# PREJUDICE, CONTACT AND ATTITUDE CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA: A STUDY OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLS IN THE WESTERN CAPE.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts (Research Psychology), in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town.

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Drawing on the principles of Social Identity Theory and the Contact Hypothesis, this study investigated the relationship between levels of integration and racial prejudice in former Model C, desegregated schools. The sample consisted of 1119 black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners from desegregated high schools in Cape Town. A pilot study was conducted with 29 learners to establish the face validity and any practical problems, such as ambiguity, that might become evident. The independent variables, Socio-Economic Status, Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School were assessed for their effects on the attitudes of the learners. The dependent measure was the extent of racial prejudice displayed in social distance, subtle racism and ethnic attitudes toward each other.

The independent and dependent measures were compiled into a questionnaire which was then administered *in situ* to the learners by the researcher over a period of six months. Only the responses from black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners were required for the study and the data from other groups was discarded.

Multiple regression analysis was used as a statistical technique to analyse the data. Statistically significant results were found for all the dependent measures. There were differences between the intergroup attitudes of black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaansspeaking white and English-speaking white learners. The variation in intergroup attitudes could be significantly explained by combinations of Socio-Economic Status (Class), Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School premises. Statistically significant results for Level of Integration were not found for all the dependent measures, indicating that the extent to which schools had been desegregated was not as strong a predictor of intergroup attitudes as was expected. Overall, intergroup contact emerged as a strong predictor of

social distance and ethnic attitudes for all groups. Partial support was found for Social Identity Theory as well as for the Contact Hypothesis. The findings indicated a relationship between pleasant intergroup contact, increased social contact outside school and more positive attitudes. Methodological problems associated with the research limit the generalizability of the results.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

On February 15, 1997, a Cape Town newspaper carried an article about white residents of a community in Ruyterwacht, Cape Town who had threatened busloads of black African learners with violence in an attempt to prevent them from entering the school grounds of a formerly white primary school. The residents sang the national anthem of the previous National Party-led government and chanted racial slogans. This event is but one of many racially motivated incidents that has plagued South African desegregated schools in recent years. Learners from minority groups attending desegregated schools form one of the many targets for racial prejudice.

Racial prejudice and intolerance have been at the centre of social psychological research for decades. Williams (1947) noted that:

Few things are more obvious in present day society than the great prevalence and intensity of hostility and conflict among various types of social groups . . . . Hardly anywhere in the major societies of the world could one find today a person who has not been touched by the crosscurrents of intergroup antagonism and conflict (p. 1).

While these sentiments were expressed more than half a century ago they hold true for the present. Furthermore, the phenomenon of racial prejudice plagues societies across the globe and across time. South Africa's previous racial policies are well known throughout the world. The Apartheid system in South Africa, through legislation, minimised intergroup contact. Schools were segregated until the early 1990s, thus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Montagu (1997) noted as early as 1951 that there is no biological basis for the belief that different 'race' groups exist or that some are genetically superior to others on various dimensions. There is obvious discomfort around the use of the term 'race' as well as the use of the various racial categories and classifications employed by Apartheid South Africa. Its use in this dissertation is necessitated by the demands of identification and statistical analysis. This notwithstanding, I should like to express both my discomfort with, as well as rejection of these terms.

severely restricting and minimising opportunities for intergroup contact. The repeal of all racial legislation in the closing decade of the previous century witnessed the opening of all schools to all race groups. A direct result has been increased contact between previously segregated groups of learners. This forms the background to issues that shall be addressed in this dissertation. The relationship between the different levels of integration (low, moderate and high) and racial prejudice in South African schools is of particular interest.

The purpose of this introduction is to provide a panoramic view of the study, which will include an outline of the following:

- (1) a theoretical and methodological foundation for the study which will set the context;
- (2) the design, rationale and justification for the study.

#### Chapter outline

Chapter 1 examines the literature on prejudice and its reduction. A discussion of the merits and limitations of Tajfel and Turner's (1972) Social Identity Theory as well as an exposition of Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis are provided. Earlier forms of contact theory (Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947) as well as later developments (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Cook, 1978; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachevan & Rust, 1993; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Pettigrew, 1986; 1998a; 1998b; Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp, 1998) to the hypothesis are examined. This is followed by a discussion on contact studies conducted locally as well as abroad. Definitions of contact in various contexts or settings are discussed. Criticisms of Social Identity Theory and the Contact Hypothesis are examined with reference to integration in schools in post-Apartheid South Africa. The chapter concludes with aims and research questions for the study.

Chapter 2 describes the sample, measuring instruments, questionnaire, procedure, research design, analysis, as well as scoring of the different scales. In Chapter 3 the results of the study are reported. Chapter 4 follows with a discussion of the results in

terms of the theoretical framework as outlined in Chapters 1. Limitations of the study as well as recommendations for further research are highlighted.

## Context of the study

Many social scientists have examined the phenomenon of prejudice and intergroup contact. Social psychological literature is replete with diverse theoretical and empirical frameworks as well as strategies employed toward a greater understanding and possible reduction of racial prejudice (cf. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Allport, 1954; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Cook, 1978; Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; MacCrone, 1937; Sheriff, 1966; Taifel, & Turner, 1979; Williams, 1947). Broadly, the theoretical prism used to examine intergroup relations spawned two trends or schools of thought. First, earlier social scientists influenced by Freudian thought, focussed on the individual as the primary site of investigation for explanations of social thought and behaviour. Reasons for prejudiced behaviour were therefore sought within the personality structure of the individual. This was not surprising given the individualistic nature of psychology as a discipline at the time. A second approach that centred on systems and groups was more socially oriented (De la Rey, 1991). The emergence of a groupcentred approach challenged individualistic, intrapsychic explanations of prejudiced behaviour. Concepts such as group membership and social identity began to dominate literature on intergroup processes. In true dialectical style, each approach elicited its own following with much theorising, empirical study as well as inevitable criticism (Harvey, 1996). These approaches will be discussed and assessed especially with regard to its relevance in the South African context.

Notwithstanding the fact that voluminous research on racial prejudice spans almost an entire century, the sporadic resurgence of prejudice globally continues to pique many social psychologists' interest. The goal of this study is to continue in this tradition with a focus on racial prejudice in senior secondary school learners and possibly to make a modest contribution to the existing literature on prejudice and intergroup

contact. Recent South African history abounds with incidents of racial intolerance and intergroup conflict, of which the Ruyterwacht event is just one.

These incidents of racial intolerance occurred against the backdrop of major political, economic and social changes that were initiated in South Africa in 1990. The new political dispensation in 1994 witnessed the demise of the Apartheid regime. This was paralleled with the repeal of discriminatory legislation. All schools were opened to all race groups and open schools would necessarily provide increased opportunities for intergroup contact. While under conditions of Apartheid, opportunities for intergroup contact were severely hampered and restricted. At the time the study was conducted there had thus been intergroup contact between all race groups for seven years. I chose to look at intergroup contact between English-speaking white, black African, 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white learners<sup>2</sup> precisely because intergroup contact was minimised and restricted between these groups. Thus the central question of my study deals with how increased contact between these groups over the last seven years had influenced their attitudes towards each other.

Of the many theoretical paths used to examine intergroup contact, Gordon Allport (1954) is perhaps better known for his contribution to the growing body of literature on intergroup contact and prejudice in the form of the Contact Hypothesis (Brown, 1995). The hypothesis consists of a list of conditions that he believed would reduce prejudice and facilitate positive intergroup attitudes. While the Contact Hypothesis generated extensive research globally, local contact studies were understandably hampered given the nature of South African society under Apartheid conditions. Ironically, the architect of the system of Apartheid, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, argued that these segregationist policies would reduce conflict and hostility between the various ethnic groups in South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> While there are linguistic differences between Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white people, there is some debate as to whether or not these two groups can be differentiated. However, it is generally accepted that they constitute a distinctly separate group formerly encompassed under the umbrella classification 'white' (Jacobs, 1991).

Fundamental to this policy of Apartheid was the elevation of white South Africans to a position of dominance and superiority and the relegation of black Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians to positions of subservience and inferiority economically, politically, socially and constitutionally (Lever, 1978). The political, economic and social history of this country bears testimony to the fact that instead of institutionalized separation reducing conflict, hostility and prejudice, the converse happened (Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). Black Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians showed their dissatisfaction with and rejection of the Apartheid system in the form of demonstrations, boycotts and mass rioting since the mid-1970s. This was no more evident than in the sphere of education in South Africa.

The history of the education of black Africans starting with a school for slaves in 1658 through mission and colonial schools is synonymous with racial segregation, political and economic subordination. Education for black Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians was structured in a manner that would not only subjugate them in schools, colleges and universities, but would replicate this pattern in labour and all other areas of life. In short, education was so designed to place and maintain these groups in inferior positions vis-a-vis white South Africans economically, socially, culturally as well as politically. Legislation entrenched the racial stratification in education (Vally & Dalamba, 1999).

The early 1950s through 1960s saw the promulgation of various Acts to enforce racial segregation. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, the extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1965 and the National Education Act of 1967 ensured that learners from different racial backgrounds would not attend the same educational institutions as their white counterparts.

The reasons for the development of bantustans or black African 'homelands' which occurred during the 1960s and 1970s were twofold. The first and most important reason was to entrench white rule and white unity. The second reason was to provide 'independence' or 'autonomy' for 'Bantu' areas (Davenport, 1977) and thereby divesting the South African government of the responsibility for the education of black

Africans (Jackson, 1991). This was one of the Verwoerdian tactics to exclude black African people from decision-making in the new Republic and to galvanise segregationist education policies. Disparate monetary allocation saw education for black African learners at the lowest end of the receiving scale with white learners at the highest. This state of affairs culminated in resistance among black African youth to the quality and control of education received in the early 1970s through 1980s. Notwithstanding attempts by private educational institutions to remedy the situation in the 1980s, it clearly could not accommodate poorer communities for whom the fees were too steep. Mounting pressure to open white schools led to the acceptance of some black African learners in 1990 under the proviso that the school remained 51 percent white. The conversion of all white schools in 1992 to state-aided Model C status was followed by formal desegregation of all schools in 1993. This process produced a slow trickle of black African, 'Coloured' and Indian learners into previously white schools (Valley & Dalamba, 1999).

The years that followed the general democratic elections of 1994 proved to be a watershed for South African education policies. While equality of all groups is underscored in the Bill of Rights of the new South African Constitution, the South African Schools Act (1996) expressly prohibits discrimination on the basis of race and gender amongst others and calls for uniform norms and standards in education for all South African learners. At the time of this study in 2000, schools had been desegregated for seven years. While the process of desegregation of schools does not necessarily imply integration or positive intergroup relations (Schofield, 1997; Soudien, 1998; Vally & Dalamba, 1999), it provides two of the key conditions absent from the previous Apartheid dispensation namely, opportunities for frequent contact as well as sanction and support for intergroup contact from authorities, law and custom. Ostensibly, this study grew out of this latter change in the domain of education.

### Research design and rationale

#### <u>Design</u>

The study was designed to tap learners' experiences of, and attitudinal responses to intergroup contact in desegregated schools. In agreement with Shipman (1973) if one wants to know something about everyday behaviour, one should ask questions. According to Kerlinger (1986) the use of survey research as a tool is well suited to obtaining information on attitudes from a large population. A questionnaire survey was therefore used to test the hypothesis that there is a relationship between the levels of integration in schools and racial prejudice. Afrikaans and English questionnaires were administered in situ to all classes at all schools chosen for the study. The questionnaire allowed each learner to report his or her own responses and therefore convey his or her own attitude toward the ingroup as well as toward the outgroup. The same questions were put to each learner under controlled conditions. In this regard Sayer (1992) notes that the use of large-scale standardized questionnaires facilitates possible comparisons and minimizes observer-induced bias.

This study follows in the quantitative tradition in terms of data collection and analysis. Since the use of the questionnaire does not leave much room for imagination and reflexivity, its virtues may be extolled by those with a predilection for the quantitative paradigm. Ironically, it may also be criticised by those who follow in the qualitative tradition for the very same reasons. While the framework of this dissertation does not allow for a discussion on the merits and demerits of the two traditions, a few of the criticisms levelled against the quantitative paradigm deserve brief mention. A limited choice of answers is available to the respondent with the use of a structured standardised questionnaire (Simon, 1978). Respondents may find it very difficult to match their views with the range of answers available in the questionnaire. Many respondents who fall into this latter category may then opt for the 'neutral' or 'don't know' option. Shipman (1993) notes that the researcher imposes his or her own social scientific framework around the respondent's answers.

Notwithstanding the ongoing debate surrounding the advantages and disadvantages associated with the two paradigms, I am in agreement with the general assumption that respondents are able to observe and accurately report their own mental processes (Simon, 1978). Furthermore, the size of the sample, time and financial constraints as well as the rigours of a daily school programme made the questionnaire the data collection tool of choice for the project. Arguably, the acceptable validity and reliability of the measures used to collect the information compensate for the shortcomings of the questionnaire survey.

A 4 (groups: Afrikaans-speaking white\English-speaking white\ black African\ 'Coloured') x 3 (integration: low\moderate\high cross-sectional correlational design was used. The nature of the study necessitated the use of a probability multi-stage stratified sampling method. Senior secondary schools (all ex-Model C) were selected on the basis that they were co-educational and could be categorised into one of three levels of integration (low, moderate and high). However, since the study required one Grade 10 and one Grade 11 class from each school (18 schools in total) these classes were randomly selected where this was possible. In certain schools, the school programme could not accommodate any randomisation and classes were therefore just made available for the study by relevant staff as time permitted.

#### **Rationale**

The late John F. Kennedy once remarked that a nation's progress was closely allied to progress in education (cited in Mendelson, 1962). Major changes have been effected in the education system since 1994. Subsections (2) and (3) of section 29 of the Bill of Rights in South Africa's new Constitution makes provision for the right of every individual to attend an educational institution that does not discriminate on the basis of race. It could therefore be argued that most of Gordon Allport's (1954) conditions for the reduction of prejudice now obtain in South African schools.

The laws that entrenched racial segregation and consequently restricted intergroup contact have been repealed. Chief among these are the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act and all

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other forms of legislation that enforced separate education. The deracialization of South African society on all levels has led to opportunities for increased intergroup contact. The obvious area where the Contact Hypothesis may be tested is in schools where intergroup contact is unavoidable and opportunities exist for the formation of more intimate relationships such as friendships, on a longer term (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991; McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996; Wright, Aron, Mclaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997). Given the fact that there are varying proportions of learners from different racial backgrounds in desegregrated schools, those schools with higher representations of the various race groups could reflect more frequent intergroup contact. However, Taifel and Turner (1979) using the principles of Social Identity Theory, argue that learners would compete rather than co-operate around common goals in the classroom setting, even in the absence of objective reasons. Furthermore, learners' impressions of their own groups' status as well as the status of outgroups may have changed in the wake of the drastic socio-political changes of the past nine years. This study will determine whether or not group boundaries have disappeared or have become less rigid to accommodate recategorisation (Brewer & Miller, 1984).



#### CHAPTER 1

#### **PREJUDICE AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS:**

#### **EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS**

#### Introduction

Beginning with an examination of the definition, nature and causes of prejudice, this chapter will proceed from a brief overview of individually-based perspectives to a discussion of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Gordon Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis. This is followed by a critique of the aforementioned theoretical frameworks. The aims and research questions for the study conclude this chapter.

#### Prejudice: definitions and explanations

There are many different kinds of prejudice that permeate all levels of social life such as sexism, ageism, anti-Semitism and racial prejudice, to name but a few. However, two kinds of prejudice, anti-Semitism and racial prejudice have occupied the focus of interest for social scientists over the last six decades. Anti-Semitism targeted Jews during the Nazi Holocaust in Germany between 1935 and 1946. This dissertation will concern itself with a discussion of racial prejudice from the viewpoints of various psychological perspectives in general and will proceed more specifically to an examination of the effects of intergroup contact on the attitudes of adolescent learners in desegregated, coeducational, formerly white senior secondary schools.

Defining prejudice is problematic and the plethora of definitions is in itself an indication of the difficulty associated with definitions (Brown, 1995). The earliest definitions of

prejudice were proffered around the early 1950s (Ackerman & Jahoda, 1950) wherein characteristics such as hostility and irrationality were said to mark interpersonal relations. Subsequent decades revised definitions of this complex construct which included elements of injustice, aggression and rigidity (Milner, 1975). More recent contributors such as Brown (1995, p. 8) employ a more cautious approach by simply defining prejudice as " ... the holding of derogatory social attitudes or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour towards members of a group on account of their membership of that group."



While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to debate the rationality or irrationality of prejudice, it is sufficient to note that there is some debate as to the possibility of establishing the 'correctness' of a belief or attitude (Brown, 1995). For the purpose of this discussion though, the above definition does seem to allow for the mutable nature of the many varied manifestations of prejudice without ascribing 'faultiness' or 'irrationality' as characteristics of the construct. The implication that there is an ideal or standard attitude, which is 'correct' and 'rational' or indeed that such an ideal attitude may even measurable, is thereby obviated. My chief interest in the construct is its obvious correlation with prejudiced behaviour and that it is social in its orientation. To this end it is perhaps fitting to look briefly at the historical analysis of prejudice and the evolution of social psychology as a corollary.

# Prejudice and interpersonal perspectives

The development of psychology and social psychology in particular has witnessed the evolution of two distinctly different trends in research. There is some debate in terms of the classification of trends and perspectives employed in the analyses of prejudice (Duckitt, 1992). I shall concern myself with two broad categorisations, namely, the psycho-dynamic approach and the group-based social-psychological approach.

Leaning heavily on Freudian psychoanalytic principles, intra-psychic research of the individual personality preceded investigations of the social group as a unit of

psychological investigation. Paralleled with these trends were theoretical developments that included the construction of attitude scales and various techniques to measure psychological phenomena (Henriques, 1984). An intra-personal psychological perspective on human behaviour dominated the earlier part of the twentieth century. While social scientists were aware of the social and sociological dynamics of inter-personal relations, in the main their focus was the intra-psychic machinations of the individual. It therefore comes as no surprise that the decade following the Holocaust in Nazi Germany would be dominated by research focusing on the inner workings of the personality of the individual. Amongst others, the more influential approaches included, the Frustration-Aggression hypothesis as developed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939) which explained prejudiced behaviour as the result of the culmination of a reservoir of aggressive energy and frustration, Rokeach's Belief Congruence theory (in Brown, 1995) which attributed prejudice to the similarity or dissimilarity of belief systems and Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950) who viewed the manifestation of a rigid, dogmatic and authoritarian personality structure as the matrix of prejudiced behaviour. Explanations for religious and racial prejudice were therefore sought in research on attitude change. This is not to say that these theorists were not aware of the impact of social factors upon prejudiced behaviour (Billig, 1976). Their oversight could perhaps be located in the fact that each explanation focused exclusively on one aspect of behaviour instead of including the many factors both within the individual, within the group and between individuals and groups.

Most prominent among the many major shortcomings of personality-based perspectives has been the oversight of the importance of social factors in influencing people's attitudes. While these interpersonal theories neglect social, political and economic factors in day-to-day interaction between individuals, it may be said that their value lies in explaining interpersonal attraction and the nuances of prejudiced dispositions found among various prejudiced individuals. What remains of seminal importance however, is how the phenomenon of intergroup conflict is adequately addressed by theories that focus on some or other aspect of intra-individual dynamics (De la Rey, 1986). While social behaviour between individuals is explained by Dollard,

Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939), Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950) and Rokeach's (1960) perspectives, they are not able to extrapolate inter-personal behaviour to explain intergroup conflict (Brown & Turner, 1981; Tajfel, 1978). These theorists do not adequately examine the context within which individuals interact. Situational values, social norms and beliefs of in-, and outgroups affect relationships between people and contribute more meaningfully to explanations of racial prejudice (Brown, 1988; 1995; Orpen, 1975; Pettigrew, 1958).

Studies in some universities (Alreshoud & Koeske, 1997; Cover, 1995), desegregated schools and integrated schools (Dutton, Singer & Devlin, 1998; McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978) have shown that amount of contact as a situational norm rather than personality variables strongly influenced respondents attitudes toward each other.

On a much broader level than just the situational context is the impact of wider societal or cultural norms. While there is a correlation between individual authoritarianism and prejudiced attitudes, research findings have pointed toward prevailing societal norms as a strong causal factor for racism. Pettigrew's (1958) cross-cultural study of prejudice revealed high levels of anti-black prejudice by Whites both in the southern states of the United States of America and in South Africa. However, despite their strong racist views, their levels of authoritarianism were found to be no higher than in those groups showing less prejudice. The conclusion drawn by Pettigrew therefore was that societal norms and conformity pressures that prevailed in South Africa and the southern states of the United States of America at the time outweighed any pathological personality structure that might predispose the individual to potentially fascistic and discriminatory attitudes and behaviour (Brown, 1995; Duckitt, 1991). The joint institutionalisation of ethnic segregation and white domination further entrenched discriminatory norms and practices in countries like South Africa. These social pressures allied to linguistic and class differentials served to undermine intergroup relations to an even greater extent. To this end research findings have consistently reported higher levels of anti-black prejudice among White Afrikaans-speaking groups and groups from lower socioeconomic classes (Appelgryn & Bornman, 1996; Bornman, 1988; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Groenewald, 1975; MacCrone, 1937; Nieuwoudt, 1973; Nieuwoudt

& Nel, 1975; Nieuwoudt, Plug & Mynhardt, 1977; Pettigrew, 1958; 1960; Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983; Spangenberg & Nel, 1983).

An additional dilemma that plagues the interpersonal explanation of prejudiced sentiments is its uniform expression simultaneously by large groups of people as was the case in Nazi Germany, Rwanda, Chechnya and South Africa, amongst others. While parental influence is a factor in the transmission of prejudiced attitudes, the interpersonal approach does not explain adequately how different generations of Germans could simultaneously have been influenced by rigid authoritarian-type parenting in such a relatively short time. The first official boycott of Jewish shops and professions in Germany started in April 1933 and culminated in the genocide of approximately 6 million Jews by January 1945 (Layton, 1992). What is also problematic is the inability of the interpersonal perspective to explain the rise and fall of prejudiced behaviour across time and across continents (Brown, 1995). While it is not entirely incorrect to examine the individual as the locus of prejudice and discrimination, one could argue that the individual is but one aspect of a plethora of loci that requires careful scrutiny. The famous quote of Allport (1924) that, a psychology of groups is not possible without the psychology of individuals, still has some merit. The problem with this interpretation however, is that it was thought that intergroup conflict could be explained by reducing groups to collections of individuals and subsequently examine individual behaviour. It is true that interpersonal approaches have merit in having shed light on the fact that there are different expressions of prejudice between different individuals. However, what concerns many social scientists is that the expression of prejudice more often than not, is evidenced on a social, categorised or group level. It is therefore to this level of analysis that we turn for further investigation.

# Prejudice and group-based perspectives

The interpersonal theories discussed earlier link prejudice to "... certain inherent fundamentals of human psychological functioning" (Duckitt, p. 90, 1992). Subsequent research in social psychology refuted this supposed link between intergroup

phenomena and psychological dysfunction (later known as the ad hominem argument) (Billig, 1976; De la Rey, 1991; Henriques, 1984). Rather, social psychology turned its investigation toward groups' material interests that stem from geographical (e.g. the point of debate between Palestinians and Israelis at present), political (e.g., the ensuing battles between the Talibhan and certain minority groups in Afghanistan) and economic (e.g., the current debate about land restitution in Zimbabwe) concerns (Brown, 1995). These themes have surfaced periodically notwithstanding the signing of various treaties and peace accords. While it is true that individuals sign peace accords and treaties, these individuals are nonetheless viewed as representatives of certain groups. Another phenomenon that further perplexes chroniclers of patterns of prejudice is that there seems to be periods of relative stability that change substantially during certain historical events. Shifts in attitudes have been known to occur between nations and groups during times of political unrest (Duckitt, 1992; Nieuwoudt & Plug, 1983) and following periods of economic recession and war. Does prejudice have its roots in social relationships between groups? Do the identities of members of certain social groups impact on the objective social relationships between groups? Could these real or imagined group interests result in co-operative or competitive intergroup behaviour? (Brown, 1988). These are some of the questions that marked a shift in the thinking of social scientists such as Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979). Brown (1995) rings a cautionary note by reminding us of the importance of social psychological interests such as a group's social standing vis-à-vis other groups. This aspect is strongly allied to issues of group members' social identities. This aspect will be discussed in the next section in the form Henri Tajfel's (1978) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory (SIT).

Billig (1976) argues that the institutionalisation of competition between groups is really a social construction and therefore dependent upon group interests, ideologies and identities. The development and nature of group identities and group categories will be discussed in the following section. There seems to be a tendency toward social categorisation among individuals and this occurs even in the absence of prior conflict, intergroup competition or confrontation. This phenomenon is evidenced in the minimal group experiments that have been conducted by researchers in the Social Identity paradigm.





# Prejudice and Social Identity Theory

The departure from interpersonal psychodynamic explanations of prejudice and intergroup behaviour was marked by groundbreaking work done by Muzafer Sherif (1966). The results of the well known summer camp studies with young boys led Sherif and his colleagues (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961) to conclude that there were processes which were not the same as interpersonal processes and which were unique to groups. They argued that realistic conflict of interest between groups over objective material goals may translate into prejudiced attitudes and hostile discriminatory behaviour and that task-interdependence between groups could facilitate attitude change. Sherif argued that the groups' mutual awareness of task-interdependence would replace the salience of the group with salience of the task at hand. Members of in- and outgroups would therefore no longer need the processes of categorisation or competition since the task will have replaced the group as the object of salience.

While Sherif's Realistic Group Conflict theory enjoyed some support (cf. Brown, 1988, 1995), many shortcomings were highlighted by subsequent studies (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). It was found that ingroup bias did not disappear even when groups could gain materially from working together (Brown, 1995). The mere categorisation of groups without objective competitive conditions or any previous conflict experiences was sufficient to elicit ingroup bias. Furthermore, task-interdependence and shared superordinate goals were not enough to change the social identities of groups. These shortcomings led Tajfel and Turner (1979) to propose their theory of Social Identity.

The theory comprises the merging of social categorisation and social comparison (Brewer & Miller, 1984). Beginning with the premise that individuals generally prefer to regard themselves positively instead of negatively, Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that an individual's self-esteem is defined in terms of the group he or she belongs to. The individual will tend to perceive his or her group more positively than other groups.



The social context of the group with its own unique characteristics is viewed as distinct from the personal inter-individual context. The group as a social entity is not just viewed as the sum or collection of a number of individuals, but has definite characteristics that differentiate it from those of individuals. The processes that occur between groups are unique to such social settings (Tajfel, 1978). In terms of Social Identity Theory, intergroup behaviour is interpreted and understood as the result of a merging of social psychological processes and socio-economic factors. Hogg and Abrams (1988) noted that individuals in society are organised into distinct social groups and categories. These groups transmit their views, attitudes and practices to their respective members. These groups are important as they help to determine the social reality of these individuals who are either members of the in-, or outgroup. How and why people identify with certain groups and what the results of such identification are, are questions that I address in this section.

Central to the theory is individuals' self-concept which is strongly influenced by knowledge of their membership to a distinct group. Linked to this knowledge of group membership is the value and emotional significance of belonging to a group (Brewer & Miller, 1984). The theory posits that people possess "... a desire to have a positive social identity" (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987, p.60). Because of this desire for positive social identity individuals make social comparisons between their group (the ingroup) and other groups (outgroups). Groups assess their value and social prestige by comparing the status of the ingroup with that of the outgroup. The result of such intergroup comparison has indirect bearing on the group's positive or negative self-esteem. Social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness are psychological processes that mark this theory as a psychological theory of intergroup relations. Four concepts that are central to the theory of Social Identity, namely, social categorisation, social identity, social comparison and psychological distinctiveness are discussed in the next section.

#### Social categorisation processes



People prefer to make sense of the world by simplifying and dividing it into manageable categories (Brown, 1988). We define ourselves by placing ourselves and others into these categories. Our sense of who we are vis-à-vis our own group and other groups, i.e. our identity, is closely linked to the groups we see ourselves as members of. Tajfel and Turner (1979, p. 40) argue that these social categorisations are cognitive tools "... that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action." These categorisations help the individual to orient himself in relation to others.

For the proponents of Social Identity Theory, it is both functional as well as inevitable for people to be divided into many different social groupings since society and individuals need simplification, structure, predictability and order (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). These categorical divisions are evident on many dimensions such as ethnicity, class, race, nationality, gender, occupation, religion and sexual preference to name but a few. In this sense, individuals may have different social identities by belonging to different social groupings for example, an Afrikaans-speaking white female learner may be a member of the Dutch Reformed church and may also be a member of her school's debating team. The learner may behave differently when she is with the church members and as a member of her school's debating team against a rival school. The social context that this individual finds herself in will determine which particular aspect of her social identity is invoked and becomes salient. She will therefore interact with other individuals as a member of a particular group rather than as an individual in terms of her personal identity (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Brewer & Miller, 1984).

The members of ingroups as well as outgroups are treated as homogenous and undifferentiated groups. The depersonalisation of individual members and hence simplification of stimuli, is a cognitive function which accentuates intragroup similarities and intergroup differences. Members of a group are therefore judged as possessing the same characteristics that differentiate them from members of another group. In this way the process of categorising helps people to make sense of the complex and infinite amount of stimuli they have to deal with on a daily basis

(Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). Simplification facilitates stereotyping of in- and outgroup members thereby allowing for the expectation of certain characteristics of in- and outgroups. This is evidenced in prejudiced comments such as "Chinese students are good at mathematics" and "black African people don't do well in swimming".

Taifel and Wilkes (1963) conducted an experiment on perception in which respondents had to estimate the lengths of a number of continuous individual lines. Four shorter lines were identified as 'A' and four longer lines as 'B'. The results showed that respondents consistently exaggerated the similarity in line length in the same categories as well as the difference in length between the two categories. This has significance and consequences for the Social Identity Theory approach to prejudice and intergroup Firstly, intragroup differences (members of the same category) will be conflict. minimized so that the members are viewed as more similar and secondly, intergroup differences (members belonging to different categories) will be exaggerated so that the outgroup is regarded as being very different to the ingroup on important dimensions. A racially prejudiced person would for example, not include black Africans, whites, 'Coloureds' and Asians in the same category because of the different values such a person ascribes to the various groups (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). The status of the individual is an intricate aspect of the categorisation process. This is evident when individuals identify with those they are categorising. In a study conducted among different ethnic groups of people in South Africa, Pettigrew (1958) found that Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans were more cautious than other groups when making choices about placing people into different categories. The study required that respondents identify photographs of people belonging to different race groups. Rather than running the risk of placing 'Coloureds' and Indians into white categories and thereby lowering their own status, Afrikaans-speaking whites tended to adopt a strategy of overexcluding these two groups from the white group and overincluding them into the black African group (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987).

Still, social scientists were interested to know under which minimal conditions the process of categorising or grouping and therefore intergroup bias, would occur. Tajfel and his colleagues set out to find the answers to this problem in the 1960s and 1970s

by conducting experiments which collectively became known as the minimal group studies (Brown, 1988; 1995; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987).

#### The minimal group studies

Though not the first to investigate the effects of minimal conditions necessary to produce group categorisation, Taifel, Flament, Billig and Bundy (1971) developed the paradigm to show that mere categorisation was enough to produce ingroup bias (Brown, 1988). In order to do this, variables were removed which would normally be associated with daily group membership. The respondents were randomly assigned to one of two groups on the basis of some arbitrary criterion like art preference. The respondents only knew their own group and were not informed of the identity of the other group. They were then asked to make reward allocations to various recipients including members of the other group that was identified by code numbers. One of the conditions of the monetary allocation was that respondents were not allowed to award money to themselves. The respondents were tasked with four different options of reward allocations namely, giving the same amount of money to both the ingroup and outgroup (an option showing a principle of fairness); maximising the total amount without particular regard for particular group membership, allocating more money to the ingroup than the outgroup and lastly, an option where rewards are allocated in such a way that the difference between what the ingroup members receive and what the outgroup members receive favours the ingroup members. A clear and persistent tendency emerged where the respondents kept awarding more money to their own group members than those of the assumed other group even if it meant that in absolute terms their own group received a smaller total sum of money. The reward allocations showed a maximising of difference between the groups. The results also showed that even in the absence of prior intragroup or intergroup interaction, respondents favoured members of the ingroup over outgroup members (Brown, 1988). Billig and Tajfel (1973) and Tajfel and Billig (1974) in replications of these experiments but with the removal of the possibility of perceived similarity between members of the ingroup, demand characteristics and social norms as confounding variables confirmed Tajfel, Flament, Billig and Bundy's (1971) initial findings. The results of their findings confirmed that under certain experimental conditions, social categorisation was

sufficient for the manifestation of intergroup discrimination (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). The results from field studies have also shown that individuals have a tendency to exaggerate characteristics of the in- and outgroup in order to differentiate between each other on a meaningful basis. What may seem trivial and arbitrary characteristics to the objective outsider, are perceived as important, distinct and prominent for ingroup members as a basis upon which intergroup differentiation occurs (ibid.). The social categories in society relate to each other in terms of status and power differentials.

The studies described above involved groups that were considered to have equal power. However, it has been argued that the equal power groups in laboratory experiments seldom mimic real intergroup settings (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Sachdev and Bourhis (1985) conducted experiments with groups with unequal power and found that members of groups who had the highest power were less discriminating in that they were more secure in their positive identity than those group members with low or no power. This is evident in the South African research findings where Englishspeaking white South Africans have consistently been found to be less prejudiced than their Afrikaans-speaking counterparts toward black Africans, Indians and 'Coloureds' (Foster & Nel, 1991; Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). This may be due to Englishspeaking white South Africans not regarding Indians, black Africans and 'Coloureds' as a threat to their position of power. It may be argued that they feel secure in their social identity whereas Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans do not (Pettigrew, 1958). Another standpoint is that part of the answer to this phenomenon may lie in issues of patriotism and the development of Afrikaner nationalism. Afrikaans-speaking South Africans may regard black Africans as a threat (Foster, 1991; Moodie, 1975). It could be that English-speaking white South Africans are less prejudiced toward black Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians because they view England as their country of origin and home, whereas Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans view South Africa as their home. Davenport (1977) noted the reluctance of English-speaking South Africans to sever their ties with Britain in the early 1960s. This may account for some of the reasons that Afrikaans-speaking whites show more prejudiced attitudes toward black Africans, Indians and 'Coloureds' (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998).

Other than social categorisation, three other major concepts namely, social identity, social comparison and positive distinctiveness developed out of the minimal group experiments.

#### **Social Identity**

Social identity refers to the individual's self-concept that flows out of the knowledge of membership to a social group. Closely linked to this is the value and emotional significance of such membership. The individual perceives his or her group membership subjectively and ascribes value to his or her membership within a particular group. An individual may also structure the social environment subjectively, and ascribe a lower value to the ingroup and a higher value to an outgroup which is perceived positively. This evidences a phenomenon known as 'misidentification' wherein group members may devalue their own group and display a need to belong to the more positively perceived outgroup.

International and South African studies namely, Clark and Clark (1947), Gregor and MacPherson (1966), Katz and Zalk (1974), Milner (1983) and Williams and Morland (1976) supported the finding that black African children identified with the white outgroup at an early stage. The phenomenon of misidentification and outgroup preference was subsequently found to have changed (Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Foster, 1986; Fox & Jordan, 1973; Whitehead, 1984). This trend also appears to decline with age (Aarons, 1991). More recent findings by Aarons (1991) are inconclusive in terms of misidentification or white preference, but reported black African children as showing significantly less ingroup preference than their white counterparts. In her study, Cowley (1991) found that black African children showed a definite outgroup preference for white children when in the presence of white and 'Coloured' children. Cowley noted that this identification bias in her study was situational since black African children would identify with and depict their own group when presented with a choice of figures from a known sample of children (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). This confirms the view that individuals tend to reposition themselves in terms of their identity continually as 'self' or 'other' depending on the context. Soudien (1998) reported the varied identification processes of black African learners in a previously

'Coloured' school. Some black African learners showed fierce pride in their own group "... I'm proud to be black African. I'm so proud to be black African." (ibid., p. 27). Others showed an outright rejection of race and its labels (p. 27):

I don't like that of 'I'm a black African, I'm a coloured, I'm a white' ... that is wrong. Because I'm not black African. If you can take a knife and you cut my skin, you see, and you cut your skin, you see the blood is the same.

Clearly, the social identities of individuals and hence, social groups are not static but can be viewed as being subject to historical and socio-political events as well as ideologies (Billig, 1976; Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Foster, 1991; Moosa, Moonsamy & Fridjhon, 1997; Stevens & Lockat, 1997; Whitehead, 1984). Since members of groups are motivated toward the achievement of a positive social identity, they may explore and employ different strategies to either change the status of the ingroup or identify with the positively valued outgroup. One such strategy involves the process of intergroup social comparison.

#### Social comparison

The desire for a positive social identity is regarded as the impetus behind an individual's actions in intergroup settings and it is through the process of social comparison that the individual assesses his or her group's social position and status (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). When Festinger (1954) first introduced the concept of social comparison, he concerned himself primarily with comparisons of abilities and opinions on which he felt people needed to evaluate themselves. These evaluations would reduce uncertainty and result in accurate self-evaluation. Tajfel, Flament, Billig, and Bundy (1971) extended the application of the social comparison process to include the individuals' evaluation of the relative value and status of their own group, and therefore the status and value that their membership carries within the group. This assumption led Tajfel et al. (1971) to conclude that social comparisons influence individual behaviour. However, for the process of social comparison to occur Tajfel

and Turner (1979) cited three important and necessary conditions. Firstly, the individual has to internalise his group membership as part of his self-concept. Secondly, individuals must perceive the outgroup as relevant in the comparison process and finally, the dimensions on which the comparison is made, must be important or salient to both groups. These relational and comparative identification processes define the individual as different from, similar to, better or worse than, members of other groups (ibid).

A direct consequence of this comparison is the hierarchical ordering of groups on various status levels. Groups are valued in terms of some relevant dimension and accorded high or low status depending on how it is perceived. If the group is perceived to have more positive characteristics than another group, it is regarded as possessing higher status than the group with whom it is compared. The perceived status of the group will determine whether the group member will have a positive or negative social identity. High status groups tend to preserve their position in the social status hierarchy by identifying strongly with the ingroup. In South Africa for example, the high-status, Afrikaans-speaking white group has consistently evidenced stronger identification with their own group and this trend has correlated significantly with negative attitudes towards other groups that are not white and have lower status (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991).

### Group positive distinctiveness

The idea of a need for distinctiveness is not exclusive to the terrain of Social Identity theory. Taylor and Moghaddam (1987) noted that socio-economic and biological analysts like Durkheim, have theorised about concepts such as 'diversification of lifestyles', 'vacant spaces' and competitive forces within social life in the early 1960s. It was however, the need for psychological group distinctiveness that was introduced by Social Identity Theory. The theory holds that psychological motives lie behind a group's need for distinct and positive social identities. Tajfel (1982, p. 24) noted that this need for group positive distinctiveness "... serves to protect, enhance, preserve, or achieve a positive social identity for members of the group." These psychological motives and processes are located within the self-concept. Studies have shown that the

opportunity to discriminate between groups result in an increase in self-esteem (Brown, 1988). For example, respondents who were not provided with an opportunity to allocate monetary rewards between groups, actually showed lower self-esteem than those who were (Lemyre & Smith, 1985; Oakes & Turner, 1980). Taifel (1982) also noted that, in many instances, positive social identity was only achieved through appropriate social comparisons between groups. The results of several studies have provided support for the finding that ingroup favouritism and intergroup discrimination can occur in conditions of minimal social categorisation (for a review see Brewer, 1979). The aim of this differentiation process is for the ingroup to feel superior to the outgroup on some dimension that is relevant, important and salient to the groups concerned. The competitive element involved in this comparison process may then result in intergroup competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When the competitive and comparison processes result in the ingroup members' experiencing threat to their social identity, the options available to them may include the expression of bias and prejudiced attitudes and behaviour (Brown, 1995). These options may also include a change, which may provide a positive social identity for the individual.

Tajfel (1978) noted that there was a distinction between a secure and an insecure social identity. For the individual who is secure in his or her social identity, no other cognitive alternatives exist in his or her view and experience of the current intergroup relationship. In terms of these cognitive alternatives, status relations between groups are not static but are mutable and may involve a reversal of existing status relations. In instances where the social identity is insecure, cognitive alternatives are available in the form of the view that the current intergroup relationships are changeable.

Allied to the notion of cognitive alternatives are perceived stability and perceived legitimacy of the status hierarchy. If groups perceive the status hierarchy in a society to be at variance with equality and justice, a change in the intergroup status relations may be possible. This means that the status differentiation between groups is perceived as unstable and illegitimate and cognitive alternatives are available to these groups. However, should the status hierarchy be viewed as just, legitimate and stable, no cognitive alternatives are available (Finchilescu & De la Rey, 1991). The recent history of South Africa will show that the status hierarchy was perceived as unjust,

unstable and illegitimate by the majority of black African, 'Coloured' and Indian people in the country (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). The white minority had been occupying a position of dominance and superiority with 'Coloured', Indian and black African people relegated to subservient and inferior positions in the status hierarchy. The equality of all groups is enshrined in the country's new Constitution. However, it is arguable whether the status hierarchies among these groups as well as the power differentials between them have changed. What then are the strategies available to discontented groups who perceive their social identities as negative?

### Negative social identity and permeable group boundaries

Tajfel (1978) argues that in a bid to achieve a positive social identity group members may employ individualistic strategies. He proposed a range of individual and/or collective options available to individuals with a negative social identity. These occur along a social mobility-social change continuum. At individual level this included a process whereby group boundaries could be perceived as permeable and an individual could move to a higher status group from a lower one, leaving the existing intergroup status differentials unchanged (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In this instance, personal identifications became salient wherein the individual distinguished himself from other individuals. The individual may have changed his own social identity but not that of the group he came from or had just entered. This was evident in pre-1994 South Africa where certain 'Coloured' and black African applied to be reclassified as 'white' and 'Coloured' respectively, in order to move from a lower status position to a higher one. These intergroup movements did not change the perception of the groups' status but it changed the individuals' perception of their own status. It may not always be possible for individuals to move to higher status groups, for example, it may prove difficult for a dark-skinned 'Coloured' South African to become a member of the higher status white South African group through a process of reclassification. In this instance, cognitive alternatives are absent and assuming membership of a higher status group would therefore not be possible. Such individuals may prefer and adopt the values, attitudes, behaviour and even the accent of white South Africans. Change occurs therefore on an internal psychological level. This behaviour is evident in the process of

misidentification where black African children identify with the white outgroup (Cowley, 1991).

At group level, low status groups may view the social order as unstable and may seek to change the position of their group in the status hierarchy. The need to achieve and maintain a positive social identity for the group will result in different strategies being employed. Collectively these strategies are known as social change. When the individual's social identity becomes salient, he behaves in terms of his group membership (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). Taifel (1978) describes one of these strategies as social action which may include worker strikes, demonstrations and political protests. These are active, forceful and radical attempts at changing the social order. There are of course less forceful and more passive attempts at changing the negative social identity of group members. Such strategies are collectively known as social creativity where a group's characteristics may be redefined in positive terms. Examples of this strategy include the "Black is beautiful" movement in the 1970s and 1980s and the more recent trend in the 1990s where black African people with curly hair grow their hair naturally without straightening it. These were some of the strategies employed to positively evaluate black African values and physical features in the last decade. The new millennium has however ushered in trends that appear to mark a change in the identity of certain black Africans from those witnessed before the democratic elections in 1994.

Fuelled by notions of an African renaissance, economic and political aspirations of black Africans are currently undergoing change. Rather than teaching their white colleagues African etiquette, current trends among certain black Africans in middle and senior management positions include learning Eurocentric table etiquette. Whereas the behaviour of black Africans before 1994 was geared to oppose and challenge white domination actively by embracing 'black Africanness', it appears as though certain middle class black Africans are being assimilated into the dominant white culture. This trend may also be interpreted as a strategy to change a negative social identity. In addition, 'Coloured' and Indian people have voiced disillusionment with the implementation of policies of affirmative action and regard their own positions in relation to black Africans and white South Africans as being threatened (Adam, 2000;

Ramphele, 1995). These changes may have implications for the way in which children perceive themselves and others. In the previous regime the parents of black African children rarely occupied positions of high status and power. This has now changed and black African learners have parents who occupy prominent positions in government, business and academic institutions. The fact that South Africa has had two black African persons as presidents of the country since 1994 should have impacted on the social identity of black Africans.

On the opposite end of the spectrum are members of high status groups who may not always perceive their status as moral, legitimate, just, or stable and may perceive their social identity as negative. This could lead to such individuals distancing and dissociating themselves from their high status groups of origin should the boundaries of the group allow this. During the Nazi occupation of Germany, many German citizens distanced themselves from the atrocities that their fellow citizens were committing and chose instead to flee their groups as well as their country. In South Africa many white South Africans distanced themselves from the white-ruled Apartheid government and actively involved themselves in the anti-Apartheid struggle. Examples of such individuals are, amongst others, trade unionist, the late Neil Agget, the late Ruth First, wife of Communist Party leader, the late Joe Slovo and the wellknown Rivonia trial lawyer, the late Braam Fischer. Recently, following the revelations at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the late 1990s, many white South Africans offered blanket apologies to black Africans for the atrocities committed during the Apartheid era.

### Re-evaluating Social Identity Theory

The objective of the proponents of the theory was to develop a social psychology of intergroup relations which was not reductionist and which examined group processes at the group level (Abrams & Hogg, 1990). However, the theory has generated much research (see Tajfel, 1982 for a review) since the mid-1970s and has triggered inevitable scrutiny. It is perhaps apposite to note the positive contributions and attributes of the theory before discussing its weaknesses and limitations. It would not

be incorrect to state that the shortcomings inherent in individualistic psycho-dynamic approaches led to the eventual development of Social Identity Theory.

Beginning with findings from their minimal group experiments, Tajfel and his colleagues formulated Social Identity Theory and showed that the mere division of individuals into two groups, even in the absence of prior intergroup conflict or history, could result in intergroup competition. The theory uses the normal psychological processes of categorisation and social comparison to explain intergroup prejudice and conflict (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Tajfel (1978) argued that any explanation of intergroup prejudice and conflict without due consideration of the historical, cultural, social and economic factors was doomed to failure. An extension of Social Identity Theory incorporates the explanation of status differentials at macro-social intergroup level. Through the Social Identity lens, perceptions of status differences between largescale social categories such as 'race', gender, class and nationality become possible within society. It acknowledges the fact that the social structure of groups within society is not static but mutable (De la Rey, 1991). The inclusion of concepts such as perceived legitimacy and stability allows for the ongoing analysis of, as well as change within the hierarchical structure of society. Where earlier individualistic explanations viewed intergroup relations as immutable and hence unchallenged, Social Identity Theory builds concepts such as the social mobility-social change continuum which allow for the questioning and confronting of a perceived unstable and illegitimate social order. Social Identity Theory has made valuable contributions to the study of prejudice and group dynamics by critically questioning the origins and dynamics of intergroup conflict (Louw & Foster, 1992).

Criticisms of the theory include methodological shortcomings such as the difficulty in empirically testing intergroup bias and the generalisability of results. For example, Messich and Mackie (1989) question whether a causal relation exists between ingroup members' need for maintaining positive self-esteem and intergroup bias. Questions have also been raised about how social identification as a concept is defined and how it is empirically measured. It has been argued that social identification has been measured indirectly since it can only be inferred from other responses such as intergroup differentiation (Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerkerk, 1999). It is further

argued that the theory does not examine the factors that determine which specific criteria are relevant in the process of social categorisation. Specifically, Tajfel and Turner (1979) do not adequately explain why categorisation occurs in some instances and not others. They seem to overlook the importance of the historical and social milieu within which categorisations take shape. Instead, the theory describes these categorisations as the result of individual perception.

One of the most important criticisms levelled against Social Identity Theory is its preoccupation with the concept of perceived status differentials in intergroup settings while neglecting or overlooking the impact of power differences. Duckitt (1992) points out that Social Identity Theory has ignored the social cues and circumstances that result in the salience of certain intergroup distinctions. Specifically, the theory neglects the importance of socio-economic and political stratification methods which assist in the hierarchical ordering of groups in society. The theory has been criticised for focusing on global processes of social categorisation and social comparison while neglecting to address the impact of these processes at individual level. It overlooks the significant ideological differences that exist between political subgroups and "...oversimplified the personal significance of "objective" group labels" (Gough, Robinson, Kremer & Mitchell, 1992). Furthermore, the theory neglects to address the potent effects of dominant groups who use ideology to create and maintain their positions of power. To this end, Billig (1976, p. 373) notes that "... More than ever do dominant groups possess the tools for creating and maintaining an ideological dominance ...". These dominant groups promote their own ideas and attitudes but because the social order is dynamic, positions of dominance are subject to change. Arguably, power differentials in the post-1994 South African society have changed, albeit on a small scale. Socio-economic opportunities of previously marginalised black Africans, 'Coloureds' and Indians are expected to have changed. The findings of a study by Appelgryn and Bornman (1996) in 1994 before the democratic elections showed that Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white South Africans, as well as black Africans expected the socio-economic conditions, political and employment situations of black Africans (the lower status group at the time of the study) would improve (change positively) over the following five years, whereas the situations of white South

Africans, especially Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans (the higher status, dominant group at the time of the study) would deteriorate.

Notwithstanding its valuable contributions to the understanding of intergroup prejudice and intergroup relations on a broader level, the theory could be developed further through relevant research to include analyses of the effects of status differentials and ideology on intergroup prejudice. It also appears that in natural social settings (i.e. outside the laboratory) prejudice often seems to be directed at low status groups. Duckitt (1992) notes that this may be due to attributional processes such as victim blaming rather than the striving for positive social identities. We have noted elsewhere, that when the social order is viewed as illegitimate and becomes unstable, the low status group may show prejudiced attitudes and behaviour toward the high status group. This state of affairs may result in the high status group feeling threatened and insecure (ibid.).

It has also been noted earlier that realistic conflict over objective scarce resources, perceived status differentials and intergroup competition are not necessary to invoke feelings of prejudice and intergroup conflict. In fact, no prior history of conflict was found to be necessary for groups to express ingroup favouritism and outgroup prejudice. Tajfel and Turner (1979) noted the importance of social, cultural, economic, historical and political factors in the analysis of intergroup dynamics. There is therefore consensus about the important role that macrosocial conditions play in the arena of intergroup relations. In South Africa the white group has enjoyed high status as well as political and economic privilege. The system of apartheid has forced social identities onto certain groups (i.e. 'Coloured', African etc.). The protracted political struggle against it has engendered new social identities. In this latter instance certain members of groups previously classified as 'Coloured' and Indian, prefer to describe themselves as 'black South Africans'. Interestingly, Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk (1999) argue that affective commitment to the group which refers to the emotional aspect of social identification, depends on the status of the groups within a particular society and the

way in which the groups were formed, i.e. the historical context. In their view, individuals who self-select their membership or belong to groups with higher status evidence higher group commitment than those whose group membership is externally imposed. This may explain why certain 'Coloureds' prefer to describe themselves as 'black South Africans' or There are those however, who have accepted the Apartheid label iust 'South Africans'. and continue to describe themselves as 'Coloured'. Gough, Robinson, Kremer and Mitchell (1992) noted the significance of local context in manifestations of intergroup prejudice (cf. Gale & Densmore, 2000; Kinket & Verkuyten, 1999). Interestingly, the political history of the Western Cape Province with the Preferential Coloured Labour Act (James & Caliguire, 1996) effectively prohibited and later limited the number of black Africans from working and owning land in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Cape Town. Because there were not many black Africans in Cape Town, the 'Coloured' people in Cape Town became the preferred labour pool from which the dominant white group drew their work force. In fact, the Household Census for 1994 recorded the second lowest number of black Africans living in the Western Cape Province where the largest number of 'Coloured' people reside. This state of affairs could not have augured well for relations between 'Coloured', black African and white South Africans. In fact, black Africans have cited the Western Cape Province as the most prejudiced (Bavuma, 2001) and voting patterns for this province have evidenced a distinct difference from results in other regions (cf. James & Caliguire, 1996).

The cumulative effects of these factors will have influenced adolescent learners. The desegregation of schools has brought learners from different socio-economic, political and racial backgrounds into frequent contact with one another over the last eight years. Social comparison and categorisation will have taken place and this will have affected the learners' perceptions of group status and social identity. These processes will have influenced intergroup attitudes. It is hypothesised that there will be significant differences between the racial identification scores of black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white learners. It is further hypothesised that the racial identification scores for black African and 'Coloured' learners will be lower than the racial identification scores of Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South African learners.

In the following section, we will examine another contribution to the study of prejudice and intergroup relations: that of the effects of contact between individuals and groups. The Contact Hypothesis developed by Gordon Allport (1954) will be discussed next.

## Prejudice and intergroup contact

In the previous section attempts at explaining racial prejudice through intra-individual, psychodynamic as well as inter-personal perspectives were discussed. The gains made by these explanations have undoubtedly resulted in substantial progress in the domain of prejudice and intergroup relations. However, realisations of obvious weaknesses and shortcomings emerged from the findings of the numerous studies produced by these approaches. One such obvious weakness was the neglect or oversight of the effects of social factors on attitudes and intergroup relations (Billig, 1976; Duckitt, 1992). While the aim of these studies and experiments has been consistent over the last four and-ahalf decades - the reduction of racial prejudice between individuals from different groups, the need for research that would embrace and interrogate the role of social dynamics on intergroup relations became evident. Also, the focus of these perspectives has ranged from the psychological dynamics of the individual personality, variant parental styles of child rearing methods, difference in beliefs between groups, the conflict of objective and realistic group interests, to the influence of social identity on group members. Still, explanations of racial prejudice has hitherto remained inadequate. Social scientists therefore began to investigate the role of objective social conditions such as the type of contact between members of different groups and the effect of social norms on such contact. While the Contact Hypothesis falls within the interpersonal level of analysis, later developments (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) propose a more group-based approach.

This section will focus on the effects of contact between individuals from different racial backgrounds. Gordon Allport compiled a list of conditions in 1954 which he argued would facilitate positive relations, result in increased interpersonal attraction or 'liking' and thus reduce prejudice between members of different groups. This list of

conditions is better known as the Contact Hypothesis. Situational factors that facilitate intergroup contact as well as additions to the hypothesis by Cook (1978), Brewer and Miller (1984), Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachevan and Rust (1993) and Hewstone and Brown (1986) will be examined. South African as well as international contact studies will be discussed especially in relation to contact in desegregated school settings. This is followed by a critique of the Contact Hypothesis and an overview of the reviewed literature. A list of aims and research questions conclude the chapter:

# The Contact Hypothesis

Social scientists across the globe have for the last fifty years challenged segregation of groups on fronts as diverse as residential areas, education, employment, health services and education (Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947). The general assumption at the time was that "... contact brings friendliness" (Watson, 1947, p.15) and that a mere association between previously hostile groups would lead to more amicable relations between them. However, even these early proponents of intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Williams, 1947) as well as later adherents (Amir, 1976; Miller & Brewer, 1984; Pettigrew, 1986; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994) realised that mere contact was not enough to reduce intergroup hostility and racial prejudice. In fact, Reicher (1986) noted that the relationship between contact and prejudice was a complex one. We turn now to the classic version of the Contact Hypothesis as espoused by Gordon Allport (1954).

# Allport's hypothesis

Gordon Allport (1954) noted in his classic contribution to the study of prejudice "The Nature of Prejudice", that increased direct personal contact between members of groups would lead to a reduction in stereotypical views of each other and therefore reduced prejudice. Fundamental to the idea of contact is that individuals are the source of negative attitudes and that contact would provide people with the opportunity for discovering that they share the same basic attitudes and values. In terms of theories of interpersonal attraction such a discovery would result in

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mutual understanding and goodwill (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). In its most basic form, the understanding was that segregation would engender hostility and prejudice and that contact and integration would reduce it and foster positive intergroup relations. After conducting several studies, Allport soon realised that interpersonal contact was not enough and that certain conditions were necessary for the facilitation of positive relations between members of different groups. To this end he listed the key conditions for the successful reduction of prejudice: equal group status within the situation; intergroup co-operation; common goals; and the support of authorities law, or custom. Many contributors have subsequently added to the list of conditions such as Amir (1976), Cook (1978) and Pettigrew, (1971).

#### Equal status

Both groups should expect and perceive equal status in the contact situation. The assumption was that as people from different groups became more acquainted with each other within the contact situation, they would recognise their similarities. This would result in improved relations between them. Positive attitude change would also result when unfavourable expectations held by the majority were not realised. Negative stereotypical ideas regarding outgroup members would therefore be disconfirmed. Prejudiced individuals holding stereotypical beliefs about the outgroup member's inability to perform certain tasks successfully, would not facilitate positive interpersonal relations. Rather, unequal-status relationships might reinforce the prejudiced individual's views of the outgroup member (Brown, 1995).

There is disagreement among social scientists in terms of conditions necessary for the reduction of prejudice (Amir, 1969; 1976; Cook, 1978; Pettigrew, 1986; Schofield, 1997; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). While equal status is in itself a difficult concept to define, it has been argued that groups should have equal status before they enter the contact situation, i.e. outside the contact situation. This latter condition refers to the social structure of status that obtains in the broader community (Foster, 1988; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). Groups should therefore enter the contact situation on the same status level (Brewer & Kramer, 1985). Pettigrew (1998) cites others, such as Patchen for example, who found that equal status within the contact situation was more

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important. Still others (Aarons, 1991; Cook, 1978) found that status equality within the contact situation with equal contribution to the task at hand would facilitate positive intergroup relations.

This condition presents a dilemma for those black African learners from previously segregated schools. These learners have just emerged from a socially, economically and racially stratified education system and do not enter the desegregated school and classroom on the same status level as their white counterparts. Studies have found that white children from rural and lower socio-economic class evidenced more blatantly racist attitudes than their counterparts from more wealthy schools (Dawes & Finchilescu, 1993; Foster, 1988; Pettigrew, 1958; Schofield, 1981; 1997). Allied to the unequal educational status of learners from minority groups are factors such as unequal economic, political and social status (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Soudien, 1998; Spangenberg & Nel, 1983; Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Thus, for the South African learner, equal status within the situation would mean that where a learner comes from a different ethnic, economic, racial and social background, he or she leaves his or her inferior social and economic status at the school gates and enters the classroom on an equal status level together with all other individuals as just another learner (Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991; Pettigrew, 1986).

### Co-operative interdependence towards common goals

There should be an active, goal-oriented effort, which is shared by the groups in order to attain their common goal. Members from different groups who co-operate in order to attain common goals tend to unlearn negative stereotypes of each other (Amir, 1976; Sherif, 1966). There must therefore be group interdependence without competition for the joint achievement of a mutually desirable goal or objective. The reasons for co-operating are therefore instrumental (Brown, 1995). Social scientists are also in agreement about factors that influence common goals and shared coping, such as the frequency and intimacy of contact, proximity, the influence of prevailing norms in society, the social climate as well as proportions of groups in the population

in relation to each other (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1986; Cook, 1978; Pettigrew, 1986; Schofield, 1981; 1997).

# Institutional and social support

It is unlikely that close friendships and co-operation can occur between members of different groups when authorities oppose or actively discourage intergroup contact. The legal sanction of segregation between groups in certain countries has been known to exacerbate intergroup hostilities and prejudice (Messick & Mackie, 1989). However, when there is institutional and social support for intergroup contact, it may engender and advocate norms of tolerance (Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991). Positive attitude change may be expected in an atmosphere where intergroup contact is supported and encouraged. For example, the headmaster and teachers at school, politicians who draft bills and implement legislation, church ministers and judges who monitor the implementation of legislation, are in positions of authority and are able to endorse the objectives of integration policies (Brown, 1995). These individuals and organisations may also hinder and consciously thwart policies intended to promote integration in various covert or overt ways, e.g. a school teacher may meet out disparate forms of punishment and reward to learners from different racial or ethnic backgrounds.

The Contact Hypothesis elicited volumes of research studies over the last five decades and these gave rise to many additional facilitating factors for optimal contact conditions. The most recent and influential of these will be considered next.

# Situational factors that influence intergroup contact

#### Acquaintance potential

Cook (1978) argued that there should be high acquaintance potential for the development of meaningful relationships between different groups. There should also be sufficient frequency, duration and intimacy or closeness for successful contact to

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occur. It follows therefore that contact that is infrequent, brief and casual will not facilitate positive intergroup relations. The development of positive attitudes in close or intimate relationships between individuals is thought to generalise to the broader group to which the individual belongs. Thus, it is argued that close and intimate relationships such as friendships will allow for the discovery of mutual similarities and greater liking for the outgroup. There is therefore the possibility that negative stereotypes could be disconfirmed. What starts out as interpersonal attitudes are generalised to intergroup attitudes (Brown, 1995; Pettigrew, 1971; Stephan & Stephan, 1984).

### Proportions of minority and majority group learners in integrated schools

According to Aboud (1988), the ratio of minority children should be 50:50, or close to it, to afford learners a greater opportunity of becoming acquainted with individual members from another race group. This may lead to a reduction in the salience of group status differences. A reduction in the projection of negative qualities onto outgroup members as well as greater opportunities for the formation of interpersonal friendship may follow (Cohen, 1984).

## Geographical distribution of population groups

Generally, people tend to shop, attend school and work in places where they live. In Apartheid South Africa, the Group Areas Act did not permit black African people to live in traditionally white residential areas. Also, black African learners were not allowed to attend white schools, except for open and private schools. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the majority of black African learners attended black African schools. The demise of the old regime saw the desegregation of residential areas to a greater or lesser degree. Schools in racially desegregated residential areas are therefore assumed to reflect the demographics of a particular area. While the extent of intergroup contact in desegregated residential areas may be debatable, there is more exposure to different race groups in previously white schools situated in these areas.

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#### Disregard for the religious and cultural heritage of minority group learners

Schwarzwald and Amir's (1984) study of inter-ethnic relations and education in Israel highlights the combined effects of teachers' attitudes and the educational curriculum in devaluing the self-esteem of Middle Eastern learners. Until recently, Western culture was emphasised in schools. Middle Eastern history, culture and heritage were completely ignored. The learners' readers were predominantly prepared and authored by Westerners and Middle Eastern figures were depicted in a disparaging light. This is not dissimilar from the manner in which South African history has recorded white colonial history with a conspicuous absence of any mention of heroic black African or 'Coloured' leaders.

#### Parental views

While there is scant evidence to support the direct relationship between the attitudes of parents and their children (Aboud, 1988; Foster, 1986), the views of parents may hinder or facilitate intergroup contact by parents showing their support for or opposition to desegregated schools. This they do by either enrolling or removing their children from desegregated schools. Many white parents expressed concern at the prospect of non-racial schools in South Africa in 1990 (Cowley, 1991). Amongst others, fears of social and political friction and violence and the lowering of admission requirements paralleled with lower standards of education were voiced along with fears of the transmission of contagious illnesses such as AIDS. These fears reflect just some of the stereotypical notions that white South Africans have of their black African counterparts which serve to restrict intergroup contact.

Ben-Ari and Amir (1986) noted that groups' initial views of each other should not be too negative and Wagner and Machleit's (1986) contribution was that a common language, a prosperous economy and voluntary contact were important conditions that facilitate intergroup contact. More recent research cited by Pettigrew (1998) noted the addition of yet more situational factors to the already beleaguered Contact Hypothesis. However, the burgeoning body of research on intergroup contact brings with it the burden of too many facilitating conditions for optimal contact (Pettigrew, 1986, 1998;

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Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp, 1998). It is therefore difficult for any setting to have all these conditions operative at any one time.

The effects of the Contact Hypothesis have been investigated empirically across a number of settings such as neighbourhoods, the military, housing and schools. Since the sample for this dissertation comprises learners from desegregated secondary schools, it is apposite that we examine the effects the Contact Hypothesis in schools. I begin with a discussion of international experiences of intergroup contact in desegregated schools and follow with an account of the more recently desegregated South African schools. The distinction between desegregation and integration cautions one not to conflate the two terms or use them interchangeably. According to Berry (1984), desegregation is the mere presence of extended contact between subgroups within a society and integration is a particular outcome of such contact in terms of intergroup attitudes and relations. It is therefore in this context that the effects of desegregation in South African schools is discussed with the evaluation of integration as the outcome of such desegregation.

# Intergroup contact and desegregated schools

International as well as South African empirical research has shown inconsistent results in the field of intergroup contact. Some studies report support for the Contact Hypothesis (Amir, 1969; Cook, 1984a, 1984b; Dutton, Singer & Devlin, 1998; McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996; Pettigrew, 1971; 1998; Schofield, 1997; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978); some studies report negative results (Gerard, 1983) and some report no difference in attitudes between learners who have had contact with other groups and learners who have not (Gerard, 1983; Schofield, 1997; Stephan, 1978). Stephan (1978) in his review reported three studies by Horowitz, Lombardi and Williams, Best and Boswell which showed no difference in attitudes between white the interest and requires some explanation. Apart from the methodological problems that plagued many of these studies, a closer look at the three studies could provide reasons for the equivocal results. Stephan (1978) notes that newly implemented desegregation

plans together with new curricula make it difficult to draw accurate conclusions. Furthermore, anxieties of parents, staff and learners may make it difficult and even increase prejudice in the first year of desegregation. The varied methods of the implementation of desegregation programmes in the different communities may contribute toward the reported negative effects. Other factors which may blur the true effects of desegregation, are the region of the country where the studies are conducted, the ratio of minority to majority group learners, the degree of residential segregation, and the age and social class of learners. A closer examination of the three studies that showed no difference in attitudes between white learners from segregated and desegregated schools, reveal one or more of the reasons just described. The first of these studies was conducted by Horowitz long before the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s when racial discrimination was a pervasive phenomenon in The United States of America. The children could have been responding to normative social influences within the broader community which sanctioned racial discrimination. Lombardi's study with attitude scales were administered to white learners in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10th Grade before and one year after desegregation. Clearly, one year is not enough to bring about attitude change. Cook (1978) - noted the importance of acquaintance potential, duration and frequency of contact as important facilitating conditions to bring about positive attitude change. The third study was conducted by Williams, Best and Boswell (cited in Stephan, 1978) with preschool children. Research has shown that the intergroup attitudes of children are not fixed and typically undergo change from about the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> year (Aboud, 1988; Foster, 1986).

# International studies of desegregation in schools

Elsewhere in the world communities have experienced segregation in schools for different reasons. Northern Ireland and the southern states of America, suffered the effects of religious and racial prejudice in schools respectively (Brown, 1995). The decision by the Supreme Court in the Brown v. the Board of Education case in 1954 overturned an earlier ruling in the Plessey v. Ferguson case which mandated separate but equal public facilities for African American and white American children. This landmark decision started the desegregation process in American schools. The Social Science Statement that was appended to the plaintiff's briefs in the Brown case

focused on three areas of harm produced by segregated schooling among minority children: impaired self-concept; poor academic learning and motivation; and intergroup prejudice and hostility (Miller & Brewer, 1984). The sentiment expressed at the time was that segregation generated a feeling of inferiority in African American learners which would be difficult to eradicate (Schofield, 1997). It was also argued in the Social Science Statement that prejudice would be reduced by desegregation in schools if the process "... (1) was swift and pervasive, (2) was consistently and firmly enforced, (3) provided equal status within the desegregated setting, and (4) minimised conflict between the groups" (Miller & Brewer, 1984, p. 3). The difficulties encountered in the implementation of the desegregation policies however, were underestimated.

Attempts to desegregate American schools met with resistance from certain white parents. Schofield (1997) in her historical overview of the last forty years of desegregation in schools, notes that resistance to desegregation ranged from physical attack on African American learners to the closing down of entire school districts. The net effect of the resistance to desegregation was that fully 10 years after the 1954 decision, 98 percent of African American learners in the South was still attending all-black schools. The passing of two Acts, the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, changed matters by enforcing the desegregation of schools especially in the South. Meanwhile, desegregation in the North was virtually non-existent with schools reporting a mere 1 percent increase in the number of African American learners over a period of eight years (ibid.).

As mentioned earlier, research has shown that while desegregation in schools may lead to more positive racial attitudes (Dutton, Singer & Devlin, 1998; McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996) it may also result in negative racial attitudes (Stephan, 1978; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978). In his review of over 80 studies on desegregated schools, Stephan (1978) tested four hypotheses. My interest lies with two of the four hypotheses. The first was that desegregation will result in whites experiencing more positive attitudes towards African Americans. This hypothesis was supported in 13 percent of the schools. The second hypothesis by Stephan (1978) was that desegregation would result in a reduction of anti-white sentiment among African

Americans. His finding was equivocal: there were as many cases of an increase in prejudice as there were cases of a decrease in prejudice.

Reasons for the mixed results are varied. The conditions in some of the studies were not favourable, such as community opposition to desegregation, varied implementation of desegregation programs in different communities and degree of residential segregation in the community amongst others. Many methodological problems compound the interpretation of the results of these studies. Random sampling procedures were not used which makes representivity of African American and white learners difficult to determine. Measures of prejudice that were used were not comparable because the items used measured different dimensions (Stephan, 1978). Some schools had been assessed one year after desegregation which is far too short a period to have produced realistic results. The benefits of longitudinal studies are well-known and well documented, as shown in Sherif's (1966) summer camp studies (Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp, 1998).

Relying for her conclusions on the results of a meta-analysis conducted by a panel of scholars put together by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement in 1984, Schofield (1997) provides a more positive prognosis for intergroup contact in her conclusions about the last forty years of desegregated schools in the United States of America. She notes that social learning occurs in desegregated schools whether or not it is planned and that "... an interracial school cannot but have an effect of intergroup relations" (ibid., p.10). She also notes that learners may have their first extended contact with learners from different racial or ethnic groups in desegregated schools. One of the reasons for this is that most residential areas remain largely segregated. She argues that desegregation breaks the cycle of racial isolation in the long run. She cites two studies, one conducted by Pearce and another by Pearce, Crain and Farley, which suggest a relationship between increased levels of school desegregation and decreasing residential segregation. Schofield also notes the findings of two later studies by Crain, and Crain and Weisman, which show that individuals who have attended desegregated schools were not only more likely to live in integrated residential areas as adults, but also reported having more social contact with people from other ethnic and racial backgrounds. In addition, a review of several surveys by Braddock, Crain and

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McPartland shows that learners from desegregated secondary schools are more likely to work in desegregated environments than their counterparts from segregated schools (in Schofield, 1997). Schofield concludes furthermore that the long term effect of desegregation in schools is a decrease in segregation in society. This would result in the breakdown of some of the social and attitudinal barriers that prohibit members of minority groups from full participation in all facets of broader community life.

Recent meta-analytic findings by Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp (1998) also provide a positive prognosis for intergroup contact and the reduction of prejudice. Their review of 203 diverse individual studies included respondents from 25 different nations, including nine developing countries. The aim of their meta-analysis was to examine those mediating variables that facilitate, and those that do not facilitate the reduction of prejudice. The initial results of the analysis showed an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice. This means that greater intergroup contact is associated with lower prejudice. Where intergroup contact has however failed to reduce prejudice, possible explanations could include what Pettigrew (1998) and Pettigrew et al. (1998) refer to as the causal sequence problem. This means that rather than optimal contact reducing prejudice, prejudiced people could choose to avoid contact with outgroup members. This is remedied by severely limiting or providing no-choice options for participants. The meta-analysis found that thirty no-choice studies showed the largest negative effect sizes between intergroup contact and prejudice. The full-choice studies also showed larger mean negative effect sizes than those studies which provided limited choice for intergroup contact with outgroup members. Pettigrew et al. (1998) noted that no-choice contact settings have the potential for greater reduction in prejudice. Another reason for the potential reduction of prejudice was that prejudiced individuals who entered the no-choice contact setting could experience more cognitive dissonance than less prejudiced individuals. The desegregated school and classroom provide just such a no-choice setting where intergroup contact is unavoidable. St John (1975) argued that classroom contact was competitive, of short duration and between individuals of unequal status. She also noted that those in authority (such as teachers and principals) may be resentful to programmes of desegregation and this may negatively affect the desegregation process.

This notwithstanding, Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp (1998) report studies with different average effect sizes for different research settings. For example, studies conducted in work and organisational settings, i.e. where intergroup contact was more frequent and over a longer period of time, showed larger effect sizes than settings where intergroup contact was infrequent and of short duration such as travel and other recreational contexts. This supports the importance of acquaintance potential, frequency and duration of intergroup contact (Cook, 1978) as facilitating conditions which reduce prejudice.

The results of studies using intergroup friendships as a contact measure showed that having friends from outgroups was highly associated with less intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew, Wright & Tropp, 1998). Furthermore, studies with intergroup settings that used structured programmes where most or all of Allport's conditions for optimal contact were operative, reported higher reductions of prejudice than settings with unstructured contact programmes (ibid.). Thus, the four key conditions that comprise Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis; equal group status within the situation, common goals, co-operative interdependence and the support of authorities, law or custom should be in place for the desegregation of schools to result in a reduction in racial or ethnic prejudice (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew et al., 1998; Schofield, 1997).

The overall results of the meta-analysis reported that face-to-face interaction between members from various distinguishable groups showed an important relationship with reduced prejudice. Pettigrew and his colleagues found a negative relationship between contact and prejudice in just over 190 studies, i.e. 94 percent of 203 studies. This augers well for the effects of desegregated schools in South Africa in particular, and intergroup relations in general.

#### Desegregation in South African schools

Contact in South African schools has been severely limited as a result of Apartheid policies which came into being in the late 1940s. Apart from private schools, state and state-aided schools have only been desegregated since the early 1990s (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). All Apartheid legislation affecting schools has been repealed and the

right of all learners to equity in all areas of education has been enshrined in the new South African Constitution and the South African Schools Act (1996). It is therefore hypothesised that Allport's four key conditions for optimal intergroup contact now obtain in principle in desegregated schools.

What is however quite alarming is the reactions of certain white South African parents which are remarkably similar to the negative American parents' reactions reported in the 1960s. Instances of verbal as well as physical attack on learners have been reported to organisations such the South African Human Rights Commission (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Reactions have also included "white flight" where white parents have removed their children from desegregated schools which have substantial numbers of white, black African and 'Coloured' learners and have enrolled them in desegregated schools where white learners are in a numerical majority. These latter schools include the more elite, private and semi-private schools where high school fees exclude learners from indigent families, although these schools offer bursaries and scholarships to a few learners from such families (Vally & Dalamba, 1999). Given the sporadic negative experiences of intergroup contact in certain desegregated schools to date, it is tempting to adopt an attitude of despair. However, a closer examination of South African research on contact may cause us to rethink such a premature conclusion.

The racial stratification of South African society under National Party rule elicited much research on intergroup relations. A substantial amount of research from as early as 1930, focused on and advocated interracial contact as essential for change in South Africa (Lever, 1972; MacCrone, 1930; Rakoff, 1949). Again, findings have ranged from positive, to negative, with others showing a change in attitude trends where new racial patterns have become evident (Bradnum, Nieuwoudt & Tredoux, 1993). Notwithstanding the constraints of researching the effects of intergroup contact in South Africa, a number of contact studies were conducted. These include: Mynhardt's study of contact between various race groups at private schools in 1982, Luiz and Krige's (1981) and Finchilescu's study of nurses' attitudes toward racial integration (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). Still, it proved rather problematic to conduct research on the effects of the Contact Hypothesis in South Africa given its non-contact nature

during the system of Apartheid. Russell's study of a mixed residential area in Durban in the 1950s found that interracial contact led to friendly relationships between the groups. Even though the positive attitudes did not generalise to the broader group outside the residential area, residential proximity was found to be associated with increased contact between the groups (Russell, 1961). Van Dyk's study of housewives' attitudes toward their own group, their black African domestic servants, and black African people in general (in Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991) found that the white housewives' attitudes were more positive toward their black African domestic servants than their own group and the broader black African group. Luiz and Krige (1981) found that contact between equal status 'Coloured' and white schoolgirls in a convent who were involved in co-operative tasks resulted in the white girls showing more positive attitudes toward the 'Coloured' girls. Results from Spangenberg and Nel's (1983) comparative study of white academics at a 'Coloured' and white Afrikaans university respectively, showed that the academics who spent some length of time teaching at the 'Coloured' university reported more positive attitudes toward 'Coloured' people than the group of academics who taught at the white Afrikaans university.

Although these studies reported positive results following intergroup contact, results from Mynhardt's study in 1982 (in Mynhardt & Du Toit, 1991) showed that the English-speaking white high-school girls who had contact with black African, 'Coloured', Chinese, Indian, Portuguese and Afrikaans-speaking white learners scored more unfavourably on attitudes toward black Africans than those white English-speaking learners who had had no contact with black African learners. In her investigation of the developmental patterns of own and outgroup preference among young children, Aarons (1991) found that the white group showed a distinct trend characterised by high own-group preference and high outgroup prejudice. In agreement with international research findings, both outgroup prejudice and preference for own-group declined with age. This preference for the ingroup remains constant until children are 12 years old, after which it declines together with prejudice against outgroups. In a study to assess the racial awareness and attitudes (both intra-, and interpersonal), of a small group of Sub A (Grade 1) children in a desegregated school in Cape Town in 1991, Cowley (1991) found that the children were racially aware and

held definite racial attitudes. More than half the respondents were experiencing difficulties in adjusting to classroom desegregation. Cowley postulated that situational factors such as social pressure could have a major influence on determining whether or not behaviour accurately reflects underlying attitudes. In a school that actively encouraged racial mixing and racial tolerance (in line with one of the optimal conditions of the Contact Hypothesis, i.e. institutional and social support) the behaviour of the children would therefore be affected positively. However, the results showed that the white children displayed definite own-group bias and outgroup prejudice. The targets of the 'Coloured' and white children's prejudice in the class were black African girls and in one instance, a 'Coloured' girl with Negroid hair. More recent research findings by Soudien (1998) who investigated the effects of black African learners in previously 'Coloured', Indian and white schools showed that interracial friendships were almost non-existent. The Apartheid system with its imposed discourse of race represented in the stereotypes of 'Coloureds', black Africans and whites was found to be pervasive at the school.

Attitudes are dynamic and therefore subject to change. This is evident in the Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux (1993) study of learners' attitudes in integrated and segregated schools in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The results of this study found little evidence to support the hypothesis that interracial contact improves attitudinal dispositions. They reported both positive and negative effects of interracial contact. Interestingly, their results showed evidence of the formation of new racial attitude patterns in South Africa. These attitude patterns are different from those reported over the last four to six decades. Black African and white Zimbabwean learners who had experienced interracial contact for at least 10 years showed a high degree of racial prejudice whereas white South African learners in racially integrated private schools showed minimal levels of prejudice and even reverse prejudice, i.e. they showed a preference for black Africans over whites. It should however be mentioned that the study was conducted at a time when racially integrated schools were predominantly church-based with school policies that fostered racial tolerance even though the broader socio-political milieu was racially ordered. In addition, the low proportion of black African learners in integrated South African schools necessarily limited the amount of contact between groups.

## Re-evaluating the Contact Hypothesis

The growing list of facilitating and situational factors for optimal intergroup contact "... threatens to remove all interest from the hypothesis" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 69). This makes it difficult for any intergroup context to meet all the requirements for positive attitude change. Pettigrew also notes that a distinction should be drawn between conditions which are facilitating and relate to the underlying mediating process of the contact situation and those which are essential. Furthermore, the original hypothesis does not say anything about the processes involved when intergroup contact changes attitudes as well as behaviour. While it explains when contact will result in positive attitude change, it does not explain how and why attitude change occurs. Pettigrew argues that a broader theory with an "... explicit specification of the processes involved," is required (p. 70).

Several contact studies have also noted the generalisation of effects from individual outgroup members to the broader community outside the contact situation as a perennial problem. For example, the hypothesis does not specify how the effects of intergroup contact generalise beyond the contact situation.

#### Generalising of contact effects

Pettigrew (1998) mentions three different types of generalisation. In his view, generalisation may be situational where changes may generalise across situations. Research by Moscos and Butler (in Pettigrew, 1998) has shown that optimal intergroup contact situations across many different settings are necessary for racial desegregation programmes to show positive effects.

Generalisations may also occur from the outgroup individual in the contact situation to the outgroup outside the contact situation. A persistent problem with intergroup contact is that the positive contact effects generated in interpersonal contact settings do not automatically generalise to the outgroup. To this end, Hewstone and Brown

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(1986) argued that interpersonal contact effects would generalise to the outgroup when group membership is salient.

### Minimising group salience

In this instance, it is theorised that the interpersonal interaction will become an intergroup one when individuals regard each other as representative of their respective groups. Hewstone and Brown (1986) propose a strategy whereby ingroup and outgroup divisions are kept minimally salient in conjunction with Allport's (1954) conditions for successful contact. They argue that, in this manner people will interact as group representatives. Any successful attitudes thus generated will readily transfer to other outgroup members since members in the intergroup interaction are perceived as typical members of their group (Brown, 1995). Hewstone and Brown's (1986) model was supported in subsequent studies conducted by Johnston and Hewstone; Rothbart and John; Weber and Crocker, and Wilder (in Brown, 1995).

This salient categorisation strategy (Pettigrew, 1998) becomes problematic since stereotype change occurs successfully and generalises to the outgroup when members are perceived as typical of their group. Typical members are however, different in many respects and individuals will gravitate toward those who appear to be similar to them in both status and interests. Also, both positive as well as negative attitudes may generalise and previously held negative stereotypical attitudes may be reinforced. A further dilemma may be that outgroup members with similar status and interests as their ingroup counterparts may not make their group membership salient (ibid.). To this end, a decategorisation strategy by Brewer and Miller (1984) which is the opposite of making group categorisation salient, is proposed.

#### Decategorising groups

This strategy proposes the opposite of making the group category salient. Brewer and Miller (1984) argue that intergroup contact will be more effective when group salience is low. They propose that members who are atypical of their groups are most likely to have contact with members of other groups. Therefore, during the contact situation,

intergroup boundaries should be made less rigid and should ultimately disappear. The group categories should become unimportant and contact should become interpersonal. This level of interaction should allow for members to become aware of the information relevant to individual members rather than being attuned to stereotypical group-based information. In effect, this would result in a colour-blind society which is devoid of cultural and racial differences between groups (Messick & Mackie, 1989). This level and type of interpersonal contact should be frequent and could result in the disconfirmation of pre-existing negative stereotypes of outgroups (Brown, 1995). Brewer and Miller (1984) noted that the positive effects of the use of alternative informational features were likely to generalise to new situations since it undermined both the usefulness as well as the availability of category identity as a basis for interactions with the same, or different individuals in the future. These changes are permanent and occur in the motivational and cognitive aspects of intergroup interaction.

Studies by Miller, Brewer and Edwards (1985) supported the Brewer and Miller (1984) decategorisation model. Their studies instructed the respondents to personalise (by focusing on fellow team members) and depersonalise (by focusing on the task at hand) the contact settings respectively. Findings showed that those who personalised the contact situation evidenced less bias than those who depersonalised the setting. In contradistinction, Scarberry, Ratcliffe, Lord, Lanicek and Desforges (1997) found that individuation impaired generalisation to the outgroup. While individuating information about a member of the outgroup increased liking for the outgroup member, this positive attitude did not generalise to the outgroup not involved in the contact setting.

Pettigrew (1998) proposed that the salient categorisation strategy (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) and the decategorisation strategy (Brewer & Miller, 1984) were both possible should they occur sequentially. For the positive contact effects to generalise successfully, decategorisation should precede eventual categorisation processes. In this way, the low group salience when intergroup contact is initiated may facilitate later group categorisation and the positive effects thus generated may successfully generalise to an intergroup level.

### The Common Ingroup Identity model

Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachevan and Rust (1993) postulated that people start viewing themselves as part of a larger group following periods of extended contact. During this time individuals become aware of the similarities between them and category boundaries between them start to fade and are cognitively or even physically redrawn. In this manner individuals who were previously part of in-, and outgroups are now incorporated into a superordinate, overarching category which allows former outgroupers to be viewed as fellow ingroup members. This strategy focuses on the similarities between the individual members rather than on the intergroup differences (Brown,1995). Gaertner et al. (1993) conducted many experiments to verify their hypothesis. More importantly, their survey of students' intergroup attitudes in an American multi-ethnic high school revealed positive attitudes with these students embracing a superordinate identity.

The process of recategorisation which is a more productive strategy and an ideal, is the final phase which many groups never reach. Pettigrew (1998) noted that categorisation, decategorisation and recategorisation were also not automatic processes.

Generalisation could also extend from the outgroup in the contact setting to other outgroups not involved in the intergroup contact setting. While this may be very rare, it is nonetheless possible (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). To this end, Pettigrew (1998) suggested four interrelated processes which mediate attitude change in the contact situation.

#### Processes that mediate attitude change

#### Learning about the outgroup

New learning corrects negative stereotypical views about the outgroup and should help to reduce prejudice in intergroup contact settings (Schofield, 1997). Rothbart and John (1985) noted that disconfirming evidence changed stereotypes when the behaviour of

the outgroup differed greatly with their stereotype; when such disconfirmation occurred often and in many situations and when outgroup members were seen as typical. Curricula in schools could, for example, include workshops which could disconfirm stereotypes of outgroups.

### Changing behaviour

Behaviour change often occurs within optimal intergroup contact settings and attitude change often follows behaviour change. New situations may also generate new expectations which one might be required to conform to. For example, if these new situations require the acceptance of outgroup members, as in desegregated schools, it has the potential to result in attitude change and to reduce outgroup prejudice. McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn and Morgan (1996) conducted a study on the friendship choices of 226 eleven to twelve year-old, and 150 fourteen to fifteen year-old students in Northern Ireland between 1990 and 1991. The results of the study showed that intergroup contact appeared to assist in the facilitation of cross-group relationships. Dutton, Singer and Devlin (1998) reported that children from integrated schools chose opposite-race friends more often than did the African American children from non-integrated schools. The researchers attributed this to the daily contact the children in integrated setting had with other race groups. Their hypothesis that children in integrated schools were more accepting of other race groups was therefore supported.

In a 10 minute survey of 55 sociology students to demonstrate the effects of social contact on distance, Cover (1995) hypothesised that the respondents would report lower levels of social distance for groups they had had contact with, than for non-contact groups. The results of the survey supported the hypothesis and showed that non-contact groups reported higher average social distance than the contact groups. Pettigrew (1998) noted that dissonance between old prejudice and new behaviour could be resolved by the revision of attitudes. He noted that repeated contact in varied settings facilitates positive behaviour change. Repetition helps to make the intergroup experience comfortable and this may lead to liking. The positive effects of such intergroup encounters may be enhanced further by rewarding new behaviour.

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#### Generating affective ties

It is not uncommon for individuals to experience anxiety in initial contact encounters and many studies such as Islam and Hewstone (1993) and Stephan and Stephan (1985) have reported negative reactions because of anxiety and feelings of threat. While frequent contact between groups can reduce anxiety and prejudice, bad experiences of intergroup contact can actually increase anxiety. On the other hand, positive emotions following optimal contact, such as cross-group friendship (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; McClenahan, Cairns, Dunn & Morgan, 1996) and under some conditions, knowledge of cross-group friendships (Wright, Aron, Mclaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997), do not only mediate the effects of intergroup contact, but Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) for example, reported contact-as-friends as well as education to be highly significant negative predictors of prejudice. In their model, Wright et al. (1997) suggest that in-, and outgroup members serve as positive exemplars of what they term, an extended contact effect and that the outgroup member is incorporated into the ingroup member's self. Pettigrew (1997) reports a significantly strong path from friendship to reduced affective prejudice and notes that contact involves both cognition and affect. Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) also noted that contact-as-friends was likely to meet a few of the conditions specified for successful contact namely, it is voluntary, intimate, allows for stereotype disconfirmation, has good acquaintance potential, is conducted on an equal status basis and is associated with common goals (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Cook, 1984a).

#### Ingroup reappraisal

Pettigrew (1998) noted that insights about the outgroup as well as the ingroup are generated under conditions of optimal intergroup contact. These insights provide alternative cognitive lenses for ingroup members about the social world. Ingroup members may re-evaluate their own values, customs and norms and may extend these to consider the values, norms and customs of the outgroup. This may result in a reduction of national pride which is preceded by a willingness to form friendships with outgroup members (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997).

# Conclusion

The effects of Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis and subsequent additions for reducing racial prejudice with specific reference to desegregated schools have been examined. Many situational and facilitating conditions have burdened the hypothesis and have made it difficult for most contact settings to meet the stringent requirements for optimal and successful attitude change. Furthermore, the perennial problem that besets intergroup contact, is the generalising of positive (or negative) effects given the mixed results reported to date.

The desegregation of all schools in South Africa eight years ago have afforded learners the opportunity to interact on a more frequent, more intimate and arguably, on an equal status basis. The fact that the desegregation process in schools has the support and legal sanction of authorities should assist in the amelioration of intergroup attitudes. This has not however extended to custom or popular opinion. The sporadic incidents of racial violence in many schools in the various provinces bear testimony to this disheartening fact. This study will therefore investigate the effects that desegregation has had on the attitudes of learners from different racial backgrounds toward each other.

The central hypothesis of the study is that there is a relationship between the different levels of integration and racial prejudice in integrated schools. Racial prejudice as measured by social distance, subtle racism and ethnic attitudes constituted the dependent measure and socio-economic status (class), level of integration, racial identification (group membership) and intergroup contact constituted the independent variables. This hypothesis encapsulates many variables and therefore comprises a number of research questions. These will be enumerated briefly:

#### Research questions

- 1. Does level of integration in schools have an effect on:
  - The extent to which black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners identify with their own race group
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-black sentiment
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-white sentiment
  - social distance between black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners
  - ethnic attitudes toward black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners
- 2. Does racial identification (group membership) rather than level of integration have an effect on:
  - the extent to which black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners identify with their own race group
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-black sentiment
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-white sentiment
  - social distance between black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners
  - ethnic attitudes toward black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners

- 3. Does intergroup contact at school, outside school and in-and-outside school have an effect on:
  - the extent to which black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners identify with their own race group
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-black African sentiment
  - subtle racism displayed in anti-white sentiment
  - social distance between black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners
  - ethnic attitudes toward black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners
- 4. Do black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners differ with regard to:
  - Social distance
  - Subtle racism
  - Ethnic attitudes

### **CHAPTER 2**

## **METHOD**

## Respondents

Nineteen desegregated, co-educational high schools in the Western Cape were selected to participate in the study. One of these schools was used as a pilot study. The eighteen schools were categorised into high, moderate and low levels of integration. The proportions of learners from different racial backgrounds were used as an indication of the varying levels of desegregation in schools. These proportions, some given as percentages, were obtained from the Western Cape Education Department and were verified or amended by the staff at some of the schools. The information regarding the proportions of learners provided by the schools was used since it was considered more accurate than the information provided by the Western Cape Education Department.

The final sample comprised a total of 1119 respondents. The number of respondents differs for each completed section of the questionnaire.

# Biographical information

Table 1 provides an overview of the biographical details of the respondents who participated in the study.

#### Sex

Table I shows that more females than males participated in the study. Even though 54 respondents did not indicate their gender on the questionnaire, their responses were not excluded from the analysis as female respondents by far outnumbered male respondents and the inclusion of these responses would not have skewed the results significantly.

# Age

The age of the learners ranged between 14 and 21 years, with a mean age of 15.99 years.

Table 1: Biographical information of respondents from desegregated high schools in the Western Cape

	n
Sex	
Female	570
Male	455
ge	15.99 <sup>1</sup>
Race'	
'Coloured'	502
black African	93
Afrikaans-speaking white	205
English-speaking white	279
rade	
9 (Std 7)	28
10 (Std 8)	555
11 (Std 9)	473
12 (Std 10)	14
anguage <sup>2</sup>	
Afrikaans	275
English	814
ocio-economic status	
High	315
Moderate	403
Low	361
evel of integration	
High	372
Moderate	372
Low	335

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Mean Age

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Language in which Questionnaire was completed

### 'Race'

An analysis of the 'race' groups shows a predominance of 'Coloured' respondents. This is a reflection of the demographics of this particular province where 'Coloured' people comprise the numerical majority, and black African people a numerical minority. The responses from 40 learners from other groups, such as Indians, Portuguese, Chinese and Japanese were not required for the study and were therefore excluded from the analysis.

## Grade

The larger proportion of respondents who participated in the study were in Grade 10 and 11. The Education Department as well as the school staff were most reluctant to have the Grade 12 learners participate in the study as they were completing 'mock' matric examinations. This explains the small sub-sample for this Grade.

### Language

All the respondents preferred to complete either Afrikaans (see Appendix G) or English questionnaires (see Appendix F). Respondents with Xhosa as a home language preferred to complete English questionnaires even though Xhosa questionnaires were made available.

## Socio-economic status

There was an even distribution of respondents across the socio-economic spectrum with a higher proportion of respondents within the low and moderate socio-economic status level. This is not unusual as former Model C schools attract learners from lower to upper middle class families, while more affluent families enrol their children in private and semi-private schools.

## Levels of integration

Higher proportions of respondents were concentrated in the moderate and high levels of integration than in the low level of integration. As mentioned earlier, the demographics of this province are reflected in the racial composition of learners at former Model C schools. These schools have predominantly white and 'Coloured' learners with a disproportionately small minority of black African learners.

# Measures

Biographical information such as sex, age, 'race' group, Grade, name of school and home language were indicated on the first page of the questionnaire.

#### Independent variables

The independent variables - Level of Socio-Economic Status, Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In- And Outside the school premises were determined in the following manner.

### Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status was determined by the name of the school. Schools were carefully categorised into low, moderate and high levels of socio-economic status by utilising a composite index of Levels of Living in the Cape Metropolitan area (Cape Metropolitan Council, 1997). This index comprised a number of social indicators such as income per household, educational levels of adults per household, quality of housing, levels of overcrowding, number of households with single mothers as household head with two to three children, and level of unemployment. These factors were used to delineate residential areas into low, moderate and high socio-economic status levels and schools within these residential areas were therefore categorised accordingly (see Appendix I).

#### Levels of integration

The Western Cape Education Department as well as the staff at the schools provided this information. Integration was considered low where white learners at the school exceeded 75 per cent of the total number of learners. Schools were considered moderately integrated if white learners comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total number of learners. Those schools which had between 45 and 60 per cent white learners were considered as being well integrated. Schools were placed into low, moderate and high levels of integration accordingly.

### Racial identification

This scale was developed by Bornman (1988). Based on Taifel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory, the scale measures "...the degree of identification with the ingroup, positive or negative feelings associated with group membership, and attitudes toward the preservation of group identity" (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1991, p.447). The authors reported reliability coefficients of 0.82 for Afrikaans-speaking whites and 0.63 for 'Coloureds'. The scale allowed the learner to show his or her preference for his or her own group by indicating agreement or disagreement with various statements. The scale consists of eight items of which two were reverse scored (items 3 and 8) to control for acquiescence. These eight statements tapped the subject's loyalty, pride, commitment and respect for the ingroup. Examples of the statements were, 'Loyalty toward my race is particularly important to me', and 'I do not want to belong to any other race group'. The original scale contained the words 'population group' rather than 'race' and 'race group'. The researcher felt that the learners would have difficulty understanding the words 'population group' and decided to replace these with the words 'race group' in the English version. This change was overlooked in the Afrikaans translation. In retrospect, it is however unlikely that this oversight would have skewed the results significantly. The scores ranged from '1' which indicated strong agreement with the statement through '3' which was a neutral option and '5' which indicated strong disagreement. Low scores indicated high ingroup preference and high scores indicated low outgroup preference. A minimum score of 8 and a maximum score of 40 were possible.

#### Contact at school

A 5-point semantic differential scale was used to measure the quality of respondents' contact experience with members of their own group (the ingroup) as well as the quality of the contact experience with members of other groups (the outgroup) at school. The original scale compiled by Bornman (1988) was a 7-point scale but because of the length of the entire questionnaire, it was decided to use a 5-point version. Consisting of six pairs of bipolar adjectives, each respondent could indicate his or her experience by marking his or her choice with an X. Examples of the

adjectives include a choice between 'courteous' or 'rude' and 'pleasant' or 'unpleasant'. Scores ranged from '1' through '3' which was the neutral option, to '5'. Three items were reverse scored to decrease the possibility of acquiescence. Low scores indicated a negative experience of contact (high prejudice) and high scores indicated a positive experience of contact (low prejudice). A minimum score of 6 and a maximum score of 30 were possible.

## Contact outside the school premises

This scale is based on the original Contact Scale used by Bornman (1988) and Bornman and Mynhardt (1991) and measures contact outside the school premises. It provided an indication of the amount of contact each group had with members from their own group (the ingroup) as well as the amount of contact with members from other groups (the outgroup) outside the school premises. Consisting of six statements relating to contact in various settings such as, in the respondent's suburb; at the respondent's own home; at religious and social events, each respondent could indicate his or her experience by marking his or her choice with an X. The four options from which the respondents could choose were 'Never', 'Seldom', 'Fairly often' and 'Very often'. Low scores indicated very little contact and high scores indicated greater contact between groups outside the school premises. A minimum score of 6 and a maximum score of 24 were available.

## Contact in- and outside the school premises

This scale was constructed by the researcher and measured amount of contact inside as well as outside the school premises. Consisting of nine items, the scale provided an indication of the amount of contact between groups on the school premises as well as outside the school premises. The items tapped information regarding informal, social intergroup contact such as voluntary seating arrangements in the classroom, interactions during 'break-time' at school and during weekends. Each respondent could indicate his or her experience by marking his or her choice with an X. The four options from which the respondents could choose were 'Never', 'Seldom', 'Fairly often' and 'Very often'. Low scores indicated very little contact and high scores indicated greater contact between groups in-and-outside the school premises. A minimum score of 9 and a maximum score of 36 were possible.

#### Dependent measures

There were several dependent measures. For each of these a description and scoring of

## Social distance toward in- and outgroups

This scale which was originally developed by Bogardus and adapted by Groenewald (1975), measured the degree of social intimacy or distance each group expressed toward the ingroup as well as the outgroup on a number of different levels or dimensions of closeness. Reliability coefficients have ranged from as low as 0.30 for Afrikaans-speaking white South Africans at the University of Potchefstroom to 0.83 for English-speaking white South Africans at the University of the Witwatersrand (MacCrone, 1937).

A shortened version of the English translation (Durrheim, 1995) was used for this study. Consisting of four items, the levels of intimacy or closeness ranged from the least intimate form of social closeness such as tapping the respondent's reactions about admitting members of a target group to his or her school; to the most intimate form of social closeness such tapping as the respondent's reactions about admitting members of a target group into his or her family by marriage. Five response options were available to respondents. These included admitting 'Any', 'Most', 'Some', 'Few' and 'No' members of the target group to the stated level of social intimacy or distance. Each group could complete questions relating to his or her own group (the ingroup) as well as questions about the three other target groups (the outgroup). In this manner attitudes about the ingroup as well as the outgroup could be ascertained. Low scores indicated less social distance and high scores indicated greater social distance between the respondent and the target group. A minimum score of 4 and a maximum score of 20 were possible.

#### Anti-black sentiment

The changing manifestations of prejudiced behaviour over time necessitates a revision of measures traditionally used to assess attitudes associated with prejudice. The realisation that more blatant and overt forms of prejudice have mutated into more covert and subtle expressions especially in settings where blatant prejudice is considered to be socially undesirable, (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) has resulted in the development of the Subtle Racism Anti-Black scale by John Duckitt in 1991.

This scale presents the items in an indirect and symbolic manner and taps prejudiced attitudes which manifests cognitively (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998). The items are therefore presented in such a way that they do not appear to be offensive to sophisticated or liberal respondents (Foster, 1992). The scale consists of ten items and measures one dimension - anti-black sentiment. Reliability coefficients have ranged from 0.50 for 'Coloureds' adolescents (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998) to 0.91 for undergraduate white University students (Duckitt, 1991). An example of the ten antiblack sentiment items is "Although black African living conditions should be improved. it is crucial for the stable development of the country that whites still retain a great deal of political influence." Seven response options were available which included 'Strongly disagree', 'Moderately disagree', 'Slightly disagree', 'Neutral', 'Slightly agree', 'Moderately agree' and 'Strongly agree'. During the translation of this scale into Afrikaans the options were erroneously reversed which necessitated the reversals of the scores. Erratum notes were attached to the Afrikaans questionnaires and the attention of the learners was drawn to this error. Low scores indicated low prejudice and high scores indicated high prejudice A minimum score of 10 and a maximum score of 70 were possible.

### Anti-white sentiment

The Subtle Racism Anti-white sentiment scale was developed in 1994 (Duckitt & Farre, 1994). The scale consists of ten items and measures two dimensions, namely 5 con-traits (non-prejudiced statements) and 5 pro-traits (anti-white sentiment). Reliability coefficients have ranged from 0.56 for 17 year-old black African adolescents (Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998) to 0.64 for black African high school and University students (Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998). An example of one of the ten anti-white sentiment items is "Whites should not be allowed to keep their wealth. It should be taken from them and re-distributed among all the people of South Africa". Seven response options were available which included 'Strongly disagree', 'Moderately disagree', 'Slightly disagree', 'Neutral', 'Slightly agree', 'Moderately agree' and 'Strongly agree'. During the translation of this scale into Afrikaans the options were erroneously reversed which necessitated the reversals of the scores. Erratum notes were attached to the Afrikaans questionnaires and the attention of the learners was

drawn to this error. Low scores indicated low prejudice and high scores indicated high prejudice. A minimum score of 10 and a maximum score of 70 were possible.

### Ethnic attitudes

The semantic differential scale was originally developed by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum and adapted by Plug and Nieuwoudt (1983) for use in South African settings. Consisting of 15 adjectival pairs the attitudes of various groups toward each other are measured on a seven-point scale. Reliability coefficients have ranged from 0.82 with Afrikaans-speaking white service-men to 0.90 with English-speaking white service-men (Nieuwoudt, 1973). The respondent was required to indicate his or her attitude to a stated group by marking his or her preferred description of the group with an X. An example of the 15 adjectival pairs is indicating agreement that a group is 'Fair' or 'Unfair'. Some items were reversed in order to decrease the possibility of acquiescence. Low scores indicated negative attitudes and high scores indicated positive attitudes. A minimum score of 15 and a maximum score of 105 were possible.

# **Procedure**

The researcher submitted a written application (see Appendix A) with a letter of support from the South African Human Rights Commission to the Western Cape Department of Education to conduct the study (see Appendix E). The researcher subsequently telephoned the Western Cape Education Department a week later to ensure that the letter had been received. Permission to conduct the study was granted within two weeks. A list of former Model C, co-educational high schools was obtained from the Western Cape Department of Education. Letters were sent and telephone calls made to headmasters at selected schools to request their permission to conduct the study at their schools (see Appendix C). Copies of the letters from the Western Cape Department of Education and the South African Human Rights Commission were attached to the letters to the various schools. The headmasters and staff of all the schools, except one in the Northern and one in the Southern suburbs, were most co-operative and in some instances even provided the researcher with assistance, such as handing out and collecting questionnaires. The majority of the

headmasters and staff requested a copy of the final report. One school in the southern suburbs already had a cultural diversity programme in place and was extremely helpful. All learners were seated at individual desks. The class teacher, and in some instances the headmaster, introduced the researcher and asked the learners for their full cooperation. The researcher presented the study as an attitude survey about adolescent views about each other. The respondents were asked to follow all instructions contained in the questionnaire carefully and to answer all questions as honestly as possible. Learners were asked not to discuss questions with each other, but to direct questions at the researcher.

A questionnaire was handed to each learner for completion. The researcher remained in the classroom while learners completed the questionnaires and clarified any ambiguities learners raised. Each learner was thanked for participating in the study on the last page of the questionnaire. A leaflet containing information about career options in Psychology was handed to each learner on completion of the questionnaire (see Appendix H). The average time taken to complete a questionnaire was 40 minutes. The data from 1119 learners was collected over a period of six months from April 2000 to September 2000.

#### The pilot study

A pilot study was conducted with one Grade 9 class consisting of twenty-nine learners during one 45-minute class session. This was done to establish the face validity as well as to bring about changes to the questions and general format of the questionnaire as may be deemed necessary. During the pilot phase practical problems that might be encountered such as time taken to complete the questionnaire and ambiguity become evident.

The researcher informed the learners that she was interested in their attitudes about each other and assured them of the total anonymity and confidential nature of their responses. The learners could complete Afrikaans or English questionnaires. The majority of the learners completed the questionnaire within one class session with one or two learners taking slightly longer than 45 minutes. The learners understood the questions posed in the questionnaire and no changes were made to the final

questionnaire. These responses were therefore included in the statistical analysis. Afrikaans and English questionnaires were available for completion to Afrikaans- and English-speaking learners respectively. An English questionnaire was translated into Xhosa and translated back into English by two different translators to ensure accuracy. Twenty copies of the Xhosa questionnaire were made available for completion to learners with Xhosa as a first language. However, no Xhosa questionnaires were completed. Each questionnaire comprised questions about the learner's own group as well as questions about three other groups. In this manner, ingroup as well as outgroup attitudes were obtained for each learner. Only the responses from 'Coloured', black African, Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking were required for this study and responses from other groups were therefore excluded from statistical analysis.

The cover page was simply entitled "QUESTIONNAIRE" and instructions concerning completion of the questionnaire followed immediately after the title. The confidential and anonymous nature of the questionnaire was emphasised on the cover page. This was followed by a section requiring personal information about each learner. Where race group was required, care was taken to indicate that this was an Apartheid taxonomy which is no longer in use. Fewer than 10 learners from the entire sample voiced their disapproval of and reluctance to complete the questionnaire. They felt that it was not fair to generalise negative or positive characteristics from experiences with individuals to entire groups as "... people are not all the same" (sic). All these learners were from the English-speaking white group. Except for one isolated incident in the Southern suburbs and one in the Northern suburbs where the staff and learners of a school were uncooperative, the majority of learners and a few staff members showed a keen interest in the study. Some learners even invited the researcher to conduct more studies of this nature in the future.

# Research Design and analysis

(i) The study consisted of a 4 (groups = 'Coloured', black African, Afrikaansspeaking white and English-speaking white) x 3 (levels of integration = low, moderate and high) cross-sectional correlational design. The independent variables - Level of Socio-Economic Status, Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In- And Outside the school premises, were studied for their effects on the dependent measures. The dependent measure was the degree of racial prejudice displayed in:

- (i) social distance toward in- and outgroups
- (ii) anti-black sentiment
- (iii) anti-white sentiment
- (iv) ethnic attitudes toward outgroups

The Statistical Package, Statistica (2000) was used to analyse the data. Multiple regression was the primary statistical method used to predict the effects of Socio-Economic Status, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and intergroup contact on the dependent measures.

The nature of the study as well as the number of dependent (the criteria) and independent variables (the predictors) necessitated the use of multiple regression analysis to investigate the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent measures. Cronbach's coefficient alpha was used to calculate the reliability of each scale.

# **CHAPTER 3**

## RESULTS

In this chapter I present descriptive statistics for each dependent measure. Cronbach reliability results are presented for each race group. One Way ANOVA comparisons of mean scores were conducted for each dependent measure to investigate and understand patterns of differences between the four race groups. For these comparisons across race groups, I report only the overall F ratio and do not report post-hoc tests. Figures were constructed with standard error bars for each dependent measure and this allows comparisons of the specific groups.

I also report the results of multiple regression models for each dependent measure to estimate the role of Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification, the quality of intergroup Contact At School, amount of Contact Outside School, as well as amount of Contact In-And-Outside School on the attitudes of the groups toward each other.

## The effects of the independent variables on the dependent measures

The statistical method used to build models of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables was multiple regression with backward elimination (Howell, 1992). The scores for Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and Race group were recoded as dummy variables to represent them for the regression analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

All the independent variables (the predictors) Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) were first entered into the regression equation as blocks in Model 1 (those which were coded as multiple dummy

variables e.g. Class, were entered in 'blocks'). Individual predictors (or blocks) were then removed one by one in subsequent models to determine the statistical significance and variance explained by each predictor. This was done separately for each of the dependent variables as well as for each of the four race groups to determine the effects of the predictors on the criterion for each group. The simplest model with the fewest number of predictors with no significant change in R<sup>2</sup> was presented as the best or most parsimonious model to describe the relationship between the predictors and the dependent measure. The attitudes of each group toward the outgroup could therefore be assessed in this manner. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. The tolerance analyses for the predictor variables for each race group are presented in Appendix J. Some of the independent variables showed low tolerance levels. The tolerance levels were too low for anti-black and anti-white sentiment reported by 'Coloured' learners who completed the Afrikaans versions of the Subtle Racism anti-black scale (DKABSUM), and the Subtle Racism anti-white scale (DKAWSUM). The number of Afrikaansspeaking 'Coloured' learners who completed these two measures were 71 and 69 respectively. In this instance the regressions could not be conducted.

The results of the regression analyses are presented separately for each dependent (criterion) variable in separate Tables. Given the number of the predictors and criteria, the the results are reported in a repetitive manner. However, Table 30 at the close of the chapter provides a summary of the statistically significant results. In each case the following statistics are presented: (1) Multiple R-square which identifies the portion of variance accounted for in the criterion variable by the predictor variables; (2) the standard error of estimate which is the measure of the error of prediction; (3) R-square change which shows the variance subtracted by the predictor variable which is being removed; (4) <u>F</u> change which shows the F-value associated with the removal of the particular predictor variable; (5) the significance of <u>F</u> change which shows the p-value associated with the predictor variable being removed from the regression equation. For each of the Tables that I report, I include in the Appendix a corresponding Table with parameters for all variables in the model.

# Social distance toward black African people

Low mean scores indicated less social distance expressed toward black African people. For Afrikaans-speaking white learners the social distance mean score toward black African people was 15.79 ( $\underline{SD} = 3.12$ ) with a reliability coefficient of 0.82 ( $\underline{n} = 202$ ). The mean score for 'Coloured' learners toward black African people was 12.80 ( $\underline{SD} = 4.46$ ) with a reliability coefficient of 0.87 ( $\underline{n} = 495$ ). The mean score reported by English-speaking white learners was 13.38 ( $\underline{SD} = 3.76$ ). The reliability coefficient for this group was 0.85 ( $\underline{n} = 275$ ). The differences between the groups were significant ( $\underline{F}(2,969) = 40.24$ ; p < .00001). Figure 1 presents the differences in mean scores between the three groups graphically.

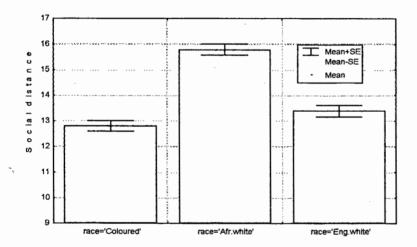


Figure 1: Social distance toward black African people as reported by 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners

Afrikaans-speaking white learners and social distance toward black African people

Table 2 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward black African people.

For Afrikaans-speaking white learners Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact In-And-Outside the school were not significant predictors of social distance toward black African people. However, Contact At School and Contact Outside School with black African people significantly predicted social distance toward black African people and explained 7% and 3% of the unique variation in social distance scores respectively. These two contact variables were entered into the regression equation (model 8) and comprised the best working model to predict Afrikaans-speaking white learners social distance toward black African people.

Table 2: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Social Distance toward black African people (n =184)

	,	··-··		Models			<del></del>	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dependent Variable:	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
Social distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Co
(SD_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	co	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	*OI	IO*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.28	.27	.27	.28	.21	.25	.27	.26
Std Error of Estimate	2.60	2.62	2.61	2.60	2.73	2.66	2.61	2.61
R-square change		02	01	00	07	03	01	03
F change		2.18	1.17	.18	18.32	8.44	2.42	1.14
P value (p < )		.116	.173	.673	.003	.004	.122	.339
Analysis of variance								
	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Ü	_	=	•	•	•	•		_
Residual	175	177	177	176	176	176	176	181
SS Regression	450.51	441.03	446.53	469.30	346.48	413.34	454.14	424.05
Residual	1185.05	1214.53	1209.03	1186.26	1309.08	1242.22	1201.42	1231.51
F value for model	8.69	10.71	10.90	9.95	6.65	8.37	9.50	31.16
P value for model $(p < )$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance toward black African people (model 8) included Contact At School, and Contact Outside School ( $\underline{F}(2,181) = 31.162$ ; p < .001), and accounted for 26% of the unique variance. The parameter estimates of the final model show that Contact At School was a stronger predictor of social distance toward black African people ( $\beta = -.37$ ; p < .00001) than

Contact Outside School ( $\beta$  = -.25; p <.00024). For Afrikaans-speaking white learners, quality of Contact At School as well as increased Contact Outside School with black learners resulted in less social distance toward black African people.

# 'Coloured' learners and social distance toward black African people

Table 3 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward black African people.

Table 3: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward black African people (n = 439)

	r		·	Madala			<del>.</del>	
		2	2	Models	_		7	0
	1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dependent Variable:	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
Social distance	Integ-	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(SD_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	CO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Ю
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	co	Class*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	Integ*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.23	.23	.23	.22	.19	.18	.22	.23
Std Error of Estimate	3.94	3.93	3.94	3.97	4.05	4.08	3.96	3.93
R-square change		00	00	<b>-</b> .01	05	06	01	00
F change		.21	.67	7.81	26.82	31.84	6.76	.63
P value (p < )		.814	.512	.005	.001	.001	.009	.644
Analysis of variance	İ			_				
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	4
Residual	430	432	432	431	431	431	431	434
SS Regression	2044.16	2037.78	2023.33	1922.95	1627.78	1549.82	1939.26	2005.27
Residual	6675.89	6682.28	6696.73	6797.10	7092.27	7170.24	6780.79	6714.79
F value for model	16.46	21.96	21.75	17.42	14.13	13.31	17.61	32.40
P value for model $(p < )$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class and Level of Integration were not significant predictors of social distance toward black African people. Table 3 shows that Racial Identification and all the contact variables were statistically

significant with Contact Outside School accounting for more variation in social distance toward black African people than Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School. The results indicate that while own group identification is statistically significant in terms of how socially close to black African people 'Coloured' learners are prepared to be, it is less important than the contact variables in determining social distance toward black African people. Table 3 shows that Contact At School and Contact Outside School with black African people explained 5% and 6% of the unique variation in social distance scores.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' social distance toward black African people (model 8) included Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(4,434) = 32.40$ ; p < .001), and accounted for 23% of the variance. The parameter estimates indicate that Contact At School ( $\beta = -23$ ; p < .00001), Contact Outside School ( $\beta = -.28$ ; p < .00001) and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta = -.12$ ; p < .01164) were stronger predictors of social distance toward black African people than Racial Identification ( $\beta = -.12$ ; p < .00475). Of these, Contact Outside School was the strongest predictor of social distance toward black African people. While for 'Coloured' learners, identification with the own group was a statistically significant predictor of social distance, quality of Contact At School, increased contact outside as well as increased Contact In-And-Outside School with black learners resulted in their being less socially distant toward black African people.

### English-speaking white learners and social distance toward black African people

Table 4 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward black African people.

The results for English-speaking white learners were similar to the results for 'Coloured' learners indicating that Socio-Economic Class and Level of Integration were also not

significant predictors of social distance toward black African people. Table 4 shows that Racial Identification and all the contact variables were statistically significant with Racial Identification accounting for more unique variance (7%) in social distance toward black African people than Contact At School (4%), Contact Outside School (3%) and Contact In-And-Outside School (1%). Own group identification ( $\beta = -.26$ ; p < .00001) was more important as a predictor of English-speaking white learners' social distance toward black African people than Contact At School ( $\beta = -.21$ ; p < .00054), Contact Outside School ( $\beta = -.22$ ; p < .00128) and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta = -.16$ ; p < .02042).

Table 4: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward black African people (n = 225)

				Models				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dependent Variable:	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
Social distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(SD_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	CO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	IO
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Class*
	Ю	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	Integ*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.29	.29	.28	.22	.25	. 25	.27	.28
Std Error of Estimate	3.03	3.02	3.03	3.16	3.10	3.09	3.06	3.01
R-square change		00	00	07	04	03	01	01
F change		.17	.67	19.83	11.28	10.48	4.43	.40
P value (p < )		.843	.512	.001	.001	.001	.036	.812
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	4
Residual	216	218	218	217	217	217	217	220
SS Regression	803.94	800.80	791.60	621.51	700.17	707.58	763.18	789.40
Residual	1986.71	1989.85	1999.05	2169.14	2090.48	2083.07	2027.47	2001.25
F value for model	10.93	14.62	14.39	8.88	10.38	10.53	11.67	21.69
P value for model $(p < )$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' social distance toward black African people included Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(4,220) = 21.69$ ;  $\underline{p} < .001$ ). This model (model 8) accounted for 28% of the variance. The parameter estimates indicate that, quality of contact experiences at school and increased contact outside and in-and-outside

school with black African people resulted in English-speaking white learners being less socially distant toward them.

To summarise, the results indicate that, for 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners, quality of contact experiences at school and increased contact both in and outside the school premises result in less social distance toward black African people. Identifying with the ingroup was a stronger predictor of social distance toward black African people for 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners than the contact variables. Racial Identification was not a statistically significant predictor of Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance toward black African people.

# Social distance toward 'Coloured' people

Low mean scores indicated less social distance expressed toward 'Coloured' people. Afrikaans-speaking white learners reported a social distance mean score of 14.21 ( $\underline{SD}$  = 3.47) toward 'Coloured' people with a reliability coefficient of 0.84 ( $\underline{n}$  = 205). The mean scor for black African learners toward 'Coloured' people was 11.10 ( $\underline{SD}$  = 4.41) with a reliability coefficient of 0.87 ( $\underline{n}$  = 91). The mean score reported by English-speaking white learners was 12.03 ( $\underline{SD}$  = 3.83). The reliability coefficient for English-speaking white learners was 0.84 ( $\underline{n}$  = 277). The differences in mean scores between the three groups were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}$ (2,570) = 30.66;  $\underline{p}$  < .00001) and are presented graphically in Figure 2.

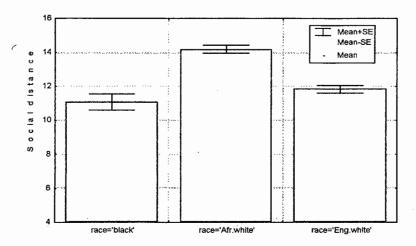


Figure 2: Social distance toward 'Coloured people as reported by black African, Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners

## Black African learners and social distance toward 'Coloured' people

The regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward 'Coloured' people were not statistically significant.

## Afrikaans-speaking white learners and social distance toward 'Coloured' people

Table 5 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward 'Coloured' people.

The results for Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that Racial Identification was the only predictor that was not significant in predicting social distance toward 'Coloured' people. Table 5 shows that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and all the contact variables were statistically significant with the contact variables accounting for more unique variance than the other predictors.

Table 5: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Social Distance toward 'Coloured' people (n = 198)

Dependent Variable: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social distance Class Integ Class Class Class Class Class Class
(SD_CSUM) Integ Rid Rid Integ Integ Integ Integ
Rid Cat Cat Cat Rid Rid Ca
Cat CO CO CO CAt Cat C
CO IO IO IO IO CO IO
IO Class* Integ* Rid* Cat* CO* IO* Rid
Statistic
Multiple R-square .35 .33 .33 .34 .31 .30 .31 .34
Std Error of Estimate 2.86 2.89 2.89 2.86 2.93 2.95 2.95 2.86
R-square change02020004040404
F change 3.15 3.18 1.12 10.37 12.70 12.41 1.13
P value (p < ) .045 .044 .292 .001 .001 .001 .295
Analysis of variance
Df Regression 8 6 6 7 7 7 7
Residual 189 191 191 190 190 190 190 190
SS Regression 826.93 775.39 774.82 817.78 742.03 722.93 725.28 817.79
Residual 1547.58 1599.12 1599.69 1556.73 1632.48 1651.58 1649.23 1556.7
F value for model 12.62 15.44 15.42 14.26 12.34 11.88 11.94 14.26
P value for model (p < ) .001 .001 .001 .001 .001 .001 .001 .0

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results indicate that while Socio-Economic Class and Level of Integration are statistically significant, it is less important than the contact variables in determining social distance toward 'Coloured' people. The parameter estimates for the contact variables indicated that Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta = -.28$ ; p < .00081) was a stronger predictor of social distance toward 'Coloured' people than Contact At School ( $\beta = -.20$ ; p < .00166) and Contact Outside School ( $\beta = -.27$ ; p < .00049).

The model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance toward 'Coloured' people (model 8) included Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School  $(\underline{F}(7,190) = 14.26; p < .001)$ , and accounted for 34% of the variance. For Afrikaans-speaking white learners, identification with the own group was not a statistically significant predictor of social distance toward 'Coloured' people. Socio-Economic Class and the extent to which the schools were desegregated were important factors for Afrikaans-speaking white learners but not as important as quality of intergroup contact

experiences at school as well as the amount of contact outside as well as in-and-outside school.

# English-speaking white learners and social distance toward 'Coloured' people

Table 6 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward 'Coloured' people.

Table 6: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward 'Coloured' people (n = 229)

Dependent Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
(SD_CSUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
` <b>-</b>	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	CO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	IO
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Class*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	Integ*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.38	.37	.37	.34	.34	.36	.30	.36
Std Error of Estimate	3.08	3.09	3.07	3.15	3.15	3.10	3.25	3.08
R-square change		01	01	04	03	01	08	01
F change		1.68	.92	12.41	11.67	4.82	26.71	1.15
P value (p < )		.188	.401	.001	.001	.029	.001	.336
,								
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	4
Residual	220	222	222	221	221	221	221	224
SS Regression	1260.02	1228.10	1242.61	1142.41	1149.48	1214.34	1006.92	1216.61
Residual	2084.77	2116.69	2102.18	2202.38	2195.31	2130.44	2337.86	2128.18
F value for model	16.62	21.47	21.87	16.38	16.53	18.00	13.60	32.01
P value for model ( $\underline{p} < $ )	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Socio-Economic Class and Level of Integration were not significant in predicting social distance toward 'Coloured' people. Table 5 shows that Racial Identification and all the contact variables were

statistically significant with the contact variables accounting for more unique variance than the other predictors.

The model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' social distance toward 'Coloured' people (model 8) included Racial Identification, Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(4,224)=32.01;\ p<.001$ ), and accounted for 36% of the variance. The parameter estimates for the contact variables indicated that Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta=-.36;\ p<.00001$ ) was a stronger predictor of social distance toward 'Coloured' people than Contact At School ( $\beta=-.19;\ p<.00082$ ) and Contact Outside School ( $\beta=-.15;\ p<.02716$ ). For English-speaking white learners, identification with the own group was a statistically significant predictor of social distance toward 'Coloured' people ( $\beta=-.20;\ p<.00031$ ). The result showed that higher ingroup identification among English-speaking white learners was associated with greater social distance toward 'Coloured' people. However, pleasant intergroup contact experiences at school, together with increased social contact in-and-outside school resulted in less social distance toward 'Coloured' people.

# Social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Low mean scores indicated less social distance expressed toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The mean score for black African learners toward Afrikaans-speaking white people was 13.92 ( $\underline{SD} = 5.45$ ) with a reliability coefficient of 0.94 ( $\underline{n} = 91$ ). English-speaking white learners reported a mean score of 10.17 ( $\underline{SD} = 4.12$ ) toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The reliability coefficient for this group was 0.89 ( $\underline{n} = 270$ ). The mean score reported by 'Coloured' learners was 13.19 ( $\underline{SD} = 4.65$ ). The reliability coefficient for 'Coloured' learners was 0.90 ( $\underline{n} = 483$ ). The differences in mean scores between the three groups were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}(2,841) = 43.95$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ) and are presented graphically in Figure 3.

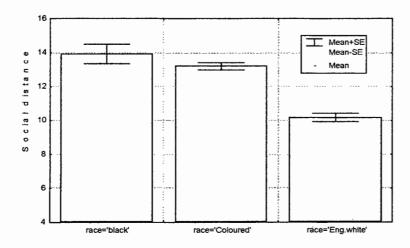


Figure 3: Social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people as reported by black African, 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners

# Black African learners and social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 7 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

The results for black African learners showed that Contact In-And-Outside School was the only statistically significant predictor of social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. Table 7 shows that Contact In-And-Outside School accounted for 15% of the unique variance. The parameter estimate for this variable indicated that increased Contact In-And-Outside the School premises resulted in black African learners being less socially distant toward Afrikaans-speaking white people ( $\beta = -.37$ ; p < .00202).

Table 7: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 67)

Dependent Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	IO
(SD_ASUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Class*
	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Integ*
•	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Cat*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.34	.16	.23	.23	.22	.22	.08	.14
Std Error of Estimate	4.87	5.01	4.81	4.84	4.86	4.87	5.27	4.88
R-square change		07	00	00	01	01	15	10
F change		2.67	.17	.26	.75	1.08	11.15	1.05
P value (p < )		.077	.840	.611	.391	.302	.001	.407
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	1
Residual	58	60	60	59	59	59	59	65
SS Regression	421.75	294.90	413.47	415.54	404.01	396.01	156.81	247.12
Residual	1378.01	1504.86	1386.29	1384.22	1395.75	1403.75	1642.95	1552.64
F value for model	2.22	1.96	2.98	2.53	2.44	2.38	.80	10.35
P value for model $(p < )$	.038	.086	.013	.024	.028	.033	.587	.002

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted black African learners' social distance toward Afrikaansspeaking white people (model 8) comprised Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(1,65) = 10.35$ ; p < .002), and accounted for 14% of the variance.

# 'Coloured' learners and social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 8 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and Contact Outside School were not significant in predicting social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. Table 8 shows that Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically significant with

Table 8: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 483)

Dependent Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
(SD_ASUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(00_10011)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	IO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Class*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Integ*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.15	.14	.14	.13	.09	.14	.10	.14
Std Error of Estimate	4.34	4.33	4.33	4.37	4.48	4.34	4.46	4.32
R-square change		00	00	01	06	00	05	01
F change	1	.67	.61	6.45	25.91	1.24	22.05	.56
P value (p < )		.674	.543	.011	.001	.267	.001	.729
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	• 7	7	7	7	3
Residual	374	376	376	375	375	375	375	379
SS Regression	1211.40	1196.57	1188.36	1090.03	724:06	1188.14	796.77	1158.60
Residual	7033.55	7048.38	7056.58	7154.91	7520.89	7056.80	7448.18	7086.34
F value for model	8.05	10.64	10.55	8.16	5.16	9.02	5.73	20.66
P value for model $(p <)$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

the contact variables accounting for more unique variance than Racial Identification. Table 8 shows that the quality of Contact At School was a stronger predictor of 'Coloured' learners' social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people ( $\beta$  = -.25; p < 00001) than amount of contact with Afrikaans-speaking white people in-and-outside school ( $\beta$  = -.23; p < 00002) and Racial Identification ( $\beta$  = -.12; p < 01222). The parameter estimate for Racial Identification indicated that higher ingroup identification among 'Coloured' learners was associated with higher social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people, but quality of contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at school and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises with Afrikaans-speaking white people resulted in 'Coloured' learners being less socially distant toward them.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' social distance toward Afrikaansspeaking white people (model 8) included Racial Identification, Contact At School, and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(3,379) = 20.66$ ,  $\underline{p} < .001$ ), and accounted for 14% of the variance.

English-speaking white learners and social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 9 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 9: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 154)

Danandant Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Dependent Variable:				-	_	_	•	_
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
(SD_ASUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	IO
	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO ·	CO	CO	CO	· Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	co	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.22	.21	.19	.22	.17	.20	.13	.14
Std Error of Estimate	3.78	3.79	3.82	3.77	3.89	3.82	3.97	3.88
R-square change		01	02	00	05	02	08	08
F change		1.22	2.32	.42	9.67	3.43	15.62	2.34
P value (p < )		.297	.102	.519	.002	.066	.001	.034
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	145	145	145	146	146	146	146	151
SS Regression	581.61	546.55	515.22	575.64	443.15	532.47	357.89	380.40
Residual	2077.15	2112.21	2143.54	2083.12	2215.61	2126.29	2300.87	2278.36
F value for model	5.08	6.34	5.89	5.76	4.17	5.22	3.24	12.61
P value for model (p < )	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.003	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact Outside School were not significant in predicting social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. Table 9 shows that Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically

significant with Contact In-And-Outside School accounting for more unique variance (8%) than the quality of Contact At School (5%).

The model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (model 8) included Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(2,151) = 12.61$ ; p < .001), and accounted for 14% of the variance.

The parameter estimates for Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School indicated that quality of contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = -.29; p <.00018) were associated with less social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises ( $\beta$  = -.21; p <.00768) with Afrikaans-speaking white people resulted in English-speaking white learners being less socially distant toward them.

# Social distance toward English-speaking white people

Low mean scores indicated less social distance expressed toward English-speaking white people. The means score for black African learners toward English-speaking white people was  $10.82 \ (\underline{SD} = 4.89)$ . For 'Coloured' learners the mean score was  $10.88 \ (\underline{SD} = 4.43)$ . Afrikaans-speaking white learners reported a mean score of  $9.37 \ (\underline{SD} = 4.01)$  toward English-speaking white people. The Cronbach reliability coefficients were  $0.89 \ (\underline{n} = 89)$  for black African learners,  $0.88 \ (\underline{n} = 494)$  for 'Coloured' learners and  $0.90 \ (\underline{n} = 203)$  for Afrikaans-speaking white people. Figure 4 contains a graphic presentation of the statistically significant differences ( $\underline{F}(2,783) = 8.77$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00017$ ) in mean scores between the three groups.

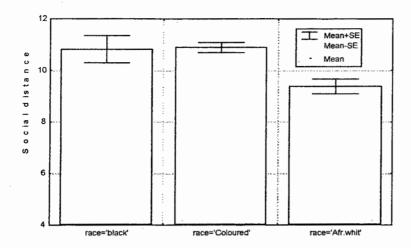


Figure 4: Social distance toward English-speaking white people as reported by black African, 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white learners

# Black African learners and social distance toward English-speaking white people

The regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward English-speaking white people were not statistically significant and are contained in Appendix D.

### 'Coloured' learners and social distance toward English-speaking white people

Table 10 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward English-speaking white people.

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and Contact Outside School were not significant in predicting social distance toward English-speaking white people. Table 10 shows that Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically significant with Contact

Table 10: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward English-speaking white people (n = 435)

Dependent Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
(SD_ESUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	IO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Class*
	CO	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Integ *
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
<u>Statistic</u>								
Multiple R-square	.16	.16	.15	.14	.15	.16	.09	.14
Std Error of Estimate	4.06	4.05	4.07	4.11	4.08	4.06	4.26	4.08
R-square change		00	01	02	01	00	09	02
F change		.06	2.45	11.26	5.37	2.07	45.68	1.98
P value $(p < )$		.940	.087	.001	.021	.151	.001	.080
Analysis of variance		•						
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
Residual	426	428	428	427	427	427	427	431
SS Regression	1349.37	1347.32	1268.55	1163.73	1260.81	1315.31	596.52	1185.93
Residual	7021.35	7023.40	7102.17	7206.99	7109.91	7055.41	7774.20	7184.79
F value for model	10.23	13.68	12.74	9.85	10.82	11.37	4.68	23.71
P value for model (p < )	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.004	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

In-And-Outside School accounting for more unique variance (9%) than the quality of Contact At School (1%). Racial Identification only accounted for 2% of the unique variance.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' social distance toward English-speaking white people (model 8) included Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(3,431) = 23.71$ ; p < .001), and accounted for 14% of the variance. The results show that higher ingroup identification is associated with greater social distance toward English-speaking white people but that the quality of intergroup contact experiences of at school, and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises are associated with less social distance toward English-speaking white people. The parameter estimates for Contact At School, Racial Identification and Contact In-And-Outside School indicated that increased contact in-and-outside the school ( $\beta = -.31$ ; p < .00001) was a stronger predictor of social distance toward English-speaking white

people than Racial Identification ( $\beta = -.15$ ; p < .001187) and quality of Contact At School ( $\beta = -.13$ ; p < .00499).

Afrikaans-speaking white learners and social distance toward English-speaking white people

Table 11 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on social distance toward English-speaking white people.

Table 11: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Social Distance toward English-speaking white people (n = 152)

Dependent Variable:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	. 8
Social distance	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
(SD_ESUM)	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	IO
	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	co	CO	co	co	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								
Multiple R-square	.26	.24	.24	.25	.19	.26	.18	.20
Std Error of Estimate	3.62	3.63	3.63	3.64	3.78	3.61	3.80	3.69
R-square change		02	02	01	07	00	08	06
F change		1.57	1.48	2.58	14.19	.31	15.76	1.97
P value (p < )		.212	.231	.110	.002	.580	.001	.073
Analysis of variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	143	145	145	144	144	144	144	149
SS Regression	656.19	615.10	617.45	622.31	470.07	652.16	449.47	500.87
Residual	1875.78	1916.87	1914.52	1909.67	2061.90	1879.82	2082.51	2031.10
F value for model	6.24	7.75	7.79	6.70	4.69	7.14	4.44	18.37
P value for model $(\underline{p} <)$	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact Outside School were not significant in predicting social distance toward English-speaking white people. Table 11 shows that Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically significant with Contact In-And-Outside School accounting for more unique variance (8%) than the quality of Contact At School (7%).

The model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance toward English-speaking white people (model 8) comprised Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(2,149) = 18.37$ ;  $\underline{p} < .001$ ), and accounted for 20% of the variance. The parameter estimates for Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School indicated that Contact At School ( $\beta = -.32$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00003$ ) was a stronger predictor of social distance toward English-speaking white people than Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta = -.29$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00015$ ). The results show that quality of contact experiences at school, and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises are associated with less social distance toward English-speaking white people.

In sum, similar patterns emerged for 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners. The greatest social distance was expressed toward black African people and the least toward English-speaking white people. Pleasant intergroup contact experiences at school, together with increased contact in-and-outside the school premises resulted in less social distance expressed toward the outgroup. Group membership (Rid) was a significant predictor of 'Coloured' learners' social distance toward black African people, Afrikaans-and English-speaking white people. Group membership also determined the extent to which English-speaking white learners were willing to be socially close or distance from black African people. Specifically, high identification with owngroup members among 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners was associated with greater social distance toward the outgroup.

Levels of socio-economic status (Class) and the extent to which the school had been desegregated (Integ) were only significant predictors of Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance toward 'Coloured' people. No statistically significant results were found for social distance reported by black African learners toward 'Coloured' and

English-speaking white people. English- and Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed similar patterns of results toward each other.

# Anti-black sentiment

Low mean scores indicated less anti-black sentiment expressed toward black African people. The mean anti-black sentiment score for Afrikaans-speaking white learners 34.52 ( $\underline{SD} = 8.50$ ) with a reliability coefficient of 0.57 ( $\underline{n} = 193$ ). The mean score reported by English-speaking white learners was 40.92 ( $\underline{SD} = 9.30$ ). 'Coloured' learners reported a mean score of 35.73 ( $\underline{SD} = 7.86$ ). Cronbach reliability coefficients were 0.54 ( $\underline{n} = 487$ ) for 'Coloured', 0.62 ( $\underline{n} = 265$ ) for English-speaking white, and 0.57 ( $\underline{n} = 193$ ) for Afrikaans-speaking white learners. The differences between the mean scores of 'Coloured', Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white learners were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}(2,947) = 42.93$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ). Figure 5 shows the differences in mean scores between the three groups.

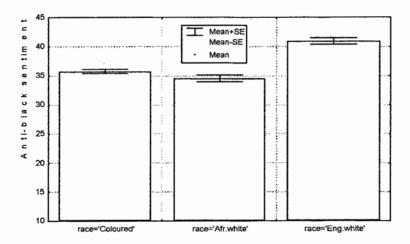


Figure 5: Anti-black sentiment as expressed by 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners

#### 'Coloured' learners and anti-black sentiment

Table 12 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-black sentiment.

Table 12: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Anti-black sentiment (n = 431)

Dependent   1
distance (Duc_ABS)         Integ         Rid Cat Cat Cat Cat Cat Rid Rid Rid Rid Rid Rid Rid Cat
CDuc_ABS   Rid   Cat   Cat   Cat   Rid   Rid   Rid   Rid   Rid   Cat   Cat   CO   CO   CO   CO   CO   Cat   Cat   Cat   Cat   Cat   Cat   Co   CO   IO   IO   IO   IO   IO   IO   IO
Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO         Cat         Cat         Cat         Cat         Cat         Cat         Cat         Cat         Co         CO*         IO*         IO*
CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         CO         CO*           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         CO*         IO*         IO*           Statistic         Mult. R-square         .09         .07         .07         .08         .08         .09         .09         .08           Std Error of Est.         7.57         7.65         7.64         7.60         7.62         7.58         7.57         7.60           R-square change        02        02        01        01        00        00        01           F change         5.49         5.32         5.08         6.64         2.09         .96         2.64
IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         CO*         IO*         IO*           Statistic         Mult. R-square         .09         .07         .07         .08         .08         .09         .09         .08           Std Error of Est.         7.57         7.65         7.64         7.60         7.62         7.58         7.57         7.60           R-square change        02        02        01        01        00        00        01           F change         5.49         5.32         5.08         6.64         2.09         .96         2.64
Statistic         Mult. R-square         .09         .07         .07         .08         .08         .09         .09         .08           Std Error of Est.         7.57         7.65         7.64         7.60         7.62         7.58         7.57         7.60           R-square change        02        02        01        01        00        00        01           F change         5.49         5.32         5.08         6.64         2.09         .96         2.64
Mult. R-square         .09         .07         .07         .08         .08         .09         .09         .08           Std Error of Est.         7.57         7.65         7.64         7.60         7.62         7.58         7.57         7.60           R-square change        02        02        01        01        00        00        01           F change         5.49         5.32         5.08         6.64         2.09         .96         2.64
Std Error of Est.     7.57     7.65     7.64     7.60     7.62     7.58     7.57     7.60       R-square change    02    02    01    01    00    00    01       F change     5.49     5.32     5.08     6.64     2.09     .96     2.64
R-square change
F change 5.49 5.32 5.08 6.64 2.09 .96 2.64
D 1 ( 1) 004 005 005 010 140 207 070
P value (p < ) .004 .005 .025 .010 .149 .327 .072
Analysis of
variance
df Regression 8 6 6 7 7 7 6
Residual 422 424 424 423 423 423 423 424
SS Regression 2391.02 1762.03 1782.27 2100.10 2010.69 2271.55 2336.02 2088.38
Residual 24160.69 24789.69 24769.45 24451.61 24541.03 24280.17 24215.70 24463.33
F value for model 5.22 5.02 5.08 5.19 4.95 5.65 5.83 6.03
P value for model .001 .001 .001 .001 .001 .001 .001
(p<)

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of anti-black sentiment. Table 12 shows that Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School were not statistically significant.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' anti-black sentiment (model 8) comprised Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(6,424) = 6.03$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for only 8% of the variance. The parameter estimates indicated that Contact At School ( $\beta = -.16$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00104$ ) was a stronger

predictor of anti-black sentiment than Racial Identification ( $\beta$  = -.11; p <.02212). The results showed an association between quality of Contact At School and less anti-black sentiment, however, the results for Racial Identification indicated that higher ingroup identification among 'Coloured' learners was associated with higher anti-black sentiment.

## Afrikaans-speaking white learners and anti-black sentiment

Table 13 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-black sentiment.

Table 13: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Anti-black sentiment (n = 174)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Rid
(Duc_ABS)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Cat
	Cat	CO	CO	co	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	co	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.28	.24	.28	.26	.15	.27	.28	.26
Std Error of Est.	6.91	7.06	6.88	6.97	7.49	6.94	6.89	6.92
R-square change		04	00	02	13	01	00	02
F change		4.74	.27	4.10	29.82	2.54	.03	1.16
P value $(p < )$		.010	.766	.044	.001	.113	.856	.331
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	4
Residual	165	167	167	166	166	166	166	169
SS Regression	3080.14	2627.18	3054.68	2884.18	1656.35	2958.65	3078.58	2858.90
Residual	7878.99	8331.95	7904.45	8074.95	9302.78	8000.48	7880.56	8100.23
F value for model	8.06	8.78	10. <b>7</b> 6	8.47	4.22	8.77	9.26	14.91
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.002	.001	.001	.001
(p<)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Racial Identification and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of anti-black sentiment. The model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment (model 8) comprised Socio-Economic Class, Racial Identification and Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(4,169) = 14.91$ ; p < .00001), and accounted for 26% of the variance.

The parameter estimates indicated that Contact At School ( $\beta$  = -.45; p < .00001) was a stronger predictor of anti-black sentiment than Racial Identification ( $\beta$  = -.14; p < .03952). The results are similar to the results reported by the 'Coloured' learners however, for Afrikaans-speaking white learners, the quality of their contact experiences at school with black African learners was stronger than for the 'Coloured' group. These results indicated that there was an association between quality of Contact At School and less anti-black sentiment, but the results for Racial Identification indicated that higher ingroup identification among Afrikaans-speaking white learners was associated with higher anti-black sentiment.

# English-speaking white learners and anti-black sentiment

Table 14 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-black sentiment.

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact Outside School were statistically significant predictors of anti-black sentiment. Contact At School accounted for 9% of the unique variance. The model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment (model 8) comprised Level of Integration, Racial Identification, Contact At School and Contact Outside School ( $\underline{F}(5,213) = 18.43$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 30% of the variance.

The parameter estimates indicated that Contact At School ( $\beta = -.34$ ; p < .00001) was a stronger predictor of anti-black sentiment than Racial Identification ( $\beta = -.15$ ; p < .01014) and Contact Outside School ( $\beta = -.21$ ; p < .00050). The results indicate that, for English-

speaking white learners, the quality of their contact experiences at school with black African learners was a stronger predictor of anti-black sentiment than the other predictors. These results indicated that when English-speaking white learners

Table 14: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Englishspeaking white learners' Anti-black sentiment (n = 219)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Integ
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Rid
(Duc_ABS)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Cat
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	co	Cat	Cat	co
	co	Ю	IO	Ю	Ю	Ю	CO	Class*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.32	.31	.29	.30	.22	.30	.31	.30
Std Error of Est.	7.56	7.56	7.67	7.64	8.05	7.65	7.60	7.59
R-square change		01	03	02	09	02	01	01
F change		.80	4.07	5.50	29.09	5.93	2.86	1.50
P value (p < )		.448	.018	.020	.001	.016	.092	.217
Analysis of								
variance								
Df Regression	8	. 6	6	7	7	7	7	- 5
Residual	210	212	212	211	211	211	211	213
SS Regression	5566.94	5474.93	5101.52	5252.34	3902.74	5227.46	5403.24	5310.30
Residual	12015.62	12107.63	2481.04	12330.22	13679.81	12355.10	12179.32	12272.26
F value for model	12.16	15.78	14.44	12.84	8.60	12.75	13.37	18.43
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.002	.001	.001	.001
( <u>p</u> < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

reported quality of contact experiences with black African learners at school as being pleasant, they also reported less anti-black sentiment. Furthermore, increased contact with black African people outside the school premises resulted in less anti-black sentiment. However, when English-speaking white learners identified highly with their own group, they reported higher anti-black sentiment.

To summarise, socio-economic class was significant in determining 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment. The extent to which the school had been desegregated was significant in determining anti-black sentiment among 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners. Group membership (Rid) and quality of

contact at school was an important determinant of anti-black sentiment for 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners. Contact outside school was only significant for English-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment.

# Anti-white sentiment

Low mean scores indicated less anti-white sentiment expressed toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The mean scores reported by black African learners on anti-white sentiment were 34.07 ( $\underline{SD} = 10.40$ ) and the mean scores reported by 'Coloured' learners were 32.61 ( $\underline{SD} = 11.00$ ). Cronbach reliability coefficients were 0.69 ( $\underline{n} = 84$ ) for black African learners and 0.76 ( $\underline{n} = 479$ ) for 'Coloured' learners. The differences in mean scores between the two groups were not statistically significant and are presented graphically in Figure 6.

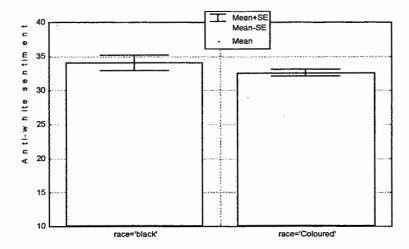


Figure 6: Anti-white sentiment as expressed by black African and 'Coloured' learners

## Black African learners and anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 15 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-white sentiment. The results for black learners showed that Socio-Economic Class and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of anti-white sentiment. Contact At School accounted for 9% of the unique variance. The model that best predicted black African learners' anti-white sentiment (model 8) comprised Socio-Economic Class and Contact At School (F(3,56) = 3.65; p < .01784), and accounted for 16% of the variance.

Table 15: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 60)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(Duc_AWS)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Integ*
	Cat	co	co	co	co	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	co	, CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.26	.16	.21	.24	.16	.23	.26	.16
Std Error of Est.	9.76	10.16	9.89	9.78	10.26	9.86	9.67	9.88
R-square change		09	05	02	09	03	00	09
F change		3.18	1.70	1.19	6.49	2.01	.02	1.28
P value $(p < )$		.050	.192	.281	.014	.162	.900	.285
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
Residual	51	53	53	52	52	52	52	56
SS Regression	1681.45	1074.52	1356.61	1568.10	1062.95	1489.57	1679.90	1069.66
Residual	4859.80	5466.73	5184.64	4973.15	5478.30	5051.68	4861.35	5471.59
F value for model	2.21	1.74	2.31	2.34	1.44	2.19	2.57	3.65
P value for model	.042	.131	.047	.037	.209	.050	.024	.018
( <u>p</u> <)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The parameter estimates indicated that Contact At School ( $\beta = -.30$ ; p <.017134) was a strong predictor of anti-white sentiment. These results indicated that when black African

learners reported quality of contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at school, they reported less anti-white sentiment.

'Coloured' learners and anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 16 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 16: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 374)

	,							
Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ
(Duc_AWS)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	IO
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	CO	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Cat*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.13	.11	.11	.13	.13	.13	.07	.12
Std Error of Est.	1066	10. <b>7</b> 9	10.79	10.67	10.65	10.67	11.03	10.68
R-square change		03	03	01	00	00	06	01
F change		5.65	5.70	2.27	.83	2.09	27.25	1.63
P value $(p < )$		.004	.004	.133	.364	.149	.001	.181
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	5
Residual	365	367	367	366	366	366	366	368
SS Regression	6361.36	5078.34	5066.10	6103.97	6267.50	6124.02	3267.74	5805.19
Residual	41442.48	42725.50	42737.74	41699.87	41536.34	41679.82	44536.10	41998.64
F value for model	7.00	7.27	7.25	7.65	7.89	7.68	3.84	10.17
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.004	.001
(p < )	,							

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically significant predictors of anti-white sentiment. Contact In-And-Outside School accounted for 6% of the unique variance. The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment (model

8) comprised Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(5,368) = 10.17$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 12% of the variance.

The parameter estimates indicated that Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\beta$  = -.26; p < .00001) was a strong predictor of anti-white sentiment. These results showed that when 'Coloured' learners reported increased contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners in-and-outside the school premises, they reported less anti-white sentiment. Furthermore, socio-economic status or class and the extent of desegregation at school significantly determined 'Coloured' learners anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white learners.

### Black African anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people

The regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people were not statistically significant and are contained in Appendix D.

#### 'Coloured' learners and anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people

Table 17 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people.

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial Identification and Contact Outside School were statistically significant predictors of anti-white sentiment. However, not one of these predictors accounted for much unique variance. The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment (model 8) comprised Socio-Economic Class, Level of Integration, Racial

Table 17: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people (n = 420)

D . 1 .	1 1	~			-			
Dependent	1	_ 2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ
(Duc_AWS)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Rid
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	CO
	l co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Cat*
	Ю	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO*
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.11	.06	.08	.09	.10	.09	.10	.09
Std Error of Est.	10.76	10.97	10.88	10.84	10.79	10.84	10.79	10.84
R-square change		04	02	01	01	01	01	02
F change		9.06	5.65	6.79	3.58	6.81	3.39	4.02
P value $(p < )$		.001	.004	.009	.059	.009	.066	.019
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	6
Residual	411	413	413	412	412	412	412	413
SS Regression	5587.27	3490.43	4280.13	4801.81	5172.40	4798.50	5195.08	4656.90
Residual	47578.92	49675.76	48886.06	48364.38	47993.79	48367.69	47971.11	48509.29
F value for model	6.03	4.84	6.03	5.84	6.34	5.84	6.37	6.69
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.004	.001
( <u>p</u> <)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

Identification and Contact Outside School (F(5,413) = 6.61; p < .00001), and accounted for only 9% of the variance.

The parameter estimates indicated that increased Contact Outside School ( $\beta$  = -.17; p < .00037) was associated with less anti-white sentiment. However, high ingroup identification among the 'Coloured' learners resulted in greater anti-white sentiment expressed toward English-speaking white people.

In sum, the results showed that socio-economic class was significant in determining black African and 'Coloured' learners anti-white sentiment expressed toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. When black African learners reported pleasant contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at school, they reported less anti-white sentiment. Increased amount of contact in-and-outside the school premises with Afrikaans-speaking white people was significant in determining 'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment. While there were no significant predictors of black learners' anti-

white sentiment toward English-speaking white people, socio-economic class, the extent of desegregation at school (Integ), group membership (Rid) as well as an increased amount of contact outside the school were all significant predictors of 'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment toward English-speaking white people.

# Ethnic attitudes toward black African people

Low mean scores indicate negative and high mean scores indicate positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people. The mean scores reported by 'Coloured' learners on ethnic attitudes toward black African people were 65.81 ( $\underline{SD} = 15.43$ ) and the mean scores reported by Afrikaans-speaking white learners were 57.24 ( $\underline{SD} = 15.13$ ). English-speaking white learners reported mean scores of 63.55 ( $\underline{SD} = 14.77$ ). The reliability coefficients were 0.92 ( $\underline{n} = 468$ ) for 'Coloured' learners, 0.91 ( $\underline{n} = 198$ ) for Afrikaans-speaking white learners and 0.93 ( $\underline{n} = 265$ ) for English-speaking white learners. The differences in mean scores between the three groups were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}(2,928) = 22.21$ ;  $\underline{p} < 00001$ ) and are presented graphically in Figure 7.

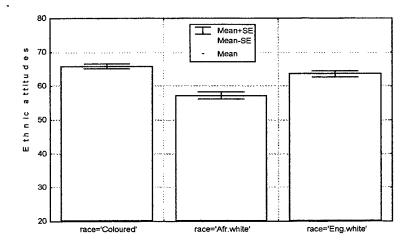


Figure 7: Ethnic attitudes toward black African people as reported by 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners

# 'Coloured' learners ethnic attitudes toward black African people

Table 18 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Socio-Economic Class, and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward black African people. The quality of Contact At School accounted for 9% of the unique variance.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes (model 8) comprised Socio-Economic Class and Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(3,413) = 29.81$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 18% of the variance. The parameter estimates indicated that quality of contact experiences at school ( $\beta = .35$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ) with black African learners were associated with more positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

Table 18: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward black African people (n = 417)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(Adj_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Integ*
	Cat	CO	CO	co	co	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	co	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
<u>Statistic</u>								
Mult. R-square	.20	.14	.19	.20	.11	.20	.20	.18
Std Error of Est.	13.92	14.35	13.99	13.93	14.63	13.91	13.93	14.02
R-square change		05	01	00	09	00	00	02
F change		13.91	2.92	1.70	43.58	.32	1.64	2.22
P value $(\underline{p} < )$		.001	.055	.193	.001	.570	.200	.051
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	· 7	7	3
Residual	408	410	410	409	409	: 409	409	413
SS Regression	19734.30	14345.15	18602.09	19404.54	11290.73	19671.81	19415.58	17581.68
Residual	79055.43	84444.58	80187.64	79385.19	87499.00	79117.92	79374.16	81208.05
F value for model	12.73	11.61	15.85	14.28	7.54	14.53	14.29	29.81
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
(p < )	1.6 41		,	<del></del>				

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

### Afrikaans-speaking white learners ethnic attitudes toward black African people

Table 19 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

The results for Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that Contact At School and Contact Outside School were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward black African people. The quality of Contact At School was a strong predictor of ethnic attitudes toward black African people accounting for 17% of the unique variance. Contact outside the school only accounted for 2% of the unique variance in ethnic attitude scores toward black African people.

Table 19: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward black African people (n = 198)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	CO
(Adj_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	CO	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.20	.14	.19	.20	.11	.20	.20	.18
Std Error of Est.	13.92	14.35	13.99	13.93	14.63	13.91	13.93	14.02
R-square change		05	01	00	09	00	00	02
F change		13.91	2.92	1.70	43.58	.32	1.64	2.22
P value (p < )		.001	.055	.193	.001	.570	.200	.051
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
Residual	408	410	410	409	409	409	409	413
SS Regression	19734.30	14345.15	18602.09	19404.54	11290.73	19671.81	19415.58	17581.68
Residual	79055.43	84444.58	80187.64	79385.19	87499.00	79117.92	79374.16	81208.05
F value for model	12.73	11.61	15.85	14.28	7.54	14.53	14.29	29.81
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
(p < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

Although model 3 shows that the removal of Level of Integration was statistically significant, it did not reach statistical significance in a subsequent regression equation. The final model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes (model 8) comprised Contact At School and Contact Outside School ( $\underline{F}(2,176) = 59.44$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 40% of the variance.

The parameter estimates indicated that quality of contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = .54; p < .00001) with black African learners were associated with more positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people. In addition, increased contact outside the school ( $\beta$  = -.20; p < .00175) premises was associated with more positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

# English-speaking white learners ethnic attitudes toward black African people

Table 20 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class),

Table 20: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward black African people (n = 220)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Rid
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(Adj_BSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
,	Cat	CO	CO	co	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO *
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.34	.32	.34	.32	.14	.34	.33	.30
Std Error of Est.	11.87	11.95	11.83	12.02	13.49	11.85	11.91	12.01
R-square change		02	00	02	20	00	01	03
F change		2.47	.25	6.34	62.66	.48	2.28	1.85
P value (p < )		.087	.782	.013	.001	.490	.132	.091
Analysis of					\			
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	211	213	213	212	212	212	212	217
SS Regression	15271.37	14574.25	15202.14	14378.09	6443.96	15204.20	14950.04	13706.39
Residual	29724.17	30421.30	29793.41	30617.45	38551.58	29791.34	30045.50	31289.15
F value for model	13.55	17.01	18.11	14.22	5.06	15.46	15.07	47.53
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.002	.001	.001	.001
(p<)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

The model (model 8) that best predicted English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes comprised Racial Identification and Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(2,217) = 47.53$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 30% of the variation in ethnic attitudes toward black African people.

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Racial Identification and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward black African people. The Racial Identification scores ( $\beta = .16$ ; p < .00458) indicated that low identification with the ingroup and quality of experiences of contact with black African learners at school were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people. The quality of Contact At School ( $\beta = .51$ ; p < .00001) was a strong predictor of ethnic attitudes toward black African people and accounted for 20% of the unique variance in ethnic attitude scores toward black African people.

# Ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people

Low mean scores indicate negative and high mean scores indicate positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. The mean scores reported by black African learners on ethnic attitudes were 63.52 ( $\underline{SD} = 13.72$ ) and Afrikaans-speaking white learners reported a mean score of 66.78 ( $\underline{SD} = 14.03$ ). English-speaking white learners reported a mean score of 70.45 ( $\underline{SD} = 14.53$ ). The reliability coefficients were 0.85 ( $\underline{n} = 71$ ) for black African learners, 0.92 ( $\underline{n} = 196$ ) for Afrikaans-speaking white learners and 0.91 ( $\underline{n} = 267$ ) for English-speaking white learners. The differences in mean scores between the three groups were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}(2,531) = 8.18$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00032$ ) and are presented graphically in Figure 8.

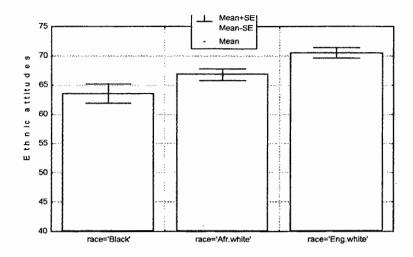


Figure 8: Ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people as reported by black African, Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners

## Black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people

Table 21 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

The results for black African learners showed that Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. The parameter estimates indicated that positive experiences of Contact At School ( $\beta$  = .59; p < .00001) and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises ( $\beta$  = .20; p < .04611) with 'Coloured' learners were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

The model (model 8) that best predicted black African learners' ethnic attitudes comprised Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School ( $\underline{F}(2,58) = 24.33$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 46% of the variation in ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

Table 21: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward 'Coloured' people (n = 61)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Ю
(Adj_CSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	Ю	IO	Ю	Ю	co	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO *
<u>Statistic</u>								
Mult. R-square	.51	.49	.50	.49	.23	.51	.45	.46
Std Error of Est.	10.69	10.72	10.57	10.82	13.23	10.60	11.15	10.63
R-square change		02	01	02	28	00	05	05
F change		1.20	.43	2.31	29.20	.11	5.68	.91
P value (p < )		.311	.654	.135	.001	.738	.021	.497
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	52	54	54	53	53	. 53	53	58
SS Regression	6122.10	5849.16	6024.21	5858.87	2787.88	6109.16	5473.50	5501.08
Residual	5936.69	6209.62	6034.58	6199.91	9270.91	5949.62	6585.28	6557.71
F value for model	6.70	8.48	8.98	7.15	2.28	7.77	6.29	24.33
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.042	.001	.001	.001
( <u>p</u> <)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

## Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes towards 'Coloured' people

Table 22 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

The model (model 8) that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes comprised Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(1,188) = 75.89$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 29% of the variation in ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

The results of Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that Contact At School was the only statistically significant predictor of ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. The parameter estimates for Contact At School ( $\beta = .54$ , p < .00001) indicated that pleasant

experiences with 'Coloured' learners at school were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

Table 22: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward 'Coloured' people (n = 190)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Class*
(Adj_CSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Integ*
	Cat	CO	CO	co	CO	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	. IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO*
<u>Statistic</u>								
Mult. R-square	.31	.31	.31	.31	.23	.31	.31	.29
Std Error of Est.	11.89	11.87	11.85	11.86	13.23	11.89	11.88	11.87
R-square change		01	00	00	28	00	00	02
F change		.80	.48	.18	29.20	1.07	.82	.93
P value $(p < )$		.452	.619	.668	.001	.303	.366	.487
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	1
Residual	181	183	183	182	182	182	182	188
SS Regression	11612.94	11387.74	11477.26	11586.92	2787.88	11462.24	11496.81	10695.90
Residual	25580.11	25805.31	25715.79	25606.13	9270.91	25730.81	25696.24	26497.15
F value for model	10.27	13.46	13.61	11.77	2.28	11.58	11.63	75.89
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.008	.001	.001	.001
( <u>p</u> < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

### English-speaking white ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people

Table 23 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside the school premises were the only statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. The parameter estimates indicated that pleasant experiences with 'Coloured' learners at school ( $\beta = .49$ ; p

<.00001) and increased contact in-and-outside the school premises ( $\beta$  = .25; p <.00001) were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people.

Table 23: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Englishspeaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward 'Coloured' people (n = 224)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	IO
(Adj_CSUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO	co	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	Ю	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
<u>Statistic</u>								
Mult. R-square	.42	.39	.38	.41	.22	.41	.39	.35
Std Error of Est.	11.06	11.25	11.29	11.04	12.78	11.09	11.26	11.49
R-square change		03	03	00	20	01	02	06
F change	ļ	4.76	5.48	.49	73.50	2.16	8.63	3.88
P value $(p < )$	1	.009	.005	.486	.001	.143	.004	.001
Analysis of	1							
variance	l							
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	215	217	217	216	216	216	216	221
SS Regression	18673.40	17507.38	17331.45	18613.68	9678.24	18409.45	17617.42	15826.13
Residual	26311.09	27477.11	27653.04	26370.82	35306.26	26575.04	27367.08	29158.37
F value for model	19.07	23.04	22.67	21.78	8.46	21.38	19.86	59.98
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
( <u>p</u> <)	:							

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

Although model 3 shows that the removal of Level of Integration was statistically significant, it did not reach statistical significance in a subsequent regression equation. The final model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people (model 8) comprised Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside School (F(2,221) = 59.98; p < .00001), and accounted for 35% of the variance.

# Ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Low mean scores indicate negative and high mean scores indicate positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. Black African learners reported a mean score of 61.52 ( $\underline{SD} = 18.34$ ). The mean score for 'Coloured' learners was 60.63

(SD = 15.26) and English-speaking white learners reported a mean score of 68.78 (SD = 16.24). The reliability coefficients were 0.91 ( $\underline{n}$  = 71) for black African learners, 0.91 ( $\underline{n}$  = 438) for 'Coloured' learners and 0.94 ( $\underline{n}$  = 247) for English-speaking white learners. The differences between the three groups were statistically significant ( $\underline{F}(2,753)$  = 21.32;  $\underline{p}$  < 00001) and are presented graphically in Figure 9.

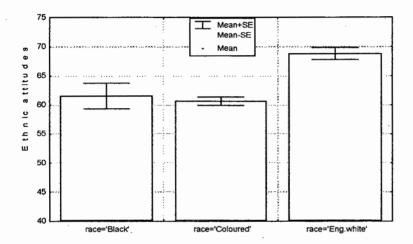


Figure 9: Ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people as Reported by black African, 'Coloured' and English-speaking white people

#### Black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 24 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

The model that best predicted black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaansspeaking white people (model 8) comprised Level of Integration and quality of Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(3,49) = 14.91$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 48% of the variance.

The results for black African learners showed that Level of Integration and Contact At School were the only statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The extent to which the school had been desegregated

Table 24: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 53)

Dependent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Integ
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
(Adj_ASUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO*
<u>Statistic</u>								
Mult. R-square	.48	.49	.16	.48	.34	.49	.49	.48
Std Error of Est.	15.99	15.67	20.00	15.92	17.96	15.81	15.83	15.31
R-square change		00	33	01	15	00	00	01
F change		.10	13.98	.61	12.76	.00	.08	.18
P value $(p < )$	{	.902	.002	.437	.008	.971	.775	.967
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
Residual	44	46	46	45	45	45	45	49
SS Regression	10722.13	10669.10	3573.01	10564.93	7459.64	10721.78	10701.08	10487.96
Residual	11252.40	11305.43	18401.52	11409.60	14514.88	11252.75	11273.45	11486.57
F value for model	5.24	7.24	1.49	5.95	3.30	6.13	6.10	14.91
P value for model	.001	.001	.203	.006	.006	.004	.004	.001
( <u>p</u> <)								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

was important in determining black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people and accounted for 33% of the unique variance. Furthermore, the parameter estimates indicate that pleasant contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at school ( $\beta = .39$ ; p < .00039) were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

## 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

Table 25 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 25: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 355)

Daniel	1		3	4	5	6	7	8
Dependent	1	2		4	-	-		-
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	IO
(Adj_ASUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Class*
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Integ*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								
Mult. R-square	.24	.23	.24	.24	.06	.24	.23	.22
Std Error of Est.	13.86	13.86	13.87	13.89	15.40	13.84	13.95	13.94
R-square change	ŀ	01	00	00	18	00	01	02
F change		1.54	1.12	2.25	82.03	.00	5.09	1.65
P value (p < )	ļ	.216	.329	.134	.001	.974	.025	.133
Analysis of								
variance	ł							
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	2
Residual	346	348	348	347	347	347	347	352
SS Regression	21123.71	20532.05	20694.80	20691.36	5356.57	21123.50	20145.63	19221.78
Residual	66501.74	67093.39	66930.65	66934.09	82268.88	66501.95	67479.82	68403.67
F value for model	13.24	17.75	17.93	15.32	3.23	15.75	14.80	49.46
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.002	.001	.001	.001
( <u>p</u> < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that Contact At School and Contact In-and-Outside the School premises were the only statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaansspeaking white people (model 8) included Contact At School and Contact In-and-Outside the school premises ( $\underline{F}(2,352) = 49.46$ ; p < .00001), and accounted for 22% of the variance.

The extent to which contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = .45; p < .00001) were pleasant was a strong predictor of 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking

white people and accounted for 18% of the unique variance. Furthermore, increased Contact In-and-Outside the school premises with Afrikaans-speaking white learners ( $\beta$  = .10; p < .04342) was associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 26 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people.

Table 26: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (n = 144)

Dependent	1	2	3	. 4	5	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Integ
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	. Cat
(Adj_ASUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	IO
	Cat	co	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Class*
	co	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	CO*
Statistic								<del></del>
Mult. R-square	.40	.40	.32	.40	.22	.40	.40	39
Std Error of Est.	12.52	12.46	13.28	12.49	14.28	12.55	12.67	12.46
R-square change		00	08	00	18	01	02	01
F change		.34	9.50	.20	41.75	1.51	4.32	.63
P value (p < )		.710	.001	.656	.001	.221	.040	.642
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	4
Residual	135	137	137	136	136	136	136	139
SS Regression	14296.31	14189.00	11316.45	14265.09	7749.33	14059.45	13619.12	13901.57
Residual	21170.13	21277.44	24149.99	21201.35	27717.11	21406.99	21847.31	21564.87
F value for model	11.40	15.23	10.70	13.07	5.43	12.76	12.11	22.40
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
(p < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (model 8) comprised Level of Integration, the quality of Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside the school premises (F(4,139) = 22.40; p < .00001), and accounted for 39% of the unique variance.

The results for English-speaking white learners showed that Level of Integration, Contact At School and Contact In-And-Outside the school premises were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The extent to which the school was desegregated as well as the quality of the contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = .46; p <.00001) determined 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. Pleasant contact experiences at school accounted for 18% of the unique variance and together with increased contact in-and-outside the school ( $\beta$  = .17; p <.04484) premises were associated with positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white learners.

# Ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

Low mean scores indicate negative and high mean scores indicate positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people. The mean scores reported by black African learners on ethnic attitudes were 62.08 ( $\underline{SD} = 18.31$ ). 'Coloured' learners reported a mean score of 67.28 ( $\underline{SD} = 13.95$ ) and the mean score for Afrikaans-speaking white learners was 73.07 ( $\underline{SD} = 13.01$ ). Cronbach reliability coefficients were 0.91 ( $\underline{n} = 72$ ) for black African learners, 0.90 ( $\underline{n} = 452$ ) for 'Coloured' learners and 0.90 ( $\underline{n} = 194$ ) for Afrikaans-speaking white learners. There were statistically significant differences between the three groups ( $\underline{F}(2,715) = 19.00$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ) and are displayed graphically in Figure 10.

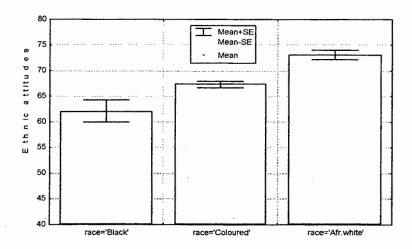


Figure 10: Ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people as reported by black African, 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white people

# Black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

Table 27 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people.

The model that best predicted black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people (model 8) comprised Level of Integration and quality of Contact At School ( $\underline{F}(3,56) = 13.19$ ;  $\underline{p} < .00001$ ), and accounted for 41% of the unique variance.

The results for black African learners showed that Level of Integration and Contact At School were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people. The parameter estimates indicated that the extent to which the school was desegregated together with pleasant contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = .20; p < .05512), resulted in more positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white

Table 27: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward English-speaking white people (n = 60)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Integ
Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Cat
Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Ŗid	Rid	IO*
Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Class*
CO	IO	IO	IO	IO	IO	CO	Rid*
IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO*
.46	.44	.23	.46	.41	.45	.46	.41
14.78	14.74	17.39	14.64	15.29	14.82	14.71	14.71
	02	24	00	05	01	01	05
	.84	11.18	.04	4.63	1.25	.50	.90
	.437	.001	.842	.036	.269	.483	.490
8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
51	53	53	52	52	52	52	<b>5</b> 6
9542.83	9175.36	4658.21	9534.01	8531.96	9270.34	9433.73	8563.44
1142.82	11510.29	16027.44	11151.64	12153.69	11415.31	11251.92	12122.21
5.46	7.04	2.57	6.35	5.21	6.03	6.23	13.19
.001	.001	.029	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
	Rid Cat CO IO .46 14.78 8 51 9542.83 1142.82 5.46	Class Integ Integ Rid Rid Cat Cat CO CO IO IO Class*	Class         Integ         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid           Rid         Cat         Cat           Cat         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*           .46         .44         .23           14.78         14.74         17.39          02        24           .84         11.18           .437         .001           8         6         6           51         53         53           9542.83         9175.36         4658.21           1142.82         11510.29         16027.44           5.46         7.04         2.57	Class         Integ         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat           Cat         CO         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class         Integ         Rid*           .46         .44         .23         .46           14.78         14.74         17.39         14.64          02        24        00           .84         11.18         .04           .437         .001         .842           8         6         6         7           51         53         53         52           9542.83         9175.36         4658.21         9534.01           1142.82         11510.29         16027.44         11151.64           5.46         7.04         2.57         6.35	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         Cat*           .46         .44         .23         .46         .41         15.29          02        24        00        05         .84         11.18         .04         4.63           .437         .001         .842         .036         .036           8         6         6         7         7         7           51         53         53         52         52           9542.83         9175.36         4658.21         9534.01         8531.96           1142.82         11510.29         16027.44         11151.64         12153.69           5.46         7.04         2.57         6.35<	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Rid         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO           IO         IO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         CO*           .46         .44         .23         .46         .41         .45           14.78         14.74         17.39         14.64         15.29         14.82          02        24        00        05        01           .84         11.18         .04         4.63         1.25           .437         .001         .842         .036         .269           8         6         6         7         7         7           51         53         53         52         52         52           9542.83         9175.36         4658.21         9534.01         8531.96         9270.34	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat         Rid         Rid         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO         Cat         Cat           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         CO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         CO*         Co           A6         .44         .23         .46         .41         .45         .46           14.78         14.74         17.39         14.64         15.29         14.82         14.71          02        24        00        05        01        01           .84         11.18         .04         4.63         1.25         .50           .437         .001         .842         .036         .269         .483           8         6         6         7         7         7         7           51         53         53         52         52         52

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

people. The extent to which the school was desegregated accounted for 24%, and quality of Contact At School accounted for 5% of the unique variance.

## 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

Table 28 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people.

Table 28: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward English-speaking white people (n = 401)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	Cat
Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	CO
Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	IO
Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Class*
	IO				IO	CO	Integ*
IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	Rid*
.21	.19	.20	.21	.12	.20	.15	.19
12.66	12.72	12.65	12.65	13.28	12.72	13.10	12.73
	01	00	00	08	<b>-</b> .01	06	02
	2.82	.56	.15	40.81	4.55	28.91	1.80
	.061	.572	.700	.001	.033	.001	.112
8	6	6	7	7	7	7	3
392	394	394	393	393	393	393	397
16302.79	15398.27	16123.37	16279.01	9760.06	15572.60	11668.19	14862.57
62849.26	63753.77	63028.67	62873.03	69391.98	63579.45	67483.85	64289.47
12.71	15.86	16.80	14.54	7.90	13.75	9.71	30.59
.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
	Integ Rid Cat CO IO .21 12.66 8 392 16302.79 62849.26 12.71	Class Integ Integ Rid Rid Cat Cat CO CO IO IO Class*	Class Integ         Class Rid         Rid Rid         Rid Rid         Rid Cat         Cat         Cat         Co         CO         CO         IO         IO	Class         Integ         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat           Cat         CO         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*           .21         .19         .20         .21           12.66         12.72         12.65         12.65          01        00        00           2.82         .56         .15           .061         .572         .700           8         6         6         7           392         394         394         393           16302.79         15398.27         16123.37         16279.01           62849.26         63753.77         63028.67         62873.03           12.71         15.86         16.80         14.54	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*           21         .19         .20         .21         .12           12.66         12.72         12.65         12.65         13.28          01        00        00        08           2.82         .56         .15         40.81           .061         .572         .700         .001           8         6         6         7         7           392         394         394         393         393           16302.79         15398.27         16123.37         16279.01         9760.06           62849.26         63753.77         63028.67         62873.03         69391.98           12.71         15.86         16.80         14.54         7.90	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat         Rid         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO         Cat         Cat           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         CO*         CO*           21         .19         .20         .21         .12         .20           12.66         12.72         12.65         12.65         13.28         12.72          01        00        00        08        01           2.82         .56         .15         40.81         4.55           .061         .572         .700         .001         .033           8         6         6         7         7         7           392         394         394         393         393         393           16302.79         15398.27         16123.37         16279.01         9760.06         15572.	Class         Integ         Class         Class         Class         Class           Integ         Rid         Rid         Integ         Integ         Integ         Integ           Rid         Cat         Cat         Cat         Rid         Rid         Rid         Rid           Cat         CO         CO         CO         CO         Cat         Cat           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         CO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         Co*         Cat           CO         IO         IO         IO         IO         IO         CO         CO           IO         Class*         Integ*         Rid*         Cat*         Co*         Cat         Integ         Integ <td< td=""></td<>

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people (model 8) comprised the quality of Contact At School, Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside the school premises (F(3,397) = 30.59; p < .00001), and accounted for 19% of the unique variance.

The results for 'Coloured' learners showed that all the contact variables were statistically significant predictors of ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people. The extent to which contact experiences at school ( $\beta$  = .30; p < .00001) were pleasant, as well as increased contact in-and-outside the school premises ( $\beta$  = .29; p < .00001) were associated with more positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people. However, increased contact with English-speaking white learners outside the school ( $\beta$  = -.11; p < .01541) premises was associated with less positive ethnic attitudes toward them.

# Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

Table 29 shows the regression results for the predictors of Socio-Economic Class (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), Contact At School (Cat), Contact Outside School (CO) and Contact In-And-Outside School (IO) on ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people.

Table 29: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaansspeaking white learners' Ethnic Attitudes toward English-speaking white people (n = 144)

Danandant	1				5		7	
Dependent		2	3	4	_	6	7	8
Variable: Social	Class	Integ	Class	Class	Class	Class	Class	. Cat
distance	Integ	Rid	Rid	Integ	Integ	Integ	Integ	Class*
(Adj_ESUM)	Rid	Cat	Cat	Cat	Rid	Rid	Rid	Integ*
	Cat	CO	CO	CO	CO	Cat	Cat	Rid*
	co	IO	IO	IO	· IO	IO	CO	CO*
	IO	Class*	Integ*	Rid*	Cat*	CO*	IO*	IO*
Statistic			7					
Mult. R-square	.23	.23	.20	.23	.10	.22	.23	.16
Std Error of Est.	11.60	11.54	11.71	11.59	12.47	11.60	11.78	11.78
R-square change		00	03	00	13	01	06	06
F change		.30	2.28	.61	22.23	4.97	3.39	1.63
P value $(p < )$	ŀ	.739	.106	.436	.001	.327	.068	.133
Analysis of								
variance								
df Regression	8	6	6	7	7	7	7	1
Residual	135	137	137	136	136	136	136	142
SS Regression	5414.07	5332.55	4800.93	5332.03	9760.06	5283.83	4957.72	3881.22
Residual	18175.16	18256.67	18788.29	18257.19	69391.98	18305.39	18631.51	19708.00
F value for model	5.03	6.67	5.83	5.67	7.90	5.61	5.17	27.96
P value for model	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
(p < )								

<sup>\*</sup>Variables removed from the regression equation

The model that best predicted Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people (model 8) comprised the quality of Contact At School  $(\underline{F}(1,142)=27.96; p < 00001)$  and accounted for 16% of the unique variation in ethnic attitude scores.

The results for Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed that the only statistically significant predictor was the quality of contact with English-speaking white learners at

school ( $\beta$  = .41; p < .00001). This means that Afrikaans-speaking white learners expressed positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white learners whenever they experienced pleasant interaction or contact with English-speaking white learners.

#### Summary

The results of the study indicate that for 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners, pleasant or positive contact experiences at school and increased social contact in-and-outside the school premises with black African learners, translate into less social distance, less anti-black sentiment and more positive attitudes toward black African people in general. Socio-economic status (Class), the extent to which the school is desegregated (Level of Integration) and identifying with the ingroup (Racial Identification) were also important determinants of 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners' attitudes toward black African people.

Socio-economic status and extent of desegregation at school significantly determined Afrikaans-speaking white learners willingness to be socially close to 'Coloured' people. For English-speaking white learners, strong identification with their own group meant that they were more socially distant toward 'Coloured' people. However, for both Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners, pleasant contact experiences at school and increased social contact in-and outside the school premises resulted in more positive attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. For black African learners there were no statistically significant predictors of social distance toward 'Coloured' and English-speaking white people. There were also no statistically significant predictors of anti-white sentiment directed at English-speaking white people by black African learners.

Social contact in-and outside the school premises with Afrikaans-speaking white learners was a statistically significant predictor of black African learners' social distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people. The results also showed that the more 'Coloured' learners identified with their own group, the more socially distant they were toward Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white people. However, pleasant contact experiences at

school and increased social contact in-and-outside the school premises resulted in more positive attitudes toward Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white people for 'Coloured' learners. Level of Socio-Economic Status (Class) and Racial Identification were not significant predictors for English- and Afrikaans-speaking white learners' attitudes toward each other.

In sum, the results indicated that, overwhelmingly, pleasant or positive intergroup contact experiences at school coupled with increased social contact in-and outside the school premises were associated with more positive attitudes between the members of the four groups. Table 30 displays the statistically significant predictors for each dependent measure per group. The unique variance accounted for by each predictor appears in parenthesis (next to predictor), followed by the total variance (in parenthesis) for the final model.

Table 30: Summary of statistically significant predictors for all dependent measures

Social distance Toward:	Reported by black Africans	Reported by 'Coloureds'	Reported by Afr. whites	Reported by Eng.whites
Black African people	<del></del>	Cat (5%) <sup>1</sup> CO (6%) IO (1%) Rid (1%) (23%) <sup>2</sup>	Cat (7%) CO (3%) IO (1%) (26%)	Rid (7%) Cat (4%) CO (3%) IO (1%) (28%)
'Coloured' people	No sig. Predictors	<del></del>	Class (2%) Integ (2%) Cat (4% CO (4%) IO (4%) (34%)	Rid (4%) Cat (3%) CO (1%) IO (8%) (36%)
Afr.white people	IO (15%) (14%)	Rid (1%) Cat (6%) IO (5%) (14%)	_	Cat (5%) IO (8%) (14%)
Eng white people	No sig. Predictors	Rid (2%) Cat (1%) IO (9%) (14%)	Cat (7%) IO (8%) (20%)	<u> </u>

Anti-black sentiment Toward:				
Black African people	_	Class (2%) Integ (2%) Rid (1%) Cat (1%) (8%)	Class (4%) Rid (2%) Cat (13%) (26%)	Integ (3%) Rid (2%) Cat (9%) CO (2%) (30%)
Anti-white sentiment Toward:				
Afr.white people	Class (9%) Cat (9%) (16%)	Class (3%) Integ (3%) IO (6%) (12%)	_	<del>.</del> .
Eng.white people	No sig. Predictors	Class (4%) Integ (2%) Rid (1%) CO (1%) (9%)	_	_
Ethnic attitudes toward:				
Black African people	<del>-</del> .	Class (5%) Cat (9%) (18%)	Integ (2%) Cat (17%) CO(2%) (40%)	Rid (2%) Cat (20%) (30%)
'Coloured' people	Cat (28%) IO(5%) (46%)	_	Cat (22%) (29%)	Cat (20%) IO(2%) (35%)
Afr.white people	Integ (33%) Cat (15%) (48%)	Cat (18%) IO(1%) (22%)		Integ (8%) Cat (18%) IO (2%) (39%)
Eng.white people	Integ (24%) Cat (5%) (41%)	Cat (8%) CO (1%) IO (6%) (19%)	Cat (13%) (16%)	_

<sup>1</sup> Unique variance accounted for by individual predictor
2 Total variance accounted for by Model

# **CHAPTER 4**

# **DISCUSSION**

## Interpretation of the findings

The results of the multiple regression analysis indicated a statistically significant pattern on most of the dependent measures. There were significant differences between the intergroup attitudes of black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and Englishspeaking white learners. The variation in intergroup attitudes were significantly explained by combinations of Socio-economic status (Class), Level of Integration (Integ), Racial Identification (Rid), quality of Contact At School, amount of Contact Outside School and Contact In-And-Outside School. Statistically significant results for Level of Integration (Integ) were only found for some of the dependent measures with little variation between the regression models, indicating that the extent to which schools had been desegregated did not have as strong an effect on the attitudes of all the groups as was expected. However, Level of Integration was quite significant in predicting black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white people and accounted for 33% and 24% of the variation in ethnic attitudes toward these two groups respectively. Interestingly, Socio-economic status (Class) and Level of Integration emerged more frequently as predictors of prejudiced attitudes in the subtle or covert measures of racial prejudice (anti-black and anti-white sentiment) than in the more overt prejudice measures, indicating that learners are aware of the social sanction against overt expressions of racial prejudice.

Overall, the extent to which the school had been desegregated (Level of Integration), the quality of intergroup Contact At School and amount of social Contact In- And Outside the school premises, emerged as the strongest predictors of intergroup attitudes and accounted for the highest variation in most of the dependent measures. The number of independent measures necessitates an interpretation and discussion of the results for each

dependent measure. This will be guided by a consideration of the relevant research questions, past research findings and social psychological theory. This is followed by an evaluation of the results, limitations of the study and the conclusion.

It is important to note that the findings of this study should be understood against the background of the demographics of the Western Cape where Black African people comprise the smallest numerical group, followed by English and Afrikaans-speaking white learners. 'Coloured' people comprise the largest group in this province. The sample in this study is therefore a reflection of the broader social reality and this factor has influenced the intergroup relations between the four groups in this province significantly.

The findings show that the greatest social distance was reported toward black African people and the least toward English-speaking white people. Afrikaans-speaking white learners reported the greatest social distance toward black African people. This finding is consistent with previous research (Groenewald, 1975; Lever, 1972; MacCrone, 1937; Rakoff, 1949; Van den Berghe, 1962; Viljoen, 1972). Closer inspection of the results of the predictors of social distance reveal findings which are not dissimilar from previous studies.

Whites in South Africa and in particular, Afrikaans-speaking whites, have traditionally evidenced strong identification with their own race group, while for English-speaking whites identification with the in-group has not been that strong. This has been juxtaposed with the phenomenon known as 'misidentification' among black African children who have identified with the white outgroup from an early age. The findings by Aarons (1991) and Cowley (1991) confirmed these patterns while noting the importance of context in racial identification patterns. The interpretation of the racial identification patterns of Grade 10, 11 and 12 learners from black African, 'Coloured' Afrikaans- and English-speaking white backgrounds in this present study is however, fraught with difficulty. Racial identification did not reach statistical significance as a predictor of any dependent measure for black African learners. This could be due to black African learners

comprising such a small group numerically when compared with the other three groups. It could however, also indicate that racial identification patterns of black African learners are changing. Given the major socio-political changes of the past decade, this would not be an unreasonable inference. For Afrikaans-speaking white learners, racial identification only emerged as statistically significant in the anti-black sentiment scale, which is a more subtle or covert measure of racial prejudice and therefore more sensitive to hidden prejudiced attitudes. For English-speaking white learners, racial identification seemed to emerge as a consistent predictor of social distance, anti-black sentiment and ethnic attitudes toward black African and 'Coloured' people. This was also true for 'Coloured' learners for whom racial identification consistently emerged as a significant predictor of social distance, anti-black sentiment and anti-white sentiment toward black African, Afrikaans- and English-speaking white people respectively (see Table 30). As discussed in Chapter 1, this may be understood in the light of 'Coloured' people feeling insecure and threatened by policies such as Affirmative Action, which are aimed at redressing economic imbalances amongst previously disadvantaged groups and are often interpreted by this group as benefiting only black African people.

The racial identification patterns which emerged for the Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners are not consistent with past trends. That English-speaking white people are evidencing strong racial identification patterns could be interpreted as a response to feelings of insecurity under current black rule whereas, under previous white rule, they had experienced relative security. The findings of the present study show support for Social Identity Theory (SIT) in the sense that learners who evidenced strong racial identification, reported greater social distance and more negative attitudes toward the outgroup. The findings for Afrikaans-speaking white learners are however, not so easy to interpret. A surprise finding was that while the traditional measures which measure overt prejudiced attitudes showed that racial identification was not a strong predictor of Afrikaans-speaking white learners' social distance or ethnic attitudes toward outgroups, the more subtle and covert, anti-black sentiment measure showed that racial identification was significant in predicting Afrikaans-speaking white learners anti-black sentiment

toward black African people. The subtle racism measures were clearly more sensitive to covert prejudiced attitudes than the traditional, more overt measures of prejudice.

Socio-economic status (Class) and Level of Integration were only significant predictors of social distance toward 'Coloured' people for Afrikaans-speaking white learners. This may be interpreted as Afrikaans-speaking learners experiencing feelings of threat from 'Coloured' learners who are the numerical majority in this province as well as in this sample. It should however be noted that, while these predictors were statistically significant, the unique variance accounted for by each predictor was very small (see Table 30).

There are many methodological weaknesses that complicate the interpretation of the results for this measure. The study validity of the scale constructed by Bornman (1988) was compromised. The scale was intended for use with adults. Many learners in all four groups did not understand complex concepts like "identity", "loyalty", "tradition" and "preserving the traditions and customs" of their particular groups. This would explain why Bornman (1988) had reliability coefficients of 0.63 and 0.82 with her adult sample while lower coefficients were reported for the present study.

The findings for anti-black sentiment did not reveal any surprises when compared with past research trends. What is however interesting, is the fact that the Subtle Racism measures (anti-black and anti-white sentiment) were more sensitive to covert or hidden prejudiced attitudes and revealed Socio-Economic Status (Class), Level of Integration (Integ) and Racial Identification as significant predictors of anti-black, and anti-white sentiment more frequently than the traditional, more overt measures of racial prejudice. 'Coloured' learners showed the least anti-black sentiment and Afrikaans-speaking white learners showed the highest anti-black sentiment. English-speaking people have traditionally reported less anti-black sentiment than Afrikaans-speaking white people, and the learners in the present study seem to mimic the attitudinal patterns of adults in past studies (Duckitt, 1993; Finchilescu & Dawes, 1998; Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983), with the exception of Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux's (1993) study that reported findings that

departed from past as well as this present study. Again, the significant predictors of both anti-black as well as anti-white sentiment did not account for much variation in anti-black and anti-white sentiment. The quality of Contact At School with black African learners were statistically significant predictors of anti-black sentiment and indicated that pleasant contact experiences at school with black African learners were related to low anti-black sentiment. This was especially true for Afrikaans-speaking white learners for whom the quality of Contact At School with black African learners explained more variance as a predictor of anti-black sentiment than for other groups. Increased social contact outside school with black African and 'Coloured' people resulted in lower anti-black sentiment.

The findings for anti-white sentiment revealed that black African learners reported higher anti-white sentiment than 'Coloured' learners. Pleasant contact experiences at school together with increased social interaction at school as well as after school with Afrikaans- and English-speaking white people translated into lower anti-white sentiment.

The findings for ethnic attitudes toward black African people revealed that 'Coloured' learners reported the most positive, and Afrikaans-speaking white people the least positive ethnic attitudes toward black African people. Black African people have consistently been the least preferred group by Afrikaans-, and English-speaking white groups in South Africa (Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983; Thiele, 1991). However, pleasant experiences of contact at school resulted in more positive ethnic attitudes toward black African learners especially for Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners for whom this particular predictor was very significant.

The findings for ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people revealed that black African learners reported the most negative and English-speaking white learners the most positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' people. The socio-economic and political history of the Western Cape with regard to 'Coloured' and black African people (see Chapter 1) has in no small way contributed to the intergroup relations between black African, 'Coloured' people, Afrikaans- and English-speaking white people in this region (cf. Bavuma, 2001). Black African, Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners were however, in

agreement insofar as it concerned their contact experiences with 'Coloured' learners. Pleasant experiences of contact at school together with increased social contact outside school resulted in more positive ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured' learners for these groups.

The least positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people were reported by black African learners and the most positive ethnic attitudes were reported by English-speaking white learners. Level of Integration was a particularly strong predictor of black African learners' ethnic attitudes towards Afrikaans-speaking white people. This indicates that the extent to which the school was desegregated was an important and significant determinant of black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white learners. Pleasant contact experiences with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at school, as well as outside school were also significantly related to positive ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaans-speaking white people for 'Coloured' and English-speaking white learners.

Black African learners reported the least positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people, while Afrikaans-speaking white learners reported the most positive ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people. Level of Integration emerged as a very significant determinant of black African ethnic attitudes towards English-speaking white people. The extent to which the school had been desegregated was an important and significant factor for black African interaction with English-speaking white learners. Experiences of the quality of Contact at school with English-speaking white learners were significant in determining ethnic attitudes toward this group for black African, 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white learners.

The findings of this study indicate partial support for Social Identity Theory (SIT) as well as the Contact Hypothesis. Support for SIT is evident in the fact that when groups identified strongly with their own groups, they evidenced greater social distance and more negative ethnic attitudes toward the outgroups. Whether their responses were as a result of feelings of insecurity or threat is merely speculative at this point, since the study

did not measure insecurity or threat. Support for the Contact Hypothesis is evident in the fact that quality and frequency of intergroup contact were by far the most influential and predominant predictors of intergroup attitudes. The fact that the more subtle measures of racial prejudice were more sensitive to socio-economic status and extent of desegregation as predictors than the more traditional, overt measures of racial prejudice, indicates that there is a general awareness among learners from all groups that overt expressions of racial prejudice are no longer socially acceptable. The extent to which the schools has been desegregated (Level of Integration) was found to be significant to all the groups.

While the findings of this study might signal change in a positive direction for South African intergroup relations, a few concerns continue to stalk desegregation in schools. To begin with, only a few of Allport's (1954) key conditions for positive attitude change obtained in the schools and the classrooms. The first, and easily the most contentious condition in the South African context, is equal status in the contact situation. South African history is such that black African and 'Coloured' people have been on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder, at least until the early 1990s. It is doubtful whether the socio-economic conditions of the families of these learners would have changed drastically in eight to ten years. This means that while black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans- and English-speaking white learners may be political equals, they do not enter the school as social or economic equals. Secondly, while there may be institutional support at governmental and departmental level for desegregated schools, school staff, parents and governing bodies have not always been found to show support for desegregation. An enduring problem for desegregation in schools has been the unequal proportions of minority vis-a-vis majority group learners. Again, this is by and large a reflection of the demographics of the Western Cape province. Black African people are presently a numerical minority and 'Coloured' people have been a numerical majority in this region. 'Coloured' people have for decades been the preferred labour pool in the Western Cape and this may also be one of the reasons that more positive attitudes were reported by the white group toward 'Coloured' people than toward black African people.

Finally, after school, the learners return to their homes in residential areas which are still largely segregated. Their families continue to attend churches and participate in social activities which may continue, albeit unwittingly, in a segregated manner.

# Evaluation of the results

The use of anonymous self-report measures such as questionnaires, may be accompanied by problems whereby respondents repress their actual opinions and attitudes and report attitudes they may feel are more socially desirable and acceptable (Simon, 1978). Social desirability is a common form of bias that may affect the validity of the results. Nine years after the general democratic elections it is common knowledge that racial discrimination is socially undesirable and unacceptable in desegregated schools. While this may not have eradicated the occurrence of racial violence, learners are aware that racial prejudice is socially undesirable and may have been reluctant to report their actual attitudes, which they may believe to be shameful. Instead, they may have reported attitudes they felt would please the researcher. The use of several response dimensions and different measures (e.g Subtle Racism measures) were incorporated into the instrument in an attempt to control for such inaccuracy and distortion. measures such as the questionnaire also serve as a control for the researcher's own hidden prejudices which may be imparted unwittingly during other forms of data collection, such as during interviews. During the administration of the questionnaire, some learners objected to the pre-defined categories and questions, such as the adjectival pairs in the Semantic Differential scale, which forced them to fit their own attitudes into predetermined responses. This may also result in acquiescence which is a tendency to agree rather than disagree with statements. This may have occurred in the present study because of the length of the questionnaire. Although a combination of negatively and positively worded items may address this problem, social scientists like Oppenheim (1966) noted that more research was required into response styles to control for this confounding factor and reduce error.

The changing norms in society may limit the open expression of overtly prejudiced behaviour in institutions such as schools, where authority figures may take issue with such behaviour. However, learners may continue to express prejudiced attitudes and behaviour in social settings where such norms are absent. As mentioned in Chapter 1, some prejudiced people may simply prefer to avoid contact with outgroup members. In these instances where overt measures of racial prejudice evoke social sanction, more subtle measures such as the Duckitt Subtle Racism anti-black sentiment scale (1991) and the anti-white sentiment scale (Duckitt & Farre, 1994) were used in this study in an attempt to access the learners' actual (covert) attitudes toward outgroups.

# Limitations of the study

A pilot study was conducted with one English-medium Grade 10 class where the questionnaire was completed with ease within the 45-minute class period. No problems with the questionnaire were high-lighted during this time. A few minor problems became evident during the administration of the questionnaire at Afrikaans-medium and at schools in the lower socio-economic areas and to obviate this in the future a few pilot studies could be conducted at different schools to ensure that learners have no problems with complexity or ambiguity of the instrument. This was not however, an insurmountable problem as the researcher was present to answer any questions the respondents might have had. One of the scales, the response possibilities of the Duckitt Subtle Racism scale, were inadvertently reversed for the Afrikaans version of the scale. The researcher attached an Erratum note to each Afrikaans questionnaire and pointed out the error to the learners before administering the questionnaires.

The learners were aware of the fact that their attitudes were being assessed and may also have given answers which they felt would be socially desirable. The respondents were however assured that their participation was voluntary, anonymous and confidential. They could therefore refuse to participate. Self-report measures such as questionnaires compare favourably to the personal interview as a method of gathering information, especially with large samples. While the scales in the completed questionnaire

were originally constructed for use with adults, the majority of the learners had no difficulty completing the questionnaire within a forty-five minute class period. This notwithstanding, newer scales with concepts which are more suited to high school learners should be constructed to obviate complexity and ambiguity.

A further weakness in the study was the method used to categorise the levels of integration. The information used to divide schools into different levels of integration was obtained from the Western Cape Department of Education which was dependent on the previous years statistics provided by schools. Many of the school principals were reluctant to provide statistics in this regard, and the researcher had to liaise with the relevant school staff to determine or verify the proportions of learners from different racial backgrounds. The ratio of the different groups in relation to each other was then used as an indication of the level of integration at the school. For example, schools with between 75 and 80 percent white learners were categorised as low integration, those with between 40 and 60 percent white learners were categorised as high integration schools and those with between 30 and 40 percent white learners were categorised as moderate integration schools. These figures were provided for entire schools and were not a reflection of the distribution in the classroom settings. Items were therefore included which elicited information outside the classroom and school premises. notwithstanding, the method used to gather this information was not very sensitive and more accurate measures are required to provide a more precise reflection of the distribution of the groups.

The generalisability of the findings of this study is limited by the specificity of the sample. The respondents were Grade 10 to 12 learners of former Model C schools in the Western Cape province. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, there are regional nuances that stem from the political and socio-economic history of this province. This makes the findings from this study unique to this particular region. However, it is doubtful that a study of this nature would produce substantially different results in other regions in South Africa given the immense impact of the legacy of Apartheid. Since 1949 the findings of research studies have shown consistently that the most negative attitudes were reported

by white people toward black African and 'Coloured' people. The findings for the attitudes of black African people toward other groups have shown that more positive attitudes were reported toward English-speaking white people than toward 'Coloured' and Afrikaans-speaking white people. 'Coloured' people have reported more positive attitudes toward English-speaking white and black African people than toward Afrikaans-speaking white people (Plug & Nieuwoudt, 1983). The study conducted by Bradnum, Nieuwoudt and Tredoux (1993) seems to be the only one that reported different results which on closer examination should be understood in terms of its unique context (see chapter 1).

While it is true that South African intergroup patterns have remained largely unchanged for the past sixty years, there are indications of change in a positive direction with regard to desegregation in schools. Even though the findings of the present study did not reveal any drastic changes from past trends, a relationship was found between socio-economic status, level of integration, racial identification, pleasant contact experiences at school, increased social contact outside school and more positive intergroup attitudes. This finding shows partial support for the Contact Hypothesis and augurs well for desegregation in schools. The findings should however be interpreted with caution bearing in mind the methodological and practical problems of the measures used in the study.

#### Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate the relationship between levels of integration and racial prejudice in former Model C schools by examining the differences between the attitudes of black African, 'Coloured', Afrikaans-speaking white and English-speaking white learners toward each other. By drawing on aspects of Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory and Allport's (1954) Contact Hypothesis, the study endeavoured to examine the applicability of these theoretical frameworks to the intergroup attitudes among the learners within the desegregated schools. The findings provided some support for Social Identity Theory as was seen in the process of racial identification. Learners

were influenced by their group membership when responding to questions about social closeness or adjectives to describe characteristics of members of the outgroup. The position with regard to support for the Contact Hypothesis is not straightforward. Statistically significant results were found for quality of contact at school, increased social outside school and in-and-outside school. The findings showed that there is a relationship between the extent to which the school had been desegregated, pleasant contact experiences at school, increased social contact outside school and more positive intergroup attitudes. Intergroup contact was by far, the most significant predominant and significant predictor of attitudes between the four groups. There were significant differences between the four groups with regard to level of integration, racial identification, quality of intergroup contact and social contact outside the school premises.

South African schools have only been desegregated for about ten years and attitudes do not change overnight. Ongoing research of this nature is required to provide more insight into intergroup attitudes in desegregated schools.

# References

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Appendix A: Letter to the Western Cape Education Department requesting permission to conduct the study

10 First Avenue Rondebosch East 7780

April 27, 1999
Mr H Mentz
Curriculum Services
Western Cape Education Department
Private Bag 9114
CAPE TOWN
8000

Dear Sir

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN CAPE TOWN

I am a second year MA Research Psychology student at the University of Cape Town under the supervision of Dr Colin Tredoux. One of the requirements for the completion of the course is a full thesis in an area of interest. I have chosen to examine the attitudes of secondary school learners (Grades 10 and 11) of various racial backgrounds towards each other in integrated, former Model C schools in Cape Town.

I am however, unable to conduct my research without the permission of your Department and therefore wish to request your permission to conduct this study. This will be done with a minimum of interruption to the learners' school routine. Questionnaires requiring completion by the learners will be distributed by the class teacher and should require approximately 45 minutes to an hour to complete (e.g., over a double period). Appropriate times for these sessions will be arranged with the school staff to obviate any disruption to their daily programme. Anonymity and complete confidentiality of schools, staff and learners are guaranteed. Findings of the study will be made available to the Department of Education as well as the schools if required.

The sporadic outbreaks of racial violence at various South African schools in the last few years has made it necessary to gauge the attitudes of learners of varying racial backgrounds towards each other. I also attach a letter from the Human Rights Commission supporting the study. I would appreciate your favourable response at your earliest convenience. A summary of the rationale, justification for the study and methodology follows. Thank you for your kind assistance.

Yours faithfully

Zelda Holtman	Supervisor: Dr C	C.G. Tredoux
Student number: DPLZEL001	Date:	

Appendix B: Letter of permission from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct the study

Navrac Enquiries IMibuzo

Hendrik Jeremy Mentz

lMibuzo Telefoon

Telephone

403-6023

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4(1,1-0(12

Faks Fax

403-6370

lfeksi Veruse

Verwysing Reference Isalathiso

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## Onderwysdepartement

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION WESTERN CAPE

Education Department

ULAWULO LWEPHONDO LENTSHONA KOLONI

ISebe leMfundo

Ms Zelda Holtman zholtman@hotmail.com

Dear Ms Holtman

RESEARCH PROJECT: PREJUDICE, CONTACT AND ATTITUDE CHANGE IN SOUTH ARICA: A STUDY OF INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in secondary schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

- Principals, teachers and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
- Principals, teachers, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
- You make all arrangements concerning your investigation.
- The investigation is not conducted during the fourth school term.
- A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the principal of each school where the intended research is to be conducted.
- A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section).
- The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

The Director: Curriculum Management (Research Section) Western Cape Education Department Private Bag 9114 CAPE TOWN 8000

We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards

HEAD: EDUCATION

DATE: Wednesday, 07 April 1999

MELD ASSEBLIEF VERWYSINGSNOMMERS IN ALLE KORRESPONDENSIE. / PLEASE QUOTE REFERENCE NUMBERS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE.

Appendix C: Letter to the School Principals requesting permission to conduct the study

### UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



## Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town · Rondebosch 7701 · South Africa Telephone: (021) 650-9111 Fax No. (021) 689-7572

The Principal

#### PERMISSION TO VISIT YOUR SCHOOL

I am a second year MA student in Research Psychology at the University of Cape Town under the supervision of Dr Colin Tredoux. One of the requirements for the completion of the course is a full thesis in an area of interest. I have chosen to examine the attitudes of secondary school learners (Grades 10 and 11) of various racial backgrounds towards each other in integrated, former Model C schools in Cape Town.

I attach a copy of a letter from the Head of the Western Cape Education Department wherein permission is granted as well as a copy of a letter of support from the South African Human Rights Commission and hereby request your permission to conduct this study at your school. This will be done with a minimum of interruption to the learners' daily school routine. Questionnaires requiring completion will be distributed among the learners and should take between 45 minutes to an hour to complete (e.g., over a double period). Appropriate times for these sessions could be arranged with yourself and the relevant teaching staff to obviate any disruption to the daily school programme. The study will be conducted before the fourth term (i.e. either the second or third term). I would appreciate your letting me know which term is more convenient for you, your staff and the learners. Anonymity and complete confidentiality of schools, staff and learners are guaranteed. The findings of the study will be made available to the schools if required.

The sporadic outbreak of racial violence at various South African schools in the last few years has made it necessary to gauge the attitudes of learners of varying racial backgrounds towards each other. I would appreciate your favourable response at your earliest convenience and thank you for your kind assistance. Any additional information regarding the study will be readily provided.

Yours faithfully

Zelda Holtman Student No: DPLZEL001 10 First Avenue **RONDEBOSCH EAST** 

7780

Tel.no.: (021) 697 2994

Supervisor: Dr C.G. Tredoux .. Date: 22 March 2000

Appendix D: Letter to parents requesting permission to conduct the study

10 First Avenue Rondebosch East 7780

April 14, 2000

Dear Parent

#### PARENTAL CONSENT

I am a second year MA student in Research Psychology at the University of Cape Town under the supervision of Dr Colin Tredoux. One of the requirements for the completion of the course is a full thesis in an area of interest. I have chosen to examine the attitudes of secondary school learners (Grades 10 and 11) of various racial backgrounds towards each other in integrated, former Model C schools in Cape Town.

In order for me to conduct this research project I need your consent as parent(s) for your child to participate in the completion of a questionnaire. The Western Province Department of Education as well as the headmaster of Plumstead High School, Mr Gordon, have granted permission for the study. The study requires the completion of a questionnaire which should take no longer than forty-five minutes. This will be done with a minimum of interruption to the staff and learners' daily routine. Complete anonymity and confidentiality of the school, staff and learners are guaranteed and findings of the study will be made available to the school. This could assist the school in terms of dealing with the attitudes and values their learners hold and are exposed to.

Could you kindly indicate your response by completing the reply slip below and return it to the school by Monday 24 April 2000.

Yours faithfully

Zeld	а	Hol	tmar	١
697	29	994		

#### **REPLY SLIP**

Child's name	Class
(Please indicate your choice by ticking the appropriate	te response)
I hereby give my consent for my child to participate in I hereby do not give my consent for my child to participate.	

Appendix E: Letter of support from the South African Human Rights Commission

#### SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Entrance 1
Wilds View
Isle of Houghton,
Boundary Road
Parktown, Johannesburg

Private Bag 2700 Houghton 2041 Telephone: 011 484 8300 Fax: 011 484 1360 Fax education, communications and research: (011) 484 7146



19 April 1999

Zelda Holtman 10 First Avenue Rondebosch East 7780

Re: Research Thesis-Prejudice, contact and attitude change in South Africa: A study of integrated schools in the Western Cape

Thank you for bringing this important initiative to the attention of the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC).

The SAHRC is of the view that the particular emphasis of this study can help in unveiling the complexities of prejudice in the schooling sector and as such has the potential of positively contributing to the development of appropriate and informed educational interventions.

In his speech during the education budget debate on 15 March 1999, the Minister of Education in the Western Cape, Mr Nick Koornhof articulated his ministry's commitment to challenge issues around racism and racial integration in schools. The WCED comments on the report of the SAHRC on racial integration in schools call for the creation of a supportive environment for educators. The SAHRC hope that your study will assist in advancing the commitment of the Education Ministry and Department and in developing an enabling and supportive framework for educators and learners in dealing with an increasingly diverse school population.

Please note that the SAHRC cannot be held responsible for the way in which the study is conducted or the findings thereof and that we are not in support of initiatives that may impact adversely on the "normal" school programme. However, we are confident that you will be circumscribed in your engagement with schools and wish you the best with this initiative.

Yours sincerely

Leon Wessels

SAHRC Commissioner: Western Cape

Appendix F: English Questionnaire

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

#### Dear Leamer,

SECTION A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

Thank you for participating in this study. In this study we wish to understand how young people see this country. Please take these tasks seriously and answer the questions truthfully. EVERYTHING you write here will be kept **confidential**. In any publication of the results your answers will be combined with many others and will therefore not be identifiable.

Please answer all the questions. If you do not know an answer, write "DO NOT KNOW" in the space.

1.	NAME OF SCHOOL				
3.	AGE4. GENDER (Circle which you are) MALE/FEMALE				
5.	RACE GROUP (Mark with an X the category into which you were classified durin the previous government):	g			
	(a) "COLOURED" (d) ENGLISH-SPEAKING WHITE	•			
	(b) BLACK (e) OTHER (Please specify)	. <b>.</b>			
	(c) AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING WHITE				
6.	PLACE WHERE YOU LIVE				
	(a) TOWN/VILLAGE				
7.	HOME LANGUAGE (Mark with an X the one your family uses most at home)				
	(a) ENGLISH				
8.	PARENTS OCCUPATION (Job/Work/Employment)				
	(a) FATHER(b) MOTHER				

Please turn over

### SECTION B - RACIAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION

Please read each of the following eight statements carefully and show how well it reflects your feelings about your race group by putting an X in one of the boxes marked from 1 to 5. If you put an X in the box marked 1 or 2 it means that you agree with the statement. 1 indicates strong agreement. If you put an X in boxes 4 or 5, it means you disagree with the statement. 5 indicates strong disagreement.

				*···		
		Agree Strongly	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Disagree Strongly
1.	Loyalty toward my race is particularly important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	It upsets me when other people speak negatively about my race.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Preserving the identity of my race group is not very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I do not want to belong to any other race group.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I should be willing to take action if the identity of my race group is challenged.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I respect a person who takes pride in the special qualities of his race group.	1	2.	3	4	5
7.	Commitment to the culture and traditions of my race group is a major source of security in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
	Protecting the customs of my race group is unnecessary.	1	2	3	4	5

# SECTION C - THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CONTACT

(i) How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with Black learners at your school. Please indicate your choice by putting an X on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

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

## **Elack learners** 5 RUDE COURTEOUS 2 5 UNPLEASANT 3 **PLEASANT** ż **MEANINGFUL MEANINGLESS** 5 SPONTANEOUS 2 **FORCED** 3 RELAXED **STRAINED** 2 CONSTRUCTIVE 5 3 DESTRUCTIVE

# SECTION C - THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CONTACT

(i) How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with "Coloured" learners at your school. Please indicate your choice by putting an X on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

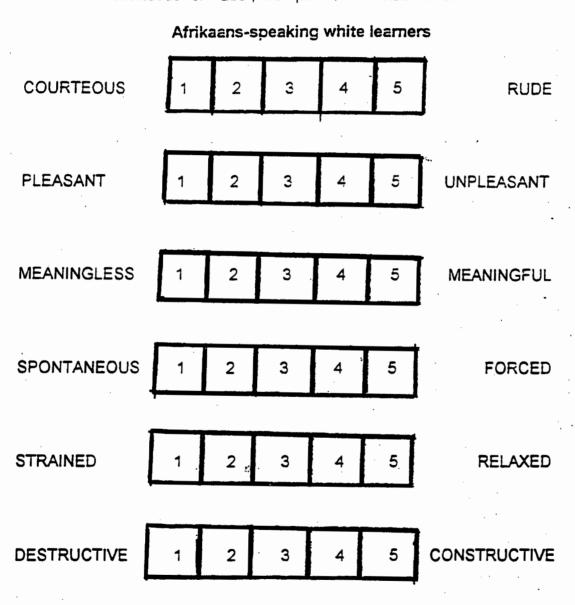
Example: If you feel that "Coloured" Learners are "courteous", then put an X on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that "Coloured" learners are "rude", put an X on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether "Coloured" learners are "courteous" or "rude", then put an X on number 3.

# "Coloured" learners COURTEOUS RUDE 5 . UNPLEASANT **PLEASANT** 3 **MEANINGLESS MEANINGFUL** 2 3 5 **SPONTANEOUS** 2 3 **FORCED** STRAINED 3 DESTRUCTIVE 3 -5 CONSTRUCTIVE 2

## SECTION C - THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CONTACT

(i) How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with Afrikaans-speaking white learners at your school. Please indicate your choice by putting an X on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

Example: If you feel that Afrikaans-speaking white Learners are "courteous", then put an X on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that Afrikaans-speaking white learners are "rude", put an X on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether Afrikaans-speaking white learners are "courteous" or "rude", then put an X on number 3.



# SECTION C - THE EXTENT AND NATURE OF CONTACT

(i) How would you describe the nature of your communication and interaction with English-speaking white learners at your school. Please indicate your choice by putting an X on the number you feel accurately describes your experience.

Example: If you feel that English-speaking white Learners are "courteous", then put an X on numbers 1 or 2. If you feel that English-speaking white learners are "rude", put an X on numbers 4 or 5. If you are not sure whether English-speaking white learners are "courteous" or "rude", then put an X on number 3.

# English-speaking white learners COURTEOUS RUDE UNPLEASANT **PLEASANT** 2 3 **MEANINGLESS** 2 3 5 **MEANINGFUL SPONTANEOUS** 2 3 **FORCED** RELAXED STRAINED 3 CONSTRUCTIVE **DESTRUCTIVE** 2 5

(ii) In this section we would like to know about your contact with Black people outside your school situation. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you have contact with Black people very often, put an X on number 4. If you never have contact with Black people, put an X on number 1 etc..

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

With Black residents of your suburb?

With Black people at your own home?

With Black people at the homes of other people?

With Black people at their homes?

At religious events?

At social events, e.g. parties, receptions, etc. ?

NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
1	2	<b>3</b>	4
1	2	(1)	4
1	2	3.	4
1	2	3	4
1	.2	3	4
1	2	3	4

(ii) In this section we would like to know about your contact with "Coloured" people cutside your school situation. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your expenence. If you have contact with "Coloured" people very often, put an X on number 4. If you never have contact with "Coloured" people, put an X on number 1 etc..

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

With "Coloured" residents
of your suburb ?

With "Coloured" people at your own home?

With "Coloured" people at the homes of other people?

With "Coloured" people at their homes?

At religious events?

At social events, e.g. parties, receptions, etc.?

NEVER .	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
1	2	3	4
. 1	2	. 3	4
1	2	3	4
1	2	3	4
1	2	. 3	4
1	2	· <b>.</b> 3	4

(ii) In this section we would like to know about your contact with Afrikaans-speaking white people **outside your school** situation. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you have contact with Afrikaans-speaking white people very often, put an X on number 4. If you never have contact with Afrikaans-speaking white people, put an X on number 1 etc..

How often do you have contact with Afrikaans-speaking white people in the following situations?

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLYOFTEN	VERY OFTEN
With Afrikaans-speaking white residents of your suburb?	. 1	2	3	4
With Afrikaans-speaking white people at your own home ?	1	2	3	4
With Afrikaans-speaking white people at the homes of other people?	1	2	3	4
With Afrikaans-speaking white people at their homes ?	1	2	3	4
At religious events?	1	2	3	4
At social events, e.g. parties, receptions, etc. ?	1	2	3	 <b>4</b> 

(ii) In this section we would like to know about your contact with English-speaking white people outside your school situation. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you have contact with English-speaking white people very often, put an X on number 4. If you never have contact with English-speaking white people, put an X on number 1

How often do you have contact with English-speaking white people in the following situations?

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
With English-speaking white residents of your suburb?	1	2	3	4
With English-speaking white people at your own home?	1	2	3	4
With English-speaking white people at the homes of other people?	1	2 •	<b>, 3</b> :	. 4
With English-speaking white people at their homes?	1	2	3	4
At religious events ?	1 "	2 *	3	- 4
At social events. e.g. parties, receptions, etc. ?	1	2	3	4

Please indicate by marking with an X which statement applies to the racial composition of the following settings. If your school consists mostly of white learners, put an X on number 4. If your school consists mostly of black learners, put an X on number 2. If there is mostly white people in your residential area or church, put an X on number 4. If there is mostly black people in your residential area or church, put an X on number 2, etc..

	ALMOST ALL WHITE	WHITE	ABOUT HALF BLACK/HALF WHITE	MOSTLY BLACK	ALMOST ALL BLACK	ABLE
YOUR SCHOOL	5	4	3	2	1	0
YOUR CLASS - All the learners in your classroom.		4	3	2	1.	С
			. :			4
THE RESIDENTIAL AREA WHERE YOU LIVE.		4 ,	3	2	1	0
ant v dan			:			
THE CHURCH TO WHICH YOU BELONG	5	4	3	2	-1	0

(iv) In this section we would like to know about your contact with other race groups both inside and outside the school premises. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you sit next to a Black learner fairly often, put an X on number 3. If you seldom sit next to a Black learner, put an X on number 1, etc..

How often do you have contact with Blacksin the following situations?

110W Cheff do you have contact that a							
Ī	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN			
Do you sit next to a Black learner in your classroom?	1	2	. 3	4			
Do you have friendly conversations with an Black learner during break ?	1,	.2	3	4			
Do you play games with Black learners on the playground?	1	2	3	4			
Do you spend 'break' with Black learners at your school?	1	2	3	4			
Do you invite Black learners from your class or school to your home ?	1	2	3	4			
Do you visit Black learners at their homes?	1	. 2	3	4			
Do you invite Black learners to your birthday party?	1	2 7	3	4			
Have you been invited to a Black learner's birthday party?	1.	2,	3	4			
Do you arrange to meet any of the Black learners from your class or school after school or during the weekend?	1	2	3 .	4			

(iv) In this section we would like to know about your contact with other race groups both **inside and outside the school premises**. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you sit next to a "Coloured" learner fairly often, put an X on number 3. If you seldom sit next to a "Coloured" learner, put an X number 2. If you never sit next to a "Coloured" learner, put an X on number 1, etc..

How often do you have contact with "Coloureds" in the following situations?

	VEVER ,	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
Do you sit next to a "Coloured" learner in your classroom?	1	2	3	4
Do you have friendly conversations with an "Coloured" learner during break?	1	2	3	4
Do you play games with "Coloured" learners on the playground?	1	2	3 .	4
Do you spend 'break' with "Coloured" learners at your school?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite "Coloured" learners from your class or school to your home ?	1	2	3	4
Do you visit "Coloured" learners at their homes ?	1	2	3	4
Do you invite "Coloured" learners to your birthday party?	1	· 2	3 5	4
Have you been invited to a "Coloured learner's birthday party?	1	2	3	4
Do you arrange to meet any of the "Coloured" learners from your class or school after school or during the weekend?	1	2	; з	4

/ (iv)

In this section we would like to know about your contact with other race groups both **inside and outside the school premises**. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you sit next to an English-speaking white learner fairly often, put an X on number 3. If you seldom sit next to an English-speaking white learner, put an X number 2. If you never sit next to an English-speaking white learner, put an X on number 1, etc..

How often do you have contact with English-speaking whites in the following situations?

	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN
Do you sit next to an English- speaking white learner in your classroom?	1	2	3	4
Do you have friendly conversations with an English-speaking white learner during break?	1	2	3	4
Do you play games with English- speaking white learners on the playground?	1	2	3	4
Do you spend 'break' with English- speaking white learners at your school ?	1	. 2	3	. 4
Do you invite English-speaking white learners from your class or school to your home?	1	. 2	3	4
Do you visit English-speaking white learners at their homes?	1	2 ,	3	4
Do you invite English-speaking white learners to your birthday party?	1	·2	3	4
Have you been invited to an English- speaking white learner's birthday party	?1	2	3	4
Do you arrange to meet any of the English-speaking white learners from your class or school after school or during the weekend?	1	2	3	4

(iv) In this section we would like to know about your contact with other race groups both **inside and outside the school premises**. Please read the following questions carefully and mark with an X the box you feel describes your experience. If you sit next to an Afrikaans-speaking white learner fairly often, put an X on number 3. If you seldom sit next to an Afrikaans-speaking white learner, put an X number 2. If you never sit next to an Afrikaans-speaking white learner, put an X on number 1, etc..

How often do you have contact with Afrikaans-speaking whites in the

following situations?

following situations?	s ?						
	NEVER	SELDOM	FAIRLY OFTEN	VERY OFTEN			
Do you sit next to an Afrikaans- speaking white learner in your classroom?	1	2	3	4			
Do you have friendly conversations with an Afrikaans-speaking white learner during break?	1	2	3	4			
Do you play games with Afrikaans- speaking white learners on the playground?	1	. 2	3	4			
Do you spend 'break' with Afrikaans- speaking white learners at your school?	1	2 :	3	4			
Do you invite Afrikaans-speaking white learners from your class or school to your home?	1	. 2.	3	4			
Do you visit Afrikaans-speaking white learners at their homes ?	1	2	3	4			
Do you invite Afrikaans-speaking white learners to your birthday party?	1	2	3	4			
Have you been invited to an Afrikaans speaking white learner's birthday part	B	2	3	4			
Do you arrange to meet any of the Afrikaans-speaking white learners from your class or school after school or during the weekend?	1	2	3	4			

#### SECTION D - SOCIAL DISTANCE

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

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

Anv: Most: Some: Few: No: Japanese to my school or university.

#### 1. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit:

- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Blacks to my school or university.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Blacks to my street as neighbours.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Blacks to my home as my personal friends.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Blacks into my family by marriage.

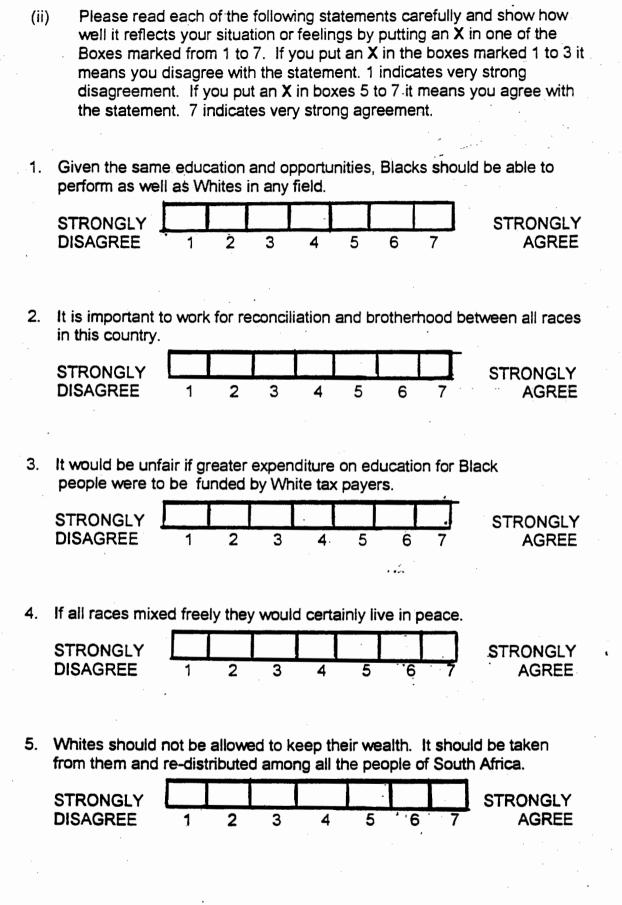
## 2. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit:

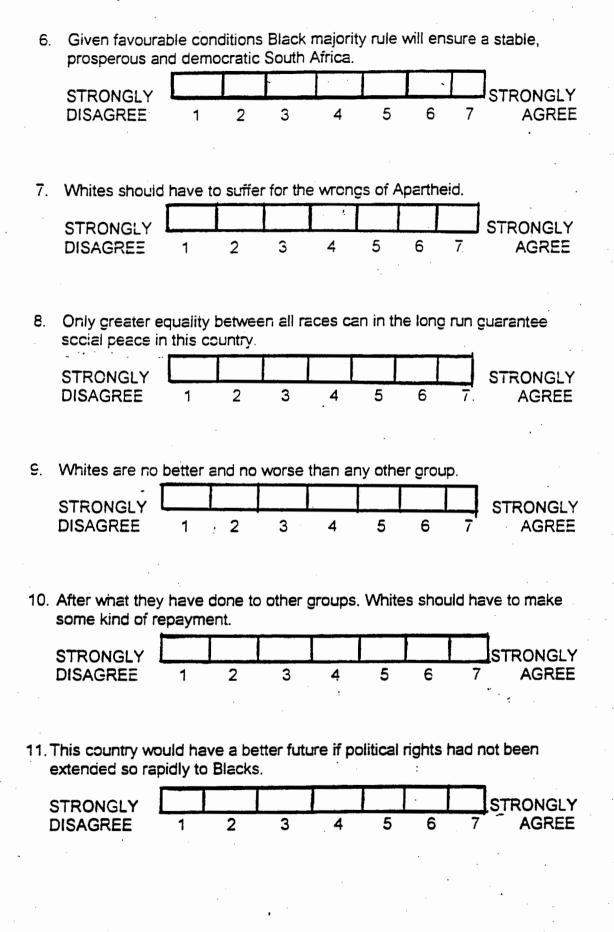
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... "Coloureds" to my school or university.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... "Coloureds" to my street as neighbours.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... "Coloureds" to my nome as my personal friends.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... "Coloureds" into my family by marriage.

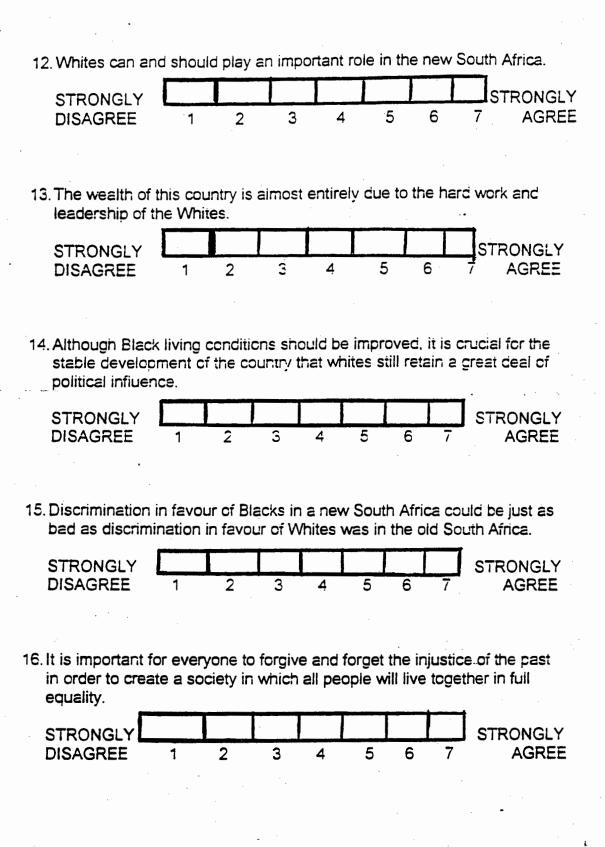
- 3. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Afrikaans-speaking whites to my school or university.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Afrikaans-speaking whites to my street as neighbours.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No.... Afrikaans-speaking whites to my home as my personal friends.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... Afrikaans-speaking whites into my family by marriage.

#### 4. My first feeling or reaction is to willingly admit:

- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... English-speaking whites to my school or university.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... English-speaking whites to my street as neighbours.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... English-speaking whites to my home as my personal friends.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No:... English-speaking whites into my family by marriage.







17. In order to compensate for the injustices of the past there will have to be Discrimination in favour of Blacks and against Whites in the new South Africa. STRONGLY DISAGREE 2 18. It is almost certainly best for all concerned that interracial marriages remain very rare. **STRONGLY** STRONGLY DISAGREE 19. The history of this country shows that most Whites do not deserve to be be treated with respect. STRONGLY STRONGLY 3 5 DISAGREE 6 AGREE 20. It is important that drastic steps be taken to ensure a far more equal division of the wealth of this country. STRONGLY 2 DISAGREE

(iii) The following 15 adjectival pairs describes "Coloured" people. If you agree with the adjective "fair" to describe a "Coloured" person, mark 1,2,or 3 with an X. If you feel that "Coloured" people are "unfair", then mark numbers 5,6, or 7. If you are not sure if "Coloured" people are "fair" or "unfair", mark the number 4 with an X.

1.	FAIR	1:	2:	<b>3</b> :	4	:	<b>5</b> :	<b>6</b> :	7	UNFAIR
2.	RELIABLE	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	.5 :	6 :	7	UNRELIABLE
3.	DISHONEST	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	5 :	6 :	7	HONEST
4.	BORING	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	<b>5</b> :	6:	7	INTERESTING
5.	WISE	1 ;	2 :	3 :	4	:	5 :	6:	7	FOOLISH
6.	WORTHLESS	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5 :	6 :	7	VALUABLE
7.	CRUEL	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	6:	7	KIND
8.	GOOD	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	5 :	6:	7	BAD
<b>9</b> .	LAZY	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	5 :	6:	7	HARDWORKING
10.	PLEASANT	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	: 6:	7	UNPLEASANT
11.	UNFRIENDLY	1:	2 :	3 :	4	:	5	: 6:	7	FRIENDLY
12.	COWARDLY	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	: 6 :	7	BRAVE
13.	CLEAN	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	: 6:	7	DIRTY
14.	UNGRATEFUL	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	: 6 :	. 7	GRATEFUL
15.	LOYAL	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5	: 6 :	7	DISLOYAL

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP WITH THIS RESEARCH

(iii) The following 15 adjectival pairs describes English-speaking white people. If you agree with the adjective "fair" to describe a English-speaking white person, mark 1,2,or 3 with an X. If you feel that English-speaking white people are "unfair", then mark numbers 5.6. cr 7. If you are not sure if English-speaking white people are "fair" or "unfair", mark the number 4 with an X.

1.	FAIR	1:	2 :	<b>3</b> :	4	: 5	: 6	3 : 3	7	UNFAIR
2.	RELIABLE	1 :	2 :	3 :	4	: 5	: 6	3 : 7	7	UNRELIABLE
3.	DISHONEST	1:	2 :	3 :	4	: 5	: 6	5 : 7	7.	HONEST
4.	BORING	1 :	2 :	3 :	4	: 5	: 6	5 : 7	7	INTERESTING
5.	WISE	1 :	2 :	3 :	4	: 5	: 6	: 7	7	FOOLISH
6.	WORTHLESS	1 :	2:	3 :	4	: 5	: 6	3 : 7	•	VALUABLE
7.	CRUEL	1 :	2:	<b>3</b> :	4	: 5	: .6	6 : 7		KIND
8.	GOOD	1:	2:	3 :	4	: 5	5 :	6 : 3	7	BAD
9.	LAZY	1 :	2 :	3 :	4	: 5	<b>:</b>	6 : 3	7	HARDWORKING
10.	PLEASANT	1 :	2:	3 :	4	: 5	:	6 :	7	UNPLEASANT
11.	UNFRIENDLY	1 :	2:	3 :	4	: . :	5 :	6 :	7	FRIENDLY
12.	COWARDLY	1 :	2 :	3 :	4	:	5 :	6 :	7	BRAVE
13.	CLEAN	1 :	2:	<b>3</b> :	4	:	<b>5</b> :	6:	7	DIRTY
14.	UNGRATEFUL	1:	2:	3 :	4	:	5 :	6:	7	GRATEFUL
15.	LOYAL	1 :	2:	3 :	4	: :	5 :	6:	7	DISLOYAL

(iii) The following 15 adjectival pairs describes Black people. If you agree with the adjective "fair" to describe a Black person, mark 1,2.or 3 with an X. If you feel that Black people are "unfair", then mark numbers 5,6, or 7. If you are not sure if Black people are "fair" or "unfair", mark the number 4 with an X.

1.	FAIR	•	1	: 2	2 :	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	•	7	UNFAIR
2.	RELIABLE	•	1 :	: 2	2 :	3	:	4	:	5,	:	6	:	•	7	UNRELIABLE
3.	DISHONEST	1	١:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	7	HONEST
4.	BORING	-	۱ :	2	: :	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	7	INTERESTING
5.	WISE	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	<del>,</del>	FOOLISH
6.	WORTHLESS	•	1	2	2 :	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		VALUABLE
7.	CRUEL		1 :	2	2 :	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	•	KIND
8.	GOOD	1	:	2	2 :	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	7.	BAD
9.	LAZY	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	7	HARDWORKING
10.	PLEASANT	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	3 :		7	UNPLEASANT
11.	UNFRIENDLY	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	<b>:</b>		7	FRIENDLY
12.	COWARDLY	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	3	:	7	BRAVE
13.	CLEAN	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	3 :		7	DIRTY
14.	UNGRATEFUL	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	(	6	:	7	GRATEFUL
15.	LOYAL	1	· :	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	(	6	:	7	DISLOYAL

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP WITH THIS RESEARCH

(iii) The following 15 adjectival pairs describes Afrikaans-speaking white people. If you agree with the adjective "fair" to describe a Afrikaans-speaking white person, mark 1,2,or 3 with an X. If you feel that Afrikaans-speaking white people are "unfair", then mark numbers 5,6, or 7. If you are not sure if Afrikaans-speaking white people are "fair" or "unfair", mark the number 4 with an X.

1.	FAIR	1:	<b>2</b> :	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	UNFAIR
2.	RELIABLE	1:	2 :	3 :	4 :	5, : 6 : 7	UNRELIABLE
3.	DISHONEST	.1:	2 :	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	HONEST
4.	BORING	1 :	2 :	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	INTERESTING
5.	WISE	, 1:	2 :	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	FOOLISH
6.	WORTHLESS	1 :	2:	<b>3</b> :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	VALUABLE
7.	CRUEL	1 :	2:	<b>3</b> .:	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	KIND
8.	GOOD	1 :	2:	<b>3</b> :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	BAD
9.	LAZY	1:	2 :	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	HARDWORKING
10.	PLEASANT	1:	2:	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	UNPLEASANT
11.	UNFRIENDLY	1:	2:	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	FRIENDLY
12.	COWARDLY	1 :	2:	3 :	4	: <b>5</b> : 6 : 7	BRAVE
13.	CLEAN	.1 :	2:	3 :	4	5:6:7	DIRTY
14.	UNGRATEFUL	1 ;:	2:	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	GRATEFUL
15.	LOYAL	1:	2:	3 :	4 :	5 : 6 : 7	DISLOYAL

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP WITH THIS RESEARCH

	and the second s
그 가게 되고 있다. 그런데 그를 만나고 있는 네이트 그는데 다음이를 위한되어 되어야 할 수 있다. 항공	
지금에 가게 되었다는데 그렇게 하는데 하는데 하는데 그들이 뭐 하지만 모든데 하고 그래요? 나는	
이 사람이 되는 경기 본 회사에 이렇게 하십시 가지 되어 되었고 화학을 살아냈다. 이 속에 되	
위험에 가는 그렇게 하는 것을 가게 하는 것이 되는 것이 하는 것들은 사람들이 되었다. 이렇게 되었다.	
그리는 이 사람들이 많아야 하고 되었다면 하는 것이 그 생생이다는 생활이 되었다. 나를 살았다	

# Appendix G: Afrikaans Questionnaire

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#### **VRAELYS**

Liewe leerder.

Baie dankie vir u deelname aan hierdie studie. Ons wil graag weet hoe jong mense hierdie land ervaar. Neem asseblief hierdie taak in 'n emstige lig op en antwoord die vrae so eerlik as moontlik. ALLES wat u hier skryf is **hoogs vertroulik**. U antwoorde sal by baie ander gevoeg word en sal dus nie identifiseerbaar wees in enige publikasie van die bevindings nie.

Antwoord asseblief al die vrae. Indien u nie die antwoord weet nie, skryf asseblief "WEET NIE" in die spasie.

AFDELING A: PERSOONLIKE INLIGTING.

1.	SKOOL 2. GRAAD
3.	OUDERDOM4. GESLAG(Omring wat op u van toepassing is) MANLIK/ VROULIK
5.	BEVOLKINGS GROEP(Dui met 'n X aan die kategorie waarin u geklassifiseer was tydens die vorige regering):
	(a) "KLEURLING" (c) AFRIKAANS-SPREKENDE BLANKE
	(b) SWART (d) ENGELS-SPREKENDE BLANKE
÷	(e) ANDER (Spesifiseer)
6.	WAAR U WOON
	(a) STAD/DORP (b) VOORSTAD
	(c) PLAASDISTRIK (Indien u op 'n plaas woon)
7.	HUISTAAL (Merk met 'n X die taal wat u familie die meeste by die huis gebruik).
	(a) ENGELS (b) AFRIKAANS
	(c) XHOSA (d) ZULU
	(e) SOTHO(f) TSWANA

(g) ANDER (Spesifiseer) .....

(b) Moeder .....

Blaai asseblief om

# AFDELING B - BEVOLKINGSGROEP IDENTIFIKASIE

Lees asseblief die onderstaande agt stellings sorgvuldig deur en dui aan hoe akkuraat dit u gevoelens omtrent u bevolkingsgroep weerspieel deur 'n X te plaas op een van die nommers gemerk 1 tot 5. Indien u beslis saamstem met 'n stelling, merk u nommer 1. Indien u net met die stelling saamstem, dan merk u nommer 2, ens.. Indien u 'n X op nommers 4 of 5 plaas, beteken dit dat u met die verskil. Nommer 5 beteken dat u beslis verskil met die stelling.

		•				
		Stem beslis saam	Stem saam	Neutraat	Verskil	Verskil besliš
1.	Lojaliteit teenoor my bevolkingsgroep is baie belangrik vir my.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Dit ontstel my wanneer ander mense neerhalend praat van my bevolkings- groep.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Dit is nie vir my belangrik om die identiteit van my bevolkingsgroep te behou nie.	1	. 2	3	4	5
4.	Ek wil nie aan enige ander bevolkingsgroep behoort nie	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Ek behoort bereid te wees om tot aksie oor te gaan indien die identiteit van my bevolkingsgroep bedreig word.	1	2	` 3	4	. 5
6.	Ek respekteer 'n persoon wat trots is op die spesiale eienskappe van sy/haar bevolkingsgroep.	1 .	2	3	4	5
<b>7</b> .	Toewyding aan die kultuur en tradisies van my bevolk- ingsgroep is 'n groot bron van sekuriteit in my lewe.	1	2 .	3	4	5
8.	Beskerming van die gebruike van my bevolkings- groep is onnodig.	1	2	3	4	5

## AFELING C - DIE OMVANG EN AARD VAN KONTAK

(i) Hoe sal u die aard van u kommunikasie en interaksie beskryf met Swart Leerders by u skool. Dui asseblief u keuse aan deur 'n X te plaas op die nommer wat u voel u ondervinging akkuraat beskryf.

Byvoorbeeld, indien u 'n X plaas op nommers 1 of 2 beteken dit dat u Swart leerders as beleefd beskou. Nommer 2 beteken dat u voel dat Swart leerders beslis beleefd is. Indien u nie seker is hoe u voel nie, plaas u dan 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u voel dat Swart leerders onbeskof is, plaas u 'n X op nommers 4 of 5. Nommer 5 beteken dat u voel dat Swart leerders beslis onbeskof is.

#### Swart leerders 5 **ONBESKOF** 2 3 BELEEFD 1 AANGENAAM 5 **ONAANGENAAM** 3 1 2 BETEKENISLOOS 3 5 BETEKENISVOL 2 4 SPONTAAN **GEFORSEERD** 1 2 3 4 5 GESPANNE 5 **ONTSPANNE** 1 2 3 5 **OPBOUEND AFBREKEND** 2 3 1

## AFELING C - DIE OMVANG EN AARD VAN KONTAK

(i) Hoe sal u die aard van u kommunikasie en interaksie beskryf met "Kleurling" leerders by u skool. Dui asseblief u keuse aan deur 'n X te plaas op die nommer wat u voel u ondervinging akkuraat beskryf.

Byvoorbeeld, indien u 'n X plaas op nommers 1 of 2 beteken dit dat u "Kleurling" leerders as beleefd beskou. Nommer 2 beteken dat u voel dat "Kleurling" leerders beslis beleefd is. Indien u nie seker is hoe u voel nie, plaas u dan 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u voel dat "Kleurling" leerders onbeskof is, plaas u 'n X op nommers 4 of 5. Nommer 5 beteken dat u voel dat "Kleurling" leerders beslis onbeskof is.

#### "Kleurling" leerders

BELEEFD	1	2	3	4	5	ONBESKOF
AANGENAAM	1.	2	3	4	5	ONAANGENAAM
BETEKENISLOOS	1	2	3	4	5	BETEKENISVOL
SPONTAAN	1	2	3	4	5	GEFORSEERD
GESPANNE	1	2	3	4	5	ONTSPANNE
AFBREKEND	1	2	3	4	5	OPBOUEND
_						

#### AFDELING C - DIE OMVANG EN AARD VAN KONTAK

(i) Hoe sal u die aard van u kommunikasie en interaksie beskryf met Afrikaanssprekende blanke leerders by u skool. Dui asseblief u keuse aan deur 'n X te plaas op die nommer wat u voel u ondervinding akkuraat beskryf.

Byvoorbeeld, indien u 'n X plaas op nommers 1 of 2 beteken dit dat u Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders as beleefd beskou. Nommer 2 beteken dat u voel dat Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders beslis beleefd is. Indien u nie seker is hoe u voel nie, plaas u dan 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u voel dat Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders onbeskof is plaas u 'n X op nommers 4 of 5. Nommer 5 beteken dat u voel dat Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders beslis onbeskof is.

#### Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders

			•			
BELEEFD	1	2	3	4	5	ONBESKOF
AANGENAAM	. 1	2	3	4	5	ONAANGENAAM
BETEKENISLOOS	1	2	3	4	5	BETEKENISVOL
SPONTAAN	1	2	3	4	5	GEFORSEERD
GESPANNE	1	2	3	4	5	ONTSPANNE
AFBREKEND	1	2	3	4	5	OPBOUEND

#### AFDELING C - DIE OMVANG EN AARD VAN KONTAK

(i) Hoe sal u die aard van u kommunikasie en interaksie beskryf met Engelssprekende blanke leerders by u skool. Dui asseblief u keuse aan deur 'n X te plaas op die nommer wat u voel u ondervinding akkuraat beskryf.

Byvoorbeeld, indien u 'n X plaas op nommers 1 of 2 beteken dit dat u Engels-sprekende blanke leerders as beleefd beskou. Nommer 2 beteken dat u voel dat Engels-sprekende blanke leerders beslis beleefd is. Indien u nie seker is hoe u voel nie, plaas u dan 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u voel dat Engels-sprekende blanke leerders onbeskof is plaas u 'n X op nommers 4 of 5. Nommer 5 beteken dat u voel dat Engels-sprekende blanke leerders beslis onbeskof is.

#### Engels-sprekende blanke leerders

1	2	3	4.	5	ONBESKOF
1	2	3	4	5	ONAANGENAAM
1	2	3	4	5	BETEKENISVOL
1	2	3	4	5	GEFORSEERD
1	2	3	4	5	ONTSPANNE
1	2	3	4	5	OPBOUEND
	1 1	1 2 1 2 1 2	1     2     3       1     2     3       1     2     3       1     2     3	1     2     3     4       1     2     3     4       1     2     3     4       1     2     3     4	1     2     3     4     5       1     2     3     4     5       1     2     3     4     5       1     2     3     4     5

(ii) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met Swart mense buite die skoolverband. Lees die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en merk met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u baie dikwels met Swart mense in kontak kom, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien u nooit met Swart mense in kontak kom nie, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Swart mense in die volgende situasies?

	The gereeld flet a Kor	Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Baie dikwels
1.	Met Swart inwoners in u woonbuurt ?	1	2	3	4
2.	Met Swart mense by u eie huis ?	1	2	3	4
3.	Met Swart mense by ander mense se huise ?	1	2	3	4
4.	Met Swart mense by hulle huise?	1	2	3	4
5.	By godsdienstige geleenthede?	1	2	3	4
6.	By sosiale geleenthede, bv.,partytjies, onthale, ens. ?	1	2	3	4

(ii) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met "Kleurling" mense **buite die skoolverband**. Lees die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en merk met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u baie dikwels met "Kleurling" mense in kontak kom, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien u nooit met "Kleurling" mense in kontak kom nie, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens.

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met "Kleurling" mense in die volgende situasies ?

		Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Baie dikwels
1.	Met "Kleurling" inwoners in u woonbuurt?	1	2	3	4
2.	Met "Kleurling" mense by u eie huis ?	1	2	3	4
3.	Met "Kleurling" mense by ander mense se huise ?	 1	2	3	4
4.	Met 'Kleurling" mense by hulle huise?	1	2	3	4
5.	By godsdienstige geleenthede?	1	2	3	4
6.	By sosiale geleenthede, bv.,partytjies, onthale, ens. ?	1	2	3	4

(ii) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met Afrikaanssprekende blanke mense **buite die skoolverband**. Lees die volgende
vrae sorgvuldig deur en merk met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring
beskryf. Indien u baie dikwels met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense in
kontak kom, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien u nooit met Afrikaanssprekende blanke mense in kontak kom nie, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1,
ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense in die volgende situasies?

		Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Baie dikwels
1.	Met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke inwoners in u woonbuurt ?	1	2	3	4
2.	Met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense by u eie huis ?	1	2	3	4
3.	Met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense by ander mense se huise ?	1	2	3	4
4.	Met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense by hulle huise?	1	2	3	4
5.	By godsdienstige geleenthede?	1	2	3	4
6.	By sosiale geleenthede, by partytjies, onthale, ens. ?	1	2	3	4

(ii) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met Engelssprekende blanke mense **buite die skoolverband**. Lees die volgende
vrae sorgvuldig deur en merk met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring
beskryf. Indien u baie dikwels met Engels-sprekende blanke mense in
kontak kom, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien u nooit met Engelssprekende blanke mense in kontak kom nie, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1,
ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Engels-sprekende blanke mense in die volgende situasies?

	volgende situasies ?		•		
		Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Baie dikwels
1.	Met Engels-sprekende blanke inwoners in u woonbuurt?	1	2	3	4
2.	Met Engels-sprekende blanke mense by u eie huis ?	1	2	3	4
<b>3</b> .	Met Engels-sprekende blanke mense by ander mense se huise?	1	2	3	4
4.	Met Engels-sprekende blanke mense by hulle huise?	1	2	3	4
5.	By godsdienstige geleenthede?	1	2	3	4
6.	By sosiale geleenthede, bv.,partytjies, onthale, ens. ?	1	2	3	4

(iii) Dui asseblief aan met 'n X watter stelling van toepassing is op die rasse same-stelling van die volgende situasies? Indien daar oorwegend Blanke mense by u skool is, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien daar oorwegend Swart mense by u skool is, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2. Indien daar oorwegend Blanke mense in u woonbuurt of kerk is, plaas u 'n X op nommer 4. Indien daar oorwegend Swart mense in u woonbuurt of kerk is, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2, ens.

			•				
	Omtrent heeltemal Blank	Oorwegend Blank	Ongeveer helfte Swart/helfte Blank	Oorwegend Swart	Omtrent heeltemal Swart	Nie van to passing	e-
U skool	5	4	3	2	- 1	0	
	1						
U klas, d.w.s al die leerders in u klaskamer	5	4	3	2	1	0	-
	, .						
Die woonbuurt waar u bly	5	4	3	2	. 1	0	
			·				
Die kerk waaraan u behoort	5	4	3	2	1	0	٠.

(iv) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met ander bevolkingsgroepe binne en buite die skoolterrein. Lees asseblief die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en dui aan met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u taamlik dikwels langsaan 'n Swart leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u selde langsaan 'n Swart leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2. Indien u nooit langsaan 'n Swart leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens...

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Swart leerders in die volgende situasies?

	Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Gereeld
Sit u langsaan 'n Swart leerder in u klaskamer ?	1	2	3	4
Gesels u met Swart leerders gedurende pouse ?	1	2	3	4
Speel u met Swart leerders op die speelgronde by u skool?	1	2	3	4
Bring u u pouse met Swart leerders by u skool deur?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u Swart leerders uit u klas of skool na u huis ?	1	2	3	4
Kuier u by Swart leerders se huise ?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u Swart leerders na u verjaardag partytjie ?	1	2	3	4
Was u al genooi na 'n Swart leerder se verjaardag partytjie ?	1	2	3	4
Maak u afsprake met enige van die Swart leerders in u klas om mekaar na skool of gedurende die naweek te ontmoet ?	1	2	3	4

(iv) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met ander bevolkingsgroepe binne en buite die skoolterrein. Lees asseblief die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en dui aan met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u taamlik dikwels langsaan 'n "Kleurling" leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u selde langsaan 'n "Kleurling" leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2. Indien u nooit langsaan 'n "Kleurling leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met "Kleurling" leerders in die volgende situasies?

	Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Gereeld
Sit u langsaan 'n "Kleurling" leerder in u klaskamer ?	1	2	3	4
Gesels u met "Kleurling" leerders gedurende pouse?	1	2	3	4
Speel u met "Kleurling" leerders op die speelgronde by u skool?	1	2	3	4
Bring u u pouse met Kleurling" leerders by u skool deur?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u "Kleurling" leerders uit u klas of skool na u huis ?	1	2	3	4
Kuier u by "Kleurling" leerders se huise?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u "Kleurling" leerders na u verjaardag partytjie ?	1	2	3	4
Was u al genooi na 'n "Kleurling" leerder se verjaardag partytjie?	1	2	3	4
Maak u afsprake met enige van die "Kleurling" leerders in u klas om mekaar na skool of gedurende die naweek te ontmoet ?	1	2	3	4

(iv) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met ander bevolkingsgroepe binne en buite die skoolterrein. Lees asseblief die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en dui aan met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u taamlik dikwels langsaan 'n Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u selde langsaan 'n Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2. Indien u nooit langsaan 'n Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders in die volgende situasies ?

volgende situasies ?			· .	
	Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Gereeld
Sit u langsaan 'n Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerder in u klaskamer ?	1	2	3	4
Gesels u met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders gedurende pouse?	1	2	3	4
Speel u met Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders op die speelgronde by u skool ?	1	2	3	4
Bring u u pouse met Afrikaans-sprekende Blanke leerders by u skool deur?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u Afrikaans-sprekende blanke Leerders uit u klas of skool na u huis?	1	2	3	4
Kuier u by Afrikaans-sprekende blanke Leerders se huise ?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders na u verjaardag partytjie?	1	2	3	4
Was u al genooi na 'n Afrikaans- sprekende blanke leerder se verjaardag partytjie ?	1	2	3	4
Maak u afsprake met enige van die Afrikaans-sprekende blanke leerders in u klas om mekaar na skool of gedurende die naweek te ontmoet?	1	2	3	4

(iv) In hierdie afdeling wil ons graag weet omtrent u kontak met ander bevolkingsgroepe binne en buite die skoolterrein. Lees asseblief die volgende vrae sorgvuldig deur en dui aan met 'n X die nommer wat u voel u ervaring beskryf. Indien u taamlik dikwels langsaan 'n Engels-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 3. Indien u selde langsaan 'n Engels-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 2. Indien u nooit langsaan 'n Engels-sprekende blanke leerder sit, plaas u 'n X op nommer 1, ens..

Hoe gereeld het u kontak met Engels-sprekende blanke leerders in die volgende situasies?

	Nooit	Selde	Taamlik dikwels	Gereeld
Sit u langsaan 'n Engels-sprekende blanke leerder in u klaskamer?	1 .	2.	3	4
Gesels u met Engels-sprekende blanke leerders gedurende pouse?	1	. 2	3	4
Speel u met Engels-sprekende blanke leerders op die speelgronde by u skool-?	1	2	3	4
Bring u u pouse met Engels-sprekende blanke leerders by u skool deur?	1	2	3	4
Nooi u Engels-sprekende blanke leerders uit u klas of skool na u huis?	1	2	3	4
Kuier u by Engels-sprekende blanke leerders se huise?	1	2	3	. 4
Nooi u Engels-sprekende blanke leerders na u venaardag partytjie?	1	2	3	4
Was u al genooi na 'n Engels- sprekende blanke leerder se verjaardag partytjie ?	1	2	3	4
Maak u afsprake met enige van die Engels-sprekende blanke leerders in u klas om mekaar na skool of gedurende die naweek te ontmoet?	1	2	3	4

# AFDELING D - SOSIALE AFSTAND

Onderstreep asseblief die woord wat naastenby beskryf hoe u voel oor lede van ander bevolkingsgroepe (as 'n groep en nie in terme van die beste of slegste lede wat u ken nie) met betrekking tot sekere verhoudings soos volg:

Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen Japanese tot my skool of universiteit.

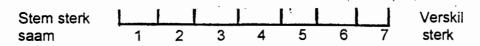
- 1(a) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Swart mense tot my skool of universiteit.
  - (b) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Swart mense in my straat as bure.
  - (c) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Swart mense in my huis as persoonlike vriende.
  - (d) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Swart mense in my familie deur die huwelik.
- 2(a) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... "Kleurling" mense tot my skool of universiteit.
  - (b) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... "Kleurling" mense in my straat as bure.
- (c) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... "Kleurling" mense in my huis as persoonlike vriende.
- (d) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... "Kleurling" mense in my familie deur die huwelik.
- 3(a) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense tot my skool of universiteit.
  - (b) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense in my straat as bure.
  - (c) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense in my huis as persoonlike vriende.
  - (d) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen ... Afrikaans-sprekende blanke mense in my familie deur die huwelik.

### Blaai asseblief om

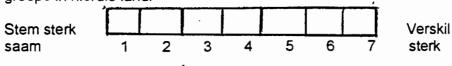
# **ERRATUM**

Die onderstaande stelling moet as volg lees:

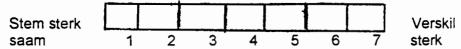
Lees asseblief die volgende stellings sorgvuldig deur en dui aan hoe akkuraat dit u situasie of gevoelens weerspieel deur 'n X in een van die blokkies genommer 1 to 7 te plaas. Indien u 'n X plaas in die blokkies genommer 1 tot 3 beteken dit dat u met die stelling saamstem. 1 dui aan dat u sterk daarmee saamstem. Indien u 'n X plaas in die blokkies 5 tot 7 beteken dit dat u verskil met die stelling. 7 dui aan dat u sterk verskil met die stelling.



2. Dit is belangrik om te werk aan versoening en broederskap tussen alle bevolkingsgroepe in hierdie land.



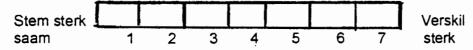
3. Dit sou onregverdig wees indien groter onkostes op opvoeding vir Swart mense deur Blanke belastingbetalers spandeer moes word.



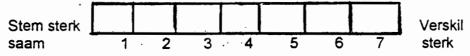
4. Indien alle bevolkingsgroepe vrylik sou meng, sou hulle beslis in vrede leef.



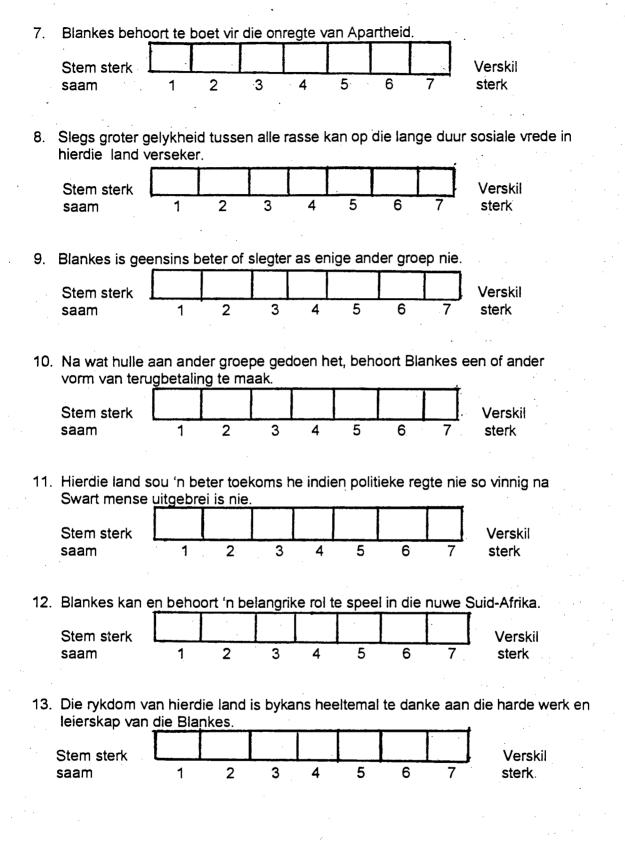
5. Blankes behoort nie toegelaat te word om hul rykdom te behou nie. Dit behoort van hulle geneem te word en herverdeel te word tussen al die mense van Suid-Afrika.

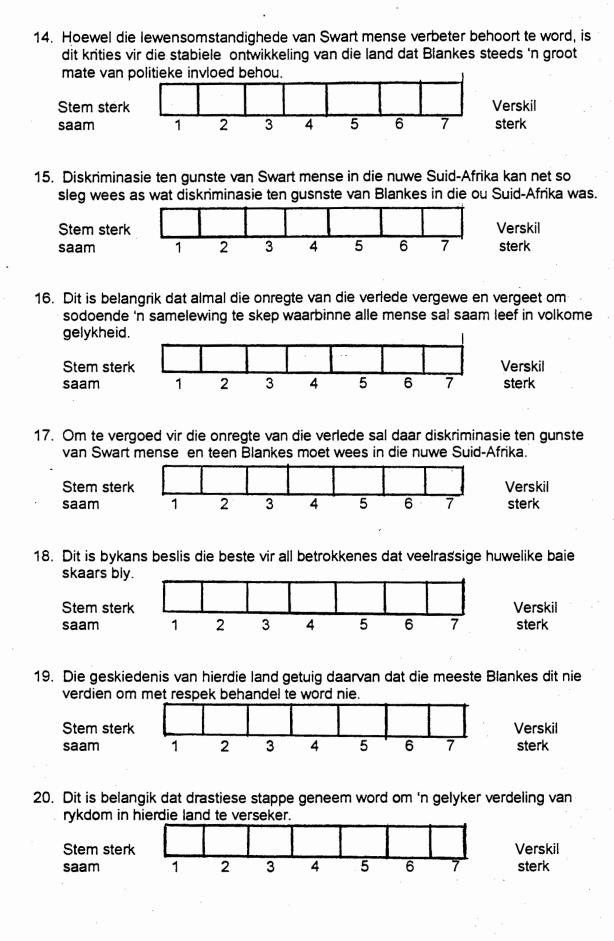


6. Gegewe gunstige omstandighede sal 'n Swart meerderheidsbewind 'n stabiele, welvarende en demokratiese Suid-Afrika verseker.



- 4(a) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... Engels-sprekende blanke mense tot my skool of universiteit.
  - (b) Enige : Die meeste : Sommige : Min : Geen .... Engels-sprekende blanke mense in my straat as bure.
  - (c) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Engels-sprekende blanke mense in my huis as persoonlike vnende.
  - (d) Enige: Die meeste: Sommige: Min: Geen .... Engels-sprekende blanke mense in my familie deur die huwelik.





(iii) Die volgende 15 byvoeglike naamwoord pare beskryf Swart mense. Indien u saamstem met die byvoeglike naamwoord "regverdig" om 'n Swart persoon te beskryf, merk 1, 2 of 3 met 'n X. Indien u voel dat Swart mense "onregverdig" is, merk dan nommers 5 of 6 of 7. Indien u nie seker is of Swart mense "regverdig" of "onregverdig" is nie, merk die nommer 4 met 'n X.

1.	Regverdig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	: -	7		Onregverdig
2.,	Betroubaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Onbetroubaar
3.	Oneerlik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Eerlik
4.	Vervelig	.1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Interessant
5.	Verstandig	1	:	2	:	3		4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Dwaas
6.	Waardeloos	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Waardevol
<sup>7</sup> .	Wreed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Goedhartig
8.	Goed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Sleg
9.	Ľui	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Hardwerkend
10.	Aangenaam	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	<i>,</i> :	6	:	7	,	Onaangenaam
11.	Onvriendelik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7'		Vriendelik
12.	Lafhartig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Dapper
13.	Skoon	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7		Vuil
14.	Ondankbaar	1	:	2	:	3	•	. 4	:	5	;	: 6	3 :	7		Dankbaar
15.	Lojaal	1.	:	2	:	3	:	4	4	: 5	5	: (	6	: 7	•	Dislojaal

(iii) Die volgende 15 byvoeglike naamwoord pare beskryf "Kleurling" mense. Indien u saamstem met die byvoeglike naamwoord "regverdig" om 'n "Kleurling" persoon te beskryf, merk 1, 2 of 3 met 'n X. Indien u voel dat "Kleurling" mense "onregverdig" is, merk dan nommers 5 of 6 of 7. Indien u nie seker is of "Kleurling" mense "regverdig" of "onregverdig" is nie, merk die nommer 4 met 'n X.

1.	Regverdig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onregverdig
2.	Betroubaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onbetroubaar
3.	Oneerlik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Eerlik
4.	Vervelig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Interessant
5.	Verstandig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dwaas
6.	Waardeloos	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Waardevol
7.	Wreed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Goedhartig
8.	Goed	1	:	2	:	3	:,	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Sleg
9.	Lui	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Hardwerkend
10.	Aangenaam	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onaangenaam
11.	Onvriendelik	1	···. :	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vriendelik
12.	Lafhartig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dapper
13.	Skoon	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vuil
14.	Ondankbaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dankbaar
15.	Lojaal	1	:	2	:	3	:	4		: 5	5	: 6	:	7	7 Dislojaal

(iii) Die volgende 15 byvoeglike naamwoord pare beskryf Afrikaans-sprekende Blanke mense. Indien u saamstem met die byvoeglike naamwoord "regverdig" om 'n Afrikaans-sprekende Blanke persoon te beskryf, merk 1, 2 of 3 met 'n X. Indien u voel dat Afrikaans-sprekende Blanke mense "onregverdig" is, merk dan nommers 5 of 6 of 7. Indien u nie seker is of Afrikaans-sprekende Blanke mense "regverdig" of "onregverdig" is nie, merk die nommer 4 met 'n X.

1.	Regverdig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4 ,	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onregverdig
2.	Betroubaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onbetroubaar
3.	Oneerlik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Eerlik
4.	Vervelig	.1	:	2	:	3	:	4	: -	5	:	6	:	7	Interessant
5.	Verstandig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dwaas
6.	Waardeloos	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Waardevol
7.	Wreed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Goedhartig
8.	Goed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Sleg
9.	Lui	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Hardwerkend
10.	Aangenaam	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onaangenaam
11.	Onvriendelik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vriendelik
12.	Lafhartig	1.		2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dapper
13.	Skoon	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vuil
14.	Ondankbaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	3 :	7	Dankbaar
15.	Lojaal	1	:	2	:	3	:	. 4		: 5	5	: 6	3	: 7	Dislojaal

(iii) Die volgende 15 byvoeglike naamwoord pare beskryf Engels-sprekende Blanke mense. Indien u saamstem met die byvoeglike naamwoord "regverdig" om 'n Engels-sprekende Blanke persoon te beskryf, merk 1, 2 of 3 met 'n X. Indien u voel dat Engels-sprekende Blanke mense "onregverdig" is, merk dan nommers 5 of 6 of 7. Indien u nie seker is of Engels-sprekende Blanke mense "regverdig" of "onregverdig" is nie, merk die nommer 4 met 'n X.

1.	Regverdig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4,	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onregverdig
2.	Betroubaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onbetroubaar
3.	Oneerlik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Eerlik
4.	Vervelig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Interessant
5.	Verstandig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dwaas
6.	Waardeloos	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Waardevol
7.	Wreed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Goedhartig
8.	Goed	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Sleg
9.	Lui	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Hardwerkend
10.	Aangenaam	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Onaangenaam
11.	Onvriendelik	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vriendelik
12.	Lafhartig	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Dapper
13.	Skoon	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	6	:	7	Vuil
14.	Ondankbaar	1	:	2	:	3	:	4	:	5	:	: 6	;	7	Dankbaar
15.	Lojaal	1	:	2	:	3	:	2	1	: 5	5	: (	<b>3</b> :	7	Dislojaal

Appendix H: Psychology Career Options 'leaflet

# **PSYCHOLOGY - CAREER OPTIONS**

### What is psychology?

Psychology studies <u>behaviour</u> (such as talking, eating, touching etc.) and <u>experience</u> (such as anxiety, frustration, depression, etc.).

# Who may become psychologists?

Anyone could become a psychologist. All you need is the following:

- A good matric pass
- Matric mathematics are not necessary.

# How do I become a psychologist?

# (1) A three year Bachelors Degree

At the moment you need a three-year Bachelors Degree with psychology as one of your major subjects. This is followed by an <u>Honours degree</u> in psychology where you start to think about specializing in a particular field such as clinical, counselling, research or education.

### (2) An Honours degree

After the successful completion of an Honours degree, six months internship as well as a written examination, you may register as a <u>psychometrist</u> with the Health Professions Council of South Africa. A psychometrist may administer and score psychological tests to learners or adults.

# (3) A Master of Arts degree

A Master of Arts degree in any of the following fields of specialization together with a twelve month internship may lead to registration as a psychologist with the Health Professions Board:

### Research Psychologists:

These psychologists gather and refine information that is already available about behaviour and experience. They also gather new information.

They work at research institutions (HSRC, NGO's, Human Rights Commission), universities, for government departments, political parties or they may be in private practice.

# Clinical and Counselling Psychologists:

Clinical Psychologists assess and treat people who suffer from psychological problems such as depression or anxiety. Counselling Psychologists treat people who are not seriously disturbed, such as couples who have marital problems.

These psychologists work at clinics, hospitals, universities or may be in private practice.

# Educational Psychologists:

School-related problems such as learning difficulties are assessed by Educational Psychologists. They work for state department such as education departments, universities and may also be in private practice.

# Industrial Psychologists:

These psychologists examine work related issues such as job satisfaction. They work at universities, in personnel departments or human resources and may also be in private practice.

All these categories are currently being reviewed and will change by January 2004.

Appendix I: Composite Levels of Living Index

# LEVELS OF LIVING IN THE CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA

(Second edition)

The social health and well-being of the communities of the Cape Metropolitan Area

This report is published by:

Development Information Centre
Department of Information Services
Directorate: Corporate Services
Cape Metropolitan Council

November 1997

ISBN 1-874924-67-8

CAPE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL

KAAPSE METROPOLITAANSE RAAD

RHUNGA LOLAWULO LWENOUA YEKAPA



# INTRODUCTION

Planning is concerned with organising the distribution of resources to achieve specific goals or to alleviate particular problems, so as to bring about community development or improvements in quality of life. In order to prioritise communities most in need of development, it is useful to construct social indicators which can serve as surrogate measures (or proxy indicators) of the quality of life in each area. These indicators can also contribute to the longer-term evaluation of planning intervention.

# 1: LEVELS OF LIVING

Many factors contribute to the extent to which people can meet their basic needs. These include personal resources such as income and education, household access to clean water and sanitation, access to recreation facilities, and living conditions such as the quality of housing and levels of overcrowding. This "Levels of Living" study summarises a number of these factors, and thus gives a context in which to understand the quality of life of people living in different parts of the city.

A "Levels of Living" study can provide insights into the quality of life of communities of the Cape Metropolitan Area, but it also has pitfalls. These include the following:

# Insights

- Social conditions are difficult to visualize: by showing aspects of these conditions in the form of social indicators, it is possible to gain a perspective not otherwise possible.
- Although no social indicator can be "objective" in the sense that it portrays conditions
  on the ground in a way which is beyond dispute, it can give a clear basis on which to
  contrast different parts of the city using the same basic information.
- By showing information for all areas in the metropolitan area, the "social health" of the whole can be considered by providing a context in which to understand disparities and how these are distributed - in levels of living.

### Pitfalls

- A focus on a small number of variables cannot comprehensively represent a
  multifaceted issue such as quality of life. For example, an unemployment index says
  nothing about the conditions under which unemployed women live. As a result, this
  study portrays aspects of living conditions, and not the whole.
- Quality of life is reduced to a set of numbers. Using a quantity (in other words a number, like an overcrowding index) to represent a quality (like the stresses of living in a crowded home) cannot show what it is like for those living under those conditions. It also ignores the strategies used by the community to cope with this.
- Portraying levels of living in a simplified manner, allowing for easy comparisons between areas, can lead to a simplistic approach to understanding problems.
   Responding to problems must take a much wider range of issues into account.

# 3: MAPS: LEVELS OF LIVING

### How the social indicators were constructed

The data used in the construction of the social indicators derive from the national population census conducted in 1991. The indicators are spatially related by means of a Geographic Information System (GIS), which allows data to be displayed and analysed in map form, rather than in tabular form. This generally makes it easier to identify patterns in the distribution of data. The boundaries used for this are those of the Enumerator Sub Districts (ESDs) defined for the 1991 Census. An ESD is the smallest area for which census data can be aggregated, and usually represents about 200 households. However, in some areas an ESD is very much larger.

A set of six social indicators has been selected for purposes of this report. The higher the score of the indicator concerned, the "worse off" the community living in that ESD.

# Map 6: Income index

This index represents the number of household heads earning less than R10 000 per annum, as a percentage of all household heads in each ESD. The figure of R10 000 per annum is the household subsistence level for 1991, calculated by the Institute for Planning Research, University of Port Elizabeth. Accordingly, this index represents the proportion of households in each ESD living below the minimum level for household subsistence.

# Map 7: Education index

This index represents the number of adults (18 years of age and older) with less than a Std 6 education, as a percentage of all adults in each ESD. This level of education is the minimum level required for post-school training, and represents a constraint on employment opportunities.

### Map 8: Unemployment index

This index represents the number of adults (18 years of age and older) who are unemployed but actively seeking work, as a percentage of all adults in each ESD. This excludes those adults not seeking work, such as homemakers, students, and retired people. Unemployment has widespread consequences for self-esteem, capacity to meet one's needs for food and shelter, and other aspects of quality of life.

# Map 9: Welfare index

This index represents the number of household heads who are single mothers with three or more children, as a percentage of all household heads in each ESD. This is the primary criterion for eligibility for a state welfare grant. This index represents a proxy indicator for the quality of family life.

### LEVELS OF LIVING IN THE CAPE METROPOLITAN AREA

# Map 10: Overcrowding index

This index represents the number of households with over 1,5 residents per habitable room, as a percentage of all households in each ESD. "Habitable rooms" include all bedrooms, sitting rooms, and other similar rooms, and exclude bathrooms, toilets, kitchens, passageways, etc. Implications of overcrowding include increased risk of transmission of disease, and for privacy within the home.

# Map 11: Composite index

This index represents the sum of the preceding five indicators. Although a single index like this serves to disguise potentially great discrepancies in the quality of life, which otherwise may be revealed by use of more sensitive indicators, it nonetheless provides an overall indication of levels of living.

# 4: HOW TO READ THE MAPS

In each map, the ESD indicator scores have been categorised into seven groups, each including a similar number of ESDs, from the "worst off" to the "best off". Each ESD is shown on the map according to the category in which it's score falls. The categories are colour-coded.

The information is displayed on the maps according to the approximate boundary of the urban (or built-up) areas in the Cape Metropolitan Area. Areas falling outside of this urban boundary are shown as blank: these are situated primarily within the peninsula mountain chain, or in agricultural areas. This does not mean that no people live outside of the urban area within the Cape Metropolitan Area: rather, they are not represented on account of the small numbers and large areas concerned. In addition, data are shown without reference to political boundaries.

A number of communities were either not in existence at the time of the Census, or were not accurately surveyed. This applies particularly to smaller informal settlements such as Imizamo Yethu (Hout Bay), Vrygrond, and Marconi Beam. However, as they share broadly similar social characteristics with larger informal settlements such as Crossroads and Khayelitsha, these communities are likely to have scores that generally place them in similar categories of scores in each index. These frequently fall in the "worst off" category.

At the end of the report is a list of *suburbs* in the Cape Metropolitan Area, with indicator scores for each suburb: see Appendix 1. The higher the score, the "worse off" the suburb concerned. It should be noted that the maps display data at the scale of ESDs, while Appendix 1 gives data for suburbs. This is done for clarity: suburb names are generally associated with easily recogniseable areas, while ESDs do not have names that represent familiar areas.

Suburb scores: 1991 census

SUBURB	INDEX	INCOME	EDUCATION	UNEMPL.	WELFARE	OVERCR.
ADRIAANSE	43.8219	85.6322	46.6598	27.8682	8.37438	50.5747
AKASIA PARK	1.8569	1.2295	4.8837	0.3026	0	2.8689
ATHLONE	17.5477	142.3158	16.7263	12.0225	1.1368	15.537
ATLANTIS	27.149	53.581	35.4614	17.5328	4.88756	24.2818
AVON	33.167	65.1163	38.26	20.8887	4.45736	37.1124
AVONDALE	3.8109	10.7536	3.3977	2.9557	0.50804	1.4395
AVONWOOD	32.5841	75.2709	46,1657	17.5429	6.99507	16.9458
BALVENIE	26.2337	55.5707	28.3778	15.2909	2.98913	28.9402
BANTRY BAY	5.5094	13.008	7.1	5	0	2.439
BEACON VALLEY	25.7637	57.7519	34.8641	17.4456	5,9233	12.834
BELGRAVIA	17.1231	39.5265	17.5486	11.8257	1.076	15.638
BELHAR	23.59	46.6078	28.8119	15.9583	3.861	22.711
BELLAIR	2.9159	7.054	4.696	2	0.41494	0.4149
BELLVILLE-CENTRAL	8.0351	15.9544	3.2895	1.8433	0	19.0883
BELLVILLE-EAST	3.8154	9.343	4.862	2.4499	0.34602	2.0761
BELLVILLE-SOUTH 1	26,8807	53,4286	26.0652	15.2906	2.15873	37.4603
BELLVILLE-WEST	6.4709	6.1372	7.1483	2.6432	0	16.426
BELMONT PARK	6.5111	20.8929	3.5321	4.8267	0.625	2.6786
BELTHORN ESTATE	10.3632	26,4813	9.5132	7.5993	0.4837	7.739
BELVILLE NU 1	38 5045	65,3343	61,1267	8.0495	1.73329	56.2787
BELVILLE NU 2	336	94,1176	46,6667	20.4545	0	52.9412
BERGVLIET	798	7.4047	2.2276	3.6885	0.5751	0.503
BISHOP LAVIS	- 1874	62.034	38.087	19,3779	4.05912	57,3792
BISHOPS COURT	4.4932	7,561	11.264	2.4217	0.4878	0.732
BLACKHEATH	,53,/403	90.9091	71.4286	70	9,0909	27.273
BLOMTUIN	3.7904	9.7222	4.6687	3.5197	0	1.0417
BLOUBERGSTRAND	4.3162	10	6.31	3.0837	0.3125	1.875
BO-OAKDALE	2.6945	7.047	2.5335	3.5565	0.33557	0
BONNIE BROOK	3.0327	7.622	2.1492	5.0877	0.30488	0
BONTEHEUWEL	39.0976	75.525	42.9171	20.8314	4.55686	51.6576
BOQUINAR	20.6557	22	3.2787	0	0	78
BOSBELL	4.9154	18,299	1.9878	1.9704	0.7732	1.5464
BOSTON	4,453	14.0988	4.1132	2.9225	0.29744	0.8328
BOTHASIG	3.8531	11,1003	2.0457	4.5012	0.58252	1.0356
BRACKENFELL	3.9012	8.2068	4.8848	3.497	0.2609	2.657
BRIDGETOWN	31.1657	64,4814	32.8308	17.0779	2.2994	39.139
BROOKLYN	14.2101	49.168	5.287	10.5944	0.80686	5.1942
BROWNSFARM	51.1158	93.5484	41.0774	29.0179	2.4194	89.5161
CAMPS BAY/BAKOVEN	4.7768	11.989	6.131	3.2698	0.4244	2.069
CAPE NU 1	51.1811	88.189	77.987	10.989	1.5748	77.1654
CAPE TOWN CENTRE	9.5877	20.482	3.786	4.8184	0.14174	18.7101
CAPE TOWN REST (CAPE)	9.9489	0.971	34.943	1.2097	0	12.6214
CAPE TOWN REST (WYNBERG)	14.1602	9.0909	39.2857	13.3333	0	9.091
CENTRE MITCHELL'S PLAIN	14.5	25	10	0	12.5	25
CHARLESVILLE	9.3278	19.708	9.724	8.8129	0.36496	8.0292
CHRISMAR	5.0783	15.7787	2.6071	2.7027	0	4.3033
CHURCHILL	8.2529	30.2389	2.887	5.6415	0.92291	1.5744
CLAM-HALL	4.2958	15.3846	1.3447	3.9256	0.82418	0
CLAREMONT	5.3141	16.2015	3.3987	5.1152	0.4595	1.396
CLARKES	33.6982	68.3486	38.5498	22.4869	4.3578	34.7477
CLIFTON	5.9237	14.968	6.587	2.968	0	5.0955
CLOVELLY	3.4384	7.778		7.113	0	0.5556
COLORADO	6.3716	12.0275		5.0967	1.0309	4.811
CONNAUGHT	31.9824	66.6667		17.4687	5.38194	30.9028
CONSTANTIA 1	6.1072	10.5154	11.2856	2.3959	0.3258	6.013
CONSTANTIA 2	30.5098	0.116		1.4706	0	100
	19.624	45.6897	26.4151	12.2222	0.86207	12.931
	20.2558	44.2013	23.4203	11.3379	1.75055	20.5689
	10.6388	28.5714	10.2946	7.0535	:0.9641	130,8806
DELFT	31.433	67.6709	39 0346	15 581	3.99768	30.8806

Appendix J: Multiple Regression summary Tables

Table 2: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
Afrikaans-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward
black African people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE R	EGRESSION, 6	6 variable(s	s) removed :	in single st	ep	
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF IO_BSUM	0 1 	.53 .51    	.28 .26    	 03   	1.14    	.339202	8 2    

Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD\_BSUM STAT.  $R = .50610063 R^2 = .25613785 Adjusted R^2 = .24791838$ MULTIPLE F(2,181)=31.162 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 2.6084 REGRESS. St. Err. St. Err. of B N = 184BETA of BETA В t(181) p-level 23.69 1.03 23.07 0.000000 Intercpt -.28 .05 -5.42 .000000 CAT\_BSUM -.37 .07

-.23

.06

-3.74

.000244

STAT. Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD\_BSUM (trial.sta)
MULTIPLE REGRESS. Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD\_BSUM (trial.sta)

.07

-.25

C O BSUM

variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	.14	.86	13	11
	.74	.26	11	09
	.11	.89	12	10
	.15	.85	08	06
	.98	.02	.03	.03
	.76	.24	31	27
	.68	.32	21	19

Table 3: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward black African people

STAT. STEPWISE REGRESSION, 4 variable(s) removed in single step MULTIPLE REGRESS.												
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included					
	0	. 48	.23				8					
CLASS1	1	.48	.23	00	. 63	.643989	4					
CLASS2												
INTEG1						~-						
INTEG2						~-						

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_BSUM R= .47954209 R <sup>2</sup> = .22996062 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .22286348 F(4,434)=32.402 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 3.9334							
N=439	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(434)	p-level		
Intercpt RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	12 23 28 12	.04 .04 .05	25.96 13 28 33 10	1.38 .05 .05 .06	18.79 -2.84 -5.23 -5.78 -2.53	0.000000 .004753 .000000 .000000		

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_BSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables						
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.			
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	.49 .53 .65 .70 .99 .89 .78	.51 .47 .35 .30 .01 .11 .22	01 03 .05 .00 13 24 26	01 02 .05 .00 12 22 24 11			

Table 4: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward
black African people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 4 variable(s) removed in single step							
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included	
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2	0 1  	.54 .53  	.29 .28  	 01  	 . 40   	 .811954   	8 4   	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R= .531857	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_BSUM R= .53185768 R <sup>2</sup> = .28287259 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .26983391 F(4,220)=21.695 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 3.0161								
N=225	BETA	St. Err. St. Err. of BETA B of B t(220) p-leve								
Intercpt			26.89	1.53	17.59	.000000				
RIDENTIF	26	.06	23	.05	-4.44	.000014				
CAT BSUM	21	.06	20	.06	-3.51	.000540				
C O BSUM	22	22 .0725 .08 -3.26 .001277								
To_BSUM	16	.07	09	.04	-2.34	.020418				

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_BSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	.87 .86 .78 .81 .97 .90 .71	.13 .14 .22 .19 .03 .10 .29	.02 03 .08 .03 29 22 22	.02 02 .07 .03 26 19 19				

Table 5: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
Afrikaans-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward
'Coloured' people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 1 variable(s) removed in single step						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
RIDENTIF	0	. 59 . 59	.35 .34	 00	1.12	 .291616	8 .7

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_CSUM R= .58685401 R <sup>2</sup> = .34439763 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .32024386 F(7,190)=14.259 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 2.8624									
N=198	BETA <sub>.</sub>	St. Err.  BETA Of BETA B Of B t(190) p-1								
Intercpt			21.37	1.64	13.03	.000000				
CLASS1	.190	.17	1.60	1.39	1.15	.253216				
CLASS2	126	.07	88	.47	-1.87	.063514				
INTEG1	.296	.19	2.07	1.31	1.58	.115700				
INTEG2	.365	.16	3.17	1.40	2.27	.024325				
CAT CSUM	204	.06	17	.05	-3.19	.001665				
C O CSUM	272									
TO_CSUM	284	.08	15	.04	-3.40	.000810				

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_CSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.13	.87	.09	.07				
CLASS2	.75	.25	13	11				
INTEG1	.10	.90	.12	.09				
INTEG2	.13	.87	.17	.14				
RIDENTIF	.96	.04	08	06				
CAT CSUM	.85	.15	23	19				
C O CSUM	.59	.41	25	21				
To CSUM	.48	.52	25	21				

Table 6: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward
'Coloured' people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 4 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	. Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variable Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included							
	0	.61	.38				8		
CLASS1	1	.60	.36	01	1.15	.336186	4		
CLASS2									
INTEG1									
INTEG2		a							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_CSUM R= .60310321 R <sup>2</sup> = .36373348 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .35237158 F(4,224)=32.013 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 3.0823								
N=229	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(224) p-level							
Intercpt RIDENTIF CAT_CSUM C_O_CSUM	20 19 15 36	.05 `.05 .07 .07	25.71 19 17 15 19	1.48 .05 .05 .07	17.40 -3.66 -3.39 -2.22 -5.34	.000000 .000310 .000818 .027157 .000000			

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_CSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables						
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.			
CLASS1	.84	.16	00	00			
CLASS2	.86	.14	12	09			
INTEG1	.79	.21	.06	.05			
INTEG2	.81	.19	.09	.07			
RIDENTIF	.96	.04	23	19			
CAT CSUM	.93	.07	22	18			
C O CSUM	.63	.37	15	12			
TO_CSUM	.59	.41	33	28			

Table 7: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaansspeaking white people

	1				*** ***** *****************************		
STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	IPLE						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square. Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	0	. 48	.23				8
CLASS1	1	.37	.14	10	1.05	.407141	1
CLASS2							
INTEG1							
INTEG2							
RIDENTIF							
CAT_ASUM							
C_O_ASUM							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_ASUM R= .37054805 $R^2$ = .13730585 Adjusted $R^2$ = .12403364 $F(1,65)$ =10.345 p<.00202 Std.Error of estimate: 4.8874						
N=67	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(65) p-le					
Intercpt I_O_ASUM	37	.12	18.46 29	1.49	12.37 -3.22	.000000 .002024	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R-square column	Independent Vari n contains R-squ all other indepe	are of respecti	ve
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1	.31	.69	.14	.13
CLASS2	. 44	.56	.29	.27
INTEG1	.39	.61	08	07
INTEG2	.34	.66	06	05
RIDENTIF	.80	.20	.07	.06
CAT_ASUM	.96	.04	11	10
C O ASUM	.78	.22	14	12
I O ASUM	.66	.34	40	38

Table 8: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaansspeaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 5 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	Step	Step Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Change entr/rem p-level included							
	0	.38	.15				8		
CLASS1	1	.37	.14	01	.56	.729576	3		
CLASS2									
INTEG1									
INTEG2									
C_O_ASUM									

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_ASUM R= .37486372 R <sup>2</sup> = .14052281 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .13371956 F(3,379)=20.655 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 4.3241					
N=383	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(379)	p-level
Intercpt RIDENTIF CAT_ASUM I_O_ASUM	12 25 23	.05 .05 .05	23.47 14 29 17	1.50 .05 .05	15.65 -2.52 -5.24 -4.79	.000000 .012221 .000000 .000002

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_ASUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables						
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.			
CLASS1	. 47	.53	05	04			
CLASS2 INTEG1	.54	.46 .38	02 .06	02 .05			
INTEG2 RIDENTIF	. 68	.32	.03	.03			
CAT_ASUM C O ASUM	. 95	.05	25 06	24 05			
I_O_ASUM	.90	.10	24	22			

Table 9: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD ASUM R= .37825386 R <sup>2</sup> = .14307599 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .1317 $\overline{2}$ 600 F(2,151)=12.606 p<.00001 Std.Error of estimate: 3.8844						
N=154	BETA	St. Err.  BETA OF BETA B OF B t(151) p-level					
Intercpt CAT_ASUM I_O_ASUM	29 21	.08	18.53 32 09	1.75 .08 .03	10.61 -3.83 -2.70	.000000 .000184 .007684	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Analysis of	f Variance;	DV: SD_ASU	4 (trial.sta	1) .
Effect	Sums of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	p-level
Regress. Residual Total	380.40 2278.36 2658.76	2 151	190.20 15.09	12.61	.000009

STAT.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_ASUM (trial.sta)
MULTIPLE	R-square column contains R-square of respective
REGRESS.	variable with all other independent variables

variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1	.75	.25	.03	.02
CLASS2	. 68	.32	.13	.11
INTEG1	.51	.49	.17	.15
INTEG2	.77	.23	.12	.10
RIDENTIF	.94	.06	05	05
CAT ASUM	.90	.10	25	23
C O ASUM	.95	.05	15	14
I_O_ASUM	. 60	.40	31	29

Table 10: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' Social Distance toward Englishspeaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.							
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	0	.40	.16				8
CLASS1	1	.38	.14	02	1.98	.079991	3
CLASS2							
INTEG1							
INTEG2							
C_O_ESUM							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: SD_ESUM R= .37639868 R <sup>2</sup> = .14167597 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .13570155 F(3,431)=23.714 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 4.0829						
N=435	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(431) p-level					
Intercpt RIDENTIF CAT_ESUM I_O_ESUM	15 13 31	.04 .05 .05	19.92 16 14 18	1.44 .05 .05 .03	13.81 -3.26 -2.82 -6.92	.000000 .001187 .004990 .000000	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_ESUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.48	.52	.01	.01				
CLASS2	.53	. 47	.02	.01				
INTEG1	. 61	.39	06	05				
INTEG2	.64	.36	11	10				
RIDENTIF	.99	.01	16	15				
CAT ESUM	.94	.06	11	10				
C O ESUM	.85							
I_O_ESUM	.81	.19	31	30				

Table 11: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
Afrikaans-speaking white learners' Social Distance toward
English-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	- !						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	. 0	.51	.26				8
CLASS1	1	.44	.20	06	1.97	.073224	2
CLASS2							
INTEG1							
INTEG2							
RIDENTIF							
C_O_ESUM							

				• 1			
STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE RI	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 6 variable(s) removed in single step					
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variable Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included					
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF	0 1   	.51 .44   	.26 .20   	 06   	1.97   	.073224	8 2  
C_O_ESUM							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: SD_ESUM (trial.sta R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.13	.87	07	06				
CLASS2	. 62	.38	15	13				
INTEG1	.11	.89	12	10				
INTEG2	.14	.86	07	06				
RIDENTIF	.99	.01	.13	.12				
CAT ESUM	.95	.05	30	27				
C O ESUM	.72	.28	05	04				
I O ESUM	.55	.45	32	29				

Table 12: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' anti-black sentiment

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 2 variable(s) removed in single step						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	0 1 	.30	.09 .08	 01	2.64	.072325	8 6 

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: DUC_ABS R= .28045222 R <sup>2</sup> = .07865345 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .06561553 F(6,424)=6.0327 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 7.5958							
N=431	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(424) p-level						
Intercpt			43.03	2.71	15.86	.000000		
CLASS1	.08	.07	1.29	1.04	1.24	.215254		
CLASS2	.21	.06	3.59	1.10	3.27	.001145		
INTEG1	03	.06	51	1.16	44	.661871		
INTEG2	.16	.16 .06 2.60 .88 2.96 .003293						
RIDENTIF	11							
CAT_BSUM	16	.05	32	.10	-3.30	.001035		

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: DUC_ABS (trial.sta R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables								
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.					
CLASS1	.48	.52	.05	.04					
CLASS2	.52	.48	.15	.14					
INTEG1	.66	.34	02	02					
. INTEG2	.70	.30	.13	.13					
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	11	10					
CAT BSUM	.89	.11	12	12					
C O BSUM	.78	.22	07	07					
TO BSUM	.72	.28	~.05	05					

Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Table 13: Afrikaans-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	MULTIPLE						
Variabls Removed:	Step Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Change entr/rem p-level included						
INTEG1	0	.53	.28	02	 1.16	221206	8
INTEG1	1	.51	.26	02	1.16	.331206	4
C O BSUM							
To_BSUM							

Shire to a Court of Climbally 1713 departs

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: DKABSUM R= .51075354 R <sup>2</sup> = .26086918 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .24337496 F(4,169)=14.912 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 6.9232							
N=174	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(169) p-level						
Intercpt CLASS1 CLASS2 RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM	21 21 14 45	.07 .07 .07	67.03 -4.25 -3.39 26 93	3.68 1.48 1.19 .13	18.21 -2.87 -2.85 -2.07 -6.70	.000000 .004673 .004947 .039518		

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: DKABSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables								
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.					
CLASS1	.09	.91	12	10					
CLASS2	.76	.24	22	19					
INTEG1	.07	.93	04	03					
INTEG2	.10	.90	05	04					
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	16	13					
CAT_BSUM	.78	.22	39	36					
C_O_BSUM	.71								
IO_BSUM	.58	.42	01	01					

Table 14: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
English-speaking white learners' anti-black sentiment

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 3 variable(s) removed in single step						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included					
CLASS1	0	.56 .55	.32	 01	1.50	 .216919	8 5
CLASSI CLASS2 IO_BSUM		 		 			

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	PLE $R = 1.54956426$ $R^2 = 1.30202087$ Adjusted $R^2 = 1.28563639$						
N=219	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(213) p-level					
Intercpt INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM	.21 .04 15 34 21	.06 .06 .06 .06	70.96 4.04 .79 34 85 59	4.00 1.19 1.32 .13 .15	17.76 3.38 .60 -2.59 -5.73 -3.53	.000000 .000855 .548752 .010137 .000000	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: DUC_ABS (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.87	.13	09	07				
CLASS2	.85	.15	04	03				
INTEG1	.78	.22	.19	.16				
INTEG2	.81	.19	.04	.03				
RIDENTIF	.97	.03	16	13				
CAT BSUM	.89	.11	35	31				
C O BSUM	.72	.28	17	14				
To_Bsum	.70	.30	12	10				

Table 15: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaans-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 5 variable(s) removed in single step						
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	0	.51	.26				8
INTEG1	1	.40	.16	09	1.28	.285281	3
INTEG2				`			
RIDENTIF							
C O ASUM							
I_O_ASUM							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: DUC_AWS R= .40438325 R <sup>2</sup> = .16352581 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .11871469 F(3,56)=3.6492 p<.01784 Std.Error of estimate: 9.8847					
N=60	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(56)	p-level
Intercpt CLASS1 CLASS2 CAT_ASUM	.30 .39 30	.17 .17 .12	38.13 6.32 8.92 62	5.00 3.48 3.79 .25	7.63 1.82 2.35 -2.46	.000000 .074597 .022137 .017134

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: DUC_AWS (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables						
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.			
CLASS1	.33	.67	.12	.11			
CLASS2	.45	.55	.33	.30			
INTEG1	.40	.60	.23	.20			
INTEG2	.34	. 66	.10	.09			
RIDENTIF	.72	.28	.15	.13			
CAT ASUM	.96	.04	34	31			
C O ASUM	.75	.25	19	17			
I_O_ASUM	.66	.34	02	02			

Table 16: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment toward Afrikaansspeaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE RI	EGRESSION,	3 variable(s	s) removed :	in single st	cep	
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change.,	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	0	.36	.13				8
RIDENTIF	1	.35	.12	01	1.63	.181382	5
CAT_ASUM				· <b></b> ·			
C_O_ASUM							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.								
N=374	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err.	t(368)	p-level		
Intercpt			21.18	2.05	10.35	.000000		
CLASS1	.11	.07	2.44	1.63	1.50	.134176		
CLASS2	.21	.07	5.18	1.63	3.17	.001655		
INTEG1	.12	.12 .06 3.50 1.74 2.01 .044682						
INTEG2	.19							
I_O_ASUM	.26	.05	.45	.09	5.10	.000001		

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R-square column	contains R-sq	iables; DV: DUC uare of respecti endent variables	ve
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_ASUM C O ASUM	.46 .53 .61 .67 .98 .96	.54 .47 .39 .33 .02 .04	.07 .17 .11 .17 08 05 08	.07 .16 .11 .16 07 04 07

'Coloured' learners' anti-white sentiment toward Englishspeaking white people

Table 17.

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE R	EGRESSION, 2	2 variable(s	s) removed	in single st	ep	
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
CAT_ESUM I_O_ESUM	0 1	.32	.11 .09	 02 	4.02	.018693	8 6 

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: DUC_AWS R= .29595852 R <sup>2</sup> = .08759144 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .07433611 F(6,413)=6.6080 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 10.838						
N=420	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(413)	p-level	
Intercpt			48.44	4.93	9.82	.000000	
CLASS1	01	.07	32	1.53	21	.836170	
CLASS2	.21	.07	5.11	1.59	3.21	.001410	
INTEG1	.17	.06	5.06	1.71	2.97	.003156	
INTEG2	.22	.22 .06 4.86 1.28 3.81 .000163					
RIDENTIF	12	.05	33	.13	-2.48	.013483	
C_O_ESUM	17	.05	74	.21	-3.59	.000366	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R-square column	n contains R-squ	iables; DV: DUC uare of respect endent variable	_AWS (trial.sta) ive s
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_ESUM C_O_ESUM I_O_ESUM	.48 .52 .60 .63 .99 .94 .86	.52 .48 .40 .37 .01 .06 .14	01 .16 .12 .16 13 09 13 09	01 .15 .11 .15 12 09 12 09

Table 18: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting 'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward black African people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE RI	EGRESSION, S	5 variable(s	s) removed	in single st	cep	
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF C_O_BSUM IO_BSUM	0 1   	.45 .42   	.20 .18   	 02  	 2.22   	.051357   	8 3   

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_BSUM R= .42186572 R <sup>2</sup> = .17797069 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .17199953 F(3,413)=29.805 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 14.022					
N=417	BETA	St. Err. St. Err. of BETA B of B t(413) p-leve				
Intercpt CLASS1 CLASS2 CAT_BSUM	31 23 .35	.06 .06	44.55 -9.59 -7.60 1.43	3.83 1.74 1.90	11.64 -5.51 -3.99 7.79	.000000 .000000 .000078 .000000

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R-square column	n contains R-sq	iables; DV: ADJ uare of respecti endent variables	ve
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1	.49	.51	25	23
CLASS2	.52	.48	16	14
INTEG1	. 65	.35	.12	.11
INTEG2	.69	.31	.04	.03
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	06	06
CAT_BSUM	.88	.12	.31	.29
C_O_BSUM	.77	.23	.03	.03
IO_BSUM	.70	.30	.06	.06

Table 19: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward
black African people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE RE	EGRESSION, 6	o variable(s	s) removed i	in single st	ep	
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included
	0	. 66	.43				8
CLASS1	1	.63	.40	03	1.36	.233739	2
CLASS2							
INTEG1			****				
INTEG2							
RIDENTIF						~-	
IO_BSUM		-	- <b>-</b>			_ <del>-</del> _	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R= .6349304	on Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_BSUM 3047 R <sup>2</sup> = .40313670 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .39635416 =59.437 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 11.995				
N=179	BETA	St. Err. of BETA B of B t(176) p-level				
Intercpt CAT_BSUM C_O_BSUM	.54	.06 .06	6.41 2.12 .92	4.74 .24 .29	1.35 8.85 3.18	.178109 .000000 .001750

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_BSUM (trial.sta R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.14	.86	06	04				
CLASS2	.74	.26	.05	.04				
INTEG1	.11	.89	02	01				
INTEG2	.16	.84	11	08				
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	02	02				
CAT_BSUM	.76	.24	. 48	. 42				
C_O_BSUM	.69	.31	.20	.15				
IO BSUM	.58	.42	.13	.10				

i aule 20. Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward

black African people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 6 variable(s) removed in single step									
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls R-square Change entr/rem p-level included								
	0	.58	.34				8			
CLASS1	1	.55	.30	03	1.85	.090613	2			
CLASS2										
INTEG1										
INTEG2										
C O BSUM										
IO_BSUM										

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_BSUM R= .55192088 R <sup>2</sup> = .30461666 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .29820759 F(2,217)=47.529 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 12.008								
N=220	St. Err.  BETA Of BETA B Of B t(217) p-level								
Intercpt RIDENTIF CAT_BSUM	.16 .51	.16 .06 .58 .20 2.87 .004577							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_BSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables									
variable	Toleran. R-square Cor. Cor.									
CLASS1	.86	.14	.13	.11						
CLASS2	.85	.15	.11	.09						
INTEG1	.77	.23	00	00						
INTEG2	.80	.20	. 04	.04						
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	.17	.14						
CAT BSUM	.89	.11	. 48	.44						
C O BSUM	.71	.29	.05	.04						
IO BSUM	.70									

black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward 'Coloured'
people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 6 variable(s) removed in single step									
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included								
	0	.71	.51				8			
CLASS1	1	. 68	.46	05	.91	.497512	2			
CLASS2										
INTEG1										
INTEG2										
RIDENTIF										
C_O_CSUM										

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_CSUM R= .67541708 R <sup>2</sup> = .45618823 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .43743610 F(2,58)=24.327 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 10.633								
N=61	BETA	St. Err.  BETA Of BETA B Of B t(58) p-level							
Intercpt CAT_CSUM IO_CSUM	.59								

STAT.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_CSUM (trial.sta)
MULTIPLE	R-square column contains R-square of respective
REGRESS.	variable with all other independent variables
	!

variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.
CLASS1	.36	. 64	.06	.04
CLASS2	. 47	. 53	15	11
INTEG1	.26	.74	04	03
INTEG2	.30	.70	10	07
RIDENTIF	.64	.36	21	15
CAT CSUM	.86	.14	.60	.53
C_O_CSUM	.53	. 47	05	03
To_csum	.36	.64	.31	.23

Table 22: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward
'Coloured' people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 7 variable(s) removed in single step									
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included								
	0	.56	.31				8			
CLASS1	1	.54	.29	02	.93	.486883	1			
CLASS2										
INTEG1										
INTEG2						~~				
RIDENTIF										
C_O_CSUM										
Io_csum										

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_CSUM R= .53626296 R <sup>2</sup> = .28757796 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .28378848 F(1,188)=75.889 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 11.872							
N=190	St. Err.  BETA OF BETA B OF B t (188) p-level							
Intercpt CAT_CSUM	.54 .06 27.89 4.54 6.15 .000000 .54 .06 1.86 .21 8.71 .000000							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_CSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables								
variable	Toleran. R-square Cor. Cor								
CLASS1	.13	.87	06 09	05 07					
CLASS2 INTEG1	.75 .10	.25	.02	.02					
INTEG2 RIDENTIF	.14	.86 .04	01 .03	01 .03					
CAT_CSUM	.86	.14 .40	.49	.46 .06					
IO_CSUM	.49	.51	.07	.06					

Table 23: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward
'Coloured' people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.										
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included								
	0	.64	. 42				8			
CLASS1	1	.59	.35	06	3.88	.001071	2			
CLASS2										
INTEG1										
INTEG2										
RIDENTIF										
C_O_CSUM										

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	R= .5931382	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_CSUM R= .59313820 R <sup>2</sup> = .35181292 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .34594697 F(2,221)=59.975 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 11.486							
N=224	BETA	St. Err.  BETA Of BETA B Of B t(221) p-level							
Intercpt CAT_CSUM IO_CSUM	.49								

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_CSUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables						
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.			
CLASS1	.84	.16	.11	.08			

variable	Toleran.	R-square	Cor.	Cor.
CLASS1	.84	.16	.11	.08
CLASS2	.86	.14	.20	.16
INTEG1	.79	.21	.22	.17
INTEG2	.81	.19	.08	.06
RIDENTIF	.96	.04	.05	.04
CAT_CSUM	.94	.06	.50	.45
C O CSUM	. 62	.38	.10	.08
IO_CSUM	. 58	. 42	.20	.15

Table 24: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaansspeaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 5 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included							
	0	.70	.49				8		
CLASS1	1	.69	.48	01	.18	.967508	3		
CLASS2									
RIDENTIF									
C_O_ASUM									
I_O_ASUM									

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_ASUM R= .69085312 R <sup>2</sup> = .47727804 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .44527465 F(3,49)=14.913 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 15.311								
N=53	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(49) p-level							
Intercpt INTEG1 INTEG2 CAT_ASUM	.49 17 .39	.12 .12 .10	30.59 20.66 -7.27 1.53	7.91 5.15 5.33 .40	3.87 4.01 -1.36 3.81	.000326 .000204 .179165 .000394			

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ASUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran. R-square Cor. Cor.							
CLASS1	.36	. 64	07	05				
CLASS2	.41	.59	05	04				
INTEG1	.35	.65	.37	.28				
. INTEG2	.35	.65	14	10				
RIDENTIF	.70	.30	12	08				
CAT ASUM	.95	.05	.47	.39				
C O ASUM	.72							
I_O_ASUM	. 60	.40	.04	.03				

'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward Afrikaansspeaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 6 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included							
	0	. 49	.24				8		
CLASS1	1	. 47	.22	02	1.65	.132761	2		
CLASS2					<del>-</del> -				
INTEG1									
INTEG2									
RIDENTIF									
C_O_ASUM	own with								

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.								
N=355	St. Err.  BETA OF BETA B OF B t(352) p-level							
Intercpt CAT_ASUM I_O_ASUM	24.93 3.75 6.64 .000000 .45 .05 1.74 .18 9.43 .000000 .10 .05 .23 .11 2.03 .043416							

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ASUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables								
variable	Toleran. R-square Cor. Cor.								
CLASS1	.44	.56	.07	.06					
CLASS2	.51	.49	.09	.08					
INTEG1	.65	.35	08	07					
INTEG2	.66	.34	04	03					
RIDENTIF	.97	.03	.08	.07					
CAT ASUM	.96	.04	.44	.42					
C O ASUM	.93								
I_O_ASUM	.89	.11	.12	.11					

Table 26: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting
English-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward
Afrikaans-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 4 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included							
CLASS1 CLASS2 RIDENTIF C_O_ASUM	0 1   	.63 .63  	.40 .39  	 01  	 .63   	 .642413   	8 4   		

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_ASUM R= .62607028 R <sup>2</sup> = .39196399 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .37446655 F(4,139)=22.401 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 12.456								
N=144	BETA	St. Err.  BETA Of BETA B Of B t(139) p-level							
Intercpt INTEG1 INTEG2 CAT ASUM	43 07 .46	07							
I_O_ASUM	.17	.08	.27	.13	2.02	.044843			

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ASUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.74	.26	00	00				
CLASS2	.68	.32	07	05				
INTEG1	. 47	.53	33	27				
INTEG2	.77	.23	06	05				
RIDENTIF	.92	.08	.04	.03				
CAT ASUM	.89	.11	. 49	.43				
C O ASUM	.93							
I_O_ASUM	.58	. 42	.18	.14				

Table 27: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting black African learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 5 variable(s) removed in single step								
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple Multiple R-square F - to Variabls Step R R-square Change entr/rem p-level included							
	0	. 68	.46				8		
CLASS1	1	.64	.41	05	.90	.490590	3		
CLASS2									
RIDENTIF									
C O ESUM									
I_O_ESUM									

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_ESUM R= .64341261 R <sup>2</sup> = .41397978 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .38258584 F(3,56)=13.187 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 14.713						
N=60	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(56)	p-level	
Intercpt INTEG1 INTEG2 CAT_ESUM	60 00 .20	.13 .13 .10	54.27 -22.93 18	9.82 4.84 4.99	5.53 -4.73 04 1.96	.000001 .000015 .970655 .055121	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ESUM (trial.stage) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.36	.64	10	07				
CLASS2	.40	. 60	18	13				
INTEG1	.27	.73	33	25				
INTEG2	.29	.71	.05	.03				
RIDENTIF	.69	.31	03	02				
CAT ESUM	89	.11	.29	.22				
C O ESUM	.56	.44	.15	.11				
I_O_ESUM	. 48	.52	.10	.07				

Table 28: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting

'Coloured' learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking
white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 5 variable(s) removed in single step							
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included	
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2	0 1  	. 45 . 43  	.21 .19  	 02  	1.80  	.112490   	8 3  	
RIDENTIF								

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_ESUM R= .43332719 R <sup>2</sup> = .18777245 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .18163471 F(3,397)=30.593 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 12.725						
N=401	BETA	St. Err. of BETA	В	St. Err. of B	t(397)	p-level	
Intercpt CAT_ESUM C_O_ESUM I_O_ESUM	.30 11 .29	.05 .05 .05	46.75 1.09 63 .53	5.53 .17 .26 .09	8.46 6.49 -2.43 6.14	.000000 .000000 .015413 .000000	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ESUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1	.47	.53	.05	.04				
CLASS2	.51	. 49	.11	.10				
INTEG1	.61	.39	05	04				
INTEG2	. 64	.36	00	00				
RIDENTIF	.98	.02	.02	.02				
CAT ESUM	.94	.06	.31	.29				
C O ESUM	.85	.15	11	10				
I_O_ESUM	.81	.19	.26	. 24				

Table 29: Summary of Regression Analysis for variables predicting Afrikaans-speaking white learners' ethnic attitudes toward English-speaking white people

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	STEPWISE REGRESSION, 7 variable(s) removed in single step							
Variabls Removed:	Step	Multiple R	Multiple R-square	R-square Change	F - to entr/rem	p-level	Variabls included	
	0	. 48	.23				8	
CLASS1	1	.41	.16	06	1.63	.133014	1	
CLASS2		·						
INTEG1								
INTEG2								
RIDENTIF								
C O ESUM								
I_O_ESUM								

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Regression Summary for Dependent Variable: ADJ_ESUM R= .40562735 R <sup>2</sup> = .16453355 Adjusted R <sup>2</sup> = .15864998 F(1,142)=27.965 p<.00000 Std.Error of estimate: 11.781						
N=144	BETA	St. Err.  BETA of BETA B of B t(142) p-level					
Intercpt CAT_ESUM	.41	.08	46.20 1.26	5.10 .24	9.07 5.29	.000000	

STAT. MULTIPLE REGRESS.	Redundancy of Independent Variables; DV: ADJ_ESUM (trial.sta) R-square column contains R-square of respective variable with all other independent variables							
variable	Toleran.	R-square	Partial Cor.	Semipart Cor.				
CLASS1 CLASS2 INTEG1 INTEG2 RIDENTIF CAT_ESUM	.13 .59 .12 .15 .98	.87 .41 .88 .85 .02 .05	.02 05 .13 .06 07 .38	.02 04 .12 .05 06 .36				