

**CROSSING BOUNDARIES: USING THE THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOUR
TO EXPLAIN INTENTION TO MIX SOCIALLY WITH MEMBERS OF OTHER
RACE GROUPS**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research report, entitled “Crossing boundaries: Using the Theory of Planned Behaviour to explain intention to mix socially with members of other race groups”, is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Community Based Counselling) to the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted for any other degree at any other university.

Signed this ____ day of _____ 2008

HAZEL CLAIRE KURIAN

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research study is to assess the ability of the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TpB) to explain people's intentions to interact interracially on a social level. It aims to understand the influence of students' attitudes, perceptions of social norms and efficacy on these intentions. A questionnaire survey was administered to 226 students (37% White, 31% Black African, 27% Asian and 4% Coloured). The questionnaire was based on the standard format of the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). The TpB model explained 35% of the variability in intention, providing support for its predictive power. The attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control components of the model had good predictive ability demonstrating the usefulness of the model as a means to explain and predict intention to mix interracially. The results indicated that attitudes to mixing was the most powerful predictor of intention to mix inter-racially followed by perceived ability to effect this behaviour. Perception of social norms, while also statistically significant, was the least important factor. The findings suggest that the major obstacles to inter-racial interaction are intergroup attitudes and perceived inability to make such contacts.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION



Figure 1.1 Segregation Sign

1.1 Introduction

Signs such as these were a common sight in the apartheid years of South Africa's history. These operated as visual reminders of the government-sanctioned boundaries created to keep the people of South Africa apart in almost every aspect of life. In 1948 the racial apartheid system was put into place and rigorously upheld by the government. Legislative acts that were implemented to support the racial organisation of the country included the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, 1949; the Population Registration Act, 1950; the Group Areas Act, 1950; the Immorality Act, 1950; the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1950; the Bantu Education Act, 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act, 1959 (Mabokela & King, 2001). These functioned to regulate South African society and control every facet of public and private life, from restricting relationships between people to residentially segregating its citizens. These laws worked to disallow interracial interaction, be it transient or meaningful. Over the years there was staunch resistance to social change. Foster and Finchilescu (1986) reported that during apartheid power structures that were entrenched in the economic, political and historical arrangement of society made conditions such as status equality, interracial cooperation and mutual dependence problematic and almost impossible to put into operation.

However, once the transition process began in the early nineties, and although the

segregation signs came down, to forever be relegated to the corridors of museums, it would appear that the boundaries remain. It seems there are invisible barriers that maintain a distance between people of different race groups. The many years of systematic discrimination, formal segregation, apartheid and legalised racism have left deep marks on the country's society (Finchilescu, 2005; Foster, 2005) and race still forms an almost impenetrable barrier for the establishment of meaningful relationships between people of different races.

1.2 Desegregation in post-apartheid South Africa

With the end of the apartheid regime and the eradication of its segregation laws, came new situations hardly experienced by South Africans before the early nineties, for example interacting freely in racially desegregated schools, residential areas, work settings, public areas and as such people could no longer live in complete isolation from one another. With the advent of an officially desegregated society came opportunities for interracial interaction. Dixon (2001, p. 596) states that “desegregation creates new forms of physical co-presence, bringing others into a sensuous immediacy that did not hitherto exist”. The social revisions brought about by the political shift of the different race groups in relation to each other are far-reaching, complex and multiple (Steyn, 2001). South Africa, with its still relatively young democracy, offers its citizens the prospects of reconstructing their racial identities along with opportunities to forge new relationships with people from other race groups. What was once known as a ‘non-contact society’ (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986) was now called the ‘rainbow nation’.

More than ever, emphasis is being placed on the idea of a united nation, which has far-reaching effects, not only in the realm of public policy, but also in the private lives of South Africans. Since the country's first democratic elections South Africa has been hailed as a ‘rainbow nation’, with nation-building and the fostering of a ‘non-racial society’ becoming key goals for the country (Kiguwa, 2006). Multiple political and social initiatives have been undertaken to reduce racial intolerance in South Africa (Smith, Stones & Naidoo, 2003). Concerted attempts have been made by both private and public

sectors to rectify the racial discrepancy in South Africa's strata, which focus on racial tolerance and integration. The new South African government is committed to establishing a racially egalitarian society (Duckitt & Farre, 1994). The catchphrases 'rainbow nation' and 'nation-building' have even become the main focus of multi-million-rand advertising campaigns, such as 'Proudly South African' and 'Alive with Possibility' (Kurian, 2004). These campaigns concentrate on the positive aspects of the country and draw focus away from the negative aspects (such as poverty, crime, continued racial segregation, etc). By doing so they hope observers will think more highly of South Africa (South Africa's Image Abroad, 2003). It is also hoped that the campaigns succeed in putting forward a country with a shared identity.

Many researchers maintain that social and political changes are likely to lead to improved interracial relations (de la Rey, 1991; Smith & Stones, 1999; Smith et al, 2003).

1.3 Contact in post-apartheid South Africa

Intergroup contact can take many different forms, ranging from observation of one another, to greetings, acquaintance, working together and friendship (Feld & Carter, 1998). The present study focuses on intergroup contact and relations that are not superficial, but which could be deemed as meaningful and have the possibility of leading to friendship. Despite the multiple stakeholder efforts of attempting to paint the country in a golden light and promote positive interracial relations, it is proving to be a mammoth task to unify South Africans. It would appear that the country is proving a difficult society to unite. According to Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay and Muianga. (2007) the removal of segregation laws has not resulted in widespread integration. According to these authors, while there are many positive transformations in the country, there are not many signs that desegregation has led to more than superficial contact between people from different race groups. Stevens, Duncan and Bowman (2006) share the same sentiment, as they state that despite South Africa's transition from an oppressive state to an apparently non-racialised rainbow nation, many transformation goals, such as

successful racial integration, have yet to be met. This would certainly pertain to the continued presence of racial segregation within South African society in general.

Research has demonstrated the persistence of segregation in post-apartheid South Africa (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Gibson, 2004; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon & Finchilescu, 2005). Residential neighbourhoods have largely maintained a racially segregated structure as have public spaces (Christopher, 2005; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Interaction including intimate interactions between members of different race groups is certainly more common than in the years preceding the 1994 elections, however the prevalence of cross-race mixing is comparatively low when compared to the occurrence of same-race mixing (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Schrieff et al., 2005). According to Finchilescu et al. (2007), the persistence of informal segregation in post-apartheid South Africa is rife in public spaces.

There exists an impressive body of research concerning the effects of contact between groups (Amir, 1969; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). One of the main contributing theories in contact research is what is commonly known as the contact hypothesis. The hypothesis maintains that contact (operating under certain optimal conditions) between members of different groups can possibly result in a decrease in prejudice against one another (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). The contact hypothesis has been found to be successful in achieving this tall order (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000), although some studies have found that contact does not always produce positive outcomes (Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991). Various South African studies on contact have investigated the effect of contact on race relations and racial attitudes (Luiz & Krige, 1981; Pillay & Collings, 2004). Studies conducted during apartheid reported contradicting results about the effects of contact, while the few studies carried out after 1994 reported positive effects of contact (Finchilescu & Tredoux, in press).

Despite the fact that the country enters its second decade of freedom and democracy, and has a new constitution that clearly forbids any form of direct or indirect discrimination (Pillay & Collings, 2004), contact between different race groups in South Africa is not

happening and thus meaningful interracial interactions and friendships are not being forged. It would seem that people still use race as a classificatory system and it remains one of the main ways for South Africans to relate to the world around them. According to Kiguwa (2006, p.321), "...despite ideals of a non-racial society not influenced or ruled by any notions of distinct racial categories or groups (especially with regards to apartheid's four main racial groupings), racial consciousness in South Africa today is not surprisingly still significantly influenced by such classifications". Although some of South Africa's main stakeholders (for example government and the business sector) would like the country to be seen as an integrated society, the reality of the situation is that, although the category of race may now be widely accepted as 'biological fiction', it is still very much a 'social reality' (James & Lever, 2000). It is said that "...post-apartheid South Africa, despite its drive toward non-racialism, has to acknowledge the persistence of group-based affiliations that are historically rooted and still significant in the identity formation processes in social interactions" (Kiguwa, 2006, p. 325).

One point that must be taken into account is that straightforward rejection of and hostility towards Black Africans, also known as 'old-fashioned racism', may have been replaced with 'modern' or 'symbolic' racism, that is, a more subtle and socially disguised form of racism that could involve a rejection of Black Africans and of the recent gains made by Black Africans, which is based on values and ideologies rather than direct dislike (Jones, 1997; McConahay, 1986; Pillay & Collings, 2004). It is said that modern or symbolic racism is more insidious, ingrained and resilient because of its subtlety and apparent equality and seemingly prevails in contexts where it is no longer socially acceptable to express prejudicial views (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; Pillay & Collings, 2004). Some commentators maintain that widespread prejudice is likely to persist in South Africa because of the firmly entrenched power structures noted in apartheid (Moller & Schlemmer, 1989). A history of antagonism, limited personal contact, ethnocentrism, competition and status differentials increases intergroup anxiety and hostility (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) which can possibly lead to reduced contact between groups.

Additional reasons for *why* contact is not occurring on a larger scale include segregation, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes, these will be discussed in greater detail in the proceeding chapter.

The aim of this research study is to use the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TpB) to understand people's intentions to interact interracially on a social level. It aims to understand the influence of students' attitudes, perceptions of social norms and efficacy on these intentions. In identifying the main variables that influence people's decisions on whether or not to mix interracially, it is possible to identify the main inhibitors and facilitators of this behaviour. This is an important issue as it has been found that more than ten years after apartheid, South Africa's intergroup patterns have remained mostly unchanged for the past 60 years (Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney, 2005). Why is it, in an environment that tries to promote non-racialism and tolerance that South Africans continue to live their lives in isolation from one another? It is this question that formed the main driver of the present study and to which we now turn.

1.4 The Theory of Planned Behaviour

The theory of planned behaviour attempts to explain factors in human behaviour. The theory operates on the principle that the most successful way to predict a person's behaviour is to measure their intention, which in turn is seen to be determined by three independent variables, namely, attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control. The TpB would have positive investigative because a decision to mix interracially would indeed require a process of decision-making that necessitates reasoned and planned action and it is this that is explored. It also has practical value in that it may highlight the areas where the most effective interventions can be focused if needs be (either internally, that is to say, at the level of attitudes or externally at the level of subjective norms). It appeared fitting to use an analysis of people's intentions to mix interracially that was based on a major social psychological theory. The TpB would aid in explaining why some people have strong intentions to interact interracially whilst others do not. It would also help in predicting who would and would not mix interracially. The

TpB was used in the present research study as it focuses on various aspects that may or may not have a significant effect on people's intentions to mix interracially in a social context. It is for these reasons that such a study may prove pertinent in examining continued racial segregation in this country. By so doing, reasons *why* people's intentions to mix interracially might be low can be identified.

The next chapter deals with the specifics of the contact hypothesis, identifying its major facilitating conditions, as well as further advancements of the theory. Before turning to evidence of continuing racial segregation in the country, it is important to look at the atmosphere in which such research takes place. Then the possible reasons for such persisting segregation will be discussed, followed by a discussion of the theory of planned behaviour, which was used in order to identify the more socio-psychological reasons for this racial isolation. Chapter three presents the method used in the study. The chapter looks at issues such as the research design, the sampling and provides a summary of the instruments used in the study. Issues relating to validity, reliability, interpretations and the use of the measuring instruments are also discussed. The method of data collection; statistical analyses and ethical considerations relating to the study are discussed. Chapter four is a presentation of the statistical data analysis and includes descriptive statistics, t-test analysis as well as ANOVA and the multiple linear regression analyses, while the final chapter is a discussion of these findings and their significance. This final chapter also includes a discussion on the limitations of the study as well as recommendation that are suggested in light of the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Interracial mixing

2.1 Introduction

‘See that man over there?’

Yes.

Well, I hate him.

But you don’t know him.

That’s why I hate him.’

Gordon Allport (1954, p. 265), in his work on the nature of prejudice, referred to the above vignette as it demonstrates one of the main precepts of prejudice, which is that it is the absence of knowledge of an outgroup that fosters intolerance and prejudgement and thus, prejudice. Many authors postulate that one of the most important opportunities to increase one’s knowledge of the outgroup is during contact situations. South Africans have increasingly been experiencing new contact situations since the apartheid segregation laws were abolished. It is important to look at the South African context in order to understand the many implications related to current contact situations in this country.

2.2 Contact Hypothesis

2.2.1 Definition

The contact theory, as defined by Allport (1954, p. 281) follows:

“Prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e. by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups”

The contact hypothesis holds that ethnic prejudice and intergroup tension can be reduced if people are in contact with one another, as contact will enable them to know each other better and this will ultimately lead to improved relations (Amir, 1969; Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985; Nesdale & Todd, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). This is not always the case, however, and research has found contradictory results. Levinger (1985) states that although there are definite instances when contact leads to appreciation, the contact situation can also result in the confirmation of the ingroup’s fears and preconceived notions of the outgroup. Amir (1969), too, reported that contact does not automatically reduce intergroup prejudice and tension and that there are many cases where contact has led to increased anxiety and the eruption of racial insurrection. This said, the contact hypothesis has been hailed as one of psychology’s most effective approaches for improving intergroup relations (Dovidio, Gaertner & Kakwami, 2003) and many researchers support the idea that contact can lead to positive intergroup relations and maintain that increased contact advances future intergroup harmony.

2.2.2 Relevance to the South African context

The contact hypothesis is relevant in the South African context as the country has a history of segregation along racial lines. Apartheid South Africa was structured so as to stop the formation of intergroup connections, which is no longer the case since 1994. Blau (1977) reported that broad societal transformations have been known to advance social contact between race groups and this is certainly the case in South Africa since the abolishment of apartheid. Once the transition process began, there were more situations in which people of different race groups interacted.

According to McLaughlin-Volpe, Aron, Wright and Reis (2000) the association between intergroup social interactions and intergroup intolerance is of significant interest to

researchers studying intergroup relations. It is important to take into account one of the most pivotal elements of intergroup interaction, which is the actual contact situation. Contact is defined as being "...generally, any face-to-face interaction between two or more people" (Reber, 1985, p. 152). This is a fairly simplistic definition for something that often characterises the many complexities involved in situations of contact between members of different groups. It was interest in intergroup prejudice that gave rise to the establishment of the contact hypothesis. The contact hypothesis has often been utilised in studies on intergroup relations. As Stephan and Bringham (1985, p.1) state, "...the contact hypothesis has always been at the heart of the study of intergroup relations".

Many studies have been conducted and much support has been given to the function of the contact hypothesis as a strategic framework for reducing intergroup prejudice (Amir, 1969; Epstein, 1985; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman & Anastasio, 1994, Nesdale & Todd, 1998; Norvell & Worchel, 1981; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000; Schofield, 1979).

It is said that for contact to produce successful results, certain optimal conditions must be met. Let us now turn to these various conditions of contact that have been specified by Allport (1954).

2.2.3 Conditions of contact

Allport (1954) and subsequent authors have found it important to identify the specific conditions necessary for intergroup contact to lead to a reduction of prejudice, as the mere contact situation does not always yield positive results (Amir, 1969, Amir & Ben-Ari, 1985; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; McLaughlin-Volpe et al., 2000)

According to Allport (1954) for contact between groups to be successful in reducing intergroup tensions and prejudices, the following four conditions must be present: a) the members of the different groups must have equal status, b) common goals must be shared by the respective members, c) there must be limited competition experienced between the divergent group members, and d) authorities must support and promote positive outgroup attitudes.

2.2.3.1 Equal Status

Allport (1954) argued that if members from two different groups share equal status this would facilitate a positive contact situation. Subsequent research has confirmed that this condition is important in the contact situation (Amir, 1969; Epstein, 1985; Norvell & Worchel, 1981, Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). Contact with outgroup members of unequal status contributes to the development of negative attitudes towards the outgroup and less intergroup attraction (Hallinan & Williams, 1987; Norvell & Worchel, 1981; Watson, 1950). Status inequality can also lead to resegregation as Schofield (1979) found, in her study on the effect of constructively organised contact on intergroup behaviour. She found that circumstances where there exists unequal status between Black and White groups lead to increasing segregation in situations where people can choose their associates.

2.2.3.2 Common Goals and Limited Competition

Allport (1954) hypothesised that equal status alone would not lead to an overall attitude change towards members of an outgroup. He specified that "...contact must reach below the surface in order to be effective in altering prejudice...only the type of contact that leads people to *do* things together is likely to result in changed attitudes" (p. 276). This condition has also been verified in subsequent research such as the work by Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif (1961) who in their experimental research found that having groups collaborate to achieve superordinate goals resulted in strengthening intergroup attraction. Slavin (1985), in his study on enhancing cooperative learning by applying contact theory in desegregated schools, found that a non-competitive work setting has been shown to have a positive effect on intergroup relations, especially race relations.

2.2.3.3 Institutional Support

Institutional support is an important contact condition. Allport (1954) proposed that intergroup contact would be more likely to improve intergroup relations if the institutions in which the contact took place noticeably supported intergroup interaction and equality.

Many authors (Amir, 1969; Hallinan & Williams, 1987; Schofield, 1979) give their support to this condition when they talk of the effectiveness of intergroup contact being largely increased if the contact is endorsed by institutional support. Allport (1954) states that support may come in the form of the law, custom or local atmosphere that the ingroup follow. This institutional support can be in the form of the government or a school, or university. Empirical studies show that interracial social interactions remain low in desegregated environments unless authorities create an environment that de-emphasises racial differences and supports and promotes interracial interactions and make stronger-than-average efforts to do so (Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Schofield, 1982; Schofield & Francis, 1982). Epstein's (1985) study on the resegregation of desegregated schools found that the attitudes of authoritative figures can direct the selection of grouping practices that can either accentuate or play down the resegregation of individuals. Slavin (1985) posits that institutional support can be achieved in ways that are subtle and that authorities do not necessarily have to be overt to legitimise positive intergroup contact. In Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) review of the contact hypothesis, it was found that institutional support may be a particularly important condition for facilitating successful and positive contact effects. Their analyses found that samples with structured programmes showed significantly stronger contact-prejudice correlations than the samples with non-structured programmes, irrespective of whether they had conditions beyond authoritative support.

2.2.4 Advancements in the Contact Hypothesis

As the contact hypothesis is over fifty years old, it is not surprising that it has been exposed to close scrutiny in academic and research circles. "Allport's formulation of intergroup contact theory has inspired extensive research over the past half century" (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, p. 752). Over the years many researchers have sought to develop the theory further and various postulations have been made regarding a number of factors of the contact hypothesis, including the number and features of the necessary prerequisites for successful contact, i.e. the reduction of prejudice linked to the exposure to or contact with the outgroup in question (McLaughlin-Volpe et al., 2000). It is to these developments and proposed improvements that we now turn.

2.2.4.1 Friendship as the fifth condition of contact

Friendship has been found to be an important contact condition. Pettigrew (1998) suggested that the contact situation must provide for the opportunity to be friends and identified *friendship* as one of the important elements that resulted in a positive effect on intergroup mixing. He suggested that friendship is a powerful condition, because in intergroup friendship many of the standard conditions identified in the contact hypothesis (e.g. common goals, equal status, etc) are automatically satisfied; in fact he maintains that friendship is the optimum form of contact.

Studies have shown a causal direction from friendship to lower prejudice (Powers & Ellison, 1995). Studies have found that despite the comparative infrequency of interracial friendships, friendship has the strongest association with lowered prejudice (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003; Clark & Ayers, 1991; Dubois & Hirsch, 1990; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Howes & Wu, 1990; Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999; Pettigrew, 1998; Schofield, 1979). According to Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns and Voci (2004), having friends who belong to an outgroup can positively improve intergroup relations by virtue of reducing the anxiety associated with intergroup encounters.

The age at which people develop interracial friendships is also important. Jackman and Crane (1986) and Aboud, et al. (2003) assert that childhood is a crucial period for intergroup contact, in that retrospective reports of having a close-interracial friend in childhood are associated with positive racial attitudes and integration in adolescence and adulthood.

Paolini et al. (2004) tested two hypotheses that have recently emerged on advancing group relations in typical contact situations. The first being the 'direct cross-group friendship hypothesis'. Pettigrew (1998) proposes that "...a reduction in group prejudice might be achieved by promoting direct friendship between members of rival groups." The second hypothesis, the 'indirect cross-group friendship hypothesis', according to Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe and Ropp (1997) suggest that such a positive effect might also

come from 'vicarious' experiences of friendship, that is, from the knowledge of ingroup members being friends with outgroup members. Just by knowing someone close to you (an ingroup member) who has a friend who is a member of an outgroup may enhance attitudes towards that outgroup. Either way, it is believed that cross-race friendships can lead to a decrease in prejudice whether it is direct or indirect friendship. From research (Paolini, et al., 2004) conducted to test the aforementioned hypotheses it was concluded that firstly, intimate friendship plays a role in decreasing prejudice and animosity and expand discerning outgroup variability even in situations of intergroup hostility. Secondly, such an influence is partially negotiated by an anxiety-reduction mechanism, thus "...having friends among outgroup members and ingroup friends who have outgroup friends can contribute positively to improved intergroup relations by virtue of reducing the anxiety associated with intergroup encounters" (p. 784).

The characteristics of a close relationship or friendship include self-disclosure, companionship, helping and liking or loving. As friends share warmth and liking for one another (Le François, 1999), there is a probability that they could provide the favourable elements of close intergroup contact, specifically that it be individualised, collaborative, and trusting (Aboud et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998).

Researchers (Hallinan, 1982; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Hallinan & Williams, 1987; Sigelman, Bledsoe, Welch & Combs, 1996) also propose that a mere increase in propinquity can ultimately lead to more positive group interaction. Jackman and Crane (1986), in their study that addresses the contact hypothesis and its central principles, found that proximity due to racially varied neighbourhoods/suburbs are prone to improve and promote interracial friendships and promote contact between race groups in both local activities and everyday situations. Clark and Ayers (1991, p. 394) state that "proximity helps to facilitate friendship formation"; this is pertinent as it alludes to the importance of friendship in the contact situation.

From this it is clear why friendship has been advocated to be included as one of the optimal conditions that could reduce prejudice in a contact situation as well as why it is

so important in people's lives. Aboud, et al. (2003, p. 165), in their study exploring whether racial attitudes were associated with befriending or avoiding classmates, state that "intergroup contact and friendship are keystones to the reduction of prejudice".

2.2.4.2 Issue of the generalisation of contact effects

Research has focused on another aspect of contact noted by Allport (1954) that centres around the issue of categorisation. Various schools of thought have argued that specific levels of categorisation are important if contact is to be successful in improving intergroup relations (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell & Dovidio, 1989; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). These opposing schools of thought include the interpersonal, intergroup and superordinate approaches. The contact hypothesis and its' generalisability is an important matter often addressed by researchers. This issue was dealt with by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) in their meta-analytic test of the contact hypothesis, which will later be discussed in further detail.

In terms of the interpersonal approach, Brewer and Miller (1984) argue for contact involving the 'personalisation' of individual outgroup members, rather than their perception as representatives of a particular social category or group. The emphasis falls on the role of interpersonal perception during contact (Greenland & Brown, 1999; Miller, Brewer & Edwards, 1985).

Hewstone and Brown (1986) argue for the intergroup approach and say that to be successful in changing the evaluation of an outgroup, favourable contact with an outgroup member must be defined as an intergroup, rather than interpersonal, encounter. According to Nesdale and Todd (1998) the intergroup approach argues for the actual maintenance of group boundaries in the contact situation, so that the contact, in effect, occurs between members as their groups' representatives, rather than as individuals.

Gaertner and his colleagues' model postulates that participants should recategorise both ingroup and outgroup members into a larger superordinate group. People are to adjust members' cognitive representations of the memberships from 'us' and 'them' to a more

all-encompassing ‘we’ (Gaertner et al., 1989; Gaertner et al., 1994; Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman, 1996).

2.2.5 Review of contact hypothesis

Just as the great majority of contact research and literature supports the contact hypothesis (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, for review), there is an increasing volume of work that is cautioning researchers to not put too much store in this prolific theory without accepting its shortcomings (Pettigrew, 1998). According to Viki, Culmer, Eller and Abrams (2006), Allport’s basic conditions may not be absolutely necessary for contact to produce positive effects. It was Pettigrew (1998) who differentiated between *necessary* and *facilitating* conditions for successful contact to take place, saying that while the conditions may likely assist in successful contact, they are not essential for positive contact to occur.

One of the most important critiques of the contact hypothesis draws attention to its most significant limitation that evolves from the multiplying list of optimal conditions. It would appear that the combination of all the ‘necessary’ conditions identified by Allport and subsequent researchers makes for an extremely decontextualised setting that almost renders the contact hypothesis ineffective. Amir (1969) asserted that even though most contact research studies seem to confirm that contact between groups reduces prejudice, the results are not necessarily indicative of typical or real social situations. According to Pettigrew (1998, p. 69), in his review of the contact hypothesis, Allport’s hypothesis is in danger of being “...an open-ended laundry list of conditions- ever expendable and thus eluding” and that too many conditions would rule out most intergroup situations. Dixon, et al. (2005) concur with this line of thought and cite the optimal contact strategy (the goal of which is to identify and explicate the conditions under which contact is most successful in reducing prejudice and thus improve the likelihood of social harmony) as being utopian. According to them, it proposes an ideal world in which all the superlative conditions are present and working towards the reduction of prejudice. In reality, this bears little resemblance to everyday life, where contact between groups rarely occurs with all these conditions present. “In several important respects, contact literature has

become detached from (and sometimes irrelevant to) everyday life in divided societies...accordingly, it offers recommendations that are often of limited utility for understanding or promoting social change” (p. 697). Everyday contact situations are unlikely to meet these very restrictive requirements. This is what many contact researchers have failed to take into account and by so doing, have neglected the sometimes harsh reality of social situations in which contact does not prove successful. Dixon et al. (2005) state that the contact hypothesis often prettifies the more bleak realities of everyday interaction between members of different groups.

Although there is much debate over a number of features of the contact hypothesis, including the number and nature of the required conditions for successful contact, the majority of the research conducted appears to be in support of the contact hypothesis. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) executed a meta-analytic test of the intergroup contact theory. According to Pettigrew and Tropp (2004) a meta-analysis is a statistical method used for verifying the size and consistency of effects across tests of hypotheses. The review came about in an effort to test the effects of intergroup contact under Allport's conditions as well as testing situations where the conditions were not established, as previous review results proved conflicting, some supporting the theory while others found definite shortcomings. Their meta-analytic results clearly showed that intergroup contact usually reduces intergroup prejudice. The meta-analysis indicated that greater intergroup contact is by and large associated with lower levels of prejudice and confirmed that contact can produce meaningful reductions in prejudice. Results also put to rest the particularly contentious issue of generalisability. They revealed that intergroup contact effects usually generalise further than participants in the immediate contact situation, more so than past researchers have thought. In fact, it was found that not only do attitudes toward the immediate members of the outgroup typically become more favourable, but so do attitudes toward the whole outgroup, outgroup members in other situations and even outgroups not involved in the contact situation.

This said, despite the increased opportunity for contact in South Africa, research has found that little interaction between the race groups is actually occurring (Dixon &

Durrheim, 2003; Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez & Finchilescu, 2005). Possible reasons for this will be discussed shortly.

In conclusion, ever since Allport's (1954) influential work on the contact hypothesis, there has been prolific research conducted to identify the specific conditions under which intergroup interactions promote harmony and tolerance. This has led to an almost idealistic mentality in which the burgeoning list of special circumstances 'needed' for successful contact points to a utopian world. It has been argued (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003, Durrheim & Dixon, 2005) that research must now move towards looking at the possible reasons why contact does *not* prove successful. Pettigrew (1998), in his review and reformulation of the contact hypothesis, identified one of the four major problems with Allport's theory to be the 'unspecified processes of change problem'. The initial contact hypothesis only predicted *when* contact would result in successful change, but not *how* and *why*. The current research is a move towards ameliorating this gap.

2.2.6 Contact research in South Africa

During apartheid, there were a number of contact studies that have examined the effect of contact on the race relations and racial attitudes (Luiz & Krige, 1981; Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991; Russell, 1961; van Dyk, 1990). Luiz and Krige (1981) set up a contact intervention among White and Coloured schools girls. The racial attitudes of the White girls were measured before and after the contact, these were then compared with a group that did not have contact. The results provided support for the positive effect of contact on intergroup attitudes and this effect was still evident a year later. Russell (1961) conducted a residential-area study before the Group Areas Act was enforced, and found that increased contact between White, Coloured and Indian residents was associated with friendly relations. Contradictory results were found by Mynhardt (cited in Mynhardt & du Toit, 1991) in his 1982 study that regarded the attitudes of White English-speaking girls from secondary schools who had mixed classes with Black schoolchildren. The findings indicated that respondents who had interracial contact reported significantly more negative racial attitudes than those who had no contact. Post-apartheid contact research has revealed positive results in terms of the effects of contact. Gibson's

2000/2001 (cited in Dixon & Durrheim, 2003) survey revealed strong correlations between contact and positive racial attitudes, while Finchilescu, Tredoux, Muianga, Mynhardt and Pillay (2006) found that the greater the amount of contact, the less affective prejudice respondents reported. In sum, the evidence of the potential benefits of interracial contact in South Africa is equivocal. Let us now turn to segregation research conducted in South Africa.

2.2.7 Interracial contact at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS)

Wits has often been referred to as a 'liberal university', this is mostly due to the fact that in the late 1950s it openly challenged the apartheid government on issues of racial segregation by identifying itself as an institution 'open' to all people regardless of race (Conference of Representatives, cited in King, 2001). Despite this, it would seem that although non-Whites were numerically included, they were racially isolated, for example by being allocated racially separate residences, so although Wits has a long history of 'integration', some of its policies contradict this. The African National Congress (1994) refers to the financial obstacles that students faced when looking for entrance into tertiary institutions, these included rising costs of tuition and less access to financial assistance. According to the Academy of Educational Development (cited in King, 2001), this was exacerbated for Black Africans at historically White institutions because the fees at these institutions were considerably higher than those at historically disadvantaged institutions.

This brief history of the university's racial inclusion process serves to illustrate that although the university is perceived as being a liberal one, it too has been fraught with difficulties, like other South African institutions and often reflects what is occurring in the broader societal context. The student population continues to de facto segregation on the campus, with Black African and White students attending classes together, but rarely mixing socially, with even extracurricular activities such as clubs and sports teams being greatly segregated (Woods, 2001). In line with other research (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Tredoux et al., 2005) Woods (2001) found that WITS students tend to socialise with, study with, and date people of the same race. Her study found the existence of everyday racism and was demonstrated by critically examining the experiences of Black African

students with both White students and White lecturers. According to King (2001) the University of the Witwatersrand has experienced low rates of success with its programmes of inclusion and is perceived as a consequence of the student's inability to meet the expectations of the environment. She states that the university needs to "...systematically adopt policies, practices, and programmes that seek to transform the institution into one that responds to the changing nature of the student body, rather than forcing students to adopt to rigid institutional imperatives" (p. 89).

2.3 Segregation in post-apartheid South Africa

The abolition of segregation has not necessarily led to increased rates of interracial contact. Rogers, Hennigan, Bowman and Miller (1984) state that desegregation sometimes exerts a minimal effect on intergroup relations. This certainly pertains to the problem identified by some researchers (Dixon, 2001; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Finchilescu, 2005, 2007; Schrieffer et al., 2005) which is the fact that on the whole, racial segregation persists in the post-apartheid, desegregated South African society. One of the critiques of the contact hypothesis pertaining to the South African context that Dixon et al. (2005, p. 697) offer is that "...it offers little guidance about how this ideal of integration is to be achieved in places where racial segregation and inequality are deeply entrenched". Conditions for racial closeness are proving hard to create with the country's historically segregated society. Dixon, Tredoux and Clack (2005) state that the end of segregation has not always resulted in a complete dissolution of racial boundaries.

2.3.1 Post-apartheid segregation research in South Africa

There is an increasing body of South African contact research available that provides evidence that little interracial mixing is occurring. Extant research has made use of surveys as well as direct observations so as to investigate this significant obstacle in interracial integration and interaction. What research has found is that although stringent desegregation edicts were put into place to be carried out in various contexts, i.e. in schools, the workplace, etc, it is informal *re*segregation that occurs. It is this segregation along 'relaxed' and unofficial lines that would probably make any outside observer

mistakenly believe that the apartheid segregation laws were still being adhered to (Finchilescu, 2005). Residential segregation still remains strong (Christopher, 2001), it is however segregation in public spaces and institutions that is forming the focus of many segregation researchers' work. It has also become increasingly important to conduct research in naturalistic settings. This focus is evident in most of the following research studies.

2.3.1.1 Survey research

Gibson's (2004, p. 202) survey centred on testing whether or not truth leads to reconciliation and included questions on interracial interaction. According to him "...reconciliation is indeed enhanced by interracial contact and interaction". His survey of over 3, 700 South Africans revealed a stark truth about the country's racial integration patterns. He found that only a very small fraction of Black and White people in the country (1.5 % and 6.6 % respectively) have more than a small number of friends from another race group. He also found that 63.6% of the sample found it difficult to understand those people of the 'opposite' race. One important finding was that Blacks in South Africa rarely have any meaningful interaction with whites. These findings point to the fact that racial segregation seems to be a major obstacle to racial reconciliation in this country. This would form a vicious cycle with racial isolation impeding racial reconciliation, which then propagates racial segregation.

2.3.1.2 Observational research

Some of the most productive research conducted on contact and prejudice was carried out on a Scottsburgh beach in KwaZulu Natal over the Christmas and New Year holidays between 23 December 1999 and 2 January 2000 by Dixon and Durrheim (2003). Their observational study endeavoured to track the nature and extent of informal segregation by plotting the allotment of members of different racial categories in different areas and sub-areas of the beach over a period of time. Interviews were also conducted as a supplementary source of information. The authors talk of an 'uncomfortable realisation', that is, that despite the abolition of apartheid and with it its segregation laws, racial segregation "...remains a pervasive and adaptable system for ordering social life (2003,

p. 2).” Their findings revealed three types of informal segregation. The first functioned at the micro-territorial level of umbrella-space. Statistics showed that segregation at this degree approximated 100%, with roughly all participants occupying racially homogenous spheres. This type of segregation, along rather close domains, meant that Whites’ exposure to Blacks was virtually non-existent, meaning that almost all contact occurred at the intragroup level as opposed to the more desired intergroup level.

The second type of segregation took a broader pattern of racial allocation. It was found that Black participants inclined to be gathered in a few sections of the beach, while Whites were generally more dispersed. This suggested that the probability of a White person meeting a Black person in a shared area of the beachfront was considerably lower than would be expected under conditions of random mixing.

Finally and perhaps the most powerful demonstrations of segregation were those recorded on Boxing Day and New Year’s Day. A pattern emerged on these days that could only be classified as ‘invasion-succession’ system. That is, an influx of Black holiday-makers was supplemented with by a consequent withdrawal of White holiday-makers. This trend is unfortunately not distinct to Scottburgh beach, but rather an increasing inclination of white holiday-makers to avoid beaches on public holidays when Black people traditionally turn up in large numbers.

Dixon and Durrheim (2003) term these patterns of segregation the ‘new segregation of South Africa’, that are not state-enforced, but rather informal and systematic, as well as being heavily influenced by structural dynamics. These structural dynamics can take the form of the increasing phenomenon of ‘pay beaches’ that achieve segregation along personal inclinations, as well as what the authors term as economic filters, with the large majority of Black people not being able to afford such forms of holiday-making, while the majority of White people can. In summary, their findings revealed that people tend to avoid contact by occupying different spaces, or, when a situation arises when they are forced to share the same space, they are inclined to arrange their temporal use of it in such a way that the chances of encountering members of another group are very low.

A number of observational research studies were conducted at South African universities, these will now be discussed.

Using a public space on a university campus, Tredoux et al. (2005) tested the spatiality and temporality of contact. On a macro-level the university statistically represented a relatively high degree of racial integration. However, as the authors found, this did not seem to translate to micro-level contexts. One particular space of social interaction formed the focus of the study and that was a set of steps leading up the university's Jameson Hall, a popular social meeting place. A digital camera using custom-designed software (that allowed for the coding of observed student's race and gender) was used to chart the movement and spatial arrangement of students on the steps. The camera took a total of 300 frames over a five day observation period. It was found that the vast majority (over 70%) of people who sat on the steps were white, while the remaining proportions were grouped into the non-white category (Asians, Blacks and Coloureds). Temporally speaking, it was seen that the different race groups preferred to sit in different parts of the space, something that was maintained throughout the five observation days, despite the fact that the space was informal and rearrangeable. Spatially, it was found that if groups of people tended to preserve or increase levels of intergroup segregation on the steps, then each new person (or group of persons) entering the space favoured sitting closest to a member of their own race group. In summary the authors found that students tend to self-segregate when the public space they inhabit is relatively empty, but that when such a space fills up and less space is available for students to choose, segregation lines are not as fixed.

Schrieff et al. (2005) observed patterns of racial segregation in university residence dining halls. Two of the largest dining halls in an English South African university were the settings used to observe students and their seating arrangements (along racial lines). As the sample was predominantly Black and White these were the two race groups focussed on, with Whites being the minority and Blacks the majority. Observations were carried out over 28 days during the busier dinner times. The researchers found

segregation of an informal nature among Black and White students. Spatial manifestations showed a significantly disproportionate spread of Black and White students, along with a high improbability of mixed-race tables. Similar to the observations of Tredoux et al. (2005), it was seen that spatially, racial demarcation was consistent and that Black and White students frequently occupied the same tables to the extent that there was a definite demonstration of Black and White differentiated tables in the dining halls. It was found that dining hall segregation did not only apply to the seating arrangement at individual tables, but also in the general organisation of seating in the dining halls, with each race having its own 'wing' (most White students sat in the left-hand wing of the dining halls, while the majority of Black students sat in the right-hand wing).

The authors offer two explanations of these observations. The first involves the operation of 'spatial identities'. The spatial identity of groups is defined in terms of spatial zones within which members function comfortably, entailing the knowledge of one's place as well as having a sense of who fits in with 'us'. In the setting of the dining halls, it is likely that students stuck to their own racial groups and occupied the same tables over time. As a result, they could have become used to a sort of comfortable spatial range, generating a specific identity within the particular space within the dining hall. The second explanation deals with possible friendship patterns. It is most likely that students choose to sit with friends in the dining halls. Thus, friendship patterns may be responsible for the segregation observed in the dining halls, because, as discussed, people tend to choose friends who are of the same race group as themselves. This is worrying, however, if friendship was the only accountable explanation for the segregation patterns, as this would mean that cross-race friendships were virtually non-existent in the dining halls observed.

What can be gained from the above three research studies is that spaces can be highly racialised. Also, it can be said that racial patterns of arrangement seem to be resistant to change. Moreover, the traditional use of space seems to be generationally transmitted (Finchilescu, 2007). The two university studies reveal that, generally, there is little

interracial contact between students.

Now that evidence of prevailing patterns of segregation in a post-apartheid society has been shown, let us now turn to possible reasons why there is little interracial mixing.

2.3.2 Race-relations research and literature in post-apartheid South Africa

Other research focusing on South African race relations and racial attitudes can also give an indication of the current patterns of racial interaction in the country.

2.3.2.1 Research

The Bornman and Appelgryn (1999) study involved a critical analysis of the implications of the assumptions of social identity theory and related theories for ethnic identification and intergroup relations during the period of socio-political change in South Africa. Their results confirmed that group identification - and the strength of such identification - plays an important role in the dynamics of intergroup relations. They found that there was a significant link between stronger ethnic identification and more negative outgroup attitudes and/or behaviour for all the groups that participated in the study. Findings revealed that among Afrikaans-speaking Whites, stronger identification was related to more negative social behaviour towards Blacks. Among Black respondents, stronger ethnic identification correlated with more negative attitudes towards White people. It was also found that among English-speaking Whites although stronger ethnic identification correlated with positive attitudes towards negotiation, it also associated with more militancy and negative attitudes towards Blacks. According to Appelgryn and Bornman (1996) relative deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of dissatisfaction based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. They state that people tend to view the nature of social reality and their place in it by virtue of social comparisons with others and with the general standards and norms of society. It is when these comparisons show a large gap between achievements and aspirations, that people feel sufficiently motivated to attempt social change; especially when comparisons are made on an intergroup basis rather than between self and others (Appelgryn, 1991).

While research conducted before 1994 found that Black South Africans felt more

deprived in relation to other groups (Appelgryn, 1991), post-apartheid research reveals that White South Africans anticipate relative deprivation and expect that their personal situations, and especially those of their respective ingroups (English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking), would deteriorate. These findings illustrate that perceptions of relative deprivation can have important implications for the intergroup attitudes of Blacks and Whites. For example Whites who may expect relative deprivation may have more negative racial attitudes towards Blacks.

Smith et al. (1999, 2003) researched the racial attitudes among South African young adults over a four year period, with the hypothesis that, over time, greater tolerance and acceptance of other racial groups would be reported. It was found that Blacks had moderately tolerant attitudes towards Whites and Whites had evidently pro-White attitudes. Blacks and Whites had moderately tolerant attitudes towards other groups. Results revealed that there was an apparent shift toward increased acceptance and tolerance, although the authors did observe that given the multiple political and social initiatives undertaken to reduce racism in the country between 1995 and 1999, it was notable that the calculated change in tolerance was of such “small magnitude and, in some cases not quite statistically significant” (p. 42).

Pillay and Collings (2004) in a study of racism on a South African campus, surveyed students’ racial experiences and attitudes. They examined levels of old-fashioned and modern racism in a sample of young adults. They acknowledged that different forms of racism could coexist with different degrees of prominence in any given society, that is, modern racism could exist together with old-fashioned racism. Results showed that 55% of the sample reported a total of 926 racial experiences, the majority of which (71%) involved discriminatory behaviours. The probability of experiencing a racial incident did not differ as a function of respondent gender or faculty of registration but was significantly related to respondent’s race, with Black African students being most likely to report a racial incident and White students being the least likely to report a racial incident. They found that White South Africans tended to score higher than other race groups on measures of racial prejudice and negative racial attitudes. Indians and Whites

scored equally high on the modern racism measures, with Blacks scoring the lowest. Pillay and Collings' (2004) results provided support for the resiliency of racial attitudes and revealed that in spite of the social and political changes that have taken place in the country since 1994, the vast majority of respondents (95%) reported some or more racially prejudicial beliefs.

2.3.2.2 Literature

Moodley and Adam (2000) in their paper on race and the nation in post-apartheid South Africa state that it is highly unlikely that the non-racial democratic constitution would alter, overnight, the conditioned consciousness of black and white. They maintain that the legacy of apartheid racism still lives on and that South Africa is still an extremely divided society in which racialised competition is likely to increase. They state that at the country's truly mixed universities, students frequently stick to 'their own groups' in the public spaces such as cafeterias and residences. They go on to say that such informal segregation, however, indicates shared codes of conduct and expectations as well as mutually understood levels of conflict in socially different worlds, rather than racist rejection of others in a 'voluntary apartheid'. Moodley and Adam (2000) also discuss the fact that minority groups (Coloured, Indians, Whites) are concerned that the revived emphasis on African values excludes them and have fears about their treatment under the new dispensation.

Ansell (2004) in her article on mapping racial ideologies in post-apartheid South Africa states that far from being eradicated along with the transition to democratic rule, racial meanings, racial/ethnic identities and racialised state practices are rebuilding themselves anew precisely in and through the exit from apartheid and the struggle to form a new hegemonic racial order. The article presented an analysis of 154 written submissions to the South African Human Rights Commission encouraged as a part of the consultative process leading up to the South African National Conference on Racism 2000. Her results revealed that although the submissions showed a range of perspectives on racism within each self-identified racial group, a significant racial dimension was clearly manifest. Her results showed that Black and White South Africans' views on the legacy of apartheid

and the many faces of racism and non-racialism differently. For example from the submissions of some self-identified Black respondents were found to believe that White racism against Blacks was still very prevalent in the country despite the demise of apartheid. In contrast, some submissions from self-identified White South Africans express commitment to a non-racial future and scorn the extent to which the government in their view is contributing to the re-racialisation of society along lines similar to - but a reversal of - the apartheid past. These findings could possibly intimate at the country's informal segregation patterns.

2.4 Barriers to mixing

According to Feld and Carter (1998, p. 1175) “research over a broad range of social situations consistently indicates that the proportion of intergroup contact that result in social ties is much smaller than the proportion of same group contacts that result in social ties”. This has been found to be the case in South Africa (Finchilescu et al., 2006; Gibson, 2004) and the possible reasons for this interesting finding will now be discussed. Some of the barriers to interacting with members of an outgroup that have been identified include segregation, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes. Sigelman and Welsh (1993) talk of how racial segregation often forms the foundation of ignorance and ignorance as the propagation of intergroup anxiety and stereotypes. Understanding the factors that are associated with people's decisions to mix interracially is crucial in gaining knowledge about the possible reasons for such low interracial interacting in this country. These will now be examined in greater detail, as well as meta-stereotypes that have been found to act as a barrier to intergroup interactions.

2.4.1 Segregation

In apartheid South Africa the concept of race was used as a political tool that was determined by overt legal definition. Other than using the concept of race in a very politically abstract way, the apartheid government also made use of racial segregation. According to Berry (1951, pp. 272), segregation means “...the act, process, or state of being separate or set apart...it is a form of isolation which places limits or restrictions

upon contact, communication, and social relations.” Segregation entails the separation of groups. As Beinart and Dubow (1995, p. 3, 4) state, “segregation in South Africa encompassed many different social relationships. It is often discussed as a series of legislative Acts which removed and restricted the rights of ‘non-whites’ in every possible sphere”, but it was not just restrictive legislation, but also “...was a composite ideology and set of practices seeking to legitimise social difference...in every aspect of life”. According to Finchilescu and Tredoux (in press), segregation in apartheid South Africa did not mean that absolutely no contact occurred between the race groups, rather any interracial contact that took place was characterised by its hierarchical (between employers and servants) or bureaucratic (between state-agents and supplicants) nature and was often oppressive and violent. Segregation in South Africa involved the Black majority being, in effect, isolated from an equal and democratically competitive participation within the mainstream (Kiguwa, 2006). It is generally accepted that segregation is not the cause of intergroup conflict, but it is believed to play a major role in establishing and maintaining conflict, and thus distance, between communities (Gallagher, 1995).

Geographic distance has been found to correlate with social distance. Massey and Denton (1993, p. 161) maintain that “...spatial isolation tends to produce social isolation”. This is certainly evident in Dixon and Durrheim’s (2003) and Durrheim and Dixon’s (2005) research studies that revealed that spatial segregation led to significantly little social contact between beach-goers of different race groups. According to Finchilescu (2005), many neighbourhoods and townships in South Africa remain segregated, consequently the amount of contact between race groups is frequently very small, and limited to superficial and asymmetrical types of contact. Segregation inhibits the opportunity for contact, which in turn colours the opportunity for individuals to learn more about the outgroup and propagates ignorance of the outgroup members. This can ultimately lead to the formation of prejudice against the outgroup. Although segregation is not the cause of intergroup conflict, it plays a major role in establishing and maintaining conflict between communities, exacerbating conflict by increasing mutual ignorance (Paolini et al, 2005).

The effects of South Africa's far-reaching segregation laws are still felt today as Durrheim and Dixon (2005, p. 1) state that segregation has the "...capacity for transference from one generation to the next". This was certainly evident in the studies conducted by South African researchers (discussed above) that show prevailing segregation patterns. The continuing segregation occurring in South Africa can possibly be attributed to that fact that it has been found that the prevalent way of organising intergroup relations is segregationist (Schofield & Sagar, 1977; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1996).

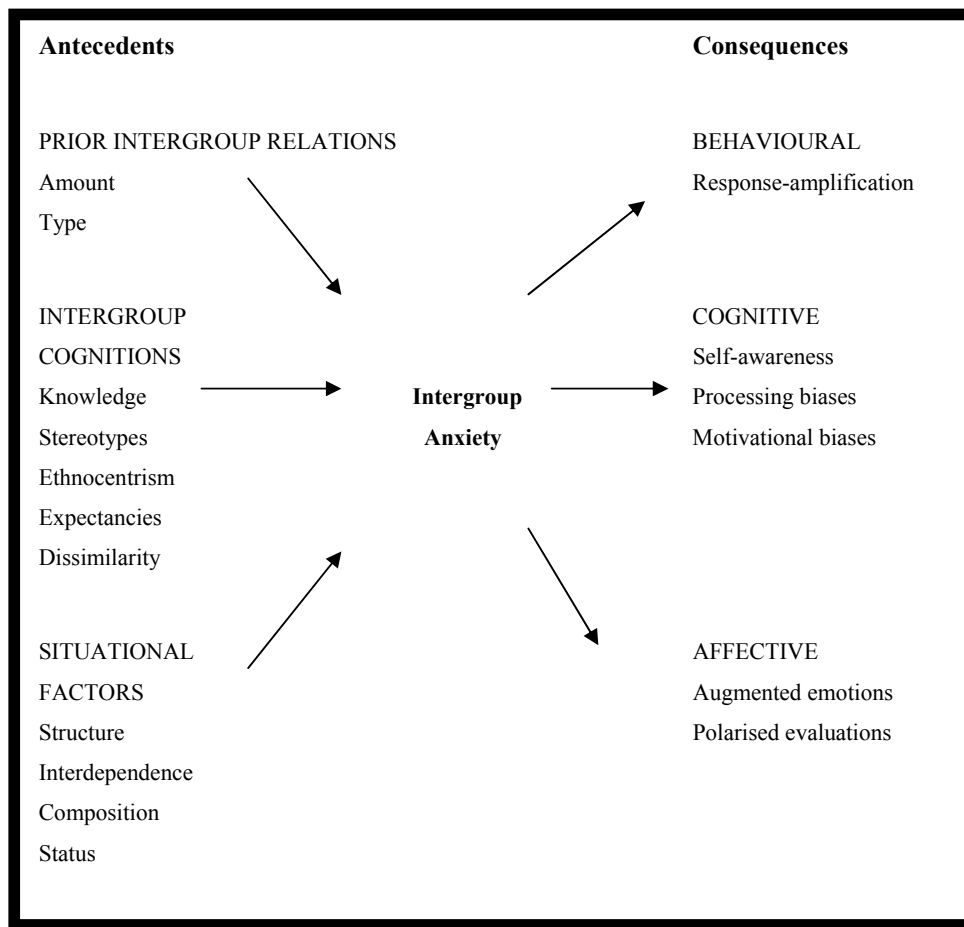
2.4.2 *Intergroup anxiety*

Numerous researchers emphasize the fact that emotions are fundamental components in intergroup contact and that emotional reactions originate from direct experiences with the outgroup, affect having a greater influence on intergroup attitudes than cognitions (Brewer & Miller, 1996; Curşen, Stoop & Schalk, 2007; Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). One of the most often experienced emotions during intergroup contact is anxiety. Intergroup anxiety is an important factor that is systematically associated with experiences of intergroup contact. The nature of the association can either display beneficial effects of contact, such as a decrease in anxiety with increases in contact, or can sometimes reflect detrimental effects of contact, such as increases in anxiety with increases in contact (Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood & Cairns, 2006). According to Stephan and Stephan (1985), intergroup anxiety is the anxiety people experience when interacting with members of an outgroup and the resultant apprehension of negative behavioural and/or psychological consequences for the self and fear of negative evaluations by ingroup and/or outgroup members. It entails feelings of uneasiness, concern and worry that are products of interacting with individuals of an outgroup. Not only do people experience intergroup anxiety before interacting with people from *another* culture, but it is also experienced *within* cultures (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). They suggest that this anxiety can lead to a variety of negative effects. These can include the negative experience of contact, as well as a reinforcement of negative beliefs and attitudes (Finchilescu et al., 2007).

Intergroup anxiety is linked to the avoidance of contact (Ickes, 1984; Plant, 2004) and is thus a barrier to mixing. Esses and Dovidio (2002) report that intergroup anxiety reduces the probability of engaging in intergroup contact. According to Plant (2004), intergroup (specifically interracial) anxiety and the consequent avoidance of intergroup interactions may produce a self-perpetuating cycle, whereby avoidance of intergroup contact or interactions resulting from apprehension regarding these interactions actually sustains and perhaps even worsens the intergroup anxiety. Research on intergroup anxiety has had contradictory results in terms of the relationship between intergroup anxiety and the quantity of contact. On the one hand, Stephan and Stephan (1985) found that high levels of intergroup anxiety are related to low levels of contact with outgroup members. On the other hand, negative contact with the outgroup can generate intergroup anxiety (Esses & Dovidio, 2002). To add to the inconsistency, Niens, Cairns and Hewstone (cited in Niens & Cairns, 2004.), in their study on the conflict in Northern Ireland, propose that increased intergroup contact can be successful in reducing intergroup anxiety. This shows that the relation between these two variables is far from simple and unidirectional (Esses & Dovidio, 2002).

Some of the main precursors of intergroup anxiety may be minimal previous contact with the out-group, clashes between the ingroup and outgroup, negative feelings toward to outgroup, strong identification with the ingroup, the existence of large status differentials, a high ratio of out-group to in-group members, the structure of the situation, as well as personal experience (Curşen et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Paolini et al., 2006; Plant & Devine, 2003). Stephan and Stephan (1985) identified some of these precursors in a model outlining the antecedents and consequences of intergroup anxiety presented in Figure 2.1 below.

Figure. 2.1 A Model of Intergroup Anxiety



The intergroup anxiety model suggests that people expect four kinds of negative outcomes – from interactions with people from other racial or ethnic groups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). They may anticipate (a) negative behavioural consequences (e.g. they may fear being abused and dominated by outgroup members), (b) negative psychological consequences (e.g. they may expect to feel embarrassment and discomfort), (c) negative evaluations by the outgroup (e.g. they may anticipate being rejected and scorned by outgroup members) or (d) negative evaluations by the ingroup.

Some anxiety may be constructive for intergroup interactions, where it may cause participants to be more attentive and less uninterested. However, high levels of intergroup anxiety can result in unproductive communication and amplified emotions, cognitions, and behaviours (Littleford, Wright & Sayoc-Parial, 2005; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

The relationship between intergroup anxiety and its antecedents and the resulting negative consequences have been found in many studies. These studies have involved many different groups, including Asian Americans, European Americans and Hispanic Americans in the United States (Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Stephan & Stephan, 1985); and Hindus and Muslims in Bangladesh (Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

Interracial interactions are all too often strained and lead to intergroup tension (Plant & Devine, 2003). Stephan and Stephan's (1985) work on intergroup anxiety offers an outline for understanding reasons as to why South Africans demonstrate a disinclination to interact socially with people of other race groups. Because of the racial oppression that characterised and persisted in the twentieth century as a result of apartheid, interracial anxiety and mistrust has become entrenched in the daily lives of South Africans (Wing & de Carvelho, 1997). In his study of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its causal assumptions, Gibson (2004) stated that to the extent that South Africans are fearful of the various racial groups, reconciliation can not be accomplished. Intergroup anxiety is an important factor to take into consideration when looking at the low levels of intergroup contact occurring in South Africa.

2.4.3 Stereotypes

Stereotypes form the cognitive element to intergroup contact. Lippman was the first to present the concept of stereotyping in 1922 (Martin, 1987) and ever since social scientists and researchers have been interested in this phenomenon. Stereotypes are cognitions that typically reflect disparaging views of others and negative stereotypes are the negative beliefs, expectations and traits that are associated with the outgroup members and are important precursors for intergroup behaviour (Curşen et al., 2007; Fiske, 2000; Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Stereotyping and the experience of intergroup anxiety are closely linked, as the negative valence of stereotypes can lead to negative expectations of intergroup interactions, prejudice and discrimination (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Curşen et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Although stereotypes are convenient, sometimes even required, they are not necessarily correct (Judd & Park, 1993; Wiggins, Wiggins & van der Zanden, 1994). For all intents and purposes, they are generalisations that do not take into account some possible crucial information about outgroup members which is associated with the ingroup's perceptions of the outgroup's variability.

These broad generalisations (stereotypes) that people often use to identify outgroup members are linked to the fact that people tend to perceive the personal characteristics of outgroups as more homogenous than their own group; people have the tendency to view outgroup members as more similar to one another than members of their own group (Jones, Wood & Quattrone, 1981; Park & Judd, 1990). It would seem that people are more inclined to see the members of their own group as more diverse than members of an outgroup. Several reasons are suggested for this: (a) the individual simply knows a greater proportion of ingroup members than outgroup members; (b) the person sees ingroup members in a greater variety of contexts or roles than outgroup members; (c) the individuals knowledge of the outgroup may be at an early stage where people look for similarities rather than differences; (d) the person may be motivated to look for similarities between outgroup members in order to facilitate predictability, whereas s/he may be prompted to discover heterogeneity within her/his own group so as to feel free of constraining expectations; and (e) differences in perceived variability are a result of evaluative discrimination, that is, negative feelings toward the outgroup as a consequence of whatever source may be justified or rationalised by attributing the same negative characteristics to most outgroup members (Jones et al., 1981).

Group stereotypes have evaluative and descriptive inferences that are relevant to the 'average' outgroup member, i.e. they signal an individual's attitude toward the group and assigns specific attributes that are thought to typify group members (Lambert & Wyer, 1990). The inability to perceive the outgroup as consisting of varied and diverse members facilitates the use of stereotypes. Prejudice is often based on stereotypes about specific groups of people (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000). Labelling people with stereotypes and not being able to see them as individuals stands in the way of mutual respect and

reconciliation between groups (Gibson, 2004). Having negative stereotypes of another group could possibly exacerbate intergroup anxiety which in turn can reduce the rates of contact. Thus, stereotypes can be seen as a possible barrier to intergroup mixing.

Numerous research studies (McLaughlin-Volpe et al., 2000; Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987; Jackman & Crane, 1986;) have established that there appears to be somewhat little intergroup contact between groups in which there are prevalent negative stereotypes held by no less than one of the groups about the other. McLaughlin-Volpe et al. (2000) calculate that groups who are brought into contact will be compelled to acknowledge that their stereotypes are flawed and will consequently change their attitudes and behaviour toward the outgroup. So the more contact between groups leads to increased knowledge about the outgroup, meaning the ingroup will know more about the outgroup (disconfirming stereotypes) and, in turn, feel less threatened by the outgroup (decrease in intergroup anxiety). However, Brewer and Miller (1984) cite Hamilton (1979) when they state that a number of encoding and memory biases function to make active stereotypic beliefs difficult to disconfirm and that information about an individual that is irrelevant to existing stereotypes may fail to be discerned or represented in memory. It has been found that stereotypic information can effectively do away with the influence of some varieties of non-stereotypic information even though this latter information may have a clear impact on judgements when no stereotype is activated (Bodenhausen & Wyer, 1985). What this means is that even when people's stereotypes are not validated, people may choose to ignore the contesting evidence and make judgements based on those stereotypes. According to Seta, Seta and McElroy (2003), stereotypes are often maintained in the face of disconfirming evidence that can lead to the perpetuation of prejudice and bias.

Jussim, Coleman and Lerch (1987) identified three theoretical perspectives on stereotypes, namely complexity-extremity, assumed characteristics, and expectancy violation.

The complexity-extremity theory (Linville, cited in Jussim et al., 1987) addresses how

people appraise ingroup members differently from outgroup members. According to this theory, people have more contact with other ingroup members than with outgroup members. Thus, this rich background of experience and knowledge of the ingroup generates a larger number of dimensions along which individual members may be characterised (Linville & Jones, cited in Jussim et al., 1987). This is obviously less with outgroup members because of the decreased contact.

The assumed characteristics theory indicates that stereotypes give us information about important background characteristics of group members. According to this perspective, people generally assume ingroups have more positive characteristics (e.g. socioeconomic status, values or traits) than do outgroups.

The expectancy violation theory, like the complexity-extremity theory, suggests that stereotypes provide information about people's personal characteristics, however, it proposes that when an individual's characteristics violate stereotype-based expectancies, evaluations should become more extreme in the direction of the expectancy violation. In other words, individuals who have more negative characteristics than expected should be evaluated even more negatively than others with similar characteristics whom we expected to rate negatively all along.

Jussim's et al. (1987) most important deduction was that stereotypes may influence evaluations of outgroups in important and highly complex ways. Stereotypes and intergroup anxiety have been identified as some of the antecedents of prejudice (Cursen et al., 2007; Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

Another important explanation for people's avoidance of contact is that of the presence of *meta-stereotypes*. According to Finchilescu (2005), people's behaviour's and emotions are greatly influenced by how they think others view them. Meta-stereotypes refer to the "...stereotypes that members of a group believe that members of an outgroup hold of them" (p. 465). Meta-stereotypes, like stereotypes, can firmly influence the behaviour of members of each group involved (Sigelman & Tuch, 1997). Contact will generally be

avoided when there is intergroup anxiety, which in turn can be caused by people having meta-stereotypes. Finchilescu (2005) explains that being stereotyped is unlikely to be a pleasant experience, especially when the gist of the stereotype is considered to be negative. Vorauer, Main and O'Connell (1998) showed that feeling stereotyped by outgroup members was associated with negative emotions and a decrease in self-esteem. It is therefore understandable that people may want to avoid contact situations where they believe they may be de-individualised, when their personal qualities and experiences are rejected and not taken into consideration.

Segregation, intergroup anxiety, stereotypes and meta-stereotypes have been identified as some of the major barriers to interracial mixing. These barriers to mixing are in themselves, barriers to knowledge of the outgroup.

Let us now turn to the main aim of this research study. Researchers (Pillay & Collings, 2004; Smith & Stones, 1999; Smith et al., 2003) have maintained that the many social and political changes South Africa has undergone are likely to lead to improved interracial relations. Research has found that contact can have positive effects on race relations and attitudes. Despite this, the fact remains that South Africans are not mixing with people from other race groups, that is, interracial contact is not occurring. We have looked at some of the barriers to intergroup mixing, namely segregation, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes, that influence people's motivations to mix with people from other groups. This study aimed to investigate the alternative motivational processes underlying peoples' intentions to interact interracially, that is people's attitudes towards interracial mixing, the effect of significant referents on interracial mixing and people's sense of control when it comes to interracial contact situations. To accomplish this, the study uses the theory of planned behaviour that looks at the intentions of individuals to mix socially with people of different races. In this capacity novel information for the design of future interventions to increase interracial interactions may be provided. The study focuses more on the cognitive factors that dictate social behaviour, such as attitudes and beliefs.

2.5 The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TpB)

2.5.1 Theory of Planned Behaviour

In their theory of planned behaviour Ajzen and Fishbein (Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen, 2002; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) postulated that intentions are the immediate antecedents of behaviour, signifying a state of readiness. According to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), socially important behaviours are thought to be guided by reason and attitude. What follows is a discussion of the factors that have been suggested by Ajzen and Fishbein as being the predictors of intentions to perform specific behaviours.

Traditionally intergroup contact research has focussed on situational variables, such as equal status, that affect intergroup relations. It must be noted that of the variables of the TpB model, all except behaviour are internal (psychological) constructs (Francis et al., 2004). It appeared fitting to use an analysis of people's intentions to mix interracially that was based on a major social psychological theory. The theory of planned behaviour would help in explaining why some people have strong intentions to interact interracially whilst others do not. Another reason for using the TpB is that it has been shown to have broad explanatory and predictive value, as well as presenting the opportunity for directing interventions geared towards behaviour change (Ajzen, 1991). The theory was chosen as it may highlight the areas where the most effective interventions can be focused if needs be (either internally, that is to say, at the level of attitudes or externally at the level of subjective norms). The TpB is also useful in that it is put forward as a complete model of social behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). That is, the effects on behaviour of variables external to the TpB (for example, demographics) are thought to be mediated through the components of the model. Thus, the theory of planned behaviour was used in the present research study, as it focuses on various aspects (including attitudes) that may or may not have a significant effect on people's intentions to mix interracially in a social context.

The TpB aims to explain and predict behaviour and is based on a psychological model of behaviour change and has been found to be one of the most researched social cognitive

models of behaviour (Francis et al., 2004; Townsend, 2001). It was formulated by Icek Azjen and Martin Fishbein in 1980, which added on to their original work completed in 1975 of the Theory of Reasoned Action, based on voluntary behaviour. They made enormous contributions to the investigation of the attitude-behaviour relationship by emphasising the prediction of behaviour. When it appeared that behaviour was not completely voluntary and under control, the element of perceived behavioural control was added to the 'recipe' (Theory of Planned Behaviour, n. d.). The main assumption of the theory is that human action is directed by three kinds of notions: behavioural beliefs that generate a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the behaviour, the theory holds that only specific attitudes toward the behaviour in question can be expected to predict that behaviour; normative beliefs that produce perceived social pressure or subjective norm which are their beliefs about how people they care about will view the behaviour in question; and control beliefs that give rise to perceived behavioural control, which refers to people's perceptions of their ability to perform a given behaviour (refer to Figure 2.2 below). The combination of these elements leads to the formation of a behavioural *intention* (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

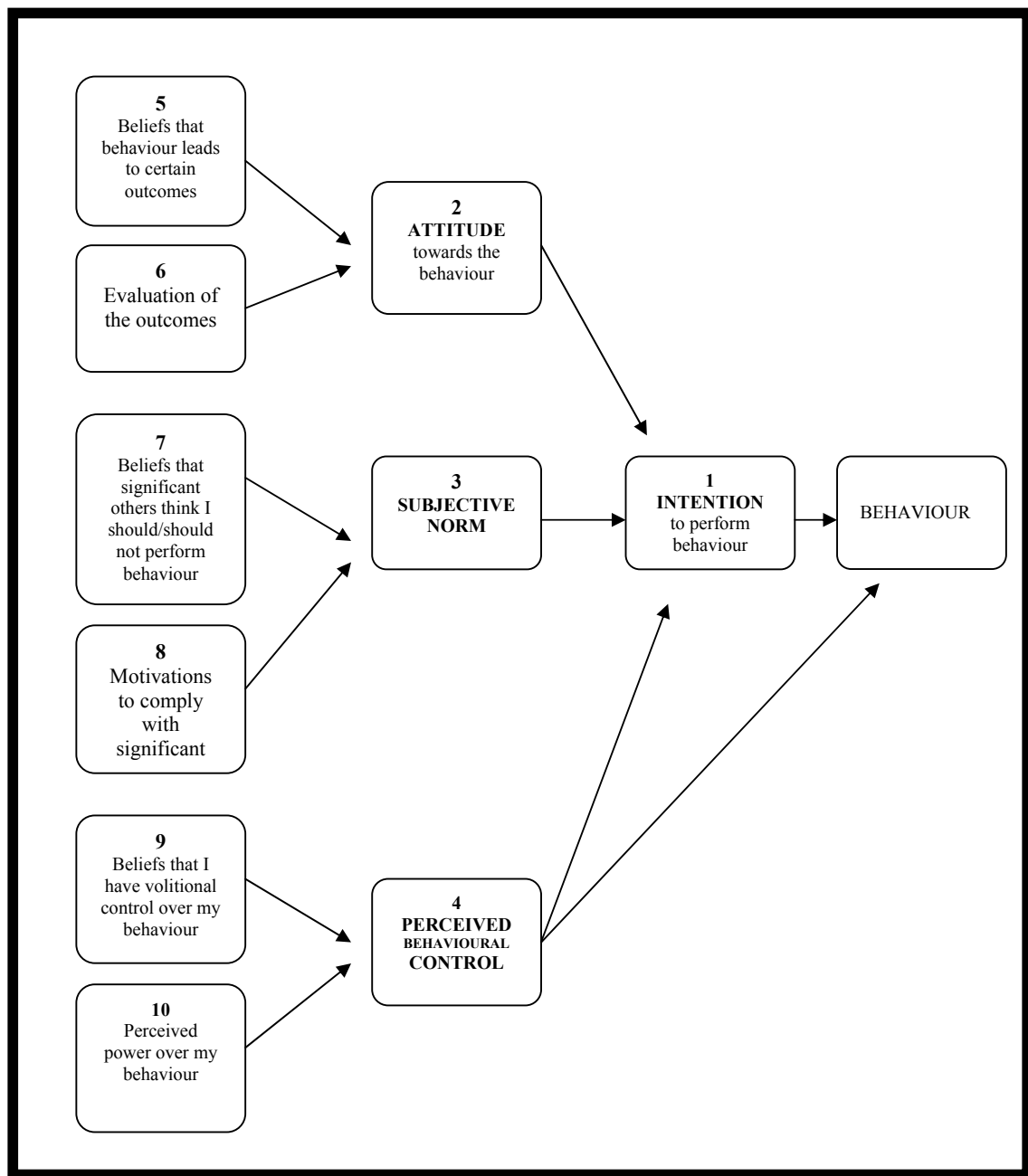
Simply put, the theory suggests that an individual's behaviour is determined by her/his intention to perform the behaviour and that this intention is, in turn, a function of her/his attitude toward the behaviour and her/his perception of significant referent's thoughts towards the behaviour. The more favourable the attitude and the subjective norm, and the greater the perceived control the stronger should the person's intention be to perform the behaviour in question (Ajzen, 1991).

The theory of planned behaviour model is often used in the health research, with numerous studies being conducted on disease prevention behaviour, birth control behaviour, etc. The model has also been used to address various social issues, for example voting behaviour and consumption prediction. The vast majority of studies using TpB have verified its effectiveness in predicting a wide range of behaviours. These include AIDS-related sexual behaviour (Giles, Liddell & Bydawell, 2005; Sheeran & Orbell, 1998); consumer behaviour (King & Dennis, 2003; Söderlund & Öhman, 2005;

Thompson & Panayiotopoulos, 1999); travel choice (Verplanken, Aarts, Knippenberg & Moonen, 1998); willingness to cooperate with police (Viki et al., 2006); health behaviour, exercise, eating habits (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), to name but a few.

A structural diagram, denoting the components of the theory, is presented in Figure 2.2 and is constructed from Ajzen's (1991) work. It includes the belief-based features that are the antecedents to the chief predictors of intention to perform a particular behaviour.

Figure 2.2. Theory of Planned Behaviour Model.



According to Albarracín, Johnson, Fishbein and Muellerleile (2001) the TpB is a comprehensive theory of many behaviours that specify a limited number of psychological variables, such as attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control, that can influence a behaviour. Brief explanations of these various components, or psychological constructs, of the TpB are offered by Ajzen (1991), Giles et al. (2005) and Francis et al. (2004):

2.5.2 Direct and Belief-based Measures

Attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control, and intention are usually assessed directly by means of standard scaling procedures (Ajzen, 2002); these will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. The TpB also examines the antecedents of each of the primary predictors of intentions. These are known as the belief-based measures. Beliefs play a vital role in the theory of planned behaviour, they are assumed to provide the cognitive and affective foundations for attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. Behavioural beliefs are said to influence attitudes towards the behaviour; normative beliefs aggregate the determinants of subjective norms; and control beliefs provide the basis for perceptions of behavioural control (Ajzen, 1991). By evaluating beliefs, theoretically, it is possible to gain insight into the underlying cognitive foundation, i. e. it is possible to explore *why* people hold certain attitudes, subjective norms, and perceptions of behavioural control. This information can be valuable for creating effective programmes of behavioural intervention (Ajzen, 2002).

2.5.2.1. Intention

Intention is presented as the most significant component of the TpB and the main predictor of behaviour. Intention is an evaluation of the degree to which an individual is motivated. Simply put, intention to carry out a behaviour is impacted on by four chief factors, namely attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control and actual control. According to Söderlund and Öhman (2005), an intention construct of this type is a 'plan' that the individual makes about herself or himself in relation to a future act in which s/he is the acting subject. The theory of planned behaviour can be seen as one of the earliest streams of research dealing with intentions. Typically, intentions capture

motivational features that influence behaviour, that is, they are markers of how hard people are prepared to try, of how much effort they are planning to apply, in order to perform the behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). This then means that intentions encompass the assurance of a behaviour being acted out. It is seen as the motivation required to engage in a particular behaviour. Intention is the cognitive depiction of an individual's preparedness to perform a given behaviour and is regarded as the immediate antecedent of behaviour (Ajzen, 1991).

This means is that if one has a strong intention to engage in a particular behaviour, then one's motivation to engage in that behaviour is greater, then the greater the chance that the person will actually engage in that behaviour. However, as Ajzen (1991, p. 182) states, "...that a behavioural intention can find expression in behaviour only if the behaviour in question is under volitional control". In other words if a person can decide at will to perform the act or not. Frequently there are what Ajzen terms 'non-motivational' factors that may impede intention from being converted into actual behaviour. For example, an individual may wholly intend to interact socially with people from other race groups, but may find themselves in a situation where there are simply no people from other race groups to interact with. This sort of motivational factor would prevent a person's intention from becoming behaviour and it represents the person's *actual* control over the behaviour at hand. Although there is not an absolute relationship between behavioural intention and actual behaviour, intention can be used as a proximal measure of behaviour. This observation was one of the most crucial advancements of the TpB model and makes it distinctive among other models of attitude-behaviour relationships.

2.5.2.2 Perceived behavioural control

Ajzen (1991) found that the *perception* of behavioural control and its influences on intention to be of more psychological interest than actual control. This perception of behavioural control has an important role to play in the TpB. Ajzen (1991) found it necessary to distinguish this construct of perceived behavioural control from other concepts of control. For example, perceived behavioural control was differentiated from Rotter's (1966) notion of perceived locus of control. While locus of control is a universal

expectancy that stays constant across a variety of circumstances and behaviours, perceived behavioural control usually differs across circumstances and behaviours and is more related to people's distinctive understanding of the ease or challenge of executing a particular behaviour.

According to Ajzen (1991) perceived behavioural control is most similar to the concept of perceived self-efficacy that was introduced by Bandura (1997). Self-efficacy was designed to measure the extent to which an individual believes s/he has the confidence/ability to perform a behaviour. Ajzen saw the two concepts of perceived behavioural control and self-efficacy as being synonymous. However, Armitage and Connor (1999) examined the importance of distinguishing between the two constructs as independent predictors of intentions and/or behaviour. Armitage and Connor (2001) state that self-efficacy is more concerned with cognitive perceptions of control based on internal factors, while perceived behavioural control also reflects more general, external control factors. Other research has found that self-efficacy only predicts intentions, while perceived behavioural control strongly predicted behaviour (Terry & O'Leary, 1995). Perceived behavioural control has two aspects: how much a person has control over the behaviour; and how assured a person feels about being able to perform or not perform the behaviour. It is governed by control beliefs about the power of both situational and internal causes to obstruct or assist the performing of the behaviour.

From Figure 2.2, it can be seen that execution of a behaviour is hypothesised as combined function of intentions and perceived behavioural control. The relative importance of either of these constructs in predicting actual behaviour may vary across situations and behaviours.

2.5.2.3 Attitude

Attitudes speak for a person's feelings and beliefs about a particular behaviour (i.e. interacting interracially on a social level). According to Azjen (2002), it is thought to have two components which operate together: beliefs about consequences of the behaviour (behavioural beliefs) and the resultant positive or negative judgements about

each these aspects of the behaviour (outcome evaluations).

As an illustration, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) make it clear that, if an individual feels that the result or effect of an action would be positive, it is likely (according to the theory) that s/he will think favourably of the action itself. The opposite is also true, an individual will more than likely think unfavourably or less of a behaviour if s/he perceived the consequences of the action to be negative or unsavoury.

2.5.2.4 Subjective norm

Subjective norm is a measure of the extent to which an individual perceives significant people in their life to sanction/support a behaviour (i.e. interacting interracially on a social level). According to Azjen (2002) subjective norms are presumed to have two components which work in interaction: beliefs about how other people, who may be in some way significant to the person, would like them to behave (normative beliefs), and the positive or negative judgements about each belief (outcome evaluations).

According to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) it is possible for an individual to be motivated or think positively about performing an action if the performance of the behaviour is sanctioned by the individual's significant others and vice versa. If the people that a person is motivated to comply with view the performance of an action in a negative light, it is likely that the individual in question will think less of partaking in the behaviour. Also, if the person believes there to be factors that would facilitate the performance of an activity or behaviour, it is likely that they would perceive their ability to perform the said action or behaviour in a better light. As before, the converse can also be true. Across situations and from behaviour to behaviour, the comparative importance in determining intentions of each of these three constructs (attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control) is expected to vary (Ajzen, 1991). These determinants of intentions are referred to as direct measures.

Systematically speaking, the route between the information a person has and how this influences her/his behaviour is, according to the precepts of the theory, quite logical and

clear, despite the fact that the said information is not always complete or rational (Armitage & Conner, 2001). The information that is available to people and that individuals *choose* to internalise is not always objective and methodically examined; often it is highly subjective and tainted, which can colour and affect the person's beliefs and attitudes. It is important to note that not all behaviour can be explained using TpB and also, there may be some people for whom the theory may not apply "...as they may arrive at their decisions in different ways" (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). It is important to remember that that human agency can be unpredictable and the theory can always take into account special circumstances. The theory, however, is practical or functional for most people and with respect to most social behaviours.

2.5.2.5 Behavioural Beliefs

The TpB model assesses the strength of behavioural beliefs. Behavioural beliefs link the specific behaviour to expected outcomes. A behavioural belief is the subjective likelihood that the behaviour will yield a given outcome (Theory of Planned Behaviour, n. d.) Although a person may hold a variety of behavioural beliefs with respect to any behaviour, only a relatively small number are readily accessible at a given time. The belief strengths and outcome evaluations for the different accessible beliefs provide substantive information about the attitudinal considerations that guide people's decisions to engage or not to engage on the particular behaviour (Ajzen, 2002).

2.5.2.6 Normative Beliefs

Normative beliefs refer to the perceived behavioural expectations of significant referents in the respondent's life, such as her/his family, friends, peers, etc. It is assumed that normative beliefs – in combination with the person's motivation to comply with the various referents – determine the established subjective norm and offer a 'snap shot' of perceived normative pressures in a given population (Ajzen, 2002; Theory of Planned Behaviour, n. d.).

2.5.2.7 Control Beliefs

Control beliefs concern the perceived presence of factors that may facilitate or impede

performance of a behaviour. It is assumed that these control beliefs – in combination with the perceived power of each control factor – determine the prevailing perceived behavioural control (Theory of Planned Behaviour, n. d.).

2.5.3 Advancements in the TpB

Various studies of TpB have been conducted in order to examine the efficacy of the theory and have investigated other and numerous determinants of intentions and behaviour. Rhodes and Courneya (2003) argued for the inclusion of past behaviour as a predictor of future behaviour. It was said that behaviours are often decided upon by an individual's past behaviour, rather than the cognitions described in TpB (Sutton in Rhodes & Courneya, 2003). This is based on studies revealing past behaviour to be the best predictor of future behaviour. There is some evidence that shows that previous behaviour can be a good predictor of later action and that it has been shown to increase the explained variance when past behaviour was added to the TpB components when predicting future behaviour (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005; Viki et al., 2006). Other suggested constructs include self-efficacy, as already discussed; self-identity (Armitage & Connor, 1999) and anticipated regret (Parker, Manstead & Stradling, 1995). It was found that in the majority of cases, these added predictors contributed to the prediction of behavioural intentions and actual behaviour. However, Ajzen (2002) states that additional predictors should be suggested and included in the theory with caution, and only after careful consideration and empirical exploration. He also identified other important criteria that should be met by any proposed additional predictors: a) like the predictors already included in the theory (attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control and intention), the proposed variable should be behaviour-specific, corresponding to the principle of compatibility. In other words, it should be possible to define and measure the proposed variable in terms of the target, action, context, and time elements that describe the behavioural criterion, (b) it should be possible to regard the proposed factor as a causal factor determining intention or action, (c) proposed additions should be conceptually independent of the existing predictors of the theory and (d) the proposed factor should potentially be applicable to a wide range of behaviours studied by social scientists.

Armitage and Conner (2001) conducted a study that made use of past analyses of the theory. They examined the efficacy of the following: (a) self-reports vs. observed behaviour, (b) behavioural intention, and (c) subjective norms.

2.5.3.1 Self-reports vs. observed behaviour

Gaes, Kalle and Tedeschi (1978) found that self-reports were problematic due to their susceptibility to self-presentational biases. Armitage and Conner (2001) found that although there was a significant difference of the variance of both observed and self-reported behaviour, TpB could account for the substantial proportions of the variance in actual behaviour and provided further evidence of the efficacy of the model.

2.5.3.2 Behavioural intention

Warshaw and Davis (in Armitage & Conner, 2001) distinguished between measures of behavioural intentions and measures of self-predictions. Shepperd, Hartwick and Warshaw (1988) in their study found that measures of self-predictions had stronger relationships with behaviour than did behavioural intentions.

2.5.3.3 Subjective norms

Subjective norms were found to be the weakest predictor of intentions, according to Shepperd et al (1988). Armitage and Conner (2001) relate this finding to the fact that "...norms are typically measured by a single item, despite the potentially low reliability of such measures...the weak predictive power of the subjective norm component with the TpB may therefore be partially accounted for by weaknesses in measurement" (p. 485). The study concluded that the theory was a sound predictor of intentions and behaviour and the efficacy of the theory was grounded.

2.5.4 *Critique of the theory of planned behaviour*

The theory has been criticised for its concentration on 'the individual decision-maker' (Abraham, Sheeran & Orbell, 1998), in other words it does not always take into consideration contexts in which decision-making is influenced by societal norms. The

theory of planned behaviour has not been accepted by all researchers, as it has been disapproved of because it fails to take into account the ideals of some non-Western cultures (Giles et al., 2005). It is said that the theory does not make room for family and community, which are extremely important factors, more so, sometimes, than the individual. However, despite this particular criticism, the theory of planned behaviour has been seen to be successful in non-urban, non-Western societies and communities.

2.6 Research Aims

From the literature it has been shown that contact can lead to positive effects on intergroup attitudes and relations. It was thought that the abolishment of apartheid and the resulting desegregation of South Africa would lead to increased contact between the various race groups. However, research reveals that there is a low occurrence of interracial contact. Possible reasons as to why people are not mixing have been identified. The present research aims to extend on these reasons by investigating some of the factors that are thought to influence people's decisions to perform a particular behaviour, in this case, people's intentions to mix interracially. For this, the theory of planned behaviour will be used.

CHAPTER THREE **METHODOLOGY**

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research goals, the research design, a description of the sample, the instruments used in the study, an outline of the procedures carried out, the statistical analyses used to explain the data, and lastly, the ethical considerations that had to be taken into account.

3.2 Research Goals/Question

The study investigates people's intentions to mix interracially on a social level using the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TpB). To predict whether a person *intends* to do something, the following needs to be ascertained: whether the person is in support of doing the behaviour ('**attitude**'); what the person thinks significant others would want her/him to do ('**subjective norm**') and whether the person feels in control of the behaviour in question ('**perceived behavioural control**') (Francis et al., 2004). The research question deals with the extent to which people in South Africa intend to mix interracially. In light of the requirements put forward by Ajzen (1991), a survey questionnaire was utilised.

3.3 Research design

The study is an empirical one that made use of a quantitative questionnaire to collect the data. As there was no manipulation of any variable, the research is classified as a non-experimental design.

One of the reasons the study made use of university students as its sample is that the university setting provides the opportunity to interact with people of another race as it offers a racially diverse environment. As Feld and Carter (1998) maintain, researchers tend to concentrate specifically on interracial contact in schools or tertiary institutions,

because it is believed that meaningful interracial contact among young people is more likely to occur in these settings than within neighbourhoods or other contexts.

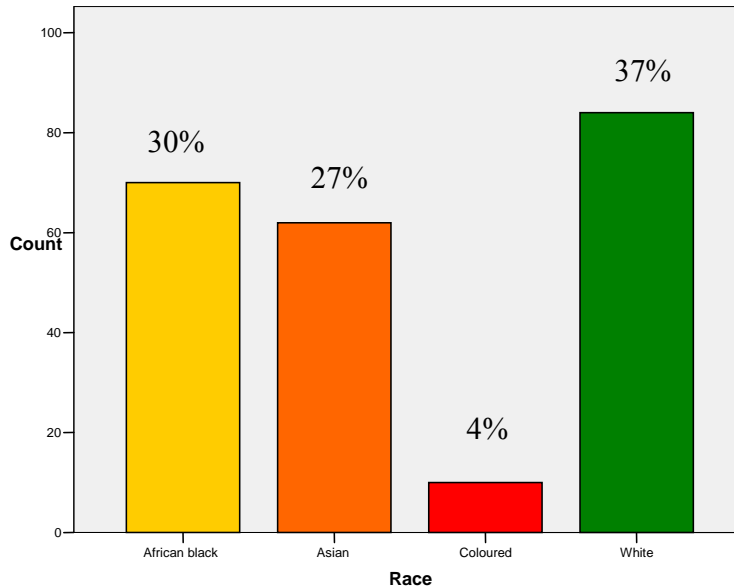
This said, according to Kasese-Hara (2006) racial strain may manifest itself in the fact that some students continue to experience prejudice in their interaction with colleagues and peers in many tertiary institutions, thus the university setting is an ideal location for researching interracial interactions. Although educational institutions may not be able to completely counteract the racism that exists in society, they have the opportunity to systematically promote positive social relations among students from racial and ethnic groups and in fact can "...play a major role in preparing students for adult lives characterised by positive social relations with persons of varied racial backgrounds" (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999, p. 639).

3.4 Sample

3.4.1 Sample

The sample consisted of 226 students (151 female and 75 male) from the University of the Witwatersrand. The population of students in this university is made up of students of different racial groups i.e. African Blacks, Asians, Coloureds and Whites. Of the sample obtained, approximately 37% (n= 84) were White, 30% (n= 70) were Black, 27% (n= 62) were Asian and 4% (n= 10) were Coloured; this is graphically presented in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 Demographic Characteristics



The University of the Witwatersrand student population is made up of 47% Black Africans, 16% Asians, 3% Coloureds and 34% Whites (AISU, 2007). From this information and the above figure it is clear that there was an over-representation of Whites in the total sample.

3.4.2 Sampling strategy

The study used a non-probability sampling strategy as participation in the study depended on the availability of participants and students' willingness to participate in the research study.

3.5 Instrument

The following steps were taken in the construction of a TpB questionnaire for the purposes of the present study:

- a) The population of interest was defined (viz. students at a tertiary institution) and it was then decided how best to select a sample from this population
- b) The behaviour under investigation was defined: people's intentions to mix

- interracially on a social level.
- c) The most commonly perceived advantages and disadvantages of performing the behaviour were determined.
 - d) The most significant people or groups of people who would approve or disapprove of the behaviour were identified.
 - e) The perceived barriers or facilitating features which could make it easier or more difficult to adopt the behaviour were identified.
 - f) As the present study is a standard TpB-based study, items were included to evaluate all of the constructs.

The study made use of a 7-page questionnaire, which included a cover letter explaining the study to potential respondents. There were two forms of the questionnaire, one intended for White students and the other for non-White students. White respondents had to answer questions in relation to 'Black Africans', while non-White respondents answered questions in relation to 'Whites'. Other than this racial distinction (i.e. non-Whites vs. Whites) between the questionnaires, the questionnaires were identical. The items were constructed using the guidelines specified by Ajzen and used the standard TpB format (Francis et al., 2004). The questionnaire consists of 49 items (refer to Appendices B and C), four of which are demographic questions. This set of demographic questions provides information about the sample, this included gender, nationality, year of study and which faculty they belonged to. Many things were taken into consideration when constructing the questionnaire, such as the fact that each construct had to be measured using a minimum of three items (according to TpB guidelines), as well as the consequences of participant fatigue and response rates.

Following the guidelines stipulated by Ajzen (2002), the questionnaire incorporated all key TpB constructs. The questionnaire has 11 measures, namely 1) Actual behaviour; 2) Intention; 3) Attitude toward the behaviour; 4) Subjective norm; 5) Perceived behavioural control; 6) Behavioural belief; 7) Outcome evaluation; 8) Normative belief; 9) Motivation to comply; 10) Control belief; and 11) Control belief power (refer to Appendix D). It is necessary to measure all the constructs that are denoted in the model

(see Table 2.2). These measure titles did not appear on the final questionnaire that went out to respondents. Unless otherwise indicated, 7-point Likert type scales and semantic differential scales were used to measure all responses to the items in the questionnaire. The questionnaire appeared to contain clear and understandable instructions and was relatively easy to understand. As the sample consisted of students attending the University of the Witwatersrand, an English-medium institution, no translation of the questionnaire into any other South African language was necessary.

3.6 TpB Questionnaire

The constructions of the particular items investigating the components of the TpB are described below.

3.6.1 Behaviour

Behaviour was measured in questions 1 to 3 of the questionnaire (refer to Appendices B & C) by means of seven-point scales. All the items in the questionnaire were measured by way of seven-point scales, as is common practice in TpB research. The three items were:

‘In the course of the past 6 months, have you...’

(Scale): Item 1: ‘Spent time with a person who is Black African/White in your or their home’: never (1)...frequently (7)

Item 2: ‘Been to a social event with a person who is Black African/White’: never (1)...frequently (7)

Item 3: ‘Spent time socialising out of lectures with a person who is Black African/White’: never...frequently

High scores indicated regular (frequent) interaction with people of another race group, while low scores suggested rare or occasional interaction with people of another race group.

3.6.2 *Intention*

Intention was measured in questions 4 to 6 of the questionnaire (refer to Appendices B & C). An example of such an item was:

Item 4: I intend to socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months: extremely unlikely (1) ...extremely likely (7)

High scores indicated strong intentions to mix interracially, while low scores suggested weak intentions to mix interracially. In this scale the scores of item 5 was reversed so that the low and high scores for this item reflected the indicated direction.

3.6.3 *Attitude*

This was measured by way of a five-item scale (refer to Appendices B & C, items 7 to 11). Direct measurement entails the use of bipolar adjectives (i.e. pairs of opposites), which are evaluative (e.g. acceptable – unacceptable) (Francis et al., 2004). The *good-bad* scale is included as it is appropriate to the topic and describes the overall evaluation. The five items were:

‘For me to socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months is’:

(Scale) Item 7: acceptable (1) ...unacceptable (7)

Item 8: undesirable (1) ...desirable (7)

Item 9: good (1) ...bad (7)

Item 10: unappealing (1) ...appealing (7)

Item 11: wise (1) ...foolish (7)

High scores indicated positive attitudes towards mixing with people of another race group while low scores suggested negative attitudes towards mixing with people of another race group. In this scale the scores of items 7, 9 and 11 were reversed so that low and high scores for each item reflected the indicated direction.

3.6.4 Subjective Norms

According to Francis et al. (2004), direct measurement entails the use of questions referring to the beliefs and judgements of important people in general. Povey et al. (2000) have criticised the subjective norm construct as, traditionally, only one item has been used to measure it. Their model was followed and three items were used (refer to Appendices B & C). These included ideas of significant others' approval and sanction. The three items were:

- (Scale) Item 12: Most people who are important to me think that I should (1) ...should not (7) socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months
- Item 13: It is expected of me that I socialise with people who are Black African /White in the next few months: extremely likely (1) ...extremely unlikely (7)
- Item 14: The people in my life whose opinion I value would approve (1) ...disapprove (7) of my socialising with people who are Black African/White in the next few months

High scores indicated a strong support for interacting interracially by respondent's significant others, while low scores suggested little approval by respondent's significant others to mix interracially. In this scale the scores of items 12, 13 and 14 were reversed so that the low and high scores for each item reflected the indicated direction.

3.6.5 Perceived Behavioural Control

This was measured directly in questions 15 to 17 of the questionnaire (refer to Appendices B & C). According to Francis et al. (2004), items should indicate people's confidence that they are capable of performing the target behaviour. This is achieved by assessing the person's *self-efficacy* and their beliefs about the *controllability* (i.e. a personal control) of the behaviour. In the present study, self-efficacy was assessed by asking the person to report a) how difficult it would be to perform the behaviour (item 15) and b) how confident they felt that they could do it (item 16). Controllability, in the present study, was assessed by asking the person to report whether performing the behaviour is up to them (item 17). An example of an item dealing with self-efficacy was:

Item 15: For me to socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months would be: impossible (1) ...possible (7)

An example of an item dealing with controllability was:

Item 17: It is mostly up to me whether or not I socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months: strongly agree (1) ...strongly disagree (7)

High scores indicated a high degree of control within the interracial interaction situation, while low scores suggested little control with the interracial interaction situation. In this scale the scores of items 16 and 17 were reversed so that the low and high scores for these items reflected the indicated direction.

3.6.6 Outcome Beliefs and Outcome Evaluations

In keeping with the procedure for computing a belief-based measure of 'attitude' (Ajzen, 1991; Townsend, 2004), this measure was calculated as the sum of the products of the scores for outcome beliefs multiplied by the related outcome evaluations of those beliefs. In the questionnaire (refer to Appendices B & C), questions concerning outcome beliefs are numbered 18 to 23 and outcome evaluation questions are from 24 to 29 . An example of an outcome belief item was:

Item 18: Mixing socially with people who are Black African/White would contribute to a better society: extremely unlikely (1)...extremely likely (7)

The corresponding outcome evaluation item was phrased as follows:

Item 24: For me to contribute to the betterment of society by socialising with people who are Black African/White would be extremely: good (1) ...extremely bad (7)

For outcome beliefs and evaluations, high scores indicated a belief/evaluation outcome that interracial mixing was good, while low scores suggested a belief/evaluation outcome that interracial mixing was not good. In this scale the scores for items 21, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 were reversed so that the low and high scores for each item reflected the indicated direction.

3.6.7 Normative Beliefs and Motivation to Comply

Groups and categories of individuals ('reference groups') who were likely to apply social pressure with respect to the behaviour were identified, namely family, close friends, peers and girlfriend/boyfriend. Following directions stipulated by Francis et al. (2004), items were constructed to assess the strength of normative beliefs in connection to each reference group. Items in standard format for assessing motivation to comply with pressure from each reference group were then added. In the present study, these were measured (refer to Appendices B & C) in questions 30 to 33 (normative beliefs of reference groups) and 34 to 37 (motivation to comply). Keeping with the procedure for computing a belief-based measure of 'subjective norm' (Ajzen, 1991; Townsend, 2001), this measure was calculated as the sum of the products of the scores for normative beliefs multiplied by the related motivations to comply with those beliefs. An example of a normative belief item was:

Item 30: My family thinks that I should mix socially with people who are Black African/White: not at all (1) ...very much (7)

The corresponding motivation to comply item was phrased as follows:

Item 34: Generally speaking, how much do you care what your family thinks you should do? not at all (1) ...very much (7)

For normative beliefs and motivation to comply, high scores indicated positive beliefs and motivations to comply, while low scores suggested negative beliefs and motivations

to comply. No items needed to be reversed.

3.6.8 Control Beliefs and Power of Control Beliefs

The content of the control beliefs which are shared by the target population about the behaviour was identified. Following directions specified by Francis et al. (2004), items were constructed to assess the strength of these control beliefs as well as the power of these control features to influence the behaviour. These were measured (refer to Appendices B & C) in questions 38 to 41 (control beliefs) and 42 to 45 (power of control beliefs). Again, keeping with the procedure for computing a belief-based measure of 'perceived behavioural control' (Ajzen, 1991; Townsend, 2001), this measure was computed as the sum of the products of the scores for control beliefs multiplied by the related measure of the power of those control beliefs. An example of a control belief item was:

Item 38: How often are you in situations where you are likely to socialise with people who are Black African/White? very rarely (1) ...very frequently (7)

Measuring the corresponding power of this control belief was phrased as follows:

Item 42: If I am in situations where there are opportunities for contact, it would make it easy for me to mix socially with people who are Black African/White: strongly agree (1) ...strongly disagree (7)

For control beliefs and control belief power, high scores indicated high control and strong power to control, while low scores suggested little control and weak power to control. In this scale the scores of item 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45 were reversed so that low and high scores for each item reflected the indicated direction.

3.7 Procedure

Participants were approached at various places on the university campus (e.g. in front of residence halls, outside lecture theatres, etc), during the months of July and August 2006, and asked if they would complete a short questionnaire concerning race relations. In the present study participants were not approached in highly organised settings (such as in lectures).

In an effort to make the completion of the questionnaire as appealing as possible, an incentive was included for respondents. Respondents were informed in the cover letter that they had the option of providing their contact details on a detachable section of the cover letter; they would then be eligible for a 'lucky draw' with a cash prize. The option of including an incentive has been documented as having positive effects on response rates (Bailey, 1987), and Singer, van Hoewyk and Maher (1998) state that offering incentives has few negative consequences for survey results. Consequently, the cover of each questionnaire contained a section for respondents to include their names and contact details, should they want to enter the lucky draw. Again, persons who chose this were assured of confidentiality (refer to Appendices B and C). Those individuals who volunteered to participate were then given a questionnaire booklet containing the measures.

Respondents were classified as Black African, Asian, Coloured and White. This categorisation does not reflect the author's views regarding the meaningful classification of race. Rather it replicates the historical reality of an apartheid past which continues to have direct impact on the notion of race in the current South African context (Pillay & Collings, 2004).

Participants were left to complete the questionnaire on their own. Black Africans, Asians and Coloureds were asked to answer questions in relation to Whites, and Whites were asked to answer in relation to Black Africans. Ideally, it would be more advantageous and desirable to ask respondents (of each main race group) questions about their intentions to

mix interracially toward all other race groups in the country. However, realistically this approach would have been too complex, as each questionnaire would have had to have a large number of individual questions. This problem was also faced by Gibson (2004) in his 2001 survey. After completing the questionnaire, participants were thanked and debriefed. In December 2006 one respondents' questionnaire was randomly selected from those received and the cash prize was sent to this person.

3.8 Statistical Analysis

In terms of the response rate, of the 300 questionnaires distributed, 226 were collected. According to Francis et al. (2004), a sample size of 80 would be acceptable. As will be discussed, some of the data was discarded. Data was entered into the statistical package, *Statistica*. The information was manually entered into the programme and screened to check for any possible mistakes made. The distributions of each variable were inspected, and checked for data entry errors by observing whether all responses were in the range represented by the response format. The cleaning of data ensures that any mistakes possibly made are detected and corrected. Cleaning data involved two main steps (Durrheim, 1999):

- a) Every entry was checked for errors, if errors were found in the sample, these were corrected and then re-entered.
- b) Checking all the variables for impossible scores/codes. Frequency tables were used to do this.

Discarding data

It was found that there were a small number (6) of outliers in the sample. An outlier is defined as "...a result differing greatly from others in the same sample" (Tulloch, 1993, p. 1079). These were found to greatly affect the results of the current study that would have caused important trends to be overlooked (Cook & Weisberg, 1982). For this reason it was decided to exclude these from the sample. Some questionnaires had isolated

missing values, so that the N 's reported in the analyses are sometimes smaller than 220.

3.8.1 Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis followed the instructions specified by Ajzen (1991) and Francis et al. (2004).

3.8.1.1 Analysis using the direct measures of the predictor variables

An item analysis on the items constituting the direct measures was performed to establish the internal consistency. The analysis of the collected data was undertaken by the TpB's standard method of using multiple linear regression procedure that estimates the relative importance of the three predictors, with intention as the dependent variable and the direct measures of attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control as the predictor variables.

3.8.1.2 Analyses using the indirect measures

Each behavioural belief was weighted (multiplied) by the score for the related outcome evaluation so as to create a new variable that represented the weighted score or each behavioural belief. As represented in the model, each normative belief was weighted by the score for motivation to comply and each control belief by the score representing the influence of the control belief. Then the weighted beliefs were summed so as to generate a composite score for attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control.

3.8.2 Methods of analysis

To examine the reliability of the measuring scales used in this study, the two main reliability measures used were Cronbach's alpha and exploratory factor analysis. Firstly, it was necessary to determine the reliability of each measure. Internal consistency criterion was used for this purpose. In order to determine the reliability of a scale one must investigate its internal consistency and is based on the tenet that each component of the test should be consistent with all the other components (Hammond, 1997). The estimation of the reliability of a test is based on the number of items in the test and the average intercorrelation among the test items (Murphy & Davidshofer, 1998). In the

present study the technique chosen for measuring internal consistency was that of Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. It must be noted that the estimates of reliability that deal with Cronbach's alpha coefficient are lower bound estimates, which means that estimations are lower than the actual reliability (Hammond, 1997).

Factor analysis was used to corroborate the reliability of the scales. Factor analysis measures the dimensionality of the scales. Although item analysis has frequently been used to measure the degree to which a scale is unidimensional, that is, whether all the items in a scale measure a single construct, this practice is highly unsatisfactory and can lead to extremely deceptive results (Duckitt, 1991; Neuman, 1997). For this reason, it has been recommended that factor analysis be used to determine whether scales are sufficiently unidimensional in conjunction with item analyses that are conducted to assess reliability (McIver & Carmines, 1981). For the purposes of this research study, factor analysis was used to identify items that were problematic, for example items that loaded on two factors, which could be seen as lacking internal consistency. If an item did not contribute positively to the internal reliability and the Cronbach alpha strengthened without the item, the item was excluded from the scale which would result in a more reliable measurement of a concept (Howell, 1997).

Descriptive statistics are used to summarise and present the data. Babbie and Mouton (2001) state that descriptive statistics can be used to present quantitative data in a manageable form. The present study made use of means, standard deviations, skewness and kurtosis to summarise the data. Means are found by adding the scores and dividing the sum by the number of scores (McCall, 1990). Standard deviation is based on the mean and "...gives an 'average distance' between all scores and the mean" (Neuman, 1997, p. 301). Skewness refers to an asymmetric distribution in which the scores are clustered on one side of the central tendency and trail out on the other, while kurtosis of a distribution refers to the 'curvedness' or 'peakedness' of the graph (McCall, 1990).

The correlation coefficient refers to the statistical numerical index that is used to indicate the extent of a relationship between two variables (McCall, 1990). The degree of

correspondence or the relationship between two sets of scores will yield a score indicative of the extent of the relationship between the two variables (Murphy & Davidshofer, 1998). Correlation coefficients in the present study address the relationships between some of the main components of the theory of planned behaviour.

To examine the difference between two or more groups, analysis of variance was utilised. The ANOVA was conducted to identify any possible differences between the race groups and between the sexes. As the number of Coloured respondents was almost nominal, their responses were excluded from the race analyses, leaving the three races of Black African, Asian and White. The two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is a statistical technique used for measuring the difference of means for more than two groups (Howell, 1997). The two way analysis of variance allows one to work with two independent variables at one time (ibid). This statistical technique assumes that the sample is normal, that there is similarity in the variance of the various groups being compared (homogeneity of variance) and lastly, that there is random sampling (Steele, 2004). The result generated by this statistical method is known as the F-statistic. Based on the significance of the F-statistic one can either fail to reject or reject the similarities that exist between the means of two groups (Howell, 1997). For the present study, an ANOVA was conducted to investigate whether there were significant differences between the race and gender groups and the various components of attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour, as well as to ascertain if there is an interaction between these factors, for example, do Black Africans differ in their attitudes towards interracial mixing from Whites, or do Asian females differ in their intentions to mix interracially from White females.

Multiple linear regression was also used to analyse the data. It was used to examine the variables that significantly contribute to people's intentions to mix interracially. Basically the multiple linear regression method uses the notion of partitioning of variance to find the optimal prediction of one variable (intention) given a number of predictors (attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioural control). The essential idea is to account for as much of the variance of the criterion variable as possible (Hammond, 1997). For the

purpose of this study multiple linear regressions was conducted with the aim of exploring variables that significantly contribute to people's intentions to interact with people from other race groups.

Multicollinearity arises in a multiple regression when the predictor variables are highly correlated with each other. This is a problem as it causes difficulty when estimating the beta weights (Hammond, 1997). To check for this, the correlations between the independent variables were examined.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Approval was obtained from the relevant research ethics committee before the commencement of the project. Attached to each questionnaire was a cover letter, briefly explaining the study and their rights as respondents. In terms of informed consent, respondents were notified in the covering letter that their participation in the study was purely voluntary. Respondents were also asked to sign the cover letter of the questionnaire in acknowledgement of their willing participation. As the data was of a sensitive nature, anonymity was assured and the strict confidentiality of the responses was adhered to. In order to achieve this, the raw data was handled by only three people, namely the person who distributed and collected the questionnaires, the researcher and the supervisor and after the completion of the research study; any raw material gathered was destroyed. The distributor/collector of the questionnaires was screened and informed about ethical matters that had to be considered and strictly adhered to. No identifying information, such as identification numbers or names, was required. In addition to this the demographic information was asked in broadened categories thereby increasing anonymity. Respondents were given the incentive of a cash prize 'lucky draw' and were provided with the choice of supplying their contact details on a section of the cover letter that could be detached (refer to Appendices B and C). There was no way of linking the respondents interested in entering the draw to their completed questionnaires, so the researcher was thus not able to contact individual respondents in connection with their actual questionnaires and responses.

CHAPTER FOUR ANALYSIS REPORT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis carried out in this research study. The statistical analysis was performed on the statistical computer programme *Statistica* (2006).

The main objective of this project was to answer the following question: Do the three proposed determinants (i.e. Attitudes, Subjective Norms and Perceived Behavioural Control) significantly predict intentions to interact interracially? In order to examine this, a questionnaire was piloted and a number of statistical analyses were carried out, the results of which are provided in this chapter.

The first section deals with the psychometric properties of the measuring instruments (scales), followed by an outline of the basic descriptive statistics of the scales used in this research study.

The second section outlines the analysis conducted to determine predictor variables that influence people's intentions to mix interracially.

The final section of this chapter presents results of the analyses carried out to establish whether there are significant differences between the race groups and between the sexes on attitude, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour as well as identifying whether or not intention is affected by people's beliefs of the outcomes of the behaviour.

4.2 Psychometrics of the Scales

4.2.1 *Item Analysis and Factor Analysis*

A number of variables were assessed and the reliability of these was each measured. The common measure of internal consistency of a questionnaire is Cronbach's alpha or the alpha coefficient. The range of the alpha coefficient is from 0 to 1. As a rule of thumb an alpha value of 0.70 or greater is considered acceptable for items to be valid (Nunnally, 1987). But some authors (Tuchman, 1994) consider a value of 0.50 and greater as reliable. The reliabilities for each variable are shown in Table 4.1 below.

As an indication of the reliability of the items used to provide direct measures of attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour, the factor analysis was used to check whether each scale measured a single construct. The items were subjected to principle components factor analysis. The results are reported in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Factor loadings of direct measure items

	Items	Factor loadings		Final Cronbach's alpha
		Factor 1	Factor 2	
Attitude	ATT 1	0.695		0.71
	ATT 2	0.726		
	ATT 3	0.831		
	ATT 4		0.953	
	ATT 5	0.681		
Subjective Norms	SN 1	0.796		0.520
	SN 2	0.553		
	SN 3	0.797		
Perceived Behavioural Control	PBC 1	0.737		0.669
	PBC 2	0.854		
	PBC 3	0.746		
Intention	Intention 1	0.845		0.650
	Intention 2	0.564		
	Intention 3	0.876		
Behaviour	Behaviour 1	0.789		0.746
	Behaviour 2	0.836		
	Behaviour 3	0.817		

From the above table it is evident that subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour scales all load on a single factor.

The attitude scale consists of 5 items, of which only one of the items was excluded. Item 4 from this scale was excluded following the factor analysis procedure as this item had a weak loading on the one factor and low item-total correlation. Item 4 was: 'For me to socialise with people who are Black African/White in the next few months is': unappealing...appealing. It is possible that in item 4 the terms used, i.e. "unappealing" and "appealing" may have been adjectives that students could not relate to in this context, therefore they may have had difficulty understanding these terms in relation to the other terms used in this scale. The remaining items 1, 2, 3 and 5 loaded significantly on the one factor. After excluding item 4 from this final calculation, the internal reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale is satisfactory at 0.71, making this scale a reliable measure of attitude.

On the subjective norm scale, the internal reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) was relatively low at 0.52. There were no items excluded from the scale following the factor analysis. Excluding any of the items in this particular scale would have done little to improve its internal reliability, therefore it was left unchanged. All the items, 1 to 3, loaded on the one factor, but presented a lower internal reliability coefficient. While this reliability was not desirable, it was adequate, according to Tuchman (1994) to include all the items.

The perceived behavioural control scale presented a relatively acceptable internal reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.67. All items, 1 to 3, loaded significantly on the one factor. No items were excluded from this scale.

For the intention scale, the internal reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) displayed relatively acceptable at 0.65. All the items, 1 to 3, loaded on the one factor. No items were excluded from this scale.

On the behaviour scale, the internal reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) is acceptable at 0.75. There were no items excluded from the scale following the factor analysis. All the items, 1 to 3, loaded on the one factor. No items were excluded from this scale.

In summary, taking into account both Nunnally's (1987) and Tuchman (1994) criteria for reliability, most of the scales used in this study have been shown to be reliable with Cronbach's alpha values above 0.65, except the attitude and subjective norms scales, which have slightly lower reliabilities of 0.521 and 0.520 respectively. One item was excluded from the attitude scale as this increased the Cronbach's alpha positively to 0.71.

4.3 Descriptive statistics

4.3.1 Descriptive Statistics

The following section presents results of the basic descriptive statistics of the measuring instruments (scales) including the mean values, standard deviation, skewness and kurtosis. Table 4.2 represents the basic descriptive statistics of each of the scales, namely attitude, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour.

Table. 4.2: Descriptive statistics of scales

Variables	N	Mean	Std Dev	Skewness	Kurtosis
Attitude	207	5.62	0.94	-0.48287	-0.200041
Subjective Norms	207	4.61	1.19	-0.16298	0.172436
Perceived Behavioural Control	210	5.72	1.321	-1.14902	1.125957
Intention	209	4.64	1.29	0.05630	-0.199586
Behaviour	210	3.67	1.61	0.21177	-0.882484

The mean score of attitude is 5.62. This mean score is more than a standard deviation above the midpoint of the scale (4). This suggests that a large proportion of the sample have positive attitudes towards socialising with people of another race group.

The mean score of subjective norm is 4.61. This mean score is less than a standard deviation above the midpoint of the scale (4). This would indicate that the scores are spread between those in favour of interracial mixing and those not.

The mean score of perceived behavioural control is 5.72. This mean score is more than a standard deviation above the midpoint of the scale (4). This suggests that most of the sample reported fairly high levels of control over their decisions to interact with people of another race group.

The mean score of intention is 4.64. This mean score is less than a standard deviation above the midpoint of the scale (4). This shows that the scores are spread between those who intend to mix interracially and those who don't.

The mean score of behaviour is 3.67. This mean score is less than a standard deviation below the midpoint of the scale (4). This shows that the scores are spread on both sides of the scale, that is, people who have interacted interracially in the past and those who have not.

The analyses revealed that all the race groups had positive attitudes towards mixing interracially.

Most of the sample reported high levels of control over their decisions to interact socially with people from other race groups.

The absolute value of the skewness and kurtosis measures of the attitude, subjective norm, intention and behaviour scales should be less than 1, indicating that these variables are roughly normally distributed. The skewed index of perceived behavioural control, on the other hand, has an absolute value greater than 1, therefore can not be taken as normally distributed. These results are emphasised in the correlations of perceived behavioural control with the other scales discussed below.

Most people reported having little social interaction with people of another race group. Whites reported having the highest past interaction with people of another race group ($M=3.96$), and Asians the lowest ($M=3.47$), with Black Africans scoring a mean of 3.50.

4.3.2 Behaviour items

Analyses were conducted to look at the specific behaviour and subjective norm items, the results of which are presented below in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Behaviour items

In the course of the past 6 months, have you...

Variable	Mean Black African	Mean Asian	Mean White
1: ...spent time with a person who is Black African/White in your or their home	2.771	2.774	3.54
2:...been to a social event with a person who Black African/White	3.73	3.29	3.67
3:...spent time socialising out of lectures with a person who is Black African/White	4.00	4.26	4.65

From the results presented in Table 4.3, it is evident that respondents had the least interracial interaction when it came to spending time with people of another race group at home and the highest when it came to socialising out of lectures.

4.4 Correlations

4.4.1 *Correlations*

Inter-correlations between the components of the theory of planned behaviour were calculated, the results of which are displayed in Table 4.4 below. Whilst these findings indicate that all the measured variables correlated significantly with each other, the strongest relationship with intention was with attitude ($r=0.48$), followed by perceived behavioural control ($r=0.47$) and subjective norm ($r=0.35$), respectively. All correlations are higher than the 0.30 that Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) regard as adequate to confirm the links between the scales of the theory of planned behaviour. These results are expanded

on in a multiple regression analysis in which intention was regressed on all three predictor variables simultaneously.

As the skewness and kurtosis of the perceived behavioural control scale showed that it was not normally distributed, it is possible that this scale's correlations with other scales could have been compromised. This lack of normality of the variable leads to the calculation of the Spearman's Rank Correlation test as a better alternative to the Pearson's correlation coefficient. However, as is evident from Table 4.4 below, all of the Pearson's correlations between perceived behavioural control and the other scales were significant.

Table 4.4: Matrix of Correlations between selected scales/variables

	1. Intention	2. Attitude	3. Subjective Norm	4. Perceived Behavioural Control
1. Intention	---			
2. Attitude	0.48*	---		
3. Subjective Norm	0.35*	0.32*	---	
4. Perceived Behavioural Control	$r=0.47^*$ $r_s=0.49^*$	$r=0.43^*$ $r_s=0.46^*$	$r=0.32^*$ $r_s=0.33^*$	---
5. Behaviour	0.52*	0.15*	0.26*	$r=0.40^*$ $r_s=0.37^*$
6. Outcome Beliefs x Outcome Evaluations		0.59*		
7. Normative Beliefs x Motivation to Comply			0.38*	
8. Control Beliefs x Control Belief Power				$r=0.17^*$ $r_s=0.10$

* $p < .05$

4.5 Prediction of intentions

This section presents results of the multiple regression analysis carried out to investigate predictor variables that contribute to people's intentions to mix interracially.

The intention to interact with people of other races was regressed against attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behaviour. Before performing the regression analysis, it was important to check the multicollinearity, which is a very common problem in multiple regression.

4.5.1 Multicollinearity

Correlations between the independent variables revealed coefficients below 0.80, which is seen as a cut-off value (Berry & Feldman, 1985). It can be concluded that the predictors are not highly correlated; hence, multicollinearity was not a problem. These correlations are displayed in Table 4.4

4.5.2 Regressions to predict intentions

The intentions of the entire sample were regressed against attitude, subjective norm, and perceived behavioural control. The results of the regression of intentions onto the other variables are reported below in Table 4.5. For evidence of the contribution of attitude, subjective norms and perceived behaviour control to predict the intention of students to interact interracially, regression analysis is also carried out using the respondents altogether. The results of the regression are reported in Table 4.5, Table 4.6 and Figure 4.1 below.

Table 4.5: Regression estimates and model summary across all races

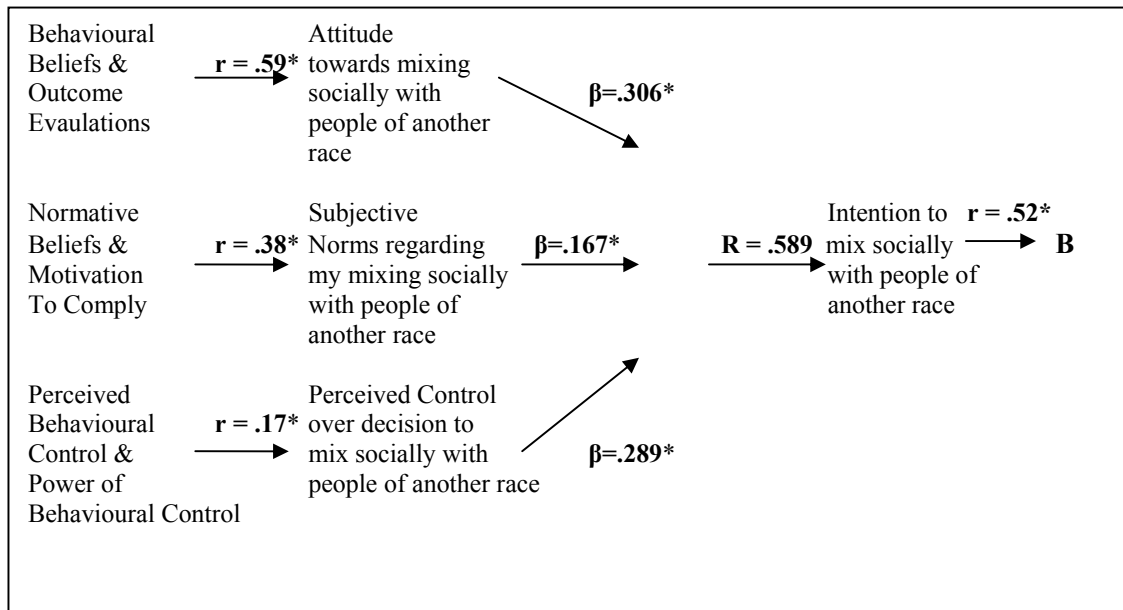
Variables	Beta	Std Err	B	T (210)	p-level
Intercept			-0.159	-0.339	0.735
Attitude	0.306	0.064	0.417	4.799	0.000
Subjective Norm	0.167	0.060	0.183	2.765	0.006
Perceived Behavioural Control	0.289	0.064	0.280	4.533	0.000

Table 4.6 Model Summary

Model summary		
F	R^2	p-value
37.183	0.346912	P<0.0000

Altogether, students' intention to interact interracially is significantly predicted by attitude, subjective norms and perceived behaviour control with positive contributions each (beta = 0.306, 0.167 and 0.289 respectively). As is clear from Figure 4.1 below, students' attitude to interacting with people of different races greatly influences intention ($\beta = 0.31$). Together, the three scales explained 35% ($R^2=0.347$) of the variance in intention. Thus, the remaining 65% of the variance in intention is explained by other factors.

Figure 4.1. Intention to mix interracially (across all races)



Investigating the intercorrelations between the direct measures and belief-based measures of the components of the theory shows that the correlations between the belief-based measures of ‘attitude’, ‘subjective norm’, and ‘perceived behavioural control’ and their corresponding direct measures ($r = 0.59$, $r = 0.38$ and $r = 0.17$ respectively) are adequate to confirm the links between these components of the theory (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). It was found that there was a significant correlation between intention and behaviour ($r = 0.52$). With a significant percentage of the variance explained, the model as a whole does predict students’ intention to interact with people of different races ($F(3,210) = 37.183$, $p < 0.01$).

4.6 Race and sex differences

A factorial ANOVA was conducted to investigate whether there were significant differences between the race and gender groups and the various scales of attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour. The results are presented below in Table 4.7. The scale means and standard deviations by sex and race are presented in Table 4.8. Note that for all the tests, a p-value of less than 0.05 is considered to indicate a statistically significant difference. It was found that there were no

significant differences between the race groups on the scales. There was also no interaction between race and sex. However, significant differences were found between the sexes on the intention and attitude scales. It was found (refer to Appendix E) that females (M=4.80, SD=1.26) reported higher intentions to mix interracially than males (M=4.30, SD=1.30) and had more positive attitudes (M=5.71, SD=0.90) towards interacting socially with people of another race group than males (M=5.44, SD=1.01).

Table 4.7: ANOVA results

	MS Race	F Race	MS Sex	F Sex	MS Race*Sex	F Race*Sex
Intention	1.57	0.97	9.55	5.93*	3.61	2.24
Attitude	0.09	0.10	3.65	4.13*	0.70	0.79
Subjective Norm	2.28	1.63	0.25	0.18	1.02	0.73
Perceived Behavioural Control	3.96	2.45	0.78	0.46	2.31	1.37
Behaviour	4.28	1.65	0.14	0.50	0.36	0.14

Table 4.8 Scale means and standard deviations by sex and race

	Race										
			Black			Asian			White		
			Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N
		Attitude	Female	5.60	0.86	48	5.81	0.85	41	5.72	0.97
Male	5.51		0.89	22	5.25	0.86	15	5.49	1.17	30	
Subjective Norm	Female	4.24	0.91	45	4.89	1.06	42	4.62	1.47	52	
	Male	4.55	0.81	22	4.65	1.08	16	4.79	1.41	30	
Perceived Behavioural Control	Female	5.27	1.55	48	6.06	0.86	42	5.99	1.09	52	
	Male	5.56	1.54	22	5.81	1.25	16	5.56	1.53	30	
Intention	Female	4.99	1.18	48	4.70	1.29	41	4.63	1.32	52	
	Male	3.95	1.06	22	4.75	1.32	16	4.31	1.41	30	
Behaviour	Female	3.52	1.77	48	3.44	1.68	42	4.03	1.58	52	
	Male	3.45	1.37	22	3.54	1.55	16	3.82	1.48	30	

4.7 Difference in behavioural beliefs between intenders and non-intenders

For the purpose of the study the behavioural beliefs functioned as the dependent variables. Intention functioned as the independent variable. This was done so as to identify whether the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree more or less strongly with the corresponding behavioural belief than people with low intention. People were identified as either high or low intenders, if their responses were higher or lower (respectively) than the midpoint (4) of the intention scale. The 38 responses that fell exactly on 4 were excluded, leaving a sample of 188 of which the majority (59%) had high intentions to mix interracially. Table 4.9 below displays these results.

Table 4.9 T-test analysis of intention and behavioural beliefs

Mixing socially with people who are African Black/White would...

Variable	Intention	N	Means	t-value	p-value
1. ...contribute to a better society	Low (1)	58	3.90	3.17	0.001795*
	High (2)	130	4.85		
2. ...lead to my personal growth	Low (1)	58	3.83	3.62	0.000374*
	High (2)	130	4.85		
3. ...expose me to a different culture	Low (1)	58	5.00	3.27	0.001273*
	High (2)	129	5.85		
4. ...lead to rejection from my own group	Low (1)	58	2.62	-2.33	0.020986*
	High (2)	130	2.04		
5. ...lead to suspicion/antagonism from the African Black/White group	Low (1)	58	3.68	-2.62	0.009654*
	High (2)	130	2.95		
6. ...make me feel uncomfortable	Low (1)	58	3.28	-5.70	0.00000*
	High (2)	130	1.88		

The results of the t-test analysis revealed that the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree more strongly with the belief that mixing interracially would lead to a better society than people with low intention. Results indicated a significant score of ($t=3.17$, $df=186$, $p<0.002$).

It was found that the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree more strongly with the belief that interracial mixing would lead to personal growth than people with low intention. Results indicate a significant score of ($t=3.62$, $df=186$, $p<0.000$).

It was found that the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree more strongly with the belief that mixing socially with people of another race group would expose them to a different culture than people with low intention. Results indicated a significant score of ($t=3.27$, $df=186$, $p<0.001$).

It was found that the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree less strongly than people who have low intention when it comes to the belief that interacting interracially would lead to respondent's rejection from their own group. Results indicated a significant score of ($t=-2.33$, $df=185$, $p<0.021$).

Results showed that people with high intention to mix interracially agree less strongly with people of low intention when it comes to the belief that interracial mixing would lead to suspicion/antagonism from the [outgroup] African Black/White group. Results indicated a significant score of ($t=-2.62$, $df=186$, $p<0.010$).

It was found that the people who have high intention to mix interracially agree less strongly with the belief that interracially mixing would lead to discomfort than people with low intention. Results indicated a significant score of ($t=-5.70$, $df=186$, $p<0.000$).

4.8 Summary

On the whole, the components of the theory of planned behaviour model predict intentions to interact interracially on a social level. The TpB has thus proven to be a useful instrument for evaluating people's intentions to mix with people of another race group. It was found that attitude; subjective norm and perceived behavioural control were significant contributors in the model to predict people's intention to mix interracially. The significant correlations between the belief-based and direct measures of the central components of the theory also make for worthwhile interpretations. Results also revealed that the various races did not differ significantly on the variables of attitude, subjective norm, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour. However there were significant differences between the sexes on the variables of intention and attitude. These results will now be discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to assess the ability of the theory of planned behaviour (TpB) to explain people's intentions to interact interracially on a social level. It aimed to understand the influence of students' attitudes, perceptions of social norms and efficacy on these intentions. Findings showed that the TpB model explained 35% of the variability in intention, verifying its predictive power. This compares favourably with the findings of a meta-analysis conducted on the efficacy of the theory of planned behaviour, from a database of 185 independent studies that found that TpB components accounted for, on average, 27% of the variance in intention (Armitage & Conner, 2001). Results of the current research indicated that attitudes to mixing was the most powerful predictor of intention to mix inter-racially followed by perceived ability to effect this behaviour. Perception of social norms, while also statistically significant, was the least important factor. The results suggest that the major obstacles to interracial interaction are intergroup attitudes and the perceived inability to make such contacts. Findings also revealed that there were no significant differences between the various race groups on any of the TpB variables. A discussion of these research findings is put forward below. The chapter also includes a discussion of the research limitations and recommendations to be considered for future research.

5.2 Implications

The results of the study provide strong support for the predictive power of the theory of planned behaviour and show that intentions to mix interracially on a social level can be successfully predicted by the three proposed determinants of intentions, that is, attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. There were moderate to high correlations between the belief-based measures of each of the constructs and their respective direct measures. From these findings one may assume that

behavioural beliefs, normative beliefs and control beliefs determine attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control respectively.

Before turning to a closer inspection of the results, it is important to observe that in the discussion below Black Africans are often referred to as the 'devalued' or 'lower status' group, while Whites are referred to as the 'dominant' or 'higher status' group, however it must be noted that these terms do not reflect a classification of racial hierarchy. Rather they are terms that reflect the enduring images of blackness and whiteness, which are defined in terms of each other, where blackness is wanting and whiteness is privileged (Durrheim & Mtose, 2006).

5.2.1 Attitudes

It was found that attitudes were the strongest predictor of people's intentions to mix interracially. That is, the positive or negative evaluation a respondent had about interacting socially with people of another race influenced their intentions or lack of intentions to interact interracially. Bearing in mind the urban setting in which the current study took place, this result is not surprising and it can be said that the decision to mix interracially is governed by individual or personal choice. This finding implies that attitudes are one of the major barriers to interracial social mixing and should be the focus of possible interventions designed to address this issue.

The findings showed that a significant number of the respondents had positive attitudes towards mixing interracially. This finding could be linked to the findings of Smith et al. (2003) who found, in their research study on the racial attitudes of young South African adults, that there is an apparent shift toward increased tolerance towards members of other race groups. The authors postulate that trends such as these may be an indication that some young South Africans are internalising anti-racist messages that are present in South African society and are recognising the need to make personal level changes. It could be that with people's improved attitudes towards people of other races, comes their improved attitudes towards mixing socially with them. It is also possible that because of desegregation South Africans have more contact with people from other race groups.

This increased contact could lead to improved racial attitudes towards members of racial outgroups and thus lead to positive attitudes about interacting with them. Extant research has found that interracial contact contributes to more positive racial attitudes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000). This, again, can be related to people's positive attitudes towards interacting interracially. Another explanation could be the fact that the sample consisted of students from a historically liberal university (King, 2001), thus they have more liberal attitudes towards other race groups and towards mixing interracially.

The results revealed that there was no significant difference according to race when it came to attitude. This implies that respondents' attitudes towards mixing socially with people from another race group are not affected by the race of the respondents. It must be noted that it was White attitudes towards mixing interracially with Black Africans, and Asian, Black African and Coloured attitudes towards mixing interracially with Whites. This finding differs from previous research that has found race to play a significant role in interracial attitudes. For example, in their study, Smith et al. (2003) found that Whites (English-speaking) have yet to become as tolerant of racial differences as their Black African counterparts. Pillay and Collings (2004) also found that the White respondents in their sample tended to score higher than other groups on measures of racial prejudice, while Black African respondents scored amongst the lowest. Racial prejudice has been linked to having negative racial attitudes (Allport, 1954). Gibson (2004) found that Whites in his survey expressed relatively tolerant attitudes towards Black Africans, which was explained by the element of social desirability, that is the unwillingness of Whites to convey openly negative views they hold of Black Africans (Gibson, 2004). Some of the major concerns of members of higher status groups (in South Africa, Whites) generally involve being perceived as prejudiced (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005; Vorauer et al., 1998). Other research has found that Indians have more positive attitudes towards Whites than Black Africans (Kinloch, 1985; Pillay & Collings, 2004). It must be noted that the above research findings differ from the present study's results in that they deal with people's attitudes towards other race groups, while the current study deals with people's attitudes towards *mixing* with people from other race groups. It is possible that the two function differently and thus race plays a different factor in them.

The fact that race was not a significant factor in respondents' attitudes could be attributed to the fact that the present study made use of a young, urban, university sample, meaning that the majority of the sample were children when the new dispensation came to power and apartheid was abolished. Therefore they have lived most of their lives in a society that encourages positive racial attitudes. Gibson (2004) found that people who were less affected by apartheid tend to hold more positive racial attitudes. It is possible that the respondents, irrespective of their race, have internalised the tone of non-racialism and tolerance that is present in South African society. Another possible reason for this result is that previous research has investigated people's attitudes towards other race groups, while the current research investigated attitudes towards interracial mixing. It could also be that in the current study, which was conducted about two to three years after research by Gibson (2004) and Smith et al. (2003), respondents had more experience of interracial contact, while the respondents from previous research may not have had the same level of exposure to other race groups, thus there may have been a significant link between their attitudes and to which race group they belonged to.

From the factorial ANOVA conducted, it was found that respondent's attitudes differed significantly according to sex. Results showed that females and males both had relatively positive attitudes towards mixing interracially, but that females scored higher than males on this scale. In literature the finding that males are more prejudiced, while females are less prejudiced is not a consistent finding. Some studies claim that females are thought to favour the familiarity and closeness of same-race relationships and friendships (Hallinan & Teixeira, 1987) and are thus rejecting of newcomers and people they perceive as different to themselves. Other studies state that based on the evolutionary rationale, which is that historically, males have engaged in intergroup hostility, females are more likely to engage in intergroup relationships and friendships than males (Fishbein, 1996). If there is competition between males, it is possible that males avoid interacting with the people whom they are in competition with, thus it is possible that males interact less interracially than females. Literature also shows that females demonstrate greater interpersonal skills than their male counterparts and show more social involvement than

males (Patterson, 1991). With greater interpersonal skills females are better likely to interact more with people from another race group than males and this would possibly lead to better attitudes towards mixing interracially.

5.2.2 Subjective Norms

It is not surprising that subjective norms have emerged as the least strong predictor of the intention variable in this study as this is usually the case in many Western studies (Sheppard et al., 1988). Research has found that in non-Western contexts, the normative component of the TpB will have more relevance where individual decisions are responsive to group norms and social factors than in cultures where the decision-making process is more individualistic (Fekadu & Kraft, 2002; Wilson, Zenda, McMaster & Lavelle, 1992). The fact that a young, urban sample was used in the present study might have contributed to this result, as the urban environment is more conducive to individualism and individualistic choice than a rural environment where the emphasis is on community and decisions are based on the social context (Wiggins et al, 1994).

Although subjective norm was the least strong of the three predictors, it still had significant predictive power. This is noteworthy since this predictor is usually the weakest of the three theoretical components (Ajzen, 1991; Armitage & Conner, 2001). In their meta-analysis of Armitage and Conner (2001) found that the failure of subjective norms to predict behavioural intentions may primarily be ascribed to the use of single-item measures. The fact that the present study used a three-item measure of subjective norms with a sufficient internal consistency may thus have contributed to the predictive power of subjective norms. Another explanation may be related to the conceptualisation of subjective norm in the TpB in terms of global perception of social pressure from others to perform the behaviour. As argued by Terry and Hogg (1996), such pressures may be latent and not so explicit for most behavioural forms. However, in the present case, it is conceivable that the social pressure elicited from respondent's families, partners, peers, etc. may be less direct but explicit.

The results also revealed that on average, respondents perceived that their referents were in favour of them mixing interracially. This may be linked to the fact that the social and political changes that the country has undergone have likely led to improved interracial relations (de la Rey, 1991; Smith et al, 2003). It could also be related to people's hesitance of conveying negative racial attitudes in an atmosphere that insists upon overt tolerance. Thus what the respondents perceive may be based on the fact that their referents are more vocal about supporting them mixing interracially or, conversely, are less expressive of their opposition to them interacting with people from other race groups.

The various races did not differ significantly on subjective norms. In previous research it was found that race is an important predictor of the attitudes of the significant people in the respondent's life towards interracial mixing. For example Ebrahim-Vally (2001) speaks about the importance of community and family in South African Indian society in making important lifestyle decisions. Russel (1961), in a study of an interracial neighbourhood, also found that with the Indian race group, family pressures appeared to be positively correlated with the rejection of the other race groups and relationships with them.

A possible reason for the current findings may be the fact that since the end of apartheid, there have been multiple political and social initiatives undertaken to reduce racism in the country (Smith et al., 2003) and more people, regardless of race, are leaning towards racial tolerance. It could be that it is this racial tolerance towards people from other race groups that leads to referents being more supportive of interracial mixing, and it is this that respondents are perceiving. Another possible reason is that of social desirability. Referents, irrespective of their race, may be unwilling to express their negative views of other race groups and interracial mixing, especially in the current non-racialist atmosphere, where such expressions would be frowned upon. Respondents may be perceiving support where it is more a case of a lack of express opposition, or it could be respondents answering in a way that does not put important referents in bad light.

5.2.3 Perceived Behavioural Control

The results reveal that perceived behavioural control was the second most important variable in the prediction of people's intention to mix interracially. This provides information about the potential constraints on action as perceived by the respondents (Armitage & Conner, 2001). The analyses show that the study's respondents report a high sense of control over their decision to mix interracially. According to Bandura (1997), people are more inclined (i.e. intend) to engage in behaviour that are believed to be achievable. The implication is that individuals form intentions when they are confident they can enact the behaviour and that the translation of intention into action may be facilitated by an assessment of the external factors tapped by perceived behavioural control.

Interestingly, the various races did not differ significantly on perceived behavioural control. People of all three races, namely Black African, Asian and White, seem to feel that they have some control over whether or not they will mix interracially. It was thought that Black Africans would experience less perceived control in deciding whether to mix interracially than the other race groups, as previous research has found that members of devalued groups are used to experiencing prejudice and this negatively influences group members' feelings towards interactions with the outgroup (Tropp, 2003). It is possible the people who experience intergroup anxiety have lower perceptions of behavioural control. In Buttny's 1997 study of reported speech he found that some African Americans (a devalued group in America), who were often the recipients of racism and stereotyping, commented on their lack of control in interracial settings. He said that this implicit powerlessness could be a way of explaining the avoidance of interracial contact. People who are used to being positioned in the 'prejudiced against' or secondary role may feel that they will have less control in deciding whether to mix interracially. As people are inclined to avoid uncomfortable social situations, those who have experienced prejudice from outgroup members may be less willing to engage in interactions with any members of the outgroup in the future (Plant, 2004; Plant & Devine, 2003; Tropp, 2003). It was also thought that the meta-stereotypes that many White South

Africans have (Steyn, 2001), i.e. that they are seen as prejudiced would lead to their avoidance of interracial contact. The fact that they would not be able to control how outgroup members perceive them might cause them to experience intergroup anxiety and thus avoid interracial situations (Ickes, 1984). The fact that the current research revealed that race did not play a role in people's perception of behavioural control could mean that young people, across the races of Asian, Black African and White, may have more exposure to people from other race groups and more experience of interacting interracially on a social level, this could possibly explain the high levels of control the respondents reported. Research has found that learners attending multiracial schools tend to have more interracial contact outside of school (Mohololo, 2007). It could be that this increased experience of interracial contact could be attributed to the type of school the respondents attended before entering university, although this was not measured in the current study.

5.2.4 Intention

On average, the sample reported having slightly high intentions to mix interracially.

Race was not a strong factor in predicting people's intentions to mix interracially.

Again, this was an unexpected finding as previous research has found, for example, that White South Africans score higher than Black Africans on measures of racial prejudice (Smith et al., 2003), thus it was believed that White respondents in the current study would report lower intentions to mix interracially, because prejudice has been linked to lower rates of contact (Allport, 1954). Racial prejudice can be linked to intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al., 1999); if Whites experience intergroup anxiety then it is likely that they will want to avoid intergroup contact. Or in the case of Black Africans, who have historically experienced prejudice, they may have come to expect that same prejudicial treatment in interracial interactions (Tropp, 2003) and thus experience intergroup anxiety. For this reason they may want to avoid such situations where they may feel vulnerable to intolerance and thus have less intention to mix with people of other race groups. A possible reason for this finding is that, in accordance to the results of attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control, which were relatively high

and independent of the respondents' race, people's intentions to mix interracially are irrespective of their race.

From the factorial ANOVA conducted, it was found that respondent's intentions to interact interracially differed significantly according to sex. Results showed that females scored higher than males on this scale. This finding could be attributed to the fact that females are more sociable than males (Patterson, 1991). From this it is possible that females may have had more interracial encounters, this would then mean that they were more at ease in such interracial contact situations; would not experience the anxiety associated with anticipating intergroup contact situations and thus have higher intentions of engaging in such behaviour than males.

5.2.5 Behaviour

On average people reported having little social interaction with people of another race group. Of the five scales analysed, respondents scored the least on the behaviour scale, with all groups scoring below the midpoint. This finding is consistent with previous research that has found that very little interracial contact is occurring in South Africa (Gibson, 2004; Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Schrieffer et al., 2005; Tredoux et al., 2005) despite the increased opportunities for contact since the abolition of apartheid. This finding means that despite the efforts of the South African government and the private sector in establishing a racially egalitarian and tolerant society, there are low rates of interracial contact.

It was found that the various race groups did not differ significantly on this variable. Previous research has found that minority groups, numerically speaking, have more experience of interacting interracially than majority groups (Ickes, 1984), so it was assumed that the minority group respondents (Asians and Whites) would report having interacted with people from other race groups more so than Black African respondents, who form the vast majority in South Africa. The fact that there was no significant difference between the races implies that the amount of interracial contact they currently have is independent of the person's race. It could suggest that people, irrespective of race,

are becoming more used to interacting interracially or are all not interacting. This result could be attributed to the fact that a student sample was used, because life on a university campus usually entails interracial contact that may not be possible outside the university. It is important to note that this finding may also have arisen from the fact that the sample is not a true representation of the racial make-up of the country. In the current study's sample there was an over-representation of Asians and Whites. According to the 2006 midyear estimated figures for the country's racial make-up, Black Africans made up 80% of the population, while Asians and Whites made up 3% and 9% respectively (South African Census, 2001).

The results showed that on average, respondents from all the race groups had the least interracial interaction at home and the most outside of lectures. It could be that people are not comfortable enough interacting with people from another race group to spend time in such an intimate setting as the home, be it 'ours' or 'theirs'. This correlates with research that has found that the occurrence of interracial friendships is very low in this country (Finchilescu, 2007; Gibson, 2004) as well as research that has found that South African neighbourhoods remain largely segregated (Christopher, 2005). Literature also supports the finding that people experience the most interracial interaction out of lectures. Finchilescu and Tredoux (in press) state that educational institutions are one of the main sites of naturally occurring racial contact in South Africa. They maintain that the university context offers the best instance of an interracial contact situation in which groups meet on a relatively equal status basis.

It was also found that there was no significant relationship between the sex of the respondents and their race when it came to the various scales of attitude, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, intention and behaviour. This is pertinent in that past research has found that there is a strong interaction between these two variables when it comes to interracial contact. For example Hallinan and Teixeira (1987) found that these two variables were linked when it was revealed that African American females were more likely to make cross-race friendship choices than African American males. In contrast, they found that White males were more likely to choose cross-race peers as best

friends than White females. Sagar, Schofield and Snyder (1983) also found that race and sex were significant grouping variables in the study of student interactions in a desegregated classroom setting. It could be that there is a difference in these American samples and the current study's South African sample, it is possible that in South Africa there is less emphasis on the race-sex interaction when it comes to interracial interaction. It must also be noted that these American studies made use of classroom settings with young children as their sample group. It could be that racial tolerance evens out as children grow up into adolescence and young adulthood, where their worldviews mature and the race-sex interaction is not as prevalent in young adulthood as it is in childhood.

Despite the fact that respondents, on average, reported relatively positive attitudes and subjective norms towards mixing, high perceptions of control over the behaviour and relatively high intentions to mix interracially, South Africans still seem to be living in racial isolation from one another. How can these contradictory findings be explained? According to Durrheim and Dixon (2005) changed situations can prompt attitude change. In the current era of desegregation in which people are increasingly encountering interracial situations, it is possible that they are internalising the messages of racial tolerance, which would explain the current study's findings of positive attitudes and subjective norms (the respondent's perception of their referent's attitudes), the high perceived control and the relatively high intentions to mix. The fact that there is comparatively little interracial mixing could be attributed to the existence of modern or symbolic racism. Whereas 'old fashioned' racism entails the overt rejection of, and hostility towards people of another race group, modern or symbolic racism is more subtle and insidious (Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; McConahay, 1986). The existence of symbolic racism could lead to a contradiction between attitudes and behaviour. Durrheim and Dixon (2005) state that there can exist a mismatch between people's attitudes towards a behaviour and their actual behaviour. So while people report these high attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and intentions, this could be due to the need to appear racially tolerant, something that does not translate into their actual behaviour. Another possible explanation for current study's incongruous results, that is, the relatively high attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and

intentions versus the low occurrence of interracial social contact involves a dilemma that reflects the gap between an imagined ideal and everyday reality. This is a problem that was also identified by Buttny (1999), and pertains to the possibility that people's ideal of racial integration does not always translate well into real-life situations and contexts. It is possible that people would like more interracial contact but there exist some obstacles that prevent this. As already discussed, in the public and work environments, society has become more racially integrated, yet it is a different matter in people's private and social lives, where South Africans are still not mixing interracially. It is not surprising then that the university campus would reflect society's broader patterns of continued social segregation.

5.3 High/Low intenders and behavioural beliefs

The results that reflected the link between high/low intenders (to mix interracially) and their behavioural beliefs reveal some of the high/low intenders' worldviews.

From the results it can be ascertained that people who have high intentions to mix interracially believe that interracial contact would help to bring about a better South African society. They also believe that interacting socially with people from another race group would lead to their personal growth. They believe strongly that mixing socially with people from another race group would expose them to a different culture. It was found that high intenders believe less strongly than low intenders that interracial mixing would lead to their rejection from their own group and would lead to suspicion or antagonism from the outgroup. And high intenders agree less strongly than low intenders that interracial contact would make them feel uncomfortable. Low intenders may be concerned that they will be viewed in a negative light by members of the outgroup.

From these results a few assumptions can be made. It is possible that high intenders experience relatively low levels of intergroup anxiety, thus the response that they do not believe that interracial interaction would lead to their discomfort. This could be attributed to the fact that they may have experienced higher levels of interracial contact that has

been positive and thus they do not have negative expectations of such contact situations. The fact that they do not believe that mixing socially with people from other race groups would not lead to their rejection by their ingroup could point to the fact that the important people in their lives, be it close referents or their community, support interracial contact. Another factor that points to the idea that high intenders have had previous positive interracial contact is the fact that they do not believe as strongly as low intenders that they would be subjected to antagonism or suspicion by outgroup members.

Of low intenders it can be said that is likely that they experience high levels of intergroup anxiety, and anticipate negative consequences from such situations, such as feeling uncomfortable, and being rejected by their ingroup as well as the outgroup. It could be that low intenders are surrounded by referents or communities that do not support interracial mixing. It is also possible that any interracial contact they have experienced has been negative and superficial, thus their concern about being treated with antagonism and suspicion from the outgroup. Such anxiety and negative experiences would lead them to believe that interracial mixing would not lead to a better South African society, nor would they believe that the experience would be personally enriching. It is possible that the stress they experience far overshadows the potential positive outcomes of interracial mixing. It could also be that these are rationalisations for prejudiced feelings.

5.4 Conditions of Contact

Contact has been shown to reduce racial prejudice under certain conditions (Allport, 1954). Thus, it is important to consider whether these conditions of contact are met in the contact setting of the current study, that is, the university campus. As already mentioned, the present study took place at the University of the Witwatersrand, situated in Johannesburg, South Africa. The conditions of contact that were specified by Allport (1954) include a) equal status, b) common goals, c) limited competition, and d) institutional support.

In many historically segregated societies, such as South Africa, the optimal conditions for contact have proved extremely difficult to create because wider power structures that are deeply set in the historical, political and economic organisation of society make these optimal conditions hard to put into practice or are applicable to only a limited range of settings (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). While the conditions of contact are not explicitly met in the university setting, they are somewhat present. According to Finchilescu (2007) in university settings, students generally share similar status, competition is relatively muted and there is great potential for friendship. Institutional support takes the form of the university's policy to make education as accessible as possible to all South Africans, irrespective of race. This condition of contact is probably the one that is the most successfully met of all the conditions in the present study's setting.

From what has been discussed, it can be said that the University of the Witwatersrand, as a research setting, meets some of the conditions of contact to a certain degree. From this it is clear that the contact setting in which the study took place is largely conducive to positive interracial contact.

The current study yielded a wealth of data, especially concerning where the focus could be for future interventions. As such it is essential to review the limitations of the study, and to look to the future, for recommendations for further study in the area.

5.5 Limitations

First and foremost to be taken into consideration when reviewing the present study is the demographics of the sample. The sample consisted of university students, by this fact alone it can be said that the educational backgrounds of the participants involved in this survey were homogenous. Thus, it is important to note that there is the possibility that the findings obtained may be biased towards the perspectives of a very small educated percentage of the population. By virtue of the fact that the sample consisted of people attending university, it can be concluded that the beliefs and attitudes of people with

different educational experiences have been excluded. Also, the study targeted a specific age cohort, therefore the results cannot be assumed to represent South Africans from different age groups.

Another limitation identified in this study is the fact that only the interracial interaction of Asians, Black Africans and Coloureds in relation to Whites, and Whites in relation to Black Africans was surveyed. It is important to be aware of the fact that there are many types of interracial interactions, for example between Black Africans and Asians, Coloureds and Black Africans, Whites and Asians, etc, and it will be crucial in future research efforts to examine other types of interracial interactions. Other researchers who have touched on this limitation include Howes and Wu (1990) and Plant (2004).

Stephan and Rosenfield (1978) make reference to the next limitation seen in the current study which is a methodological drawback. The present research, like many such studies, suffered from the obstacle that many people refused to participate in the survey. This problem not only leads to small sizes (thereby decreasing the probability of achieving significant results), but it also brings the issue of sample bias to the fore. The generalisability of the results is then called into question.

The fact that a university known for its' ethnic diversity was used for this research not only provides research opportunities, as already discussed, but also has the limitation that it may not be easy to generalise results to other universities. Not all universities in South Africa have diverse racial representation, thus the ethnic distribution and the learning environment of the university chosen for this research may not reflect the most widespread situations and experiences of most minority and majority group members. Dubois and Hirsch (1990) state that research that investigates interracial friendships or behaviour is liable to be significantly limited in its' findings if it does not broaden its' focus to include settings other than the university.

In terms of the questionnaire itself, question 33 concerning the opinions of the respondent's girlfriend/boyfriend (subjective norms) appeared to be one the most

frequently omitted. This could be due to the way in which the question was worded in that did not allow room for respondents who were not in a relationship. An area that was not addressed was whether or not the respondents lived in residence provided by the university or whether they lived in one of the suburbs/townships. This could have proved useful in gauging the respondents' proximity to people of another/other races.

The use of a self-reported measure of interracial mixing is a possible limitation to the present study. One of the critiques of self-reported behaviour measures has been that they are subjective in nature, however the findings of the present research study are held with confidence. Some research has found that the validity of self-reports can be called into question when it is potentially incriminating, legally proscribed behaviour (for example, tax evasion) that is involved (Hessing, Elffers & Weigel, 1988). However, self-report is widely acknowledged as a valuable methodology in social research (Elliot, Armitage & Baughan, 2003).

Schofield and Francis (1982) touch on the final limitation identified in the present study and that is the use of sociometric measures. They report that the extensive use of sociometric measures to the near exclusion of direct observation of the behaviour in question is unfortunate. One of the main disadvantages of this approach is that with such a thing as interracial interactions, which is an extremely controversial and highly charged topic, it can be expected that the sociometric measures, like other self-reports, are distinctly influenced by social desirability biases and evaluation apprehension.

5.6 Recommendations

Findings from the present study point to the importance of attitudes in people's intentions to mix interracially. From this it can be recommended that interventions are created that are geared towards improving people's attitudes towards interracial contact as well as identifying ways in which to improve people's sense of control in such situations of interracial contact.

From the findings of the current research study, it was found that perceived behavioural control is also an important factor to consider in relation to people interacting interracially. Low levels of perceived behavioural control can be linked to the experience of intergroup anxiety. Anxiety about an interracial interaction could be one of the barriers to people perceiving that they can have a sense of control in such a situation. It can be recommended that in order to lower people's anxiety of interracial interactions, it may be beneficial to concentrate on methods that improve their expectancies about interracial interactions. By looking at the similarities and differences between the various races, as well as between the minority and majority group members' experiences and situations in interracial interactions, it may provide a comprehensive picture of these interactions and hopefully allow for the complexities of dynamic interracial interactions to be tackled in a better prepared way.

Academic institutions can play an important role in facilitating interracial relations by putting into practice policies and procedures that support interracial sociability and by generating an atmosphere that opposes racial stereotyping and prejudicial behaviour and fosters interracial interaction, cooperation and friendship.

It may be beneficial, in subsequent research using the TpB, to include questions gauging respondents' quality of previous interracial interaction experiences, as it has been found to influence the components of the TpB. This idea was put forward by Viki et al. (2006). It may also be worthwhile to include questions to distinguish between English speaking Whites and Afrikaans speaking Whites. Previous research has made this distinction (Heaven & Bezuidenhout, 1978; Holtman et al., 2005; Pillay & Collings, 2004). This distinction is a significant one in terms of historic racial attitudes. The present study did not make this distinction, although it can be assumed that the majority of White respondents were English-speaking as the University of the Witwatersrand is an English-medium institution, however it is still ambiguous whether Asian, Black African and Coloured respondents were considering an Afrikaans or an English-speaking person when making their response. It may be necessary in future studies to make the distinction.

As already discussed, there are many reasons why a university setting provides ample opportunity for researchers of intergroup/interracial contact in South Africa, and it has been said that “students who have consistent contact over their academic careers with members of other racial groups, in a climate supportive of diversity, and who learn through these contacts to respect and like individuals from different backgrounds are likely to carry these attitudes and values into adult life” (Khmelkov & Hallinan, 1999, p. 641).

This said there has been some criticism of a number of South African studies, for example Schrieff et al. (2005) and Holtman et al. (2005) by Marx and Feltham-King (2006) for focussing the research on “almost exclusively...privileged spaces” (p. 453). Further critique put forward by these authors was directed at the exclusion of the variables of gender and economic class from the analyses of racial segregation. It is recommended that these factors be taken into account for future research.

5.7 Conclusion

Looking at the factors contributing to people’s intentions to interact socially with people from other race groups has developed knowledge around the relative processes of attitudes towards interacting interracially, of the influence of others’ in decision-making, and of facilitators or hindrances in perceptions of control over these interactions. Attitudes and perceived behavioural control were revealed to be the most important predictors of whether or not people interact interracially. It is important that these form the basis of interventions developed to address this key issue. While it is heartening to note that the majority of the sample indicated relatively positive attitudes, high subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and intentions to mix interracially, the lower rates of actual interracial contact indicates the necessity for more work to be done in the area racial integration, especially in private and social settings.

Once becoming the first democratically elected president of South Africa, Nelson

Mandela called for the formation of a non-racist South Africa. His fight for racial tolerance and integration will have to continue to struggle against well-developed social forces in South Africa that continue to keep the country divided.

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