latter issues are important, they are not specifically addressed in this research, and therefore any conclusions are drawn within the scope of this study. That said, it should be noted that the present research adopts what Frakenberg (1993, cited in Erasmus & de Wet, 2003) has called the race cognizance approach. This approach entails an acknowledgement that race continues to influence our everyday lives, and conceptualises race as a socio-historical and political construct that embodies racialised hierarchies of privilege and power.

The thesis commences with a review of the academic literature pertaining to research on racial segregation and intergroup contact. Chapter one is divided into three broad sections. The first section outlines the theoretical framework of the Contact Hypothesis, since it is within this framework the research is located. Included is a review of research spanning more than fifty years that provides evidence for the benefits of interracial contact and its power for combating racial prejudice. Because contact research focused predominantly on controlled situations of contact, intergroup

encounters as they occur in daily life are rarely addressed in the literature. It is for this reason that a second section on “everyday contact” is included in chapter one. The problem of informal segregation practices is also addressed. The chapter closes with an outline of the research objectives and expected outcomes. Chapter two provides an overview of the research methods used. In chapters three and four, the research results and the interpretation of research findings are discussed, respectively. The thesis concludes with a summary of the key findings, their implications for efforts to increase interracial contact, and recommendations for future research on contact.

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CHAPTER 1

INTERGROUP CONTACT

THEORY, RESEARCH, & LIVED REALITIES

1.1 THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

The Contact Hypothesis has inspired more than fifty years of research on contact between groups. Although the hypothesis is most commonly associated with Gordon Allport's (1954) classic book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, the idea that contact could reduce racial bias and tension between groups had already emerged in the literature as early as the mid-1930s (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Earlier work suggested that the nature of contact might be more important than its frequency or amount (Miller & Brewer, 1984). Numerous studies conducted in diverse settings, including the Merchant Marines (Brophy, 1945), public housing projects (Deutsh & Collins, 1950, 1951), and in the work place (Minard, 1952), provided the empirical basis for this expectation. It is debatable whether credit for the theory on intergroup contact could be precisely affixed to any one particular source (Miller & Brewer, 1984). However, it is within this empirical background that a qualified theory of contact emerged when Watson (1947) and Williams (1947), followed by Allport (1954), formalised the Contact Hypothesis.

1.1.1 Ideal conditions of contact

Allport stipulated four essential conditions for the successful outcomes of contact. Specifically, that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice if members of groups meet under conditions of equal status, where there is intergroup cooperation

towards the achievement of a common goal, and when wider social norms and institutional support favour equality. The effects of contact, as well as the underlying processes that bring about attitudinal change through contact, are well-documented (for comprehensive reviews see Amir, 1969, 1976; Dovidio et al, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998a; Riordan, 1978; Stephan, 1987). As the body of contact research proliferated, so too did the ideal conditions deemed necessary for optimal contact. However, essential conditions of contact were often confused with factors that facilitated the processes of contact (Pettigrew, 1998a; see also Hamilton & Bishop, 1976). A growing list of essential conditions would make it increasingly difficult for any real life situation to meet the specified requirements, effectively excluding most intergroup contact situations, and would render the contact hypothesis meaningless (Pettigrew, 1998a; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

1.1.2 Contact – prejudice relation

In recent years, contact research has been geared towards uncovering the underlying processes that enable intergroup contact at the behavioural level to develop into a positive attitude towards outgroups (Dovidio et al, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998a; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The meta-analyses conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000; 2006) shed light on some of the oldest concerns raised about the essential value of intergroup contact. Initially based on over 200 studies, followed by a subsequent larger analysis using data from over 500 studies, the researchers provided conclusive evidence for the effects of contact. They reported a highly significant inverse relationship between contact and prejudice ($p < .0000001$), with moderate overall effect sizes for studies (mean $d = -.42$, $r = -.20$), samples (mean $d = -.39$, $r = -.19$), and tests (mean $d = -.36$, $r = -.17$) (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). These

results are confirmed by a subsequent analysis in which 94% of the 715 independent samples display the same significant negative relationship (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Notwithstanding the importance of establishing this relationship as a relevant first step, it is the causal sequence of this association that is of central concern. Allport (1954, p. 267) has noted “that the causal factor in studies of this type is not entirely clear.” The problem of causality was once considered as one of the fundamental limitations of the contact hypothesis (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998a). Due to methodological inadequacies, it is often difficult to determine from the data whether contact generates attitudinal change or whether positive attitude leads to greater contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) point out that a selection bias may limit the interpretation of results for many studies on intergroup contact. Rather than optimal contact reducing prejudice, prejudiced people may simply be avoiding contact with outgroup members.

Although it is true that those who harbour negative biases do indeed avoid intergroup contact, research has shown that contact can and does affect attitudes (Cook, 1978; Islam & Hewstone, 1993). Moreover, findings have indicated that while both causal sequences may operate, the stronger causal path is from contact to attitude change (Pettigrew, 1997a; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978), and that the more important effect is contact reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Furthermore, the results of a second meta-analysis revealed that the strong effects for contact on prejudice was unlikely to be due to participant selection, and that the more rigorous studies displayed much stronger effects than studies that were less controlled (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). These findings suggest that successful intergroup contact promotes favourable attitudes toward outgroups, or at the very least, reduces unfair and negative biases.

1.1.3 Generalisation of contact effects

Traditionally the contact hypothesis has been associated with contact between members of ethnic and racial groups. More recently, the positive effects of contact have been demonstrated in other domains including attitudes towards the elderly, psychiatric patients, homosexual persons, and children with disability (Hewstone, 2003; for a review see Pettigrew, 1998a). In fact, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) found larger effects for contact improving attitudes towards gay men and lesbians (mean $d = -.56$, $r = -.27$) than for contact between ethnic and racial groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Similarly, the benefits of contact have received extensive support across a variety of situations and societies (for comprehensive reviews see Cook 1962; Amir, 1969, 1976; Pettigrew, 1998a; Riordan, 1978; Stephan, 1987; for a review of South African studies see Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991). The critical question, however, is whether the effects of intergroup contact are able to extend beyond the boundaries of the contact setting. Such generalisation is pivotal if intergroup contact is to have any broad and enduring effects on prejudice. Many studies have revealed just how context-specific the changes generated by intergroup contact can be.

Minard (1952) studied black and white coal miners in West Virginia and found that, although there was a strong sense of comradeship between miners while working underground, these friendly relations never accompanied the workers to the surface. Once the workers left the mine, blacks and whites continued to go their separate ways. Likewise, Cook (1978) discovered that an attitude change towards the particular people with whom one has had contact does not necessarily translate into a more favourable attitude toward those people's outgroup as a whole.

The salience of category membership and group boundaries within the contact situation is of central concern to the process of generalisation. Allport (1954) first recognised the importance of distinguishing whether contact participants perceive

contact at an interpersonal or intergroup level. Three separate models emphasising decategorisation (Brewer & Miller, 1984), categorisation (Hewstone & Brown, 1986), recategorisation (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) respectively address the issue of group membership saliency and the implications for the generalisation of contact effects. Each one fraught with its own generalisation limitations, the models stand in direct opposition to each other and fail to provide a definitive solution to the problem. Research suggests using the models as complimentary strategies for reducing intergroup bias in different contact situations (Dovidio et al., 2003), or emphasising them at different stages during contact allowing each process to develop sequentially (Pettigrew, 1998a).

Nevertheless, research has shown renewed optimism for the generalisation of attitude change to new contact situations, from specific members of the outgroup to the outgroup as a whole, and even to outgroups not involved in the contact (Hewstone, 2003; Pettigrew, 1997a, 1997b). Moreover, Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000) findings suggest that theoretical criticism of the effects of contact underestimates the hypothesis' potential for generalisation positive outcomes of contact. Their meta-analysis revealed higher mean effects for generalised (mean $d = -.34$, $r = -.17$) than ungeneralised contact (mean $d = -.31$, $r = -.15$), for both the entire outgroup and outgroups not involved in the contact. Confirming these findings in a larger meta-analysis, these results indicate "a far wider generalisation net of contact effects than commonly thought" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Explaining this inconsistency in the literature, they add that current critiques of the contact hypothesis are limited to a cognitive analysis of the generalisation of contact effects, thus offer only a partial explanation for the process.

1.1.4 Affective components of contact

Until recently, the study of intergroup contact focused solely on the cognitive components of prejudice. Notwithstanding the major advancements of the cognitive approach to understanding prejudice, it is evident that such an exclusive focus has led to a distorted, unbalanced view of prejudice. Research has demonstrated the role of affect as a critical but neglected component of prejudice. Pettigrew (1997b) offers a comprehensive review of the theoretical and empirical developments of research investigating the relationship between affect and intergroup attitudes. Specifically, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) find that affective measures of prejudice (mean $d = -.47$, $r = -.23$) yield stronger effects than other indicators of prejudice, such as belief (mean $d = -.42$, $r = -.20$) or social distance measures (mean $d = -.40$, $r = -.20$). Moreover, affect may be an even more powerful predictor of intergroup attitudes and behaviour than cognition (Pettigrew, 1997b; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991).

Bodenhausen (1993) distinguishes broadly between two sources of emotional arousal that influence intergroup situations. Incidental affect is arousal caused by factors unrelated to intergroup contact or category membership, such as the mood with which one approaches the social interaction. According to Brewer and Miller (1996), a negative mood limits cognitive resources available for unbiased processing of information and directs attention to negative aspects of the situation. Due to diminished cognitive capacities, there is greater reliance on stereotypical information and more negative information is noticed and processed, resulting in negative responses.

Integral affect is inherent to the contact situation itself as it is aroused directly by actual or anticipated contact with the outgroup. Bodenhausen (1993) explains that for some outgroups, difference in and of itself may induce negative affect. Thus, even in the absence of prior negative contact with that group, it is likely that some groups

may still experience negative feelings. One such negative integral emotion is intergroup anxiety.

1.1.5 Intergroup anxiety model

The anxiety people experience in anticipation of, and during contact with outgroup members, received relatively little attention in early research (Stephan & Stephan, 1989), although it plays an integral role on the success of intergroup encounters. As such, a brief discussion of Stephan and Stephan's (1985) influential model, which outlines the major antecedents and consequences of intergroup anxiety, will follow.

The model conceptualises intergroup fears and threats as major causes of prejudice (Oskamp, 2000). More specifically, intergroup anxiety stems from the anticipation of negative consequences of intergroup contact. According to Stephan and Stephan (1985), there are four types of negative consequences that people fear during contact: (1) negative psychological consequences for the self such as fear of embarrassment, incompetence, and loss of self esteem, (2) negative behavioural consequences for the self including fears of being exploited or dominated by the members of the outgroup and concerns about poor performance in the presence of outgroup members, (3) negative evaluations by outgroup members such as fear of rejection, ridicule and disapproval, and (4) negative evaluations by ingroup members such as disapproval of interactions and rejection by the ingroup, as well as fears of being identified with the outgroup.

1.1.5.1 Antecedents of intergroup anxiety

Three broad factors that determine the degree of intergroup anxiety experienced are prior relations between groups, prior cognitions about the outgroup,

and the structure of the contact situation (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Previous intergroup contact is the most important aspect of prior intergroup relations and a key factor in reducing (or increasing) intergroup anxiety levels. A deluge of evidence in support of the significant effects of contact on intergroup anxiety exists (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989, 1992; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Both the quantity and quality of contact experiences affect intergroup anxiety (Greenland & Brown, 1999).

With regard to prior intergroup relations, low levels of contact are strongly associated with high levels of intergroup anxiety (Blair, Park, & Bachelor, 2003). Positive contact experiences have the capacity to counteract the effects of negative prior relations characterised by conflict, as well as the lack of clearly defined and well established norms governing contact situations. Differences in group status and the attitudes of significant others such as family and friends influence contact experiences and are therefore important determinants of intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1989).

Prior individual cognitions consist of four cognitive factors associated with intergroup anxiety. The first three include negative stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and perceived dissimilarity, which produce high levels of anxiety because they cause ingroup members to anticipate negative behaviours from outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; 1989; Voci & Hewstone, 2003 ; Wilder, 1993). Finally, a lack of information about each other's subjective cultures lead to high anxiety in intergroup interaction, as neither group is sure about the values, norms, roles, and non-verbal cues that govern each other's cultures (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Members of both groups feel justifiably incompetent about interacting with each other and may fear making embarrassing mistakes or being misunderstood (Plant & Devine, 2003).

Situational factors associated with contact can also induce anxiety. Stephan and Stephan (1985, 1989) highlighted the amount of structure, type of dependence between groups, group composition, and relative status of participants involved in contact, as some of the most important characteristics of the contact situation. Highly structured contact typically induces less anxiety than unstructured contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) found that studies using no-choice (structured) contact provided large effect sizes (mean d of $-.72$) for intergroup contact and prejudice. Cooperative interdependence produces significantly lower levels of anxiety than competition or no interdependence at all (Sheriff, 1966). Anxiety will also be higher in situations where the ratio of outgroup to ingroup members is large. This renders the group identity of outgroup members salient, leaving ingroup members in fear of discrimination from the outgroup (Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

1.1.5.2 Consequences of intergroup anxiety

Intergroup anxiety can have negative effects on intergroup relations. In terms of behaviour, when intergroup anxiety is high, it increases the use of habitual or normative responses to interaction with the outgroup. The most dominant behavioural response towards many forms of anxiety is avoidance. When avoidance is impossible, the contact is often ended as quickly as possible (Dovidio, Esses, Beach, & Gaertner, 2002). Norms concerning intergroup interaction play an important role in determining behaviour (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). When such norms are explicit and well-defined, high anxiety levels could lead to norms being followed more rigidly and in exaggerated ways. Generally, norms that govern interaction with the outgroup tend to favour behaviours that are superficial and formal. A common response to a lack of guiding norms is feelings of social incompetence. These feelings may manifest in

withdrawal, hesitation, or confusion, and may be misinterpreted by the outgroup as indications of resistance to contact or underlying prejudice (Plant & Devine, 2003).

Cognitive consequences of intergroup anxiety entail the development of information-processing and motivational biases. The former produces an increased reliance on stereotyped information (Greenland & Brown, 1999), and the latter produces heightened concern for self-esteem and preserving the distinctiveness of group identity, resulting in greater ingroup bias (Bodenhausen, 1993). Both result in greater ingroup favouritism and negative outgroup bias.

With regard to affective consequences, intergroup anxiety may result in amplified emotional and evaluative reactions (Brewer & Miller, 1996). Intergroup anxiety may augment other emotional responses during the intergroup interaction. As a result, positive contact experiences will produce strong positive emotions, while negative contact experiences will enhance negative emotions. These emotional responses have direct effects on the evaluation of outgroup members, with regard to the valence and intensity of evaluative responses toward the outgroup.

1.1.6 The mediating role of intergroup anxiety

While it is evident that Allport's (1954) conditions for successful intergroup contact also reduce anxiety during contact (Brown, 1995; Wilder, 1993), Wilder (1993) points out that it is not entirely clear whether reduced anxiety would serve as a primary mediator of successful intergroup contact. In other words, it is uncertain whether reducing anxiety would have a direct effect on the outcomes and generalisability of intergroup contact. Recent research demonstrates the central role of intergroup anxiety.

Most of the evidence that provide support for the mediating role of anxiety in intergroup contact stems from research on the effects of anxiety on cognitive

processes. Specifically, those engaging in intergroup contact are less likely to attend to counter-stereotypic behaviour of outgroup members when they are aroused by anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). According to Wilder (1993) high levels of arousal are associated with resistance to counter-stereotypic information and increased reliance on mostly negative outgroup stereotypes. Combined, these factors “may well poison the interaction and undermine a potentially successful contact experience” (Wilder, 1993, p. 85). Anxious persons not only discount information that serve to disconfirm stereotypes about the outgroup, they also assimilate information which may serve to confirm and strengthen existing stereotypes. These biases therefore mitigate the impact of any stereotype-disconfirming behaviour encountered during intergroup contact (Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

Greenland and Brown (1999) provide evidence for the causal effect of intergroup anxiety on intergroup categorisation processes. They explain that although previous research demonstrates the presence of a relationship between intergroup anxiety and categorisation, it was unable to assert any causal inferences (e.g. Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Providing empirical support for the model outlined by Wilder (1993), Greenland and Brown (1999) find that intergroup anxiety is a significant predictor of change in intergroup categorisation. Contrastingly, this relationship did not hold for the opposing causal sequence, that is, from lower prejudice to more intergroup contact. This means that intergroup anxiety is a driving force in the categorisation processes that occur during intergroup contact.

Although the role of affect and intergroup anxiety in particular is acknowledged, it is evident that the role of intergroup anxiety is considered mainly in light of cognitive outcomes for intergroup contact. Research has since focused on developing an integrative theory of contact combining both cognitive and affective components of prejudice (Mackie & Hamilton, 1993). Pettigrew and Tropp (2006)

propose a differentiated view on contact effects in which affective and cognitive dimensions of prejudice produce distinct outcomes for generalisation of effects. Similarly, Voci and Hewstone (2003) provide evidence for the distinctive roles of intergroup anxiety as a mediator and category salience as moderator of intergroup contact. Their findings suggest that while intergroup anxiety serves to explain *how* contact works, categorisation processes predict *when* contact would have an effect on outgroup attitudes. Plant and Devine (2003) and Tropp (2003) explain how expectations regarding the outcomes of contact can predict levels of intergroup anxiety. Still others have demonstrated the role of the dimensions of contact (quantity and quality) in predicting outcomes of intergroup encounters, including anxiety (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1992; van Dick et al., 2004; Wagner, van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003). The common thread in these models is that they afford intergroup anxiety a central role in the processes of intergroup contact that lead to reduced prejudice.

1.1.7 Intergroup contact and positive emotional arousal

Intergroup anxiety is undoubtedly a strong affective mediator of intergroup contact. However, intergroup contact can arouse both negative and positive emotions, both of which mediate intergroup contact effects. Indeed, positive affect proves equally predictive of attitude as negative affect (Stangor et al., 1991), and intergroup attitudes in contemporary society are characterised as much by negative sentiments toward outgroups as by the absence of positive feelings about them (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Dovidio et al., 2002). Positive emotions, including empathy, play an important role in reducing prejudice (Batson, Polycarpou, et al., 1997; Pettigrew, 1997a, 1998a; for a comprehensive review see Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Positive emotions are also aroused by forming close ties with outgroup members. Pettigrew

(1998a) states: “The contact situation must provide the participants with the opportunity to become friends” (p. 76, originally in italics). This intimate form of contact appears to be the most effective in reducing prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Tropp & Pettigrew, in press), and is closely linked to earlier formulations of intimacy (Amir, 1969, 1976) and acquaintance potential (Cook, 1962, 1978) in the literature. In fact, both empathy and identification with the outgroup are said to mediate the effects of intergroup friendship (Pettigrew, 1997a). According to Pettigrew (1998a), intergroup friendship has strong and enduring effects because it potentially invokes all four mediating processes that underlie contact effects – that is, learning about the outgroup, changing behaviour, ingroup reappraisal, and generating affective ties. This means it utilises affective and cognitive processes of contact (Pettigrew, 1997a). Moreover, cross-group friendships have the power not only to reduce prejudice, but more importantly, to generalise positive effects of contact to other outgroups not involved in contact (Pettigrew, 1997a, 1997b).

Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) refer to it as a “global indicator” of optimal contact, since the formation of cross-group friendships requires the operation of all Allport’s specified conditions for successful contact. Moreover, intergroup friendships may provide a solution to the category salience debate, and the effectiveness of interpersonal versus intergroup contact. Friendship is presumed as interpersonal contact because it typically entails intimacy and personal involvement. However, it is highly likely that aspects of group identity are discussed during such personalised exchanges, and in this way can mediate the effects of contact (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997).

1.1.8 Friendship as intimate contact

Pettigrew (1997a, 1997b) considered data from seven probability surveys conducted during 1998 in France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and West Germany to test the effects of intergroup friendship on prejudice. Over 3800 majority group respondents were asked questions concerning their attitudes toward different minority groups – France/Asians; France/North Africans; British/Asians; British/West Indians; Dutch/Turks; Dutch/Surinamese; West Germany/Turks. Across all seven samples, Europeans with outgroup friends scored significantly lower on five different prejudice measures. Using the same survey data, Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) compared the effects of friendship as intimate contact, versus contact at work indicative of casual, superficial, and involuntary contact, on blatant and subtle prejudice. Results revealed a highly significant negative relationship between contact as friends and both blatant and subtle prejudice. In contrast to these strong findings for intergroup friendship, contact at work and in the neighbourhood had negligible impact on the prediction of prejudice.

Wagner et al. (2003), followed by Van Dick et al. (2004), highlight how differential opportunities for contact can explain differences in engaging in contact that is more intimate and personal, and contact that is casual and superficial. They find that distal contact opportunities, such as those provided by contact in the neighbourhood or in classrooms directly increased proximal opportunities, including numbers of intergroup acquaintances and friends. Specifically, contact both in the classroom and neighbourhood increased the number of outgroup friends and acquaintances. In contrast, fewer contact opportunities lead to fewer actual experiences of contact, and less intimate contact through friendships. Van Dick et al. (2004) report similar findings for the causal relationship between distal and proximal contact, and intergroup prejudice.

These studies provide support for previous findings concerning the opportunity hypothesis (e.g. Hallinan & Smith, 1985). While distal contact opportunities are necessary for proximal contact, they do not in themselves ensure actual contact or reduce intergroup prejudice (Van Dick et al., 2004). As Wagner et al. (2003, p.31, emphasis added) observe: “it is the opportunities *for having contact or not* together with the actual amount of realized intergroup contact that are crucial for the explanation of differences in prejudice.”

1.1.9 Outgroup friends – prejudice relation

It is possible that prejudiced people may be avoiding opportunities for contact, therefore having fewer intergroup friends. Previous research has shown that the opposite causal effect – the path from friends to prejudice – is much stronger (Pettigrew, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Powers & Ellison, 1995). Notwithstanding the obvious strengths of the statistical procedures employed, these studies are typically cross-sectional. Levin, van Laar and Sidanius (2003) conducted a longitudinal study using data from a diverse sample consisting of over 2000 White, Asian, Latino, and African-American college students. Contrary to previous research, their results indicate that the causal path from more outgroup friendships to reduced prejudice was “approximately equal” to the path from less prejudice to more outgroup friendships. These effects were found to be significant for measures of both ingroup bias and intergroup anxiety. Their findings suggest that it is equally important to consider the positive effects of contact with the outgroup, as well as the negative impact of greater ingroup contact.

Yet, simply having friends from other groups is not the key to reducing intergroup prejudice. Rather, it is the subjective appraisal of the value and personal importance of such relationships that is critical. Wagner et al. (2003) and Van Dick et

al. (2004) found the perceived importance of contact to be a significant mediator between intergroup friendship and prejudice. A meta-analysis of five different samples revealed perceived importance of contact as a more powerful predictor than other contact indicators, including intergroup friendship, when it produced the largest significant effect size for contact and prejudice (Van Dick et al., 2004).

1.1.10 Generalisation of friendship effects

Friendship ties imply extensive and repeated contact across a variety of settings, enhancing the power to generalise contact effects (Pettigrew, 1998). Intergroup friendship has been found to reduce prejudice towards the immediate outgroup (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997), as well as other minority groups not directly involved in contact (Pettigrew, 1997a, 1997b). Thus, intergroup friendship can be said to cast a wide net of generalisation, extending its effects across different situations and indirectly towards groups uninvolved in immediate contact.

In fact, mere knowledge of a close relationship between an ingroup and outgroup member may alter one's attitudes towards the outgroup, even without having direct contact with any outgroup member (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Building on the idea of extended contact, Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns and Voci (2004) find that direct friendship had a stronger effect on outgroup prejudice than on perceived outgroup variability. On the other hand, indirect friendship was more strongly related to perceived outgroup variability than to outgroup prejudice. These findings suggest that the two forms of contact, direct and extended, have different implications for generalising the effects of friendship.

Extended contact may have its advantages (see Wright et al., 1997), but it certainly does not overshadow the role of direct cross-group friendship in fostering harmonious relations between groups. Indirect friendship involves a traditional

cognitive approach to the contact-prejudice relation, and is therefore plagued by similar problems such as sub-categorisation or refencing (Allport, 1954). The point of emphasising the development of friendship ties in intergroup contact is, in part, to move away from cognition and to consider a fortiori emotional effects.

Notwithstanding the equally important effects of direct and indirect friendship on intergroup anxiety (Paolini et al., 2004), direct friendship offers a host of positive emotional outcomes, such as empathy (Batson et al., 1997; Stephan & Finlay, 1999) and positive feelings towards the outgroup (Pettigrew, 1998a), that indirect friendship simply cannot provide (Stangor et al., 1991). While extended contact may provide an alternative strategy for reducing intergroup anxiety, and may cast the net of generalisation even wider, it could never reproduce the effects of actual contact between groups, nor replace the uncounted qualitative benefits it holds.

1.1.11 Cooperative contact as global indicator

Intergroup friendship is not the only global predictor of optimal contact. Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) report large mean effect sizes for samples that used highly structured contact situations ($d = -.57$), which maximise most or all of Allport's specified conditions for reducing prejudice. These samples also yield significantly higher reductions in prejudice ($d = -.60$) than other samples ($d = -.38$; $\chi^2 = 37.4$, $p < .0000001$). From Sheriff (1966) onwards, studies have demonstrated that the use of cooperative activities as a means for structuring intergroup contact leads to more friendliness and less ingroup bias than competitive contact situations (Brown, 1995; for a review on the effects of cooperation see Worchel, 1979).

The most common and extensive application of structured intergroup contact is the implementation of cooperative learning programmes in desegregated schools and classrooms (Brewer & Miller, 1996). A number of different methods of

cooperative learning strategies have been devised, that use either a cooperative task structure, a cooperative incentive structure, or a combination of both. Miller and Davidson-Podgorny (1987) review four of the most common methods used in educational settings, including Jigsaw (Aronson, Blaney, Stephen, Sikes, & Snapp, 1978) and Student Teams Achievement Divisions (Slavin, 1978) (although see Slavin & Cooper, 1999 for a broader review).

Cooperative learning strategies also provide the opportunity for students to form heterogeneous groups not only based on academic performance, but also on characteristics such as gender, race, ethnicity, and language proficiency (Slavin & Cooper, 1999). Because group learning (assuming it has positive outcomes) is associated with increased liking for classmates, it could lead to greater intergroup attraction, increased intergroup interactions, and therefore reduce prejudice (Aronson & Bridgeman, 1979; Cook, 1978; Johnson & Johnson, 1981, Slavin, 1995a, b).

Theoretically, cooperative learning methods best approximate Allport's (1954) specified conditions for optimal contact and positive effects of desegregation on racial prejudice. The most crucial of all is that learning is organised in such a way so that students are dependent on each other for the achievement of a common goal that cannot be accomplished without the contributions of all group members (Schofield, 1995a, b). Equal status within the cooperative setting is achieved through structured tasks and division of labour among group or team members, so that each individual member is given the chance to make a significant contribution to the success of the team (Brown, 1995).

Because cooperative activities often necessitate a high degree of student-to-student interaction (as opposed to conventional teacher-student interaction), it provides frequent opportunities for interpersonal contact between students of different groups (Slavin, 1995a, b). Thus, it is most likely to generate acquaintance potential

within the cooperative setting (Brown, 1995). In addition, the teacher establishes a normative climate that supports and encourages interracial interaction amongst students (Slavin, 1983). Thus, all the key conditions of the contact hypothesis are satisfied. Studies have also demonstrated the relationship between cooperative learning strategies and the development of cross-racial friendship ties, including the enduring strength of friendship bonds formed through cooperative interaction (Johnson & Johnson, 1981; Slavin & Cooper, 1999).

1.1.12 Cooperative learning and higher education

Research examining the effects of cooperative learning is predominantly focused on elementary and secondary school children. Comparatively few studies have investigated these effects with university students. The relatively meagre literature display somewhat inconsistent, yet optimistic results. Hagen and Moffatt (1992) used self-report data to assess students' satisfaction with cooperative instructional methods, and their perceptions of academic achievement. Students reported that they enjoyed the opportunity to socialise, valued the exchange of ideas with peers, and learned more through cooperative instruction than they did in a conventional classroom working on their own. Moreover, structured groups that met for an extended period of time reported more positive evaluations than short-term informal groups.

Cooperative learning structures also have significant social implications for university students. Moore, Townsend, Wilton, and Tuck (1995) found that students in cooperative groups were more likely to report the formation of new friendships during class, that their classmates were helpful with learning, and that they discussed class material with peers outside of formal class time. These differences were observed after only five one-hour classroom sessions.

In terms of academic benefits, Wallace (1995) contends that students become actively involved in the learning process through cooperative learning because students are required to interact face-to-face. This kind of intimate learning environment, in which each group member is accountable for the other's learning, helps students to increasingly engage in higher level thinking. Overall, cooperative learning appears to be a useful strategy for creating a stimulating, supportive, non-threatening classroom environment where students are able to overcome their fears and gain confidence in their interactions with others. However, much more research is needed, especially regarding the effects of cooperative learning on student attitudes toward intergroup contact.

1.2 GROUPS IN CONTACT: A LIVED REALITY

1.2.1 The qualitative dimensions of contact

Prevailing research predominantly conceptualises intergroup contact as a generic phenomenon, often failing to consider the more subtle differences and nuances that emerge for different groups meeting in varied social contexts. A substantial proportion of contact research conducted in laboratories as opposed to field studies may account for this shortcoming. In line with Allport's (1954) original contentions concerning the nature of prejudice, Islam and Hewstone's (1993) model of contact revealed stronger effects for the qualitative dimensions of contact than for the amount of intergroup contact experienced. The results distinguished qualitative contact as a more reliable predictor of intergroup anxiety and prejudice, than the quantity of contact. Examining intergroup contact between Hindu minority (12% of population) and Muslim majority (86%) groups in Bangladesh, Islam and Hewstone (1993) found that, Hindus reported more intergroup anxiety, less positive contact experiences, and less favourable outgroup attitudes than Muslims, even though

Hindus reported greater levels of intergroup contact than Muslims. Their findings demonstrate the importance of voluntary contact for positive intergroup outcomes.

Stephan and Stephan (1992) report similar findings for the effects of intergroup contact on Caucasian-American students' anxiety about interacting with Moroccans. An unexpected finding was that the amount of contact variable had no significant effects on intergroup anxiety. Only once conditions of contact were included in the model, did they find significant effects for contact. Two distinct qualitative factors, threatening and non-threatening contact, were significantly associated with intergroup anxiety. Threatening contact included contact in restaurants, nightclubs, parks and private homes. Non-threatening contact referred to contact at social events and outings, and institutional settings such as hospital and schools. However, situations that constitute threatening and non-threatening contact are expected to vary across groups and social contexts.

Intergroup anxiety stems from the anticipation of negative consequences for contact with the outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). A lack of prior outgroup contact is expected to increase these anxious feelings. Plant and Devine (2003) have established a causal link between the quality of contact, outcomes expected for future contact, and anticipated intergroup anxiety. They find that a lack of *positive* contact experiences creates negative expectations about the anticipated course of contact, resulting in greater anxiety about future intergroup encounters. Without a guide for self-presentation in cross-racial interactions, contact participants experience greater uncertainty as to how to behave in the contact situation and which behaviours will make a positive impression. There was, however, no evidence for a direct path between amount of previous contact and outcome expectancies. Yet again, it is the qualitative nature of previous contact that is deemed most relevant.

1.2.2 Subjective evaluations of contact

Thus far, qualitative features of contact are characterised as more objective conditions of intergroup contact. However, quality as a subjective perception of contact is rarely considered in contact literature. Until recently, no study has measured the perceived importance of contact. van Dick et al. (2004) argue that the participants' perceived importance of contact is meaningfully different from the usual concepts of quantity and quality. A regression analysis in Study 1 revealed a significant amount of additional variance explained by perceived importance ($R^2 = .23$, $\Delta R^2 = .023$, $p = .018$) beyond the combined effects of quantity and quality indicators. Their model of contact-prejudice relations identifies perceived importance of contact as a significant mediator between intergroup contact and prejudice for various prejudice indicators (Study 3), as well as for diverse samples (Study 4) (see also Wagner et al., 2003).

Moreover, perceived importance appears to be linked to more personally perceived features of contact (e.g. intimate voluntary contact) rather than with evaluations of the objective features of contact (e.g. status perceptions). Findings in Study 1 of van Dick et al. (2004) suggest that intergroup encounters are perceived as important when contact is positively evaluated, and when it helps participants achieve personal goals.

1.2.3 Majority versus minority groups

Another neglected aspect of traditional contact research is the different experiences and perspectives of majority and minority groups in relation to intergroup contact. The bulk of contact literature focuses on conditions within the contact situation, and ways in which to achieve maximum results from optimal intergroup contact (Tropp, 2003). While the significance of wider social factors is frequently emphasised in the literature (Allport, 1954; Berry, 1984; Brewer & Miller, 1984;

Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1998a), the effects of these antecedent conditions, such as historical intergroup relations and prior experiences of contact participants, are relatively ignored (although see Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Researchers have since recognised that the contact situation is embedded within a broader social climate, and that future studies on contact may need to direct their focus beyond the immediate contact setting. In reality, minority and majority group members often have very different experiences and perceptions of intergroup contact. This applies equally to the immediate contact situation, as well as experiences in larger society. In its approach to examining minority versus majority groups, previous research has typified the experiences of minority group members as “vulnerable victims” and majority group members as “culpable perpetrators” of prejudice (Hyers & Swim, 1998; Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997). As such, researchers have regarded prejudice solely as a problem for its intended targets (i.e. minority or disadvantaged groups) (Tropp, 2003), and have simultaneously underestimated the strengths that minority group members may bring to the intergroup interactions (Hyers & Swim, 1998).

Members of majority and minority groups may have very different evaluations of contact due to differences in their exposure to outgroups and prejudice in general. While being a member of a numerical minority group may be associated with greater anxiety and negative outgroup attitudes when contact is involuntary (Islam & Hewstone, 1993), it may simultaneously develop skills for coping with intergroup encounters. Hyers and Swim (1998) explain that minority group members are more familiar with interactions with members of majority groups simply because, as a minority, they are “outnumbered” in society. This means that while majority group members could choose to avoid intergroup contact encounters, those belonging to the numerical minority must inevitably come into contact with the majority group (Islam

& Hewstone, 1993). Hence, minority group members may possess greater intergroup social skills as a direct result of greater exposure to intergroup encounters.

Conversely, fewer intergroup encounters may render majority group members less adept at engaging in contact with the outgroup, and greater avoidance may create a vicious cycle in which opportunities for acquiring or improving these skills are systematically eschewed (Plant & Devine, 2003). Naturally there are disadvantaged groups in society who are not necessarily in the numerical minority (see for example Liebkind, Nystrom, Honkanummi, & Lange, 2004). Nevertheless, it is important to note that as a result of previous intergroup experiences, minority and majority groups may experience different levels of intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1989), and that this anxiety may also have different causes and consequences for each group.

Although no differences in anxiety levels for majority and minority groups are reported, Hyers and Swim (1998) provide evidence for dissimilar antecedents and effects of intergroup anxiety. They found that African-Americans were less affected by intergroup anxiety than their Caucasian counterparts, despite equal levels of anxiety reported by both groups. Specifically, anxious Caucasians were more mindful and attentive to the intergroup encounter and the surrounding environment, which served as a distraction and hindered their involvement in group tasks. In contrast, greater anxiety in African-Americans was actually associated with greater task contribution and reduced mindfulness. Caucasian-Americans were therefore less efficient in an intergroup work situation because of their apparent inability to cope with anxious feelings regarding intergroup contact.

Greenland and Brown (1999, 2000) contend that differences in the subjective experience of intergroup anxiety may contribute to the utilisation of different adaptive coping strategies for minority and majority groups in response to anxious feelings.

Majority group members may display greater awareness of the intergroup situation due to concerns about not appearing prejudiced during intergroup contact (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998), and the unfamiliarity of the intergroup situation (Hyers & Swim, 1998). As a result, they may be more motivated to attend to information processing within the contact situation (Greenland & Brown, 2000). In this sense, greater mindfulness of majority group members in intergroup contact facilitates the generalisation of contact effects. On the other hand, minority groups use their awareness of the intergroup encounter as a self-protective strategy for coping with anxiety. As a minority group member, mindfulness facilitates a sense of control over anxious feelings and anticipated difficulties during intergroup contact (Hyers & Swim, 1998).

Increased concern with regards to interaction with outgroup members appear to produce positive outcomes for intergroup contact. However, it is unclear which participant will in effect perceive the contact situation as positive – the minority group member, majority group member, or both? In the Hyers and Swim study, African-Americans' ability to cope with anxiety did not necessarily mean that they evaluated the contact experience as a positive one. Shelton (2003) demonstrates how different group concerns about intergroup contact can influence the subjective experiences of both the concerned participant, and the interaction partner. The findings indicate that whites who were told not to appear prejudiced experienced greater intergroup anxiety and did not enjoy the intergroup encounter. However, their black partners reported a greater liking for whites who explicitly tried to avoid appearing prejudiced ($M = 4.51$) than white participants who were not instructed to do so ($M = 3.77$) ($F(1,66) = 5.45$, $p = .02$).

Black participants' concerns about prejudice impacted positively on their own, as well as on their white partners' experiences during contact. Although no effects for

intergroup anxiety were found, results show a direct impact of blacks' concerns on how much they enjoyed the interaction. Black participants enjoyed the interaction more when they anticipated prejudice from their white partner ($M = 5.90$) than when they have no prejudice expectations ($M = 5.0$) ($F(1, 66) = 5.90, p = .01$). Contrary to self-report measures of anxiety, non-verbal analyses suggested that black participants felt more anxious than they would admit. Moreover, whites experienced less anxiety and evaluated the interaction as a pleasant encounter when blacks expected them to be prejudiced.

What these findings suggest is that a state of mindfulness and concern is not sufficient in itself to produce positive effects of intergroup contact. This implies that being highly concerned could in fact mean very little if the target participant does not perceive the concerned partner's behaviour in a positive manner. Shelton explains that dyadic interactions involving dissimilar participants usually results in one participant doing more of the work required for the interaction to be successful. Being more concerned and more engaged during the contact situation, albeit well-intended, may result in a less positive experience for those that show concern.

1.2.4 Prior status relations

Allport (1954) stressed the importance of equal group status within the immediate contact situation. When groups meet on an equal footing in the interaction, it significantly reduces intergroup anxiety (Brown, 1995; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Wilder, 1993). However, if the equal-status contact situation is embedded within a society where groups have differential status, then such contact is subversive in nature (Pettigrew, 1998a). This means that the potential of positive effects of contact is constrained by the larger societal context in which contact occurs. Prior status differences between groups also contribute to greater intergroup anxiety (Islam &

Hewstone, 1993; Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989; Tropp, 2003). Status in the larger society can transfer into the specific contact situation, and the higher status of dominant groups may actually buffer the negative effects of intergroup anxiety for dominant group members (Hyers & Swim, 1998). However, if an individual's status within the intergroup situation is perceived to be lower than their status outside of the interaction, it could induce greater levels of intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Pettigrew and Tropp's (2000, 2006) meta-analyses highlight group status as a major mediator of the magnitude of contact-prejudice effects. Using data from their larger meta-analytic study, Tropp and Pettigrew (in press) conducted a meta-analysis of studies involving the effects of contact between members of two distinct groups that also entailed actual interaction between groups. Their findings indicate that majority participants render much larger mean effects ($r = -.24$) of contact than do minority participants ($r = -.18$) ($QD(1) = 9.15, p < .01$). Moreover, the minority-majority distinction significantly predicted contact-prejudice effects, above and beyond the predictive effects of other methodological variables such as type of study, sample size, and the quality of the contact and prejudice measures used.

Most notably, they tested whether global indicators of contact would predict differential contact-prejudice relationships for minority and majority groups. The results revealed that optimal contact was a significantly strong predictor of contact effects for majority groups, but that the predictive power of Allport's conditions for positive effects of contact for minority groups was relatively weaker. This suggests that members of different groups within a single contact situation perceive conditions of contact in contrasting ways, and that the specified optimal conditions of contact should not be regarded as intrinsic factors. Thus, majority group members may perceive equal status in a contact situation where minority group members may

perceive status differences between groups. Again the way in which the perceptions of contact participants inform their subjective experiences of contact become important. Moreover, different minorities may have very different experiences of contact with members of a single majority group, depending on the historical and contemporary relations between individual minority groups and the majority group.

In an attempt to elucidate the seemingly “inconsistent” and “contradictory” findings of Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) and Islam and Hewstone (1993), Liebkind et al. (2004) investigated the relationship between group size, intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes. Their research provides evidence for the mediating role of amount of contact in the relationship between group size and intergroup attitudes. Regression analysis revealed a significant positive effect of group size on intergroup attitudes ($b = .77, p < .001$). Contrary to previous research, no significant effects between group size and amount of contact were found. This meant that amount of contact affected the attitudes of minority and majority groups (with regard to group size) equally. However, when amount of contact was controlled for, group size had a significantly greater and negative effect on intergroup attitudes ($b = -3.31, p < .001$). Hence, the positive attitudes of minority groups are directly attributable to the amount of contact encounters they have with majority group members.

Given that Pettigrew and Tropp (2000; see also Tropp & Pettigrew, in press) predict greater effects of contact for majority groups, and Islam and Hewstone (1993) find less positive intergroup attitudes for minority groups, Liebkind et al. (2004) argue that the effects of contact is in fact greater and more positive for minority groups than majority groups. However, their research fails to take into account the significance of perceived quality of contact. Tropp and Pettigrew (in press) explain their findings in terms of the subjective evaluations of the conditions of contact and how these may differ significantly for majority and minority groups. Islam and Hewstone (1993)

assert the importance of voluntary contact, and state that while numerical minority groups inevitably experience greater amount of contact, they may not necessarily desire such contact in the first place, nor may they perceive the contact as positive.

Additionally, Liebkind et al. (2004) found that positive attitudes were associated with higher group status for numerical majorities, and lower status for groups in the numerical minority. To the extent that the latter result contrasts with Islam and Hewstone's (1993) findings for the low status Hindu minority in Bangladesh, who displayed more negative intergroup attitudes, research on intergroup contact and minority-majority distinctions reveal the idiosyncratic nature of the relationships that exists between such groups. This highlights the significance of historical and contemporary intergroup relations for contact-prejudice research.

1.2.5 Implicit bias and the contact experience

Prior status differences of groups and the associated anxieties they experience are not the only factors that potentially undermine the positive outcomes of intergroup contact. Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, and Hodson (2002) propose that the very nature of prejudice in contemporary society may contribute to the divergent perspectives of majority and minority groups. Aversive racism, the contemporary form of racial prejudice, is characterised by subtle, unintentional, and often unconscious racial biases of whites toward blacks (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Typically, aversive racists harbour dual attitudes comprised of a combination of explicit egalitarian attitudes and implicit negative attitudes. The dissociation of these two attitudes may shape the different perspectives of black and white contact participants (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

Because aversive racists endorse principles of racial equality, and deny their negative feelings toward black people, they will not openly discriminate against black

people. Instead they express prejudice in ways that cannot directly be attributed to racial prejudice. In the event that their discriminatory behaviours can be justified by factors other than race, they are unlikely to recognise their underlying racial motivations. As such, they often underestimate the effects of discrimination on the lives black people. Black people, however, may experience differential treatment across a variety of situations with equally varying “non-racial” factors that may explain disparities in whites’ behaviours. Thus, for blacks, the only consistent factor across different situations appears to be racial bias.

In so far as aversive racists are unaware of the negative feelings they hold, they may also be unaware of how their behaviours in interracial interactions are influenced by their implicit racial biases. In contrast, black participants are able to perceive both the explicit and implicit behavioural cues of their white partners and may form different perceptions about whether racial bias is operating, and if such bias is intentional or not. Moreover, black people may be especially vigilant or attuned to signs of bias and consequently tend to attribute behaviours to intentional racism.

1.2.6 Plural societies and multiple groups

Although researchers have begun to turn their attention toward the plight of the disadvantaged group in intergroup interactions, Rothgerber and Worchel (1997) note that many studies investigating disadvantaged groups have focused on the same two-group perspective, that is, a single disadvantaged versus a single advantaged group. In reality, it is common for a disadvantaged group to encounter an advantaged group along with a number of other disadvantaged groups. Hence, the need for studying the nature of intergroup relations in plural societies is pertinent if we wish to grasp the full complexities of such relations.

Berry (1984) makes an important distinction between an assimilationist and a pluralist society. They differ in the extent to which minority groups are either absorbed into the dominant culture, or are able to retain their distinctive group identities within a tolerant social climate. Hamilton and Mackie (1993) maintain that in a society where multiple groups are competing for positive social identities and material resources, it is not enough to simply investigate the relationships between the majority population and the range of minority groups. The relationships between the various minority groups, and how these relations are in turn affected by majority-minority relations, need to be understood as well.

Rothgerber and Worchel (1997) demonstrated how disadvantaged in-groups distinguish between various outgroups of different status and how this influences their reactions toward different outgroups. Results reveal that the behaviour of a disadvantaged group is determined by both the status and relative performance of the outgroup. Overall, their findings indicate that disadvantaged in-groups respond more negatively toward a disadvantaged outgroup when (i) the outgroup performs similar to or better than the in-group, and (ii) in the presence of an advantaged outgroup whose performance equals or is superior to that of the in-group's. As a result of its similar status position, the disadvantaged outgroup is automatically rendered the comparison group for the disadvantaged in-group. Whereas the advantaged outgroup only becomes a comparison standard when its performance deteriorates and it shows vulnerability. Thus, in-group members seem to be more sensitive to the performance of disadvantaged outgroups than to advantaged outgroups.

In a field study examining anxiety levels of Asian-Americans from Hawaii and Hispanics from South-western America, Stephan and Stephan (1989) find between-group differences in the amount of anxiety experienced, as well as qualitative differences in anxiety experienced when interacting with Caucasian-

Americans. Specifically, Asian-Americans reported more anxiety, more negative relations with Caucasians, less contact with Caucasians, and considered their group to be of higher status relative to Caucasians, than did Hispanic-Americans. The numerical majority and higher perceived status of Asian-Americans in Hawaii render relations with Caucasians problematic, as the latter group may regard themselves as superior to Asian-Americans and may not be accustomed to interacting with them on an equal footing. Correspondingly, Asian-Americans who consider their own group as superior and are aware that Caucasians regard themselves as superior, may fear being treated as inferior by Caucasians. Hispanics report a less problematic encounter with Caucasians. This is because Hispanics not only constitute the numerical minority, meaning that they are familiar with interactions with Caucasians, but also consider themselves as inferior to the Caucasian majority. As such, they may also experience anxiety for fear of being treated as inferior, but for different reasons than Asian-Americans do.

1.2.7 Divergent experiences: Minority vs. Majority Groups

The bulk of contemporary research on race has focused on the perspective of the perpetrator. In contrast, research that centres on the views of the recipients or targets of racial prejudice is somewhat lacking (Tropp & Pettigrew, in press; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). As researchers begin to explore the experiences of the targets of prejudice, they also begin to gain an integrated understanding of racism. Swim et al. (2003) maintain that by focusing on their reported experiences of racism, those who are subjected to racial prejudice are empowered and given a voice, and ultimately perceived as the true “experts” on prejudice.

As a structural context of opportunity, the diverse setting of the university simultaneously offers researchers the chance to investigate and compare the perceptions of different groups – majority and minority, racial or ethnic. Hence, of the relatively few comparative studies pitting the experiences of different racial groups against each other, the majority of existing research has been conducted with students at the university campus (Mack et al., 1997). Furthermore, the usual dichotomy of white versus black that is consistent with previous work on racial prejudice is employed. Nevertheless, the body of research has yielded significant insights into the nature of contemporary racism.

One of the fundamental issues that have been highlighted is the saliency of race and its relevance as a social factor for black and white people respectively. A review of the literature revealed this to be a major point of difference that may explain the divergent perceptions of racial prejudice that characterises the two race groups. The general consensus is that race is a far more salient issue for black people than it is for whites (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Tropp & Pettigrew, in press). White people are often reported as portraying a “raceless” or colour-blind attitude in which they present themselves as “not noticing race”. Sydell and Nelson (2000) found that more black students (57%) displayed an awareness of their own racial biases than white students (31%). In addition, white students were more inclined to agree with the notion that they are totally free of racial bias. There are three main factors that contribute to the saliency of race, or lack thereof, for black and white individuals. These include aspects of racial identity, differential group status, and the extent of racial prejudice experienced.

In her award-winning book, *Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?*, Tatum (1997) explains the development of racial identity and outlines the different processes involved for black and white individuals. There is a fundamental

difference in the way in which black and white adolescents approach the concept of identity. For blacks, the question of “Who am I?” inherently incorporates the question “Who am I racially or ethnically, and what does it mean to be Black?” While white adolescents also reflect on their racial identity, blacks display more active engagement in the exploration of their racial or ethnic affiliation (Mack et al., 1997).

The disparities between black and white adolescents’ search for racial identity exists as a function of society’s power differentials conferred upon the two racial groups. According to Tropp and Pettigrew (in press), individuals with majority status are less inclined to reflect on their group membership and privileged status, unless they are demanded to do so. Tatum (1997) explains that as a majority group, white people represent the societal norm and whiteness is adopted as society’s mainstream culture. Thus, whites are able to go through life without having to think much about their racial group and the associated privileged advantages they have received simply because they are white. Whiteness therefore becomes the “unexamined norm” (p. 93). As such, white people tend to think of racial identity as something that happens to other people, but which is not salient for them.

In contrast, minority groups, or targets of prejudice, are aware even at a young age of the potential influence of prejudice on their lives (Swim, Cohen, & Hyers, 1998). Tatum (1997) states that one’s self-perception is shaped by the perceptions of those around you and the messages one receives about oneself from those around you. As environmental cues begin to reflect an individual’s minority status or “blackness” back to them more clearly, the racial content of these messages begin to intensify as well. Hence, race becomes salient for blacks (as a target of prejudice) because it is salient for society, and because their blackness is what the rest of the world perceives first and foremost. In this sense, minority groups are very aware of their devalued status in society, and that they are more than likely to be evaluated based on their

racial group membership (Tropp & Pettigrew, in press). On the other hand, whites perceive themselves as individuals and the kinds of messages conveyed to them are those of superiority that is automatically bestowed upon them just by being white (Tatum, 1997).

Feagin (1991) conducted in-depth interviews with middle-class African-Americans and found that the omnipresent stigma of being black was one of their main concerns. Feagin refers to this phenomenon as the “burdensome visibility” of being black that characterizes their daily experiences of inescapable, and largely negative, racial stereotyping by white people. Resisting these negative stereotypes that exist in both predominantly black and white communities, combined with the need to affirm alternative, more positive definitions of the self, is a life-long task for many black people in the face of a racist society (Tatum, 1997).

1.2.8 Experience of “everyday prejudice”

Literature on the frequency of minorities’ experiences with prejudice is relatively scant compared to research examining the extent to which people hold prejudice beliefs, make prejudicial judgements, and engage in discriminatory behaviour (Swim et al, 1998). The kinds of racial incidents reported by targets of prejudice are not acute or extreme events, but are described as part of everyday life instead (Swim et al, 2003). Referred to as everyday racism, these common, minor, daily experiences are often forgotten or overlooked (Beagan, 2003).

Although it may include overt, severe acts of discrimination, it is most difficult to respond to in its more subtle forms. Because racism becomes embedded into everyday practices, it becomes part of a routine world where it is expected and unquestioned. As racist practices begin to infiltrate everyday life, everyday life starts to perpetuate marginalisation and normalize racial prejudice (Essed, 1991). Research

that has assessed the frequency of targets' experiences with prejudice and discrimination indicates that these experiences are common (Swim et al. 2003). Had this unique perspective not been considered, the frequency of racial incidents and the extent to which minorities have to deal with prejudice would have been vastly underestimated.

Studies investigating the types of experiences reported by African-Americans display comparable findings. Swim et al. (2003) found that experiences consisted primarily of three types of behaviours. Reported incidents of racial prejudice included being stared at or glared at in a hostile manner, being watched suspiciously, verbal expressions of prejudice, poor service like differential treatment in stores, and miscellaneous incidents such as rude or awkward encounters, nervous behaviour, or avoidance. Feagin (1991) reports similar findings for everyday encounters of racial prejudice.

1.2.9 Intergroup contact and prejudice in higher education

According to Mack et al. (1997), institutions of higher learning represent a unique opportunity for fostering harmonious intergroup relations. Fisher and Hartmann (1995) assert that the university experience should equip students with the relevant skills and knowledge needed to contribute to a multi-cultural world beyond the campus walls, and that this ought to be the desired outcome for any university student. Universities, particularly those with heterogeneous student bodies, offer more opportunities for extended interracial contact among students (Cowan, 2005). Blau (1994) refers to these kind of diverse settings as "structural contexts of opportunity", to the extent that a diverse environment promotes and facilitates interracial contact. As such, levels of interracial contact are expected to be higher in settings where numerous racial groups are represented.

Cowan (2005) observed student interactions at six racially diverse universities in southern California. Lending support to Blau's theory of heterogeneous environments, she observed equal numbers of intra- and interracial interactions across five of the six campuses. Only one campus displayed a significant difference between same-race and cross-race interactions, where more interracial (55.5%) than intra-racial (44.5%) ($\chi^2 = 11.13, p < .05$) interactions were observed. Furthermore, all the ethnic groups that were observed, which included African-American, Asian-American, Latino, and White students, displayed greater interracial than intra-racial contact across all six campuses.

Notwithstanding the optimistic nature of these results, Cowan identifies the lack of qualitative data as a major research limitation, but maintains that it is nevertheless important to document such instances of positive intergroup contact and harmonious relations. Significantly, the universities in this study represent a rare segment of the general higher institution population, where the student body is predominantly made up of ethnic and racial minority groups. At most universities across the world a white student majority is often the rule rather than the exception. According to Sydell and Nelson (2002), the greatest barrier to improved race relations within predominantly white universities, lies in the differences in perceptions of racism held by members of various racial or ethnic groups. In its contemporary form, racism is born from misunderstanding, misperception, and miscommunication rather than hate (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998).

The acting out of subtle, and overt, prejudice is especially prevalent on university campuses (Pettigrew, 1998b). Typically, black students experience racial prejudice and discrimination more often than their white peers. Fisher and Hartmann (1995) find that 50% of black undergraduate respondents reported experiencing acts of racial prejudice nearly six times as often as white respondents. Another study

showed that while the majority of black students (54%) experienced racial prejudice at least occasionally, 69% of white student respondents experienced it infrequently or almost never (Sydell & Nelson, 2000). Providing a more concrete estimate of the frequency with which these experiences occur, Swim et al.'s (2003) research illustrates that two thirds of African-American college students experienced on average, at least one racial incident per week.

Findings regarding the kinds of prejudiced encountered parallel research findings from studies conducted in non-academic settings (Essed, 1991; Feagin, 1991). Again, the most common type of prejudiced incidents was verbal harassment and racial slurs (D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Sydell & Nelson, 2000). African-American students also reported whispering and looks of derision, and often experienced prejudice as being excluded from campus activities by other students (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995). The majority of perpetrators were strangers (Sydell & Nelson, 2000), followed by peers such as other students, acquaintances, and friends (Swim et al., 2003). A study conducted on a South African university campus revealed that black students also experienced differential treatment by white academic staff (Durrheim, Trotter, Manicom, & Piper, 2004).

Considering the frequency of verbally expressed prejudice, it is clear that overt prejudice occurs more frequently than theories on the concealed nature of contemporary racism would anticipate. Swim et al. (2003) found that 55% of African-American student respondents experienced between one and two racial incidents once every other week, and 10% encountered prejudice three to seven times within the same period. Moreover, Sydell and Nelson (2000) found that the majority of both black and white students were willing to admit that they openly display racial prejudice.

Nevertheless, most incidents are typically subtle and ambiguous in nature involving non-verbal behaviours, or comments that implied prejudice. The most frequently reported subtle incidents are offensive jokes concerning race or ethnicity directed either at the individual target, or the minority group as a whole (Beagan, 2003). According to Essed (1991), prejudiced “jokes” are used as a means of containment that reinforces the power of dominant groups. It acts as a sort of status reminder for minority groups in order to “keep them in their place”, and to prevent them from pursuing equality, justice, and power. White people typically fail to understand why such comments are perceived as cause for upset, especially when no harm was intended.

Feagin (1991) explains that the lack of understanding is largely due to whites’ unawareness of the historical impact of racial prejudice on black people, and their experiences as a devalued minority group over time. It also explains why whites may minimize black people’s encounters with prejudice by suggesting that they are always complaining, that they are oversensitive, or that they are paranoid (Swim et al., 1998). Beagan (2003) interviewed third-year medical students at a Canadian university and found that both white students and senior academic staff would often make jokes directed at minority groups. One black Canadian student of Caribbean descent reported an incident while working with surgeons in an operating room, when one of them asked her to sing the “Banana Boat song” and then to “do some Island speak”. Beagan concludes that although these comments may seem harmless or without malicious intent, they do convey messages of inclusion and exclusion, of belonging and not belonging.

1.2.10 Racial prejudice as accumulated experience

Taken on their own, these daily racial incidents appear trivial and mundane. However, everyday racism does not exist within a single isolated experience, but rather as a set of complex interrelated instances that are given meaning through the burden of a shared and personal history of experiences, as well as the practices through which racism is reproduced in society (Essed, 1991). This shared history of prejudice, together with specific personal experiences of racial prejudice, form the building blocks of the experience of being a target of prejudice and contributes toward their knowledge about racism (Swim et al., 1998). Essed (1991) asserts that through history, minority groups gain a sense of continuity and connection with the experiences of past generations. They are thus able to use this history of prejudice as a frame of reference within which to locate their own personal experiences of prejudice. Hence, knowledge of racism both generalized and specific plays an important role in the target person's understanding of everyday racism, particularly in evaluating and interpreting personal experiences as racial incidents. Contrary to the notion of "racial paranoia", black people often develop highly organized and complex schema about the kinds of incidents that constitute racial prejudice and the kinds that do not.

Before deciding whether to respond to prejudice or not, black people actively engage in careful deliberation of the situation by searching for patterns and drawing on cumulative experiences and knowledge of prejudice (Essed, 1991). Swim et al. (1998) propose viewing targets of prejudice as active agents who make choices about when to face or avoid potentially prejudiced situations and when to challenge or confront prejudice, as opposed to passive victims who are unable to cope with the negative consequences of prejudice. Responses to racial prejudice are largely determined by the type and site of discrimination (Feagin, 1991).

Considering the potential racial incidents black people may encounter on a daily basis, it is expected that they would spend more of their time and effort anticipating and evaluating prejudiced encounters (Swim et al., 1998). Beagan (2003) explains that the accumulation of incidents takes its toll and may cause undue stress that white people may not experience or even understand. She states that black people may use more energy being vigilant, ready to respond or not to a potential act of racial prejudice.

1.2.11 Quality of the university experience

African-American students have reported how everyday encounters with racial prejudice negatively impact their experiences of university life. D'Augelli and Hershberger (1993) found that students' experiences of racial harassment correlated negatively with their feelings about the university. Consequently, African-Americans felt less positively about the university than white students (see also Mack et al., 1997). In addition, African-American students were required to make significantly greater adjustments than their white peers when attending predominantly white colleges. They concluded that the university climate for African-Americans at predominantly white campuses might be sufficiently problematic so as to interfere with academic achievement.

The differential treatment black students received from white academic staff at a South African university was reported to have a negative effect on black students' academic performance, sense of well-being, and sense of self-esteem (Durrheim et al., 2004). Beagan (2003) found that white students at a Canadian university medical faculty were granted instant status and acceptance as doctors, whereas minority students had to earn that respect from each patient, and other medical staff. The kind of everyday racism they experienced affected their perceptions of "fitting in". One

third of the minority respondents reported that they did not fit in at medical school, and 24% felt that race had a negative impact on their experiences at university. In contrast, 85% of white student respondents felt that race had a neutral impact.

Students' social life and associated opportunities are also strongly influenced by their racial background. Typically, white students find it relatively easier to make friends at university than black students do. Fisher and Hartmann's (1995) research findings indicate that the majority of black student respondents (79%) felt that race affects making friends at university, compared to only 56% of white respondents. Almost all respondents agreed that participation in social and interest groups on campus was affected by race. Moreover, white students reported less difficulty in interacting with students from other race groups because they were felt secure in their status as the dominant group at university.

D'Augelli and Hershberger's (1993) findings illustrate that African-American students knew relatively fewer people on arrival at campus than their white peers. In a longitudinal study on friendship patterns amongst minority and majority group students at a South African university, Schrieff (2004) observed a total of 53 out of a possible 283 cross-race friendships among 31 out of 174 respondents. Significantly, minority group students reported most of the cross-race friendships observed in the study.

Consequently, mere attendance at a heterogeneous institution does not begin to address the substantial differences in background, preparation, and subjective experiences between majority and minority group students. Likewise, desegregation implies the mixing of groups that are no longer formally separated, but does not speak to the quality of intergroup interaction (Pettigrew, 1998a). Furthermore, universities typically exhibit an increasingly diverse student body, but a persistently homogenous (usually white) academic staff (Durrheim et al., 2004). Even if the transformation of

staff were to provide a more supportive environment for black individuals (MacKenzie, 1994), “getting the racial numbers right” would still not sufficiently address problems of racial prejudice (Durrheim et al., 2004, p. 165).

1.2.12 Informal segregation

The most common problem in racially mixed or desegregated settings is re-segregation (Schofield, 1995). Within these contexts, segregation is often “voluntary” and informal (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003) and may arise even in the face of explicit integrationist norms and authoritative support for interracial contact between groups (Schofield & Sagar, 1977). Considerable debate centres on the value of self-segregation and the appropriateness of racial groupings within a diverse setting. Arguing for the relevance of self-segregation, particularly in predominantly white environments, Tatum (1997) emphasizes the importance of racial groupings for black individuals as a fundamental developmental process for the formation of a positive racial identity. As minority group individuals, blacks become increasingly aware of their systematic exclusion and marginalisation by society, they begin to develop an “oppositional identity”. Certain forms of behaviour, activities, events, and symbols are embraced as “authentically black” and are highly valued. Whereas attitudes and behaviours associated with white majority group members are rejected.

When black individuals are appraised as failing to meet the criteria for being “authentically black”, or conversely accused of wanting to be white, they face rejection by their black peers. Subsequently, they may search for acceptance in dominant groups and in so doing, adopt a position of “racelessness” in order to assimilate into the dominant group. To this end, they may attempt to de-emphasise characteristics that might identify them as members of the subordinate group. As such, their black peers may perceive them as “sell outs”, what some students referred

to as an “Oreo cookie” (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995). Tatum (1997) asserts that only through positive and intimate connections with people from one’s own racial or ethnic group, is one able to acknowledge and accept one’s own racial identity.

Research has supported Tatum’s theory that racial groupings are a developmental process in response to racism as an environmental stressor. Sydell and Nelson (2000) reported high levels of segregation amongst black and white college students and contend that black student groups help black students develop unique identities, which is an important precondition for racial equality on campus. Beagan (2003) found that black Canadian medical students turned to each other for support as a means of coping with experiences of racial prejudice on campus. The self-segregation of minority groups was thus interpreted as a response to marginalisation and protection against future prejudice. Schrieff (2004) observed segregated seating patterns in a racially mixed university dining facility in which students rated friendship as the most important factor determining seat choice during mealtimes.

In response to media reports concerning the “voluntary segregation” of black students in higher education institutions in America, Starling (1995), a student at a predominantly white university retorts that black student grouping is not simply a choice to remain apart. In her view, racial grouping is both a reaction to campus-wide discrimination and creates a microcosm for black students in an atmosphere where black culture is devalued and white values are perceived as the dominant culture.

Despite the benefits self-segregation may hold for minority groups, it can simultaneously produce severely adverse effects. Racial grouping may provide a supportive environment in which blacks are able to qualify and deal with their racial experiences, but it may also enhance or intensify their minority status as a marginalized and excluded group. By shaping their environment in order to avoid potential prejudice and discrimination, minority groups may be placing unwarranted

limitations on their own daily lives, while leaving majority group members “off the hook” (Swim et al., 1998, p. 40). To the extent that individuals who share similar interests, values, and backgrounds associate with each other to achieve positive ends, then same-race grouping is acceptable. However, racial grouping becomes problematic when its goals are incompatible with the goal of improving intergroup relations, specifically when grouping stems from fear, hostility, and discomfort (Schofield, 1995b).

1.2.13 The production of segregated space

Patterns of re-segregation have been documented in various racially mixed educational settings including elementary schools (Schofield & Sagar, 1977) and universities (Underwood, 2002). Fisher and Hartmann’s (1995) research findings indicate that the majority of black and white students admit that they each maintain a high degree of separation and that they found it difficult to make friends from other race groups because of the presence of same-race cliques. Black students in particular preferred interacting with members of the same race because they felt more comfortable and socially accepted. White students were distrusted and therefore were avoided.

Durrheim et al. (2004) report similar findings for a South African campus survey in which the majority of students confessed to engaging mainly in intra-racial interactions, as opposed to interracial contact. Subsequent focus groups revealed students’ extensive knowledge of racial segregation in all aspects of campus life, including segregated residences, social, and learning spaces. In addition, students demonstrated a remarkable awareness of the racial topography of the campus. Certain social spaces even had explicit racial reputations. An example cited were the library

lawns that were consistently occupied by Indian students and thus became known as “Bombay”.

These findings elucidate the interconnectedness of space and intergroup relations. Yet social psychologists have paid little attention to the role of space in intergroup contact. At best, contact researchers utilized limiting conceptions of space, typically regarding it as a medium in which interactions occur and intergroup relations unfold (Dixon, 2001). Lefebvre (1974/1991) theorizes space as neither a subject nor an object, but rather as a set of relations between these things. In this sense, space is not absolute and cannot be considered as space itself. Instead, Lefebvre emphasizes the need to understand the production of space, and thereby uncovering the social relationships inherent to it. Recent trends toward a spatial analysis of intergroup contact is focused almost exclusively on macro-level and institutional processes with the intent to outline the economic, social, and political implications of racial or ethnic separation (Clack, Dixon, & Tredoux, 2005). To this extent, research on residential segregation dominates contact literature (e.g. Massey & Denton, 1988). However, people do not simply live in space, they embody it.

Another way in which research on intergroup contact is compromised is by its focus on ideal conditions that facilitate positive outcomes of contact. As such, researchers have neglected the processes that serve to maintain racial or ethnic divisions. Dixon and Durrheim (2003, p. 3) note: “Processes of social change...cannot be theoretically bracketed from processes of social conservation.” Research has demonstrated the persistence of “illusory contact” (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994) whereby the appearance of integration is undermined by the reality of segregation (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim et al., 2004; Schrieff, 2004; Schofield, 1986; Schofield & Sagar, 1977). Accordingly, it reflects a desperate need to understand the resilience of segregation in the absence of official policies or legislation proscribing

interaction between racial groups. Segregation is therefore not an outcome, but rather a dynamic process in which members of different groups are continuously negotiating “integrated” spaces (Dixon, Tredoux, & Clack, 2005).

Scholars have since called for an investigation of the micro-ecology of segregation (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003), a system that denotes a particular kind of spatial organization that perpetuates racial segregation within an otherwise opportune context for augmented intergroup relations. The analysis of social practices that create and uphold racial barriers in everyday life is deemed especially instructive (McCauley, Plummer, Moskaleno, & Mordkoff, 2001). In particular, Dixon et al (2005) illustrate how the socio-spatial organization of everyday life serves to maintain relations of “us” and “them”, of dominant and marginal, preserving racial distance by reminding individuals (of minority status) of their “proper place” within a particular space and within wider society. Studies observing everyday intergroup behaviour are relatively few. However, the nature of such work can be traced back to research on widespread desegregation in the United States and the effects thereof, and is largely concentrated in public domains such as schools (Johnson & Johnson, 1981) and transportation (Davis, Siebert, & Breed, 1966). The latter study, in particular, highlights the methodological difficulties that encumber attempts to assess levels of informal segregation.

According to Dixon and Durrheim (2003), the current dearth of techniques for gathering and analyzing data of this nature indicates the need for innovative methods (although see Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez, & Finchilescu, 2005). As such, they developed an observational technique using scaled maps to plot the positions and racial classifications of individuals occupying a certain social space. Environmental psychologists use a similar procedure to map human behaviour, claiming that the major value of “mapping”, as a research tool, lies in the possibility to develop general

principles about the use of space (Ittelson, Rivlin, & Proshansky, 1970). With the aid of analytical tools developed by geographers and urban sociologists, contact researchers are now able to evaluate patterns of segregation at the level of social units within space, and through broader patterns of racial distribution across space.

McCauley et al. (2001) used seating charts to assess levels of intergroup contact in a school cafeteria with a diverse student body, recording the ethnicity and gender of each seated student. Applying the exposure index to social units within the cafeteria, their findings indicate significant age and race differences. Older students (grades 6 – 12) displayed significant and substantial black-white segregation, whereas younger students (grades K – 5) showed no significant patterns of segregation. Moreover, Asian students of all ages appeared the most integrated, showing no significant segregation from either of the other groups.

Drawing upon this research, Clack et al. (2005) observed a student cafeteria in a predominantly white university in England. Using adapted segregation indices, they were able to measure students' potential for interacting with each other in the cafeteria, across racial lines. Results revealed widespread segregation throughout various sections of the cafeteria, calling for the relocation of more than 50% of the occupants in order to attain an appropriate level of desegregation. An analysis of social units in the cafeteria indicated that the majority of individuals were seated in racially homogenous groups. The most interesting spatial pattern demonstrated consistent racial clustering of Asian students within a specific section of the cafeteria. Schrieff (2004) observed similar "racially consistent" spaces within the catering facilities of a university residence in South Africa. While Schrieff interprets segregated seating amongst student diners as "indeed, for the most part, patterns of friendship" (p. 4), Clack et al. contest the notion of interpersonal factors as an adequate explanation for this highly organized spatial arrangement. Instead, it requires

knowledge of the role of seating choice as an everyday practice that shapes the social organization of space, and orders the interracial relations amongst students that are embedded within it.

Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) study of "race relations" on a desegregated beach in South Africa provides one of the most dramatic demonstrations of informal segregation, that is, the use of space as a means of constructing landscapes of exclusion (Sibley, 1988). Conducted a decade after South African beaches were declared 'open' to all race groups, the study displays the remarkable resilience of segregation that neither time, nor the struggle for free association, could erode. Segregation was observed in multifarious forms. Black holidaymakers congregated en masse in specific areas on the beach, with the majority of whites relatively dispersed across the rest of the beach area. In addition, almost all (+99.9%) umbrella spaces were occupied by racially homogenous groups, reflecting the use of this micro-space as a legitimate mechanism for preserving boundaries and maintaining distance between different race groups visiting the same beach. Most notably is the pattern of influx of black people, and corresponding withdrawal of white people on public holidays. During informal interviews, several white holidaymakers disclosed their reluctance to visit the beach on days that black people would "come in their masses". Clack et al. (2005) reported a similar relationship between population density and segregation.

Collectively, these findings give credence to the "delicate choreography" of everyday intergroup relations (Dixon et al., 2005, p. 5). It provides overwhelming evidence for the persistence of segregation within everyday life spaces, maintained through seemingly mundane activities. However, this 'scattered' literature is unable to fully explain how, when, and why processes of micro-segregation shape race relations. More importantly, as an artefact of the nature of this research, it is unable to

answer questions concerning the causes and subjective experiences of segregation (Clack et al., 2005), unless complementary qualitative techniques are employed as well (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). Even so, it is the lived experiences of social relations within a particular social space that remain central to any analysis of everyday segregation (Dixon et al., 2005).

1.2.14 Contact and segregation as meaningful experiences

Consider Durrheim et al.'s (2004) disparate results regarding the experiences of racism on campus. Survey data revealed that only 14% of respondents believed they had encountered racism on campus, and that the majority of students felt that race had very little influence on their performance at university. Results from focus groups, however, revealed a different story. In fact, all the black groups agreed that racial prejudice formed part of their regular campus life. This scenario aptly reflects the constraints placed on the expression of racial attitudes when using traditional methods of quantification, and the enhanced power and ability of qualitative methodologies to capture individuals' lived realities of segregation through everyday practices (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003).

In line with this approach, Dixon and Reicher (1997) emphasise the importance of assessing lay theories and interpretations of contact through the day-to-day talk of those who are in contact. Intergroup contact, they argue, "acquires meaning within everyday practice and argumentation as individuals try to make sense of others' co-presence" (p. 361). Their study examines the development of a type of informal settlement, commonly referred to as a "squatter" camp, amidst three affluent white suburbs in a coastal town in South Africa. White residents were interviewed about their attitudes towards the black "squatter" community. A discourse analysis of the interview data revealed narratives of inclusion and exclusion, expressed through

constructions of the illegitimate “squatter”, and the deserving property owner. Moreover, desegregation, and hence intergroup contact, were portrayed as futile and largely undesired attempts to resolve “an inevitable and necessary feature of social organization” (p. 373).

Woods (2001) interviewed black South African university students concerning their perceptions of interracial contact and the racial climate at the university. Although more descriptive in nature, the study revealed important insights into black students’ lived experiences of segregation on campus. The students reported the complex nature of race relations on campus. On the surface, students from all race groups appear to be getting along, but underlying relations were characterized by mounting racial tension. In fact, intergroup relations were ordered by “unspoken rules” to remain apart.

While some students reported having satisfactory relationships with white students, the majority of blacks experienced their white peers as racist. Although different racial groups congregated in separate areas on campus, black students did not feel that this segregation necessarily reflects a mutual preference on the parts of white and black students to stay away from each other. Instead, whites were perceived as making a special effort to maintain racial distance through the consistent use of separate social spaces. Another reported explanation for segregation on campus was whites’ intolerance for language and cultural differences. For many black students attending this university, English was not their first language. White students were perceived as making fun of and laughing at black students who could not speak the language well. In turn, black students felt alienated and excluded not only from class discussions, but from university life as a whole.

Erasmus and de Wet (2003) investigated segregation on another South African university and report similar findings. They interviewed white and black students at

the university's medical school campus and found that black students reported more accounts of racial prejudice than their white counterparts. Moreover, black students carried the burden of being held responsible for enabling interracial contact. As a result, black students were described as doing most of the "race work". White students were less aware of race and racial issues on campus, expressing limited engagement in race-related problems.

Buttney (1999) provides a comparative study of white and black students' discursive constructions of segregation on campus. Members of both groups provided a common explanation for voluntary segregation amongst students on campus. Group separateness was justified through the notions cultural difference, comfortability, and a lack of common ground, as opposed to race. However, black and white students held each others' groups responsible for racial segregation. White students perceived the separatist behaviours of blacks as problematic, whereas blacks put the segregation of white students down to their ignorance of racial problems on campus. The denial of racism is prominent within racial discourse literature (e.g. van Dijk, 1992). These conflicting responses reflect broader ambivalent attitudes expressed within the experience of a common interracial dilemma. Many students reported the desire for increased interracial contact, but seemed unsure how to achieve, with claims of "being stuck in a larger pattern of intergroup distance" (p. 291).

A review of the literature on intergroup contact has highlighted a number of research caveats. The way in which contact is perceived by members of different racial groups, with differential societal status, is essential for a comprehensive understanding of the nature of racial prejudice. The need for an integrated theory on contact focusing on the qualitative, everyday experiences of intergroup contact is evident. The role of space, specifically as a mechanism for ordering everyday

intergroup encounters as well as broader intergroup relations, should occupy a key position in research on racial segregation.

1.3. RESEARCH AIMS & OBJECTIVES

The research is divided into two studies. Study 1 aims to investigate patterns of segregation, as it manifests in space. Hence, a spatial analysis of segregation amongst students at UCT is conducted. The research objectives in Study 1 include the following:

- i. Observe seating arrangements in first year psychology tutorial classrooms for patterns of segregation.
- ii. Determine whether students perceive UCT as a racially segregated space and how such segregation is explained and understood.
- iii. Explore the meanings ascribed to space and whether space is used as a mechanism for avoiding intergroup encounters at UCT.
- iv. Investigate the “racialised” consistency of certain social spaces, how such highly organized spatial arrangements are achieved, and how they are maintained across time.

Study 1 hypothesises that:

- i. Tutorial classrooms as a formal academic space would be less segregated than leisure or social spaces.
- ii. Racially homogeneous spaces play an integral role in the processes that perpetuate informal segregation.

Study 2 aims to investigate the amount and quality of interracial contact between two historically disadvantaged groups (black and coloured students), and a single advantaged group (white students) at UCT. The study also aims to explore students’

subjective experiences and perceptions of segregation on campus. The research objectives for Study 1 are:

- i. Investigate differences between black, white, and coloured students with regard to the amount and quality of same-race contact versus intergroup contact.
- ii. Develop a model for intergroup contact amongst students.
- iii. Explore, at greater depth, students' lived realities of contact and segregation on campus.

The following hypotheses were established:

- i. Significant differences are expected in the amount and quality of interracial contact for members of different race groups. Greater amounts of contact and more favourable contact experiences are anticipated for same-race contact than for interracial contact encounters.
- ii. Due to differences in historical and contemporary relations between the two minority groups (black and coloured students) and their respective relations with the majority (white students), the minority groups will display differences in their contact experiences with each other, as well as in their contact experiences with white students.
- iii. Intergroup anxiety is proposed as a determining factor for intergroup contact amongst students. In order to reduce or avoid anxious feelings, students will tend to avoid interracial encounters.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

In this chapter, the quantitative methods related to Study 1 and 2 are addressed first, followed by the qualitative methods common to both studies.

STUDY 1

Do seating choices in psychology tutorial classrooms reflect patterns of racial segregation amongst students?

2.1.1 Participants

University students registered for an introductory psychology course (PSY 101W) were observed. In 2004, there were 716 students registered for the course (UCT Institutional Planning Department, 2005). White students comprised the majority of 59%. Black, coloured, and Indian students constituted 21%, 14%, and 5% respectively. The class consisted of more female (78.5%) than male students (21.5%). Most of the students were registered with the Humanities Faculty (74%). A table of student enrolment in this psychology course is presented in Appendix A (Table 7).

The course is completed over a period of two consecutive semesters and at the beginning of the year, each student is required to sign up for a tutorial group that meets at

least once a month throughout the academic year. Students choose between 32 tutorial groups depending on their individual class schedules. A group change is allowed at the start of each semester during a period in which all students are also allowed general curriculum changes. Tutorial changes are therefore only permissible if students' new class schedules clash with the psychology tutorial group initially chosen. Apart from this, tutorial groups remain relatively constant throughout the duration of the course.

Students are required to attend 8 psychology tutorials in total between the months of February and October. Tutorial groups consist of no less than 10 and no more than 20 students each, but as is the fate of many an introductory psychology course, attendance is not necessarily guaranteed. Thus, during any given tutorial, group sizes can range between 3 and 25 students. A total of 26 tutorial groups were observed and 119 seating observations were recorded as presented in Table 1, Appendix C.

2.1.2 Procedure

Students' seating arrangements during psychology tutorial classes were observed. Observations were recorded by official tutorial facilitators (tutors) originally assigned to tutorial groups at the beginning of the year by the psychology department. Cash payments were determined by the number of observations recorded by each tutor throughout the year. The observations usually took less than five minutes to record, as classes were relatively small. Hence, the research did not impinge significantly on class time, and tutors were willing to participate. Tutors could choose a time during the tutorial they considered most convenient to collect the seating data. Only two tutors did not collect any data for their groups.

Tutors were provided with a “map” depicting the layout of the specific venue or classroom in which their respective groups met (Figure 7, in Appendix B1). They were given one observation sheet or map per tutorial, thus received a total of eight observation sheets per group. Observations were recorded directly onto the maps provided, noting the students’ race, gender and their seating position in the classroom (Figure 7, Appendix B1). Codes such as ‘BF’ (black female) or ‘WM’ (white male) were used to record race and gender simultaneously. The racial codes for Coloureds and Indians were C and I respectively. The observation period extended across the duration of the academic year between February and October 2004. The first year psychology course is a whole year course, and the tutorial programme is comprised of 8 scheduled tutorials for the year. Classroom seating patterns were recorded once for every scheduled tutorial. In this way, any changes in seating patterns throughout the year could be detected as students became more familiar with other students in their tutorial groups as the year progressed.

2.1.3 Materials

Direct observations of student seating patterns during tutorial classes were recorded. Observation sheets depicting the layout of each classroom, including table arrangements, were used to record the tutorial date, the total number of students present, and the seating position, race, and gender of each student present. A list of tutorial venues was obtained from the course secretary before the start of tutorials. The researcher visited each venue and constructed a rough approximation of each room’s layout. An example of a typical observation sheet with recorded seating patterns is presented in Appendix B1, Figure 7.

STUDY 2

Does the quality and quantity of contact amongst students differ for black, white, and coloured students?

2.2.1 Participants

A sub-sample of first year psychology students was identified through purposive sampling. Preliminary observation, combined with information from class lists, revealed 6 tutorial groups that either displayed an equitable racial composition between white and black students, or a greater number of black than white students (the term “black” in this context is used to signify Black Africans, Coloureds, and Indians). Only those students belonging to these 6 tutorial groups were approached. These groups were selected based on the assumption that the opportunity for interracial interaction is increased within these classrooms because of the ratio of black and white students.

Initially, the student volunteers from these tutorial groups were required to participate in an experiment using cooperative learning groups. The questionnaires were to serve as before and after measures for groups who received normal instruction (control groups), and students who worked in cooperative groups (experimental groups). However, due to a lack of positive response from students, it was decided that this component of the research should be terminated.

Apart from the fact that students would be gaining personal assistance on a research assignment they were required to submit as part of the course requirements, there was no other real incentive for students to participate in this part of the study. The

number of students seeking extra help with what is usually considered a difficult assignment may have been overestimated. Offering extra course credits in return for participation would have been most helpful. Unfortunately, the psychology department at UCT is yet to establish this system. Moreover, restricting the cooperative learning component of the study to certain (racially mixed) tutorial groups may also have affected the response rate.

Table 1.
Sample breakdown by tutorial group, race group, and gender.

Group	N	Black	White	Coloured	Male	Female
2	7	1	3	3	0	7
3	13	3	6	4	1	11*
9	12	2	7	3	1	9*
18	12	7	5	0	4	7*
19	8	3	4	1	2	6
22	17	7	9	1	6	11
Totals	69	23	34	12	14	51

* Four respondents with unspecified gender in sample.

Note: N is number of respondents.

75 students (out of a possible 112 students) volunteered to complete the questionnaire. Six Indian respondents were removed from the data set. The remaining sample of 69 thus consisted of 34 White, 23 Black, and 12 Coloured first year psychology student respondents. The majority of respondents (97%) were between the ages of 18 and 22, with the exceptions of a black female and coloured male who were 25 and 35 years of age respectively. There were also more female (51) than male (14) respondents. 2 black and 2 white respondents did not specify their gender.

2.2.2 Procedure

The original intent of the questionnaire was to provide a pre- and post-measure for the cooperative learning intervention. Thus, participant recruitment was limited to the 6 tutorial groups identified earlier on. The researcher visited these specific classes during their respective tutorial periods and offered extra assistance with the upcoming research assignment they were required to submit. The assistance included a short tutorial programme that would run parallel to their usual class schedule, and interested students were to attend once a week for three consecutive weeks. The programme was structured around original class schedules and assignment due dates so as not to interfere with normal course work in any way. In return, participants were required to complete two questionnaires before and after the programme. Permission for the implementation of this additional tutorial programme was previously obtained from the psychology course convenor.

Because the initial response rate was slow, an additional recruitment phase was launched. Telephone records were obtained from the psychology departmental secretary for the students in these 6 tutorial groups. Students were then contacted so as to personally invite them to participate. Despite the considerable sampling efforts, only 26 students in total volunteered to participate. The tutorial programme went ahead as scheduled as students had already committed themselves to the programme. Twenty-five (25) out of the 26 students that participated completed the questionnaires during this time.

In order to increase sample size, students from these six specific tutorial groups were once again approached during their tutorial periods. Before class commenced, the researcher addressed students from each group informing them about the study, and

assured them that their responses would be kept confidential and anonymous. In each tutorial group, a set of questionnaires was provided for students who wished to complete them. These students remained after class in order to complete the questionnaires. Students were instructed to place their completed questionnaires in a box left in the room, to which only the researcher had access. This would ensure participant anonymity. Once all students had completed their questionnaires the researcher returned to the classroom to collect them. With this an additional 50 students volunteered to complete the questionnaires.

2.2.3 Materials

The purpose of the questionnaire was presented as a means of exploring first year students' interaction with peers from the same and different racial backgrounds. The questionnaire on contact is presented in Appendix B3. It consisted of 5 sub-scales each measuring a specific component of interracial contact. For each sub-scale, participants were to respond to the items for each of three target groups – black, coloured, and white groups.

An additional section on demographic information was included in the first part of the questionnaire. This section included questions about the respondent's age, race, gender, as well as their degree and year of study. Because many students live away from home during term time, questions distinguishing between place of residence during term and vacation periods were included. An item measuring inter-racial contact within either place of residence was included as some students may have had contact with individuals from other racial groups as a direct consequence of their living arrangements or

residential circumstances. For example, a white student may have shared a room or a flat with another black or coloured student, but during term vacations s/he may return to a home in which little inter-racial contact is experienced

Nature of Communication. The first attitudinal sub-scale measured students' perceptions of the nature of interaction with other students of a specific race group. Originally compiled by Bornman (1988), the scale had 15 items in total. However, the present scale only consists of 6 pairs of bipolar adjectives describing the nature of respondents' contact with members of their own racial group (in-group) as well as members of other groups (outgroups). The 6 items used to describe the perceived quality of the contact experience consisted of paired adjectives and were presented in the following order: courteous-rude, pleasant-unpleasant, meaningless-meaningful, spontaneous-forced, strained-relaxed, and destructive-constructive. Each item consisted of a 5-point semantic differential scale as opposed to the original 7-point version. Scores ranged from '1' to '5' with '3' as a neutral option. Low scores indicate negative contact experiences and high scores indicate more positive experiences. Items 1, 2, and 4 were reverse-scored. Reliability coefficients for the nature of communication measure were .76, .88, and .82 for black, white, and coloured respondents respectively.

The next two subscales measured the amount of contact students have with other students of a specific race group, as well as the amount of contact students have with people who were not students at UCT.

Amount of Contact with Students. The scale measured the amount of intergroup contact between students both at university (on campus, and in residences) and outside the university setting. The scale as developed by Holtman (2002, p. 63) originally

consisted of 9 items measuring “informal, social intergroup contact” between students. Items range from superficial contact, such as seating choices during class, to more intimate contact situations, such as social contact after class or over weekends. For each item, respondents could choose between four options measuring the frequency of contact including ‘Never’, ‘Seldom’, ‘Fairly Often’, and ‘Very Often’. Low scores indicate little contact, and high scores point to greater levels of contact. Appropriate changes in item wording rendered this sub-scale more suitable for use with university students. These changes included using the word ‘students’ as opposed to ‘learners’ and ‘university’ instead of the word ‘school’. The word ‘break’ in item 2 was replaced by the word lunch. In addition, the third item from the original scale was omitted (“Do you play games with X learners on the playground?”). Thus the version of the scale used in this study consisted of 8 items only. Cronbach's alpha for black, white and coloured respondents were calculated as .84, .92, and .92 respectively.

Amount of Contact with Others. The scale measuring the amount of contact students have with non-UCT students, beyond the university setting was based on an adapted version of the Contact Scale used by Bornman (1988) and Bornman and Mynhardt (1991). The present questionnaire used only 6 items measuring contact in various settings outside of campus. Again items ranged from superficial (contact at religious or social events) to more intimate settings (contact in the respondents’ own homes). Response options measuring frequency of contact included ‘Never’, ‘Seldom’, ‘Fairly Often’, and ‘Very Often’. Low scores indicate little intergroup contact beyond campus, and high scores indicate greater contact. Reliability coefficients for this scale

were somewhat low for black (Cronbach's alpha = .72) and coloured (Cronbach's alpha = .75) respondents, but acceptable for whites (Cronbach's alpha = .85).

An *Intergroup Anxiety Scale* was also used. Developed by Stephan and Stephan (1985), the scale measures the level of anxiety people experience when interacting with members of the outgroup as opposed to members of their own racial group. The scale was revised for the purposes of this study using only 6 of the original 10 items. For each item, respondents were asked to indicate how they would feel when interacting with members of their own and other racial groups whom they did not know. Respondents were to report on the degree to which they would experience 6 different emotional states when interacting with members of both the outgroup and in-group. The specific emotional states used were feeling accepted, nervous, confident, relaxed, awkward, and uncertain. The items are originally measured on a 10-point scale, but this was considered too lengthy and intricate. Instead, a 5-point scale ranging between 'Extremely', 'Quite a bit', 'A little', 'Not at all', and 'Don't know' were used to measure respondents' degree of affect. Low scores indicate high levels of anxiety, and high scores little or no anxiety. Items indicating positive affects, such as happy, confident and relaxed were scored in reverse. A response of "Don't know" was recorded as missing. Reliability coefficients were .84, .90, and .84, for black, white, and coloured respondents respectively.

Bogardus' (1933) *Social Distance Scale* was the final attitudinal measure used in this questionnaire. It measures the degree of social intimacy or distance that the respondent perceives between the self and specific reference groups (in this case race groups, including the respondents' own race group). A number of social situations are used to represent varying degrees of social closeness. In this way, the level of comfort

experienced during more intimate contact situations with different race groups could be deduced. The scale was adapted to suit the university student. As such, only 4 items were used and item wording was altered. The final 4 items ranged from the least intimate form of contact between students (that is, willingness to admit members of X race group to your university) to the most intimate situation (that is, willingness to admit a member of X race group into the family as your boyfriend or girlfriend). Participants were required to choose between 5 responses indicating willingness to admit 'Any', 'Most', 'Some', 'Few', or 'No' members of a target group to a specific social situation. Scores ranged from 4 to 0 in the order of responses above. Low scores on this scale indicate less social distance between groups, therefore more intimate contact, and high scores indicate greater distance. As an established scale, reliability was high for all three groups. Cronbach's alphas for black, white and coloured respondents were .91, .89, and .82 respectively.

Focus Group Discussions

Study 1 - What is the role of space in ordering interracial contact between students?

Study 2 - How is interracial contact differentially defined and experienced by black, white, and coloured students?

Although the first and second questions relate to the first and second study respectively, they were both addressed by focus group discussions. The sample, procedures and materials used therefore relate to both studies and are outlined below.

2.3.1 Participants

Five focus group discussions were conducted. Race is a sensitive issue within the South African post-apartheid context. Groups were therefore kept racially homogenous to avoid feelings of discomfort and anxiety among participants, and to encourage participants to express their opinions in an open and honest manner (Morgan, 1998).

The sample comprised of two groups of black students with 7 and 12 participants respectively, one group of coloured students consisting of 8 participants, and two groups of white students with 3 and 6 participants each. Within the one group of white students, one out of the three participants identified herself as coloured. The groups were primarily comprised of females, except in the group of coloured students of which 3 were male. This group also included 2 female Indian students. Interestingly, neither student identified strongly with their own race group and chose to avoid other Indian students. All students who participated in the focus groups discussions were given R30.

2.3.2 Procedure

First year psychology students were approached during their psychology lectures, which took place twice a day, four days a week. Announcements encouraging students to participate in a discussion on social interaction and social spaces at UCT were made during both lecture periods for two weeks. Overhead slides were used to display relevant information and contact details of the researcher. Students were offered cash for their participation. Similar posters were also placed around campus, directing students to sign up at the psychology department. Sign-up sheets and posters were placed on notice boards within the department. Students were required to leave their names and contact

details in order to be contacted at a later date with information on meeting times and discussion venues. Interested students were contacted telephonically to confirm their participation. All participants were asked in which racial group they would feel most comfortable discussing their views. This served as a screening question to maintain the racial homogeneity of groups. Hence, certain groups were not completely homogenous.

There were five discussion groups in total. Each discussion lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours. Two white moderators were used to facilitate the group discussions for white students. Moderators were each paid for facilitating a single group. The researcher moderated the group discussions for coloured and black students (the researcher was unable to locate a black moderator at the time). The focus group moderators were provided with a discussion guideline consisting of a list of questions ordered in a specific sequence (see Appendix E3). Moderators were required to cover all the questions listed on the guideline but were also instructed to let the discussion flow naturally. Informed consent was obtained from all participants before the discussion commenced. A copy of the document used to obtain consent is presented in Appendix E2. Participants were also provided with an information sheet explaining the study and outlining the structure of the discussions (Appendix E1). The discussions were recorded on tape and anonymity was ensured as only participant initials would be used to identify speakers in the final research report. Once the discussions had ended, participants were thanked for their contributions and were compensated in cash for their participation.

2.3.3 *Materials*

A discussion guideline, presented in Appendix E3, was constructed for the focus group discussions. Kreuger (1998) proposes the use of five categories of questions, each with a distinctive function, to be used at different times during the discussion. The first category consists of opening questions and is used at the beginning of the discussion to acquaint people and make them feel comfortable. These questions typically focus on participant introductions to the rest of the group, such as names and where respondents come from. Questions in this category are not intended to obtain useful information for the study, hence are not analysed.

The next set consists of introductory questions used to present the general topic of discussion. These questions are designed to encourage conversation and interaction among the participants and to begin the focus on the topic. However, the responses are usually not critical to the analysis.

Transition questions, the next category, help participants make connections between themselves and the topic of investigation. These questions often require participants to offer more in-depth articulation of their experiences than introductory questions. Transition questions create a link between the introductory phase and the key question phase. Also known as the productive questions, key questions go to the heart of the topic and are the ones that require the greatest attention. Thus sufficient time is required for a full discussion of each question within this category.

The last category is used to close the discussion and give participants an opportunity to reflect on previous comments. Ending questions are of three types. The all-things-considered question enables participants to state their final position on a critical

area of concern. The summary question requires the moderator to give a short summary of the key questions and the main views that have emerged, reflecting the moderator's view of the discussion back to participants. The final question simply asks whether there is anything that the participants wanted to discuss that the group or topic did not cover. It can also be used to get participant feedback on the experience and perceptions of the group discussion itself, provided that there is sufficient time remaining.

2.4 Research Design

This study employed multiple data gathering techniques to investigate contact between black, white, and coloured students at UCT. Denzin (1970) refers to the use of diverse methods in a single study as “triangulation”. In Denzin's view, the general idea is to integrate data generated from two or more research strategies for the purpose of validating the soundness or absolute “truth” of the research findings. Needless to say, validity is of fundamental importance for any researcher who wishes to produce meaningful research. Yet, the notion of combining quantitative and qualitative methods to ensure the validity of data is somewhat simplistic, and not as unproblematic as it may seem.

Brannen (1992) states that because different research approaches relate to different epistemological and theoretical assumptions, one cannot simply “pile up research findings in an additive way” (p. 14). Instead, data sets should be treated as complimentary. The present study uses a complimentary approach to data convergence in so far as the use of quantitative measures seek to establish relationships between

variables, and qualitative analyses are used to explore the underlying factors of relationships or seeks to explain them (Bryman, 1992).

Specifically, the data collection processes entailed two quantitative measures and a qualitative measure. With regard to the former, direct observational data of classroom seating patterns provided a measure of segregation between students during class. Self-report data in the form of a questionnaire on students' experiences of interracial contact served as the second quantifiable component of the study. Focus group discussions were used as a qualitative measure to explore the nature of interracial contact at UCT from the students' perspectives, as opposed to the researcher's assumptions and concerns regarding interracial contact or racial segregation. It also seeks to explore the presence of racially homogenous spaces on campus, and the role of space in ordering intergroup contact.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

In this chapter, the research findings pertaining to Study 1 and Study 2 are presented, respectively. Study 1 examines the spatial form of racial segregation in tutorial classrooms, and explores the role of socio-spatial relations in regulating interracial contact between students. Study 2 probes more deeply into the extent of interracial contact amongst students, on and off campus. Furthermore, the study investigates the underlying factors that serve to uphold racial divisions amongst students. Both studies employ a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. In presenting the findings specific to each study, the analysis of quantitative data is addressed first, followed by the analysis of data obtained through qualitative methods. Study 1 and Study 2 conclude with a summary of the key findings in each study.

STUDY 1

3.1 RACIAL SEGREGATION IN CLASSROOMS

Study 1 aims to investigate the extent of racial segregation, as it manifests spatially, in a formal academic space. In order to achieve this, tutorial classrooms were observed to examine interracial seating patterns amongst black, white, and coloured students. Tutorial classrooms were chosen because greater levels of contact were expected to occur amongst students from different race groups within this space.

The study also attempts to determine whether racial segregation in a formal

space, such as an academic classroom, differs from racial segregation in a social or leisure space. While social spaces are not directly observed in this study, the comparison between formal and social spaces is addressed through the data obtained from focus group discussions. The study's findings are later discussed in relation to previous research on racial segregation amongst students in informal social spaces such as university dining halls and cafeterias.

A final aim of Study 1 is to explore student perceptions on the notion of racially homogenous spaces, which refers to the congregation of same-race peers within a given space.

3.1.1 Overview of Analysis

Black, white, and coloured students' seating patterns were observed during psychology tutorial sessions for first year psychology students. Twenty-six tutorial groups were observed in total. The number of observations recorded for each tutorial group ranged from 2 to 8, and 119 observations of classroom seating patterns were obtained in total (see Table 7 in Appendix C).

Student seating patterns were observed in an attempt to explore the spatial form that racial segregation may assume within a formal environment such as the classroom. Hence, a spatial analysis of segregation amongst black, white, and coloured students was conducted. Student seating patterns in psychology tutorial classrooms were analysed on three dimensions of spatial variation in order to determine whether the seating arrangements were indicative of racial segregation. First, the degree of racial clustering amongst students was examined by the aggregation index (I) (Campbell, Kruskal, & Wallace, 1966). Second, the index of dissimilarity (D) was used to estimate the proportional distribution of racial group

members across spatial units in a classroom (Massey & Denton, 1988). A final measure of spatial segregation, the interaction index (xPy^*), was used to determine the degree of exposure to different race groups in classrooms (Massey & Denton, 1988).

Using these indices only allows for the measure of segregation between two groups at a time. However, the present study observed seating patterns between three and not two groups. Due to small numbers of students in classrooms, it was decided best not to separate groups completely in the analysis. Instead, three levels of analyses were used. First, segregation between black students, and students from the other two groups was examined. Then segregation between white and other students was measured, and finally, segregation between coloured and other students was analysed.

Although segregation indices quantify and depict the extent of racial segregation amongst students in tutorial classrooms, they do not provide insights about the ways in which students from different race groups interact (or avoid doing so) in the classroom setting. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of how interracial contact (or the lack thereof) is characterised and experienced in tutorial classrooms, a thematic analysis of focus group data was conducted.

The qualitative data was also used to explore the ways in which students make sense of spatial segregation. The persistence of racially demarcated spaces on the university campus is investigated in greater depth. These qualitative findings conclude the results section of Study 1.

Table 2.
Mean I, D, and xPy* indices by race of comparison group

	N	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
<i>I</i>				
Black	117	0.03	-1.98	2.42
White	119	0.59	-1.96	4.25
Coloured	91	0.62	-1.14	3.47
<i>D</i>				
Black	119	0.80*	0.63	0.98
White	119	0.71*	0.50	0.90
Coloured	102	0.81*	0.56	0.95
<i>xPy*</i>				
Black	119	0.28*	0.04	0.68
White	119	0.15*	0.00	0.29
Coloured	102	0.38*	0.19	0.78

Note: N is number of observations recorded for each tutorial group with black, white, and coloured students present at the time of observation.

* All *D* and *xPy** mean indices are significant at the 0.05 level of significance.

3.1.2 Racial clustering (*I*)

Campbell et al.'s (1966) aggregation index (*I*) measures racial clustering and is based on the number of observed pairs of students from different race groups seated adjacent to each other, as well as the number of interracial seating adjacencies that are expected when seats are randomly chosen without regard for race. Segregation is then measured as a function of observed and expected interracial seating adjacencies. The standard deviations of the expected number of interracial adjacencies under conditions of randomness are used as a baseline or yardstick measurement. Classroom observations were analyzed for incidences of pairs of adjacently seated students from different race groups. This meant that a single student could potentially sit between two students from other race groups, and thus form two pairs of observed interracial

seating adjacencies. However, students who were separated by an empty seat or an aisle were not considered as adjacent pairs.

The results (shown in Table 9, Appendix C) suggest that when black students are used as the comparison group, 54% of the classes had negative I values and were therefore classified as racially segregated. Only 36% and 27% of classrooms were racially segregated when coloured and white students were used as the comparison groups respectively. These proportions seemingly correspond with mean I indices for black, white, and coloured comparison groups when averaged across tutorial groups. As shown in Table 2 illustrating mean indices, a relatively lower mean I index that is just about positive (0.03) is observed when black students are used as the reference group. Similarly, using coloured students as the reference group yielded a relatively high positive mean I index of 0.62.

Because Campbell fails to distinguish between high and low positive values of I , and between high and low negative I values, it is difficult to determine whether seating patterns in classrooms are substantially segregated or not. In order to address these shortcomings, two key segregation indices, D and xPy^* , were used to further analyse seating data in tutorial classrooms. The results from these analyses are presented in the following sub-section.

3.1.3 Racial distribution (D) and exposure (xPy^*)

For the purposes of this study, adapted D and xPy^* indices are used to examine patterns of racial segregation within and across psychology tutorial classrooms (see Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). D and xPy^* indices were originally developed for the analysis of segregation at a macro-spatial level, such as residential organisation in towns and cities (Massey & Denton, 1988). The adapted versions of the indices

enable the measurement of racial segregation in more intimate contexts or micro-environments, what is referred to in the literature as 'everyday life spaces' (Schnell & Yoav, 2001, cited in Clack et al, 2005, p. 3). These indices have successfully been used to investigate racial segregation on beaches and university catering facilities (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Clack et al, 2005; Schrieff, 2004; Schrieff et al, 2005). Hence, the adapted D and xPy^* indices are appropriate for analysing racial segregation in classrooms.

The dissimilarity index (D) is used to measure whether or not students of different race groups are evenly spread across sub-spaces within the classroom. In the present study, sub-spaces were defined by tables in the classroom. A specific D value is perhaps easier to interpret if it is conceptualised as a measure of displacement that is indicative of the minimum proportion of students that need to be repositioned across tables in order to achieve an even distribution of racial groups within a given classroom. For instance, a D of 0.67 suggests that 67% of students would need to be relocated in order to make racial distribution across tables within a classroom even.

The interaction index (xPy^*) measures the likelihood that members of one race group have for interacting with members of another race group. However, since interracial contact between three and not two groups is explored in this study, xPy^* is used to estimate the likelihood that members of one group would interact with members of the other two groups.

SegStat, a software programme specifically designed to calculate D and xPy^* values for micro-environments, was used to obtain D and xPy^* estimates (Wallbank, 2005). Empirical data obtained from the classroom observations were entered into a SegStat Data Input File. Specifically, data regarding the number of tables in a classroom, and the number of black, white, and coloured students seated at each table

during a particular observation period (in this case, tutorial period), were entered into SegStat. A separate file was created for each of the 26 tutorial groups observed. A series of D and xPy* values for each tutorial group was obtained. Mean D and xPy* values for each tutorial group, and across tutorial groups, were obtained.

Values of D may range between 0 indicating no segregation, and 1 which indicates complete segregation. Values of xPy* can also range between 0 and 1, but their interpretations are reversed, where 0 represents complete segregation and 1 represents no segregation. In addition, SegStat automatically calculates whether resultant D and xPy* values are significant or not. Based on the empirical data entered into the SegStat Data Input File, SegStat runs a series of Monte Carlo simulations (N = 10 000) representing random conditions of seating, and calculates D and xPy* values based on such random seating (for a more detailed discussion see Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). In so doing, the programme is able to calculate the probability that the observed D and xPy* values are based on chance, or whether they are significantly different from patterns of random mixing.

Mean D and xPy* values, averaged across tutorial classrooms, are presented in Table 2 and are separated for analyses with black, white, and coloured comparison groups. The results indicate significant segregation in tutorial classrooms, regardless of the race of the comparison group. The resultant D and xPy* indices will now be addressed in greater detail.

Black students as the comparison group. Indices of dissimilarity (D) were calculated for 26 tutorial groups, and averaged out, values of D ranged from 0.63 to 0.98 with a mean of 0.80 (Table 10 in Appendix C). This means that on average, 80% of students would have to be relocated in classrooms in order to achieve an even distribution of race groups within tutorial classrooms. The majority of tutorial groups

had mean indices of 0.70 and above. Only one group, group 29, obtained a lower mean D value (Table 10, Appendix C). Furthermore, approximately 62% of the tutorial groups were found to be significantly segregated with regard to student seating patterns in classrooms, meaning that the observed D values for these classes were significantly higher than the D values one would expect if students were seated randomly.

Two of the tutorial groups (groups 6 and 23 in Table 10, Appendix C) obtained extremely high mean D values of 0.98 each, and both groups had an average of one black student present in the classroom. It seems likely then that the mean D values obtained for these groups became inflated due to relatively low numbers of black students in the tutorial group. However, because these D values are highly significant ($p < .001$), it is more likely that the average black student in these two classrooms was consistently isolated (that is, across 4 observation periods) from the rest of the students in the class. To illustrate this visually, classroom charts for the first and last observation periods are presented for tutorial groups 6 and 23 in Figure 8, Appendix C. In addition, instances of significant segregation were also observed in classrooms where the proportional representivity of different race groups are almost equal (see groups 21 and 22 in Table 10, Appendix C), as well as in a classroom in which the average number of black students is higher than the average number of students from other race groups (see group 2 in Table 10, Appendix C).

The potential for students from different groups to interact with each other in the classroom is measured by xPy^* indices. When measuring the potential for black students to interact with students from other race groups, results in Table 2 suggest that this probability, with an average across classrooms of 0.28, is low. Furthermore, results shown in Table 10, Appendix C, indicate that mean xPy^* values for individual

tutorial classrooms ranged from 0.04 to 0.68. Bearing in mind that xPy^* values closer to zero indicate complete segregation, there was only one tutorial group in which the average black student's potential for interacting with racial others in class was less than 0.1 (see group 2 in Table 10 in Appendix C). What is striking is that this same tutorial group was also the only group in which, on average, black students outnumbered students from other race groups.

White students as the comparison group. For individual tutorial classes, mean D indices ranged between 0.50 and 0.90 (shown in Table 11, Appendix C). Mean D indices lower than 0.70 were observed for 9 out of the 26 tutorial groups. Table 2 shows that, when averaged out, a significant mean D value of 0.71 was obtained. This finding suggests that in order to achieve an even distribution of students from different race groups in these classrooms, 70% of students, on average, would have to be relocated across and within classrooms. Amongst the 26 groups included in this analysis, 38% of tutorial groups were found to be significantly segregated. Although again one of the highest D indices was observed for a group in which the average numbers of white and other students were highly disproportionate (see group 23 in Table 11, Appendix C), it is important enough to reiterate that racial segregation in these classrooms should not be perceived as an outcome of uneven representivity of different race groups. The finding that students were not significantly segregated in a tutorial group with an even greater disproportionality of racial groups of present in the classroom (see group 8 in Table 11, Appendix C) corroborates this argument.

Mean xPy^* indices estimating white students' potential for interacting with black and coloured students in individual tutorial classrooms ranged from 0.0 to 0.29, with more than 50% of tutorial groups' observed mean xPy^* indices reaching statistical significance (Table 11, Appendix C). Furthermore, Table 2 indicates that

with a mean interaction index of 0.71, the average exposure of whites to other students in class, across all tutorial groups, was significantly lower than would be expected under conditions of random seating patterns in classrooms.

Coloured students as the comparison group. Five tutorial groups (see Table 12, Appendix C) were excluded from this analysis because there were no coloured students present in these classrooms. Amongst the remaining tutorial classrooms, mean D indices ranged between 0.56 and 0.95, with only one group obtaining a mean D value lower than 0.70 (see group 31 in Table 12, Appendix C). Table 2 shows that when averaged across groups, the analysis yielded a significant mean D value of 0.81. In effect, the even distribution of students from different race groups would require the repositioning of 81% of students, on average, within classrooms. Moreover, 62% of tutorial classrooms were significantly segregated by race.

When estimating the potential for coloured students to interact with black and white students in the classroom, mean xPy^* indices for individual tutorial classrooms ranged from 0.19 to 0.78. While only 43% of tutorial classrooms were found to be significantly segregated in this regard, when averaged across classrooms, the mean xPy^* index of 0.38 was significantly lower than one would expect under conditions of random mixing across classrooms.

Table 3.
Dependent sample t-tests results for group differences in D and xPy*

	Mean 1	Mean 2	Valid N	t	df	p
Dissimilarity (D)						
black - white	0.80	0.71	26	4.90	25	0.000048
black - coloured	0.80	0.81	21	0.32	20	0.751827
white - coloured	0.71	0.81	21	-4.77	20	0.000118
Interaction (xPy*)						
black - white	0.28	0.15	26	5.90	25	0.000004
black - coloured	0.28	0.38	21	-2.01	20	0.057676
white - coloured	0.15	0.38	21	-7.67	20	0.000000

Differences between groups. T-tests using dependent samples were used to analyse differences in mean D and xPy* indices by race of comparison group. The results shown in Table 3 indicate that mean D and xPy* indices differed significantly by race of comparison group. On average, greater levels of uneven distribution was observed when segregation was measured between black students and other race groups (D = 0.80), than between white students and other race groups (0.71). A similar pattern was observed for coloured students as the comparison group. However, no differences were found for the extent of uneven distribution between analyses using coloured and black students as respective comparison groups. The findings suggest that higher levels of segregation are observed when black and coloured students are used as the comparison groups, than when white students are used as the comparison group.

In contrast, lower levels of segregation as a measure of exposure are observed for black (xPy* = 0.28) and coloured (xPy* = 0.38) comparison groups than for white students (xPy* = 0.15) as the comparison group. What these results suggest is that black and coloured students experience higher levels of exposure to other race groups

in class than white students. Hence, interactions between black students and other race groups, and between coloured students and other race groups, are more likely to occur.

3.1.4 Depicting racial segregation: Classroom charts

Although D and xPy^* indices provide information regarding distributive evenness of race groups and levels of exposure in classrooms, they do not depict the spatial formation that racial segregation may assume in tutorial classrooms (Clack et al, 2005; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). Thus, in order to make spatial sense of D and xPy^* indices and how racial segregation established through these measures may be observed in classroom seating patterns, a visual representation of racial segregation in classrooms is needed. The classroom maps, on which observations of classroom seating patterns were directly recorded, provided a valuable visual tool for illustrating the way in which racial segregation may materialize in a spatial form.

For the purposes of visual representation, one tutorial group was chosen in which significant racial segregation amongst students was consistently observed, that is, on measures of distribution (D) and exposure (xPy^*), as well as for black, white, and coloured students as reference groups. Figure 9 in Appendix C illustrates patterns of racially segregated seating and depicts the spatial form of racial segregation as it manifests within the psychology tutorial classroom setting. The racial segregation of black, white, and coloured students across various sections and specific tables in the classroom is striking. Within this classroom, students tend to cluster in same-race groups, forming contiguous rows of same-race students. This is illustrated by the noticeably separate rows of black and white students in the classroom. Although the only coloured student present in the class is situated amongst students from other

ethnic groups, this student is seemingly separated from the black and white students in the class. Similar patterns of racially segregated seating were documented across a number of observation intervals for this particular tutorial group.

While documenting the prevalence of racial segregation imparts crucial information about the opportunities (or lack thereof) for interracial contact within a given space, it does not qualify the nature of racial divisions amongst groups, nor does it speak to the subjective experiences of interracial contact. To this extent, data from focus group discussions will be addressed as a means of clarifying these issues. For the qualitative data, a thematic descriptive analysis was conducted. The analysis was guided by the phenomenological approach used by Giorgi (1975, cited in Kvale, 1996). The transcripts were read numerous times before the data was condensed. To this extent, statements were summarised without interpretation into “natural units of meaning”. Each unit was subsequently coded. Each coded unit was subsequently examined in light of the interview schedule as well as the main questions of the study and higher level codes were developed. In this way, themes and patterns in the data, as well similarities and difference between groups could be explored.

3.2 CLASSROOM SEGREGATION AS LIVED EXPERIENCE

The qualitative findings presented in this section have been drawn from focus group discussions conducted with black African, white, and coloured students. The discussions provided additional insight into the nature of interracial contact amongst students within the classroom setting. Two main themes have emerged from the data. The first theme examines the nature of interracial contact in tutorial classrooms; and the second compares interracial contact in tutorials with contact beyond the classroom. The analysis highlights the striking differences between black African and coloured students, and white students with regard to cross-race interaction in formal

academic and informal social spaces.

Amongst all groups, students most frequently reported university residences, tutorial classrooms and lectures as common sites for engaging in contact with students from different race groups. This finding does not come as a surprise, considering the fact that these university spaces are highly likely to contain a racial mix of students, at least in most cases. However, closer investigation into the nature of interracial contact in tutorial classrooms revealed striking dissimilarities between the experiences of black and coloured participants, and those of white participants.

3.2.1 The nature of classroom contact

As illustrated by the following excerpts, black and coloured participants perceived interracial contact in class as either occurring by chance, or because they attended the same class they were in a sense obliged to interact with each other within the classroom. Interracial contact is typically described as being academic in nature, with students exchanging information about university work and course content. For some, these seemingly neutral interactions made interracial contact easier and even more enjoyable.

BS: "...if you're in a tut, and you're given a task to do, it's much easier to do it that way. Even if it's Black, Coloured or whatever, you will enjoy working with each other. But then when you go out there, in the real world, its like, I don't know you, you know we just did a tut. But those boundaries..."

CS: "Like she said in tuts. You know speak to anyone doesn't matter what colour they are and then you get to know them, I think in that situation. But then of course you also forced you can't just sit there and not say anything."

CS: "I think it's more academic. Because especially if its in your lecture theatre, like in your course...then speak to them because they know what's going on in the course."

White participants, however, described interracial interactions in tutorials as

problematic and as disruptive, with potentially divisive implications for future interracial interaction. This appears especially true in tutorials where race related issues form an integral part of course content and may therefore be discussed during class in an open fashion. Two students describe, in detail, their negative experiences of interracial contact under these circumstances. In both instances, black students are portrayed as aggressive and volatile towards whites. In the first quote, the male participant refers to a tutorial in which they were discussing black consciousness writing and describes the responses of black students in this class. Similarly, the white female participant describes a classroom situation in which students were discussing their opinions on affirmative action.

WM: "...they all just, jump out of the box and attack, you know... And you know they do have a point. But it's always like if I say Black tribal people are primitive...heaven help me cos then all hell just breaks loose. I don't mean it in that bad way...I'm not generalizing, but some...you say something and they just...they're looking for the attack."

WF: "...and by the end of the tut the room...was in like a riot. Everyone was screaming at each other yelling at each other, two people had got up and left...The Black people were calling the White people like "stupid White people", the White people were going "We didn't do anything, you at UCT, why you moaning?" And the tutor's going "Okay everyone, shhh, shhh" and it was so aggressive and so violent like you didn't want to go back again."

3.2.2 Formal versus informal contact

The differences between interracial contact in a formal academic setting and an informal social setting were highlighted across race groups. However, perceived differences between interracial contact occurring in formal and informal spaces varied for black, coloured, and white participants.

Whereas coloured participants described interracial contact during tutorial classrooms as "academic" (see previous quotes on the nature of classroom interaction) and therefore somewhat detached or neutral in nature, white participants expressed a

heightened sense of awareness of racial differences during tutorials which they believed increased racial tensions rather than enhance racial tolerance amongst groups. Furthermore, white participants expressed greater levels of comfort and ease when interacting with racial others in an informal social space, as opposed to in a classroom where they felt they needed to be vigilant about how they expressed themselves so as to avoid offending anyone. The following quotes illustrate these points.

WM: “Its just that when you’re in a social situation you not, you don’t really care about that kind of thing [racial differences] and its less formal...and in formal classroom situation race issues come out a lot, like the Blacks and the Coloured people tend to be much more um, closed off. But in a social situation it’s a lot easier to like have like a completely mixed group of friends.”

WF: “I think that yah socially, you not aware of it [racial differences] at all. Even if you do, I mean we do have Coloured people that we are friends with but it’s just like “oh we do” kind of a thing. But in a classroom when you discussing things like here, I’ll be a lot more careful what I say cos I don’t want to offend anybody. Like on what terms to use and things like that.”

WF: “I think it’s impossible not to be aware of it [racial differences] at any one time. Socially or in a classroom. Particularly in a classroom because you have to be aware of other people’s feelings.”

Amongst black participants, on the other hand, it was reported that they hardly interacted with racial others outside of class. Some black participants felt that white students only interacted with them in social places such as night clubs because they were drunk and therefore less reticent. One black participant described how she had made friends with another white student in her tutorial class. However, once the classes had ended, the interaction between them ceased as well. In the excerpt below she describes a situation in which she is deliberately ignored by this person, despite their previous friendship.

BF: “There’s this girl, cos she was in one of my tutorial groups last semester, and we stay in the same res. I don’t know maybe its because we’re in the same tutorial, but she would be fine, I would actually sit and talk to her she’s friendly whenever she sees me now that we’re not in the same tut group its like I could be standing in the lift with her and she acts like she doesn’t know me.”

3.3 “RACIALISED SPACES”: A MECHANISM FOR INFORMAL SEGREGATION

The analysis of racial segregation in classrooms revealed two key issues regarding the role of space in reproducing racial boundaries between students: (1) socio-spatial relations in tutorial classrooms are organized along racial lines; and (2) segregation in tutorial classrooms manifests informally – that is, in the absence of official policies that ratify racial separation – but not incidentally. It is therefore critical that the underlying processes of spatial segregation are explored in order to obtain an in-depth understanding of the ways in which space is used to perpetuate racial segregation on campus. To address the issue of racially homogenous spaces, data obtained through focus group discussions with students are analyzed. Three broad themes have emerged from the data. The first theme explores student observations of spatial segregation on campus, and their explanations for the prevalence of segregated spaces. The second and third themes address underlying processes of spatial segregation on campus.

3.3.1 “It’s not about race”

Participants seemed to share the common opinion that spatial segregation amongst students on campus was completely unrelated to racial membership. One white participant stated that hanging out with her friends in the same place served as a

general meeting point for them on campus. A coloured participant suggested the possibility that groups of students simply gravitate toward a single space or area.

Providing further explanation he states:

“...maybe all the coloured people grabbed that table, for whatever reason. It’s not really about race or anything.”

Yet these reasons, however plausible, fail to explain why same-race students consistently occupy the same areas around campus, rendering such spaces racially homogenous across time. Participants seem to struggle with the notion of a racialised space, where race and space are seemingly intertwined. Their attempts to make sense of such spaces reveal a kind of circumlocutory argument that essentially denies the occurrence of spatial segregation on campus, but in effect, provide support for the racial configuration of space. The following two excerpts from white male participants in one discussion group illustrate the seemingly contradictory nature of their arguments:

WM1: “...I don’t think it’s strictly to do with place, its just that like, one group of friends, like generally at varsity would be the same race. They will sit in the same place, like pretty much the same place every day.”

WM2: “I think somehow, different groups that are separated they go to their place. It’s just human nature to go back to the same place. If you look at a lecture lots of people often sit in the same place in the lectures. There’s no reason for it. It’s just its human nature. Human nature is to go back to where you used to.”

Despite their insistence that spatial segregation is unrelated to race per se, participants displayed a striking awareness of the ‘racial topography’ of the university campus. For example, participants frequently spoke about a specific social area on campus where a number of billiard tables were located, and typically referred to it as “the coloured area”. Others displayed an even finer discernment of the spatial divisions that appear to be operating on the university campus, including university

residences and catering facilities. The following two comments made by a coloured and white female respectively provide cases in point.

CF: “Also in the library hey you notice like a lot of Coloured people sit on top, and by the Humanities and Commerce [sections], and in Chemical Engineer [section] there’s more White people there.”

WF: “Have you noticed Jammie Stairs [popular social space on campus], at about twelve o’ clock? You’ll see it in the morning, there’s like just people all over. Come night, come like afternoon or whatever, top row, Black guys. It’s just its predominantly Black. Got your middle, predominantly White, that’s just before the plaza area predominantly White. You got the coloureds and the Indians at the bottom. That’s just like there’s one stairs.”

BF2 (FG1): “In our res, the way people sit in the dining hall, like the Whites sit in the centre, then the Black people on the outside.”

BF (FG2): Well like I said you find it mostly in reses and in the dining hall. Fuller is mostly White, it’s a res that’s for mostly White people. And Liesbeeck [residence] is like full of Blacks basically.” And later in the discussion: “I’m sorry to make the dining hall like this... it’s only like White people sitting at the tables, altogether. This side, Black people sitting altogether. There’s no like interaction between the people.”

It should be noted that racial segregation on campus was not observed in all areas mentioned during discussions. On separate occasions, some participants identified a specific space on campus where students apparently mixed in a random fashion. Unfortunately, the factors that apparently rendered this space different from the others were not explored further.

Nonetheless, participants were encouraged to reflect on the kinds of spatial divisions observed by fellow focus group members. The ensuing discussions revealed two key underlying processes that served to reproduce racial divisions in space. The first of these processes addresses the reasons for same-race peers wanting to stick to certain areas or spaces; and the second focuses on factors that apparently prevented students from entering racially homogenous spaces on campus. Hence, underlying processes may be linked to notions of belonging within a racially homogenous space

on the one hand, and of exclusion from that space on the other. Needless to say, processes of belonging and exclusion are inextricably linked. However, for purposes of clarity, these processes are examined separately in greater detail below.

3.3.2 Racialised space as “a place to belong to”

Participants often referred to racially homogenous spaces as places where they feel a strong sense of belonging. The kind of attachment to place described by some of the participants stems from a need for security and comfort. Specifically, participants associated these spaces with feelings of acceptance, of fitting in, and the ability to express themselves freely without being scrutinised or fearing judgement from others. These sentiments are captured in the following comments made by a coloured female participant who expresses her fears of being perceived as “gam” – a derogatory term used to refer to an uncouth coloured person of working class origin – if she displayed what is considered unacceptable behaviour by her Indian friends.

CP: “It’s like that kind of people that you are *like* sit there [at the billiard tables]. That’s why. Because they not the people that’s judgmental and stuff. That’s why you go there, and you can be loud and you can laugh. If you, like loud and out of place on the [Jammie] stairs then everybody look at you, you have to know your place. It’s not like that there. Like if you sitting like with I have a few friends, like Indian friends cos I was at Islamia and that’s most of Islamia’s gang that’s it there on the stairs. So if I sit and talk to them and then um, like if you just laugh out of place whatever, like I’m loud hey, then they’ll like look at you “Oh you ‘gam’” something like that. But here you can, nobody like takes note of you or like that you just like doing your thing.”

These “spaces of belonging” were also characterised by a collective identity, mutual interests, and supportive relationships amongst those with whom the space is shared. However, as one would expect, the majority of students experience this common bond with same-race peers. Thus, according to this view, the formation of

racially homogenous spaces is based first and foremost on shared interests or similar backgrounds, and then inadvertently on the basis of race. As one black participant explained:

BF: “I think probably, like if you go to the pool [billiard] tables, everybody identifies with each other there, you know we like the same things, play the same card games, we play pool together... what I mean is, you stay in your group, but you do mingle with other people. But you do find your way back. Its almost like, there's a group that understands you, and there's a group that's just there, but then, you always just, you just can't take it anymore, there's always this group whose place that you go, who understand, you identify, you a unity.”

Participants argued that these spaces were in fact not “racialised” because they were not intended to keep “racial others” out, nor so that members of a specific race could separate themselves from other race groups. However, not all participants agreed with this view. Two black female participants from the same discussion group illustrate these opposing views:

BF1 (FG1): “I don't think they do it intentionally. It just that they've always hung out, they were comfortable here. I'm not saying the Coloured people in the pool area goes “Listen this is our Coloured area, we don't want anybody here”. Its just they feel comfortable being there, they enjoy sitting around the pool table and just doing whatever.”

And in response:

BF2 (FG1): “No but I think you as a first year [student] when you come here, that's the first you think, I'm Coloured, that means I have to be in Leslie Social [building in which billiards area associated with coloured students is located].”

The conceptualisation of an inadvertently racialised space, propagated by the first participant in the quotes above, suggests that segregation in its spatial form is unintentional. Instead, spatial segregation was depicted as a phenomenon arising out of habitual behaviour rather than explicit deliberation on the part of students. The following three excerpts, drawn from two different discussion groups, illustrate these points:

BF1 (FG1): “I think like maybe like if I were to walk into a classroom right, and there’s already a group of Black people sitting there and a group of White people, I’m more inclined to sit with the Black people, I don’t know why but that’s where I would go, you know. You don’t even have to think about it.”

BF (FG2): “Not on purpose, not on purpose, but maybe because they can identify with each other and then feel so comfortable in that zone that they literally go there everyday. Not because they do it purposefully but they just go because it’s comfortable. Because if you try something new and if it doesn’t work out you know, there’s always the pool. That’s my home.”

WM: “If they do it intentionally then they must have some racial prejudice to them. And, I don’t. I can’t say... but I really don’t think Coloured people play pool cos there not a lot of White people there. I really don’t. I think its just habit you go there.”

Accordingly, spatial segregation was portrayed as something which occurred spontaneously and which was not explicitly discussed amongst students. To this extent, participants frequently referred to the “unspoken rules of space” concerning who belongs in which space. Furthermore, knowledge of these rules is imparted implicitly (as described in the analogy provided by BP (FG2) below). Hence, by virtue of its tacit nature, participants argued that spatial segregation could not be construed as a form of racial segregation. One participant, however, challenged these views (see the last excerpt). The excerpts below highlight these points.

WF: “But that’s interesting people are very, very, territorial. You go to a tut [tutorial], people within the first two lectures or tutorials, you know where your seat is supposed to be.

BF (FG2): “...when I saw people sitting on Jammie [stairs], you know, even when you go to the dining hall, like nobody says this side is for whites this side is for blacks they just happened.” And later: “That’s why I’m saying sometimes it’s just not conscious... it’s like we just know like... Not that we’re told... If ever there’s a separate chair, then you know okay the tutor is gonna sit there its not that you were actually told you just know. You just know these things they just flow.”

BF1 (FG1): “I don’t think they sit down and discuss it you know, there shall be no Black people at our table you know, it just happens.”

And in response:

BF2 (FG2): “No but we are still thinking about it you do. She’s Zulu, okay I’m gonna go to her, she’s Zulu so maybe we have something to talk about. What if we don’t like each other?”

These quotes highlight the complexities of racial segregation when it manifests in a spatial form. Participants struggle with notions of “conscious” or deliberate separation, and “unconscious” or implicit segregation. The dominant view amongst students is that racial divisions arise unintentionally within a given space, and therefore it cannot be construed as racial segregation per se. Yet, a racially homogenous space seems to have an exclusionary effect regardless of whether it *intends* to exclude or not. These exclusionary practices are addressed in greater detail in the following section.

3.3.3 Racialised space as exclusionary

While the majority of participants conceded that racially homogenous spaces are not intentionally used as a means of excluding racial others from a given space, it nevertheless discouraged them from entering those spaces that are occupied by a racially homogenous group. The predominant reason cited for not doing so was fear.

Participants expressed numerous fears regarding racially homogenous spaces, the key fear being that of feeling like an outsider or being perceived as the racial “other”. Many participants felt that their racial differences were highlighted in situations where, as a member of a specific race group, they were in the minority.

Some of the comments that highlighted fears of being the odd one out included:

WM: “most of us like wouldn’t feel comfortable going into like a Coloured pool area just because we’d be the only, we’d be a minority and no one like, no matter what minority you are, no one likes being a minority if like all of a sudden, like I’m a White person, I sit with all my White friends in the middle of the thing whatever, and then it would be like cool. But like if I go in there and like all of a sudden I’m the only guy who’s different from everyone else, and no one likes to be different no matter what the difference is.”

IF: “I went once up to the pool table. And when we walked in and there’s all these guys turn

around and they look at you, and it's not cool. Whereas if you, I find when you with different race groups, you not so much.. under scrutiny. You not judged all the time. And if you are you don't know about it. So it's fine."

CF: "And if you alone. Its only if you alone then you'll think, no there's too much White people there you not gonna sit there."

BF1 (FG1): "You don't want it to be like awkward, like letting you know that you're not supposed to be sitting here."

BF2 (FG1): You feel judged by them as well. Every time they make you feel like okay what are you doing here?

BF1 (FG1): The fact that they make it clear to you that you're not the same.

The anticipation of a potentially uncomfortable experience caused many participants to avoid even just passing by spaces that were known to be racially homogenous.

IF: "You scared. [Yah]. I think that's just what it boils down to. Like when I go past Kwencha, and I see like where all the coloured people hang out and play pool. I don't I hate walking past there. I'd rather go around and pass the stairs cos, I feel like, because I'm not normally I don't normally hang out there I feel like people look at me like "Okay she's different". Like you get singled out, because you look different. And it's the same with Jammie Stairs like how I'd, I'll only go to Jammie if I have to."

WF: "What about in Leslie? You know where the pool tables are? I try to walk past there and I, I feel so weird. I love playing billiards like pool. But I couldn't imagine going there. I would love to do it."

BF: "Like especially if you walk past the pool tables. Like I've seen a lot of people speed walk past there, if you're not coloured. They will be like, they all playing here and suddenly you have these people just turn and look at you and you standing there and they just stare."

Others admitted that they did not dare infiltrate those spaces occupied by a racially homogenous group for fear of being an outcast, being rejected, or at the very least being confronted about their reasons for attempting to occupy the space. The following statements highlight these points:

WF: "When I walk past there they look at me funny like, maybe its juts my insecurities but they look at me like "you're not supposed to be here what.. I think yah its insecurities

definitely. I mean I like playing pool I really do but I'm just I'm white. I'm not allowed in."

BF (FG1): "I think that, like coloured people know, it tells like other races that you are now like entering a different territory, so that yes, there's a haven for like others, but it's also to let you know maybe unconsciously that you know, you are entering a different territory, so that you don't go. If you are, like people are what are you doing here? Like you know this is the place where we chill."

BF1 (FG2): "Especially in the dining hall. As soon as you pick up your tray and you got your food you stand there {you know exactly where you go}. You know who you can sit with. You don't even try and sit with someone you don't know. Its scary cos you don't know, okay if I sit here, are they gonna come tell me no?"

BF2 (FG2): "I think what happens is that people are scared, its fear {yah, there's fear of rejection}. I will not get up from the... and go sit with them, as you get closer its just like "okay, what are you doing here?" It's that fear."

Whether these fears are realistic or not, they are debilitating enough to prevent students from accessing spaces that they are fully entitled to utilise. Neutralising these fears may very well break down spatial barriers that serve to perpetuate racial segregation. An Indian participant relates an incident in which this very outcome was observed:

IF: "When I moved to this res, when you walk into the dining hall, like at the back like it was just like black people...that was the first year they had integrated. Before it was previously only a black res. So when I got to first year that was like when they had Indian people, coloured people white people, so like the Lesotho people sat at the back. And everybody else sat in front. And like last year and this year when they started integrating more like more white people now my res is majority white. The white people are now sitting at the back cos they didn't know when they got there that's where they would just go and sit. They didn't know that that was like the Ghetto, that's what it was called. And they didn't know that you not supposed to sit in the Ghetto but they did it. So now like its become like completely integrated. You now the Lesotho people sit on this side and you know, we sit in the Ghetto now which we never would have done in first year ever. But its just that they didn't know. And because they did it everybody else felt comfortable enough like okay, you know, we can go now.

However, not all attempts at infiltrating racially homogenous spaces were met

with such favourable outcomes as in the incident previously described. A few participants talked about the negative reactions they received from racially homogenous groups occupying a given space. Some participants were faced with open hostility, and others were simply avoided. Their accounts highlight certain exclusionary practices that may operate to maintain the racial exclusiveness of a given space.

The first of these practices involve the avoidance of racially heterogeneous spaces as the following quotes illustrate. The last of these quotes highlights the temporal dimension of informal segregation, in that groups share a space but at the same time avoid contact with each other.

BF1: “Yah they all sit at one table. And sometimes its, they actually come in a whole big group so that they just sit there like a..”

BF2: {Why don't you try like sit on their table?} No they move to another table, but instead of sitting where there's space, they will all like twenty of them will like sit where there's only place for four people.

BF3: “But you know in Tugwell [residence dining hall] you have to go at a certain time to get food and space, you know. Because there are so many of us there are like four hundred girls and the other two res' that eat there. So there was a time when there were like three girls, it was like the only table left, there were three girls and you could see that these people they haven't started eating and normally they chill for like quite a while. So we thought like okay this is the only place we gonna go sit there. We got there and they moved. They actually, we were just like (laughs).

BF4: “You see like, certain times when the white people will actually go in just to play pool. And they know that half the coloureds are not there so therefore they play just a quick pool and run out of there. And then you can see, they'll be gone, and then there are only two other people playing pool. And then if they come back, the white people are gone and its only the coloureds there.

A second practice involves reclaiming a space by occupying it in large numbers, so that any other persons present in that space become obliged to leave it.

CF1: “Last year I was sitting outside the Maths building on the block. I was sitting alone there reading a book. And then, one Indian came to sit next to me and I was like okay. I

looked up again there was like five people. And every time, every five ten minutes, I'd be moving more to the end until there was like a whole lot of them. And at the end of the day, like to please them I just got up and rather be out of the way. Like they would just ask me to move up please and then I'll move up. And by the end of it I'll be sitting at the end and then I thought, okay I don't feel comfortable I'm just gonna get up and leave."

CF2: "My really really good friend in res now she really does extreme stuff. One day she decides, like you get to choose which table you sit at, just to like piss the other people off sometimes, cos they have like these routines on where they sit so we said we never gonna sit at that table, cos it was a table with the black guys who like sit together and stuff. So she went early and I went and got my food and walked in and she sat there and they weren't there yet. They didn't care. They moved in. And they just started, they just continued talking. And we felt so conscious because every person that walked into, into the dining hall would go "Well done guys" (laughing). But it was so uncomfortable. And then you just don't do it again."

A final practice involves a considerably less subtle approach than the first two practices with regard to reinstating spatial boundaries. The following comments highlight what could be construed as 'forced removals':

BF1: "At my res, there are people there are these Sotho guys they always sit at the back table, and the one time these girls from Forest [residence] went to sit there and they came and they told them to get up from that table, cos they said this is our table."

BF2: "This Zim [Zimbabwean] table, there was a time when some girls were stupid enough to go sit there and when the guys came you know, they made it a point to stand over them and hover."

Hence, segregation in space potentially involves processes of belonging in a space, and of exclusion from a space.

In the next section of this chapter, the results of the second study are presented. In study 2, the research explores in greater depth the extent and nature of interracial contact on and off campus. In doing so, we are able to examine the subtle processes that underlie racial segregation amongst black, white, and coloured students at the university.

STUDY 2

3.4 INTERRACIAL CONTACT AND SEGREGATION ON CAMPUS

Research shows that where multiple groups exist in one society, intergroup relations are characterized by varying inter-relationships between members of different groups (see for example Berry, 1984). Hence, the first aim of Study 2 is to examine whether black, white, and coloured students report differences with regard to cross-racial contact experiences. In this way, the study is able to explore whether contact between minority groups differs from contact between dominant and minority groups. A second aim of this study was to develop a model for contact and to test the effects of intergroup anxiety as a mediating variable between contact experiences and attitudes toward contact. The third and final aim of Study 2 was to explore students' subjective perceptions and experiences of segregation and contact on campus.

In order to address the first two aims, a questionnaire on contact was used. The purpose of the questionnaire was to explore the extent and nature of students' interactions with members of different race groups. Moreover, the questionnaire was used to investigate whether black, white, and coloured students report differences in the amount and quality of interracial contact they experienced. In this way, for example, the amount and quality of contact that coloured students have with black people may differ from their experiences with white people. Focus group discussions provided the data for the final objective of this study.

3.4.1 Overview of Analysis

A sub-sample of students who were enrolled in a first-year psychology course at UCT was approached to complete a questionnaire on contact. These students were selected

from tutorial classes that displayed an equitable racial composition of black, white, and coloured students (refer to the previous chapter on research methods). Analysis of variance (ANOVA) and hierarchical regression techniques were used to analyze data from 68 and 53 questionnaires respectively. An alpha of .05 was set for all analyses. In this section, results from the analyses of variance are presented first, followed by the findings from hierarchical regression analysis. Statistica Version 7 was used to analyze questionnaire data.

ANOVAs were performed in order to examine differences between black, white, and coloured participants for the five dimensions of contact. The dimensions of contact include (i) Nature of Contact, (ii) Amount of Contact with Students, (iii) Amount of Contact with Others, (iv) Intergroup Anxiety, and (v) Social Distance. Moreover, the study hypothesizes that differences in experiences of interracial contact are determined by the respondents' own race group membership, as well as the race of those with whom contact occurs. All participants were therefore required to respond to items on the dimensions of contact with regard to their experiences with members of black, white, and coloured race groups respectively. As such, the extent and nature of outgroup contact, as well as interaction effects between race of participant and race of contact partner, are analyzed. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix B3.

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to explore whether the extent and nature of participants' contact experiences determine their attitudes toward interracial contact. A model of interracial contact is tested in this study using hierarchical regression techniques. Numerous studies on intergroup contact suggest that the amount and quality of contact are useful predictors of attitudes toward interracial contact (see chapter 2 in this report for a review of intergroup contact literature). Informed by previous research and theory, the model in this study proposes

that the Nature of Contact, Amount of Contact with Students, and Amount of Contact with Others predict attitudes toward interracial contact. Furthermore, the study proposes that Intergroup Anxiety acts as a mediator between the contact variables and attitudes toward contact.

3.4.2 Race differences in interracial contact

Repeated-measures analyses of variance were used in order to examine the effects of race on contact. The two independent variables used in the analysis were: (1) race of respondent; and (2) racial membership of those with whom contact occurs (or target group). In turn, each independent variable consisted of three levels of racial categories for black, white, and coloured race groups. The dependent variables consisted of the five dimensions or measures of contact addressed in the study. Thus, for each dimension of contact, a 3 (black vs. white vs. coloured participants) X 3 (black vs. white vs. coloured target groups) factorial ANOVA is used to examine interaction effects between the two variables on race. The results for Nature of Contact, Amount of Contact with Students, Amount of Contact with Others, Intergroup Anxiety, and Social Distance are addressed separately. A table of means and standard deviations by race group for all dimensions of contact is presented in Table 1, Appendix D.

When significant effects for race on contact were observed, Tukey's pairwise comparisons were conducted to explore differences in contact experiences with black, white, and coloured race groups. Pairwise comparisons were calculated by hand as Statistica fails to use the correct error term for Tukey's analysis with 2-way ANOVAs, yielding erroneous results. A Tukey's statistic (t') was calculated for each pairwise comparison of mean scores. The following formula was used: $t' = (\text{Mean 1} - \text{Mean 2}) / \sqrt{(\text{MS error} / n)}$. A critical value was obtained from the Studentized Range

statistics table, using 3 and 120 degrees of freedom (Howell, 1997). Critical values for both .05 and .01 alpha levels were obtained. A significant difference is found when t' is greater than the critical value. The results for Tukey's pairwise comparisons are presented in Tables 19 – 28 in Appendix D.

Nature of Contact

Responses from 22 black, 34 white, and 12 coloured participants were used. The scale was used to measure the perceived quality of contact with different race groups.

Participants could score a maximum of 30 for the evaluation of the nature of contact with each race group. High scores indicate more positive perceptions of the quality of contact.

Descriptive statistics. Figure 1 shows that, on average, participants were relatively positive about the quality of their contact experiences. Mean scores ranged from 18.86 to 23.3. Black students reported the most extreme mean scores amongst all participants, with mean ratings of 23.3, 18.86, and 19.14 for the quality of contact with blacks, whites, and coloureds respectively.

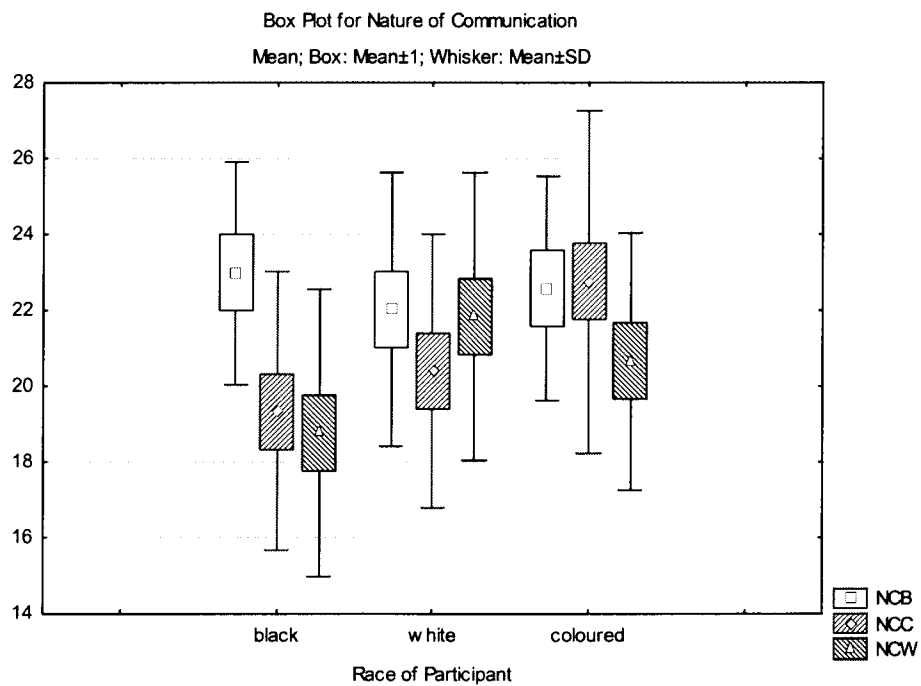


Figure 1. Means and standard deviations for the nature of contact with black, white, and coloured outgroups. NC = Nature of Contact; B, W, C = black, white, and coloured race groups respectively.

The plot of cell means (Figure 10, Appendix D) and the analysis of variance results ($F(4, 130) = 5.453; p = .0004$) (Table 14, Appendix D) indicate the presence of a significant interaction effect between the race of the participant and the race of those with whom contact occurs. These differences are explored in further detail below.

Intra-racial vs. interracial contact. Table 19, Appendix D, shows that participants reported significant differences in the quality of their contact experiences with members of black, white, and coloured race groups. Black ($M = 23.3$) participants rated contact with members of their own race group (i.e. ingroup contact) more positively than contact with members of white ($M = 18.86$) ($t'(3, 120) = 12.92, p = .0005$) and coloured ($M = 19.14$) ($t'(3, 120) = 12.13, p = .0006$) race groups (i.e. outgroup contact). Coloured participants, however, perceived no significant differences in the quality of their contact with members of their own race group ($M =$

22.75), as opposed to the quality of outgroup contact with blacks ($M = 22.58$) ($t'(3, 120) = .49, p = .33$). Likewise, white participants reported no significant differences for same-race contact ($M = 21.85$) and contact with black outgroup members ($M = 22.03$) ($t'(3, 120) = .53, p = .32$).

Race differences in interracial contact. Results in Table 24, Appendix D, show that perceived differences in the quality of interracial contact is determined by the race of the outgroup member with whom contact takes place. White participants rated the quality of contact with black outgroup members ($M = 22.03$) more positively than contact with coloured outgroup members ($M = 20.41$) ($t'(3, 120) = 4.73, p = .009$). Similarly, coloured participants reported more positive contact with black ($M = 22.58$) than white outgroup members ($M = 20.67$) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.58, p = .006$). Furthermore, white and coloured participants reported similar evaluations with regard to the quality of interracial contact with black outgroup members ($t'(3, 120) = 1.6, p = 0.1$). In contrast, mean ratings of the quality of outgroup contact were significantly lower for black participants in this study. They perceived contact with white outgroup members ($M = 18.86$) less positively than coloured participants ($M = 20.67$) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.25, p = .007$). Similarly, they rated contact with coloured outgroup members ($M = 19.14$) less positively than white participants ($M = 20.41$) ($t'(3, 120) = 3.72, p = .02$). Moreover, black participants perceived no significant differences in the quality of contact they experience with members of coloured ($M = 19.14$) or white ($M = 18.86$) ($t'(3, 120) = .79, p = 0.3$) outgroups.

Amount of Contact with Students

Data from 22 black, 34 white, and 12 coloured participants were used in this analysis. One black participant did not complete the items on this scale. The scale measures the

amount of contact amongst students from different race groups both on campus and beyond the university setting. The possible range of scores obtainable for this scale is a minimum of 0 and a maximum score of 32 for contact with each race group. High scores represent higher levels of contact with students.

Descriptive statistics. The findings displayed in Figure 2 illustrate that contact with same-race students was markedly high for all three race groups ($M = 28.02$, $M = 30.59$, $M = 26.83$ for black, white, and coloured participants respectively). In addition, mean levels of interracial contact with other students are comparably low for across all race groups.

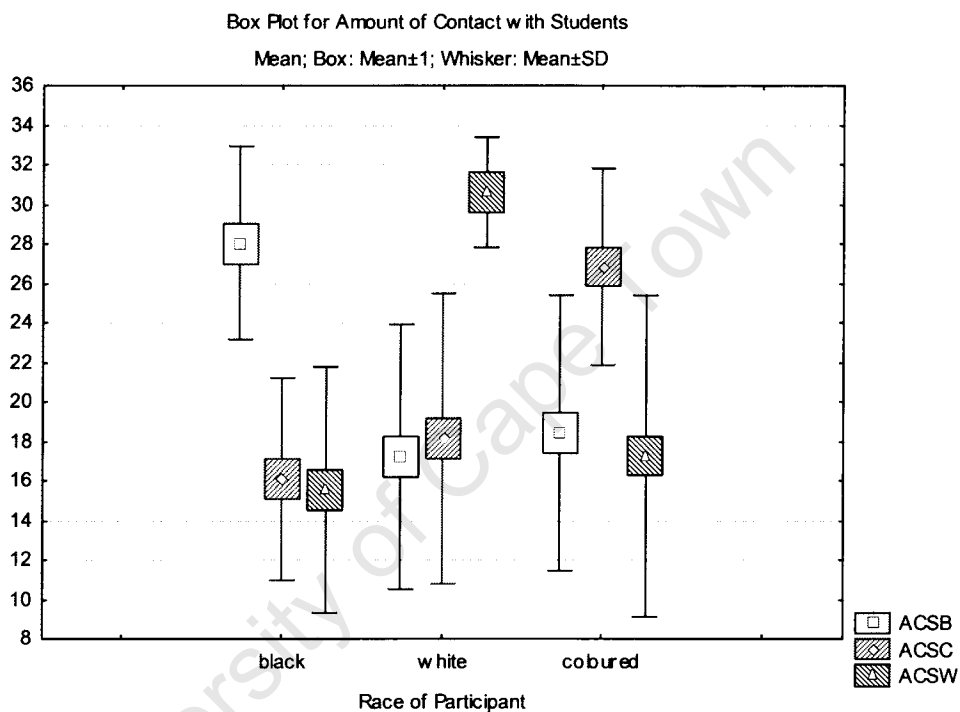


Figure 2. Means and standard deviations for the Amount of Contact with black, white, and coloured students. ACS = Amount of Contact with Students; B, W, C = black, white, and coloured race groups respectively.

The plot of cell means (Figure 11, Appendix D) shows some variation in amount of contact by race of respondent, although very little difference in contact with different outgroups. The analysis of variance results (in Table 15, Appendix D)

however, indicates a highly significant interaction when the effects of the two race variables on contact are combined ($F(4, 130) = 52.84, p = .0000$). Specific differences are explored in further detail.

Intra-racial vs. interracial contact. For all race groups, the amount of contact with students from the same race group was significantly higher than reported levels of interracial contact (Table 20, Appendix D). Moreover, white participants ($M = 30.59$) reported significantly greater amounts of same-race contact than black ($M = 28.02$) ($t'(3, 120) = 4.02, p = .01$) and coloured participants ($M = 26.83$) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.87, p < .005$).

Race differences in interracial contact. Reported levels of interracial contact amongst students are relatively low across all race groups. However, no significant differences were found between groups in the amount of contact they have with students from other race groups (see Table 25 in Appendix D). Thus black, white, and coloured participants engage in similar, albeit low, levels of interracial contact with students.

Amount of Contact with Others

Data from 68 questionnaires were used in the analysis, including responses from 22 black, 34 white, and 12 coloured participants. The scale measures levels of contact with people from different race groups that are not studying at the university. Participants could score between 0 and 24 for this measure. A high score is indicative of greater amounts of contact with non-UCT students.

Descriptive statistics. Figure 3 illustrates that participants across all race groups engaged in relatively high levels of same-race contact with persons who were not studying at the university. Mean levels of amount of contact with others were

22.32, 22.05, and 22.08 for black, white, and coloured participants respectively. In contrast, the reported amount of interracial contact that participants engage in is fairly low, and appears relatively similar for across race groups.

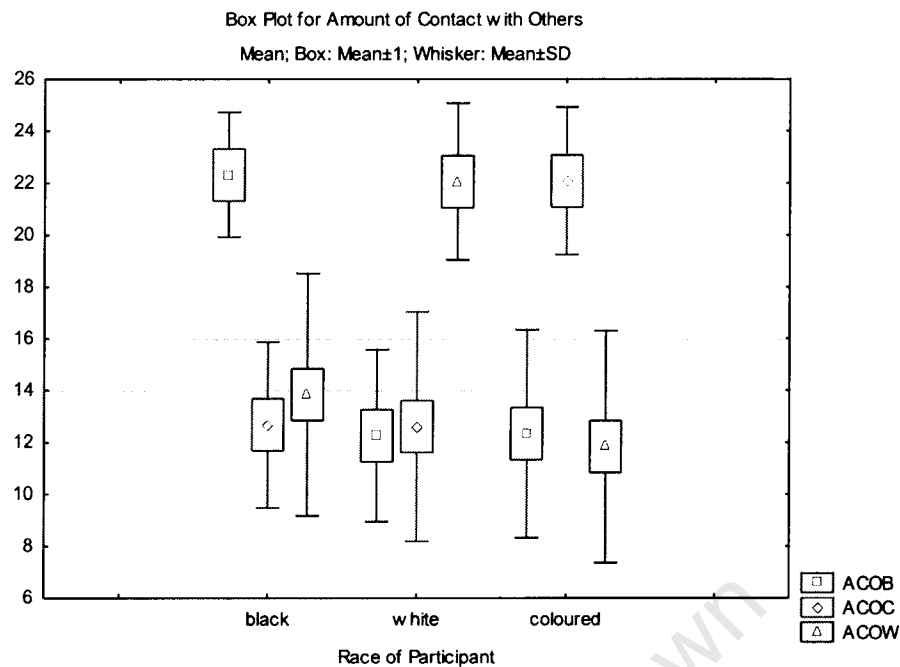


Figure 3. Means and standard deviations for the amount of contact with black, white, and coloured non-university students. ACO = Amount of Contact with Others; B, W, C = black, white, and coloured race groups respectively.

The graph of cell means (Figure 12 in Appendix D) suggests that race has an effect on the reported amounts of same-race and interracial contact for all race groups. Analysis of variance results (Table 16, Appendix D) show that a highly significant interaction effect was obtained ($F(4, 130) = 84.91, p = .0000$).

Intra-racial vs. interracial contact. As with amount of contact with students, participants across all race groups reported significantly higher levels of contact with members of their own race groups, than contact with other race groups (Table 21, Appendix D).

Race differences in interracial contact. Black participants reported

significantly higher levels of contact with white outgroup members who did not attend the university ($M = 14.2$) than contact with coloured outgroup members ($M = 12.62$) ($t'(3, 120) = 3.96, p = .01$). Furthermore, black participants ($M = 14.2$) were significantly more likely than coloured participants ($M = 11.83$) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.93, p = .005$) to engage with white outgroup members in this regard. No significant differences were found in contact with different outgroups for coloured and white participants.

Intergroup Anxiety

Responses from 68 valid questionnaires were used in the analysis, including responses from 22 black, 34 white, and 12 coloured participants. The scale was used to measure the levels of anxiety experienced during contact with persons from different race groups. A minimum score of 0 and a maximum of 24 could be obtained. A high score is indicative of greater amounts of intergroup anxiety.

Descriptive statistics. Although mean intergroup anxiety scores appear relatively similar across all race groups, intergroup anxiety levels for same-race contact appear slightly lower than anxiety for interracial contact across all three race groups (see Figure 4). For same-race contact, reported mean intergroup anxiety levels were 11.52, 11.0, and 10.25 for black, white and coloured participants, respectively. Black participants reported seemingly higher mean levels of anxiety regarding interracial contact.

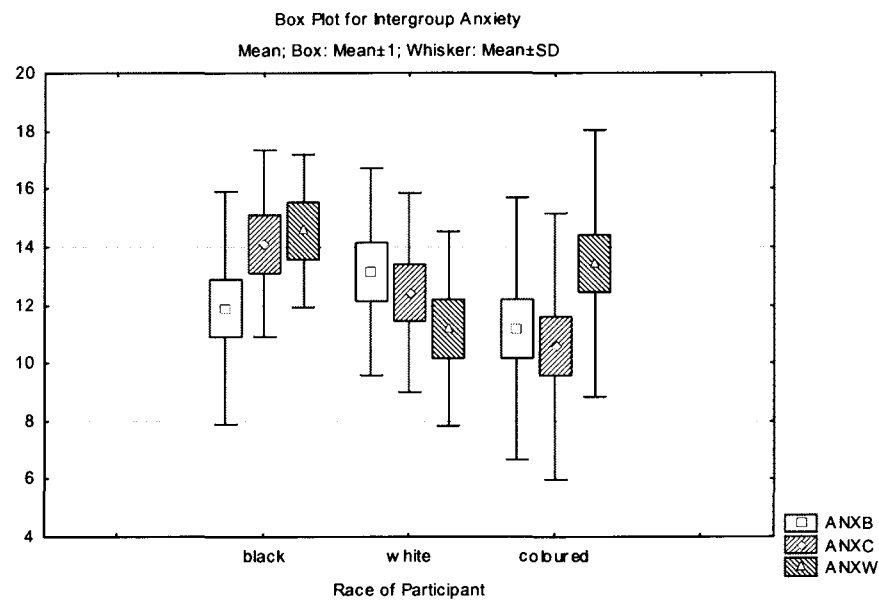


Figure 4. Means and standard deviations for intergroup anxiety toward black, white, and coloured race groups. ANX = Intergroup Anxiety; B, W, C = black, white, and coloured race groups respectively.

The graph of cell means (in Figure 13, Appendix D) indicates that intergroup anxiety levels vary according to race group membership. Analysis of variance results (in Table 10, Appendix D) confirm that race has a highly significant effect on intergroup anxiety; a highly significant interaction effect was obtained ($F(4, 126) = 8.51, p = 0.000004$). Specific differences are examined.

Intra-racial vs. interracial contact. As shown in Table 17, Appendix D, all groups were significantly more anxious about interracial contact than about same-race contact.

Race differences in interracial contact. Black participants reported significantly more anxiety with regard to interracial contact. They ($M = 14.38$) were more anxious than coloured participants ($M = 12.68$) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.56, p = .005$) regarding interracial contact with whites, and more anxious than white participants regarding interracial contact with coloured outgroup members. In addition, coloured participants ($M = 11.18$) reported significantly lower levels of anxiety than whites (M

= 12.9) ($t'(3, 120) = 5.65, p = .006$) toward black outgroup members. Hence, coloured participants were the least anxious of all race groups in this study.

Social Distance

The responses for 65 questionnaires were valid and used in data analysis. Three black respondents did not complete the scale and were excluded from the analysis. The scale measures the degree of social closeness or distance perceived between the self and specific reference groups. It is essentially a measure of attitudes toward contact with different race groups. The range of possible scores is between 0 and 16. A high score indicates a favourable attitude towards proximal forms of contact.

Descriptive statistics. As illustrated in Figure 5, black ($M = 12.84$) and white ($M = 12.91$) participants reported similar social distance scores toward members of their own race groups, as well as toward other race groups. Moreover, they perceive slightly greater social distance between themselves and other race groups. In contrast, coloured participants seemingly perceived little distance between themselves and other race groups.

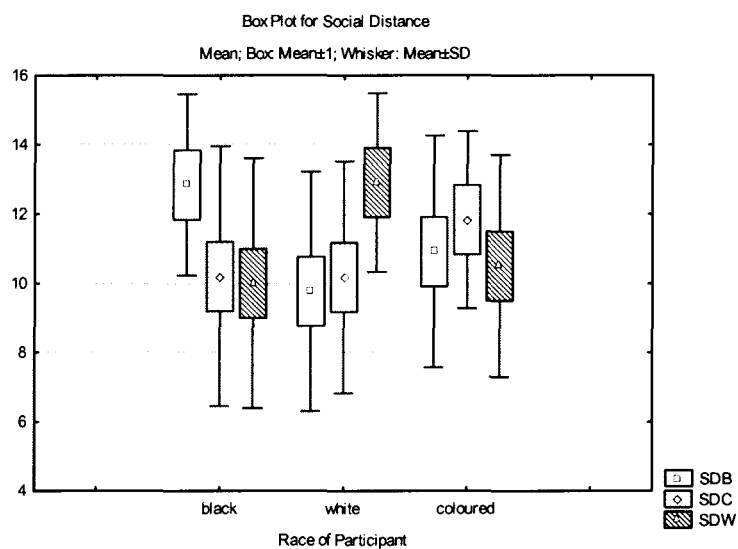


Figure 5. Means and standard deviations for social distance toward black, white, and coloured race groups. SD = Social Distance; B, W, C = black, white, and coloured race groups respectively.

The graph of cell means displayed in Figure 14, Appendix D indicates that social distance may vary as a function of race. The analysis of variance results shown in Table 18, Appendix D, indicates a highly significant interaction effect between race of participant and race of reference group ($F(4, 124) = 18.61; p = .000000$). This means that social distance scores vary by race of respondent and race of contact partner.

Intra-racial vs. interracial contact. All race groups perceived greater social distance between themselves and other race groups (see Table 23, Appendix D). Black participants reported significantly greater social closeness towards black ingroup members ($M = 12.84$) than toward coloured ($M = 10.42$) ($t'(3, 120) = 10.76, p = .0001$) and white ($M = 10.26$) ($t'(3, 120) = 11.46, p = .0007$) outgroups. Similarly trends were observed for white and coloured participants.

Differences in outgroup contact. The only significant finding was that white participants' ($M = 9.77$) expressed greater social distance toward black outgroups than

coloured participants' ($M = 10.92$). Furthermore, none of the groups perceived themselves to be any more distant from one outgroup than another. For example, black participants expressed comparably distant attitudes toward contact with white ($M = 10.26$) and coloured ($M = 10.42$) ($t'(3, 120) = 10.76, p < .01$) outgroups. Similar findings were obtained for white and coloured participants.

3.4.3 Determinants of attitudes toward interracial contact

In this section, a model of interracial contact was tested. The model proposes that quality and amount of contact predict attitudes toward interracial contact, and that intergroup anxiety is a key mediator in the relationship between contact and attitude. Thus, it is proposed that intergroup anxiety is the mechanism through which the independent contact variables are able to influence the dependent attitudinal variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Hierarchical regression techniques were used to analyse data from 53 valid cases. Coloured participants were excluded from all regression analyses due to small sample size ($N = 12$).

Social distance was regressed onto the contact variables (i.e. Nature of Contact, Amount of Contact with Students, and Amount of Contact with Others) and the mediator variable (Intergroup Anxiety). Greater amounts of positive contact experiences, and less intergroup anxiety, are expected to predict more favourable attitudes toward interracial contact. In line with contact theory (see review of literature in chapter 2), quality of contact is identified as a stronger predictor of attitude and therefore should precede the other two amount of contact variables in the model. Furthermore, it is assumed that because interracial contact is more likely to occur amongst students at the university, rather than with individuals who do not attend the university, Amount of Contact with Students should precede Amount of

Contact with Others in this model. Preliminary analyses indicated that the distribution of data was skewed, however no assumptions of linearity were violated (Figures 15 and 16, Appendix D). A residual analysis also showed that there were no significant outliers in the data (Table 29, Appendix D).

Table 4.
Simple correlations between contact variables

	Nature of Contact (NC)	Amount of Contact - Students (ACS)	Amount of Contact - Others (ACO)	Intergroup Anxiety (ANX)	Social Distance (SD)
NC	1.00	0.08	0.17	-0.19	0.37
ACS	0.08	1.00	0.59	-0.47	0.23
ACO	0.17	0.59	1.00	-0.31	0.18
ANX	-0.19	-0.47	-0.31	1.00	-0.32
SD	0.37	0.23	0.18	-0.32	1.00

Note: Correlations in italics are significant at $p < .05$

N = 53 valid cases

A correlation analysis was conducted using Pearson's product-moment (r) to assess linear relationships between independent variables, and the criterion variable. The results, presented in Table 4, indicate significant relationships between quality of contact and social distance ($r = .37, p < .05$), and intergroup anxiety and social distance ($r = -.32, p < .05$), in the expected directions. Hence, positive contact experiences and low intergroup anxiety are associated with favourable attitudes toward contact. The analysis also revealed a collinear relation between the two variables measuring amount of contact ($r = .59, p < .05$), which suggests that these variables are possibly redundant. This is confirmed by their relatively low tolerance levels of .56 and .63 for amount of contact with students and others respectively (Table 30 in Appendix D). Because the study focuses on contact amongst students, it

was decided to exclude the “Amount of Contact with Others” variable from the regression analysis. The remaining two independent variables, Nature of Contact and Amount of Contact with Students, and intergroup anxiety as the mediator variable, were therefore used to predict Social Distance scores.

Table 5.
Step-by-step regression summary for Social Distance

	Adj R ²	R ²	R ² change	R ² change <i>p</i>	Model <i>F</i>	Model <i>p</i>	Beta
NC	12.00	13.72	—	—	8.11	0.01	0.37
Step 1							
NC	12.00	0.14					0.35
ACS	0.14	0.18	0.04	0.12	5.40	0.01	0.20
Step 2							
NC	12.00	0.14					0.32
ANX	0.17	0.20	0.06	0.05	6.28	0.00	-0.26

A step-by-step summary of the regression results is illustrated in Table 5.

Quality of Contact was entered as the first independent variable, and is a significant predictor of social distance attitudes ($\beta = .37, p = .006$). On its own, quality of contact explains 12% (Adjusted $R^2 = 0.12$) of the variance in social distance attitudes.

Amount of Contact with Students is entered in the first step. Although the overall model remains significant ($F(2, 50) = 5.4, p = .0075$), this variable does not make any significant contribution to the model (R^2 change = .025, $p = .12$). The inclusion of Intergroup Anxiety in the third step significantly improved the model, increasing the amount of variance explained by the model to 17% (Adjusted $R^2 = 0.17$). Results show that Intergroup Anxiety had a negative effect on social distance attitudes ($\beta = -.25, p = .05$) and that it contributed significantly to the proportion of variance explained by the model (R^2 change = .06, $p = .05$). Quality of Contact and Intergroup Anxiety were therefore the most useful predictors of social distance attitudes, and

together, explained approximately 17% of the variance in attitudes toward interracial contact.

Mediation effects

Table 6.
Test for intergroup anxiety as mediator: Simple regression summaries

Variables	R2	Beta	F	p
NC --> SD	0.14	0.37	8.11	0.01
ANX --> SD	0.10	-0.32	6.01	0.02
NC --> ANX	0.04	-0.20	2.31	0.13

Simple regression analyses were used to test for a mediating relationship between quality of contact and attitudes toward contact. The results in Table 6 showed that Intergroup Anxiety was not a significant mediator of interracial contact. Quality of Contact was significantly associated with Social Distance ($R^2 = .32$, $p = .006$). Intergroup Anxiety was also significantly related to Social Distance ($R^2 = -.34$, $p = .02$). However, no significant association between the independent variable (Quality of Contact) and the proposed mediating variable (Intergroup Anxiety) was found. Since all three relationships are required to be significant in order to satisfy the conditions of mediation, intergroup anxiety did not mediate the effect of quality of contact on attitudes toward contact (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Instead, quality of contact and intergroup anxiety were found to be independent predictors of favourable attitudes. The final model of contact for black and white students in this study is illustrated below.

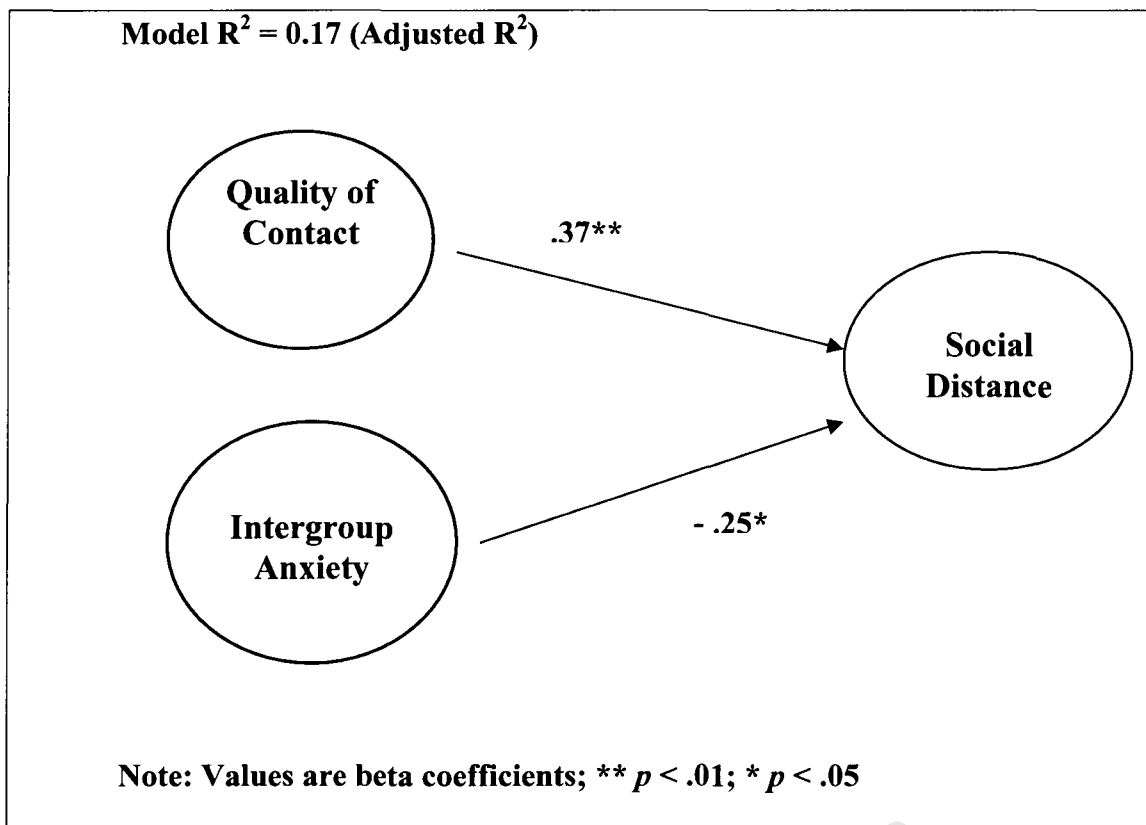


Figure 6. Model of contact with Quality of Contact and Intergroup Anxiety as significant predictors

3.5 SEGREGATION AS A LIVED EXPERIENCE

Students' subjective perceptions and experiences of segregation at UCT were also explored. Following is a presentation of the qualitative findings relating to students' lived experiences of segregation on campus.

3.5.1 Racial segregation at UCT

Many participants agreed that students at UCT were racially segregated. In particular, black and coloured participants felt that the university attempted to portray itself as racially integrated even though, on the ground, this was not the case. As one black participant exclaimed: "...everybody tries to make it seem as if we're all mixing and whatever, when in actual fact we are not...how many Black lecturers have I had, since I've

been here? One. And UCT is supposed to be integrated. You know, I only have one Black tutor, and one Black lecturer and that's it."

Further probing of this perception revealed that black participants reportedly experienced greater levels of racial discrimination at university. Coloured and white participants were either not forthcoming about such experiences, or alternatively had experienced very little racial discrimination in comparison to black participants.

Specific accounts of racial discrimination reported by black participants included the uneven distribution of resources amongst students from different race groups, discrimination by university staff. Some examples of student comments include:

BF: "...there's this lecture theatre where like the lecturer is White. So if you have a question, like if there are other Black students who raise up their hand, he only picks the White people."

CF: "[My res] was a predominantly black res. And since not last year the year before that, was the first year they allowed white students in. And guess what happened? They cleaned up the entire place. New bathrooms, new everything. Just because white students were going in."

BF: "At the reses, like where I stay, there's mostly Black people and we don't have decent computers nothing...when crisis arise at [white] reses management just comes rushing down."

Racial segregation was particularly visible in university catering facilities, or student dining-halls. Two students highlight these points:

BF: "At our res, there's a lot of integration...But then you get, the White people. Cos they're a minority at our res. And they'll sit together in the dining hall, there's very few White people that you'll see integrating or mixing with other people. They've got this White clique and this is who they talk to who they mix with, they'll greet you in the corridors and stuff, but you'll never see them chilling with you... its like they've got their, their specific tables."

WF: "In my experience in res is like the Black people would rather not sit anywhere near the White people while they eat. White people just go and sit down and eat their food. I really don't think it's an issue."

What is particularly striking in these two comments is the way in which the black and white participants hold each other's race groups accountable for racial segregation in student dining-halls.

Almost all participants perceived racial segregation as a problem specific only to certain campuses at the university. The majority of students at UCT attend lectures at the university's Upper Campus. This is also the campus from which sample for this study was drawn. During the discussions, participants frequently compared the extent of racial segregation amongst students attending lectures at Upper Campus, with students who attended the arts and drama campus. Participants agreed that the extent of racial segregation at Upper Campus starkly contrasted the racially integrated setting at the arts campus. Comments from two black female participants highlight these points:

BF1: "I think it's within certain faculties cos the people from [arts campus] are very well integrated with the White community cos I think there's a majority of White people taking courses, that the Black people who do take those courses are very well integrated. Whereas in Humanities you know, you only get to see that White girl you had in your tut once in a while. But I'll more likely spend time with [black friend] the whole day than spend a lot of time with White people even though I will chat with them."

BF2: "Basically [the arts campus] is almost a place where, you can escape, certain stigmas. Like the only thing is the difference between theatre and drama students or fine arts and drama students that's the only difference. But when you come here [upper campus] there's the Black group there's the White group there's the Indian. Here's people mixing together in the centre. Most people who go to [arts campus] hate Upper Campus."

Students attending the arts campus reportedly benefited from a collective identity through their shared interests in the arts and were able to spend longer periods of time together on a regular basis because many of them shared similar classes.

One participant who mainly attended class at the arts campus at the time of study confirmed these observations and describes the way in which racial barriers are broken down during class:

WF: “On Hiddingh there’s a lot of interaction. Cos its, I think because they, so would like insist on breaking barriers between people. I mean the first, the first exercise we did, in rhythmic class was, walking through the room with our eyes closed feeling each others’ bottoms, okay. And then we had to guess whose bottom we were feeling (laughing).”

In contrast, students at Upper Campus were divided into different faculties (such as Commerce, Science, and so forth) and these divisions were cited as a major contributing factor to student segregation because they were seen to enhance racial divisions amongst students. Specific references were made to students in the Humanities and Commerce faculties, amongst which the greatest rifts were reported. Segregation between these groups of students were seemingly created and maintained through class and status differences, rather than racial differences per se. The divide between students from different faculties was reportedly perceived as subsuming any other divisions, including racial differences. These views were however predominantly held by coloured and white participants. The following statements illustrate these sentiments:

WF: I think there’s a bigger divide between the people I know in commerce, and the people I’m friends with here [in humanities].

WM: I think the Commerce Humanities thing is quite big...I don’t think I’ve made a singly friend who’s in the Commerce faculty. I have more friends who are of mixed race of different races to me than I have Commerce students friends so yah. I think the race thing doesn’t really make a big difference.”

CF: “Its not it’s also about status. And the thing is hey, like it’s like the thing about Commerce people that they so better than Humanities cos they have more points to get in all this shit hey. Like that’s also like a big thing. Like you can see all those Commerce people stick together. It’s like you won’t understand... And that’s what causes people, like to also stick together, their faculties and their status and whatever.”

3.5.2 Negotiating interracial contact

Participants raised a number of factors they believed were impeding the development of interracial friendships at university. Although the majority of participants agreed on many of these factors, the extent of concern differed for each race group.

Black participants were primarily concerned with issues of group status, racial identity, and lack of a common bond with members of other race groups. With regard to group status, black participants' sense of inferiority deterred them from interacting with other race groups. They believed that in order to gain access to certain social groups, it was necessary to dress and speak in a manner that denoted a privileged socio-economic status. Economically disadvantaged students therefore felt inhibited from interacting with students who were perceived as privileged.

BF: "It's like you have to be dressed in a certain way and do certain things just so that people can say "Okay maybe you're ready to be our friend".

BF: "if it came to speaking with other people there's also this thing, about the accent. You know, so if you don't have the right accent and you see, you see like that. So for me it made me feel very inferior."

For black participants, interacting with students from other race groups entailed a change in identity. The risk of "losing oneself" was particularly great when engaging in social relationships with white students. This identity change typically involved adopting a white accent, assuming a dress sense that is associated with being white, and listening to white music. Many black participants feared that through their interactions with white students, they would lose touch with their black culture and adopt white values, attitudes and behaviours instead. Black participants perceived themselves to be more conservative than white students at UCT, and therefore feared that interaction with white students would begin to unravel years of socialization on what is regarded as appropriate behaviour for a black person. The process of an

identity shift was believed to be gradual and almost insidious in nature, hence uncontrollable, which is why contact with white students was largely avoided. The following comments illustrate these views:

BF: “Um, when you say you are losing yourself its like, let’s say you have White friends and, you are interacting with them, the way they behave the new image, it’s like unconsciously changing. Its not like you want to change you’re just changing. Like.. accommodating them.”

BF: “I really think somebody can lose themselves guys cos, I think, or maybe its cause such liberal, brought up in a typical, black type of family...So, you lose yourself cause, we are brought up, to believe certain things in certain cultures brought up in a certain way. So sometimes, when you interact with other people, things are bound to change..”

BF: “I think it’s so sad that, to be tight with White people, you have to lose a certain part of who you are. You can’t just go there and be yourself you know and say no I listen to kwaito music or whatever, and still be friends with them. It’s like you lose a complete side of your identity. And you have to sort of let go of you being Black, and everything that makes you Black. Sort of adopt and accept everything that is ultimately White. But its, getting there.”

Black participants also feared negative reactions from both the ingroup and outgroup. With regard to negative reactions from other black students, participants feared that contact across race boundaries would compromise existing friendships with black students. In addition, the risk of being labelled by black peers was highlighted. These points are illustrated in the following comments:

BF: “I think its more...acceptance because, when I came here I came from a private school. And, immediately there was so much stigma against me it was like most Black people were like “Oh my word she’s so full of herself...” And, it just, it was very hard to just, interact with certain people.

BF: “Yah, what I realised about integrating with other races is that it sometimes puts a strain on the relationships with my Black friends. Like when I went back home to Zim in June, my sense of dressing had kinda altered from the typical Zimbabwean the way we dress so they were like “You been hanging out with White people haven’t you? The way you dressing is so arb.” Kinda yah, you know its kind of not the African way. It’s not the Black way. You know it’s like there are, set rules, that if you, integrate with other people you’re automatically breaking.”

BF: “Cos if you hang out a lot with White people, the Black people are gonna say “What’s wrong with you? Are we not good enough for you? You know you a coconut”, and stuff like that. So therefore you start feeling pressurized to actually mix with people of your own race.”

Negative responses from the outgroup, particularly negative facial expressions and discouraging looks from white students, also inhibited black students from engaging in interracial contact. Some of the comments included:

BF: “Even this issue of integration, the way I would approach a Black person and a White person the reactions I get are totally different. It’s not everyday that you approach a Black person and they’ve got this look. They answer you, if they do hide it, they do a good job. But White people they make it so obvious.”

BF: “What puts me down is the reaction that you get out of them. [Yah]. Because we make an effort to go that extra mile. And the reaction we get out of it is like, why do you even bother?”

Coloured participants reported particular difficulties with interracial contact in a group setting. According to coloured participants, when students were part of a group they felt pressured to behave in accordance with group norms that were usually not explicitly in favour of interracial mixing. This implied that when an individual was encountered sans group, the situation allowed for greater interaction between members of different race groups. One participant remarked:

CF1: “I was friends last year with a White girl, but she was quite nice. And we like went to all our classes, but sometimes with her friends I felt a bit uncomfortable... they like look down on you like, “Why you friends with her?”

The absence of group expectations also explained why interracial encounters that occurred beyond the university setting were relaxed, spontaneous, and also more personal. The following comments highlight these views:

CF2: “I find like on campus, the White people are more difficult to interact with. But off campus, it’s just so much more easier to interact with them. And you know you can have like a cool conversation that is not.. they don’t really, like close up or kinda shy away. I think its pressure.”

CF3: “like, outside varsity, I’ll walk past somebody in Canal Walk, and they like “Hey howzit?” and I’m like, “Cool and you?” But let that same person walk past me on campus, and they wont you know. I think maybe in a way its, its me walking past a single person. Its not me walking past your friends and your other friends. You know I’ll feel a bit, intimidated if I must walk past you and like the whole gang sitting around you. Like on a personal level, one-on-one basis is probably like much easier.”

However, one participant disagreed and felt that interracial contact only occurred on an individual basis out of necessity and because outgroup members had no one else to engage with at the time. Thus, interracial interaction in this regard was deemed exploitative in nature. She stated the following:

CF4: “I don’t think its pressure at all...like if they not with their friends, or they out of their comfort zone. Or like, say you go to[a party], and you see them there and they don’t know anyone, then they’ll come speak to you...but if they here on the stairs they wont even look at you. So I just think its when they feel they need to or something.”

White participants anticipated highly negative reactions, particularly from black students, during interracial encounters. Interracial encounters were perceived as potentially volatile and aggressive situations. White participants feared rejection, intimidation, and being belittled in the contact situation. The fear of enraging and being blamed by black students in particular were also noted. As a result, white participants questioned the value of interracial contact within this context. These points are highlighted in the following quotes:

WF: “But like, I used to be the most open, forward, like not shy at all. And now I feel like if I do walk up to that I group I’ll be like [pulls a face] (group laughs) like why am I putting myself out here I feel like an idiot, you know. Why would I want to do that? Why would I wanna go and be like “I feel so small”.”

WM: “The comfort thing. Yah its just like why make an effort when you have a group of friends right there kinda thing? Like why bother and like “Hi will you be my friend?” when like you got a whole lot of friends anyway. Birds of a feather flock together. You don’t want to go hang around people that intimidate you...”

WF: “Like if you not gonna stand there and take it all the way like why be yelled at if you can rather not be yelled at you know why would you put yourself in an awkward situation that you wish you weren’t in, in the first place?”

They also cited language differences as an additional barrier to interracial contact.

WF1: “...its certainly easier to share with people that are Afrikaans, because I can speak the language. So, like, um, there’s Coloured girls in drama that didn’t grow up with Afrikaans and actually I’m closer with the guys that can speak Afrikaans because...you just understand them...because you can talk a lingo you know...The joke is just a joke... Its nice. You immediately have a connection with someone.”

WF2: “Well I think sometimes the reason, um English isn’t always the first language of a Black person. And sometimes that really, they cant communicate with you as effectively as say, anyone of you here could. And that’s just awkward and I think people try and tend “Uh uh uh” you know avoid that.”

Overall, participants expressed greater concern about the perceived risks associated with interracial contact than the potential benefits of contact. Indeed, positive aspects of contact were hardly touched upon. As a result, the extent to which participants engaged in interracial contact was constantly negotiated across different contexts.

3.5.3 Racial segregation: A natural process

The majority of participants were tentative about interacting with students from other race groups, and preferred same-race relationships on campus. However, the majority of participants denied that racial differences were problematic.

Typically participants argued that race was not a determining factor in student relations on campus, and that perceived similarities were of greater importance. Many participants claimed that they are often not even aware of race or racial differences.

WM: “The thing is like if you see someone if you see a group of friends that’s mixed-race its

not like they're they're they're friends because they're mixed-race, its just that they don't really notice that that person is of a different race. Um, but yah, I mean I still think it is like largely divided just because people who come from different backgrounds like to hang out here."

BF: "I think when it comes to the race issue, sometimes people are not interested. Speaking for myself I'm not really interested in playing with White people cos, ugh, we just different. I think we just different music wise, belief wise, culture wise, we just different so I prefer to hang with Black people cos, I would feel more comfortable with Black people I wouldn't feel comfortable hanging with White people listening to rock."

CM: "I was thinking like, do people like really think about these things, cos I know like, me personally, if someone is there, I don't really think about are they Indian or are they White or they Coloured. If we don't get along its just a thing, its not like are we, like obviously we don't have anything in common. But its never like a race issue. And I wonder if, if it ever is a race issue."

Some maintained that interaction occurred with those whom you felt most comfortable with, implying that racial segregation is explained by the need for security and comfort rather than race per se.

IF: "I think its just when you comfortable with someone. Like, you know you just, I think its just a comfort thing. And the people who do hang out together like from the same races is just, "Okay I know you and you know this one, we went to the same school or", I don't think its really because, you white so we gonna be friends with you or, you're Black, I think its more just a comfort thing or I know you through someone else."

BF: "yah maybe to a certain extent but then in most cases I don't think people are just doing it consciously. Because kind of from first year... what happens is, they just group themselves, cos its just a point of comfort and feeling safe, and fearing judgement and all that, but I don't really think that they just do it, like consciously. I do not want to mix with this, I do not want to mix with, because you also not sure of the people that you think you want to mix with in the first place."

Still others suggested that racial segregation was "normal" considering the country's history of enforced separation of racial groups and the need to forge a racial identity. Consequently, the act of segregation has become so natural that students continue to group themselves according to race, albeit involuntarily, suggesting that

some sort of conditioning process has taken place. The following quotes illustrate these views:

BF: “Well I think its more to do with like Apartheid, like they have been separated and that’s why they will segregate so much. Its like, get into their system. That for them to start adjusting to those rules its like thinking back in those rules, like Whites, Blacks, Coloureds now they say integrate, so you don’t want to conform nobody wants to make a move. Cause they used to being separated. So I think that’s how social life is affected.”

IF: “Like she was saying she had this thing about Indian people, like cos that’s just the way you were brought up, so that if, if you conditioned to feel that way, even though its not a conscious thing, but you still do when you think Indian person you kind of like, you know, not like, Indian people are alright but you scared of how they gonna judge you.”

WM: “Also its not intentional its just that people like to hang out with..this country has developed with racial groups having different interests. And people hang out with those people who have the same interests as them. Its not so intentional separation you don’t say “Those are the White people lets go hang out with them.” Its simply cultural interests based.”

Likewise, racial integration was deemed a natural and evolving process that was not to be forced, especially since students are accustomed to interacting mainly with same-race peers. The general belief amongst participants was that forcing students to engage in interracial contact would only worsen the situation and serve to strengthen racial divisions amongst students. Being constantly reminded about race, for example discussing race issues during class, was also discouraged as a means of improving race relations amongst students.

WF: “Yah I think that like, things have been progressing naturally and there has been improvement and I don’t think that’s because of all the structures that have been put in place I think that will happen um, because like young people will like always adapt to new situations and affirmative action in particular it only makes us more aware of like races, racism and stuff... And I don’t think forcing something to change would ever help it would only make things worse, if it not do anything at all.”

BF: “Well I think yah, races should interact, but then you know with these things, you really can’t force them. These are things that were like built way back and you really can’t make an effort to start changing the way things have always been said.”

BF: “I think because its been so enforced on people to mix that it actually creates a much bigger segregation than there actually is. So the fact that its being enforced, that you have to mix, just makes everybody go I don’t want this. Why should I? I should just go to the pool table or to Jammie Steps and I’ll find my own culture or my race there.”

Most participants justified the extant racial segregation amongst students by claiming that it was too late for them to change their attitudes and behaviours regarding interracial contact. Instead, many pinned their hopes on “the next generation”, stating that the younger population would experience greater integration because they were already accustomed to interacting with different race groups.

BF: “I think its gonna be different for that generation from 1994, like all kids are taught to just mingle with each other. So by the time they are our age I don’t think it will be as bad as it is for us because we’ve actually experienced it first-hand, at some point in our life”

BF: “I wanted to say like what she was saying, like the next generation, its gonna be easier for the next generation unlike us, like we have (...?...) so its kind of like hard for us to change. But with them it should be easier so its good for the next generation and like our, time to adjust to things, like we were once used to but have to change to accommodate the new way.”

CF: “what I honestly think that um, like my parent’s generation, and maybe our generation, its too late. For us. But where it should start, it’s the only way its gonna change, is from the kids that are coming in today. [Yah]. So by trying to force use to be, you know, you must be with you must have a White partner and a Black partner and that sort of thing, I just think its gonna make it worse cos gonna keep the rage and that thing going. The only way to interrupt is the generation that’s not born yet. That’s the only way. [Yah].”

A few participants, however, refused to adopt this piecemeal approach to racial integration, insisting that any significant change would require persistent efforts to break down racial barriers that remain deeply entrenched within society. For these participants, interracial contact that is superficial and borne out of necessity or social obligation rather than the desire to interact with others did not signify that students at the university were racially integrated. In their view, it was important that students remained open-minded and willing to interact with other race groups even if they

were uncomfortable with the idea of interracial contact.

IF: “I think people try to interact with others but you get to a stage where you just like, I’m comfortable here. Why should I get out of my comfort zone you know and make the effort to interact with other people when I have my friends. But I, it should be changed but I don’t know how it would be changed.”

IF: “Um, its what you put in to it, and it doesn’t matter where you are, or it doesn’t matter which institution you at, at then end of the day, its how open you are to others and open-minded you are to different people. And how much of that, you don’t adopt but you can accept, that everybody doesn’t have to be the same.”

Others suggested that interracial contact was important for invalidating prevailing racial stereotypes, as well as dispel fears and anxieties about interacting with other race groups.

BF: “I think its very important, and I think its very necessary now that, we’re trying to build this new South Africa. Cos now, I would really appreciate it would be really nice for me, if I would just be seen as, N and that’s it. And for me, that’s just enough. Cos once people start, putting labels and putting people in these boxes, because there are, certain expectations that are coming with these labels that people are putting on you. So, the faster we get to interact and actually appreciate each other, the better I think we are.”

BF: “I think that’s right I think its best that (?) the interaction should like become more fluid, where you don’t think about the fact that she’s Coloured she’s Black she’s Indian. You know cause that just restricts you and, it makes you less..less um, less approachable or for you to approach someone cos you’re thinking to yourself “Okay she’s Coloured Black Indian” you know.”

In contrast to the “slowly progressing” stance adopted by many of the other participants in this study, the aforementioned participants also believed that achieving a state of racial integration would require a proactive approach on behalf of students. In their opinion, students needed to put greater effort into reaching out and forming connections with peers from different racial backgrounds.

BF: “its all a matter of how interested you are in socialising and it’s a, another factor is how approachable you are. I mean like, I’m sure that with some White people you kinda wanna go talk to them but they kinda have this, “Don’t come talk to me” kinda look. Its just, misunderstanding each other’s body language... But yah I think that also helped me as well,

and because I actually make an effort to go say “Hi”. Instead of just kinda, yah, head down, kinda, ‘oops there’s a White person again’.”

BF: “The one thing I do notice at our res is the ones that do interact, are the ones that make an effort. Lets say we have, like our res has a lot of events... So we had a semi-formal and you can actually tell the people that were at the semi-formal, those are the people that you are likely to actually you know, have a conversation with, talk to them or whatever.”

Hence, one participant opined that it was imperative for students to be cognizant of the *problem* of racial segregation on campus, and that such segregation was pervasive. If raising awareness meant being constantly reminded that racial segregation exists, then such reminders were essentially good things.

WF: “Yah that’s what I’m saying, you aware of it all the time but not because of yourself. Like if no one mentioned like Black men raping White women, and no one said anything about the Black Consciousness movement, and no one said anything about like what you (referring to moderator) asking us now, I’d be blissfully unaware and carry on with like, nothing ever happened. And so the thing like, probably because of that, it would be a lot more segregated I think. Because people would keep to themselves and wouldn’t be aware of the fact that there is a social integration problem. I think its impossible not to be aware of it at any one time.”

Of course, effort does not necessarily guarantee friendships, nor does it protect against the risk of getting burned. Even so, participants maintained that certain risks were unavoidable and the challenge was not to give up after the first attempt. As one participant remarked:

IF: “how are you gonna encourage the integration like if you want it to be a natural thing, if people are still segregating, Black people are sitting there, and.. and.. Like how are you gonna encourage integration if people are still separated? And I think like there needs to be some sort of initiative that’s gonna actually force it to gel. Because if it is, then people are just gonna be stuck in that zone of, “Okay, I’m comfortable here and that’s it”, and that’s where they gonna stay.”

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

4.1 STUDY 1

In this study, informal racial segregation in tutorial classrooms was investigated. The aim of the study was to examine racial segregation in its spatial form. To this extent, seating patterns in psychology tutorial classrooms were observed. The research hypothesised that the tutorial classroom as a formal academic space would be less segregated than the largely informal social spaces observed in previous research of this kind. The reason being that the psychology tutorial classroom is a fairly intimate setting in which race is a frequent topic of discussion. Hence, within this specific setting, it is expected that students are more aware of displaying favourable racial attitudes, which in turn is expected to influence the extent to which they choose seats on the basis of race.

An initial descriptive analysis appeared to support this argument. Using Campbell et al.'s (1966) aggregation index (I) it was found that, on average, classroom seating patterns reflected less racial clustering amongst students in tutorial classrooms. Racial clustering refers to the tendency to choose seats adjacent to same-race peers, suggesting that race influenced classroom seating patterns. Positive values of I for all three levels of analyses (i.e. analyses using black, white, and coloured students as comparison groups, respectively) were obtained. According to Campbell et al (1966), values of I greater than zero are indicative of interracial mixing rather than of segregation amongst students. However, further analysis depicted significant racial segregation in psychology tutorial classrooms.

The spatial indices of segregation, D and xPy^* , used in the analysis revealed that student seating arrangements in classrooms were significantly determined by racial group membership. The results for the dissimilarity index (D) reflected an uneven spread of black, white, and coloured students across tables in tutorial classrooms. On average, 80% of black, 71% of white, and 81% of coloured students would need to change seating positions in order to achieve an even distribution of students within the classroom. Likewise, results for the exposure index (xPy^*) indicated that the likelihood of students from different race groups occupying a single table was significantly low. Mean exposure indices of 0.28, 0.15, and 0.38 were obtained for black, white, and coloured students, respectively. This finding suggests that the probability of interracial contact occurring in psychology tutorial classrooms is significantly reduced.

Similarly high levels of segregation were observed in the dining halls of a university in Cape Town (Schrieff, 2004; Schrieff et al, 2005), as well as amongst black and white beach-goers at a coastal resort in KwaZulu-Natal (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). Although slightly lower levels of exposure and uneven distribution were recorded for Asian and white students in a university cafeteria in England (Clack et al., 2005), it is likely that this discrepancy is due to differences regarding the historical nature of intergroup relations amongst racial or ethnic groups in South Africa and England. To this extent, the research findings fail to support the hypothesis that tutorial classrooms as a formal academic space are less segregated than informal social or leisure spaces.

Further comparative analysis in the present study also revealed significant differences between black, white, and coloured students regarding their experiences of racial segregation in tutorial classrooms. Significantly higher mean D indices were

observed for black and coloured students than for white students. However, no differences were found between black and coloured students in this regard. Furthermore, bearing in mind that values of D approximating one are indicative of complete segregation, relatively higher mean D indices for individual tutorial groups were obtained for black and coloured students as respective comparison groups, than when white students were used as the comparison group. Specifically, mean D indices of .70 and higher were obtained for all but one tutorial group when black and coloured students were used as the comparison groups. In contrast, equivalent values of D were observed in just over half of tutorial classrooms using white students as the comparison group. These findings suggest that black and coloured students experience greater segregation in terms of uneven distribution than their white peers.

However, a seemingly paradoxical picture is depicted when mean exposure indices for the three groups are compared. Yet again, significant differences were observed for mean exposure indices between black and white students, and between coloured and white students, but not between black and coloured students. This time however, black and coloured students experienced significantly higher levels of exposure to racial others in the classroom, than their fellow white students. What this means is that the potential for experiencing interracial contact in psychology tutorial classrooms is greater for black and coloured students. This situation seems improbable, considering the high levels of uneven distribution observed for black and coloured students within the psychology tutorial classroom. The most likely explanation lies within the very attributes of the exposure index as a measure of spatial variation.

In their classic article on the dimensions of spatial variation, Massey and Denton (1988) emphasise the fact that the exposure index is strongly influenced by

the relative proportion of minority and majority groups within a given space. Thus, when minority members constitute a small proportion of the observed population, they tend to experience high levels of exposure regardless of the patterns of evenness within a particular space. In the present study, the average number of black and coloured students in a tutorial classroom was 3 and 2 respectively, compared to an average of 10 white students observed per tutorial classroom. Similar differences with regard to the potential for interracial contact were observed amongst black and white students in a school cafeteria (McCauley et al, 2001). Evidently, black and Asian students constituted less than 10% of the 400 students observed in the cafeteria.

Combined, the results from these spatial indices strongly depict patterns of racial segregation in psychology tutorial classrooms. In its spatial form, racial segregation manifests in the classroom seating arrangements of black, white, and coloured students. Moreover, the informal nature of segregation in classrooms suggests that students may choose to uphold racial boundaries even when segregation is no longer enforced. The way in which space is racially organised within the classroom highlights the integral role that spatial divisions play in regulating intergroup contact experiences amongst black, white, and coloured students. Overall, the findings suggest that space is used as a key mechanism for maintaining racial boundaries and distance between groups, and provides support for previous research on informal segregation in relation to spatial organisation (Clack et al, 2005; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Schrieff et al 2005; Tredoux et al, 2005).

While indices of dissimilarity and exposure convey information about the spatial dimensions of segregation, they do not depict the specific spatial patterns that racial segregation may assume within a given setting. The classroom “maps” therefore provide a valuable tool for visually representing racially segregated seating patterns.

Figure 9 in Appendix C depicts seating arrangements in psychology tutorial classrooms and clearly illustrates the spatial dimension of racial segregation. Typically, same-race students tend to occupy seats in close proximity to one another, forming contiguous rows and dividing the classroom into racially demarcated spaces.

Yet, an analysis of segregation and contact in psychology tutorial classrooms cannot be complete without considering the subjective experiences of students attending those tutorials. The student discussions revealed some striking dissimilarities between black, white, and coloured students' experiences of contact in the classroom. For many, the tutorial classroom was one of the most common sites for engaging in interracial contact. However, further analysis revealed that cross-racial interaction in the classroom was limited. Students evidently presumed that the mere presence of different race groups within a given setting would automatically mean that members of those groups were indeed interacting – a classic mistake that pervades early contact research.

Black and coloured students depicted interracial contact as “chance encounters” or as arising from obligatory interaction in class. Interracial contact within the classroom setting was described by some as more enjoyable than in other settings, and at the very least were described as a neutral experience. In contrast, white students were not forthcoming about their experiences of classroom contact. A reason for their lack of engagement could simply be that at the time they had no particular experiences to relate, or alternatively, that race does not have a significant impact on their experiences in tutorial classrooms. A similar trend was observed amongst white medical students at a university in Cape Town (indeed the same university in which the present study was conducted) (Erasmus & de Wet, 2003). The authors noted that white interviewees had less to say about race because “the bulk of

white students show comparatively less awareness of ‘race’” (p. 5). In fact, the majority of students agreed that black and white students worked well together. While the latter explanation is equally plausible in the present study, the scope of the research does not permit any conclusive remarks in this regard.

Nonetheless, two white students in the present study who did talk about their experiences in the classroom detailed extremely negative and hostile accounts of their encounters with black and coloured classmates. For these students, interracial contact became problematic in a setting where race was frequently a topic of discussion, which served to heighten their awareness of racial differences within the classroom. If one compares this to classes at a medical school where race is presumably not one of the key course concepts, it makes sense that white medical students would describe more pleasant interracial encounters in class than their social science counterparts.

Indeed, white students in the present study seemed to prefer interracial contact when it occurred outside of the classroom, for example in a social setting, where they were seemingly less aware of racial tensions. According to the literature, whites heightened awareness of the intergroup situation is caused by their anxiety associated with concerns of not appearing prejudiced (Hyers & Swim, 1998). Stephan and Stephan (1992) noted similar findings when observing contact between Caucasian-American students and Moroccans. Their research suggests that contact in threatening contexts induces greater levels of anxiety and discomfort than contact that occurs in non-threatening settings. It is likely that the psychology classroom is perceived as a threatening setting by white students, hence their preference for interracial contact in more social settings. Of course, whether this preference was associated with actual interracial interaction beyond the classroom remains unanswerable. As one white male participant described contact in a classroom versus contact in a social context

(emphasis added in italics): “I mean like, most of my subjects somewhere along the line have touched on the race issue, English especially this semester, so I mean that’s very topical and like that idea does come up a lot. But its not because, in a social group, didn’t you say is it intermixed, you saying that people around you not *in* your group of friends? Well because, in *my* group [of friends], its like, White people. Yah, and *there’ll be Coloureds and everything around you but because its your little world, it doesn’t happen but in a classroom situation [its different] everyone’s mixed. You can’t make your own little worlds.* So I think yah in a classroom you much more aware of it.”

This comment is particularly striking because the notion of creating “your own little world” speaks directly to the kind of enclosed and seemingly racialised spaces that students create. Hence, in order to understand and explore the formation and role of racially homogenous spaces, student discussions regarding their perceptions of spatial segregation on campus yielded interesting results. Two key themes, offering seemingly opposing explanations for the persistence of racially homogenous spaces, were identified. However, it is argued that both accounts reveal underlying processes of socio-spatial relations, which effectively serve to separate “us” from “them”. In the first theme, students described an attachment to space that provided them with a sense of security, belonging, and comfort. Within this space, they had the freedom to be themselves, and felt accepted and supported by those with whom the space was shared. The fact that the space was occupied predominantly by same-race peers was explained by the idea of a collective identity operating within that space. Thus, although mutual interests and shared identities admittedly coincided with racial category membership, the formation of racially homogenous spaces was not intended to fabricate de facto racial segregation.

The second theme highlights the role of certain exclusionary practices used to maintain the racial boundaries of space. The mere fact that a space was perceived as

racially homogenous frequently prevented other (outgroup) students from occupying, visiting, or even passing by that space. As a result, students are denied access to certain spaces by virtue of their racial membership. In addition, attempts to access spaces designated to a specific group are often met with negative reactions from those who usually expect to occupy those spaces. Negative reactions to student intrusions into demarcated spaces included: (i) withdrawal from a space that, by virtue of the intrusion, has become heterogeneous, (ii) reclaiming a space that has been infiltrated by an “other” in order to redefine the space as a homogenous one, and (iii) the evacuation of “others” from a given space. Although these reactions indicate overt acts of exclusion, it is inconclusive whether these behaviours served to explicitly exclude others on the basis of race.

Regardless of the intentions of these behaviours, the resultant spatial arrangements that arise through processes of belonging and exclusion strongly reflect patterns of *racial* segregation. Yet, students in the present study described spatial segregation on campus as inadvertently racial. Instead, segregated socio-spatial relations were typically explained as arising spontaneously, occurring beyond the students’ knowledge and immediate levels of awareness. However, when asked how ‘spontaneous segregation’ actually occurred, students frequently alluded to the unspoken rules that governed the use of space. The notion of unspoken rules in relation to segregation is also cited elsewhere in the literature (e.g. Woods, 2001). These rules serve as a sort of spatial guide providing information on spaces that were accessible, and spaces that were not. More than that, the rules of space convey implicit messages of one’s rightful place within a given setting.

Although they could not explain how these rules were established or how they were implemented, students nevertheless expressed a rigid adherence to the rules of

space. Knowing which social spaces to go to on campus, or which table to have a meal at in residence dining halls, plays an important part of knowing where you belonged in the overall structure of the university setting. This kind of knowledge is imparted implicitly, and is described by students as “just knowing” where their rightful places are. It is therefore argued that, at the university campus, racially homogenous spaces are an integral feature of the implicit system governing student relations in space. Such spaces act as a type of marker for students, who upon observing the racial composition of a given space decide whether or not the space is accessible, and whether they belonged in it or not. Schrieff (2004) observes a similar trend for students dining in a university catering facility. She found that the majority of students chose to have their very first meal at tables that were predominantly occupied by students of the same race group, even though they were not acquainted with any of these students. To this extent, informal segregation amongst students produces a specific spatial arrangement of groups within a given space, and in turn, the resultant spatial arrangement reproduces boundaries that serve to further maintain processes of informal segregation.

The arguments therefore put forward in this study suggest that patterns of informal segregation arise, not spontaneously, but rather through the role of spatial arrangements in regulating intergroup relations and shaping opportunities for contact within a given context. This point is concurred in the literature by Clack et al (2005, p. 14, original emphasis in italics) who explain patterns of informal segregation in a university cafeteria as requiring “acknowledgement of the *sui generis* role of intergroup perceptions and practices in shaping the organization of social space.”

Overall, the research findings have important implications for understanding the processes of contact and segregation within a specific space. The first is that racial

segregation may be as likely to manifest in a setting where the available space is limited than in settings that offer greater choice. The space on a beach, for example, is relatively vast and less structured compared to the typical classroom, which consists of a finite number of tables and chairs. Tredoux et al (2005) contend that an integrated pattern of seating is not surprising in a space in which individuals are obliged to occupy whatever seat is available to them, regardless of whether they would prefer greater intergroup distance. Yet, in a classroom setting where students are more likely to encounter situations of limited seating choice, patterns of racial segregation prevail.

A second factor to consider is that social or leisure spaces are more likely to be (visited) by groups of friends or family members rather than individuals (see Schrieff, 2004). Although it is probable that students attend tutorial classes with their friends, the striking patterns of uneven distribution and racial clustering observed in tutorial classrooms are not sufficiently explained by friendship patterns. Thus, the role of friendship patterns in organising seating arrangements in tutorial classrooms is questionable. At this point, it should be noted that friendship patterns in tutorial classrooms were not specifically addressed in the present study. However, informal conversations with various psychology tutorial facilitators, who also served as observers for the present study, support this argument. Nonetheless, friendship patterns may very well shape intergroup contact opportunities beyond the classroom setting.

The analysis of interracial contact in tutorial classrooms speaks directly to the importance of the qualitative dimensions of contact (for example, Islam & Hewstone, 1993; see relevant section in chapter 2). Notably, interracial contact – regardless of how regularly or frequently it occurs – is rendered ineffectual where intergroup encounters are neither positive, nor meaningful. The psychology tutorial classroom

situation provides a case in point. Although students meet on a regular basis and remain within the same group for most of the years, the possibility for cross-racial interaction in the classroom appears limited.

Evidently, the spatial organisation of students within the classroom, as well as in other learning and social spaces on campus, plays a significant role in regulating interracial contact and effectively reduces the likelihood of interaction across racial boundaries. Thus, interventions aimed at improving interracial contact are encouraged to take explicit account of the spatial dimensions of contact and should strive to eliminate potential spatial barriers to contact within a given setting. Needless to say, this is easier said than done, particularly in social or leisure spaces where manipulating spatial boundaries may prove especially challenging. The classroom, on the other hand, may provide the ideal setting for disrupting segregated spatial arrangements and hopefully, augmenting interracial contact.

4.2 STUDY 2

In the past, research on intergroup contact has typically focused on understanding relations between a single disadvantaged group, and a single advantaged group. In reality, it is more common to encounter a number of disadvantaged groups as opposed to just one (Rothgerber & Worchel, 1997). Hence, in a society where multiple groups exist, it is important to understand the idiosyncratic relations between the majority group and each individual minority group. Yet, equally important is the need to understand the way in which minority groups relate to each other (Hamilton & Mackie, 1993).

Study 2 therefore aimed to investigate interracial contact between two historically disadvantaged groups, and a single advantaged group. Thus, contact

between white students as the previously advantaged group, and black and coloured students as previously disadvantaged groups, was explored. The study anticipated interracial contact to vary by race group membership on three levels: (i) black and coloured students (as previously disadvantaged groups) would report different contact experiences with white previously advantaged students; (ii) white students would report differences for contact with black students compared to contact with coloured students; and (iii) black and coloured students would report differences in contact experiences with each other as outgroups. The research findings support the first and last hypotheses, but negate the second hypothesis.

Regarding differences between previously disadvantaged groups and contact with the advantaged group, black students demonstrated less favourable attitudes than coloured students towards contact with white students. These differences were reflected on two dimensions of contact. Specifically, black students felt more anxious than coloured students about interactions with white students. Black students also evaluated contact with white students less positively than fellow coloured students. However, both groups expressed similar high levels of social distance from white students, suggesting that black and coloured students engaged in less intimate forms of contact with whites.

An unexpected finding indicated that black students experienced slightly more contact than coloured students with white outgroup members who did not attend the university. Questionnaire items pertaining to contact with non-students focused on contact in the neighbourhood, at each other's homes, and at religious and social events. This could suggest that black students are exposed to white people beyond the university setting slightly more than coloured students. For example, black students could live in suburbs that are more racially mixed than the suburbs in which coloured

students live. However, the present study does not warrant any conclusions in this regard.

Turning now to contact between the disadvantaged groups, black and coloured students reported different contact experiences with members of each other's race groups. Again, these differences were reflected in the two contact dimensions of intergroup anxiety and quality of contact. As for contact with the white outgroup, black students were less positive about contact with coloureds than coloured students were regarding contact with blacks. Black students were also more anxious about contact with coloured outgroup members.

A final hypothesis of the present research was that white students would report differences in white-black contact and white-coloured contact experiences. The results however depict an entirely different picture. No differences were found between white students contact with blacks compared to their contact coloureds, except for the quality of contact on which white students rated contact with the black outgroup more positively than contact with the coloured outgroup. On the whole, white students reported low levels of contact, high intergroup anxiety, and preferred contact of a less intimate nature, for both coloured and black outgroups. This suggests that white students made no distinctions between contact with blacks and contact with coloureds.

Overall, black students were less favourable than coloured students about contact with the white outgroup; contact between the disadvantaged groups was less positive for black students than for coloured students; and finally, white students perceived very little difference in contact with black and coloured outgroups. The differential relations between disadvantaged and advantaged groups, as well as between the two disadvantaged groups observed in this study seems like a striking reflection of historical race relations in South Africa. During Apartheid, whites were

deemed the dominant group, and blacks and coloureds the inferior groups, with blacks being afforded lower social status than coloured people. Thus, although democracy has replaced Apartheid as an ideological practice in this country for the past 10 years, the effects of long-standing oppression appear to persist, even amongst higher education students in a liberal university.

Based on these findings, the research argues that prior intergroup relations, as well as prior social status differences of groups continue to pervade contemporary relations, and effectively subvert interracial contact experiences. The contact hypothesis, as outlined by Allport (1954), emphasises the importance of equal status relationships between groups within the contact setting. What this suggests is that, for interracial contact to be perceived as positive and successful, members of two race groups should meet on an equal footing during contact. However, regardless of whether equal-status contact is achieved within the contact situation, the potentially positive effects of contact are undermined when groups have differential status in broader society.

In fact, research has shown that the societal status of groups can be transferred into the contact situation, meaning that any attempt to equalise group status during contact could be subverted by prevailing status differences in the broader societal context. An example of note is a study in which relations between two minority groups and a majority group in the United States were examined (Stephan & Stephen, 1989). As a numerical minority, Hispanics perceived their group to have a lower status relative to the perceived group status of Caucasian-Americans. In contrast, Asian-Americans, who were in fact a numerical majority in Hawaii, perceived their group as superior in status relative to Caucasian-Americans. As a group, they also have a history of negative relations with Caucasian-Americans. The research

concluded that, due to status conflicts and prior negative relations, Asian-Americans experienced more anxiety and lower levels of contact with Caucasians than Hispanics.

The minority-majority relations between Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Caucasians can be compared to the relations observed in the present study between black, white, and coloured students. Like the Hispanics, the coloured group constitutes a numerical minority in South Africa. Historically, their perceived group status was superior to that of blacks, but inferior to that of whites. Black South Africans are currently experiencing a change in group status. Yet, prior social status levels placed them below white and coloured groups in South Africa.

Prior status relations of racial groups in South Africa, combined with changing relations in the present, could therefore explain why black, white and coloured students experienced varied levels intergroup anxiety. Coloured students reported greater intergroup anxiety toward white outgroup members, but were as comfortable about interacting with blacks as they were with same-race peers. Likewise, black students in the present study demonstrated greater levels of anxiety than coloured students regarding contact with white outgroup members, but were just as anxious about contact with white outgroup members as they were about contact with the coloured outgroup. Indeed, black respondents demonstrated the highest levels of intergroup anxiety in the sample. Coloured students, on the other hand, reported the lowest levels of intergroup anxiety. Research suggests that, being in the numerical minority implies greater opportunities for contact, which in turn could contribute to enhanced coping skills in an intergroup situation (Stephan & Stephan, 1992). In contrast, white students as the previously advantaged group perceived the two 'minority' groups as relatively homogenous, and therefore reported no differences in intergroup anxiety levels for contact with black and coloured groups. The present

research would therefore have benefited from an investigation of black, white, and coloured students' perceived group status in contemporary society relative to prior group status.

Of course, intergroup anxiety is determined by several factors other than status relations, including prejudiced attitudes and previous exposure to interracial contact (see chapter 1 for an outline of Stephan & Stephan's (1985) model of intergroup anxiety). Although prejudiced attitudes were not addressed in the present study, amount and quality of interracial contact, as well as attitudes toward interracial contact were. The research findings for the amount of interracial contact that students engaged in were indeed striking and showed an overwhelming preference for same-race contact. All groups demonstrated minimal levels of interracial contact relative to levels of same-race contact. Moreover, no differentiation between outgroups were made, meaning that students reportedly experienced low levels of contact with all race groups except their own. Thus, in the present study, exposure to interracial contact fails to adequately explain the significant race group differences observed for intergroup anxiety. Previous research has, however, demonstrated the strong relationship between low levels of contact and high intergroup anxiety (Blair et al, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1989; 1992).

In order then to determine factors that predicted attitudes toward interracial contact, the research tested a model of contact using the amount of contact, quality of contact and intergroup anxiety as predictors of contact attitudes. Furthermore, the model proposed that intergroup anxiety would mediate the relationship between amount and quality of contact, and attitudes toward contact. While the results failed to support the mediating relationship of intergroup anxiety so prominently featured in the contact literature (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci &

Hewstone, 2003), it does however underscore the roles of intergroup anxiety and quality of contact as key predictors of attitude toward contact (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Plant & Devine, 2003). The lack of significance for the amount of contact once quality of contact was entered into the model suggests that for black and white students in this study, quality of contact was a more important predictor of attitudes toward contact. Similar findings highlighting the importance of the *type* of contact experiences as opposed to amount of contact per se were demonstrated in previous research on intergroup anxiety and contact (Stephan & Stephan, 1992).

The divergent group relations discussed thus far are further espoused by the differences between black, white, and coloured students' subjective experiences of segregation and contact in the university setting. In general, groups agreed that students at the university were segregated, and they displayed substantial knowledge of segregated spaces on campus including university residences, lecture theatres, the library, and segregated social spaces. For example, it was general knowledge that on Jameson Steps (a central and popular social space on campus), black students occupied the top section, white students occupied the middle, and coloured and Indian students the lower section (Underwood, 2002). Despite this seemingly universal experience of segregation on campus, groups offered different accounts and views of segregation and contact on campus.

One striking finding was that black students were the only ones who recounted their experiences of racial discrimination on campus, either by university staff or other students. Acts of discrimination on behalf of university staff and administrative division were typically covert in nature, for example, lecturers ignoring black students who wished to ask questions during class, or the majority of black students being allocated to residences that are poorly resourced in comparison to predominantly

white residences that have better resources. The finding provides further support for previous research in which students alluded to the responsibility of the institution in perpetuating racial segregation on campus (Durrheim et al, 2004). On the other hand, discrimination on behalf of students were slightly more subtle in nature, such as receiving hostile glares or irritated reactions from white students when approaching them. The relatively higher levels of racial prejudice that black students in this study appear to encounter lends support to previous findings for the experiences of African-American university students on a predominantly white university campus (Fisher & Hartmann, 1995; Sydell & Nelson, 2000; Swim et al, 2003), as well as for black students at the health sciences campus of the same university observed in the present study (Erasmus & de Wet, 2003). The concept of 'everyday racism' is used to explain the frequency of black students' experiences of racial discrimination and prejudice on campus. Beagan (2003) describes everyday racism as the common, minor, daily experiences of racial prejudice that are often forgotten or overlooked. These acts of discrimination are generally not acute or extreme events. Instead, they form part of everyday life and result in an accumulated experience of racial prejudice over time. As a result of everyday experiences of racial prejudice, race is much more salient in the lives of black students than it is for their coloured and white peers.

White and coloured students were either less aware of 'race', or race did not have a significant impact on their daily lives at university. The seemingly less important role of race in the university experience of white and coloured students is markedly reflected in their views of segregation. For these groups of students, the divisions that separated students from different faculties at the university were of greater importance than racial divisions per se. Class differences and perceived status differences between students from different faculties were endorsed instead. In

addition, the majority of white students and a few coloured students adopted the colour-blind attitude toward student relations on campus, suggesting that they either “don’t notice race” or that “race is not an issue” for them. Based on these findings, the research lends credence to the prevailing literature regarding the saliency of race for blacks as a social group (Feagin, 1991; Sydell & Nelson, 2000).

In addition to their accumulated experiences of racial prejudice, Tatum (1997) contends that race is more salient for black students because they reflect more actively on their identity, particularly those aspects related to racial identity. This is due, in part, to their awareness of their devalued status in society, as well as an awareness of the potential effects of prejudice on their daily life. Remarkably, black students’ anxieties about interracial contact in the present study were centred on two dominant factors – the perception of inferior group status, and compromising their identity as a black person. With regard to the former, black students described a sense of inferiority to white people in particular. They frequently alluded to the need for a privileged background and high socio-economic status in order to be accepted by their peers. Social markers that denoted a higher status included wearing fashionable clothes and speaking with a “proper” accent. Thus, socio-economically disadvantaged students, of which the majority are black, feel marginalized by the socio-economically privileged, who are invariably white students.

Black students were also highly concerned about the potential effects of interracial contact on their identity as a black person. Many students expressed the fear that interacting too much with other groups would cause them to “lose themselves”. The “lost self” was conceived as an individual who has lost touch with his/her black cultural roots while simultaneously adopting cultural values associated with white people. Although notions of white and black values were not explored,

some students touched upon the idea that whites were more liberal in their attitudes and behaviours than black people. Such behaviours were considered inappropriate for black persons. Interacting with white students could also potentially compromise existing friendships within the black group. Rejection by black peers for “wanting to be white” or for failing to meet the criteria of “authentic black” (for example, previously attending a private school and speaking with a ‘white’ accent) was a common threat. Therefore, black students who attempted to interact with white students typically faced isolation and derogation from their black peers.

White and coloured students also expressed their fears about interracial contact, and their unique anxieties are closely related to their perceived positions in contemporary society. White students were particularly concerned about hostile and aggressive reactions from black students, should they attempt to interact with their black peers. The changing position of whites in this country, due to their loss of power and privileged status, means that they will have to find new ways of dealing with black people. As a result of negative stereotypes of blacks, white students experience high levels of intergroup anxiety toward contact with blacks. Plant and Devine (2003) explain that, as the traditional perpetrators of prejudice, whites are highly concerned about appearing non-prejudiced and giving a positive impression. However, without a guide for self-presentation, they are uncertain about which behaviours are acceptable, and those that are not; hence the fear of offending the outgroup and being rejected, or worse assaulted, in the process. In contrast, coloured students were concerned about contact within group-based settings and being outnumbered by members of the outgroup. Considering the fact that they are a numerical minority, both at the university and within South Africa, it is logical that they would fear discrimination in situations where they are outnumbered. According

to Stephen and Stephan's (1985) model of intergroup anxiety, "Anxiety [of ingroup members] will be higher in situations in which the rate of outgroup to ingroup members is high than where the ratio is low". The findings support previous research on the relationship between intergroup anxiety and numerical minority status (Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

Despite substantial group differences, there were also commonalities in the way in which students perceived interracial contact. An overwhelming majority described contact as superficial, infrequent, and constricted to the university campus. Relations between students from different race groups were more likely to be that of acquaintances rather than bosom buddies. As a result, students questioned the value of more meaningful and enduring interracial encounters. Their sentiments were echoed in their explanations for the persistence of racial segregation at the university. Generally, students explained segregation as a natural outcome of commonalities and differences between groups, and not as a result of racial grouping. The need for security and comfort was highlighted as key determinants for seeking out those who are perceived as being similar. Of course, perceived similarities include race membership, yet most students denied that race played an explicit role in the matter. Still others justified racial segregation on the basis of prior race relations, suggesting that it was "normal" for groups to separate themselves. In accordance with the literature, Buttny (1999) reported similar findings for American students who justified segregation through norms of cultural differences, comfortability, and lack of a common bond. Likewise, the process of transformation and integration was perceived as a natural, evolving process not to be forced lest it provoke even more hostility and tension between groups. The overwhelming ambivalence of students regarding the future of interracial relations at the university, and indeed throughout South Africa, is

captured by the contrasting notions of a society in which segregation and integration are both perceived as inevitable and eventual outcomes.

4.3 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Informal segregation amongst students at UCT is alive and well, despite the abundance of opportunities for intergroup contact provided by the multi-cultural setting of the university. Patterns of segregation in formal learning spaces such as tutorial classrooms are comparable to the kind of segregation observed in informal social or leisure spaces such as beaches (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003) and residence dining halls (Schrieff, 2004; Schrieff et al, 2005). The spatial arrangement of students in psychology tutorial classrooms was organised in such a way that groups of same-race students clustered together to form racially homogenous areas within the classroom. One would suspect that the valence of race combined with limited seating in these classrooms would contribute to more mixed or random seating patterns than those observed in this study. Yet, these factors exerted little influence on the spatial manifestation of segregation. Indeed, the majority of classrooms were significantly segregated with regard to race group membership. The findings therefore underscore the resilience of segregation across a variety of settings.

Evidently, classroom segregation cannot be divorced from prevailing intergroup relations in the broader context of the university. Students reported strikingly low levels of interracial contact, and very little distinction was made between the amount and quality of contact they experienced with members of different race groups. Similar trends were observed in student attitudes toward interracial contact, with the majority of students preferring less intimate forms of contact with outgroup members. Positive contact experiences and low intergroup

anxiety were both associated with favourable attitudes toward contact.

However, the perceived quality of contact and intergroup anxiety differed significantly by race group, depending on the race of the outgroup with whom contact occurred. Group differences highlighted patterns of intergroup relations that were remarkably reminiscent of the hierarchical racial system adopted by the old Apartheid regime, in which whites were afforded the uppermost levels and black people the lowest positions. The research argues that group size and group status continue to shape contact experiences and intergroup relations at the university.

By and large, students were aware of pervasive segregation and displayed a textured understanding of the university's divided landscape. Despite these insights, the majority of students consistently reported that group divisions in space were unrelated to racial boundaries between groups, and were not aimed at excluding racial others. Moreover, the persistence of spatial enclaves is informed by tacit knowledge of existing spatial arrangements within various settings on the university campus. Nevertheless, segregation emerges as a product of such divisions in space although it does not necessarily indicate prejudice or deliberate racial separation on behalf of students. Instead, spatial segregation informs common perceptions of intergroup relations amongst students and influences contact opportunities at the university.

As a result of the multiple methods employed, this research was able to provide empirical evidence for the prevalence of segregation amongst students, as well as gain deeper insight into the experience of segregation on campus. Furthermore, it was able to demonstrate the central role of socio-spatial relations organising intergroup contact encounters between black, white, and coloured students. Nonetheless, a few research caveats are in order.

4.4.1 Research Limitations

Inter-rater reliability was a key issue in the observational element of this research. Because tutorial facilitators were used to observe and record seating patterns in their respective tutorial classrooms, discrepancies between the observers were likely to occur. As a result, the degree of segregation amongst students could have been over- or underestimated in this study. However, as a preventative measure, tutorial facilitators were instructed to note directly on the observation sheet when they were uncertain of a student's racial membership. These students were then excluded from the analysis.

In addition, not all tutorial facilitators collected an equal number of observations. There were eight psychology tutorials throughout the year, which meant there were potentially eight observation periods per tutorial class. The number of seating observations recorded for each classroom ranged between two and eight. However, on average, classrooms were observed for just over half of the eight potential observation periods (see Table 8 in Appendix C).

The naturalistic observational element of this research would have benefited immensely from a temporal analysis of seating arrangements in classrooms. Observing the evolution of seating patterns offers insight into dynamics of the space, that is whether students arrive in groups, pairs, or on their own, and how this influences seating choice, as well as the order in which students enter the classroom. Such an analysis would provide a nuanced understanding of spatial arrangements in classrooms. Likewise, a longitudinal study would also be beneficial in this regard.

Another key concern in this study is the small data set used to analyse differences in contact between black, white, and coloured students. A total of 75 questionnaires were collected, however, between 65 and 68 valid questionnaires were

included, depending on the specific analysis. In addition to the Indian students omitted from the analysis ($N = 6$), a number of questionnaires were excluded due to incomplete items on the scale. Specifically, a few respondents answered items relating to contact with other race groups, but failed to complete items regarding contact with their own race groups. This brings us to the problem of unequal sample sizes for black, white, and coloured students, which may affect the way in which overall group differences, that is differences in row and column means, are interpreted. Howell (1997) suggests calculating row and column means in factorial analyses of variance by ignoring differing cell sizes. In the present study, however, row and column means were not of significant interest as they said very little about contact with specific race groups. Moreover, since cell sizes were approximately equal for each race group of respondents, no additional corrections to the data were made. Nevertheless, using harmonic means for each cell would have eliminated the problem of unequal sample size (Howell, 1997).

With regard to the focus group discussions, a major limitation is that black facilitators were not used in the discussions with black students. Instead, a coloured facilitator (the researcher) was used. This may have influenced their responses, although throughout the discussions students were constantly encouraged to express themselves honestly and openly. In addition, one coloured student participated in a discussion group for white students. This participant decided to stay in the group although prior to the discussion she was asked whether she would not feel more comfortable in a group for coloured students.

At this point, a number of recommendations for future contact research are warranted. As a result of this study, four major research recommendations have been identified and are outlined in the following section.

1. Investigate processes that maintain or perpetuate informal segregation

Intergroup contact encounters in real life rarely occur in the ideal conditions outlined by Allport (1954). Even in desegregated contexts, opportunities for contact may be thwarted by informal processes that reproduce group boundaries. Indeed, such segregation may have more nuanced underlying processes that may not necessarily be related to prejudice per se. It is therefore critical that we unpack such processes in order to inform interventions to enhance intergroup contact.

2. Acknowledge space as mechanism for informal segregation

Contact researchers should remain cognizant of the accessibility of space as a means of reinstating group boundaries in everyday intergroup encounters. By breaking down spatial barriers, we can create not only more, but also better-quality opportunities for intergroup contact. In this way, we are able to prevent groups from segregating informally, at least to a certain degree. Needless to say, this approach is extremely difficult to implement, especially in public spaces, and therefore requires much more research with regard to feasible methods of intervention.

3. Perceive minority groups as heterogeneous

It is extremely important that contact researchers recognize the differences between minority groups across different contexts, as well as the differences between minority groups that exist in the same society. Previous research has shown that not all minority groups have similar contact experiences or attitudes toward contact with the dominant group. Nor do individual minority groups have similar attitudes toward

contact with each other. In reality, it is common for individual minority groups to have varying relationships with the dominant group, as well as with each other as outgroups. It is important to understand these varying relationships for minority groups, in relation to each other, as they are likely to influence intergroup relations either negatively or positively. For example, one might expect that positive relations between one minority group and the dominant group may in turn affect the way in which other minority groups perceive both the dominant group and the minority group in question.

4. Contact is embedded within a broader context

Contact encounters cannot be divorced from broader intergroup relations that operate in the societal context. Both historical and contemporary intergroup relations should be taken into account when investigating contact between groups. Of particular importance is the societal status of groups, both historically and in present-day society. Furthermore, it is important to account for both the perceived status of own group (or ingroup), as well as the way in which group status is perceived by other groups. The significance of societal status for contact encounters is that such status relations can all too easily transfer into the immediate contact situation and may undermine the potential success of the contact experience.

4.4 CONCLUSION

The contact hypothesis, outlined by Gordon Allport (1954), stipulates that interactions between members of different groups will lead to a reduction in prejudiced attitudes provided that the interaction occurs under favourable conditions. In their quest for a winning formula, researchers have burdened the literature with a growing list of optimal conditions aimed at ensuring favourable outcomes of successful contact.

Yet, in the absence of official policies that enforce separation, segregation as an informal mechanism for eschewing intergroup encounters remains pervasive. A problem closely related to informal segregation is that of “illusory contact” (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Even within settings where opportunities for contact are enhanced, the appearance of integration often masks intergroup contact experiences that are typically infrequent and superficial in nature. Based on these oversights of early research on intergroup contact, Dixon and Durrheim (2003, p. 3, original emphasis in italics) conclude that “if they are to contribute meaningfully to social change, contact researchers must also explain the *persistence* of segregation and, *a fortiori*, the prevalence of superficial and infrequent contact experiences.”

The present research has attempted to address both aspects. A naturalistic observational study of contact in the ordinary setting of the classroom has demonstrated the resilience of segregation in a university setting where multiple groups exist side-by-side but manage to maintain intergroup boundaries. In-depth focus group discussions revealed that student interactions rarely transgressed racial boundaries. When intergroup contact did occur, it was commonly experienced as superficial and transient. Furthermore, intergroup contact was predominantly appraised as a futile attempt to transform an inevitable feature of social organisation.

The research has also highlighted the integral role of space in reinstating group boundaries that serve to perpetuate informal practices of segregation. By way of conclusion, it is argued that informal segregation is informed by an implicit system that governs intergroup contact and organises groups in space. Furthermore, the historical and contemporary social statuses of groups contribute to group differences in contact experiences.

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APPENDIX A

UCT PSY101 Enrolment Statistics
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Faculty	Sex	B	C	I	W	Other	Grand Total
Com	F	2 12%	0%	2 12%	13 76%	0%	17 2%
	M	0%	0%	0%	8 100%	0%	8 1%
Com Total		2		2	21		25
Com %		8%	0%	8%	84%	0%	3%
Hea	F	10 12%	13 15%	5 6%	56 65%	2 2%	86 12%
	M	1 20%	1 20%	1 20%	2 40%	0%	5 1%
Hea Total		11	14	6	58	2	91
Hea %		12%	15%	7%	64%	2%	13%
Hum	F	95 23%	68 17%	20 5%	227 55%	1 0%	411 57%
	M	24 21%	17 15%	6 5%	65 56%	4 3%	116 16%
Hum Total		119	85	26	292	5	527
Hum %		23%	16%	5%	55%	1%	74%
Law	F	6 55%	0%	0%	5 45%	0%	11 2%
	M	6 86%	0%	0%	1 14%	0%	7 1%
Law Total		12			6		18
Law %		67%	0%	0%	33%	0%	3%
Sci	F	4 11%	3 8%	2 5%	27 73%	1 3%	37 5%
	M	2 11%	1 6%	0%	15 83%	0%	18 3%
Sci Total		6	4	2	42	1	55
Sci %		11%	7%	4%	76%	2%	8%
Total Count of Students		150	103	36	419	8	716
Total % of Students		21%	14%	5%	59%	1%	100%

Table 7. Student enrollment statistics for a first-year psychology course (PSY101W) at UCT in 2004, disaggregated by faculty, race, and gender.

APPENDIX B

Research Materials

University of Cape Town

Appendix B1

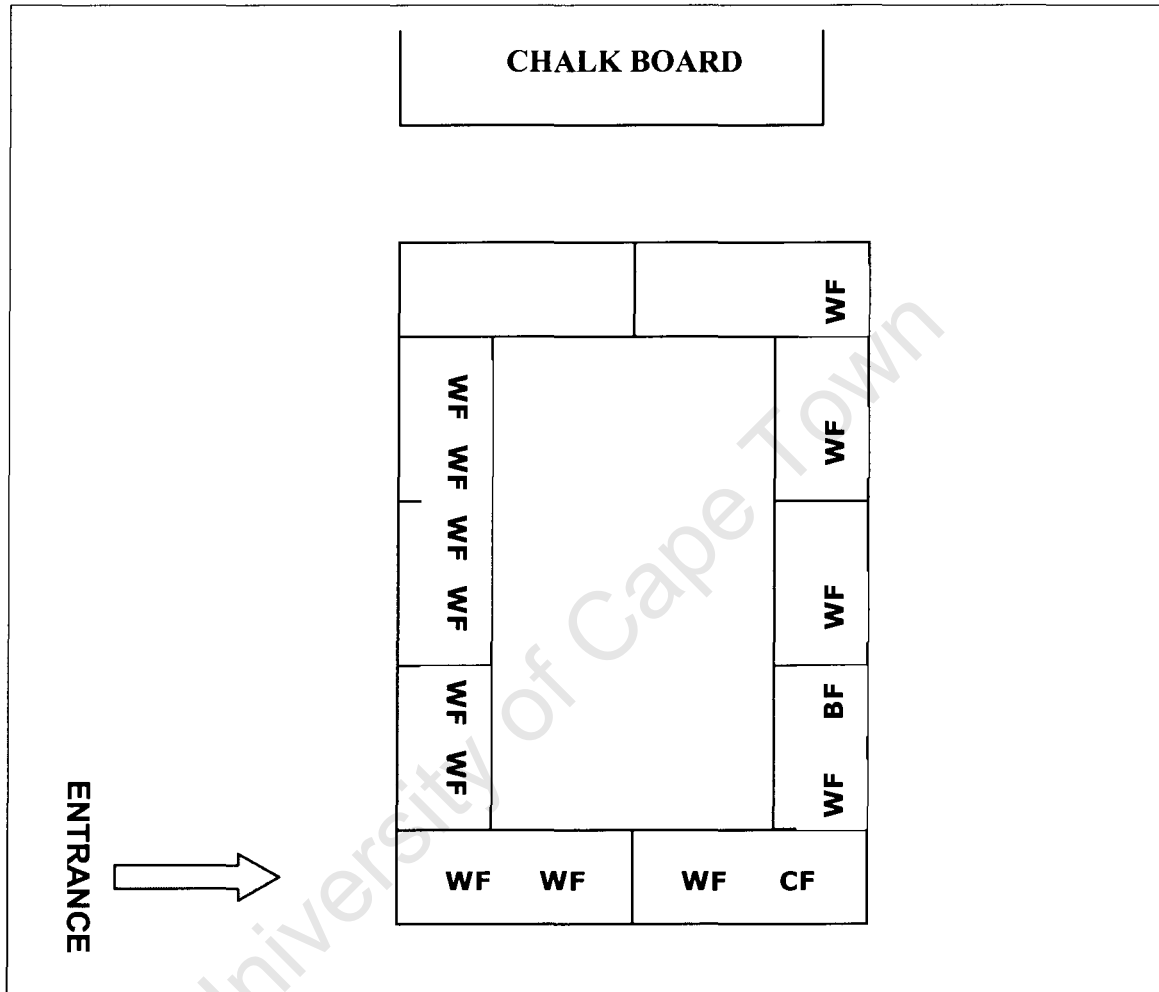
Fig. 7 OBSERVATION SHEET EXAMPLE

Venue: Arts 26

Group 23

No. of students: _____

Date: _____



Appendix B2

INFORMED CONSENT

FIRST YEAR PSYCHOLOGY STUDENT INTEGRATION AT UCT

To participating students:

I am a Masters student in Research Psychology at the University of Cape Town under the supervision of Dr Colin Tredoux. One of the requirements for the completion of my course is a full thesis in an area of interest. I have chosen to explore the integration of first year psychology students at UCT, and to examine how students integrate themselves both academically and socially into university life.

As a participant, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire on how well you get along with other students. All information provided in these questionnaires will be completely anonymous and will be kept confidential. When the results of this research are published, your answers will not be revealed individually. Instead, it will be pooled with responses from all other questionnaires, which means that your responses are kept anonymous. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are allowed to withdraw from the study at any time without explanation. Should you have any questions or problems, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor at the contact details given below.

I, _____ have read the above statement and agree to participate in this study under the conditions stated above.

Signature of researcher

Signature of participant

Date

Lameez Alexander (Researcher)
Email: alxlam001@mail.uct.ac.za
Cell: 0835710626

Dr. Colin Tredoux (Supervisor)
plato@humanities.uct.ac.za
(021) 650 3424

Appendix B3

QUESTIONNAIRE ON CONTACT

Dear students

Thank you for participating in this study. In this study, we wish to understand how much students interact and communicate with each other. Please take these questions seriously and respond as truthfully. Everything you write here will be kept CONFIDENTIAL. In any publication of the results, your answers will be combined with many others and will therefore not be identified.

Please answer all the questions.

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Degree _____ 2. Year _____

3. Age _____

4. Gender M / F

4. Race Group (mark with an X)

Black

Indian

White

Other (please specify) _____

Coloured

NATURE OF CONTACT

How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with **Black** students at university. Please indicate your choice by putting an **X** on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

Example: If you feel that Black students are "courteous" then put an **X** on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that Black students are "rude", put an **X** on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether Black students are "courteous" or "rude", then put an **X** on number 3.

Black students

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
STRAINED	1	2	3	4	5	RELAXED
DESTRUCTIVE	1	2	3	4	5	CONSTRUCTIVE

How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with **Coloured** students at university. Please indicate your choice by putting an **X** on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

Example: If you feel that Coloured students are "courteous" then put an **X** on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that Coloured students are "rude", put an **X** on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether Coloured students are "courteous" or "rude", then put an **X** on number 3.

Coloured students

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
STRAINED	1	2	3	4	5	RELAXED
DESTRUCTIVE	1	2	3	4	5	CONSTRUCTIVE

How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with **White** students at university. Please indicate your choice by putting an **X** on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

Example: If you feel that White students are “courteous” then put an **X** on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that White students are “rude”, put an **X** on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether White students are “courteous” or “rude”, then put an **X** on number 3.

White students

COURTEOUS	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	RUDE
1	2	3	4	5			
PLEASANT	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	UNPLEASANT
1	2	3	4	5			
MEANINGLESS	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	MEANINGFUL
1	2	3	4	5			
SPONTANEOUS	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	FORCED
1	2	3	4	5			
STRAINED	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	RELAXED
1	2	3	4	5			
DESTRUCTIVE	<table border="1" style="display: inline-table; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center; width: 100px;"> <tr> <td style="width: 20px;">1</td> <td style="width: 20px;">2</td> <td style="width: 20px;">3</td> <td style="width: 20px;">4</td> <td style="width: 20px;">5</td> </tr> </table>	1	2	3	4	5	CONSTRUCTIVE
1	2	3	4	5			

AMOUNT OF CONTACT - STUDENTS

In this section we would like to know about your contact with students from other race groups both **on and off campus**. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an **X** the response you feel best describes your experience.

Example: If you sit next to a Black student fairly often, put an **X** on number 3. If you seldom sit next to a Black student, put an X on number 2, etc.

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

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
Do you sit next to a Black student in your lectures or classes?	1	2	3	4
Do you have friendly conversations with Black students during lunch?	1	2	3	4
Do you spend lunch with Black students at your university?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite Black students from your class or university to your home?	1	2	3	4
Do you visit Black students at their homes?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite Black students to celebrate your birthday with you?	1	2	3	4
Do Black students invite you to celebrate their birthday with them?	1	2	3	4
Do you arrange to meet any of the Black students from your classes or university after class or during the weekend?	1	2	3	4

How often do you have contact with Coloured students in the following situations?

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
Do you sit next to a Coloured student in your lectures or classes?	1	2	3	4
Do you have friendly conversations with Coloured students during lunch?	1	2	3	4
Do you spend lunch with Coloured students at your university?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite Coloured students from your class or university to your home?	1	2	3	4
Do you visit Coloured students at their homes?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite Coloured students to celebrate your birthday with you?	1	2	3	4
Do Coloured students invite you to celebrate their birthday with them?	1	2	3	4
Do you arrange to meet any of the Coloured students from your classes or university after class or during the weekend?	1	2	3	4

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

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
Do you sit next to a White student In your lectures or classes?	1	2	3	4
Do you have friendly conversations with White students during lunch?	1	2	3	4
Do you spend lunch with White students at your university?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite White students from your class or university to your home?	1	2	3	4
Do you visit White students at their homes?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite White students to celebrate your birthday with you?	1	2	3	4
Do White students invite you to celebrate their birthday with them?	1	2	3	4
Do you arrange to meet any of the White students from your classes or university after class or during the weekend?	1	2	3	4

AMOUNT OF CONTACT - OTHER

In this section we would like to know about your contact with other people from different race groups **outside of the university** setting. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an **X** the response you feel best describes your experience.

Example: If you have contact with Black people fairly often, put an **X** on number 3. If you seldom have contact with Black, put an X on number 2, etc.

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

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
With Black residents in your suburb?	1	2	3	4
With Black people at your own home?	1	2	3	4
With Black people at the homes of other people?	1	2	3	4
With Black people at their homes?	1	2	3	4
With Black people at religious events?	1	2	3	4
With Black people at social events e.g. parties, receptions, etc.	1	2	3	4

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

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
With Coloured residents in your suburb?	1	2	3	4
With Coloured people at your own home?	1	2	3	4
With Coloured people at the homes of other people?	1	2	3	4
With Coloured people at their homes?	1	2	3	4
With Coloured people at religious events?	1	2	3	4
With Coloured people at social events e.g. parties, receptions, etc.	1	2	3	4

University of Cape Town

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

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
With White residents in your suburb?	1	2	3	4
With White people at your own home?	1	2	3	4
With White people at the homes of other people?	1	2	3	4
With White people at their homes?	1	2	3	4
With White people at religious events?	1	2	3	4
With White at social events e.g. parties, receptions, etc.	1	2	3	4

University of Cape Town

INTERGROUP ANXIETY

In this section we would like to know how you feel when interacting with students from different race groups whom **you don't know**. Please read the following statements carefully and circle the response you feel best describes your experience.

How you would feel when interacting with Black students you don't know?

1. I would feel accepted.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

2. I would feel nervous.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

3. I would feel confident.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

4. I would feel relaxed.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

5. I would feel awkward.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

6. I would feel uncertain.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

How you would feel when interacting with Coloured students you don't know?

1. I would feel accepted.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

2. I would feel nervous.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

3. I would feel confident.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

4. I would feel relaxed.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

5. I would feel awkward.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

6. I would feel uncertain.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

How you would feel when interacting with White students you don't know?

1. I would feel accepted.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

2. I would feel nervous.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

3. I would feel confident.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

4. I would feel relaxed.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

5. I would feel awkward.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

6. I would feel uncertain.

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Extremely</i>	<i>Quite a bit</i>	<i>A little</i>	<i>Not at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>

SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Please circle the word which expresses or most closely expresses the way you feel toward the members of other ethnic groups or races (as a group and **not** the best members you have known or the worst) with regard to certain situations stated below.

Example: My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit:

Any Most Some Few No Japanese to my school.

1. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit

Any Most Some Few No Blacks to my university.

Any Most Some Few No Blacks to my study group.

Any Most Some Few No Blacks to my home as my personal friends.

Any Most Some Few No Blacks into my family as my boyfriend or girlfriend.

2. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit

Any Most Some Few No Coloureds to my university.

Any Most Some Few No Coloureds to my study group.

Any Most Some Few No Coloureds to my home as my personal friends.

Any Most Some Few No Coloureds into my family as my boyfriend or girlfriend.

3. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit

Any Most Some Few No Whites to my university.

Any Most Some Few No Whites to my study group.

Any Most Some Few No Whites to my home as my personal friends.

Any Most Some Few No Whites into my family as my boyfriend or girlfriend.

APPENDIX C

STUDY 1

Tables & Figures

University of Cape Town

Table 8.
Mean number of students and number of observations by tutorial group

Group	No. of Tuts Observed	Black	White	Coloured	Mean N
1	8	4	7	0	11
2	3	9	6	0	15
3	6	4	6	4	14
5	6	4	9	0	13
6	4	1	12	3	15
7	6	1	14	2	17
8	2	2	17	1	20
9	6	3	7	3	15
11	3	2	14	1	16
12	8	2	12	3	17
13	5	3	11	4	19
14	6	4	11	2	17
15	3	3	9	3	15
16	3	3	11	3	17
18	4	8	5	2	16
19	5	8	9	0	17
20	5	2	3	2	7
21	3	4	11	0	16
22	4	8	8	2	18
23	4	1	13	1	15
24	3	2	11	3	18
25	5	3	13	4	19
28	2	3	12	3	17
29	5	4	14	0	18
30	7	3	9	3	16
31	3	2	10	7	18
Mean N	4.5	3.47	10.07	2.06	15.90
Total observations	119				

Table 9.**Mean seating indices for black, white, and coloured students as comparison groups.**

Tutorial Group	<u>Black Students</u>		<u>White Students</u>		<u>Coloured Students</u>	
	N	Index	N	Index	N	Index
1	8	1.35	8	1.46	--	--
2	3	-1.52	3	-0.88	--	--
3	6	0.39	6	0.45	6	-0.34
5	6	0.58	6	0.27	--	--
6	3	-0.54	4	0.3	4	-0.6
7	6	1.24	6	1.01	6	1.14
8	2	1.76	2	-0.27	2	1.1
9	6	-1.98	6	-1.54	6	-1.14
11	3	-0.73	3	0.5	3	-0.55
12	7	0.76	8	-0.09	8	-0.43
13	5	-1.45	5	0.46	5	2.18
14	6	-0.2	6	0.14	6	0.61
15	3	2.42	3	-0.36	3	0.6
16	3	1.42	3	4.25	3	1.41
18	4	-1.87	4	-1.96	4	-0.16
19	5	-0.06	5	-0.06	--	--
20	5	-0.65	5	2.76	5	0.83
21	3	-0.07	3	0.58	--	--
22	4	0.16	4	0.58	4	-0.51
23	4	-0.42	4	0.25	3	-0.67
24	3	-0.27	3	0.16	3	1.07
25	5	1.14	5	0.47	5	3.15
28	2	-0.82	2	1.36	2	0.25
29	5	0.78	5	0.62	3	1.93
30	7	-0.87	7	0.91	7	0.79
31	3	1.55	3	3.98	3	3.47
Total Ns and Mean Indices	117	0.03	119	0.59	91	0.62

Note: N is the number of observations recorded for each tutorial group.

Table 10.
Mean D and xPy* indices for black students as comparison group

Group	N	Blacks [†]	Others [†]	D	xPy*
1	8	4	7	0.70	0.27*
2	3	9	6	0.92*	0.04*
3	6	4	11	0.78	0.27*
5	6	4	9	0.75*	0.27*
6	4	1	14	0.98**	0.13**
7	6	1	16	0.93*	0.50
8	2	2	18	0.71	0.68
9	6	3	12	0.87*	0.18*
11	3	2	15	0.86	0.36
12	8	2	13	0.77	0.48
13	5	3	15	0.77*	0.42
14	6	4	13	0.86*	0.17**
15	3	3	12	0.72	0.45
16	3	3	14	0.80*	0.48
18	4	8	13	0.78*	0.13*
19	5	8	10	0.70	0.19*
20	5	2	5	0.85*	0.19*
21	3	4	6	0.83*	0.33
22	4	8	10	0.73*	0.20*
23	4	1	14	0.98**	0.10**
24	3	2	15	0.85	0.36*
25	5	3	16	0.84*	0.31*
28	2	3	15	0.90*	0.23*
29	5	4	15	0.63	0.55
30	7	3	12	0.74*	0.35*
31	3	2	17	0.78	0.64
Mean values	4.6	3	12	0.80*	0.28*

Note: N is number of observations recorded for each tutorial group
[†] Mean number of black and other race students in each tutorial group
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

Table 11.
Mean D and xPy* indices for white students as comparison group

Group	N	Whites [†]	Others [†]	D	xPy*
1	8	7	4	0.70	0.14*
2	3	6	9	0.50	0.00
3	6	6	8	0.76	0.16*
5	6	9	4	0.75*	0.12*
6	4	12	4	0.83*	0.09*
7	6	14	3	0.84*	0.07*
8	2	17	3	0.76	0.10
9	6	7	7	0.83*	0.09*
11	3	14	3	0.78	0.06
12	8	12	5	0.69	0.14
13	5	11	7	0.59	0.23
14	6	11	5	0.73*	0.12*
15	3	9	9	0.59	0.23
16	3	11	17	0.62	0.19
18	4	5	11	0.85*	0.15*
19	5	9	7	0.70	0.17*
20	5	3	4	0.83*	0.13*
21	3	11	5	0.71	0.14
22	4	8	10	0.65	0.26*
23	4	13	3	0.90*	0.05*
24	3	11	6	0.74	0.14*
25	5	13	7	0.71*	0.15*
28	2	12	5	0.76*	0.11*
29	5	14	5	0.58	0.19
30	7	9	6	0.58	0.21
31	3	10	8	0.50	0.29
Mean values	4.6	10	6	0.71*	0.15*

Note: N is number of observations recorded for each tutorial group
[†]Mean number of white and other race students in each tutorial group
 * $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

Table 12.
Mean D and xPy* indices for coloured students as comparison group

Group	N	Coloured [†]	Other [†]	D	xPy*
1	8	–	–	–	–
2	3	–	–	–	–
3	6	4	10	0.84*	0.19*
5	6	–	–	–	–
6	4	3	13	0.83*	0.33
7	6	2	16	0.86*	0.51
8	2	1	19	0.81	0.78
9	6	3	12	0.85*	0.28*
11	3	1	15	0.93	0.25
12	8	3	13	0.77*	0.45
13	5	4	15	0.58	0.48
14	6	2	15	0.90*	0.42*
15	3	3	12	0.71	0.43
16	3	3	14	0.85*	0.38*
18	4	2	14	0.95*	0.21*
19	5	–	–	–	–
20	5	2	5	0.74*	0.21*
21	3	–	–	–	–
22	4	2	15	0.85*	0.48
23	4	1	14	0.92*	0.29*
24	3	3	15	0.77	0.48
25	5	4	16	0.81*	0.40*
28	2	3	15	0.87	0.42
29	5	–	–	0.82	0.65
30	7	3	11	0.75*	0.39*
31	3	7	12	0.56	0.37
Mean values	4.6	3	14	0.81*	0.38*

Note: N is number of observations recorded for each tutorial group

[†] Mean number of white and other race students in each tutorial group

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

Classroom Maps

Figure 8. Groups 6 and 23 seating patterns at first and last observation

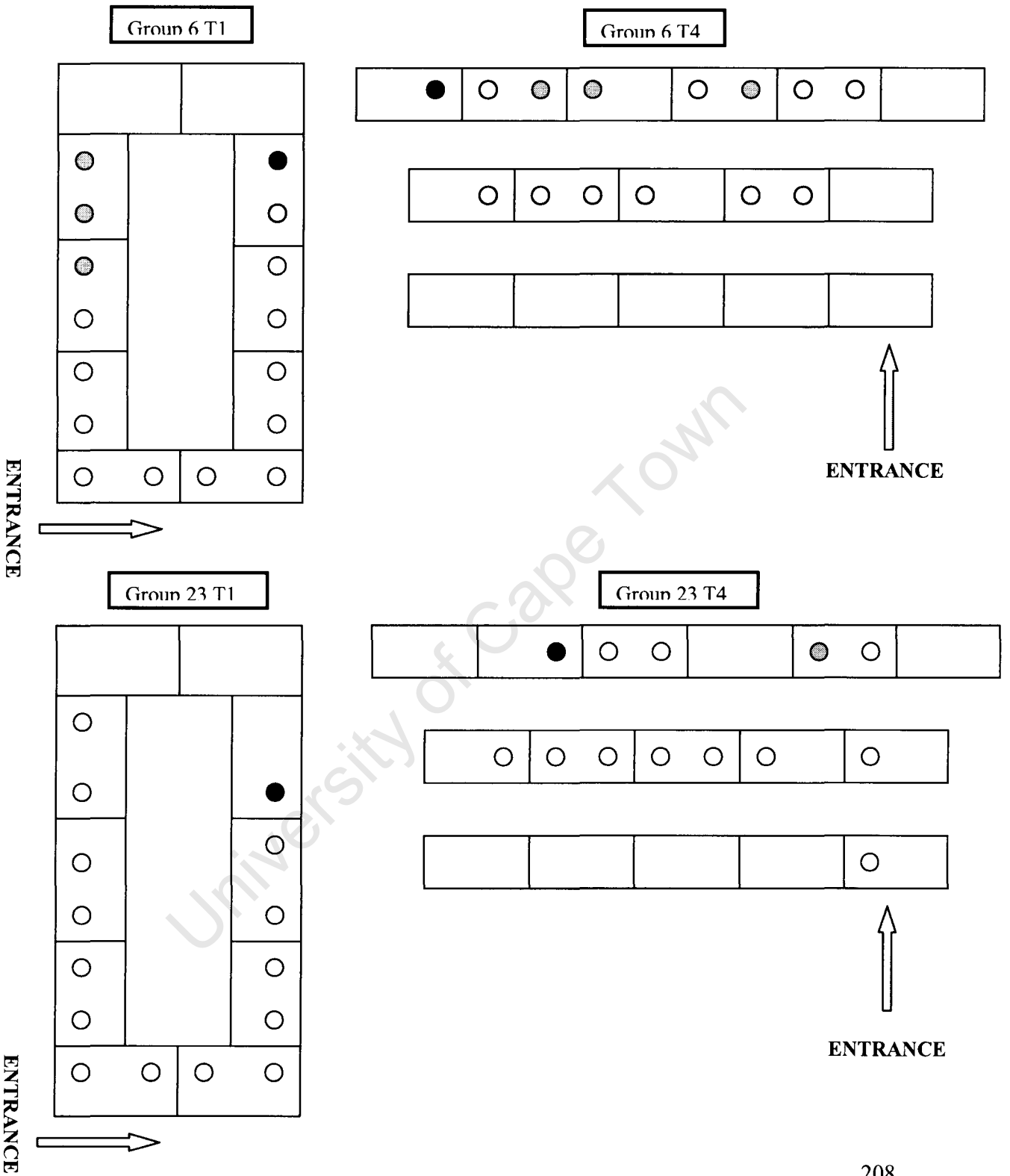
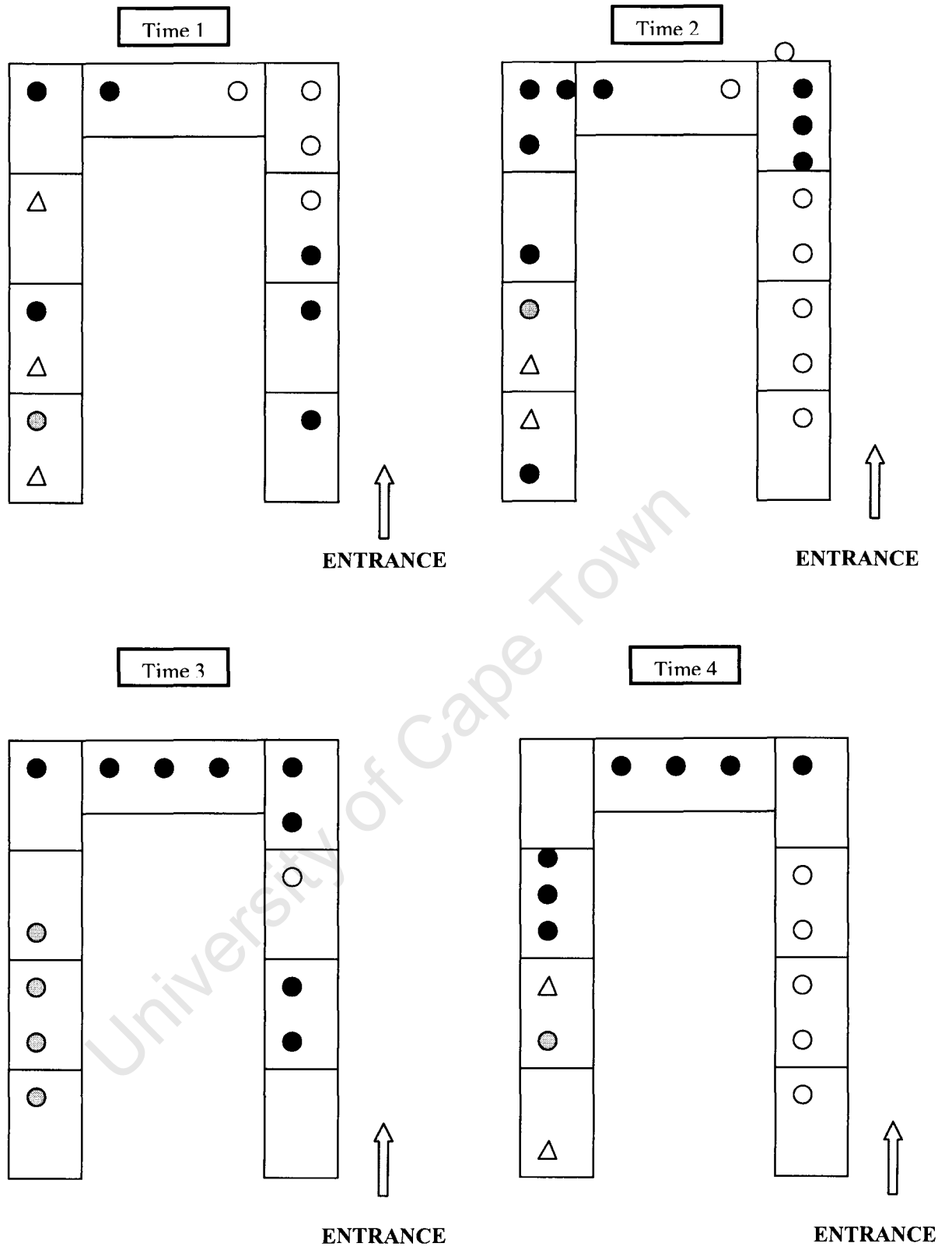


Figure 9. Examples of typically segregated seating in tutorial classrooms



APPENDIX D

STUDY 2

Tables & Figures

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Table 13.

Mean contact scores by race group and contact dimension

Contact Variables	Race of Target Group		
	Black	White	Coloured
Nature of Communication			
Race of Respondent			
Black (22)	23.3	18.86	19.14
	<i>3.23</i>	<i>3.73</i>	<i>3.94</i>
White (34)	22.03	21.85	20.41
	<i>3.6</i>	<i>3.79</i>	<i>3.61</i>
Coloured (12)	22.58	20.67	22.75
	<i>2.96</i>	<i>3.39</i>	<i>4.5</i>
Amount of Contact with Students			
Race of Respondent			
Black (22)	28.02	15.82	16.31
	<i>4.89</i>	<i>6.20</i>	<i>5.15</i>
White (34)	17.23	30.59	18.15
	<i>6.68</i>	<i>2.80</i>	<i>7.36</i>
Coloured (12)	18.42	17.25	26.83
	<i>6.98</i>	<i>8.13</i>	<i>4.95</i>
Amount of Contact with Others			
Race of Respondent			
Black (22)	22.32	14.20	12.62
	<i>2.40</i>	<i>4.45</i>	<i>3.26</i>
White (34)	12.27	22.05	12.61
	<i>3.32</i>	<i>3.01</i>	<i>4.43</i>
Coloured (12)	12.33	11.83	22.08
	<i>4.01</i>	<i>4.47</i>	<i>2.84</i>
Intergroup Anxiety			
Race of Respondent			
Black (21)	11.52	14.38	14.45
	<i>4.17</i>	<i>2.56</i>	<i>2.87</i>
White (34)	12.90	11.00	12.26
	<i>3.49</i>	<i>3.28</i>	<i>3.26</i>
Coloured (12)	11.18	12.68	10.26
	<i>4.52</i>	<i>4.52</i>	<i>4.80</i>
Social Distance			
Race of Respondent			
Black (19)	12.84	10.26	10.42
	<i>2.61</i>	<i>3.51</i>	<i>3.72</i>
White (34)	9.77	12.91	10.18
	<i>3.46</i>	<i>2.57</i>	<i>3.34</i>
Coloured (12)	10.92	10.50	11.83
	<i>3.34</i>	<i>3.20</i>	<i>2.55</i>

Note: Figures in italics are standard deviations; figures in parentheses are valid Ns.

Figures 10 – 14. Interaction plots of cell means

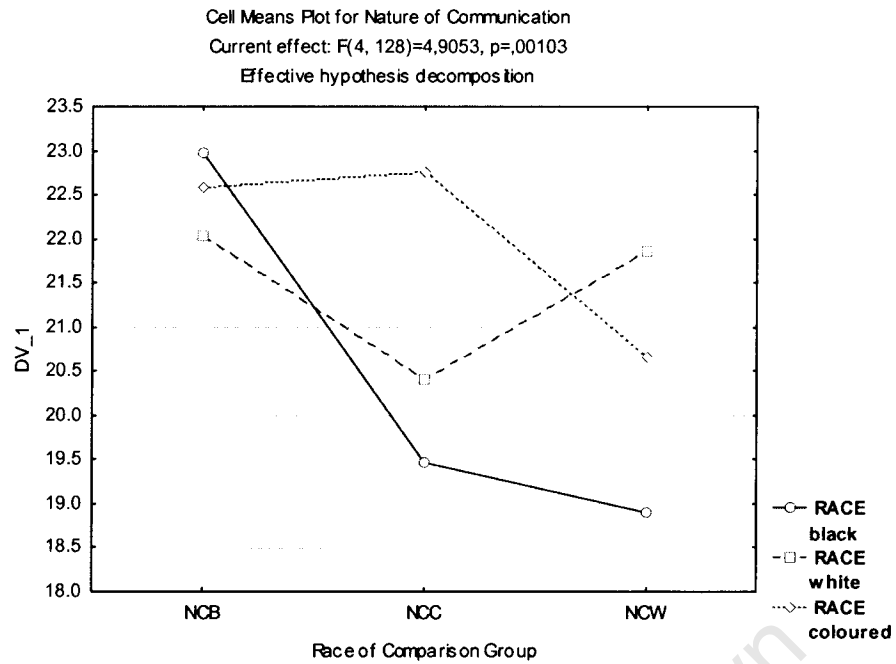


Figure 10. Plot of cell means for the Nature of Contact indicating significant interaction effects.

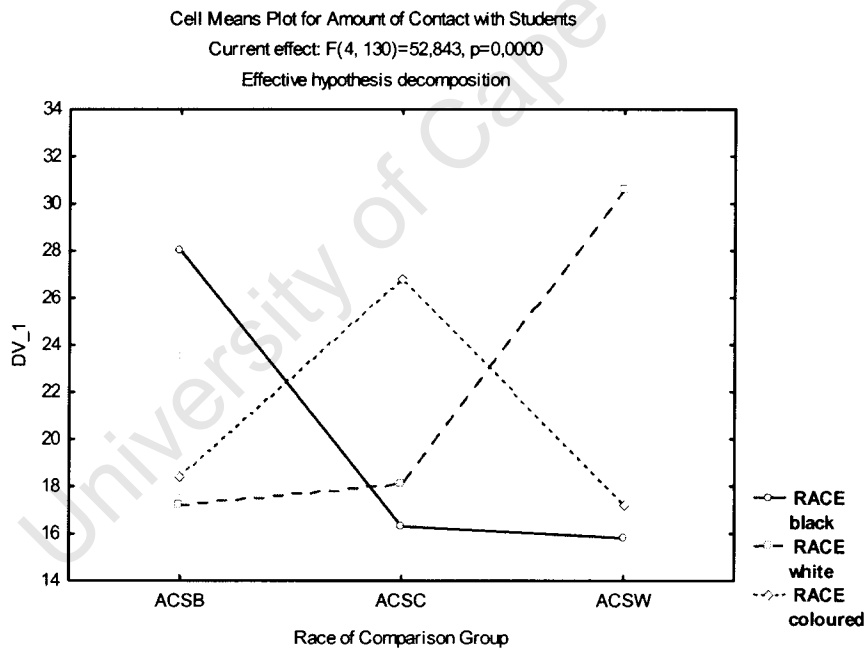


Figure 11. Plot of cell means for the Amount of Contact with Students indicating interaction effects.

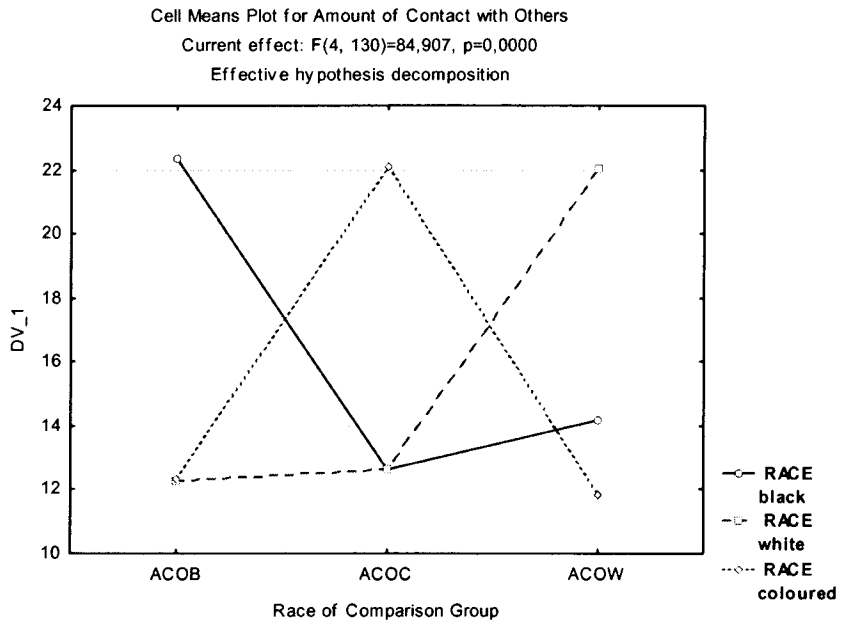


Figure 12. Plot of cell means for the Amount of Contact with Others Indicating interaction effects.

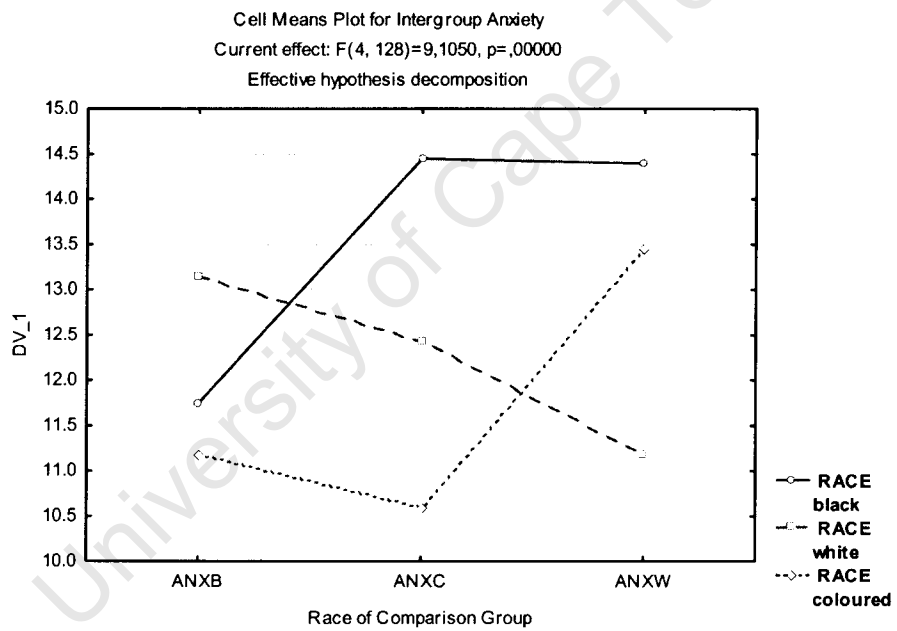


Figure 13. Plot of cell means for intergroup anxiety indicating interaction effects.

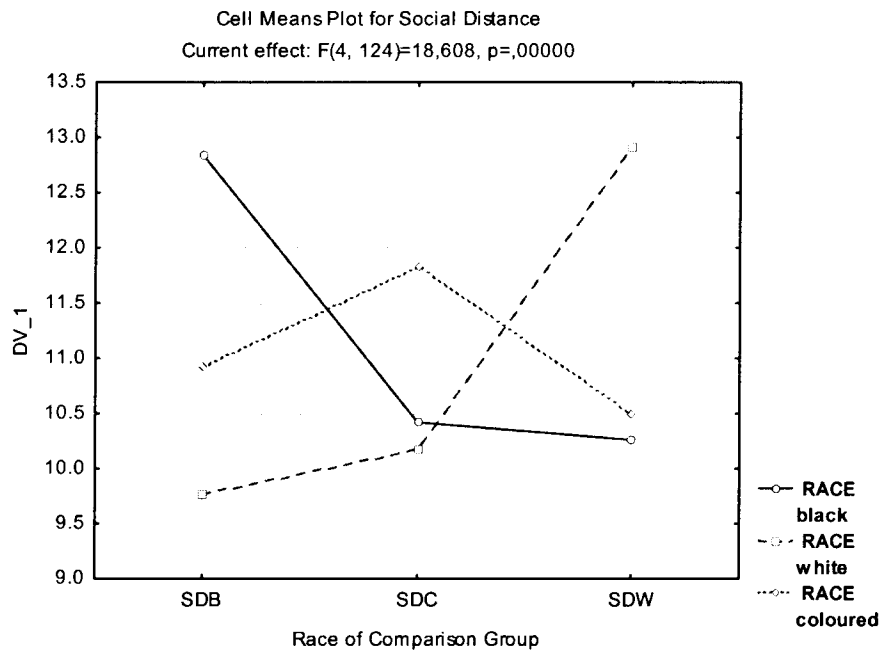


Figure 14. Plot of cell means for the social distance indicating interaction effects.

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Tables 14 – 18. Analysis of variance summary results

Table 14.

ANOVA Summary Table for Nature of Contact

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race of Respondent (A)	67.37	2	33.68	1.39	0.26
Between-group Error	1578.05	65	24.28		
Race of Target Group (B)	158.32	2	79.16	9,88	0.0001
A*B	174.78	4	43.69	5,45	0.0004
Within-group Error	1041.64	130	8.01		

Table 15.

ANOVA Summary for Amount of Contact with Students

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race of Respondent (A)	155.55	2	77.77	1.53	0.22
Between-group Error	3295.41	65	50.7		
Race of Target Group (B)	23.71	2	11.85	0.43	0.65
A*B	5886.35	4	1471.59	52.84	0.000000
Within-group Error	3620.28	130	27.85		

Table 16.

ANOVA Summary for Amount of Contact with Others

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race of Respondent (A)	29.56	2	14.78	0.840	0.44
Between-group Error	1144.52	65	17.61		
	4.48	2	2.24	0.210	0.81
Race of Target Group (B)	3682.14	4	920.54	84.910	0.000000
A*B	1409.42	130	10.84		
Within-group Error					

Table 17.
ANOVA Summary for Intergroup Anxiety

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race of Respondent (A)	118.99	2.00	59.50	2.27	0.11
Between-group Error	1652.10	63.00	26.22		
Race of Target Group (B)	18.63	2.00	9.31	1.52	0.22
A*B	208.43	4.00	52.11	8.51	0.000004
Within-group Error	771.09	126.00	6.12		

Table 18.
ANOVA Summary for Social Distance

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race of Respondent (A)	1.92	2.00	0.96	0.04	0.96
Between-group Error	1474.42	62.00	23.78		
Race of Target Group (B)	5.57	2.00	2.79	0.85	0.43
A*B	244.78	4.00	61.20	18.61	0.000000
Within-group Error	407.80	124.00	3.29		

Tables 19 – 23. Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for intra-racial vs. interracial contact by race group.

Table 19.

Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for the Nature of Contact

Race of respondent	Groups in contact	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1, 2)	t	p
Black	BIG - WOG	23.3	18.86	3, 120	12.92	0.0005
	BIG - COG	23.3	19.14	3, 120	12.13	0.000603
White	WIG - BOG	21.85	22.03	3, 120	0.53	0.316329
	WIG - COG	21.85	20.41	3, 120	4.2	0.012327
Coloured	CIG - BOG	22.75	22.58	3, 120	0.49	0.329944
	CIG - WOG	22.75	20.67	3, 120	6.07	0.004489

Table 20.

Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for the Amount of Contact with Students

Race of respondent	Groups in contact	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	BIG - WOG	22.02	15.82	3, 120	19.06	0.000158
	BIG - COG	22.02	16.31	3, 120	18.3	0.000178
White	WIG - BOG	30.59	17.23	3, 120	20.88	0.00012
	WIG - COG	30.59	18.15	3, 120	19.44	0.000149
Coloured	CIG - BOG	26.83	18.42	3, 120	13.15	0.000475
	CIG - WOG	26.83	17.25	3, 120	14.97	0.000323

Table 21.

Tukey's pairwise comparisons for the Amount of Contact with Others

Race of respondent	Groups in contact	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	BIG - WOG	22.32	14.2	3, 120	20.33	0.00013
	BIG - COG	22.32	12.62	3, 120	24.3	0.000076
White	WIG - BOG	22.05	12.27	3, 120	24.52	0.000074
	WIG - COG	22.05	12.61	3, 120	23.65	0.000083
Coloured	CIG - BOG	22.08	12.33	3, 120	24.42	0.000075
	CIG - WOG	22.08	11.83	3, 120	25.67	0.000065

Table 22.

Tukey's pairwise comparisons for Intergroup Anxiety

Race of respondent	Groups in contact	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	BIG - WOG	11.52	14.38	3, 120	9.37	0.001289
	BIG - COG	11.52	14.45	3, 120	9.6	0.001198
White	WIG - BOG	11	12.9	3, 120	6.26	0.004115
	WIG - COG	11	12.26	3, 120	4.14	0.012785
Coloured	CIG - BOG	10.26	11.18	3, 120	3.04	0.027986
	CIG - WOG	10.26	12.68	3, 120	7.95	0.002078

Table 23.

Tukey's pairwise comparisons for Social Distance

Race of respondent	Groups in contact	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	BIG - WOG	12.84	10.26	3, 120	11.46	0.000712
	BIG - COG	12.84	10.42	3, 120	10.76	0.000858
White	WIG - BOG	12.91	9.76	3, 120	13.99	0.000395
	WIG - COG	12.91	10.18	3, 120	12.16	0.000598
Coloured	CIG - BOG	11.83	10.91	3, 120	4.07	0.013368
	CIG - WOG	11.83	10.5	3, 120	5.93	0.004803

Tables 24 – 28. Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for interracial contact with different outgroups, and for contact with a specific outgroup.

Table 24.
Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for Nature of Contact

Race of respondent	Outgroup	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	WOG - COG	18.16	19.14	3, 120	0.79	0.242975
White	BOG - COG	22.03	20.14	3, 120	4.73	0.00896
Coloured	BOG - WOG	22.58	20.67	3, 120	5.58	0.005674
black - coloured	WOG	18.86	20.67	3, 120	5.25	0.006717
white - coloured	BOG	22.03	22.58	3, 120	1.6	0.104308
white - black	COG	20.41	19.14	3, 120	3.72	0.016929

Table 25.
Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for Amount of Contact with Students

Race of respondent	Outgroup	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	WOG - COG	15.82	16.31	3, 120	0.76	0.25101
White	BOG - COG	17.23	18.15	3, 120	1.44	0.123057
Coloured	BOG - WOG	18.42	17.25	3, 120	1.82	0.082868
black - coloured	WOG	15.82	17.25	3, 120	2.24	0.079957
white - coloured	BOG	17.23	18.42	3, 120	1.86	0.055604
white - black	COG	18.15	16.31	3, 120	2.92	0.000158

Table 26.
Tukey’s pairwise comparisons for Amount of Contact with Others

Race of respondent	Outgroup	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	WOG - COG	14.2	12.62	3, 120	3.96	0.014355
White	BOG - COG	12.27	12.61	3, 120	0.87	0.22437
Coloured	BOG - WOG	12.33	11.83	3, 120	1.25	0.149599
black - coloured	WOG	14.2	11.83	3, 120	5.93	0.004796
white - coloured	BOG	12.27	12.33	3, 120	0.17	0.437801
white - black	COG	12.61	12.62	3, 120	0.02	0.494477

Table 27.

Tukey's pairwise comparisons for Intergroup Anxiety

Race of respondent	Outgroup	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	WOG - COG	14.45	14.38	3, 120	0.24	0.414156
White	BOG - COG	12.9	12.26	3, 120	2.12	0.062201
Coloured	BOG - WOG	11.18	12.68	3, 120	4.93	0.008017
black - coloured	WOG	14.38	12.68	3, 120	5.56	0.005492
white - coloured	BOG	12.9	11.8	3, 120	5.65	0.00574
white - black	COG	12.26	14.45	3, 120	7.19	0.00277

Table 28.

Tukey's pairwise comparisons for Social Distance

Race of respondent	Outgroup	Mean 1	Mean 2	df (1,2)	t	p
Black	WOG - COG	10.42	10.26	3, 120	0.7	0.266542
White	BOG - COG	10.18	9.76	3, 120	1.83	0.082485
Coloured	BOG - WOG	10.92	10.5	3, 120	1.85	0.080431
black - coloured	WOG	10.5	10.26	3, 120	1.05	0.184746
white - coloured	BOG	10.92	9.76	3, 120	5.12	0.007204
white - black	COG	10.42	10.18	3, 120	1.09	0.177908

Table 30.

Cook's Distances for the five largest outliers with Social Distance as DV

Case	Observed value	Predicted value	Residual	Cook's Distance
1	12.00	11.45	0.55	0.001
2	16.00	9.10	6.90	0.054
3	10.00	11.08	-1.08	0.006
4	10.00	11.37	-1.37	0.008
5	15.00	12.79	2.21	0.011

Note: Values for Cook's D exceeding 1 indicate potential outliers in the data set

Figure 15.
Distribution of residual values

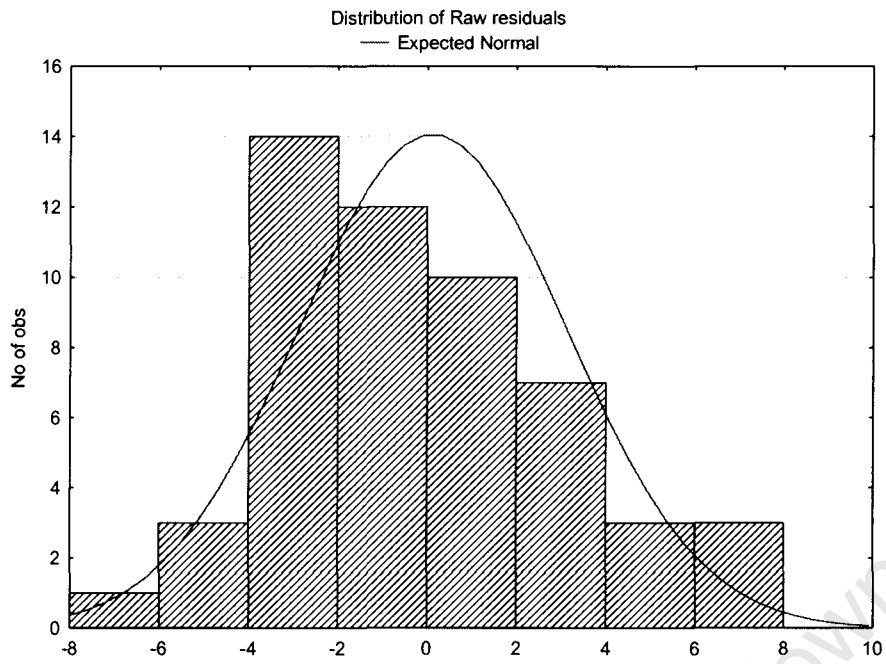


Figure 16.
Scatterplot of residuals and predicted values

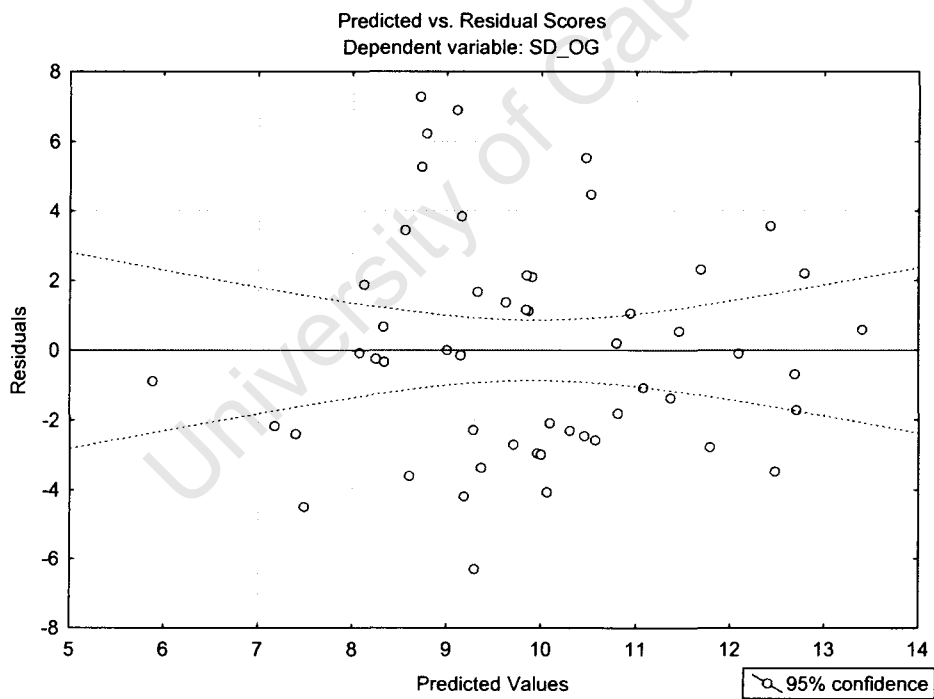


Table 29.

Tolerance levels, partial, and semi-partial correlations of contact predictors

Predictor	Tolerance	Partial	Semi-partial
NC	0.94	0.33	0.31
ACS	0.56	0.09	0.08
ACO	0.64	-0.01	0.00
ANX	0.76	-0.20	-0.18

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APPENDIX E

Focus Group Discussion Materials

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Appendix E1

INTERRACIAL INTERACTION AMONGST STUDENTS AT UCT

Hi. My name is Lameez Alexander and I am a Masters student in Research Psychology at the University of Cape Town. One of the requirements for the completion of my course is a thesis in an area of interest. I have chosen to explore the extent to which students from different race groups interact with each other.

As part of this study, I wish to run a number of discussion groups with first-year psychology students in order to understand their perceptions of interracial interaction amongst students at UCT. The discussions will focus mainly on how well you think students get along with each other, and to what extent students from different racial groups interact with each other. The nature of student social spaces or places on the university campus will also be explored.

These discussions will be audio taped and later transcribed by me (the researcher). During these discussions, information identifying participants may be used (such as your names when you introduce yourself to the group). However, such information will be kept confidential and only participants' initials will be used during transcription, as well as in the final report.

The discussion topic is of a sensitive nature and you may wish to discuss these issues further. If you wish to do so, or if you have any concerns or questions about this study, please contact either myself (researcher) or my supervisor at the contact details provided below.

Lameez Alexander (researcher)
0835710626
alxlam001@mail.uct.ac.za

Dr. Colin Tredoux (supervisor)
(021) 650 3424
plato@humanities.uct.ac.za

Appendix E2

Statement of Informed Consent

I, _____, agree to participate in this research project on "Patterns of interracial interaction of UCT Students" that is being conducted by Lameez Alexander for her Masters thesis.

I understand that the purpose of this study is to hold a group interview to find out about how well students are integrated at UCT; we will discuss our general ideas about how well students get along with each other and to what extent students who come from different backgrounds interact with each other.

I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that if I wish to withdraw from the study or to leave, I may do so at any time, and that I do not need to give any reasons or explanations for doing so.

I understand that I have an obligation to respect the privacy of the other members in the group by not disclosing any personal information that they may share during our discussion.

I understand that the focus group interview will be audio taped but that all information I give will be kept confidential, and that the names of all people in the study will be kept confidential. Only participants' initials will be used in the final report of the results.

I have read and understand this information and I agree to take part in this study.

Today's date

Participant Signature

Appendix E3

Group Interview Schedule

INSTRUCTIONS FOR FACILITATORS

- Thank participants for coming.
- Introduce self and purpose of discussion:
Purpose: To explore student perceptions about how well students at UCT interact with each other; Do they mix well? Are they socially integrated?

Specific interest: How students from different race groups interact with each other?
- Encourage them to express themselves openly.
- No right / wrong response; interested in both negative and positive opinions.
- Interested in a range of perspectives so share views even if different from others in group.
- Should respect each others' privacy; whatever is said here should not be discussed with anyone who isn't part of group.
- Should you feel uncomfortable at any point during this discussion, you are free to leave at any time.
- Conversation will be taped.
- Please speak up.
- **Very NB!** Don't interrupt someone else while they talking; one person talks at a time; respect each other's opinion.
- Will use first names now for convenience, but in final report of results only initials used – confidentiality.
- Explain facilitator role: Ask questions & listen only; will not express own views.
- Tendency for some to talk more than others; will be asked to also give others in group a turn.
- Some may talk very little; may be asked directly for opinion to engage in conversation.
- Important to hear from everyone!

DISCUSSION GUIDELINE

Opening Q's

1. Go around group – Names, where you from, what made you decide to study at UCT?

Intro Q's

1. Think back before coming to UCT – What were your expectations or ideas about this university in terms of its social aspects?
[Cue: Like making new friends, meeting new people]
2. What do you think about it now? Have perceptions changed? Did it meet your expectations?
3. Do you think this university is a good place for meeting new people, making new friends? Or is it fairly difficult to do so?

Transition Q's

1. Do students from different backgrounds get along well with each other at UCT?
2. Do you think it is important for students from different race groups to interact or get along with each other? Explain.
3. Do you think / feel there is a difference when you are interacting with students from a different race group than with students from your own race group (i.e. students you don't really know)?
4. How would you describe your interactions with students from other race groups? [e.g. how do you feel when talking to them?]
5. In general, where and when would you usually interact with students from other race groups?
6. Does it occur on a regular basis or just now and then?

Key Q's

1. Do you think racial segregation exists among students at UCT? Explain.
2. If so, how would you describe? In what ways can you observe it? Where do you find it?
3. What do you think makes students “stick to their own kind”?

There are some areas at UCT that are usually occupied by students of a certain race group only. Like the Leslie (coloured), Jammie Steps (top: mostly white; bottom: mostly Indian). In some residences, the dining halls have 2 sections. The one section all black students, the other is mixed but the tables are not. Any comments or thoughts?

1. Do you think students consciously separate themselves like this on the basis of race? (i.e. do they consciously think about it?)
2. What makes students from different races consistently occupy the same space or place (as if it is their own)? Like an area on Jammie Steps, or a table in the dining hall, or a section in the lecture hall?
3. What prevents other students (who don't usually occupy those places) from not entering those spaces? How do people get to know what the "rules" are and what makes most people follow them?
4. Would you say that people use these designated white / coloured / black spaces in order to keep themselves separated from each other?
5. Is there any way to change the situation? Should it even be changed or is this just the way things are?

Final comments or questions.

**END
THANK YOU!**