

**“The appreciation and understanding of value diversity”: an
evaluation of a value diversity intervention
at the University of Stellenbosch**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa has made a remarkable transformation from an openly racist to a tolerant and democratic nation. The transformation process removed the legal barriers between subgroups that formerly postulated separate development for the various racial groups and restricted the contact between individuals to a major extent. In present day society, one can observe the transformation process in that South African citizens from different backgrounds have to develop new patterns of communication and interaction. This process was mirrored in the student culture of Stellenbosch.

The first objective of this study was to research how individual students experienced their social and academic environment. Since student relations do not always conform to the University norm of mutual respect for human diversity, the University felt the need to facilitate an intervention for valuing human diversity. The second objective of this study was to evaluate the process of the intervention, focusing on the programme context, the programme activities and the program theory. In addition, the impressions of workshop participants were studied.

In order to conceptualise the research objectives, the theoretical principles of valuing diversity were discussed in the form of a purposive literature review on the social psychology and sociology of stereotyping and related processes, which were examined as barriers to valuing diversity.

The Value Diversity Intervention was implemented in August 2001. The intervention aimed to heighten students' awareness of the diversity of the student body and to improve the interaction among the various student subgroups. The intervention was designed as a workshop and included 50 students from various backgrounds who were living in the University residences .

Two evaluation types were utilised in this study, i.e. the evaluation of perceived needs and the evaluation of the intervention process. The research questions were clarified and the specific methods for gathering and analysing the data were specified. In addition, the aspect of validity and the quality of the obtained data were reviewed.

The evaluation of perceived needs showed that individual students perceived the student population to be divided into minority ('coloured', 'black') and majority ('white') groups. Even though group membership did not affect specific instances of intergroup relations (e.g.

individual friendships), it had implications for the social atmosphere on campus, which was characterised by a lack of intergroup contact and a domination by the majority group. Accordingly, minority group members interpreted the social atmosphere more negatively than majority group members. Hence, minority group members perceived a need to improve intergroup interaction.

This analysis indicates that a value diversity intervention may be beneficial. This corresponded to the view of the Department of Student Affairs, which arranged the Value Diversity Intervention.

The evaluation of the intervention highlighted both negative and positive aspects. Firstly, the intervention design did not include the promotion of the intervention itself, which might have been essential making students interested in the diversity topic and in motivating students to participate. Secondly, the intervention did not address the specific diversity challenges as experienced by students of the University of Stellenbosch. Students expressed concerns regarding the applicability of the provided information in their daily life. Thirdly, the workshop focused mainly on stereotypes. Yet, the possible effects of stereotypes were not sufficiently discussed. In addition, a large number of stereotypes were listed, but these were often biased due to the lack of participants from diverse groups. Further, no workshop technique which questioned the presented lists of biased stereotypes was applied or generated. Besides these technical considerations, it should be noted that stereotypes in general perpetuate the division between subgroups. Thus, the workshop focused to a large extent on past and present aspects, which divide the student population, instead of focusing on uniting issues.

The described negative aspects might have been balanced by one of the four observed workshops. This specific workshop was characterised by a small amount of participants and a positive presentation of one of the main facilitators. This resulted in a productive discussion, where the participants used the possibility to reflect on the current situation out of their perspective and reflected upon the contributions of the facilitator. Students might have been motivated to take positive impulses of this workshop in their daily life.

Based upon this research, recommendations can be determined. Firstly, the promotion of the intervention should emphasize the desirability of diversity values and highlight the personal potential benefits to participants. Secondly, it might be useful to acknowledge differences between students, but to place a greater emphasis on similarities, i.e. on aspects that connect

students. Thirdly, the curriculum of the intervention should be modified to cater especially for student needs. Fourthly, the selected workshop components should achieve an equal balance between lecture parts and interactive elements. Participants should have the possibility to take an active part in the intervention if they are interested in doing so. The final recommendation entails that future interventions should be based on a comprehensive, sustained strategy with long-term goals. These strategies should be integrated in the already existing infrastructure of an institution.

This intervention has to be understood as a contribution to the transformation process that South Africa is currently undergoing. Based on the recent discussion at the University of Stellenbosch about the adoption of a comprehensive diversity strategy, it is hoped that this singular intervention will be linked to further contributions in this transformation process.

OPSOMMING

Suid Afrika het 'n merkwaardige transformasie vanaf 'n openlik rassistiese tot 'n tolerante en demokratiese nasie ondergaan. Voorheen het die wetlike skeiding tussen subgroepe aparte ontwikkeling en, vir verskeie rassegroepe, minimale kontak met individue in verskillende rassegroepe beteken. Die transformasieproses in Suid-Afrika het hierdie omstandighede verander en in die huidige Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing is die proses waardeur mense van verskillende agtergronde nuwe patrone van kommunikasie en interaksie moet ontwikkel, merkbaar.

Die transformasieproses kan ook in die studentekultuur van Stellenbosch gesien word. Die eerste doel van die tesis was om ondersoek in te stel na hoe individuele studente hulle sosiale en akademiese omgewing ervaar. Aangesien studenteverhoudinge nie altyd tot die Universiteit se norm van wedersydse respek vir menslike diversiteit konformeer nie, het die Universiteit gevoel dat daar 'n behoefte is om 'n intervensie te fasiliteer om waardering vir menslike diversiteit skep. Die tweede doel van die tesis was om die proses van die intervensie te evalueer deur te fokus op die konteks van die program, die programaktiwiteite en die programteorie. Verder is die indrukke van die deelnemers aan die werkswinkel ook bestudeer.

Die teoretiese beginsels onderliggend aan die waardering van diversiteit is bespreek ten einde die navorsingsdoelwitte te konseptualiseer. Dit is verwesenlik deur 'n "doelgerigte" literatuurstudie oor die sosiale sielkunde en sosiologie van stereotipering en verwante prosesse wat gesien word as struikelblokke in die evaluering van diversiteit.

Die intervensie vir die waardering van diversiteit is in Augustus 2001 deur die Universiteit van Stellenbosch geïmplimenteer. Die intervensie het as doel gehad om studente 'n verhoogde gewaarwording van die diversiteit van die studenteliggaam te bied en ook om interaksie tussen die verskeie studente-subgroepe te bevorder. Die intervensie is ontwerp as 'n werkswinkel vir 50 studente van verskillende agtergronde wat van Universiteitsbehuising gebruik maak.

Die tesis verduidelik hoe die navorsingsdoelwitte korrespondeer met die evalueringstipes wat gebruik is, nl. die evaluasie van waargenome behoeftes en die evaluasie van die proses. Die navorsingsvrae is duidelik gestel en die wetenskaplike metodes vir dataversameling en data-analise word gespesifiseer. Verder word die aspek van die geldigheid en kwaliteit van die data ook bespreek.

Die evaluering van waargenome behoeftes het gewys dat individuele studente die studentepopulasie sien as verdeel in 'n minderheidsgroep ('bruin' en 'swart') en 'n meerderheidsgroep ('wit'). Alhoewel lidmaatskap tot 'n betrokke groep nie intergroepverhoudings affekteer nie (bv. individuele vriendskappe), het dit tog implikasies vir die sosiale atmosfeer op kampus wat deur 'n tekort aan intergroepkontak en dominasie deur die meerderheidsgroep gekarakteriseer kan word. Vervolgens interpreteer minderheidsgroepe die sosiale atmosfeer meer negatief as lede van die meerderheidsgroep. Dit kan dan ook as die rede aangevoer word waarom lede van minderheidsgroepe 'n waargenome behoefte het om intergroeppinteraksie te bevorder.

Die persepsies van die respondente wat 'n onderhoud toegestaan het, het aangedui dat 'n intervensie vir die waardering van diversiteit voordelig sal wees en dit het ooreengestem met die siening van die Departement van Studentesake, wat die intervensie gereël het.

Die evaluasie van die intervensie beklemtoon albei die negatiewe en positiewe aspekte. Eerstens, het die intervensie intervensie-ontwerp, nie die promosie van die intervensie self behels nie, wat noodsaaklik sou gewees het om student geïnteresseerd te maak in die diversiteit van die onderwerp en om die studente te motiveer om mee te doen. Tweedens, het die intervensie nie die spesifieke uitdagings soos deur die studente van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch ondervind is, aangespreek nie. Studente het hulle bekommernis uitgespreek oor die toepassing van die informasie in hulle daaglikse lewe. Derdens het die werkwinkel hoofsaaklik gefokus op stereotipes. Nógans was die effekte van die stereotipes nie deeglik bespreek nie. Boonop was daar te groot aantal stereotipes gelys, maar dit was bevooroordeeld as gevolg van die gebrek van deelnemer van diverse groepe. Daar was ook geen werkwinkel tegnieke van toepassing wat die aangebode lysie van die bevooroordeelde stereotipes bevraagteken het nie. Naas die tegniese oorwegings, moet daar gelet word dat stereotipes in die algemeen die verdeling tussen subgroepe in stand hou van stereotipes in die algemeen. Dus het die werkwinkel tot 'n groot mate gefokus op huidige en vorige aspekte wat die studente verdeel het in plaas daarvan om te fokus op sake van ooreenstemming.

Gegronde op hierdie navorsing, kan aanbevelings gemaak word. Eerstens moet daar klem gelê word op die bevordering van die verskeie behoeftes en waardes van die intervensie en die potensiaal waarby deelnemers kan baat. Tweedens, kan dit waardevol wees om verskille tussen studente te erken maar groter klem te lê op eendersheid, d.i. aspekte wat die studente tot mekaar verbind. Derdens moet die leerplan van die intervensie gewysig word om in die behoeftes van

die student te voorsien. Vierdens, moet daar 'n balans gehandhaaf word tussen die lesings en interaktiewe elemente. Daar moet 'n moontlikheid bestaan vir deelnemers om 'n aktiewe rol in die intervensie te speel indien hulle dit verlang. Ten slotte word aanbeveel dat toekomstige intervensie gebaseer word op begrypende en volgehoue strategie met lang termyn doelwitte. Die bogenoemde strategie moet in die alreeds bestaande infrastruktuur verweef word.

Hierdie intervensie kan beskou word as 'n bydrae tot die transformasie proses wat Suid-Afrika huidiglik ondergaan. Gebaseer op die onlangse gesprek by die Universiteit van Stellenbosch oor die aanneming van 'n omvattende diversiteitstrategie, word daar gehoop dat die enkelvoudige intervensie kan inskakel by verdere bydraes in die transformasie proses.

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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

Apartheid, with its basic postulation of separate development for the various 'racial' groups, restricted the contact between the individuals to a major extent. The succeeding transformation process removed the legal barriers between subgroups of the South African population. In the present day society, one can observe the process whereby South African citizens from different backgrounds have to develop new patterns of communication and interaction.

Some of the challenges and difficulties implied by the transformation process are linked to the management of racial group identities. Present psychological research (Smith and Stones, 1999; Duckitt and Mphuting, 1998) indicate continuing salience of identity groups reinforced and fostered by the Apartheid system. Thus, South African citizens continue to perceive themselves as members of (for example) white, black, so-called coloured or Indian subgroups. Besides the strong identification with their own racial groups, respondents display a bias towards members of outgroups.

The existence of group membership and salient identity patterns translate into observable diversity challenges in various areas of the South African society. Manifestations of critical diversity instances are visible in, for example, the economic sector (e.g. Selection processes by managers, Human, 1998), the media (The Human Rights Commission accusing the press of maintaining racism, Braude, 2000) and the military (Soldier killing other privates from a particular racial group, Slabbert, 2002).

Indications of diversity challenges are also perceptible in the educational environment of South Africa, which comprises the research context of this study. Difficulties to manage diversity challenges are reported on different levels of education. A study conducted among black grade nine learners in a historically white school indicates that black pupils had generally experienced marginalisation through some kind of racial discrimination or victimisation, both by teaching staff and fellow students (Erasmus and Ferreira (2002). The importance of racial group identities and their implications among high school students was researched by Smith and Stones (1999), comparing the racial attitudes of Xhosa-speaking black, so-called coloured, English-speaking white, and Afrikaans-speaking white high school students. The results of the study show that the different South African groups identify strongly with their own racial group.

The respondents' racial attitudes are mainly based on their own experiences (and interpretations thereof), yet they do not display a special tendency to either avoid or pursue racial issues. The study further shows that differences indicated by past psychological research still exist as group identity patterns of present day high school students.

Similar tendencies can be found among students at tertiary education institutions in South Africa (Slabbert, 2002). The study conducted at the Cape Technikon shows a strong indication that specific perceptual and attitudinal differences exist between racial groups regarding racial stereotypes. These differences can be found between and within racial groups. Specific manifestations of individual diversity problems are reported by various South African universities. For example, racial tensions at students' residences have been recounted by the University of Pretoria and had to be solved by the Disciplinary Committee of the university (Barnard, 1999). Some universities saw the need to implement diversity interventions (e.g. the Universities of Pretoria, Stellenbosch and Witwatersrand).

The existence of racial stereotypes and their implications in daily life are reflected in the above mentioned selection of actual manifestations of diversity problems. The existence of racism is linked to the disrespect of the ethical and philosophical value of the individual. In addition, the behavioural manifestations lead to serious challenges on both micro-level and macro-level structures of any society. On the individual level, the negative impact of racism can effect the personal development, self-confidence and actual performance. Accumulated on the macro-structures of society, racism can threaten the economic prosperity, the scientific development and the political stability of a nation (Slabbert, 2002, Visser, Cleaver and Schoeman, 1999). This, thus, implies that interventionary mechanisms to combat racism are imperative. The international existence of racism indicates the multiple challenges any attempt to counteract racist stereotypes and its manifestations faces.

Based on the above mentioned discussion, it can be assumed that the transformation process is mirrored in the student culture of Stellenbosch. The first objective of this thesis was to research how individual students experienced intergroup relations in their academic and social environment.

The norms underlying the student culture are expressed in the mission statement of the University of Stellenbosch (US), which emphasises mutual respect for diverse forms of beliefs, perspectives and cultures.

“We must respect the differences between personal beliefs, between points of view, and between cultural forms of expression. We must strive to foster an institutional culture that is conducive of tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights and that creates an appropriate environment for teaching, learning and research” (Mission statement of the University of Stellenbosch, 2002).

These norms are not always reflected in the reality of student relations. Singular incidences including verbal and physical abuses have to be handled by Disciplinary Committee of the US. Another indication for a potential lack of mutual respect is displayed in a study on perceptions of ‘coloured’ students regarding the US (Mouton and Hunter, 2002). Among other things, this study included questions on the perceptions of ‘race’-related issues such as tradition and culture, conduct of teachers and a wish for transformation. The research results indicate that coloured students generally hold a more negative perception than white students. For example, less coloured students than white students agree with the statement “students of all ‘racial’ groups get along well together”.

Based on these considerations, the US felt the need to facilitate an intervention for valuing human diversity. The second objective of this study was to evaluate the process of the intervention, focusing on the programme context, the programme activities and the programme theory. In addition, the impressions of workshop participants were studied.

In order to conceptualise the intervention in relation to the first research objective, Chapter 2 discusses the theoretical principles of valuing diversity, including barriers to valuing diversity, such as stereotyping and related processes. It is a purposive literature review on social psychology and the sociology of stereotyping, as opposed to an exhaustive literature review.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodological approach, thereby defining evaluation research and its purposes. The different types of evaluation are outlined and both evaluation types utilised in this study, i.e. the evaluation of perceived needs and the evaluation of process, are discussed. The evaluation types correspond to both research objectives. The research questions are clarified and the scientific methods for gathering and analysing the data are specified. In addition, the aspect of validity and the quality of the obtained data are reviewed.

Chapter 4 focuses on the Value Diversity Intervention implemented by the University of Stellenbosch in August 2001. The intervention aimed to heighten the students’ awareness of the

diversity of the student body and to improve the interaction among the various student subgroups. The intervention was designed as a workshop and included 50 students from various backgrounds who were living in the University residences.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the first research objective, i.e. the exploration of different individual perspectives regarding the social environment of the US. Students identified themes and ideas important to their individual experiences of living and studying with students from various backgrounds. The students' perceptions are reviewed according to whether or not they indicate a need for a diversity intervention. In addition, the perceptions of two intervention stakeholders, namely the facilitators and the Department of Student Affairs, towards this need are discussed.

Chapter 6 discusses the results of the second research objective, i.e. the evaluation of the process. This chapter intends to achieve two objectives. Firstly, what exactly constitutes the intervention is specified. This detailed description of the intervention is based on the three critical dimensions of the programme, i.e. the context of the programme, its activities and the programme theories. The second objective focuses on how the intervention was perceived by the target group. Since the house parents of the student residences were involved in the administrative process and participated in the intervention themselves, their impressions of the intervention are also included. Conclusions are based on the implications of the description of the intervention, the programme theory and the impressions of the intervention participants. In addition, the results of this process evaluation will be linked to the evaluation of the perceived needs.

The conclusion in the final chapter links the results of the evaluations to the wider South African context. The South African nation has committed itself to multiculturalism, i.e. the social-intellectual paradigm that embodies the value of diversity as a core principle. This principle becomes most interesting when we seek to root out not only the *de jure* discrimination, which limits the development of diversity, but also the *de facto* discrimination stemming from the reality of lives of individuals. This refers to a transformation process that is mirrored in the student culture of Stellenbosch. In addition, there is a discussion of how the Value Diversity Intervention intended to contribute to the transformation process. The intervention design and its implementation are reviewed and the recommendations are discussed.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES OF DIVERSITY

2.1 Introduction

Where harmony is fecund, sameness is barren. Things accommodating each other on equal terms is called blending in harmony, and in so doing they are able to flourish and grow, and other things are drawn to them. But when same is added to same, once it is used up, there is no more ... There is no music in a single note, no decoration in a single item, no relish in a single taste.

(Discourses of the States, China, 4th century B.C.)

The above quotation describes, in a picturesque way, diversity as inevitable and valuable in its own right. The purpose of this chapter is to re-view the concept of diversity and to discuss the barriers to valuing diversity, namely stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination. After clarifying the relationship between stereotyping and the associated concepts of prejudice and discrimination, this chapter discusses various psychological and sociological approaches that help to highlight the complex nature of stereotypes. Finally, various theoretical approaches are presented that focus on prevention and intervention strategies that address stereotypes, prejudice and social discrimination.

2.2 Some basic concepts

Apartheid, with its basic postulation of separate development for the various racial groups, has had an impact on the lives of all South Africans. This political phenomenon and its socio-economic implications continue to influence the present South African society. Besides racial, ethnic and cultural variety, diversity within the South African context includes a wide variety of beliefs, values and attitudes within the ethnic subgroups (Saunders, 2001).

It can be said that the constitution of a country is the vision that will guide the nation-building process and channel the selection of institutions, laws and norms accordingly. The constitution commits the South Africa nation to multiculturalism. Richardson (1996) and Bond (1999) define multiculturalism as a social-intellectual paradigm that embodies the value of diversity as a core principle, namely that all cultural groups should be treated with respect and as equals.

Diversity is not only characterised by differences in race¹ and culture. Issues of diversity also encompass home language, religion and social class, and extend to issues of gender, age, sexual preference and physical ability (Human, 1996), making it a complex and multi-layered topic.

Obstacles to the appreciation of diversity include the interrelated concepts of stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination (Human, 1996). An individual who is stigmatised by a negative stereotype is a person whose membership of some social category calls into question his or her full humanity – the person is devalued in the eyes of others. The effect of stereotyping entails the devaluation of individuals based on membership of a social group, thus, the diversity of different social groups is not valued (Crocker and Quinn, 2001).

2.2.1 The concept of “stereotype”

The conceptualisation of the term “stereotype” has been influenced by various approaches within social psychology. The term was introduced in 1922, by the American journalist, Walter Lippman, who used it to refer to the “pictures in our head” of various social groups (Lippman, 1922). Several authors (Stroebe and Insko, 1989; Bar-Tal et. al, 1989, Yzerbyt, Leyens and Schadron, 1994; Yzerbyt, Rocher and Schadron, 1997) point out that, in most earlier approaches, stereotypes were regarded as incorrect generalisations that are inflexible, oversimplified and biased. Stroebe and Insko (1989) quote as typical of this view the definition of English and English (1958), who perceived stereotypes as “a relatively rigid and oversimplified or biased perception or conception of an aspect of reality, especially of persons or social groups” (p.253). Yzerbyt, Rocher and Schadron (1997) refer to early research stating that stereotypes were often seen in people who suffered frustration (e.g. Dollard et al., 1939), had an authoritarian personality (e.g. Adorno et al., 1950), or displayed a personality prone to prejudice and ethnocentrism (e.g. Rokeach, 1960). In other words, stereotypes were understood as errorful generalisations created by prejudiced individuals, or under aberrant circumstances.

Influenced by the cognitive revolution in social psychology, stereotypes are now understood in a different light. Since social information is too complex to be dealt with satisfactorily, human information processors need to simplify their environment. By categorising individuals as examples of larger groups, prestored knowledge can be used as a source of information. Thereby, stereotypes are seen as categories that bring coherence and regulation to the social

¹ Within this study, race is viewed according to the race categories ‘black’, ‘white’ and ‘coloured’, which were mainly based on skin colour of individuals by the apartheid government

environment, without emphasising the negative connotation displayed in earlier approaches (Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

Reviewing research, Stroebe and Insko (1989) point out that one major difference has been observed between stereotypes and other social categories: Stereotypes of ingroups typically are more positive than stereotypes of outgroups. This entails that individuals distinguish between groups, focusing on whether they are a member of the specific group (i.e. the ingroup, “us”), or whether they do not hold membership (i.e. the outgroup, “the other”). The observation of ethnocentrism (i.e. ingroup favouritism and outgroup devaluation) suggests the analysis of the functions served by stereotypes for a social group. Tajfel and Turner (1981) modified their earlier position by arguing that stereotypes help to form or preserve positively valued distinctions between groups. As a consequence, stereotypes contribute to group ideologies that explain or justify social actions against the outgroup. Thus, motivational bias can play a role in stereotyping processes.

Several authors (e.g. Brown, 1995; Stroebe and Insko, 1989; Yzerbyt, Leyens and Schadron, 1994; Yzerbyt, Rocher and Schadron, 1997) suggest that motivational factors from the definition of the stereotype concept must be excluded, stating that the presence or absence of motivational factors should be researched without pre-empting these factors in the definition. Therefore, stereotypes can be defined as “a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people” (Stroebe and Insko, 1989:5). A group can be defined as two or more persons perceived to be related, based on their direct interactions, membership of the same social category, or a common fate (Brehm and Kassin, 1990).

2.2.2 The concept of prejudice

The differentiation between stereotypes and prejudice parallels the distinction between beliefs and attitudes. Several authors (Stroebe and Insko, 1989; Bar-Tal, 1989) conceptualise prejudice as an attitude towards members of an outgroup, including evaluative tendencies that are predominantly negative. The term attitude itself is usually defined as a favourable or unfavourable evaluation of an object (Schuman, 1995)

This concept of prejudice does not imply an outgroup rejection based on irrational beliefs. For example, the rejection of the Nazi Party by Jews is justifiable and legitimate (Stroebe and Insko, 1989).

It has to be emphasised that, even though prejudice refers to predominately negative attitudes, it does not imply that all intergroup attitudes are negative. For example, Stroebe and Insko (1989) refer to a study on national stereotypes showing that American college students liked Swedish people even more than they liked Americans.

It is interesting to note that some authors (Brown, 1995; Augustinous and Reynolds, 2001) make no clear distinction between prejudice and discrimination. Brown (1995) points out that both prejudice and discrimination are facets of a general prejudiced orientation, but emphasises that different forms of prejudice (i.e. beliefs, attitudes, behaviour) are not identical or necessarily intercorrelated.

The relationship between stereotypes and prejudice. Stroebe and Insko (1989) state that both information-processing approaches (Fishbein, 1975) and consistency theories (Rosenberg, 1960) suggest a relation between stereotypes and attitude. The attitude towards an object is assumed to be related to the characteristics perceived as associated with that object and the positive or negative evaluation of these characteristics. For example, if an American perceives Germans as “industrious” (stereotype) and evaluate this attribute positively, he/she is likely to hold a positive attitude towards Germans (prejudice). Both types of theories postulate a close relation between prejudice and stereotypes, but differ in their assumptions about the direction of cause and effect. While information-processing approaches assume that a person’s attitude results from his/her beliefs about a group, consistency theories make the additional assumption that attitude change can lead to a modification of the related beliefs. Research results show that, even though the existence of prejudice does not imply that all beliefs are necessarily negative, it can be said that there is a close relation between a person’s attitude towards a group and at least some of the stereotypes perceived to be associated with that group.

2.2.3 The concept of discrimination

For the conceptualisation of the term discrimination, the scientific literature refers to Gordon Allport’s work, “The nature of prejudice” (1954). He defines discrimination as behaviour that “... comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish” (as quoted in Mummendey and Otten, 2001:51). Thus, the concept of social discrimination is linked to the notions of justice and equality or, expressed differently, “the denial of equal treatment amounts to the denial of equal rights (Graumann and Wintermantel, 1989:183). Mummendey and Otten (2001) point out that differentiation between

people with regard to their group membership is necessary as a basis for orientations and decisions in daily life. Differentiation changes into discrimination when there is dissent about the appropriateness of a treatment. The dissent can be between members of the allocating group, members of the target group or external observers.

The relationship between stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. Terry, Hogg and Blackwood (2001) argue that several studies have demonstrated an inconsistency between prejudice and discrimination. Findings show, for example, that members of a racial minority might be discriminated against in one situation, but not in another. Stroebe and Insko (1989) state that on analysis of the research by Fishbein (1977) provides credible explanations for these inconsistencies. First, prejudices are often measured on a more general level than the specific behaviour observed. Second, since behaviour is determined by subjective norms and by attitudes, differences in the norms applicable to different situations can result in discrepancies between different manifestations of discriminatory behaviour. According to Stroebe and Insko (1989), two implications can be drawn from the work of Fishbein (1977): First, if specific situations are to be studied, it is necessary to assess the individual attitudes toward the specific behaviour and the subjective norms applicable to that situation. Second, even though global measures of prejudice often are poor predictors of specific actions, they serve well to reflect a fairly representative sample of discriminatory behaviour in a wide variety of situations. Terry, Hogg and Blackwood (2001) point to the importance of group norms in attitude behaviour research, stating that the concept of subjective norms is a comparatively unreliable predictor of discriminatory behaviour. People are more likely to behave in correspondence with their intergroup attitude if the attitude is normative within a self-relevant reference group, i.e. if the attitude is supported by the reference group. Research results indicate that the character of the normative environment is an important factor in determining whether people express attitudes in their behaviour. The effects of group norms are most remarkable for those who perceive high levels of threat to their group status. When ethnocentric attitudes are normative for a self-inclusive and important ingroup, the extent to which attitudes are expressed in discriminatory behaviour should be increased for those who are motivated to attain a positive social identity. Thus, stronger status protection responses are observed in group members who perceive their position as insecure. On the macro-social level, factors influencing the expression of attitudes that convey discriminatory behaviour include stability of the intergroup structure, the permeability of intergroup boundaries, and perceptions of the legitimacy of their status position.

2.3 Stereotypes: content, cognitive structures, processes, context and effect

The previous section showed how the concept of stereotype is influenced by different approaches within the study of stereotypes, as well as the relation between stereotype, prejudice and discrimination. This section intends to review various theoretical approaches to stereotypes, including research findings when appropriate. The section focuses on the content of stereotypes, their cognitive structures, the processes involved, the context and the effects of stereotyping.

2.3.1 Stereotype content

According to Operario and Fiske (2001), a review of the research reveals the following basic principles that underlie the content of stereotyping:

- Stereotypes consist of ambivalent beliefs that reflect the relationships between groups.
- Stereotypes enlarge perceptions of negative and extreme behaviour.
- Stereotypes persevere a partition between ingroups (“us”) and outgroups (“them”).

The first principle emphasises that stereotypes incorporate ambivalent beliefs and contain mostly, but not only, negative attributes. However, it should be noted that some stereotypes are absolutely negative, for example beliefs about terrorists and criminals.

Operario and Fiske (2001) state that the ambivalence found in most stereotypes reflects the structural relationship between groups. This relationship is characterised by two core dimensions: Firstly, the group’s relative status, which predicts whether a certain group is perceived as competent or incompetent and secondly, the nature of interdependence between the groups, which anticipates whether a target group is perceived as nice or not. Non-majority groups are often viewed as high on one dimension and low on the other: either highly competent but not nice, or vice versa. Operario and Fiske (2001) mention the following example: Businesswomen are viewed as competent but not nice, whereas elderly people are viewed as nice but not competent.

These clusters reflect their relationship with the dominant majority (white, male, middle-class, able-bodied) (Operario and Fiske, 2001). Thus, the specific context of a situation (e.g. social versus competitive situation) can determine the valence of an ambivalent stereotype (Oakes, Haslam and Reynold, 1999).

Yzerbyt, Leyens and Schadron (1994) argue in a similar way. People can often choose from a variety of categories. This selection of categories depends on the types of interaction and goals present in a certain situation.

The second principle of stereotype content is that stereotypes focus on negative and extreme behaviour. According to Hamilton and Sherman (1989), perceivers link minority groups with negative or extreme behaviour, since both are rare occurrences that represent a difference to the rule (i.e. the majority group and positive events). This effect is known as the illusory correlation (Hamilton and Sherman, 1989).

Stated differently, perceivers assume an association when encountering both an unusual group and a rare event (Hamilton and Sherman, 1989). An example is the illusory correlation between homosexuality and Aids, even though the incidence of AIDS is higher among other groups (e.g. heterosexual women - Operario and Fiske, 2001).

The third principle is the reward given to the ingroup and the relative disadvantage given to the outgroup. This issue is addressed by both the *realistic conflict theory* and the *social identity theory* (Stroebe and Insko, 1989).

The *realistic conflict theory* understands prejudice as the result of intergroup competition for some scarce resource. Thus, intergroup attitudes and behaviour will tend to reflect group interests, i.e. the nature and compatibility of group goals. The effect will be an increased ingroup solidarity, the awareness of ingroup identity and the tightness of group boundaries (Campbell, 1965). Sherif (1967) modifies this approach somewhat by including not only real, but also perceived threats to the interests of the group.

Brown (1995) mentions two critical issues concerning this theory: Firstly, ingroup favouritism is difficult to eliminate, even when groups have a substantial interest in its rejection. Secondly, experiments (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) have shown that the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups is sufficient for ingroup favouritism.

The notion of intergroup conflict as a necessary and sufficient cause of intergroup antagonism was later challenged by *social identity theory*, (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) define social identity as “those aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself belonging” (Tajfel and Turner, 1986:16).

Described differently, social identity is invoked as soon as people think they are from one category, such as a specific ethnicity or class. In addition, this theory assumes an individual motive to achieve or maintain a positive social identity. Since part of the self-identity is determined by group membership, there will be a preference to see the ingroup in a more positive light than the outgroup. Because the status of the social group is an important determinant of social identity, individuals belonging to a group with a low status are assumed to either want to leave this group or to try to raise the status of this group. In terms of this theory, ingroup favouritism can be explained as an attempt to achieve a positive differentiation between ingroup and outgroup (Turner and Reynolds, 2001).

Stroebe and Insko (1989) point out that social identity theory modifies realistic conflict theory in two aspects: Firstly, competition over scarce resources will not necessarily result in hostility if differences in the distribution of resources have been institutionalised, legitimised and justified. Secondly, conflict can develop over both physical and “social” resources. Stereotypes and prejudice are seen as weapons in a competition over rare social resources, such as prestige or status in a society.

In contrast to realistic conflict theory and social identity theory, the origin of the stereotype content is described differently by *social learning theory*.

The social learning perspective views stereotypes as being either the the result of “actual” observations, or as being transmitted by processes of socialisation, involving the mass media, schools, parents and peer groups (Aboud and Amato, 2001).

Using the work of Eagly (1987), Spear, Oakes, Ellemes and Haslam (1997) argue that stereotypes are shaped by the social roles of individual members during intergroup contact. Thus, individual group members are observed in a limited set of circumstances. If perceivers often observe a group member engaging in a specific role, they are likely to believe that the attributes required of that role are typical for that specific group.

Stroebe and Insko (1989) emphasise the importance of social structures for developing stereotypes. For example, in American society, it can be observed that racial groups occupy different social classes. Therefore, power and privilege often determine the character of interactions across racial lines. Since informal observations make it difficult to falsify

stereotypes, it can be said that, if an actual situation changes, the adjustment of stereotypes would be delayed. Thus, the social reality of the past can be reflected in present-day stereotypes.

It is interesting to note that social learning theory does not differentiate between learning stereotypes and other kinds of knowledge. Therefore, this line of theory does not assume that a motivational bias influences the content of stereotypes.

Another important aspect of the content of stereotypes refers to the question addressing the relative accuracy of stereotypes. It is considered whether or not stereotypes reflect a “kernel of the truth”. Group stereotypes and the perceptions of members of stereotyped groups can be quite accurate. This is shown by a historical review of stereotype research (Ottati and Lee, 1995), including objective criteria such as grades, standardised test scores or job evaluations; or from practical experience of cross-cultural interaction (Lee and Duenas, 1995). Likewise, perceptions can be very inaccurate (McCauley, Jussim and Lee, 1995).

Other authors point out the difficulty in establishing criteria for measuring the accuracy of stereotypes. Difficulties include the identification of the full range of stereotype content, the centrality of belief, the problems of meaning and individual differences in stereotyping. Certain measurement procedures might prove problematic, especially self-reports, which include consistently self-enhancing biases, often related to socially desirable traits (Ashmore and Longo, 1995).

A research review by Brown (1995) describes experiments on self-fulfilling prophecies. The review shows how stereotyped people can evoke confirmatory behaviour, thus making their beliefs appear to be based in reality.

Another line of research indicates that a stereotyped person can be aware of his or her stereotype and can act in ways that substantiate the stereotype. For example, women who are reminded of their stereotypically supposed deficiencies in maths, perform significantly worse on standardised tests than those who are not reminded of the stereotype (Crocker and Quinn, 2001).

Operario and Fiske (2001) argue that the focus should be on research aimed at understanding what people do with the content of their stereotype, rather than at measuring the correctness of the stereotype. Yzerbyt, Leyens and Schadron (1994) insist on focusing research on the reason for stereotyping, leaving the accuracy of stereotypes aside.

To conclude the discussion on the content of stereotypes, it is important to keep the complex nature of stereotypes in mind. Stereotyping refers to a relationship between groups and their perceptions of each other. The ambivalent beliefs contained in stereotypes maintain the separation of these groups. This complexity of stereotypes is reviewed by different social psychological theories that intend to enhance our understanding of stereotypes. Thus, everyday situations that are related to stereotypes can be understood and explained only when discussed in the light of various theoretical perspectives. This becomes apparent at a later stage of this study.

2.3.2 Cognitive structure of stereotypes

This section explores the cognitive structure of stereotypes, i.e. how people mentally represent the world by keeping information in their mind. Three major social cognitive approaches, which inform about the categorising process are discussed. During this process, people are sorted into groups and the qualities associated with the group are ascribed to an individual target (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

Prototype model: According to this model, people organise category information around an imagined standard or, stated differently, the “prototype”. However, the prototype of a category does not necessarily exist in reality (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

When forming impressions of people, perceivers compare the individual with a category prototype. If the individual target and the prototype overlap sufficiently, the target is sorted into the category. Stereotypes play a role as soon as people assume that the attributes associated with the category characterise the individual. Thus, prototypes can influence all stages of the social cognition process, including the formation of the initial impression, the interpretation of subsequent information and the recall of attributes (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989).

Stereotyping based on the prototype model is strongest when persons have barely any direct experience, but hold strong group expectancies. This can be the case for stereotypes based on race, when persons hold beliefs learned through cultural socialisation, yet experience only little intergroup interaction due to racial segregation (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

Exemplar model: The research review of Operario and Fiske (2001) states the importance of concrete examples that are based on actual experience. Correspondingly, people compare an

individual with an existing member of the category when forming impressions and judgements. Stereotyping based on actual exemplars is strongest when people have no strong beliefs about the category, and when discrete exemplars are highly available. Stereotypes diminishes when the individual contrasts with the exemplar.

Associative networks: Stephan (1989) states that information is stored in discrete mental structures called nodes. A node corresponds to one concept (declarative memory). Nodes are systematically interconnected by links (production memory). This interconnection makes it possible to associate concepts in a meaningful way. Links can be strong or weak, according to the perceived association between concepts. New links can develop when previously unrelated concepts are correlated.

This model suggests that all knowledge is represented and structured mentally by interlinked nodes. But most nodes lie dormant, stored in the so-called declarative memory. Only a small percentage of nodes is currently processed (information of the working memory). Associative models suggest that stereotypes occur through the spread of activation, entailing that the activation of one node proceeds via links to stimulate other nodes. Excitation travels fastest among strong links. The activation of information may be under conscious control, or it can occur automatically (Stephan, 1989).

2.3.3 Stereotyping processes

The following section intends to focus on the mental processes involved when people think about outgroups. The central thesis is the utility of social categories. Since humans cannot handle the complexity of their environment, they need to reconstruct a simpler model in order to function within such complexity. In addition, the assignment of categories to similar and different stimuli makes the exchange with the environment much more effective. Categorisation allows people to deduce meaning from surrounding objects by attending to a few diagnostic cues, rather than by recognising every attribute of every object, which would consume a considerable amount of time and labour (Allport, 1954).

Models of category-based stereotyping. The social cognition approach to stereotypes utilises category-based models in order to highlight the progression of people's perceptions, from initial categories that raise stereotypes, to particular perceptions that unite detailed information. According to Operario and Fiske (2001), the two most commonly cited models of impression

formation are the dual process model of Brewer (1988) and the continuum model of Fiske and Neuberg (1989). Both models share similar features, but vary in specific theoretical postulates. In revising the empirical research related to these models, Operario and Fiske identify the following core themes:

- Perceivers categorise other people automatically.
- Whenever possible, perceivers interpret new information according to their initial categorisation, which may result in stereotypes.
- When motivated, perceivers can make use of inconsistent information, thereby allowing for a revision of stereotypes.
- In addition, motivated perceivers may form impressions based on individual characteristics.

It is interesting to note the temporal nature of these themes, as each issue represents a discrete stage in the process of forming impressions.

Automatic categorisation. Perceivers categorise other people immediately upon encountering information that cues sufficiently as a meaningful social category. The obvious and visually salient cues include, for example, race, gender and age (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989). Since the automatic processing of information can occur simultaneously and requires relatively little processing capacity, there is a likelihood that the initial categorisation often occurs outside the perceivers' awareness (Stephan, 1989). Once a category is manifested, category-based cognitions (e.g. stereotypes), affect (e.g. prejudices) and behavioural tendencies (e.g. discrimination) can become activated (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989). The effects of initial categorisation can have negative consequences for the targets, who are viewed as exchangeable category members rather than individuals. This is different for perceivers, who utilise social categories in order to handle the complexity of their environment (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

Information interpretation. After the initial categorisation, perceivers occasionally employ more thoughtful processing. This depends on the motivation and goals of the perceiver, as well as the available information that is relevant for forming impressions. The motives of the perceiver can increase the attention given to attribute information and encourage information to interpret the information that disconfirms the category (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989).

Following categorisation, the attention of the perceiver is focused primarily on information consistent with the category (Stephan, 1989). The revision of research led Operario and Fiske (2001) to distinguish three different types of information relevant for forming impression: information can a) confirm a category, (b) be irrelevant for the category or (c) disconfirm a category. When information corresponds to the category, expectations are confirmed, thereby strengthening the category. When information is irrelevant to the category, perceivers either ignore the information or interpret the information so as to confirm category-based expectations. When information disconfirms the category, perceivers tend to interpret the information as an exemption to the general category. Thus, stereotypes can 'explain away' inconsistent information.

It can be said that perceivers adapt information to the pre-existing category. This corresponds to the notion of confirmatory categorisation (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989), whereby people preserve their categories via selected information searches.

Revising categorical beliefs. Operario and Fiske (2001) describe two models by which categories can change. The bookkeeping model postulates that people modify stereotypes over time by incorporating new information into that category. New information is balanced with prior beliefs and categorical expectations are adjusted gradually. The conversion model assumes that people alter their stereotypes more rapidly as a result of meeting highly discrepant members of a certain category.

Therefore, stereotypes can be changed when new information is incorporated. This change can occur in two different ways. Firstly, perceivers can form more particular categories that are subsumed under the broader category. This process is known as subtyping. Secondly, a perceiver can develop elaborated views about the category. This process is named subgrouping (Rothbart, 2001).

Forming individual impressions. It is only rarely that individuals are perceived according to their unique individual characteristics. Even subtyping and subgrouping processes focus on categorical rather than individual traits. Since the formation of an individual impression takes enormous effort or time, category-based processes are given priority over individuating processes (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989).

On the basis of reviewed research, Fiske and Neuberg (1989) state the following motivations for forming individual impressions: outcome dependency, accountability, personal values of fairness and other social motives. These conditions increase the attention being paid to target information and encourage the interpretation of information not fitting the target's category.

It should be noted that the perceiver has to proceed through all the stages of perception, i.e. from categorisation to information interpretation to re-categorisation (Fiske and Neuberg, 1989).

2.3.4 Stereotyping context

This final section argues that the larger context of stereotypes, characterised by its social hierarchy and history, determines the nature of the stereotype. The potency of the stereotypes is determined by power and social hierarchy, as well as status quo justification (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

Power and hierarchy. The nature of power dynamics and group hierarchy renders stereotypes to be particularly oppressive for members of low status groups. Conversely, groups near the social hierarchy are more likely to apply stereotypes about others, and even gain from the employment of stereotypes.

On the basis of the reviewed experiments, Operario and Fiske (2001) state that powerful individuals are more likely to employ stereotyping processes, since people pay less attention to inferior persons. Rather than reviewing the individual traits of subordinates, powerful people often place trust in categories for inferences and judgements. Different explanations may account for this effect. Firstly, the motivation for composing individual impressions might be lacking. Secondly, cognitive capacity might be allocated elsewhere, thus powerful people might have no cognitive capacity available for forming impressions. And thirdly, powerful perceivers might welcome the domination of others, thus simply desiring to stereotype their inferiors.

Privileges must be protected when under threat or resource scarcity, thereby increasing stereotyping.. Yet, when powerful people have communal goals with their subordinates, stereotyping processes decrease. Subordinate people are less likely to stereotype their superiors.

Therefore, power increases the probability of people engaging in stereotyping, and decreases the need to form impressions based on individual traits. The psychological effects of stereotyping

can influence society if stereotyping processes are aggregated across individuals and over time. People might act upon stereotypes through legislation, economic policies and institutional practices (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

Status quo justification. Stereotypes help to preserve or create positively valued distinctions between groups, thus contributing to the creation and maintenance of group ideologies. These ideologies are used to explain and justify a variety of social actions against the outgroup (Stroebe and Insko, 1989). The tendency to stereotype makes intuitive sense for power-holders: people aim to protect themselves and their ingroup, consequently they derogate and impair the outgroup (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

According to Operario and Fiske (2001), some research findings show that powerless people tend to express outgroup favouritism and show biases that rationalise and explain their low group status. An explanation might be that powerless people accept their low status when they perceive the standards of social justice as being correct. People might believe that stereotypes reflect the truth about different groups, rather than see stereotypes as myths that help to maintain the hierarchy. However, members of low-status groups do not inevitably internalise negative stereotypes. They can acknowledge the disadvantaged status of their group, yet maintain levels of self-esteem and personal control.

It can be said that stereotypes are capable of preserving social hierarchies, justifying societal inequalities, and supporting intergroup antagonism (Operario and Fiske, 2001, Stroebe and Insko, 1989).

2.3.5 The effects of stereotyping

An individual who is stigmatised is a person whose membership of some social category calls into question his or her full humanity – the person is devalued in the eyes of others. Being stereotyped can have effects on the individual's self-esteem, performance and development (Crocker and Quinn, 2001).

Self-esteem refers to a global judgement about the worth of the value of the self. Crocker and Quinn (2001) argue that self-esteem is primarily determined by the group to which a person belongs. Thus, personal feelings of worth depend to a considerable extent on the social evaluation of the group with which a person is identified. Feelings of worthlessness tend to arise

from membership in an underprivileged group. However, empirical research on having a devalued identity has shown inconsistent results. As an explanation of these results, Crocker and Quinn (2001) argue that self-esteem is not a stable characteristic that individuals bring to the situation, but rather that feelings of self-worth and self-respect are constructed in a specific situation. Individuals bring a set of beliefs and values to a situation. When positive or negative things happen, self-esteem depends on the meaning that those events have for the self. The meaning depends on the individual's accessible beliefs, attitudes and values. For example, a student whose self-esteem is based on the approval of others may be more personally distressed by prejudice than a student whose self-esteem is based mainly on being moral or being religious.

Performance. Members of stigmatised groups consistently tend to under perform in tests of some types of academic competence. Differences in test performance have been explained in terms of genetics and socialisation. Another explanation is the testing situation itself. Knowledge of the stereotype may affect performance when the stereotype is remarkable and/or relevant within the specific situation (Crocker and Quinn, 2001).

Crocker and Quinn (2001) describe a situation in which the member of a stereotyped group could confirm the negative stereotype through personal behaviour. This type of situation has been called a "stereotype threat" situation. This implies that, although members of a stigmatised and a non-stigmatised group may be in the same situation, such as taking a standardised test, the situation has different meanings for them and, consequently, different outcomes. Research has shown that a stigmatised person whose stereotype might be activated may feel more anxious, that previous positive experiences in the same field may be undermined, and that their performance may suffer. It should be noted that stereotype threat situations influence the performance under specific circumstances i.e. when the individual identifies himself highly with the field being tested, when a test is at the very limit of a person's ability, and when the negative stereotype is salient.

Several studies show that expectancy communication influences the actual performance. Crocker and Quinn (2001) describe research findings showing that, when elderly people were probed with a negative stereotype about old people, they performed worse on a memory test than if probed with a positive stereotype.

Development. The process of development involves both the competence and self-confidence to master new challenges. Self-confidence is crucial, since it increases an individual's motivation

to make the necessary effort to perform a certain task. People with high self-confidence will tend to attribute success to their own skills and abilities, whereas unexpected failure will be attributed to inadequate effort. Thus, if a confident person fails a task, a likely response to a similar assignment will be increased motivation in order to achieve success. In contrast, individuals with low self-esteem react differently. Personal success will be attributed to external forces, e.g. luck or the ease of the task. Failures tend to be attributed to either external forces (e.g. the system) or to a lack of personal ability. This rationale for failure affects both motivation and effort, thus influencing the process of development negatively. Since self-confidence depends largely on the social assessment of the group a person belongs to, the development of individuals that belong to a low status group might be influenced negatively (Human, 1996).

In summary, it can be said that the effects of stereotyping are negative for the targeted individuals when the stereotypes are negative. Conversely, positive stereotypes can have positive influences on self-esteem or performance. As mentioned in the section on stereotypes, people in powerful positions may use stereotypes to their advantage. For example, a person in a high-powered position may use stereotypes to keep 'subordinates' in their 'subordinate' position by justifying group differences.

2.3.6 Conclusion

This chapter on stereotypes has argued that stereotypes have to be understood at multiple levels of analysis to acknowledge their complexity and universality.

The first section emphasised the interpersonal level, stating that the content of stereotypes corresponds to psychological principles of interpersonal and intergroup relations. The second and third sections focused on cognitive levels, emphasising the mental structures and processes that help people to simplify their complex environment. The fourth section argued that the larger context, as reflected in hierarchy and status quo justifications, defines the potency of the stereotypes. The final section examined some effects of negative stereotypes on individuals.

This chapter indicates that stereotypes are inherent by-products of the human cognitive system, but that it is possible to control stereotyping if people are motivated to make the effort. Stereotypes are ambivalent belief systems, containing both negative and positive attributes. Depending on the social context, stereotypes are potentially damaging belief systems.

2.4 Racial Prejudice

The previous section discussed the social psychology of stereotyping. This section focuses on the special features of racial prejudice.

Race as socially constructed categorisation scheme. What makes ethnic groups different to other groups in a society is, according to Max Weber, that they are united by a 'subjective belief in common descent ... whether or not an objective blood relationship exists' (Weber, 1968:339) Ethnic groups may be differentiated by colour, language, geography and religion. Racial groups are a special category of ethnic groups in which, physical attributes, most notably skin colour, are the criteria of demarcation. These visible differences are only relevant if they are used to distinguish one group from another. Therefore, it is not the attribute that makes the group important, but the group and the group differences that make the attribute important. Stated differently, racial categories are human inventions that have no inherent natural basis. Subjective identification is the strongest uniting element, while objective differences operate as a catalyst (Cloppen, 1998).

The concept of racism. The concept of race is deeply embedded within all aspects of the SA society (Villa-Vivencio, 2002). Several authors (Operario and Fiske, 1998, Augoustinous and Reynolds, 2001) see prejudice and racism as two distinct concepts. First, prejudice is usually regarded as an individual phenomenon, whereas racism is a wider construct that connects individual beliefs and practices to broader social and institutional norms and practices.

The second important difference between prejudice and racism relates to power. At an individual level, a person can display racial prejudice, i.e. a negative attitude towards an individual or a group, that is based upon a process of social comparison whereby the individual's own racial group is taken as a positive reference point (Augoustinous and Reynolds, 2001). With racism, however, the significance of ingroup preference (i.e. ethnocentrism) lies in the ingroup's ability to exercise power over the outgroup. In other words, the power that one group has over another transforms racial prejudice into racism, thereby linking individual prejudice with broader social and institutional practices (Operario and Fiske, 1998). In addition, it should be pointed out that racism has another specific property that distinguishes it from prejudice. This rests on an unfounded assertion on the biological inferiority of certain racial groups, together with the assumption that the differences are fundamental and immutable (Jonas, 1998).

Racism at the structural and cultural level maintains and reproduces the power differences between groups in a social system. Jonas (1998) points out, that although individuals make institutions work and that culture is the cumulative experience of individuals over time, both institutions and culture have a life of their own.

According to Augoustinous and Reynolds (2001), racism can take both institutional and cultural forms. Institutional racism refers to institutional policies that protect and legitimate the power that one group has over another group. Institutional racism can be overt and covert, intentional or unintentional, but the results are racial bias. Cultural racism takes place when those in positions of power define the norms, values and standards of a particular culture. These mainstream ideals might be contradictory to the values of the powerless group.

In such circumstances, the powerless people have to surrender their own cultural heritage and adopt the new one in order to participate in society (Augoustinous and Reynolds, 2001). Jonas (1998) points out that racial prejudice operates in a bottom-up way, whereas cultural racism operates in the reverse direction. The effect of both processes is institutional racism.

Contemporary theories on prejudice have tried to understand the implications of legal and normative changes on modern forms of prejudice. There have been enormous changes at the societal level (i.e. no longer separate public spaces or universities). To a certain extent, changes also appeared to have occurred at the individual level. For example, most South Africans (58%), including a majority of whites, are opposed to racially segregated communities and schools (McDonald, 2000).

Covert Racism. Many recent models of prejudice assume that, in response to normative expectations, there have been changes in the nature of people's attitudes. Specifically, people's attitudes have shifted from predominantly negative to being more mixed and ambivalent in nature. In response to normative prescriptions against overt bias, prejudice has been transformed into subtle and increasingly covert expressions (Devine, Plant and Blair, 2001). Theories on covert racism assume that some white people reject traditionally racist beliefs and agree to abstract principles of justice and fair treatment. Yet, because their negative feelings towards people of colour were learned early in their socialisation of a historically racist culture, they are considered ambivalent in their reactions to people of colour.

In the United States, the subtle form of racism is known as modern racism or aversive racism. Modern racists, for example, are thought to rationalise their negative feelings in terms of

abstract political and social issues (e.g. opposition to affirmative action). Aversive racists similarly reject overt forms of prejudice, but possess unacknowledged negative feelings and beliefs that are based on their socialisation into a historically racist culture. This is linked with a cognitive and motivational bias that promotes ingroup favouritism.

Schutte (1995) researched the racial socialisation of white children in South Africa. Even though his study was completed seven years ago, it can be argued that present-day students are the generation of children researched by Schutte (1995). On the basis of this consideration, the research results of this comparatively old study are included.

Schutte (1995) argues that the racial socialisation of white children starts at home. The servants are black, they do inferior work ('kafferwerk') and they do not share things with white people that are associated with body contact. It is not considered disrespectful that minor children call adult Africans by their first name, give them commands, or demand their immediate attention even though the servants are busy with other tasks. Thus, Schutte (1995) points out that the socialisation of white children into South African society can occur from an early age onwards. Aversive racists are assumed to alternate between positive and negative feelings towards people of colour. The kind of response that will appear is thought to be based on the normative structure within the situation and the potential for generating a non-racial justification for a prejudiced response. When norms are fragile or ambiguous, or when justifications are easily available, the negative tendencies of the aversive racists will be displayed (Devine, Plant and Blair, 2001). The ambiguity between an openly approved egalitarian attitude and value system and negative feelings of discomfort, uneasiness, disgust and sometimes fear tend to motivate avoidance rather than intentionally destructive behaviour (Walker, 2001).

Ambivalence: Conflict between value and attitude structures. Within the American context, it is assumed that white Americans hold two sets of conflicting values, i.e. egalitarianism and individualism (Walker, 2001). Both value sets affect their reactions towards African Americans in a different way. Whereas egalitarianism is grounded in democratic and humanitarian principles, individualism is grounded in the Protestant work ethic and supports principles such as personal freedom, self-reliance, devotion to work and achievement. Egalitarian values encourage the development of specific attitudes regarding Blacks, including sympathy. Individualist values, however, encourage anti-Black sentiments, including beliefs that negative outcomes, such as unemployment and criminal behaviour, are rooted in the personal weaknesses

of Blacks. This duality in attitude creates ambivalence. Thus, responses to Black people depend on which ambivalent component is activated in a given situation (Walker, 2001).

The language of racial prejudice. LeCouteur and Augoustinous (2001) emphasise the discursive analysis that researches how discourse is organised in order to avoid or deny attributes of racism. Research has shown that respondents are often able to justify and sustain existing inequitable relations, even though respondents base their arguments on liberal and egalitarian principles such as freedom, fairness and equal opportunity. Several ‘rhetorically self-sufficient’ arguments were identified:

- Nobody should be compelled.
- Everybody should be treated equally.
- You cannot turn the clock backwards.
- Present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations.
- Everybody can succeed if they try hard enough.
- Minority opinion should not carry more weight than majority opinion.
- We have to live in the twentieth century.
- You have to be practical (LeCouteur and Augoustinous, 2001: 222).

Thus, people use language in order to achieve certain outcomes. Words are not merely abstract tools that describe things. They are also used to make certain things happen. Individuals use language to justify, explain, excuse, persuade and present themselves in the best possible light (LeCouteur and Augoustinous, 2001).

Past psychological research clearly indicated that group identities were shaped by the apartheid system. That entails that South African citizens viewed themselves as members of the black, white, so-called coloured, Indian, etc. group (Bloom, 1994, Heaven et al. 1994). With the transformations in the nation’s macro-level political and its social structures, group identities may also be transforming, potentially either diminishing their significance of the past (Adam, 1995) or increasing their importance, for example when linked with another sociological variable such as social class (Foster, 1996). A third possible effect of the political changes could be the development of superordinate identities such as “South African”.

A study among adolescents (Smith and Stones, 1999) indicates that issues related to group identity continue to play an important role. South African individuals tend to identify with

members of their own racial group. This identification pattern is supported by Duckitt and Mphuting (1998), who found a strong in-group identification with own racial groups. Corresponding to the group identification, respondents displayed a bias towards individuals from outgroups. Respondents perceived their racial attitudes to be based on their racial experience, but they showed no tendency to avoid or seek out racial issues (Smith and Stones, 1999).

The relatively large differences in South African group identity patterns show that a potential collective identity, such as being South African, has not developed yet. The potential development may be favoured by a strong emotional commitment towards the nation, as indicated in a study by Braungart and Braungart (1995) on black and white students. As opposed to that, a study by Slabbert (2002) discusses the possibility of a collective identity more critically. The students from different racial groups (white, black, coloured) regarded each other as immoral, not trustworthy, prejudiced, unfriendly and cold. If people perceive each other as, among other things, immoral and not trustworthy, then the construction of a common identity faces serious challenges.

The above mentioned research shows the existence of group membership and strong identity patterns in South Africa. One means of discussing the continuing existence of categorising individuals according to subgroups can be linked to processes of socialisation, involving the parents, schools, peer groups, and mass media (Aboud and Amato, 2001).

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Other important socialisation factors are educational institutions and the interaction of peer groups both within and outside the institutions. A study by de Wet (2002) researched the racial violence at school by means of a media analysis. The underlying argument is based on the assumption that the media mirrors a society's concerns and interests. The discourse analysis makes use of quotations of stakeholders (pupils, teachers, parents and other) that are published in South African newspapers. The analysis indicates that racism is an integral part of the educational environment. The discursive themes of the stakeholders include a positive "self"-presentation and a negative presentation of the "other" (e.g. Black/Whites are violent, racist and/or inhuman; Whites are unreasonable). Additional discursive themes are the denial of racism, the justification of racist violence by means of force of fact (e.g. as reaction on (alleged) prior verbal or physical abuses) and the disempowerment of black pupils.

The marginalisation of black learners and the existence of racial discrimination is also one of the key findings of a study by Erasmus and Ferreira (2002). The research focused on the integration of black grade 9 learners in historically white schools. The study found that black grade 9 learners faced difficult scholastic, social and emotional challenges. The difficulties include a perceived "differentness" in habits and appearance and the management of racist encounters at school. The respondents had generally experienced marginalisation through some kind of racial discrimination or victimisation, both by other learners and/or teaching staff.

The diversity challenges experienced by the teaching staff may be explained by the deficit of cultural diversity modules at the teacher training. This results in avoidance strategies by teachers, which may affect the development and performance of their pupils (Möller and Le Roux, 2002).

The South African mass media can be considered as another important factor influencing the racial socialisation of the individual. A study by the South African Human Rights Commission (Braude, 1999) found clear signs of racism in the media. Even though the study by Braude has been criticised for its Eurocentric definition of racism (racist ideology was only associated with one race), the results are supported by a quantitative study conducted by the Institute for Media Analysis (2000). A content analysis of five major South African newspapers found the tendency to publish news in terms of their perceived audience according to race².

² Several authors (e.g. Tomaselli, 2000); discuss the applied methodology in both studies under a critical perspective. The authors emphasize that they do not question the existence of racism, but the definition, the extent to which it exists, where and how it is perpetuated.

In conclusion, it can be said that, even though norms have changed on a societal level, racial prejudice and racism might still be found in present-day South Africa. The empirical studies indicate their existence among particular racial groups and their implications for intergroup relations such as prejudicing and discrimination. For the purpose of this thesis, the discussed studies focused on the psychological perspective such as identity patterns and sociological viewpoint like socialisation processes. The diversity challenges identified by these perspectives can translate into difficulties in various areas of the South African society. Human (1998) points out that racial prejudice and its implications can threaten the economic development and/or political stability of a country.

2.5 Intervention strategies for stereotype reduction

The purpose of this section is to summarise the various approaches to the reduction of stereotyping, prejudice and social discrimination. The intervention strategies view stereotypes, prejudice and social discrimination as facets of a generally prejudiced orientation, addressing them in a combined way.

According to Duckitt (2001), actions to reduce prejudice can operate at four distinct levels:

Firstly, at the *perceptual-cognitive level*, there should be changes in the salience of certain social categorisations that sustain prejudice.

Secondly, there should be interventions at *the individual level* intended to change individual susceptibility to adopt and maintain prejudice.

Thirdly, at the *interpersonal level*, certain social influences (e.g. support norms of tolerance) should be changed and favourable intergroup contact should be created. Fourthly, there should be change at the *societal-intergroup level* in the kind of social conditions that create and reinforce prejudice in societies.

2.5.1 The cognitive level: Changing social categorisation

Stereotypes are an inherent by product of the human cognitive system. While neither of these perceptual-cognitive processes are readily convertible, the kind of categorisations that are salient for people can be changed (Duckitt, 2001).

The following intervention strategies are based on the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), which rests on two basic premises:

The complexity of the environment is simplified by forming categories into which to divide the social world. Categorisation has the effect of minimising perceived differences within categories and maximising differences between categories. Social categorisation carries implicit outgroup distinctions.

Based on these premises, the social identity theory postulates the following basic intergroup schema:

- The intergroup accentuation principle entails that all members of a group are perceived as more similar to the self than to members of an outgroup.
- The intergroup favouritism principle states that positive effects are selectively generalised to ingroup members but not to outgroup members.
- The social competition principle describes the intergroup social comparison associated with the perceived negative interdependence between ingroup and outgroup.

These characteristics outline the obstacles to positive relationships between various groups. The following section intends to focus on different kinds of categorisations that can influence intergroup bias in a positive way.

According to the *decategorisation* approach, contact between outgroup members will be most effective in changing attitudes if the contact is personalised and not category based. When this is the case, the contact situation will promote opportunities to get to know outgroup members as individual persons. This should provide opportunities to disconfirm stereotypes and discover similarities. According to Duckitt (2001), several experimental studies have confirmed this approach.

The *recategorisation or superordinate identity model* suggests to eliminate intergroup distinctions by making a common superordinate identification salient. This common identity either replaces the original identities or co-exists with them. Research (Duckitt, 2001) has found less intergroup bias in the recategorisation condition than in the decategorisation condition.

The *subcategorisation* approach was developed as a critique of both the decategorisation and the recategorisation approach and is, in a sense, their direct contradiction. It states that a favourable experience between outgroup members might result in positive feelings for a specific outgroup member, but would not necessarily generalise to the whole outgroup as a social entity. This generalisation would occur only when the contrasting outgroup memberships were salient in the contact situation. According to Duckitt (2001), this was supported by prior experiments. Yet, Brewer and Gärtnner (2001) suggest that, in spite of the laboratory findings, frequent exposure to outgroup members under individualised conditions would help to break down stereotypes by indicating how heterogeneous the outgroup actually is. Another problem with the subcategorisation approach is how to prevent salient group categorisations from stimulating intergroup competitiveness. However, it is suggested that this would not occur if contact situations were ordered so that the members of the various groups had complementary rather than identical roles in achieving a joint objective.

A fourth approach refers to *cross-cutting categorisations*. This means that individuals who belong to distinct groups in one categorisation may find themselves being members of the same group in a second dimension of categorisation. On the basis of experimental findings, Brewer and Gaertner (2001) state that individuals evaluate others more favourably when they have at least one common group membership.

Thus, it can be said that there is experimental evidence indicating that each of the four categorisation approaches helps to counteract the effects of stereotyping. Even though the subcategorisation approach has been seen as competing with the first two approaches, this might be an oversimplification. In naturalistic settings, all three kinds of categorisations might occur in different situations at different times, thus contributing to minimise prejudice. This would be particularly likely in societies where multiple cross-categorisations are present (Duckitt, 2001).

2.5.2 Individual Level: Changing susceptibility to stereotyping

Interventions on the individual level usually target only a limited number of persons. This might be especially useful in specific social contexts, such as a school or workplace. Two different kinds of individual level interventions can be distinguished: firstly, those that intend to change direct prejudicial attitudes and, secondly, those that attempt to change some characteristics of individuals in order to make them less receptive to prejudicial beliefs.

Intervention strategies that aim at modifying direct prejudicial attitudes make use of various approaches. Some intervention programmes emphasise cognitive processes, focusing mostly on information, knowledge, awareness and understanding of the target prejudice (Hewstone, 1989). Other intervention formats rely more on affective changes toward outgroup members, based on experiences shared with them in mixed workshop settings (Human, 1996).

Cross-cultural training programmes incorporate a wide range of techniques. Programmes can entail cognitive, self-insight, behavioural, experiential and attribution training. The strategies focus either on culture-specific or culture-general training. Culture-specific training strategies focus especially on a target culture in order to ensure effective communication in the target culture. The main idea of culture-general training strategies is that self-awareness of one's own culture may result in greater understanding of the values of other cultures (Brislin and Bhawuk, 1999).

On the basis of reviewed research, Duckitt (2001) points out that change in racial attitudes may not occur directly. Instead, individuals seem to learn and internalise new values of tolerance that motivate them to suppress their previously learned negative attitudes.

Various interventions attempt to reduce prejudice by changing the characteristics of individuals that may influence their susceptibility to prejudice.

Ideological belief systems can have an influence on the individual's prejudice. A rightwing authoritarian belief system relates to the authoritarian personality and is characterised by an attempt to conform socially and the belief in a dangerous, threatening world. It has been found that individuals with authoritarian attitudes are more susceptible to directives from legitimate authority figures to adopt less prejudiced attitudes (Duckitt, 2001).

Another attribute that interventions attempt to modify is intercultural ignorance. Intercultural training aims at developing knowledge and awareness of the subjective culture of other groups. In contrast to many other interventions, this strategy emphasises the differences between groups. The goal is to develop an emphatic understanding for the way the outgroup perceives the world in order to avoid misunderstanding, reduce stereotyping and improve intergroup attitudes (Leung and Chan, 1999).

Another intervention strategy makes use of formal education in order to increase the cognitive sophistication of an individual. Yet, not all education reduces prejudice. ‘Liberal’ education, which exposes individuals to a diversity of ideas and perspectives, can reduce prejudice. In contrast, conservative approaches to education, which aim essentially at the preservation and inculcation of traditional norms and beliefs, do not reduce prejudice. Duckitt (2001) mentions, among other examples, the ‘Christian National Education’ in pre-transition South Africa.

In conclusion, it can be said that a diversity of interventions succeed in reducing either the levels of prejudice or the susceptibility to prejudice of individuals. Research findings suggest that an initial positive orientation to change may be a significant factor relating to how much change occurs. This could imply that the problem with short-term individual-level interventions may be that those individuals who are most prejudiced, and for whom change would be most important, seem least likely to be influenced by such interventions (Duckitt, 2001).

2.5.3 Interpersonal Level: Contact experiences and social influence

Interventions at the interpersonal level are based on the fact that the kind of contact that individuals experience and their exposure to social influence will have important impacts in creating and maintaining prejudice or reducing it (Duckitt, 2001).

Social influence. These intervention strategies aim at modifying the exposure of individuals to information and normative pressures. Here the focus will be on interventions aiming to support the norms of tolerance and non-discrimination and the content of educational curricula.

As noted before, exposure to the norm of non-prejudice may be critically important in reducing stereotypes. Individuals typically reduce prejudice by internalising values of non-prejudice. This may be especially effective during adolescence and early adulthood. Norms of tolerance have to be established in specific social settings, as well as in a society as a whole (Duckitt, 2001).

In order to establish and maintain the norm of non-prejudice, institutions must openly and explicitly affirm, emphasise and publicly administer non-discriminatory policies in all aspects of their functioning. Organisations must make explicit commitments to equal opportunities and diversity and ensure that all facilities and activities are fully integrated. In addition, organisations must ensure that target groups are adequately represented at the supervisory and executive level, implement measures that actively demonstrate the unacceptability of discrimination, and adopt training programmes to change prejudiced attitudes directly (Pettigrew, 1998).

The kind of information that individuals have about outgroups influences the attitudes towards them. One important strategy for providing information are multicultural educational curricula. The curricula intend to explicitly teach the history, accomplishments and culture of target groups, as well as emphasise the value of social and cultural diversity. Information about the historical and economical background of disadvantaged groups may counter the tendency to make individual rather than situational and historical attributions for social disadvantages. In addition, it has been suggested that information about the theory of stereotyping and intergroup hostility, and how to alleviate it, should be included (Duckitt, 2001).

Intergroup contact experiences. The “contact hypothesis” states that hostility towards groups is fed by unfamiliarity and separation (Allport, 1954). Thus, under the right conditions, contact among members of different groups will reduce hostility and promote more positive intergroup attitudes. The necessary conditions are social and institutional support, that the groups are of equal status within the contact situation, that they share common goals and that they cooperate with each other. In addition, the contact situation should have acquaintance potential, i.e. the potential for the growth of friendship between group members (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001). It has been argued that desegregation and contact are necessary, but not sufficient, circumstances for reducing stereotypes. They create a situation that has the potential of improving intergroup relations (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001).

Research on desegregated schools shows that intergroup contact within the typical classroom structure does not seem to ameliorate intergroup attitudes. Intergroup relations can worsen when majority and minority children differ in social status or achievement level. On the other hand, the evaluation of cooperative learning strategies indicates positive outcomes for intergroup attitudes, as well as improvements in self-esteem and academic performance, especially for initially low-performing children (Schofield and Eurich-Fulcer, 2001). The importance of

superordinate identity, which can be created through building greater organisational commitment goals should be emphasised. Situations of potential intergroup competition should be removed (Duckitt, 2001).

Duckitt (2001) points out that social influence and interpersonal contact interventions seem to have greater potential for reducing stereotypes than approaches at the individual level. Individual level approaches seem to be most effective for individuals who already are favourably inclined to change, and least effective for individuals who are most prejudiced. On the other hand, interpersonal influence and contact approaches will usually capitalise on the tendency for authoritarian persons to be more socially conforming.

2.5.4 The Societal-Intergroup Level: Changing social conditions

Social structure and intergroup relations influence stereotyping significantly, mainly by structuring the kinds of social influence and interpersonal contact experienced by individuals within a particular society. The social structure also sets the frame for the success or failure of interventions at interpersonal or individual levels (Duckitt, 2001).

In situations in which intergroup relations have deteriorated to open conflict, the first step to reduce prejudice must be to reduce this overt conflict by conflict resolution strategies. A second step may be to design a constitutional framework providing for the co-existence of conflicting groups. The core values of liberal democracy are legal and political equality and political tolerance. However, democracy cannot ensure intergroup tolerance, although it should provide the necessary framework. For example, it has been argued that the core value of equality in American society served as powerful moral lever for the improvement in race relations (Duckitt, 2001).

When groups are initially segregated, desegregation is a first step to the creation of an environment in which prejudice might be reduced. As the contact hypothesis predicts, desegregation alone will not reduce prejudice. Other necessary measures are strictly enforced anti-discriminatory legislation, the enhancement of perceptions of procedural justice, forcing

changes in the customary patterns of discriminatory behaviour by majority members³, and establishing basic social and institutional support for the new norms of non-discrimination. As indicated by research literature on cognitive dissonance and attitude change, behavioural adaptation by means of such laws and norms should itself tend to ameliorate attitudes to outgroups.

Equality of opportunity will not ensure optimal intergroup relations when minorities have been disadvantaged politically and economically. Since patterns of economic disadvantage may become self-perpetuating cycles, concerted actions are necessary to empower minorities. This has often involved affirmative action programmes (Bond, 1999).

To be most effective, interventions at the societal-intergroup level ideally should be integrated into a congruous social policy towards minorities. The traditional approach was that of assimilation. Yet, evidence has shown that assimilationist policies can be damaging to minority groups. Thus, multiculturalism increasingly has been recommended. The concept of multiculturalism views diversity as inevitable and valuable in its own right and aims at accepting and maintaining subgroup identity. A strong and shared superordinate identity has been emphasised in order to prevent strong group boundaries, which easily might become lines of conflict. The superordinate identity should not be the majority identity, but a 'cultura franca' reflecting the shared heritage of all social groups within a certain society.

Finally, two important societal characteristics that are strongly associated with prejudice and tolerance should be mentioned. Firstly, societies need to be safe, secure and stable; and secondly, societies should be based on social justice and a cooperative and egalitarian ethos (Bond, 1999).

It can be said that interventions at the societal-intergroup level are potentially the most powerful ones. Typically, such interventions require either political action or social movements working for change.

³ Simon, Aufderheide and Kampmeier (2001) define minority and majority group membership as commonly based on relative numbers. Thus, groups with fewer members are defined as minorities. In addition, relative power or social status is sometimes used to define minority and majority group membership. For instance, under Apartheid in South Africa, Whites would have been considered a majority and Blacks a minority group, even though the former group was numerically smaller than the latter.

2.5.5 Conclusion

When societal conditions are broadly favourable, but much intergroup prejudice remains, interventions at the interpersonal and individual level will be most appropriate and effective. It should be noted, however, that the socio-economic deprivation of a certain social group creates a basis for stereotyping and discrimination in 'social reality'. When stereotypes are based on specific social realities, interventions at the individual and interpersonal level will only transform old-fashioned forms into more subtle 'modern' or 'symbolic' forms. Thus, the challenge in such countries lies in social interventions to reduce poverty and break the entrenched cycles of deprivation (Duckitt, 2001).

2.6 Concluding summary

The chapter began at the societal level, describing the notion of valuing diversity as an ideal of the South African nation. Having identified stereotyping as a significant barrier to valuing diversity, the complexity of the stereotyping concept was highlighted. Two core principles were highlighted. Firstly, that stereotypes are ambivalent, containing both positive and negative attributes about social groups and that their potency therefore is determined largely by the social context within which they arise. Secondly, that stereotypes are inherent by-products of the human cognitive system, yet controllable through personal motivation and effort. The ways in which and extent to which stereotypes resist change were highlighted. The characteristics of racism and their forms in present society were discussed. The last section of the chapter focused on different intervention strategies that can be used to counter the effects of stereotyping at the cognitive, individual, interpersonal and societal-intergroup level.

This chapter highlighted that stereotypes are inevitable, yet can be dangerous to groups and individuals. Human beings cannot survive without utilising stereotypes, yet their application can have negative effects on the stereotyped individuals and groups. This dilemma implies that any researched social action has to be reviewed with special care in order to distinguish between inevitable circumstances and possible positive improvements in intergroup relations. A combination of various scientific approaches has to be utilised in order to treat the complexity of stereotyping and its related processes in an appropriate way.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERVENTION: THE VALUE DIVERSITY WORKSHOP AND ITS STRATEGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, various aspects of the Value Diversity Intervention will be discussed. Firstly, the core dimensions of this intervention are reviewed. Secondly, one specific core dimension is described in more detail. This core dimension is the intended diversity workshop itself. Thirdly, there will be a discussion of how this intervention intended to achieve its goals and objectives. Thereby, it will become apparent how the causal factors are linked to the targeted problem, and how specific aspects of this problem are addressed by the intervention.

3.2 The conceptual model of the intervention

Social interventions are a specific type of human action. Interventions are intended to cause positive change within the social world by means of structured social actions. Though interventions differ in various ways, their essence can be captured in certain core dimensions, which include the programme goals and objectives and the related outcomes, the target group as the intended beneficiary, specific programme components, the management system, the human resource base, the stakeholders and a certain setting (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

The intervention under evaluation was a Value Diversity Workshop implemented at the University of Stellenbosch in July and August 2001. The intervention was intended to heighten the students' awareness of the diversity of the student body and to improve the interaction among the various student groups.

The goals of this particular diversity intervention were translated into the following objectives:

- to introduce students to aspects of diversity
- to provide a deeper understanding of the current situation and its historical origin
- to cultivate awareness of the cultural perspectives of the various SA subgroups
- to heighten an awareness of current stereotypes
- to provide information about the dynamics of ignorance, stereotyping and

discrimination

- to cultivate an awareness of the necessity to appreciate and value diversity
- to motivate students to interact with students from other backgrounds on a deeper level

These objectives refer to the outcomes that are expected to be achieved by this intervention.

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned theoretical arguments, certain restraints on the diversity skills programme under evaluation had to be taken into account from the outset. Due to the short duration of the workshop (4 hours) and the relatively large number of participants (50), the aims of the value diversity workshop had to be limited to an introduction to diversity issues.

The diversity workshop was aimed at students of the University of Stellenbosch who were living in student residences. Students in leadership positions and first-year students were targeted specifically and asked to participate in the workshop.

The management system of this intervention consisted of the project administrators and a monitoring system. The facilitator, a private company⁴, provided the input and the administrative support for the workshop in conjunction with the Department of Student Affairs, University of Stellenbosch. The intervention was monitored by Mr. R. and D. G.⁵, both of the Department of Student Affairs. The Human resources utilised in this intervention are the employees of the facilitating company as well as representatives of the Department of Student Affairs.

The stakeholders in this intervention were the students of the University of Stellenbosch targeted by the intervention, the Department of Student Affairs of the University of Stellenbosch as the initiator of the intervention, and the service provider.

3.3 Description of the Value Diversity Workshop

The above-mentioned objectives were intended to be achieved by means of a series of value diversity workshops. Each workshop accommodated a group of 50 students from both male and female university residences. Each group consisted of the house parents, the head students ('Prims'), the residence council, between eight and ten coloured and black students and 36 other

⁴ The name of the company is withheld in order to protect the identity of the company.

⁵ These abbreviations are used in order to protect the identity of the individuals.

students, comprising 18 first-year students and eight senior students. The University anticipated that approximately 500 students would attend one of the workshops. No student was under any obligation to attend the workshop. The language of the workshops depended on the preference of the students who attended the specific workshop (the majority of these were mainly Afrikaans-speaking or bilingual). The intervention facilities were provided by the student residences (lecture room).

Each workshop started with an introduction by the main facilitator, which was either Mrs. B.S. or Mr. S. Students were asked about their perceptions of differences and commonality in the student population.

For the second phase of the workshop, the students were divided into four groups. Each group had a facilitator and was required to include at least one or two black or coloured students. Group discussions took place on one of the following topics: language, gender and sexual orientation, social class or race. Students were asked to identify stereotypes about related subgroups (for example, male/female stereotypes) they were aware of. Flip-charts were used to summarise the discussions.

In the third phase, the participants regrouped into a large group. The participants then had an opportunity to share their experiences of the small groups.

The next workshop element was a lecture on South African history. The lecture focused on the Population Registration Act and its implications, especially for the education system.

To conclude, the video “A class divided” was shown. This video provided examples of stereotyping, self-fulfilling prophecies and discrimination⁶. This was followed by a discussion about the video and about the workshop itself.

⁶ The video shows an experiment by an American teacher. She divided her class into two groups. One group consisted of blue-eyed pupils, the other group included the brown and green-eyed learners. Then she told the class that the blue-eyed pupils were more beautiful and intelligent. The other pupils had to wear white collars. The blue-eyed people started to perform better in school than the brown or green-eyed pupils. After a day she told the class that, in reality, the brown and green-eyed learners were more beautiful and intelligent. The white collars were given to the blue-eyed people. Again, the supposedly more intelligent students started to perform better. At the end of the experiment, she discussed what happened in the class and how the learners felt during the experiment.

3.4 Programme theory

Rossi, Freeman and Lipsey (1996) argue that the programme theory should be stated explicitly, i.e. the assumptions on programme strategy by which the intervention intends to achieve its goals and objectives. Two specific models can be distinguished. Firstly, the 'impact model' aims to link the problem with its causal factors. An outline is provided about how the specified problem is intended to be addressed by the intervention, stating its aims, output and result. This is linked to the expected outcomes and impact⁷. A second model is the 'theory of change'. It intends to link the various activities of the workshop to the aim that these activities are trying to achieve.

It should be pointed out that the facilitator developed the intervention, but did not develop an explicit programme theory. The developed models were my contribution in order to provide the necessary framework for understanding the intervention. The models were developed on the basis of information provided by Mr. R. of the Department of Student Affairs, who attended prior workshops of the same type⁸. The information was complemented by documentation provided by the programme facilitator. As pointed out in earlier chapters, the concept of diversity is complex and any intervention attempting to enhance the perceptions of diversity by the target group is complicated. It should be questioned how a value diversity intervention can be developed without explicitly reflecting the underlying assumptions and the expected effects of each component of the workshop.

Due to a lack of information before the implementation of the intervention, a comprehensive 'theory of change' was developed as part of the research process, based on the actual observation of the intervention. The 'theory of change' was examined elaborately during the discussion of the results of the process evaluation. The advantages and disadvantages of the intervention design then became evident. In addition, the comprehend model revealed how the 'theory of change' was implemented.

⁷ In the case of an outcome evaluation, the impact models include the proposed measurements of the expected outcomes.

⁸ Three months earlier, the same type of workshop was implemented in other student residences by the same company. These workshops took place before the University asked for an outside evaluator.

The 'impact model', however, outlines what the intervention aimed to achieve and could have been developed before the intervention. The developed model was shown to the facilitator, who agreed that the models described their intervention well (See table page 44).

The 'impact model' has to be read from the left to the right side. The model starts by indicating the specific factors that caused the addressed problem. One factor can be seen in the past political system, which postulated separate development for different 'racial' groups. During the transformation process, legal barriers between the South African 'racial' groups were removed (Davenport and Saunders, 1999). This influenced the composition of student the population. In the researched case, the homogeneous student population of white Afrikaans-speaking students changed to a more heterogeneous student body. This means that students have to interact within a culturally diverse student population, even though their socialisation process might be characterised by a lack of interaction with people of other backgrounds.

This results in the social problem targeted by the intervention. Students experience difficulties in interacting with students from diverse backgrounds, and this becomes apparent in their academic and social environment. This is linked to a lack of awareness of other student perspectives, as well as a lack of general knowledge and the existence of stereotypes.

The intervention formulates specific objectives by which the described problem is to be addressed. Students are encouraged to overcome difficulties regarding the interaction in a diverse student body. They are motivated to interact on a deeper level with students from diverse backgrounds, both in the academic and the social environment. The lack of awareness of other student subgroups is addressed by providing information about various cultural perspectives in present-day South Africa, which can be linked to perspectives on groups within the Stellenbosch student population. In order to enhance the general knowledge of students, the intervention introduced various aspects of diversity (such as gender, language, religion, 'race'). In addition, the intervention provided specific information regarding some of the historical implications of the diversity aspect of 'race'. This was done to enhance an understanding of the current social situation. The existence of stereotypes is addressed in a threefold way. Firstly, current stereotypes that are applied to South African subgroups are explored by means of discussion. Secondly, the intervention intends to provide information about the dynamics of stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination. Thirdly, the facilitator highlighted the importance of appreciating human diversity and the effective management of diversity.

The objectives of the intervention are reflected in the presumed output of the intervention. The intervention output was value diversity workshops that target 25 students in each university residence. Different methods were applied to ensure that the students understood the information provided by the intervention. Workshop methods were discussed in theme groups and large groups, and by lecture and video. A short break intended to ensure the concentration of the students during the four hours of the workshop. The intervention facilities were provided by the student residences.

The output of the intervention is expected to cause an immediate outcome that will become visible in the social and academic environment. This outcome is related to the objectives of the intervention. Due to participation in the intervention, students are expected to be more motivated to interact with students on a deeper level. In addition, participants are expected to have more understanding of the different perspectives of South African cultural groups. It is anticipated that students will have more general knowledge of both diversity aspects and the history of their country, especially in relation to 'race' as an aspect of diversity. Regarding the problematic of stereotypes, students should be more aware of current SA stereotypes. In addition, it is hoped that students will have a greater understanding of the theoretical principles of stereotyping, as well as the value of appreciating and valuing diversity.

In addition to the immediate outcome, the 'impact model' suggests that an intermediate outcome must be specified. This outlines how the intervention results are supposed to be visible in the more distant future. Due to the intervention design (relatively short time span, yet a considerable number of participants), the facilitators and the Department of Student Affairs did not indicate a specific outcome for the intermediate time span. However, the impact of the intervention is specified. The diversity workshop intends to be one among other beneficial factors that help students to develop an appreciation for human diversity. In addition, it is hoped that participants will develop strategies to manage human diversity in an effective way. Both the appreciation and management of human diversity are seen as a step towards preparing students for their social and professional life.

3.5 Conclusion

The conceptual model, the description of the intervention and the programme theory are based on information from the programme facilitator and University representatives. It can be said that the information obtained before the workshop was relatively broad and unspecific. It was clear

what programme components were planned, yet it was essential to specify how and why each programme component was presented. Since any diversity intervention should be designed in a comprehended and sustainable form, the lack of more detailed information should be reviewed critically.

The programme components of the intervention and their rationale will be discussed in more detail as part of the process evaluation, for which the information will be based on data collected during the research process itself.

Table 3.1: The Impact Model

CAUSAL FACTOR	PROBLEM	INTERVENTION	OUTPUT	IMMEDIATE OUTCOME	IMPACT
<p>The past political system postulated the separate development of different 'racial' groups.</p> <p>As part of the transformation process, this postulation was removed. As a result, the composition of the student population changed from a nearly homogeneous 'white' and Afrikaans-speaking population to a more heterogeneous one.</p> <p>This means that students have to interact within a culturally diverse student population, even though their socialisation process might be characterised by a lack of interaction with people of other backgrounds.</p>	<p>Students experience <i>difficulties in interacting</i> with students from diverse backgrounds in their academic and social environment. This is linked to a <i>lack of awareness</i> of other student perspectives, a <i>lack of general knowledge</i> and the <i>existence of stereotypes</i>.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ To encourage interaction among students from diverse backgrounds on an individual level ➤ To provide information about the cultural perspectives of the various SA subgroups, which are linked to student subgroups ➤ To introduce students to aspects of diversity ➤ To provide information about SA history (to understand how the current situation developed) ➤ To explore current stereotypes about SA subgroups through discussion ➤ To provide information about the dynamics of ignorance, stereotyping and discrimination ➤ To highlight the importance of the appreciation and management of diversity 	<p>Value diversity workshops, facilitated by outside facilitator that cater for 25 students from each residence.</p> <p>The workshops utilise various methods, such as discussion, lecture and video.</p> <p>The intervention facilities are provided by the student residences.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ More motivation to interact with students from other backgrounds on a deeper level ➤ An increased awareness of the cultural perspectives of some SA subgroups ➤ Introduction to some aspects of diversity ➤ A deeper understanding of the current situation and its historical origin ➤ An increased awareness of current stereotypes ➤ More knowledge about the dynamics of ignorance, stereotyping and discrimination ➤ An increased awareness of the necessity to appreciate and value diversity 	<p>The workshop could prove to be a factor that influences students to appreciate and manage diversity in an effective way. In addition, the intervention could be beneficial for preparing students for their later social and professional life in a diverse SA.</p>

CHAPTER 4

EVALUATION DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to *evaluate* a Value Diversity Intervention. In order to clarify what evaluation entails, this chapter intends to address the following questions:

- What is evaluation research?
- What is the purpose of this type of research?
- Which evaluation design is favoured within this study?
- Which research questions are examined?
- Which scientific methods are applied to gather the relevant information?
- How is the obtained data analysed?

The chapter discusses the two types of evaluation, i.e. the evaluation of perceived needs and the evaluation of the process. Validity aspects are reviewed and the quality of data is discussed.

4.2. Evaluation research

What is evaluation research? The term ‘evaluation’ refers to judgement, assessment or critique. Its essence is captured in the explication by Robson, who defines evaluation as ‘an attempt to assess the worth or value of some innovation or intervention, some service or approach’ (1993:171). In the context of this thesis, it is useful to refer to a more elaborate definition, which includes references to the life cycle of any intervention and the application of scientific methods for its assessment (Posavac and Carey, 1980; Smith, 1990; Rossi and Freeman, 1993). Thus, evaluation research can be defined as the ‘systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualisation, design, implementation, and utilisation of the

social intervention programs' (Rossi and Freeman, 1993:5)⁹.

Purposes of evaluation. Evaluation research can answer a variety of questions that are based either on formative or summative approaches. The purpose of formative evaluations is to assist in the development of programmes, whereas summative evaluation focuses on the judgement of results and the effectiveness of a programme (Robson, 1993; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). To illustrate these approaches, one could refer to an opera. During the rehearsal, the musicians and actors aim at improving their playing, singing and acting. However, when the curtain rises, the audience will judge the performance of the opera.

The distinction between formative and summative evaluation is not absolute. This means that a summative evaluation can have a formative effect on future interventions. The results of formative evaluations can implicitly refer to the outcomes of an intervention (Robson, 1993). Formative and summative evaluations can be described as the two extreme points of a continuum (Herman, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987). From the continuum perspective, this research paper would be placed nearly in the centre, with an emphasis on formative evaluation. The information obtained from this study can serve as a guideline for future interventions. Secondly, the data gathered indicate successful and less successful features of the programme, thus referring to the achievement or missed achievement of the programme objectives.

Types of evaluation. Different types of evaluation can be distinguished. Evaluation can focus on the identification of the needs of a target population, assess the implementation of a programme, evaluate the outcomes of a programme or focus on the programme's efficiency (Posavac and Carey, 1980; Gabor and Grinnel, 1994¹⁰).

⁹ Note: The evaluation literature discusses various models underlying programme evaluation. For example, the utilization-oriented model emphasises the importance of maximising the utilisation of evaluation results by various stakeholders (Patton, 1986). This thesis draws mainly on the evaluation research model, which focuses on the importance of explaining causes and effects, often with the aim to identify generalisations of programme effectiveness (Rossi and Freeman, 1993).

¹⁰ Several authors (Rossi and Freeman, 1993; Gabor and Grinnel, 1994; Smith, 1990) also include an evaluation assessment. This evaluation type assesses if a meaningful evaluation is possible, which will depend on whether the objectives of the programme are conceptualised and operationalised sufficiently.

4.3 The applied evaluation design

This study intended to accomplish two objectives, which are reflected in the two stages of the research design.

The first stage of the research design is the evaluation of perceived needs by individual members of the proposed target group. This is achieved by means of researching the individual student perspectives on human diversity at the University of Stellenbosch. The perspectives of individual students on diversity are related to the needs perceptions of the facilitator and University representatives. The gathered data, combined with background information on the researched case (i.e. the University of Stellenbosch), serve as an indication of the needs of the target group. The second stage of the research design is the process evaluation of the intervention. The design type of the implementation evaluation¹¹ aims at providing a detailed description of the context, activities and theory of the programme. In addition, this study researches the perceptions of various stakeholders in the intervention.

A combination of the two research stages is needed to understand the complexity of the intervention. The research stages are clearly related to the life cycle of any intervention. Firstly, every intervention should be developed on the basis of the specific needs of the target group. In the next stage, the designed intervention is implemented. The consideration of the life cycle suggests that the needs of the target group and the implementation of the intervention should be researched, as well as the link between these two stages.

It should be noted that the original plan was for an outcome evaluation. Due to problems during the data collection process, the focus shifted to the objectives described above. The obstacles experienced during data collection will be discussed at a later stage.

¹¹ In this study, the terms process evaluation and implementation evaluation refer to the same evaluation type.

4.4. Evaluation of perceived needs

The students of the University of Stellenbosch were the target group for the evaluated intervention. It was especially valuable to study the experiences and perceptions that students had of diversity in their specific environment. More specifically, the following questions were researched:

- What is the perspective of individual students on human diversity at this University?
- Do students express concerns regarding the social relations among students from diverse backgrounds?
- Which scientific theories are available for explaining the described conditions?
- Do the mentioned problems indicate a need?

The gathered information, linked with background information on diversity in South Africa, (especially the researched case, i.e. the University of Stellenbosch) describes the current state of affairs. It serves as part of an indication of the needs of the target group.

The identified needs based on student experiences and background information are compared to perceptions of the programme facilitator and representatives of the University of the needs of the students. This comparison is valuable, since the needs perceptions of the programme facilitator and University representatives are the basis for the design and content of the intervention. It is important to note that no needs assessment was conducted prior to the intervention.

The description of the current situation (based on the experiences of diversity by the students and the background information) will be related to the content of the intervention:

- Were the needs of the students, as described by student interviews and background information, addressed in the value diversity workshop?
- What needs were addressed specifically?
- In which way and to what extent were the student needs approached?

The link between the description of the current situation and the design of the intervention is very important, since interventions can be successful only if they address the specific needs of the target population (Posavac and Carey, 1980).

The concept of needs. For the purpose of this thesis, needs will be defined as a discrepancy between the present state of affairs and a vision of the future state of affairs (Witkin and Altschuld, 1995). Stated differently, a need is determined by comparing the existing conditions with societally established standards (Kettner, Moronay and Martin, 1999). It should be noted that the criteria for establishing the need and any evaluative judgement are based on power and value, and thereby are inherently controversial (Greene, 2001).

In this study, the desired state of affairs and the related criteria are based on the concept of value diversity as expressed in the Constitution and the Mission Statement of the University. The broad concept of value diversity has to be applied to the target group of the intervention. The desired state of affairs can be stated as students who value and manage diversity.

There can be a significant difference between the needs recognised by the target population and the needs ascribed to the current situation by professionals. If the target population, or parts thereof, do not perceive a need, the intervention needs to address this discrepancy, e.g. by means of an educative component prior to the designed programme. Interventions can be effective only when the target population consents that it has the specific needs addressed by the program (Posavac and Carey, 1980). It is important to consider who defines the condition as a problem, since this is linked to which subgroup would support and which subgroup would oppose the attempts to change the situation (Kettner, Moroney and Martin, 1999).

It should be noted that there is a significant difference between ‘need’ as a noun or ‘need’ as a verb. The former refers to the definition used above (i.e. the discrepancy between the current and a desired state of affairs). ‘Need’ as a verb refers to what is required to lessen the discrepancy, thereby pointing to possible solutions (Witkin and Altschuld, 1995). The implemented Value Diversity Intervention is regarded as one possible solution to the researched need.

Interviewing methodology: The perceptions of University students regarding diversity were researched by means of qualitative interviews. Interviewing can be defined as a ‘conversation between an investigator and an informant for the purpose of gathering information’ (Theodorsen and Theodorsen, 1969). The decision for qualitative interviewing as research instrument was based on the desire to obtain a rich, in-depth experiential account of a situation (Fontana and Frey, 2001).

Qualitative interviewing allows the objects of the study to speak for her/himself. In qualitative interviewing, the interviewer establishes the general direction of the interview by asking open-ended questions. The interview itself is determined by the specific topics raised by the respondent. Accordingly, the respondent also determines the length of the interview. This means that the content and the length of the interview can vary considerably between different respondents (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The interviewing process provides the possibility to understand the experience of the respondent and the meaning he/ she attaches to the specific experience (Seidman, class notes).

Interviewing students: The development of the interview questions was based on the following two considerations: Firstly, the interview aimed at a clearer understanding of the context in which the workshop took place. The context can be described as the academic and social life at the University of Stellenbosch, as well as the environment of a student residence. Secondly, the interviews were intended to gather data regarding the personal opinions and beliefs of students about diversity issues.

Students of the university were asked:

- "The Students of this university come from a variety of backgrounds. How do you personally experience this diversity?"
- "People differ in many respects, such as culture, language, race, religion, social class, university level, age, gender or sex, sexual orientation and physical ability. Which of these issues would you consider as more and which as less important? And why do you think that way?"
- "Before 1994, students who lived in the residences came from similar backgrounds. Now there are students from various backgrounds. How do you personally experience this situation?"

The interviewing technique used was that of 'basic individual interviewing', which allows the object of the study to speak for him- or herself. The second question of the qualitative interview was in the style of a 'depth interview'. This question focuses on the way by which the respondent came to hold certain beliefs about the importance of diversity issues. The probing focuses on why questions as well as apparent contradictions (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The interviewer tried to adopt the role of ‘the socially acceptable incompetent’ (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). The German background of the interviewer meant that it was necessary to obtain help to understand the most obvious aspects of the situation. At the same time, it placed the interviewer outside the South African context. As a result the respondents might have reacted less sensitively than they would have to a South African researcher. This might have proven especially important, since research has shown that the race of the interviewer makes a difference if questions about racial issues are raised (Fontana and Frey, 2001).

Denzin (1989) points out that the gender of the interviewer and that of the respondent filters the knowledge obtained in an interview. This is linked to the fact that interviews take place within the cultural framework of a paternalistic society, which distinguishes between masculine and feminine identities. Fontana and Frey (2001) argue that female researchers have some advantage, since they can be perceived as harmless and unimportant.

Population and Sampling. Flick (1998) points out that a possible way to select cases is to set up certain criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of respondents. The aim of the diversity workshop (to facilitate discussion on ten different diversity issues) made it appropriate to use these issues as criteria for the selection of participants. However, due to the limited scope of this study, the criteria used for selecting the respondents were only race, gender and language.

The applied criteria constituted the following subgroups:

- White, English-speaking male (1)
- White, English-speaking female (1)
- White, Afrikaans-speaking male (1)
- White, Afrikaans-speaking female (1)
- Black male (1)
- Black female (1)
- Coloured male (1)
- Coloured female (1)

The respondents were interviewed without prior participation in the diversity workshop.

Interviewing the programme facilitator and the University representative: Apart from the students, University representatives and programme facilitators were the other significant stakeholders. It should be noted that the opinions of the stakeholders were researched on

different levels. Whereas students were asked to describe their personal experiences and beliefs, the programme facilitator and University representatives were required to state what they perceive as the students' needs. The focus at these levels was inherent to the different intentions of the interviews. The aim of the student interview was to understand student experiences and the context of the intervention. This was done in order to compare these results with a desired state of affairs, thereby indicating possible student needs. In contrast, the facilitators and University representatives had already formed their own opinions on the students needs on which the intervention was based. Thus, the interview intended to research this needs perception by means of the following questions:

- What do you perceive as the needs of the students?
- Why do you think that way?

Sampling. The intervention was funded by the University. The University employee responsible for the organisation and implementation of the workshops was Mr. R. of the Department of Student Affairs. On the basis of his personal involvement, Mr. R. was chosen as interview partner.

The diversity workshop was moderated by various facilitators. A main speaker and a minor facilitator were interviewed.

Analysis of interviews. The analysis of the interviews was based on the principles outlined by the Grounded Theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory entails a method that attempts to generate sociological hypotheses from empirical data by means of inductive generalisation. This approach is based on the centrality of 'coding', which can be defined as any product of the analysis. Coding consists of three modes. 'Open coding' refers to the development of categories by focusing on their properties. In addition, the nature and dimensions of the categories are explored. 'Axial coding' intends to specify the relations between categories. At a relatively late stage of the research process, 'selective coding' is applied. Thereby, the most important category ('core category') is emphasised and the remaining categories are ordered around the core category. In summary, the aim is to extract the essence of the interpretations and definitions of situations created by the people in the field of study (Lonkila, 1995).

4.5 Evaluation of Process

Programme description: The heart of the study phase was the intervention itself. This consideration made it necessary to specify what exactly constitutes the programme. By what combination of materials, activities and administrative arrangements was the programme characterised? To what extent was the programme implemented as it had been designed? Thus, a systematic assessment of programme coverage and delivery was necessary in order to evaluate the implementation (Rossi and Freeman, 1993).

A detailed description of the programme operations is supposed to point to the strengths and weaknesses of the programme design and its implementation. It can serve as a basis for relating the implementation to possible program effects. In addition, an accurate description of the programme can serve as a basis for planning if the reinstatement of the programme is considered (Herman, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987; King, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987).

Critical programme characteristics. Three dimensions of programme characteristics can be distinguished. An implementation evaluation needs to examine the context of the programme, its activities and the theory of action of the programme (King, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987).

The context of the programme. The intervention context refers to the tangible features of a programme. Implementation evaluation needs to answer the following questions:

- Where did the programme take place?
- Were the intervention facilities (e.g. classrooms) sufficient for the purpose?
- What were the characteristics of the participants?
- To what extent was the target group covered?
- To what extent was participation achieved regarding the levels specified by the programme design?
- Were the specified access operations consistent with the design of the programme?
- Did the access strategy of the intervention match, in an appropriate way, the potential targets with the appropriate services? Were there intervening factors?
- Did the access strategy encourage equal access for all potential clients, or did the access strategy encourage members of one subgroup more than members from another subgroup (e.g. social, cultural, ethnic groups).

- Was the necessary programme management administration and infrastructure in place to support implementation of the programme?
- Was the intervention delivered to the students who were in need of a diversity intervention?

Programme activities. In order to assess *how* the programme was implemented, the significant programme activities had to be described. Important questions to be answered were in this regard:

- What procedures were followed by the programme staff?
- Was there a change in the mode of delivery?
- In which activities were the students supposed to participate? Did they participate?
- Did participants remain in the programme for the full duration as planned?
- What materials were used and were they used as intended?

Programme theory. Before the implementation of the programme, the assumptions by which the intervention intends to achieve its goals and objectives have to be stated explicitly. Information obtained during the research process may reveal additional important characteristics that needed to be included in the original outline. Regarding this issue, relevant questions were:

- Was the programme being implemented as designed?
- Were there additional characteristics that should be included in the programme theory?

Through the examination of the context, activities and theory of the programme, a detailed description of the Value Diversity Workshop was obtained. As a next step, it was valuable to research how the programme was perceived by the various stakeholders, namely the participating students and house parents, as well as the facilitator. This was done because the perspectives of the different stakeholders on the very same intervention possibly could provide valuable insights. This information could help to identify which programme features worked especially well and which did not from the perspective of participants and the facilitator. Thereby, an indication could be obtained about whether the programme objectives have been achieved. In addition, the information obtained could prove valuable if another intervention should be planned.

Instrumentation: This study made use of the three main data sources for implementation evaluation identified by Rossi and Freeman (1993) and Rutman (1984). The data originated from:

- Records
- Self-reports by project staff, target group members and stakeholders within the administration of the university
- Observations.

Records: The records used for the implementation evaluation included all kinds of service documentation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). This included the list of enrolled students, as well as flyers and promotional brochures on the programme. The list of enrolled students was supplemented by statistical data from the Statistics Department of the University of Stellenbosch in order to describe the participants according to certain social variables (e.g. age, university level).

Since records note events at the time of their occurrence, they are often viewed as objective and therefore credible. Thus, it was important to assure that the records used were complete (King, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987).

Self-reports - Questionnaire filled in by participants: The questionnaire on the process evaluation assessed responses from the students regarding their motivation for attending the workshop, as well as their feedback on each component (on a Likert Scale) and on the timing of the workshop.

Students were asked to write down what they viewed as the aim of the workshop in order to assess their understanding of the intervention. The respondents were required to list the aspects they liked and disliked about the workshop in order to assess their degree of satisfaction with the intervention.

The questionnaire was handed out to every participant in the workshop. The questionnaire was especially useful for the purpose at hand. It allowed an assessment of the opinion of a large percentage of the participants. In addition, the questionnaires were anonymous, which may have encouraged reluctant respondents to report controversial or deviant opinions (Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Robson, 1993). The inclusion of open-ended questions allowed the student to

explore additional opinions. This was especially valuable, since the workshop design made a pilot test impossible.

Semi-structured interviews with facilitators: This interview took place after the intervention. It assessed the impressions of the facilitators regarding their perceptions of the participants. In addition, it assessed the extent of participation and motivation among different subgroups with regard to group dynamics. The criteria for the subgroups were easily observable ones, such as gender, race and language.

This interview established whether the facilitator would have done anything differently in another workshop and if anything in this workshop should be changed in the future. Differences between the morning and the afternoon workshop, if any, were noted. The facilitators were also asked (based on his/her experience of the workshop) what specific effects and what duration they believe could be expected.

Semi-structured interviews with the stakeholders within the University of Stellenbosch: The semi-structured interview was conducted after the intervention. It assessed the perception of the stakeholders within the administration of the university regarding their perception of the diversity workshops. The questions raised were the same as those that were posed to the participating students as described in the paragraph below. In addition, questions were asked to establish the stakeholders' impression of the students and the dynamics of the group. The interview included questions about the differences between the morning and the afternoon workshops experienced by the facilitators.

Semi-structured interviews with workshop participants: In order to assess the perception of the students participating in the workshop, six semi-structured interviews were conducted. Three participants were interviewed about each of the two main facilitators to assess if there were any differences in the mode of delivery between facilitators. The criteria for the selection of the respondents were gender and race.

The semi-structured interview began with an assessment of the general opinion of the participant towards the workshop and asked questions about aspects that the participant liked or disliked. The interviews enquired about the perception of the students regarding the particular facilitator of the workshop, as well as about every other element. The interview assessed the opinion of the participant on the different methods used in the workshop (e.g. lecture,

discussion, video, etc.) and their relative proportion. There were also questions about the practical arrangements for the workshop (the facilities, the length of the workshop, the workshop time being on Saturday, etc.).

The use of semi-structured interviews complemented the data obtained through the questionnaires. The semi-structured interviews employed a set of questions prepared in advance, yet allowed for their modification if it was appropriate in the specific context. Additional questions were included when necessary (Robson, 1993). Semi-structured interviews allow for greater flexibility, whereby unexpected lines of inquiry could be pursued. Compared to questionnaires, complicated issues are easier to be followed up and explored. It should be noted that the interviewer could have had a biased influence on the information obtained (Hillman, 1994). As mentioned before, the interviewer's German nationality allowed to stand outside South African group relations and, at the same time, provided the interviewer with credibility as an expert on the researched issue. All the interviews were taped and transcribed.

Observation: The third method for collecting data was observation. An observation schedule was applied in order to ensure a systematic form of observation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The data guide examined the following types of data:

- Exterior physical signs, such as gender and skin colour
- Expressive movements, such as the facial expressions and bodily movements of the facilitator, as well as of the workshop participants.
- The physical location of the workshop
- The topics of discussion

To assess the delivery of the programme, the observation schedule addressed the following issues:

- Were all the intended programme elements present?
- What diversity issues were being addressed in the workshop facilitating, and to what extent?
- Were the materials used and used as intended?
- Were the students participating in the activities as expected?
- What were the characteristics of the different facilitators?

The observers played the role of “complete observers”. These observers “do not participate in the social interaction” (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). This was necessary since as possible input by the observers may have altered the input of the workshop participants. The observers were both South African and international students. The advantage of having South Africans was their insight into South African circumstances, whereas the international students were able to view the workshop situation as ‘outsiders’, which allowed for an alternative perspective on the intervention. By using other students as observers, I hoped that the observation situation was less obtrusive.

Due to the time frame of the workshops, a pilot for the observation schedule was not possible. The observers were asked to note events that did not fit into the observation schedule. There was space in the observation schedule to record unanticipated events and aspects of the observation. After the workshop, the observers were asked to write down their general impression of the workshop, their interest in the topic of the workshop and any comments they would have liked to add. The observers were asked to record any difficulties they may have encountered while filling in the observation schedule. The notes were taken while they were observing.

4.6 Validity

The goal of all scientific research is to produce valid results. This refers to results that are sustained by scientifically produced evidence and that are the best approximations to the “truth”. As a response to the ‘epistemic imperative’, i.e. the moral obligation to search for truthful knowledge, an acceptable research design is one that maximises validity (Mouton, 1996). The design should provide a clear explanation of the phenomena under study and control for all possible biases that could falsify the research findings (Hedrick et al., 1993).

There are different approaches to how the validity of research results may be judged, often differing between qualitative and quantitative paradigms. For the purpose of this thesis, different approaches were considered.

In order to maximise validity, Mouton (1996) suggests that validity should be regarded as a criterion applicable to both the entire research process as well as to the main stages of the process (i.e. conceptualisation, operationalisation, sampling, data collection and analysis and interpretation of the results, including rival conclusions).

Robson (1993) emphasises the credibility of research, thereby referring to the conclusions drawn and the way in which the evidence is obtained. It should be considered whether there is 'sufficient detail on the way the evidence is produced for the credibility of the research to be assessed'. In addition, it should be determined how well the conclusions are warranted by the evidence obtained from this study.

Regarding programme implementation, King, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon (1987) suggest that validity should be assessed by discussing whether the programme description is accurate, relevant (i.e. the most crucial programme features), representative (referring to a typical description) and complete.

This study focuses especially on the approaches presented in order to ensure the validity of the research. All the main stages of the research process were reviewed regarding their approximation to the validity criterion. The entire research process and linkages between the stages were examined (Mouton, 1996). In addition, the study describes in sufficient detail how the evidence was produced in order to ensure its credibility. The conclusions of this study were reviewed in accordance with how well they are warranted by the obtained evidence (Robson, 1993). The description of the intervention aimed at being accurate, relevant, representative and complete (King, Morris and Fitz-Gibbon, 1987).

If this research process can be considered as a journey, truthful knowledge was the ultimate travel goal. Through an awareness that the goal cannot be reached, the focus on truthful knowledge was allowed to come as near to the 'truth' as possible.

4.7 Quality of Data

4.7.1 Data collection for the evaluation of perceived needs

Diversity experiences of students: The qualitative interviews conducted with eight selected students were positive. Suitable students were identified partly with the help of the house mother or house father.

The qualitative technique itself proved to be highly useful to explore the perspectives of the students regarding value diversity. One special feature of the interviewing technique should be noted. Based upon the interviewing seminar, class notes and some literature (e.g. Babbie and

Mouton, 2001), the interviewing technique prescribes a reflective summary after the respondent has mentioned a few facts. The underlying rationale is to allow the respondent to reflect upon the information that he or she provided. In the interviews, the summary was interpreted by the respondents as a lack of understanding on the part of the interviewer. As a result, the respondents repeated the already mentioned facts. Thereby, the obtained information was not changed and only the interview was lengthened.

It should be noted that the interview length varied considerably. The longest interviews were given by black and coloured respondents and the shortest interviews by white male respondents. The interest of the respondents in the diversity topic varied. Black and coloured respondents could be characterised as the most interested, while white male respondents were the least interested subgroup.

Interviewing the programme facilitator and University representative: The organisation of the interviews was unproblematic. It should be noted that it was impossible to obtain an appointment with the facilitators prior to the intervention.

4.7.2. Data collection for the evaluation of the process

Records: The Department of Student Affairs was helpful in providing documents of the University and the facilitator. The University documents included the instructions for the house parents from the administrative management (Mr. R.), the student participation list and information regarding which residences participated at what time. Although student enrolment should have been provided by the student residences prior to the workshop, this list was not obtained by the Department of Student Affairs.

The documents from the facilitator included a background description of the facilitator and of the intervention proposal. It is interesting to note that the described proposal included three phases, namely diagnosis, awareness training for staff (here: students) and for management, although only the awareness training for the students was implemented. The proposal referred well to the business background (e.g. a company), which is different to the situation in the academic and social background of the researched case.

The programme facilitator, “Development Dynamics”, was contacted before the intervention in order to provide more detailed information about the conceptual and the impact model. The

facilitator did not reply to this first request. Because of this, the facilitator received a draft version of the workshop description, the conceptual model and the impact model with the request for comments. The general answer received was that the models were correct. The draft version was designed with the help of other data sources. It was not possible to obtain more detailed information about the specific description of the workshop before the intervention.

The Department of Student Affairs helped to provide statistical information regarding the characteristics of students living in the residences (university level, age, religion). No information could be obtained regarding the proportions of different racial groups in the residences.

Semi-structured interviews with the facilitator: Due to time constraints and the slow response by the facilitator, the semi-structured interviews did not take place before the workshop. The necessary information regarding a detailed description of the workshop was provided by a member of the Department of Student Affairs, who participated in an earlier workshop by the same facilitator.

Questionnaire for workshop participants: Seventy-three students completed the questionnaire. Not all the students filled in their student number, as requested, even though anonymity was guaranteed. In this instance, the obtained data could not be linked to the race and gender of the participant, which were supplied by the Statistics Department of the University of Stellenbosch.

Since only 133 students participated in the entire workshop (seven students dropped out), the 73 students who completed the questionnaire comprised 55% of the participants who took part in the research. Thus, the amount of completed questionnaires was satisfying. In two of the four cases, the facilitator referred to the researcher as being a master's student, thereby indirectly supporting the completion of the questionnaire.

Semi-structured interview with facilitator: The organisation of the interview was unproblematic. It should be noted that the main facilitator had less interview time available than the other interviewed facilitator. Nevertheless, the time available was sufficient for the purpose.

Semi-structured interviews with workshop participants: Suitable respondents could be selected. A sufficient number of students could be interviewed, although the students had only limited free time due to the examination period. Three male and three female students were interviewed.

Two white students and one black or coloured student were interviewed after they enlisted to one of the two main facilitators. The relatively small number of black and coloured students related to the small proportion of black and coloured students who participated in the workshops.

Observation: Both positive and negative aspects influenced the collection of observable data. The kind of observations differed between international students and the South African students. The international students provided valuable insights due to their distance to the object of study. In addition, two of the students had already obtained German teaching diplomas, making them highly qualified to observe an intervention with a major teaching component. All the SA students had less distance from the topic of the intervention. This proved to be both positive and negative. Their reports on what happened and how they perceived the reaction of the participating students were detailed. Since they shared the characteristics of the target group, the insights given by the SA students enhanced the understanding of the situation. Yet, some students seemed to have difficulties keeping to the role of the unobtrusive observer. Twice observers made actual comments in the workshop as if they were participants. Since these comments were so similar to those of the participants, their effect can be assumed not to be significant. Nevertheless, they were an indication that two of the observers were becoming involved in the workshop, which would have influenced their perspective as observers.

Regarding the interviewer training, it should be noted that the time available for this in the observation schedule was relatively short. The whole observation schedule was explained and the anticipated workshop events were described. The observers had time to ask related questions.

After the workshop, some observers reported difficulties related to taking notes during the observation. Three observers completed the details after the workshop. Another problem mentioned by the observers was that the observation schedule did not exactly fit the observed workshop. This was explained by the fact that the information obtained prior to the workshop was not sufficiently detailed. In addition, the intervention frame did not allow for a pilot test. In anticipation of this problem, additional free space was provided to allow the observers to comment on the problem itself and to note the extra programme characteristics.

Additional information on the data collection process: Originally, an outcome evaluation was the intention of this evaluation. Thus, the stereotypes should have been measured of a the

treatment and the control group before and after the workshop. The intended outcome evaluation intended to measure the stereotypes before and after the workshop. The results of the treatment group were supposed to be compared with a control group. The completion of the relatively long questionnaires proved very difficult. Firstly, only 133 students instead of the anticipated 200 students participated in the workshop. This meant that the treatment group was smaller than predicted. Nonetheless, this did not affect the intended control group of 200 students. Secondly, the time frame for the completion of the workshops was relatively short. The questionnaires were handed out two days prior to the intervention, which was sufficient time for completion. The difficulty lay in the fact that, in most of the residences, it was unclear even by Friday afternoon which students would attend the workshop sessions scheduled for the following day. Thus, the responsible member of the house council was pressured to recruit students and to convince them to complete the questionnaire. At a later stage, a house father reported that the responsible student in his residence had not distributed the questionnaires, even though he said he had when checked upon during the research process. In another residence, the house mother and the responsible student phoned the Department of Student Affairs to ask if it was necessary for them to hand out the questionnaire. One member of the Department answered that the distribution of the questionnaire would be part of the evaluator's task. This was incorrect. Firstly, the evaluator was assured of support from the Department of Student Affairs, since the Department itself required the evaluation. Secondly, the distribution of this number of questionnaires to students with certain characteristics in various student residences could not be accomplished by a 'residence outsider' without any support. (It should be noted that the evaluator was not notified by any of the stakeholders involved, even though contact details were provided with the explicit request to phone if any problems should evoke.) In addition, some residences experienced greater problems during the post-measure period than in the pre-measure. In two student residences, the first round of questionnaires produced some results, but no questionnaires could be obtained from the post-measure.

It can be said that the distribution and completion problems described so far indicate both a pressing time frame and a lack of commitment by some of the stakeholders involved. However, it should be emphasised that, in three residences, the responsible persons made a considerable effort to distribute the questionnaires in the short time frame. Thus, the huge differences in the commitment of the various stakeholders is another interesting and important point to note.

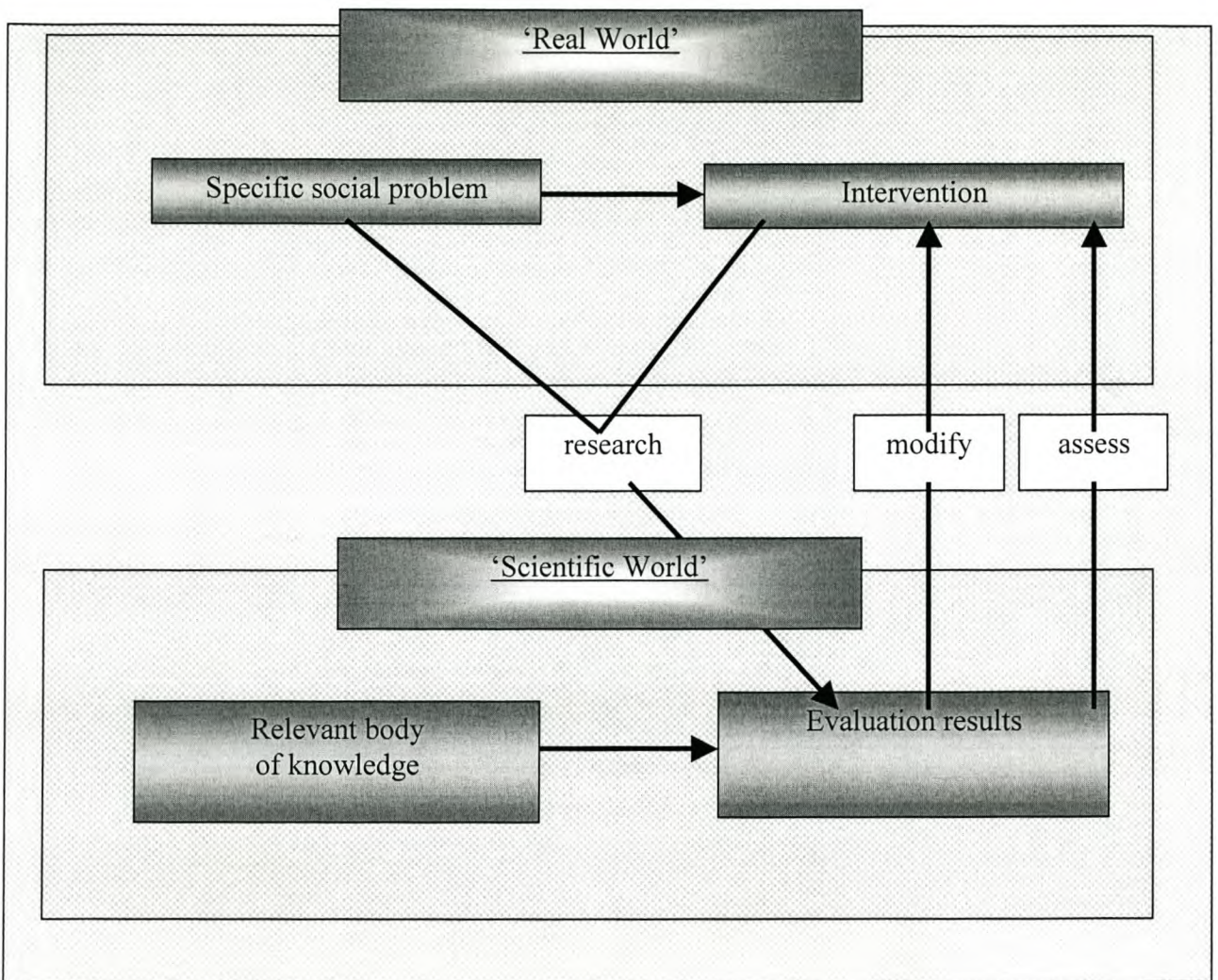
An additional problem during the data collection process was the lack of attention to the methodological design. A comparatively high number of questionnaires¹² were not filled in before the workshop, as prescribed, but only after the workshop (or partly beforehand and partly after the workshop). The importance of the time frame was emphasised repeatedly, both in the conversation with the responsible persons beforehand and in the written information accompanying the questionnaires (it was printed in a large bold font and underlined). It is unknown what the reasons were for this lack of compliance.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the evaluation research, focusing on the evaluation types applied in this thesis, i.e. the evaluation of perceived needs and the process evaluation. Various methodological issues were discussed, including the research questions, the utilised research instruments, aspects of validity and aspects of quality relating to the data.

¹² The questionnaires that were completed too late added up to 51% of all the collected questionnaires. However, it should be noted that a considerable number of the questionnaires that were completed too late were from students belonging to the control group. A difference of a few days might not have been that important for the control group, since these students often completed the questionnaire after they came back from the weekend.

Table 4.1: Evaluation research and the association between ‘Real world’ and ‘scientific world’



In essence, evaluation research is a research type that has a ‘short connection’ between the ‘real world’ and the ‘scientific world’. Specific social problems which are reflected in the evaluation results, are addressed by an intervention,. These results are often expected to influence the intervention, either by improving or judging the intervention. Thus, the evaluation results might exert power in the ‘real world’. These results can be ambivalent, since certain facets of the programme might implicate positive effects, while programme aspects might have negative implications. In addition, one facet could have positive and negative implications, and an interpretation of whether or not an implication is important can be a value judgement. Thus, an outsider reading the evaluation study should be provided with sufficient information to interpret or emphasise specific programme facets.

In order to understand an intervention, the whole life cycle of the intervention has to be reviewed. In addition, the intervention has to be seen in its context. The researched intervention addresses a sensitive and complicated issue, which has problematic aspects within both the South African and the global context.

Thus, evaluation research has to study the intervention and the targeted problem in an open-minded and sensitive way. The results have to be based both upon the existing body of knowledge and the special implications of the researched case. The evaluation results should consider different interpretations. In addition, the application of the results should be done in a responsible fashion.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Part 1: Evaluation of Perceived Needs

5.1 Introduction

The objective of this analysis was to explore different individual perspectives of the social environment of the University of Stellenbosch. The research interest was to study how individuals experience student relations in their social and academic environment. The interview questions were designed to let the student identify the themes and ideas important for his or her personal life within the University context.

The student perceptions on whether or not they needed a diversity intervention are reviewed. In addition, the needs perceptions of two intervention stakeholders, namely the facilitators and the Department of Student Affairs, are discussed.

In order to ensure a wide variety of recognised themes, the respondents were identified according to various characteristics of Stellenbosch students. The selected attributes were gender, language and 'race'. This analysis intends to explore if the identified themes can be explained by referring to the individual's characteristics. It is important to note that the specific themes reflect only on the individual student, and not on the student population or subgroups thereof.

Table 5.1: Selection frame of respondents

Student attributes	White		Coloured	Black
	English	Afrikaans		
Male	Respondent 1	Respondent 2	Respondent 5	Respondent 7
Female	Respondent 4	Respondent 3	Respondent 6	Respondent 8

As defined in chapter 5, 'race' is understood as a socially constructed categorisation that, in certain circumstances, is used to outline the rules for identification with a specific group (Cloppen, 1998). This physical attribute has no inherent natural basis. Thus, 'racial

classification' is only relevant if individuals or groups use it to distinguish each other. The application of the term 'race' is controversial because of two considerations. Firstly, the term gives credit to a biological understanding of race, which has no scientific base. Secondly, this term has no meaning in itself. 'Race' can only be understood by linking it to the actual context in which the term is employed.

Scientific literature indicates the use of the term 'ethnic group' instead of race. In the South African context, the term 'race' is still used if there is reference to past political or socio-economic implications. In this study, the term 'race' was used because the researched context referred to the transformation process¹³.

5.2 Analysis of results

5.2.1 Perceptions of minority and majority groups within the student population

As a way of describing the diversity of the student population, students often define human diversity in terms of the different 'races' within the student body. In addition to referring to various 'races', individual respondents reflect on the 'racial' proportions in the student population. The respondents consisted of a majority of white students and a comparatively minor proportion of coloured and black students¹⁴. The attribute of being 'white' is often linked to the Afrikaans language¹⁵.

Respondent 5 (c m)

"...the majority of the people here are Afrikaans white..."

¹³ It should be mentioned that the statements by the respondents could not be distinguished regarding the social variables of gender and language. In addition, all the respondents were in the same age group (18-19 years).

¹⁴ Since individual respondents referred to the 'white' students as the majority, as opposed to coloured and black students, this analysis will treat both black and coloured students as members of a minority group.

¹⁵ Afrikaans is spoken mainly by 'white' and 'coloured' students as their home language. For 64% of Stellenbosch students, Afrikaans is their only mother tongue. The Annual Report of the University does not link the language proportions to the 'race' proportions (University of Stellenbosch, Annual Report 2001).

Respondent 7 (b m):

“one can say there are three different kind of people with different backgrounds. You get the whites, and the blacks, and the coloureds.”

This is mirrored in the actual proportions of students at the University of Stellenbosch. More than half of the student population is ‘white’ (66,9%), compared to the relatively small proportions of coloured students (10,4%) and black students (20,9%). It is interesting to note that no respondent mentioned the marginal percentage of Indian students (1,7%) (University of Stellenbosch, Annual Report, 2001)¹⁶.

If two or more people are comprehended as being related, one can define them as a group (Brehm and Kassin, 1990). The individual respondents distinguish clearly between their own ingroup and the adversary outgroup, thereby perceiving themselves as members of a certain subgroup. The interviewees differentiated between their ingroup (“I” or “we”) on one hand and the outgroup (“they”) on the other hand.

In addition, these statements reflect the social identity of individuals, i.e. “those aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories¹⁷ to which he perceives himself belonging” (Tajfel and Turner, 1986: 16). These responses by individual interviewees indicate that their subgroup identity based on ‘race’ is stronger than other possible social identities, such as being a student or being a South African.

Respondent 2 (w m e):

“As I say there are guys who I am friends with that are dark and then the other guys I am not really friends with. They do their thing and I do mine.”

Respondent 4 (w f a):

“I have mentioned in my school there were black people. There are coloured people as well ... You have to respect their rights. You have to treat them like people.”

¹⁶ The percentages refer to the total student population of Stellenbosch, which includes students at both the undergraduate and the postgraduate level. Thus, they differ from the percentages at the postgraduate level, which are mentioned in the Annual Report, 2001.

¹⁷ ‘Social category’ can refer to different social phenomena, such as ethnicity, class or group.

Respondent 7 (b m):

“One can say there are three different kinds of people with different backgrounds. You get the whites, and the blacks, and the coloureds.” ... “I think we should know ourselves first, how are we different from others, and they have to know as well how are they different from us.”

Among other considerations, the following interview statements are reviewed on the basis of whether or not individual identity based on the mentioned subgroups influences the experiences of individual students in their social environment. The perceptions of respondents belonging to the minority and the majority groups are compared.

Respondents belonging to the minority group experience being dominated by a ‘white Afrikaans culture’:

Respondent 5 (c m):

“There is a definite problem in Stellenbosch. One of the guys here also told me that where they lived it wasn’t so bad but here it is bad because the majority of the people here are Afrikaans whites and they are dominating.”

This can be linked to statements by individual respondents belonging to the majority group who adopt an ‘assimilation’ perspective. The concept of assimilation entails a process by which a minority group is expected to adopt the socio-cultural values and behavioural patterns of the dominant group (Hillman, 1994). The interview statements do not indicate that an actual assimilation process is taking place within the researched social environment. However, the following statements describe the assimilative viewpoints of individual members of the majority group. The respondents view students from another background on the basis of whether or not this dissimilar student fits into their own social structures. Distinctive features of the differing student (like culture or religion) are not taken into account, but are viewed as unimportant since attempts are made to circumvent these characteristics.

Respondent 1 (w m a):

“Whereas if it is a black person, he went to the same school as me and he has the same culture as me then he is going to fit in a lot easier into my social structures.”

Respondent 3 (w f e):

“Now there are a lot of Cape coloured people who have managed to move up and their children are here now at University. It is a different background but yet they fit in.”

Respondent 4 (w f a):

“Their culture and religion is not that big a problem to live with. You can bypass that because they are also people. They are similar to you if you take the religion and culture aside because they have their differences of course but everybody does. It doesn't matter.”

The presence of assimilative viewpoints among individual students is reflected by the following respondent, who perceives the University culture as not accepting of 'coloured' and 'black' students. Since this respondent sees himself as belonging to the majority group, it is interesting that he reflects on the non-acceptance of the University culture.

Respondent 1 (w m a):

“ We have actually tried to encourage people from different colours and backgrounds to come in. We have a bursary system in place but the problem is that we cannot find enough students to apply. Maybe it is the whole university culture that is not accepting of them ... to black people or coloured people.”

Individual respondents belonging to the minority group interpret the domination of the majority group negatively, stating that students should treat each other as equals.

Respondent 5 (c m):

“... the majority of the people here are Afrikaans whites and they are dominating. I don't really approve of that. I think we must be equal.”

In addition, only individual students from minority groups report difficulties adapting to the social environment of Stellenbosch.

Respondent 8 (b f)

“it was very difficult. ... now I am coping. It is just different. You are from another place and here it is different languages and different races so it is a bit hard to communicate but it is ok.”

This differs from the interpretation of a respondent belonging to the majority group, who perceives the dominance as irrelevant to his personal life.

Respondent 2 (w m e):

"... it is mainly the Afrikaans culture that comes to this University."

"But it really doesn't bother me. I am not a racist but I don't generally hang out with people from other cultures."

5.2.2 Existence and lack of interaction

Since individual respondents identify the existence of minority and majority groups within the student population, it is interesting to consider if and how membership of a majority or minority group influences the interaction between individual students. The concept of interaction entails the processes and conduct by which individuals relate to each other, focusing on face to face encounters. The interviews indicate the existence of interaction between members of minority and majority groups.

Respondent 7 (b m):

"I've got white and coloured and black friends."

Respondent 5 (c m):

"When I came here [student residence Wilgenhof], the people were so nice. There is no difference. It doesn't bother relationships. I was astonished."

"In this hostel like I am in it is like the rainbow nation!"

However, individual students interpret the one friend from the minority group as an exception to the rule, as an occurrence outside the normal social situation.

Respondent 2 (w m e):

"I do have a black friend and we get on very well but I mean he is the exception."

Respondent 4 (w f a):

"I have one that is a really close friend of mine. She is a black girl ..."

General contact between students from minority and majority groups is perceived as comparatively rare.

Respondent 3 (w f e):

“In my classes there are only sort of white Afrikaans-speaking people and white English-speaking people. We only have two Cape coloured people, so I don't really know them that much but there are about 20 English-speaking girls in my class and the rest is Afrikaans.”

Respondent 7 (b m):

“And even when you look around on campus. It is very rare to see this mixed group of students. You always see the white students are there, the coloured students are there, and the black students are there.”

The interviews indicate both the existence and lack of interaction between members of minority and majority groups. The last cited statements indicate that membership of different groups determines the amount of interaction in certain instances.

5.2.3 Stereotyping and related processes

As described in Chapter 2, contact between persons is an essential precondition for forming an individual impression as opposed to viewing the individual according to his or her group membership. If people assume that the attributes associated with group membership characterise the individual, stereotypes start to play a role. Stereotypes are unavoidable, since people need to simplify the complexity of their social environment. However, the negative effects of stereotyping on individuals justifies a concern about situations that facilitate the stereotyping processes.

For this analysis, it is helpful to consider the cognitive structure of the stereotypes, which focuses on the ways human beings represent information in their minds. There are various social cognitive approaches that describe the categorisation process whereby individual people are sorted into certain groups and linked to the attributes associated with the category. In this context, the ‘Prototype Model’ is especially relevant. According to this model, an individual is sorted into the category when this individual equates sufficiently with the category prototype. Stereotyping based on this model is the strongest when persons have a little direct contact, but

hold strong group expectancies. Operario and Fiske (2001) point out that this can be the case for stereotypes on race. Individuals hold beliefs that are learned through cultural socialisation, but experience relatively a little intergroup interaction because of the effects of the former system of racial segregation (see Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion).

Cultural socialisation refers to social learning theory, which views stereotypes as transmitted by processes of socialisation, involving mass media, schools, parents and peer groups. In addition, stereotypes can be the result of 'actual' observations. (Aboud and Amato, 2001). The following statements indicate that individuals hold certain beliefs and attitudes regarding their 'racial' outgroup that are learned during their socialisation. The respondents reflect on the role of family and school for transmitting stereotypes.

Respondent 5 (c m)

"I was sent to a white school for the first time and then I first found out that people didn't like black guy. ... because most of these guys were born into stuff like you don't talk to a black guys"

Respondent 7 (b m):

"I think that white and coloured and black people are racist. I know I heard it from our parents and grandparents, and besides, from the history of our country. When you grow up you know that."

Even though the generation of present-day students is influenced by the transformation process, the respondents described their socialisation in terms of 'racial' characteristics. Thus, it is interesting to review whether or not individual students consider stereotyping and related processes, such as prejudice and discrimination based on 'race', as important in their social life.

Individual respondents perceived stereotypes based on 'race' as prevalent in the social environment.

Respondent 7 (b m):

"And there is the stereotype we've got: Okay, when I am a black person and I see a white, I tell myself that is a racist. The same thing, if he looks at a black person, then he thinks that is a criminal. And if a white or a black sees a coloured person, than they think that is a gangster, he is dangerous. That are stereotypes, and I know it is big. I know

people who say it is not like that. But I can assure you that stereotypes is a fact, that it happens.”

“People see races as being like this, or this person being like this.”

Respondent 8 (b f):

“Ja, people only look at the colour – they don’t care about the person. All that matters is what you have heard about how the people of that colour is.”

Related to stereotyping, the concept of prejudice refers to an attitude towards members of an outgroup that includes the tendency to evaluate in a predominately negative fashion (Stroebe and Insko, 1989; Bar-Tal, 1989).

Respondent 5 (c m)

“I mean they [white students] are the biggest group here but you shouldn’t look down on anybody because of his skin colour or religion.”

Respondent 7 (b m):

“And it is important not to judge a person on the stereotype. You must not think that a person is a criminal because he is black. It has happened on a lot of occasions, especially in Stellenbosch.”

If a person expresses his or her prejudice in actual behaviour towards the person being prejudiced against, one speaks of discrimination, i.e. the denial of the equal treatment that individuals or groups of people might want (Mummendey and Otten, 2001, based on Allport, 1954). Differentiation between people is necessary for orientation in a complex social environment. Differentiation transforms into discrimination when individuals disagree about the appropriateness of a treatment.

Respondents 5 and 7 describe an incident of discrimination, whereas respondent 8 states his perception that discrimination is present.

Respondent 5 (c m):

“I have only been here for 7 months but I have had some incidents. Say you walk down the street and people make remarks and one time I was wearing a WP (Western Province) jacket and they said that must be for ping pong – it cannot be for rugby.”

"It is very nice but I cannot really speak for the whole of Stellenbosch. I meet a lot of people from a lot of cultures but from the white people's side in Stellenbosch and as a whole they are not too pleasant always."

Respondent 7 (b m):

"... I go around at Stellenbosch at night, and the cops see me, then they think that is a criminal. What is he doing? Why is he walking around at night? That's what happened the other day. Then they beat me up. And when they found out that I am a student, then they started apologising." ... "I have been beaten up by cops in Stellenbosch because I'm black."

Respondent 8 (b f):

"People discriminate each other."

"But some say it is ok and that people are all nice. But sometimes people discriminate."

Whereas discrimination is perceived mainly as an individual phenomenon, the concept of racism refers to a connection between individual beliefs and the broader social and institutional norms and practices. This includes a power component, which involves the ingroup's ability to exercise power over the outgroup (Operario and Fiske, 1998; Augoustinos and Reynolds, 2001). Even though the following respondents refer to racism, it should be noted that they might refer to the individual phenomenon of racial discrimination rather than racism.

Respondent 5 (c m):

"I know there is a large amount of white people in Stellenbosch and if you get all of them together here and there is people here that is supporting each other to be racist."

"I cannot say that it is 100% just not racist stuff here [in the residence]. I mean there will be a few guys that do have racist feelings but it is a very few people and they try to hide it."

Respondent 8 (b f):

"... people are different and although it is a new SA, some people are still racist."

"There [in the residence] is some racism."

The perceptions of the respondents indicate that stereotypes based on 'race' are learned by means of socialisation processes, and that these beliefs, in combination with certain attitudes and behavioural patterns, influence the social life of individual respondents.

5.2.4 Reasons for the lack of interaction

Contact among students is important, since it may promote positive attitudes between groups. This can be illustrated by the reflections of an individual respondent on intergroup relations during school time. She views the better understanding between English and Xhosa people as a result of contact experiences.¹⁸

Respondent 4 (w f a):

"Xhosa people can understand English as well, so they get put into a school with English people ... I believe that English people are more acceptable to Xhosa people's beliefs and their culture because they go to school with them so they come into contact with that culture. But Afrikaans people will not understand it that much because they don't come into contact with it that much. And Afrikaans people have their strict rules – putting them aside."

It should be noted that contact between members of different groups may promote the revision of stereotypes and positive intergroup attitudes only under the right conditions. These conditions are social and institutional support, equal status, cooperation and common goals (Allport, 1954). These requirements may be given in a university environment. However, it should be noted that students share the same goal of academic success, which is not necessarily based on cooperation. In addition to the mentioned conditions, the contact situation should have acquaintance potential, i.e. the potential for friendship to grow (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001). The interview statements show that acquaintance potential is provided in the social environment of the researched case.

¹⁸ In addition, she mentions the 'strict rules' among Afrikaans people that may influence inter-group relations between Xhosa and Afrikaans people in a negative way.

Thus, it is important to review the reasons for the lack of interaction and contact that students mention themselves. Four reasons can be identified:

- Fear to interact
- Lack of knowledge about outgroups
- Different interests among students based on group membership
- Lack of motivation to interact with people from different backgrounds or with different interests

One interview respondent links a lack of interaction to the fact that students feel safer in their own group, being scared to interact with members of another group. This relates to a 'fear of the unknown', the uncertainty about what to expect from an individual who belongs to an outgroup. Thus, individual respondents lack information about outgroup members.

Respondent 6 (c f)

"we are still forming groups but maybe it is because we feel safe in that group. Maybe the people are scared what is going to happen if they go up to another person and for me that is like sa... Mostly people are just scared."

Another possible explanation for the lack of interaction can be related to different interests among students. A lack of contact between members of student groups can result when individual interests are linked to group membership. This can be seen in the following statement on music preferences.

Respondent 7 (b m)

"If you go to a white group, if they talk about music, they talk R& B, Black groups are more Kwaito and Rap, coloureds are more rave or hiphop."

Respondent 2 (w m e):

"I don't hang out with guys who have different interests than me. We just don't get along."

An additional explanation refers to a tendency of individuals who are only motivated to interact with students who have the same 'way of life' or the same culture. If, however, a person's

culture differs, the following respondent is not interested in this person. Therefore, the respondent will not interact with a dissimilar person: they “are not going to be together”.

Respondent 1 (w m a):

“If our culture differs then our lives are going to split because I am not going to spend too much time with you and I am not going to be too interested in you because how I live my life differs from yours and I don’t enjoy the way you live your life if we have a different culture necessarily. So therefore we are not going to be together.”

It is interesting to note that a lack of interest can be viewed not only as a cause, but also as a result of a lack of interaction, since a deficit of interaction excludes the possibility of perceiving a different “way of life’ as interesting.

The respondents identified both the existence of and a lack of interaction. Interaction on a deeper level (e.g. friendships) is interpreted as an exception to the normal situation. Thus, it can be concluded that the ‘normal’ situation tends to be characterised by a lack of interaction, which can be explained by various reasons.

5.2.5 Norms underlying social interaction

Intergroup interaction is determined by the prevalent norms within the social situation. The official norms underlying the student culture are expressed in the mission statement of the University, which emphasises the norm of mutual respect for diverse forms of beliefs, perspectives and cultures. This norm is reflected in interview statements that underline the importance of mutual respect.

Respondent 6 (c f)

“Respect is very important. If I don’t have respect for someone else, why would they have respect for me? When I have respect for someone else, I think it would be better for us here in Stellenbosch. ... We need to respect other people and accept them for what they are.”

Respondents distance themselves from viewpoints that are opposed to this norm, for example ‘racism’.

Respondent 2 (c m)

"I am not a racist ..."

These statements indicate that respondents are aware of the norm 'mutual respect', which is supposed to guide student relations. However, individual respondents suggest that students not always conform to the official norm. This is also indicated by the existence of stereotyping and related processes.

Respondent 7 (b m)

"But they just have to try to ... respect students from other backgrounds."

The statements indicate that the norms underlying the value of human diversity are acknowledged by the respondents. Yet, intergroup interaction does not always correspond to this official norm. Thus, the norm needs to be reinforced.

In addition to the norm of mutual respect for diverse forms of beliefs, perspectives and cultures, students identify additional norms for improving the interaction among subgroups. The recognised norms are awareness, liberality, equality and recognition as individuals.

- Awareness:

Respondent 7 (b m):

"I think it is an issue that we are from different backgrounds. We have to accept it first before we can overcome it. If we deny it and say we are all South Africans Yes, we are all South Africans, but we are from different backgrounds, we are different people, that we have to understand first before we can accept ourselves as individuals."

- Acceptance:

Respondent 6 (c f)

"We need to respect other people and accept them for what they are."

- Liberality:

Respondent 3 (w f e):

"I think it is important to look at different cultures and not to be narrow-minded about our own culture."

- Equality:

Respondent 5 (c m):

"I think we must be equal"

- Recognition as individuals:

Respondent 7 (b m):

"We should see another person as a brother, or a sister, or a friend. Not actually a white, or a coloured, or a brown. We should stop seeing race when we look at people."

In addition to norms that, if reinforced, can help to improve intergroup interaction, individual respondents mention an attitude of supporting interaction. The attitude is the motivation to learn about human diversity (e.g. different cultures) with the goal of mutual understanding.

Respondent 6 (c f):

"I like to know more about other people`s cultures and their diversities and everything. I like the thing that we can talk to each other ... For me it is interesting to listen to them."

Respondent 8 (b f):

"But the nicest thing about being here is that I am learning about other people`s cultures so I am beginning to understand that."

Respondents state a set of norms that should determine interaction between student groups. However, the existence of domination, as well as stereotypes and related processes, indicate that actual interaction does not necessarily conform to these norms.

5.2.6 Perceptions of social problems by minority group members

Since intergroup interaction does not always respond to certain norms, it would be interesting to see if individual respondents perceive social problems in the relationship between majority and minority groups. Social problems are aspects of social life which seem to warrant concern by a certain group of people (Witkin and Altschuld, 1995).

Individual respondents belonging to the majority group do not experience problems relating to intergroup relations.

Respondent 1 (w m a):

"We haven't experience any racial problems at all – not that I know of."

Respondent 3 (w f e):

"... now there are a lot of Cape coloured people who have managed to move up and their children are here now at University. ...it is not a problem."

In contrast to these statements, individual interviewees from the minority group perceive a need to improve the current social situation.

Respondent 5 (c m):

"You shouldn't look down on anybody because of his skin colour or religion. It is wrong. I cannot do anything about it but I just hope people will start realising it."

Respondent 7 (b m):

"And I think the youth today have to overcome it for future generations. But otherwise, if we run away from it and say there is no problem, then it will happen again, which we all don't want to happen."

Respondent 8 (b f):

"Ja, people only look at the colour – they don't care about the person. ... People have to change their minds somehow. For me that is really important."

These statements indicate that some individuals are satisfied with the current intergroup relations among students, whereas other respondents are concerned about the current situation

and, accordingly, express a desire for improvement. The two interpretations of the social situation correspond to whether the individual respondent is a member of the majority or the minority group.

5.2.7 The importance of previous contact experiences for individual socialisation

When describing their current perspectives on the social environment, individual respondents refer repeatedly to related prior experiences. The contacts at school level are perceived as especially important.

Respondent 2 (w m e):

Socialisation at school:

“The school I went to in Pietermaritzburg ... there was never more than 5% non-white. So it is an exception when I meet someone from another culture.”

Present-day interaction:

“I do have a black friend and we get on very well but I mean he is the exception.”

Respondent 6 (c f)

Socialisation at school:

“I went to an interracial school. At first it was difficult for me. I didn’t know anyone and I felt isolated. I didn’t know how to fit in. Are they going to accept it? It was very difficult for me – I was depressed. I was the only coloured person in the class but I think as the time went by I started to enjoy the different people and I started to get used to everything. I realised that I did not have to think do I belong. I can make a difference. I can learn about their culture and they can learn about me.”

Present-day interaction:

“Now it is better. For me I don’t look at it anymore. I don’t look at race or when I go into a room think there is only two coloureds or so.”

These statements describe how intergroup experiences at school shape present-day interaction with members of another group. Both respondents describe a school situation that is

characterised by a 'white' majority and a 'coloured' (and 'black') minority. The difference between the respondents is that one respondent views this situation from the majority perspective, whereas the other respondent witnesses the social situation from a minority viewpoint. The respondent from the majority group experiences contact with minority group members as an exception at school level. This corresponds to his present-day interaction, in which he describes his one black friend as an exception.

The respondent belonging to the minority group experiences this situation differently. She describes depression, isolation and difficulties to adapt to the social situation in her class. She gradually started to cope with her situation by developing an individual strategy. She no longer aimed at becoming a member of the majority group ("... I did not have to think do I belong."), but perceived herself as an 'ambassador' for the minority group, her own ingroup. She started to perceive her interaction with her classmates positively. This individual strategy to deal with her difficult situation entailed a personal process of growth with corresponding changes in attitude and behaviour. This corresponds to her present-day interaction, which she perceives positively. Her previous experiences of contact shaped her present-day intergroup relations.

Her description differs from the present-day interactions of minority group members, who did not experience intergroup relations during their school time.

Respondent 6 (c f):

"... some of my friends was (sic.) at a coloured school and they didn't know what to expect here. How to talk or how would the people react to them. They kept a low profile and they were scared to say something. They were always looking at me when I was talking to white people so they ask me how can you do that? ... But it was difficult for them in the beginning. They now start getting out of the cocoon."

These students are more insecure in their new study environment and experience difficulties in interacting with students from another group. The interactions by these minority group members are characterised by an attempt to develop an individual strategy to adapt to the social situation. The respondent with prior intergroup experiences is used as a role model.

All the quoted statements indicate the importance of previous contact experiences with outgroup members for shaping present-day interaction. In addition, the quotations outline the contrasting experiences of majority versus minority group respondents. This can be linked to the contrasting

perceptions of majority and minority students regarding their present social environment. As will be discussed in greater detail at a later stage, the members of minority groups tend to interpret their environment more negatively than those belonging to majority groups. The members of the minority groups experience a comparatively high pressure to adapt to the social situation.

5.3 Discussion of results

The results that are discussed are the perspectives of the eight individual respondents that were included for the purpose of this analysis. Thus, they cannot be generalised to the whole student population of Stellenbosch. However, the experiences of these individual students are rich in detail, allowing for a closer view of their perception of the world.

5.3.1 The perceived world of the respondents

The starting point for understanding the individual world of the respondents is their perception that the student population is divided into minority and majority groups. These minority and majority groups are based on the ‘racial’ characteristics of students, i.e. ‘white majority’, ‘coloured minority’ and ‘black minority’. In addition, ‘white’ is often linked to the Afrikaans language and culture. The distinction between the minority and majority student proportions is reflected in the actual statistics of the university population (University of Stellenbosch, Annual Report, 2001). The respondents do not mention the comparatively small ‘racial’ group of ‘Indian’ students.

Respondents view themselves as members of certain subgroups, and distinguish between their own ingroup and other outgroups. This reflects in the social identity of the respondents, i.e. “those aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories¹⁹ to which he perceives himself belonging” (Tajfel and Turner, 1986: 16). The social identity based on ‘race’ is stronger than other possible social identities, such as “being a student” or “being a South African”.

Since individual informants distinguish between their own ingroup and an opposing outgroup, it is interesting to review if (and how) these group distinctions influence the interaction between the student groups.

¹⁹ ‘Social category’ can refer to different social phenomena, such as ethnicity, class or group.

In particular instances, group membership is less important, as when respondents reflect on their friendships that are based on sympathy and common interests.

Respondent 4 (w f a):

“I have one that is a really close friend of mine. She is a black girl and we are good friends. I can go to her any time and talk to her.”

However, individual respondents view their friendship with a member of another group as an exception. This leads to the conclusion that the main part of their social life is focused on members of the own subgroup.

Thus, the answers of the students can be divided between particular instances of contact with members of another subgroup (e.g. a friendship) on the one hand, and the general perception of the atmosphere on campus on the other hand. Particular instances, such as friendships, are experienced positively by the respondents. This is in contrast with the general perception of the social life on campus, which can be described by a lack of interaction between student subgroups.

Respondent 7 (b m):

“And even when you look around on campus. It is very rare to see this mixed group of students. You always see the white students are there, the coloured students are there, and the black students are there.”

The interview statements include several reasons that might explain the lack of interaction experienced. Reasons mentioned were ‘fear’, lack of information about the outgroup, different interests based on group membership and a lack of motivation to interact with people from different backgrounds or with different interests.

The social atmosphere on campus, which may be described by a general lack of contact between members of the majority and minority groups, is interpreted in both positive and negative terms. The positive and negative perceptions of the campus atmosphere might be related to the group of which the individual respondent is a member. Respondents belonging to the majority groups view their social environment more positively than those who are members of minority group.

Even though all the respondents refer to the majority as the 'white' Afrikaans student group, only minority group members express a feeling of being dominated by the majority group. The existence of stereotyping and related processes is only reported by respondents belonging to minority groups. This fact points to the need for improving intergroup relations, which also is expressed only by minority group members. However, ideas and suggestions that might be part of a solution to the mentioned problem are proposed by both minority and majority group respondents.

The disposition of minority group members to interpret the social environment in negative terms is reflected in a study on the perceptions of 'coloured' students regarding the University of Stellenbosch (Mouton, J. Hunter, M. (2002)).²⁰ Among others, this study included questions regarding the perception of 'race'-related concerns (for example faculties, lecturers, tradition and culture, wish for transformation). The research results show that the perceptions of coloured students generally are more negative than the perceptions of white students. For example, more white students (58%) than 'coloured' students (32%) agree with the statement that "students of all 'racial' groups get along well together". The more negative perception of the 'coloured' students is reinforced by the fact that more 'coloured' (23%) than 'white' (8%) students would not choose the University of Stellenbosch again²¹.

The more negative perception held by members of minority groups can be explained by different circumstances. One explanation holds that members of the minority group have a higher pressure to adapt to the social environment due to their relatively small proportion and the 'assimilative perspective' of majority group members. The 'assimilative perspective' entails that respondents of the majority group examine minority group members according to whether or not they *fit in* their social structures. In addition, specific characteristics of the students, such as culture or religion, are considered as unimportant by individual students in that they attempt to *circumvent* them. This 'assimilative perspective' is resisted by individual members of the minority group.

Another possible explanation for the comparatively negative perception relates to the implications of the former South African system of higher education. Under the provision of the

²⁰ The mentioned study researched only the perceptions of 'coloured' and 'white' respondents ('n Ondersoek na die inskakeling van bruin studente aan die Universiteit van Stellenbosch. Sentrum vir Interdisiplinêre Studie Universiteit Stellenbosch, Unpublished Report).

²¹ The majority of Stellenbosch students would choose their University again.

University Act of 1959, 'racially' and ethnically based universities were established. The University of Stellenbosch was formerly a University for 'white' students. Since the present-day respondents refer to the University as a traditionally 'white' institution, it might indicate that the institutional traditions are closer to 'white' students than to 'coloured', 'black' or 'Indian' students. This might be linked to 'non-acceptance' by the university culture.

Respondent 1 (w m a)

"Maybe it is the whole University culture that is not accepting to them, ... to black or coloured people."

This is reflected in the study by Mouton and Hunter (2002), who state that 60% of 'coloured' students agree with the statement that 'tradition and culture in Stellenbosch do not address coloured students'²².

An additional explanation for the more negative perception of 'minority' group members is the nature of the stereotypes itself. The potency of stereotypes is determined by power and social hierarchy. Since the majority group is described as dominating, the interview statements suggest a power difference between the majority and minority groups in favour of the majority group. Stereotypes are particularly oppressive for members of the less powerful group. In addition, power decreases the need to form impressions based on individual characteristics, but increases the probability to engage stereotypes (Operario and Fiske, 2001).

The interview statements imply three interrelated reasons for the negative perception held by individual respondents belonging to the minority group. Interestingly, the respondents only differentiate between majority groups on the one side and minority groups on the other side. The respondents do not include statements about the relations between the existing minority groups, i.e. the groups of 'coloured', 'black' and 'Indian' students.

5.3.2 Social psychological implications for understanding intergroup relations

In summary, the data suggest the relevance of group membership for interaction between the students. If people assume that the attributes affiliated to the group membership characterise the individual, stereotypes start to play a role. Stereotypes are inevitable, since human beings need

²² In addition, 63% of 'coloured' students perceive "the University as too conservative and not open to change", whereas only 30% of 'white' students agree with this statement (Mouton and Hunter, 2002).

to simplify the complexity of their social environment. Nevertheless, the negative effects of stereotyping on individuals justify a concern regarding situations that facilitate stereotyping processes.

In addition, stereotypes are dangerous because they allow division between ingroups (“us”) and outgroups (“them”) to continue (Operario and Fiske, 2001). Thus, stereotypes opposed the development of new social identities that might be based on being a student or being a South African (Chapter 2 for more detail).

There are various social cognitive approaches that describe the categorisation process whereby individual students are assorted into certain groups. For the researched case, the ‘Prototype Model’ is especially relevant. According to this model, an individual is classified into a category when the individual matches sufficiently with the category prototype. According to this model, stereotyping is the strongest when persons rarely have direct contact, but hold strong group expectancies. This can be the case for stereotypes on race. The statements by individual respondents indicate the comparatively minor extent of intergroup contact before becoming a student. In addition, the respondents mentioned stereotypes learned through cultural socialisation. Thus, even though the generation of present-day students is influenced by the transformation process, their individual socialisation process includes socialisation with regard to ‘racial’ characteristics.

In contrast to past experiences and socialisation factors, the University environment could include the necessary conditions for promoting positive intergroup attitudes. These conditions are social and institutional support, equal status, cooperation and common goals (Allport, 1954). However, it should be noted that students share the same goals (e.g. academic success), yet these goals are not necessarily based on cooperation. Regarding the condition of ‘equal status’, it should be noted that minority group members experience being dominated, even though the equal status of students can be considered as the official norm.

In addition to the mentioned conditions, the contact situation should have acquaintance potential, i.e. the potential for friendship to grow (Brewer and Gaertner, 2001). The interview statements show that there is acquaintance potential in the social environment of the researched case.

Interestingly, the statements indicate that the respondents distinguish between ‘leisure time’ and ‘academic time’. The respondents do not describe intergroup relations when studying. Thus, it can be assumed that students perceive intergroup relations in this context as ‘normal’. It should be noted that the acquaintance potential when studying is lower than during leisure time. Intergroup interactions, or the lack thereof, are more easily observable during leisure time.

Besides the importance of contact for improving intergroup relations, the role of social influences such as norms should be emphasised. As mentioned earlier, norms are powerful in the shaping of intergroup interactions. Individuals typically reduce prejudice by internalising norms of tolerance and mutual respect (‘norms of non-stereotyping and non-prejudice’) (Duckitt, 2001). Since the influence of norms is especially effective during early adulthood, the importance of norms in the University environment has to be emphasised.

In addition to the University’s official norm of mutual respect, the respondents identified additional norms. The identified norms are awareness, acceptance, liberality, equality and recognition as individuals. By expressing these norms, it is clear that the respondents have a good idea of what intergroup relations should be. In order to reach this ‘desired state of affairs’, the norms have to be emphasised and reinforced, since the identified norms do not yet guide intergroup relations.

Just as in South African society in general, the social atmosphere at the University of Stellenbosch is in a process of transformation. Even though the general atmosphere on campus is still characterised by the importance of group membership, particular instances of intergroup contact, such as friendships, are positive tendencies. In these instances, students recognise each other as individuals with distinct ideas, beliefs, characteristics and interests. These tendencies need to be supported in order to build on the South African ideal of a ‘rainbow nation’.

5.4 Implications of the results for a diversity intervention

5.4.1. Implications towards a need of students for a human diversity intervention

For the purpose of this thesis, a ‘need’ will be defined as a discrepancy between the present state of affairs and a vision of the future state of affairs (Witkin and Altschuld, 1995). The desired state of affairs is based on the concept of value diversity as expressed in the Constitution and the Mission Statement of the University. The desired state of affairs can be described as students

who value and manage human diversity and who feel comfortable within the social environment of the University of Stellenbosch. The statements show that individual students do not value human diversity. This is linked to a lack of opportunities to accomplish positive intergroup interaction. In addition, minority group respondents in particular seem to be uncomfortable within the social environment. Consequently, the discrepancy between the present state of affairs and a desired state of affairs indicates a need for intervention²³.

It should be noted that respondents belonging to the majority group do not perceive a need for a diversity intervention. Thus, any intervention might struggle to gain the support of one part of the target group.

5.4.2 Needs perceptions of the facilitator and the Department of Student Affairs

The design of the intervention is based upon the needs perceptions of the facilitator and the Department of Student Affairs. It is valuable to consider if the needs perceptions of the facilitator and the Department of Student Affairs are fairly equivalent to the needs perceptions of the students. A precondition for designing an intervention that serves the special needs of the target group is that the facilitator's needs perceptions are specific and correct.

Both the facilitator and the responsible person within the Department of Student Affairs described the needs of students in general terms, referring to the transformation process. In addition, the Department of Student Affairs mentioned that a few minor incidents had taken place (Mr. R., personal communication, 25 / 8 /2001)²⁴.

The facilitators mentioned the reality of the traditionally white Afrikaans culture and the need to transform the University and the student residences. Problematic student relations were linked to cultural ignorance, and to the South African society in general.

²³ Due to the qualitative nature of this study, it cannot be assessed if the results are due to coincidence or whether they convey a pattern. However, some of the discussed research findings are supported by a quantitative study conducted at the University of Stellenbosch (Mouton and Hunter, 2002).

²⁴ Incidents that happened are, for example, that drunken 'white' students called 'black' students insulting names.

“Cultural ignorance is a very big one. Because we have a very divided past, black students don’t know much about white students, people know very little about one another.”

(Mrs. S., facilitator)

This problem was indirectly referred to by the respondents, who indicated a lack of information about one another and insecurity about what to expect.

Due to the prevalence of cultural ignorance, the facilitators perceived a need for mutual knowledge, understanding and respect.

“The workshop was around the relationship in the residences: ... To get to know each other better is a big need, to understand one another in order to live together, ... to respect.”

(Mr. S., facilitator)

The facilitators assumed that cultural ignorance, in combination with desegregation within the residences, resulted in conflict and problems:

“With the integration, there was obviously a lot of problems, conflict, different traditions, different ways of doing things.”

(Mrs. S., facilitator)

The quotation indicates that the facilitator assumed that the students were aware of the problem. However, the perceptions of the respondents were divided about whether or not there are any problems. In addition, open conflict is perceived to be rare, which might be linked to the general lack of contact between majority and minority groups.

In summary, it can be said that these stakeholders correctly refer to the transformation process when referring to the needs of the students. However, the specific implications for the student population of Stellenbosch are not recognised.

5.5 Conclusion

The Stellenbosch student population is perceived to be divided into minority ('coloured', 'black') versus majority ('white') groups. Group membership does not influence particular instances of intergroup relations (e.g. individual friendships), but affects the social atmosphere on campus, which is characterised by a lack of intergroup contact domination by the majority group. The social atmosphere is interpreted more negatively by members of minority groups than by members of the majority group. Accordingly, only members of minority groups perceived a need to improve intergroup interactions. In contrast to the actual state of intergroup relations, respondents have a clear picture of what intergroup relations should be. Individual respondents describe a desired state of intergroup relations by referring to norms and attitudes that should guide intergroup relations. The identified norms are mutual awareness, acceptance, liberality, equality and recognition as an individual. In addition, it is beneficial to be motivated to learn about human diversity, with the goal of mutual understanding.

The perceptions of the interviewed respondents indicated that a value diversity intervention would be beneficial. This coincides with the view of the Department of Student Affairs, which arranged the diversity intervention. This department and the facilitator comprehended the needs of the students that were implied by the transformation process, without specifying their needs perception.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

Part 11: Evaluation of Process

6.1 Introduction

This chapter intends to achieve two objectives. Firstly, it will specify what exactly the intervention entailed. This detailed description of the intervention will be based on the three critical dimensions of the programme, i.e. the context of the programme, its activities and the programme theories. The second objective will focus on how the intervention was perceived by the target group. Since the house parents of the student residences were involved in the administrative process and participated in the intervention themselves, their impressions of the intervention will be included.

The conclusion will be drawn from the implications of the description of the intervention and the impressions of the participants in the intervention. In addition, the results of the process evaluation will be linked to the evaluation of perceived needs.

6.2 Dimensions of the intervention

6.2.1 The context of the intervention

The intervention context refers to the physical features of the intervention. The following issues will be discussed: the intervention facilities, the access strategy, the characteristics of the participants, the coverage of the target group, and the delivery to 'students in need'.

Intervention facilities: The intervention made use of the gathering facilities of the student residences. In addition to a large lecture room, four small rooms were provided for theme groups. One workshop (No. 2) was an exception, since the theme groups took place in different corners of the lecture hall as opposed to in separate rooms. This created a difficult atmosphere for discussion.

The facilities that were utilised were appropriate for the intervention at hand, since they corresponded to the intervention format. The room sizes were consistent with the number of participants. However, the intervention facilities for the second research workshop (a large hall) produced an uncomfortable atmosphere.

Access strategy to the target group: The Department of Student Affairs requested the house father or house mother of the residence to invite students to participate. In the next step, the house father/mother either approached the students directly, or selected a member of the residence's House Committee to approach potential participants. Two considerations guided the selection of students:

- A selection frame focusing on university level, 'racial' group and gender
- Voluntary participation by students

The first consideration refers to the characteristics of the participants. The intervention design specified the ratios of students regarding university level, 'racial group' and gender. Specified ratios imply that the access strategy encourages members of one subgroup more than members of another subgroup. For example, more first-year students than second or third-year students were encouraged to participate. This is appropriate, since the students who had been educated could apply their new knowledge in the following years. The access strategy is consistent with the programme design, but, as discussed under the heading 'characteristics of participants', the implemented access strategy did not always result in the desired students ratios.

The second concern of the access strategy refers to voluntary participation by students. Voluntary participation implies that only people who are interested in the workshop topic will participate. This has positive learning effects (e.g. Duckitt, 2001). This specified access approach is consistent with the workshop design.

However, 32,9% of the participants stated that they were "expected to attend"²⁵. In addition, 87% of the students would not have "attended a diversity workshop if offered elsewhere"²⁶. In addition, individual participants stated that "If they hadn't forced me to go, I wouldn't have come to the whole thing. That is how most of the people feel. Not forced, but they asked us to go." This is confirmed by a house mother, who said that the students "were expected to attend.

²⁵ See appendix, Table 1: „It was expected from me to attend“.

²⁶ See appendix, Table 2: „I would have attended another diversity workshop if offered elsewhere.“

We really told them if you want to stand for HK (House Committee), then you must go. Because we could not find anybody who wanted.”

It should be noted that the interviews with the students and house parents indicated a variety of reasons for attending, including interest in the issues at hand, curiosity and awareness of problems between student groups.

Nevertheless, the questionnaires, supported by individual interviews, indicated that a portion of the participants did not attend voluntarily. If participants attend a workshop they do not wish to attend, the process of gaining knowledge is reduced, both for the voluntary and the involuntary participants. Regarding this issue, the implementation of the access strategy always conformed with the intervention design.

Two factors intervened in the process of accessing potential participants. Firstly, only a short time span was available for persuading students to attend. Especially in the case of the two workshops scheduled one week after an academic holiday, the house father/mother received only comparatively short notice. In addition, no material was provided that advertised or described the workshop. In relation to the missing information, a house mother responsible for recruiting students stated that she was unclear about the reasons for implementing this intervention²⁷.

When interviewed, the persons responsible for approaching potential participants stated that they had experienced difficulties when trying to convince a sufficient number of students to attend.

Characteristics of the participants: The programme design suggested that participants be selected according to university level, leadership roles, ‘race’ and gender. As prescribed in the design, more first-year students (20 students are implicated) than second and third-year students attended. Thus, the students who had been educated by the process could utilise the knowledge they had gained in their future years on campus. Attendance lists showed that a relatively large percentage of first-year students attended.

²⁷ The housemother said that „We did not have any former information about the workshop. They only said there is a workshop, you have to go to attend it. I still don’t know what they wanted to get to. Why did they hold the session? To learn what?“.

Students who held leadership positions (house committee of the residences) were encouraged to attend. The intervention design suggested attendance by 16 participants in leadership positions, which was confirmed by the attendance lists.

Regarding the proportions of ‘racial’ groups, the conditions prescribed for the intervention design could not be fulfilled. A possible reason might be the fact that the residences have only small proportions of minority group students.

The proportion of male to female students was fairly equal, which is in accordance with the intervention design. The exception was workshop No. 3, which included two female residences.

Table 6.1: Participants according to ‘racial’ groups and gender

Characteristic of participants	Workshop No. 1	Workshop No. 2	Workshop No. 3	Workshop No. 4
Total number	39 (37)	44	19	38 (33)
‘White’	38 (36)	39	18	33 (28)
‘Coloured’	1	4	1	3
‘Black’	0	1	0	2
Male	19 (17)	24	0	22 (19)
Female	20	20	19	16 (14)

Note: Numbers in brackets indicate the number of participants at the end of the workshop.

Coverage of target group: The target group was defined as students living in the University residences. Several reasons (e.g. finance, feasibility) compelled an intervention design that outlined that of only 25 students from each residence be invited. Since each workshop was supposed to facilitate 25 students of a male and 25 students of a female residence, 50 students were supposed to participate in one workshop. The intervention design resulted in 19% to 41% of the occupants of each residence, being involved depending on the size of the residence.

However, fewer than 25 students from each residence were willing to participate, which means that fewer than 50 students attended the workshops. Thus, the workshops did not achieve the extent of coverage specified in the programme design. The coverage of the researched residences varied between 13% and 36%, depending on the size of the residence and number of participants.

Programme management, administration and infrastructure: The intervention utilised both the administration and the infrastructure of the University of Stellenbosch and of the facilitator. These existing structures supported the implementation of the diversity workshop appropriately.

Delivery of intervention to students in need: On the basis of the qualitative interviews, it was assumed that a value diversity intervention would be beneficial for all students. The intervention was delivered to the appropriate target group. However, students stated that “the ‘right’ people did not attend”²⁸. This refers to an individual perception that students who are opposed to the thought of value diversity are more likely to decide not to participate in the intervention. Regardless whether this perception of individual students is correct or not, the consideration is of minor importance. Interventions of this format are more likely to reinforce the ideas of liberal students than to change the conceptions of students who are opposed to the thought of value diversity. In addition, the learning effect on both interested and not-interested students is reduced when students attend involuntarily.

6.2.2 Programme activities

The following section describes the workshop elements, especially the activities presented by the workshop facilitator. The participation patterns of the students are discussed separately.

Introduction to the workshop: The students were welcomed to the intervention by the main facilitator. (In two workshops, a paper introducing the facilitators was handed out.) However, the students were not informed about the general structure of the workshop.

The main facilitator explained that diversity refers to the various differences between people. Students participated by stating differences and similarities among students, which were noted on two separate blackboards. Subsequently, the facilitator described a process of inclusion of new people within an established institution. Students then stated how the new people might differ from the people already represented in the institution. The facilitator motivated the students to ‘open their heart and mind’ to each other. In addition, students were encouraged to respect, accommodate and appreciate the different characteristics of people.

²⁸ This statement was an answer to the following open question in the questionnaire: „Please list aspects that you disliked about the course. In addition, a student stated during an interview that

The discussion was concluded by the main facilitators, yet with different emphases. Mr. S. provided a clear indication for a positive evaluation of the situation. Mr. S. asked the students to reflect on how differences influence people. He stated that differences are frequently linked to stereotypes. Since stereotypes are often wrong, he invited the students to reflect on what constructs the 'reality' we perceive. He emphasised similarities, yet acknowledged differences, which are often interpreted incorrectly. He referred to the salad bowl concept, which states that a salad is only interesting if it has different colours and tastes. Thereby, differences between people are viewed as interesting.

The students were encouraged to give their own perspective on the issues at hand. Mr. S. listened and often repeated what a student had said. This technique emphasised that he acknowledged and respected the individual viewpoints of the participants.

In contrast to this, Mrs. S. gave a more negative evaluation of the situation. In addition, the general direction of the workshop was not apparent. Mrs. S. talked about diversity issues (culture, gender, language) on a very elementary level, without giving detailed background information. For example, she mentioned different ways of symbolising being married ('ring' or 'dot on forehead') and gender-related attributes (men are rational, women are irrational). This information can be viewed as a simplification of the situation. However, it did not emphasise the fact that stereotypes may be wrong. Subsequently, she spoke elaborately about the past privileges of different 'racial' groups. This could have evoked feelings of guilt, especially among white students. Feelings of guilt are counterproductive, since they can influence the motivation of students to participate in and reflect on the workshop. In addition, students were not encouraged to give their own view on the issues she introduced.

The different modes of delivering the workshop introduction have implications for subsequent workshops. The presentation style of Mr. S. encouraged active participation by the students to a higher degree than that of Mrs. S. The former style motivated students to reflect on their own viewpoints to a greater extent. The consideration of own perceptions in the light of information provided by the facilitator and fellow students implied that participants had the option to modify their current viewpoints.

In addition, the presentation by Mr. S. informed students of the general basis of the workshop, namely 'to acknowledge the differences, yet to focus on the similarities with the aim to recognise the individual'.

Exploration of stereotypes in theme groups: For this workshop phase, the students were divided into in four groups, which focused on different topics (language, gender, sexual orientation, social class and race). Cards were handed out and students were asked to mention associations that they had with the word on the card. For example, students were asked to state what people see, hear and say about Afrikaans people. The words were dimensions of the theme focused on by the group (e.g. English, Afrikaans or Xhosa in the group concentrating on language). The stereotypes were noted on a flip chart, but not discussed or reflected.

In some instances, students were opposed to stating stereotypes. One girl said that she saw the person and felt uncomfortable to mention her stereotypes. The facilitator reacted by saying that she intended to arise stereotypes in order to understand them. The students then participated as requested.

Feedback round: After the break, the students regrouped in the large group. The facilitators read the stereotype lists that were developed in their group. In a few instances, the facilitator added points that had not been mentioned in the group before.

The way in which the stereotypes were presented often made it difficult to distinguish between the ‘cliché’ and the ‘reality’. Sentence constructions such as “white people *are* ...” indicate a reality, whereas “white people *are perceived to be* ...” indicates an assumption. The latter way of presenting stereotypes supported a more critical approach towards stereotypes.

In the two workshops with a low number of participants, the stereotype lists were discussed. In one workshop, students sat in a circle instead of facing the facilitator, an arrangement that encouraged discussion. The discussion, however, was often based on the perspective of an outsider to a group (e.g. Xhosa is perceived as more childish, Afrikaans is a language everybody should be able to speak).

In the two workshops with a larger number of participants, the feedback round was characterised more by a lecture on the stereotype lists. This made it difficult for the participants to include their own viewpoints, as they merely listened passively.

This section was concluded in a different way by the two main facilitators. Mr. S. emphasised the importance of understanding why things appear and of reflecting on the reasons for things. He added that one has to understand that stereotypes are untrue. People therefore should try to get to know other people as individuals. Mrs. S. did not summarise this section.

One incident should be mentioned. When the stereotype list on townships was read, Mrs. S. stated that students should be aware that many students grew up in townships. She pointed out two 'black' students who sat in the last row, and asked them if they had lived in a township. The students nodded their head, but no time was given in case they liked to add something. In this workshop, it was not said that stereotypes might be wrong. In addition, the group had developed a very negative and one-sided stereotype list on townships²⁹. In this instance, the two 'black' students were labelled with an unfavourable stereotype by the main facilitator.

Lecture on South African history: To point out the complexity of South African history, the workshop focused on the Population Registration Act (1950). The established 'racial' groups were linked to their position in the education system, with the focus on the amount of money spent by the government on individual students from the different groups. This was summarised on a flipchart. One anecdote was added by a minor facilitator. In conclusion, the stereotype "blacks are stupid" was linked to the financial support of students by theg.

The students seemed to be familiar with the information provided, with the exception that the students were surprised to learn that the coloured 'race' consisted of seven different categories. Only a few students contributed during this workshop element.

Video "A class divided"(Peters and Elliot, 1985): The video displayed a social experiment conducted in a school class in the USA³⁰. The teacher divided the class into two groups. One group consisted of blue-eyed pupils, the other group included the brown and green-eyed learners. She told the class that the blue-eyed pupils were more beautiful and more intelligent. The other pupils had to wear white collars. The blue-eyed children began started to perform better in school than the brown and green-eyed pupils. After a day she told the class that, in reality, the brown and green-eyed learners were more beautiful and more intelligent. The white collars were given to the blue-eyed children. Again, the supposedly more intelligent students started to perform better. At the end of the experiment, she discussed what had happened in the class and how the learners had felt during the experiment.³¹

²⁹ They included only negative descriptions, such as gangsters, unsafe, closely populated, diseases, violence, a lot of blacks, shebeens, uneducated, unmotivated, shacks, jobless, dagga and other drugs.

³⁰ The pupils were 10 years old.

³¹ Unfortunately, in one workshop the video display was affected by bad acoustics.

Summary of the workshop: The two main facilitators presented this section differently. Mr. S. asked the students for their impressions of the video. The comments of the students revealed that they were impressed and shocked by the video. The students were invited to imagine this displayed situation continuing for nine years, as opposed to two days. Many students participated in describing the possible characteristics of the high status and the low status group. In two of the workshops, a discussion started, but it had to be cut short due to time constraints. Mr. S. gave a motivating summary. He stated that the youth will change. He asked the students what contributions they could make to solve the problem. He asked the students what contributions they can make to solve the problem. He invited students to start in their residences by accepting the differences of people and by accommodating, respecting and appreciating them³². Mrs. S. summarised the video herself and gave a short conclusion.

Participation patterns of students: The observation revealed that the participation of students varied. In the researched workshop with fewer participants, a higher proportion of the participants contributed to the discussion, and more often. The highest extent of participation was observed in a workshop attended by only female students.

In general, the students reacted to the requests of the facilitators appropriately. During the introduction, students were relatively reluctant to discuss issues. It seemed that the participants were still insecure about the nature of the intervention and the type of behaviour that would be considered appropriate. In the next workshop element, i.e the theme groups, the discussion increased. Due to the relatively short time frame, the discussion had to be broken off several times. However, the flow of participation in the theme groups appeared to differ according to the gender ratios of the participants. Since the groups were created nearly randomly, some groups had uneven gender ratios. When male participants were in the majority, female respondents participated less. If the ratios were equal, the participation of the male participants did not differ from the participation of the female participants. During the feedback round, discussion was not required and, accordingly, the participants did not contribute much. Workshop 3 differed from the other workshops in the small number of participants, and due to the fact that all the participants were female. The next workshop element, the lecture on South African history, was characterised by only a few comments from the participants. More students participated after the video. In two instances, an observer noticed that participants commented on the video even though they had not said anything during the workshop.

³² In two workshops, discussion, mostly generated by the video, had to be terminated due to time constraints.

Three observers perceived the extent of student participation as being related to the presentation styles of the two main facilitators. After the intervention, the observers described the different presentation styles in the following way:

„I felt like she was rushing – she was going fast through the different points. And she should be more objective.” (R., observer)

„In the afternoon, the lady spoke faster and people could not participate. It felt like she was talking to you and telling you whereas the facilitator in the morning was asking you and using what you have said and from that message just adding to it. He was more open to discussion. In the morning (Mr. S.) there was more participation from the students than in the afternoon.” (B., observer)

The observers stated that Mr. S. based his approach on the participation of students during the discussion, which he utilised as a base for delivering his information. The viewpoints of the students were reinforced by means of repeating and summarising their answers. The approach of Mrs. S. was perceived to be autocratic and subjective. In addition, her presentation was accelerated. Observers perceived Mr. S’s approach to be linked to the higher participation by the students (more students participated more often) in the workshops they observed³³. However, it cannot be proven that the higher student participation is linked to the presentation styles.

6.2.3 The theory of change

The theory of change is a model that attempts to explain the underlying assumptions of an intervention. It links the programme elements and characteristics to their intended effects. Thus, it is the centre of the intervention design. The process evaluation was intended to establish whether or not the intervention has been implemented as designed.

The theory of change is summarised in the table on page 116. The first column of the table lists the programme elements and characteristics that were supposed to be implemented. The second column explains why these elements and characteristics were included or, in other words, which results they were supposed to produce. Both these columns state the actual theory of change. The table includes a third column, which indicates whether or not the programme element was implemented as designed. Thus, the table should be read from left to right. If read vertically, the

³³ The observers attended the first and the third workshop (both Mr. S.), as well as the second workshop (Mrs. S.).

table commences with the programme elements, then explains the presentation of the elements, and finally refers to two of the stakeholders, i.e. the facilitator and the participants.

The table includes an additional feature. Based on the research, recommendations are included on how the intervention can be improved. These recommendations are underlined in grey. The table intends to summarise the theory of change and its implementation, which linked to possible improvements. Some of the features are discussed in more detail in this chapter.

6.3 Impressions of intervention participants

6.3.1 Time-related issues of the intervention

One important feature of any intervention is the implementation of the intervention at a time suitable for the participants. In the researched case, the intervention was implemented on a Saturday morning (8-12 a.m.) or afternoon (1–5 p.m.). A major percentage of the participants (83%) approved of the workshop time. However, half of the respondents stated that they were tired (50%), and a minor percentage reported to have a hangover from Friday night (7,9%). In addition, several students identified the Saturday morning as a negative aspect of the intervention³⁴.

Table 3: “Is the workshop time agreeable for you?”

Workshop time			
		Frequency	Valid Percent
Total	no	12	16,7
	yes	59	81,9
	System	2	100,0
		73	

Table 4: “Are you tired?”

³⁴ Answer to the request to list negative aspects of the workshop.

Tired

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	no	32	43,8	50,0
	yes	32	43,8	50,0
	Total	64	87,7	100,0
Missing	System	9	12,3	
Total		73	100,0	

Table 5: "Do you have a hangover?"

Hangover

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no	58	92,1
	yes	5	7,9
	Total	63	100,0
Missing	System	10	
Total		73	

The qualitative interview displayed a variety of responses. Some participants perceived the Saturday as the only possible time, since weekdays are filled with academic activities. Other participants suggested that a weekday would have been better, since students perceive Saturday as a 'free' day that is already filled with social activities. In addition, Saturday is negatively related to the social activities of Friday night. Another time-related issue was the length of the workshop itself. Several respondents stated that the workshop lasted too long. Other respondents, however, perceived the time as too short for the topic at hand.

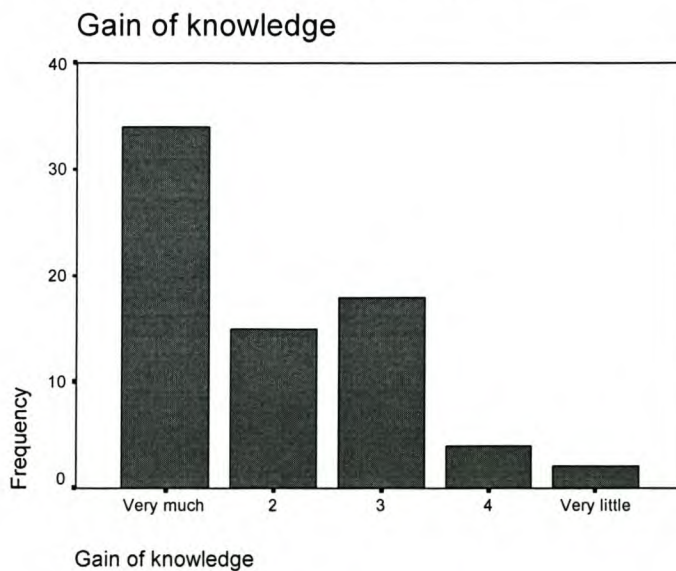
6.3.2 The transmission of knowledge

Regarding the information provided by the intervention, the participating students and house parents reflected on the following issues:

- The acquirement of new information
- The applicability of knowledge in every-day life
- The intervention focus on stereotypes
- The importance of diverse viewpoints

A relatively large percentage of participants (67%) stated that they had acquired new information by attending the workshop. Only a minor proportion of students (8,3%) doubted that they learned something. The remaining students (24,7%) were unsure whether or not they had obtained new knowledge. This was reflected in the contradicting statements obtained from the interviews and the questionnaire. The respondents stated that “it was very informative” and that they “learned about other cultures and our history”. This was opposed by statements by other students, who said that “all the things they tell us people already know”. This was reflected in the statement of a house mother, who said that she got the impression that students “already knew the facts”. The answers indicated the diverging perceptions of participants regarding the acquirement of knowledge.

Table 6: “How much did you learn in the workshop?”



Regarding the kind of knowledge transmitted during the intervention, several students doubted their applicability in daily life. Students stated that the workshop was “not applicable” and that it did not include “actual advice of how to deal with the differences given”.

This was also reflected by the statements of individual house mothers/fathers. A house mother said that important questions like “What are you doing about it on Campus? How are you coping with all this?” were not addressed appropriately in the workshop. A house father stated that “it was more an intellectual exercise, and not experiential (sic.) I would have liked more practical guidelines about how to deal with difficult situations between races.”

Several participants echoed the fact that a major part of the intervention focused on stereotypes. A house father mentioned his “mixed feeling about it” since “it might reinforce the stereotypes of people”. This can be linked to the statement by an interview respondent that indicates that she actually learned new stereotypes during the intervention: “The stereotypes, we did not really know them. So it was interesting to hear it.” Another student (who attended the second workshop) expressed his concern as he lacked information on how to handle stereotypes.

“What was missing is what do we do to overcome these stereotypes. ... I could not even get what they were trying to say exactly what should be done. I think they were still striking to find a solution what should be done.”

Some participants were concerned about these generalisations. They stated that they would have liked more detailed information about other cultures.

Participants reflected on the group membership of the participants and their influence on the diversity of viewpoints. Students were dissatisfied about the proportion of student groups with a majority of white Afrikaans students.

“Far too few of the “other group” attended. Please! Else we won't grow nearer to each other and solve the problem. With “other group” I mean: race, sexuality, language, status etc.”

The viewpoints of the ‘other group’ were considered as important: “I would like to have a lot more black and coloured people. They give their backgrounds that we never see. The viewpoints they give is more interesting than we give.”

6.3.3 Impressions of the facilitators

A major percentage of the participants were satisfied both with the main facilitator (83,5%) and with the facilitator in the theme group (76,7%). This was reflected in the qualitative statements of the participants, which emphasised that the form of the presentation was suitable and that the facilitator has expertise. Students mentioned the “relaxed manner of presentation”, “openness”, “honesty” and “directness”. The facilitators were perceived as “experienced in the field they were talking about”.

Table 7a: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the introduction?”

Satisfaction with main facilitator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	35	47,9	47,9	47,9
	2	26	35,6	35,6	83,6
	3	5	6,8	6,8	90,4
	4	3	4,1	4,1	94,5
	5	4	5,5	5,5	100,0
	Total	73	100,0	100,0	

Table 7b: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the introduction?”

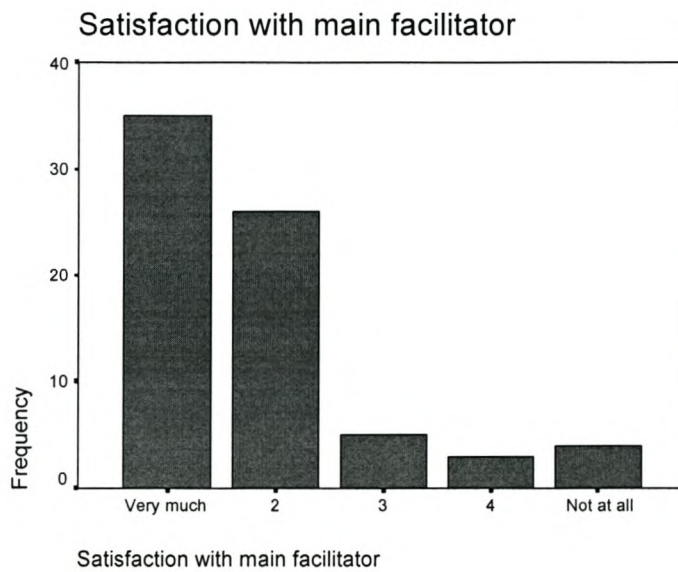
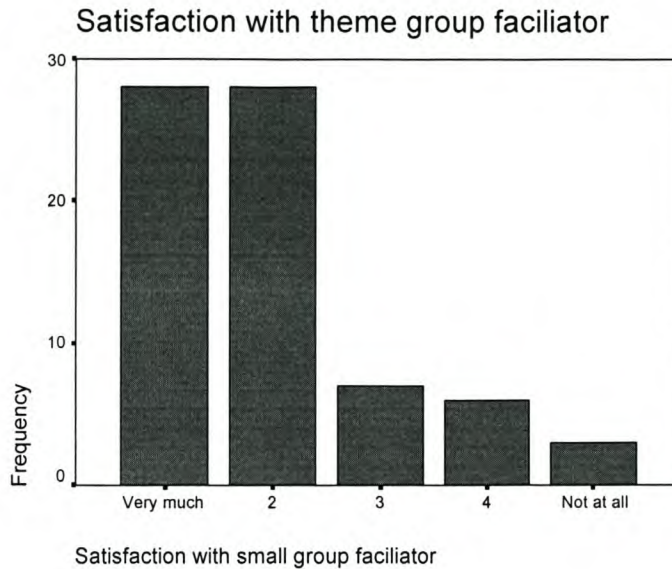


Table 8a: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the theme group?”

Satisfaction with theme group facilitator

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	28	38,4	38,4	38,4
	2	28	38,4	38,4	76,7
	3	7	9,6	9,6	86,3
	4	6	8,2	8,2	94,5
	5	3	4,1	4,1	98,6
	6	1	1,4	1,4	100,0
	Total	73	100,0	100,0	

Table 8b: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the theme group?”



Like the observers, participants distinguished between the presentation styles of the two main facilitators. Mrs. S. was described as “one-sided from the coloured perspective”. A participant stated that it would be necessary to include the perspectives of other South African groups. Another participant projected this to the whole workshop, stating that her impression was that the workshop gave white students the guilt and blame, even though they did not intend to³⁵. Mrs. S.’s way of presenting the workshop, however, was perceived as entertaining.

The one-sidedness was not mentioned by participants with regard to Mr. S., who was described “as a very relaxed, open-minded person” who “encouraged us to say what we think”.

In addition, the participants reflected on the diversity of the facilitators. Two of the researched workshops were presented only by coloured facilitators. Some participants interpreted this fact as very negative: “But I don’t think it is necessary ... to let white people go to a workshop where coloured people are talking to them.” The other two observed workshops were presented by white, coloured and black facilitators. This was reviewed by the participants as a positive aspect of the workshop.

A participating house mother reflected on the generation gap between the students and the facilitators, which influenced the students opinions. From her point of view, younger facilitators might have been closer to the life experiences of the students.

³⁵ The participant stated that „I don’t think they tried to give us the guilt, the blame, but they did it.“

6.3.4 Impressions of the workshop elements

In general, the participants perceived the introduction as worthwhile. The introduction “got people interested in what is going to happen”. However, individual students pointed out that a guideline was not provided for the proceeding workshop, stating that “*they kept us almost in the dark about what is going to happen*”.

Participants compared the theme groups and the large group to each other. Some respondents favoured the smaller theme groups, since more people were likely to speak.

“In the smaller groups everybody has the chance to say something. A lot of shy people ... like me will speak in a smaller group much easier.”

However, the composition of the groups was perceived as problematic, since the low percentage of minority group members was further reduced in the small theme groups. For example, a respondent said that “*we had Xhosa-speaking people as topic, but the participants of the small group did not know enough about Xhosa people, only as house-keeper*”.

Participants perceived the lecture on South African history as interesting and insightful. The respondents stated that this information “*makes you understand what the other people had to go through*”, especially since one “*does not think much about it*”. Other respondents, however, stated that they knew most of the presented information.

The video “A class divided” (Peters and Elliot, 1985) was received very enthusiastically by the students. Several respondents appreciated it as “the best part of the workshop”. Students mentioned that they enjoyed seeing a “very different way of approaching it”. The video “showed another perspective, because South Africans are tired of hearing black, white, and coloured, the whole Apartheid thing”. In addition, students stated that it showed, in an entertaining way, “how stereotypes influence how you perceive the world”. Thus, theoretical processes of stereotyping were projected in an actual example.

This workshop section was mentioned repeatedly in the questionnaire as a positive aspect of the workshop. However, the respondents stated that this workshop section was close to the end, when the students already were tired.

The last workshop section, the summary, was perceived positively, as it “connected the loose points” and “was inspiring ... to go out and learn about the whole thing”. Students said that this workshop section was too short and was rushed because of time concerns. Other respondents pointed out that the participants were exhausted at this last point of the workshop.

6.4 Conclusion

6.4.1 Implications of the intervention design

Two specific characteristics of the intervention design are now considered. Firstly, the selection of the workshop elements and their time span is examined. Secondly, the focus of the intervention on stereotypes is discussed.

Proportion and selection of workshop elements: The proportion of workshop elements was relatively standardised. However, the time frame for certain programme elements might be questionable. For example, a large time span was spent on the exploration of stereotypes and their repetition (70 min.), but only a short time was spent on the nature of stereotypes (5-10 min).

Table 6.2: Workshop elements and their required time

Workshop Elements	Required time (an average)
Introduction	60 minutes
Exploration of stereotypes in theme groups	20 minutes
Break	50 minutes
Feedback discussion	15 minutes
Lecture on South African History	50 minutes
Video “A class divided”	20 minutes
Summary	5-10 minutes

For the available time span, the intervention included a relatively large number of components. This might have encouraged the entertainment, but precluded a comprehensive approach to the relevant topic in the workshop elements. This is related to the insufficient amount of time provided for discussion.

The selection of workshop components excluded themes that would be especially suitable for the target group and its context. Beneficial issues would have been diversity challenges in the University context, participants' experiences of intergroup interaction and role-playing for teaching actual interaction skills. In addition, a 'visible' summary (e.g. a poster) created by the participants could have reinforced the knowledge they had obtained. The posters could have created discussion outside of the workshop context.

Intervention focus on stereotypes: The inclusion of the stereotype theme in the intervention was valuable to induce in students an awareness of the prevalent stereotypes in South Africa, especially as people might utilise a stereotype without recognising it.

However, this approach should be reviewed critically in terms of five considerations:

- Bias of the created stereotype lists due to lack of participants from diverse groups
- The number of created stereotypes
- The way of discussing the nature of stereotypes (or the lack thereof)
- Lack of workshop techniques to dissolve the created stereotypes
- Focus on stereotypes relates to issues dividing students

Firstly, the theme groups often did not include participants from minority groups. This resulted in lists of stereotypes that often were one-sided. For example, two of the four language theme groups did not include Xhosa-speaking people. The mentioned stereotypes about Xhosa-speaking people included 'unfamiliar accent', 'speak about you', 'grave people', 'cannot communicate well'. Thus, this stereotype list captured only the perspectives of the outgroup members, and not of ingroup members. Since the viewpoint of the outgroup members was not challenged by other perspectives, the outgroup perspective was enforced. It should be noted that depending on the topic, the group composition and the students themselves, some developed lists of stereotypes that included more than one viewpoint.

A second consideration is the large number of the acquired stereotypes. Stereotypes were developed on the following themes and their dimensions:

- Language (English, Afrikaans, Xhosa)
- Gender and sexual orientation (Male, Female, Gay)
- Race (Muslim/Indian, white, coloured, black)

- Social class (rich, poor, township)

Each of the 12 created lists consisted of an average of nine stereotypes, which added up to an average of 108 stereotypes per workshop. This quantity denied the possibility of deconstructing and reflecting on the created stereotypes on a deeper level within the available time. It would have been more beneficial to focus on one or two topics in a detailed manner.

Thirdly, it should be considered how the workshop addressed the social psychological processes of stereotyping. Before discussing the mentioned facets, it should be noted that one of the main facilitators (Mrs. S.) did not articulate the nature of stereotypes explicitly. Mr. S. stated that the following features of stereotypes:

- stereotypes are untrue
- the importance to focus on the individual
- the importance to understand why stereotypes appear

Instead of describing stereotypes as untrue, it would have been of greater advantage to view stereotypes as oversimplifications that are easily flawed. As discussed in Chapter 2, stereotypes may be grounded in past or present realities. Since the students knew the South African reality (even though from their specific perspective), it might have been difficult to convince them that stereotypes are wrong per se. Students should have been encouraged to question stereotypes and to modify them accordingly. At the right moment, the discussion on stereotypes should have been dropped and redirected to focus on the individual.

Mr. S. correctly stated that one should consider the reasons why stereotypes develop. However, reasons were mentioned for only two of the stereotypes. This left a large number of stereotypes unchallenged.

In addition, it would have been valuable to mention that stereotypes are necessary in order to provide coherence to the social world. The information processing by human beings cannot be accomplished without utilising stereotypes. The provision of this stereotype feature is beneficial, since it helps students to understand the nature of stereotypes.

Another facet that would have been worth mentioning is the negative effects of stereotypes. Some of these effects were illustrated in the video, “A class divided” (Peters and Elliot, 1985), yet the negative effects were not discussed explicitly in the workshop.

The video itself provided a sparkling view of a variety of basic social psychological processes. It included processes of stigmatisation, and their effects on relationships, emotional wellbeing, self-confidence and performance. The video allowed the students to review these group processes from an outside perspective without being involved personally. This might have been especially beneficial, since all the students are members of certain groups in their daily life, which makes it difficult to review ‘objectively’. Except for the video, the section on theoretical processes underlying stereotypes was very general and short.

Fourthly, the workshop did not utilise techniques to dissolve the listed stereotypes. For example, the stereotypes could have been written on paper and every student could have burned his or her list at the end of the workshop. This technique would have dissolved the stereotype in a symbolic way.

Another technique was to ask students if they knew one person that did not fit the specific stereotype. If somebody in the group knew an individual that did not match the label, the stereotype was crossed out. This resulted in a list of stereotypes that were proved to be wrong in at least one instance. This exercise was very helpful to show the nature of stereotypes.

In summary, it should be considered whether students learned stereotypes and/or whether already learned stereotypes were reinforced during the workshop sessions. Factors favouring this process were the bias of the stereotype list, the large quantity of created stereotypes, the repetition of stereotypes in the feedback round, and the lack of workshop techniques to dissolve stereotypes. The observed workshop facilitated by Mrs. S. needs to be viewed critically, since the nature of stereotypes were not discussed. In general, compared to the large amount of time spent developing the stereotype lists and repeating them in the feedback round (at average more than 90 minutes), the time spent on the nature of stereotypes was unduly short.

6.4.2 Attempts to modify the salience of categorisation

Membership of certain ‘racial’ categories and related stereotyping processes can influence the present-day interaction among students. On the basis of the Social Identity Theory (Turner,

1986), Duckitt (2001) discusses four approaches to changing the salience of certain categorisations. According to these approaches membership of 'racial' groups becomes less important, since 'race' is only as important as it is used to distinguish between people. Three of the four approaches might be applicable for interventions at the individual level.

The *cross-cutting categorisation* approach suggests making students aware that, even though they belong to different groups in one categorisation (e.g. 'race'), they may find themselves members of the same group (e.g. gender, language, ...) in another dimension of categorisation. This approach was used only indirectly by means of exploring stereotypes in different dimensions. However, it would have been favourable to motivate students explicitly to determine common group memberships.

The *recategorisation or superordinate identity model* proposes to eliminate intergroup distinctions (e.g. on 'race') by emphasising a common superordinate identity. This common identity either replaces the original identity or co-exists alongside it. In the researched context, new social identities might be 'being a student ("Matie")', 'being a member of a certain residence' or 'being a South African'. In addition, social identities can be built on common interests, such as 'being an athlete'. In the Stellenbosch context, the development of new social identities might especially be promising regarding residence membership and common interests. This approach was not utilised. In contrast, the focus was on stereotypes that highlighted factors that mainly divide South African society. It could have been beneficial to stimulate a reflection on the participants in new and / or uniting dimensions.

The *decategorisation* approach states that contact between outgroup members will be most effective if the contact is personalised and not category based. Thereby, the contact situation promotes opportunities to experience the outgroup members as individual persons, with specific characteristics, ideas and interests. This might provide occasions to disconfirm stereotypes and discover similarities (Duckitt, 2001). Even though the time frame of a workshop is too short to facilitate the contact itself, the intervention encouraged students to view outgroup members as individual persons. However, more workshop time should have been spent on discovering common interests and ideas. Human (1996) suggests the application of workshop techniques that highlight the large quantity of individual characteristics and attributes (including 'being young', 'being a family member,' 'being fond of chocolate'). Thereby, salient group memberships lose their significance in relation to other characteristics.

6.4.3 Implications of interventions on the individual level

Besides analysing the intervention itself, attention should be paid to the intervention design in a wider context. Intervention designs can approach the target group on different levels. This intervention focused on the individual participant, which has certain implications regarding the critical success factors.

Firstly, intervention on an individual level usually targets only a limited number of persons. This implies that, for institutions with a large number of members (e.g. universities), it has to be outlined how change in the individual participants could inspire the remaining target group. This was done by ensuring the attendance of first-year students and student leaders. In the scope of this thesis, the effects of this approach could not be assessed. However, it should be noted that “ensuring attendance” might result in involuntary participation of students. Enforced participation influences a learning process negatively.

Other possible intervention strategies on different levels could have been considered in order to supplement the implemented intervention. For example, intervention on an interpersonal level could have utilised the effects of social influence, such as curricula with a multi-cultural component (Duckitt, 2001).

Secondly, Human (1996) emphasises that interventions can only be successful if based on comprehensive, sustained strategies with long-term goals. These strategies must be integrated into the already existing infrastructure of an institution. The researched intervention was not embedded in a comprehensive strategy and no long-term goals were envisaged by the Department of Student Affairs. In addition, the majority of University students study only for a relatively short time (e.g. three years for a Bachelor’s degree). It has to be outlined how future student generations will be addressed. Since the student residences organise an introduction session for first-year students every year, a diversity element should be included in these orientation sessions.

Thirdly, individuals who initially had a positive orientation were more motivated to participate actively in the interventions and were more likely to gain something positive from the sessions. Individuals who initially had a negative orientation needs repeated workshops to enhance the probability of change. Thus, singular short-term interventions are critical, since the most prejudiced individuals are less likely to change (Duckitt, 2001). Related to this consideration, it

has to be considered how students with an initial negative orientation could be motivated to participate in an intervention, since the enforcement of participation has counterproductive learning effects.

6.4.4 Links between the evaluation of perceived needs and the evaluation of the process

The results of both evaluations are linked in the following instances:

- Interest in intervention topic, or lack thereof
- Motivation to participate in an intervention, or lack thereof
- Lack of applicability of intervention might be linked to the remoteness of the facilitator

The success of any intervention depends, to an extent, on the support of the participants. The questionnaire and interviews indicated a lack of interest by some of the participants. The questionnaire revealed that half the participants (49,3%) were interested in the diversity topic. Approximately the same percentage of participants (45,2%) were interested to learn interaction skills. This means that a large proportion of participants attended the intervention without being interested in its theme.

Table 6.3: “I am interested in the diversity topic”

Interested in diversity topic			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	36	49,3
	no	37	50,7
Total		73	100,0

Table 6.4: “I am interested in learning skills to interact with people from other backgrounds.”

Interested to learn interaction skills			
		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	33	45,2
	no	40	54,8
Total		73	100,0

The questionnaires were completed mainly by members of the majority group. Since the questionnaires indicated a lack of interest, this might be linked with individual perceptions, as described in Chapter 5. Only respondents belonging to the minority group perceived the need to improve intergroup relations. Thus, students might not have seen the need for participating in an intervention.

Applicability of knowledge. Several students were concerned about the applicability of the knowledge provided in the intervention in their daily lives. This might be linked to the needs perceptions of the facilitators, as described in Chapter 5. The facilitator described the transformation process for describing the need of the students. However, specific implications for the student population of Stellenbosch were not conceived. Thus, the workshop design did not include elements to address specific diversity challenges at Stellenbosch.

Table 6.5: The theory of change and its implementation.

	Implementation Theory Programme activities/characteristics	Programme Theory Mechanism of Change	Process Evaluation
CONTENT OF THE INTERVENTION	<p><u>Introduction</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The intervention starts with a reflection on relatively moderate issues (similarities and differences between students). • The underlying assumptions of the intervention are indicated by developed model of diversity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants are motivated to reflect on the mentioned issues. • Since the intervention touches sensitive issues, the introduction intends to introduce a trustful relationship between the facilitator and the participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This is implemented in the intervention. • The underlying assumptions are stated only indirectly by one of the two main facilitators.
	<p><u>Information on dimensions of diversity</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The workshops provide information about the following dimensions of diversity: culture, race, language, religion, social class, age, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability • In conclusion, these issues are discussed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants obtain knowledge on these issues. They understand the values and needs of students from other backgrounds better. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The intervention did not include information on social class or age. Regarding the other diversity issues, the information is relatively undetailed. The only exception is ‘race’, which was addressed during the lecture on South African history. • Though varied in the different workshops, the most issues were not discussed for long. • It should be noted that it was not possible to discuss that many issues in the time available.

<p><u>Information on barriers to valuing diversity (stereotyping and related processes)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploration • Theoretical principles • Example in reality (Video “A class divided”.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants become aware of actual stereotypes. • Participants understand the mechanisms of stereotyping and its effects • The knowledge obtained is illustrated. • Thereby, participants become aware of critical diversity challenges in their environment. • Participants develop an awareness of the necessity to appreciate and value diversity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants became aware. • Relatively undetailed, only provided by one facilitator • The knowledge was illustrated. • Critical diversity challenges for students were not addressed explicitly.
<p><u>Lecture on SA history</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The lecture focuses on the Population Registration Act and its implications, especially for the education system. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants have an enhanced understanding of the reasons and factors explaining the present South African reality. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This was implemented in the intervention. However, the available time span did not allow for a detailed lecture. Thus, the offered knowledge might not be new for the participants
<p><u>Participants` contact experiences</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploration and discussion of interaction between students (teamwork, friendships, interests, residences, academic and leisure time activities, comparison with past experiences) • Suggestions from students for improvement of present conditions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants are more motivated, since their own ideas and experiences are discussed. • The knowledge obtained is applicable by participants in the university context. • Suggestions can be implemented. • Participants take part actively. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This was not implemented.

METHOD OF PRESENTATION	<p><u>Role-playing</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role-playing focusing on imagined, yet realistic, intergroup interactions • Discussions on how to improve the interaction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants learn interaction skills that are applicable in their context. • Participants learn to think in new dimensions. • Participants take part actively. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This was not implemented.
	<p><u>Visible summary</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants cooperate to create a poster on what they learned in the workshop. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The knowledge obtained is reinforced. • The posters can create discussion outside the workshop context, thus might inspire wider effect. • Participants take part actively. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This was not implemented.
	<p><u>Summary</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summary of all programme elements • Feedback from the students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants are able to reflect on the workshop. • In order to gain a first impression of the effect of the intervention on the participants. In addition, the information can assist in improving the workshop. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The summary often referred to the video only as a programme element. • This was not implemented.
	<p><u>Variety of workshop methods</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The methods include lectures, discussions in theme groups and in the whole group, and a video. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information is provided in a varied and entertaining fashion. • Importance of discussion is emphasised to motivate students to think for themselves and to ensure the inclusion of participants' perspectives and experiences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This was implemented. • However, the time frame provided for discussion was relatively short.

STAKEHOLDER	<p><u>Diverse facilitators</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The facilitators are members of different subgroups and are defined by different social variables (gender, race, age). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Students have the possibility of identifying with persons similar to themselves (role models). This is helpful for creating a comfortable and trusting atmosphere. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitators are diverse regarding gender. However, only two of the observed workshops were diverse regarding 'race'. Facilitators belong mainly to the same age group (40-55).
	<p><u>Characteristics of workshop participants</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of participants who are members of different social subgroups (gender, 'race'). • Inclusion of participants who are student leaders. • Voluntary participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This ensures the diversity of perceptions, which is necessary in order to enhance mutual understanding. • This is necessary for the implementation of knowledge in daily life. • This is necessary in order to ensure the participation of motivated students. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The relatively small proportion of minority group members can be related to the minor variety of viewpoints. • This was implemented. • Some of the participants did not attend voluntarily.
		↓	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The workshop will contribute towards changing the attitude of students towards <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • diversity acceptance and • diversity appreciation. 	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In addition, the workshop could help students to develop interaction skills and to reflect on actual diversity challenges within the University environment. 	

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

South Africa has made a remarkable transformation from an openly racist to a tolerant and democratic society. The vision that will guide the nation-building process and channel the selection of institutions, laws and norms is expressed in the Constitution. The Constitution commits the South African nation to multiculturalism, i.e. the social-intellectual paradigm that embodies the value of diversity as a core principle. In addition, it insists that all cultural groups be treated with respect and as equals. The first paragraph of the Constitution, the most legally entrenched convictions of the nation, clearly asserts:

“The Republic of South Africa is one sovereign democratic state founded on the following values: Human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedom; non-racialism and non-sexism.”

(Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:2)

The application of the Constitution becomes most interesting when we seek to root out not only *de jure* discrimination, which limits the development of diversity, but also *de facto* discrimination, which stems from the reality of the lives of individuals and the environment they populate. In present-day society, one can observe the process whereby South African citizens from different backgrounds have to develop new patterns of communication and interaction. This transformation process is mirrored in the student culture of Stellenbosch.

One facet of the student culture is remarkable. Even though this research highlighted difficulties in the social atmosphere, students can find their own place in the student culture. This is illustrated by positive tendencies for intergroup contact, such as friendships. Friendships are at the heart of a positive social atmosphere. It means that a relationship is based on the particular ideas, beliefs, characteristics and interests of an individual. Although group membership is recognised, it loses its significance. Friendships on the individual level influence a society as a whole, thereby contributing to the transformation process.

This qualitative analysis highlights both diversity challenges and positive instances of intergroup relations. The first critical diversity consideration is the lack of intergroup contact between the minority ('coloured', 'black') and the majority group ('white'). An intergroup contact deficit has to be interpreted negatively, since it is essential for effective cooperation and teamwork among students. This may negatively reflect on students' performance, which is even more impending in their future working environment.

The second diversity challenge is the social domination of the majority group, which is counterproductive for both the minority and the majority group. Individual students belonging to the minority group experience the social atmosphere on campus more negatively. Students have to comply with high scholastic and social demands in order to accomplish their study goals. A domineering campus environment translates into an additional impediment for minority group students. Members of the majority group profit from their present social status. However, the domination of the majority group is mainly restricted to the Environment of the University of Stellenbosch and therefore artificial. The students' prospective environment might be characterized by another intergroup hierarchy. Then, the interaction patterns have to be re-modified in a suitable way within a brief time frame under more pressing conditions than an educational environment.

In contrast to the actual state of intergroup relations, students have a clear idea of what intergroup relations ought to be. The desired state of affairs is characterized by referring to norms and attitudes that should be taken into account. The social standards are acceptance, liberality, equality, mutual awareness of each others' interests and the recognition as an individual. These social standards are fulfilled in exceptional instances, like individual friendships between members of students of different subgroups.

Students hold different opinions on whether or not intergroup relations would need improvement. Whereas minority group students perceive the necessity to improve intergroup contact, majority group members clearly state that they are not aware of any problems.

The analysis of the present state of student relations describes diversity challenges that are only mastered by individual students in exceptional instances. Students are trained at tertiary education institutions for their later performance in the working environment. Besides scholastic excellence, students need certain communication and interactions skills in order to perform at the highest

possible level. The above mentioned diversity challenges may imply that individual students do not possess the necessary social skills to a sufficient extent. The lack of diversity management skills may be interpreted as a need for a value diversity intervention. This perspective is taken by the facilitator and stakeholders of the University of Stellenbosch, who arranged for a diversity intervention.

Any intervention has to take the specific needs of the target group into account. In this case, an intervention might firstly consider to address and discuss the individual diversity challenges of students at the University of Stellenbosch. Secondly, the target group might have to be convinced that such a diversity intervention is beneficial and worthwhile for them.

Both of these a priori considerations for this specific intervention were not taken into consideration. Regarding the second notion, the researched intervention did not promote their intervention in order to ensure interest in the topic and to motivate the students to participate.

Regarding the first consideration, the facilitator did not intend to focus on the diversity challenges of the individual participating students, but followed a more general course. The curriculum focused mainly on South African history, the development of stereotype lists and the video “A class divided”. The applied approach should be reviewed critically regarding two points. Firstly, the relatively long time span used for the above mentioned workshop components precluded the possibility for discussion. Secondly, the developed stereotype lists might not have been beneficial, since they included a bias due to a lack of participants from diverse groups. The nature of stereotypes was not sufficiently discussed. In addition, there was a relatively large number of stereotypes, but no workshop techniques to dissolve the created stereotypes. Finally, the focus on stereotypes relates to issues that divide students, excluding possible ideas or interests that may unite students.

As mentioned above, the selected curriculum did not address individual diversity challenges of participants. This may be linked to the circumstance that several students express concern regarding the applicability of provided knowledge in their daily environment. This might have been circumvented by addressing themes such as specific diversity challenges of US, participants’ experiences of intergroup interaction and role-playing for teaching actual interaction skills. In addition, knowledge could have been reinforced by means of a ‘visible’ summary (e.g. poster) or

future discussion possibilities. This translates into an intervention approach whereby students are allowed to take a more active part in the intervention.

The major findings relate to recommendations for future interventions. Firstly, The curriculum of the intervention should be modified to suit the special student needs. Secondly, the intervention theme should be promoted in order to ensure interest and motivation to participate.

Additional recommendations are linked to the intervention design on the individual level and its wider context. Intervention designs can approach the target group on different levels. This intervention focused on the individual participant, which has certain implications regarding the critical success factors.

Firstly, intervention on an individual level usually targets only a limited number of persons. This implies that, for institutions with a large number of members (e.g. universities), it has to be outlined how change in the individual participants could inspire the remaining target group. This was done by ensuring the attendance of first-year students and student leaders. In the scope of this thesis, the effects of this approach could not be assessed. However, it should be noted that “ensuring attendance” might result in involuntary participation of students. Enforced participation influences a learning process negatively.

Other possible intervention strategies on different levels could have been considered in order to supplement the implemented intervention. For example, an intervention on an interpersonal level could have utilised the effects of social influence, such as curricula with a multi-cultural component (Duckitt, 2001).

Secondly, Human (1996) emphasises that interventions can only be successful if based on comprehensive, sustained strategies with long-term goals. These strategies must be integrated into the already existing infrastructure of an institution. The researched intervention was not embedded in a comprehensive strategy and no long-term goals were envisaged by the Department of Student Affairs. In addition, the majority of US students study only for a relatively short time (e.g. three years for a Bachelor’s degree). It has to be outlined how future student generations will be addressed. Since the student residences organise an introduction session for first-year students every year, a diversity element should be included in these orientation sessions.

Thirdly, individuals who initially had a positive orientation were more motivated to participate actively in the interventions and were more likely to gain something positive from the sessions. Individuals who initially had a negative orientation would need repeated workshops to enhance the probability of change. Thus, singular short-term interventions are to be viewed critically, since the most prejudiced individuals are less likely to change (Duckitt, 2001). Related to this consideration, it has to be considered how students with an initial negative orientation could be motivated to participate in an intervention, since the enforcement of participation has counterproductive learning effects.

In conclusion, I would like to highlight two fascinating aspects that formed the whole intervention process. Due to my German background, I am inspired by the various implications of transformation processes. An interesting aspect of such a process is the interrelation of internal and external factors. Human ideas and beliefs are based on their specific environment and, at the same time, this environment is shaped by the individuals themselves. It is unfortunate that the implemented intervention did not take this circular movement between individual beliefs and their environment into account. This is related to the perceived difficulty of participants to understand the actual applications of the intervention in the specific student context.

The intervention highlights another feature of transformation processes. The great challenge of such processes is to find a balance between the stimulation and enforcement of the process. Difficulty is added by the fact that the individuals involved differ regarding their perception of the actual situation, and of what this situation should be. This implies the necessity to make individuals aware of each other's perspectives, and to motivate individuals to take part in the process. This intervention has to be understood as a contribution to the transformation process. Based on the recent discussion at the University of Stellenbosch on the adoption of a comprehensive diversity strategy, it is hoped that this singular intervention will be linked to further contributions to the transformation process.

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APPENDIX 1

Tables of questionnaires

Table 1: "It was expected from me to attend."

Expected to attend

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	24	32,9
	no	49	67,1
Total		73	100,0

Table 2: "I would have attended another diversity workshop if offered elsewhere."

I would have attended a div workshop if offered elsewhere.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	yes	9	12,3
	no	64	87,7
Total		73	100,0

Table 3: "Is the workshop time agreeable for you?"

Workshop time

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Total	no	12	16,7
	yes	59	81,9
	System	2	100,0
		73	

Table 4: "Are you tired?"

Tired

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	no	32	43,8	50,0
	yes	32	43,8	50,0
	Total	64	87,7	100,0
Missing	System	9	12,3	
Total		73	100,0	

Table 5: "Do you have a hangover?"

Hangover

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no	58	92,1
	yes	5	7,9
	Total	63	100,0
Missing	System	10	
Total		73	

Table 6a: "How much did you learn in the workshop?"

Vali	1			Cumula
	2	Freque	Perce	Perce
	3	1	20,	67,
	4	4	24,	91,
	5	4	5,	97,
	5	2	2,	100,
	Tot	7	100,	

Table 6b: “How much did you learn in the workshop?”

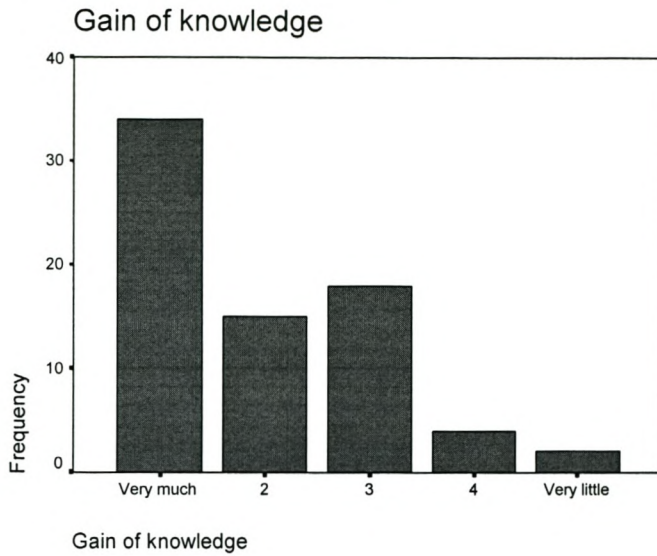


Table 7a: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the introduction?”

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	35	47,9	47,9	47,9
2	26	35,6	35,6	83,6
3	5	6,8	6,8	90,4
4	3	4,1	4,1	94,5
5	4	5,5	5,5	100,0
Total	73	100,0	100,0	

Note: The spectrum ranges from “1” (Very much) to “5” (Very little).

Table 7b: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the introduction?”

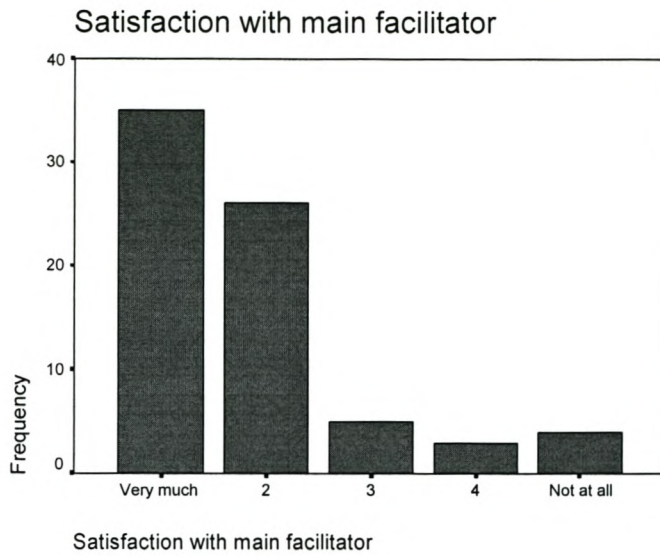


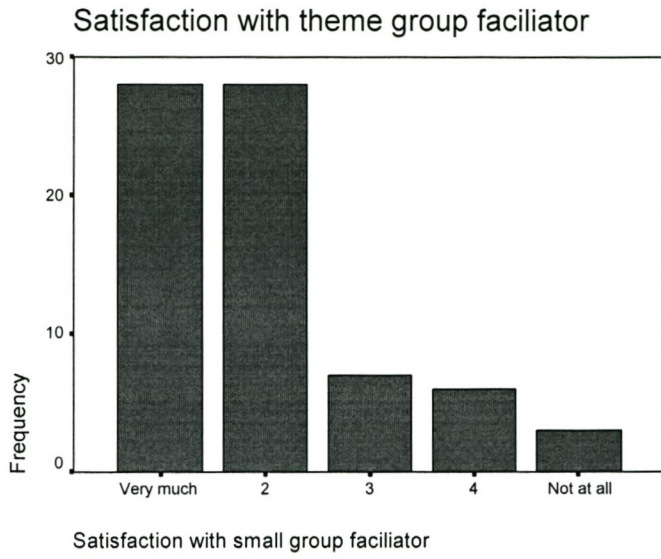
Table 8a: “To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the theme group?”

Satisfaction with theme group facilitator

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1	28	38,4	38,4	38,4
2	28	38,4	38,4	76,7
3	7	9,6	9,6	86,3
4	6	8,2	8,2	94,5
5	3	4,1	4,1	98,6
6	1	1,4	1,4	100,0
Total	73	100,0	100,0	

Note: The spectrum ranges from “1” (Very much) to “5” (Very little). “6” refers to a missing value.

Table 8b: "To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the theme group?"



APPENDIX 2

Observation schedule

For process evaluation

(Free space is provided for additional remarks.)

Did the programme elements take place?

1.

1.1. Is there an introduction?	Yes / No
1.2. Is there a discussion?	Yes / No
1.3. Are controversial issues used to start the discussion?	Yes / No
1.4. Are the participants divided into four theme groups?	Yes / No
1.5. Are playing cards used to distribute certain characteristics to the student? (e.g. straight or homosexual at the theme: Sexual orientation)	Yes / No
1.6. Are there fun activities (e.g. role play)?	Yes / No
1.7. Is there time to discuss the role the participant is playing for the time of the workshop?	Yes / No Not clear
1.8. Is there a feedback round?	Yes / No
1.9. Does every group give feedback?	Yes / No
1.10 Is the feedback discussed?	Yes / No
1.11. Is the video "A class divided" shown?	Yes / No

2.

2.1. Which theme is discussed in the theme group?	
2.2. What are the characteristics that are distributed to students?	

Please fill in.

3.

	0 Not mentioned	1 Mentioned	2 Moderate amount of info	3 A lot of info	4 Exhaus- ting info
Does the workshop provide information about value diversity issues?					
3.1. - culture					
3.2. – race					
3.3. – language					
3.4. – religion					
3.5. - social class					
3.6. – age					
3.7. – gender					
3.8. - sexual orientation					
3.9. - physical ability					
3.10 – university level					

4.

	0 Not mentioned	1 Mentioned	2 Moderate amount of info	3 A lot of info	4 Exhaus- ting info
Does the workshop provide information about barriers to valuing diversity?					
4.1. - Ignorance about cultural differences					
4.2. - Stereotyping					
4.3. - Discrimination					

Were the materials used as intended?

5.

5.1. Were the materials used as intended?	
Flipchart	Yes / No
Video	Yes / No

5.2. Is the room that is used for the introduction and the feedback discussion large enough for the member of participants?	Yes / No
5.3. Are the rooms for the theme groups appropriate?	Yes / No

In what activities were the students in the program supposed to participate?

Did they participate?

6.

6.1. How many students are participating in the workshop?	
6.2. Does the house mother participate?	Yes / No
6.3. Does the house father participate?	Yes / No

Discussion at the beginning (the whole group)

7.

Please make a stroke (a dot) for every student (house father/ mother) who said something in the discussion that is related to the topic. If a participant answered a 2nd, 3rd, ... time, please make a 2nd, a 3rd, etc. stroke. Use one square for each participant.

9.

From the impression given by the students	Interested participant	Disinterested participant	Neither interested nor disinterested ('in between')	Not clear
9.1. Does it appear as if the students are interested in the topic of the discussion?				
9.2. Does it appear as if the students feel comfortable?				
9.3. Does it appear as if the				

students find it entertaining?				
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Theme groups

10.

10.1. How many participants are in the group?	
10.2. How many participated in the role play?	
10.3. How many participated in the discussion?	

11.

Please make a stroke for every participant who said something in the discussion that is related to the topic. If a participant answered a 2nd, a 3rd, etc. time, please make a 2nd, 3rd, etc. stroke. Use one square for each participant.

13.

From the impression given by the students	Interested participant	Disinterested participant	Neither interested nor disinterested ('in between')	Not clear
13.1. Does it appear as if the students are interested in the topic of the discussion?				
13.2. Does it appear as if the students feel comfortable?				
13.3. Does it appear as if the students find it entertaining?				

Please make a stroke for every participant and a dot for the house father /house mother.

Feedback discussion in the big group

14.

How many students are there? (To make sure that there are no dropouts.)	
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15.

How many students are participating in the discussion?	
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16.

Please make a stroke (a dot) for every student (house father/ mother) who said something in the discussion that is related to the topic. If a participant answered a 2nd, a 3rd, etc. time, please make a 2nd, a 3rd, ... stroke. Use one square for each participant.

18.

From the impression given by the students	Interested participant	Disinterested participant	Neither interested nor disinterested ('in between')	Not clear
18.1. Does it appear as if the students are interested in the topic of the discussion?				
18.2. Does it appear as if the students feel comfortable?				
18.3. Does it appear as if the students find it entertaining?				

Please make a stroke for every participant and a dot for the house father /house mother.

Video in the big group

19.

From the impression given by the students	Interested participant	Disinterested participant	Neither interested nor disinterested ('in between')	Not clear
19.1. Does it appear as if the students are interested in the topic of the video?				
19.2. Does it appear as if the				

students feel comfortable?				
19.3. Does it appear as if the students find the video entertaining?				

Please make a stroke for every participant and a dot for the house father /house mother.

What are the characteristics of the different lecturers?

Lecturer during the introduction and the feedback discussion

20.

	0 Not at all	1 Some of the time	2 Most of the time	3 All of the time
20.1. Does the lecturer know a lot about the theme?				
20.2. Does the lecturer state clearly what he/she expects from the participant?				
20.3. Does the lecturer keep “the red line” through the topic?				
	0 Not at all	1 Poorly	2 Moderately	3 Very much
20.4. Does the lecturer motivate the students?				
	0 Not at all	1 Fairly.	2 Moderately	3 Very much
20.5. Does the lecturer speak at the same level as the students? (respect the students as adults) Important for the success of the discussion/ can change the mode of delivery of the intervention				
	0 Not at all	1 A few	2 Many	3 Most
20.6. From the impression given by the students, how many students seem satisfied with the lecturer?				

21.

	0 Not at all	1 A few	2 Many	3 Most
21.1 Does the lecturer use controversial issues?				
	0 Not at all	1 In some cases	2 Many cases	3 Most cases
21.2 Does the lecturer provide enough time for discussion?				

23.

	0 Not mentioned	1 Mentioned	2 Moderate amount of info	3 A lot of info
Does the lecturer provide information about barriers to valuing diversity:				
23.1 - Ignorance about cultural differences				
23.2 - Stereotyping				
23.3 - Discrimination				

Lecturer for the theme group

24.

	0 Not at all	1 Some of the time	2 Most of the time	3 All of the time
24.1 Does the lecturer know a lot about the theme?				
24.2 Does the lecturer state clearly what he/she expects from the participant?				
24.3 Does the lecturer keep “the red line” through the topic?				
	0 Not at all	1 Poorly	2 Moderately	3 Very much
24.4 Does the lecturer motivate the students?				

	0 Not at all	1 I don't know how to express.	2 Moderately	3 Very much
24.5 Does the lecturer speak at the same level as the students? (respect the students as adults). Important for the success of the discussion/ can change the mode of delivery of the intervention				
	0 Not at all	1 A few	2 Many	3 Most
24.6 From the impression given by the students, how many students seem satisfied with the lecturer?				

25.

	0 Not at all	1 A few	2 Many	3 Most
25.1 Does the lecturer use controversial issues?				
	0 Not at all	1 In some cases	2 Many cases	3 Most cases
25.2 Does the lecturer provide enough time for discussion?				

27.

	0 Not mentioned	1 Mentioned	2 Moderate amount of info	3 A lot of info
Does the lecturer provide information about barriers to valuing diversity:				
27.1 - Ignorance about cultural differences				
27.2 – Stereotyping				
27.3 – Discrimination				

APPENDIX 3

Process Evaluation Questionnaire

What is your student number?
 (Anonymity is guaranteed. The student number is only used to link the questionnaires.)

1. What is your motivation to attend the workshop?

Because I get a certificate.	It was expected from me to attend.	I am interested in the diversity topic.	I am interested in learning skills to interact with people from other backgrounds.	I would have attended a value diversity workshop if offered elsewhere.
1	2	3	4	5

It is possible to place more than one X.

2. To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the introduction?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very satisfied very dissatisfied

3. To what extent are you satisfied with the facilitator in the theme group?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very satisfied very dissatisfied

4. Was the discussion at the beginning of the workshop interesting?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very interesting not at all interesting

5. Was the small group interesting?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 very interesting not at all interesting

6. Was the feedback from the other small groups interesting?

1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6	.....	7
very												not at all
interesting												interesting

7. Did you find the video interesting?

1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6	.....	7
very												not at all
interesting												interesting

8. How much did you learn in the workshop?

1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6	.....	7
very												very
much												little

9. Did you feel comfortable during the workshop?

1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6	.....	7
very												not at all
much												

10. Was it entertaining to take part in the workshop?

1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	4	.....	5	.....	6	.....	7
very												not at all
much												

11.

	1	2
11.1 Is the workshop time (morning/ afternoon) agreeable for you?	Yes	No
11.2 Did you miss something else that was important to you (e.g. rugby, movie club Saturday morning, etc.)?	Yes	No
If yes, please specify:		
11.3 Did you plan to go away for the weekend?	Yes	No
11.4 Are you tired?	Yes	No

11.5 Do you have a hangover?	Yes	No
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12. Please write down what you see as the aim of this workshop?

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Please list the aspects that you liked about the workshop.

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Please list the aspects that you disliked about the workshop.

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