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Perceptions of interracial friendships held by a black community in Soweto

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A dissertation submitted to the School of Human and Community Development, Faculty of Humanities, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts of Clinical Psychology, under the supervision of Professor Gillian Finchilescu.

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own work and that any work that is not mine has been rightfully and properly acknowledged. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Clinical Psychology) at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

_____

Anthony Sibusiso Nhlapo

……day of…….2009

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"Not unto us, O LORD, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy mercy, and for thy truth's sake".

Psalms 115:1

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Abstract

This study looks at what black people feel about black youth involved in interracial friendships. The study was conducted in a black township in Soweto, Meadowlands. There were 78 participants (37 males and 41 females) who participated in the study. A questionnaire comprised of 8 scales was used to gather data. The scales measured different variables such as level of identification; feelings about black youth having white friends; symbolic threats; contact; intergroup anxiety; social distance as well as affective prejudice. Only seven scales were used to analyze the data gathered. On the whole, the participants appeared to have positive feelings towards youth having white friends. The participants' perceptions of the threats posed by youth having white friends were considered as individual items as well as summated into a scale.

The correlation between the feelings about youth having white friends and the perceived symbolic threat scales indicated that there was a rather weak relationship between these variables.. The forward selection model of multiple linear regression was conducted in order to understand the influence of contact and attitudinal variables on feelings about interracial friendships. Three explanatory variables were significant: knowing white people, having white friends and symbolic threats were good predictors of how participants feel about youth having white friends. Although the question of contact hypothesis and affective prejudice was not raised as the main aim of the study, it was tested using multiple linear regression. Three explanatory variables were significant: knowing white people, having white friends and intergroup anxiety were good predictors of participants' affective prejudice.

In answering the association and difference between the dichotomous contact variables and intergroup anxiety, a two sample t-test was conducted. And lastly, demographic variable seemed not to be good predictors of how people felt about black youth in interracial relationships.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Apartheid Legislation in South Africa and Interracial Contact

South Africa's apartheid era was different to the kind of segregation and racial hatred perpetuated in other countries in that in South Africa there was a systematic way in which the Apartheid regime was orchestrated and formalized through the law. The Apartheid regime legislated at least four laws which formally enforced segregation and racism. The first law is the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act, Act no. 55 of 1949. This law prohibited marriages between white people and people of other races, including black people. Between 1946 and the enactment of this law, only 75 mixed marriages were recorded, compared with some 28,000 white marriages only (Hayward, 1989). This law also prohibited any intimate relationship between a black person of any gender with white male or female.

The law that followed this act was the Group Areas Act, Act no. 41 of 1950. The law forced physical separation between races by creating different residential areas for different races. In addition, this law also led to forced removals of people living in "wrong" areas, for example coloureds living in District Six in Cape Town (Hayward, 1989). In 1953, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act no. 49 of 1953, maintained forced segregation in all public amenities, public buildings, and public transport with the aim of eliminating contact between whites and other races. "Europeans Only" and "Non-Europeans Only" signs were put up in order to enforce the act. The act

stated that all public facilities that were provided for different races need not be equal (Hayward 1989). In 1959, the Extension of University Act, Act no. 45 of 1959, was passed to put an end to black students attending white universities (mainly the universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand); in addition, Rhodes University practiced racial segregation on its volition (Maylam, 2005). Non-white students that were removed from such universities were expected to attend separate tertiary institutions that the Apartheid Government had created for coloured, black, and Asian students (Hayward, 1989).

Given such formalized and well enforced laws, it is an undisputable fact that from 1948 to 1994, interracial relations between black and white people were not healthy. Black people were viewed as victims of the regime and the white Apartheid government was viewed as perpetrators (Ngubane, 1961). Interracial friendships during those times would have been difficult if not impossible. In fact, the apartheid government was careful to allow only the types of contact that would reinforce racial division and reinforce negative attitudes. It is, thus, not surprising that in their research on contact between race groups in South Africa Foster and Finchilescu (1986) dubbed the country as a "non-contact society" because the permissible contact was so limited. In addition, it is also not surprising that different races in South Africa have developed preconceived ideas, perceptions and especially misconceptions about each other. Such preconceived ideas, perceptions and inevitably misconceptions also resulted in development of attitudes, including prejudice and beliefs that were unfounded, about the characteristics and moral values of the different races.

However, as stated earlier, this does not imply that there was absolutely no contact between race groups. There was limited contact, largely hierarchical (e.g. boss-servant) or bureaucratic (state agent – supplicant) contact that was frequently oppressive and violent (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). Such contact as Stephan and Stephan (1985) have observed is perceived to be threatening and anxiety-provoking, and always exacerbate prejudice instead of diminishing it. Therefore one could argue that though this could be considered to be interracial contact, it did not lead to better interracial relations.

Given the limited nature of interracial contact in South Africa and conditions which produced extremely damaging forms of race relations, the quest of racial integration and an attempt to generate a different kind of society came immediately to the fore with the ending of Apartheid rule in 1994. For instance, after the 1994 elections and the beginning of new South Africa, freedom fighters such as the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu coined the phrase "Rainbow Nation". The term was later elaborated upon by South Africa's first democratically elected president, Nelson Mandela. Mr. Mandela stated that "each of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world" (Manzo, 1996, p.71).

This statement was pronounced with an intention of declaring unity between tribes, racial groups and sexes. However, realizing the idea of a "Rainbow Nation" has been met with many challenges. For example a study conducted by Kornegay (2005, p.4) found that "whites rate the lowest in terms of identification with a rainbow nation". In addition, self

segregation has been observed in different university studies. For example Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, and Finchilescu (2005, p.16) "showed that Black and White students in two (male and female) residences self-segregated in a shared dining room at multiple levels: In each residence over 80% of Black students occupied separate sections of the dining room, and self-segregated again within sections". In their observation of patterns of interaction in public spaces on university campuses, Tredoux and Finchilescu (2007) found that informal segregation still exists in post-apartheid era.

These studies (i.e. Kornegay 2005; and Finchilescu & Tredoux, 2007) suggest that even though the Apartheid regime is over, the remnants of its policies, such as racial segregation, remain and they seem to be evident self or informal segregation. Thus, informal segregation is still noticeable on daily living. South African daily newspapers have also carried stories that exposed Apartheid regime's remnants. Such stories include the Forum of Black Journalist (FBJ) controversy (Mahlangu, 2008). The forum barred a white journalist from joining one of their press conferences in which the president of the ruling party (African National Congress) was to be interviewed. This incident resulted in a debate that questioned the South African constitution on two grounds. Firstly the question of freedom of association; the question raised was whether the Forum of Black Journalist was practicing its right of freedom of association which is enshrined in the South African constitution. The opposite question asked whether the forum was engaged in separatist activity in that they invited someone who was black and could potentially become the next South African president and thus the forum wanted to claim exclusive meeting with him. Another incident which could be seen as challenging the realization of

a Rainbow Nation involved two Tshwane Metro Council employees who were told that they were not welcomed in a restaurant because they were black. In fact, a notice was placed at the entrance of the restaurant; it stated in Afrikaans that it was for "whites only" (Breytenbach, 2009)).

Such stories and research findings generate a lot of questions around race and interracial interaction in South Africa. And since the focus of this research is on race and interracial interaction, especially friendship, all the stories and research findings are worth noting with a critical eye. In this study interracial friendship will be defined as intimate, but non-sexual relationship between members of two races (in this case black and white). This definition is adopted due to the constant use of the term intimate, especially in literature. For example, Amir (1969) and Goldstein (1994) use the term intimate interracial contact to compare it to or refer to what they called 'casual versus intimate contact challenge'. Intimate interracial contact therefore means a close friendship which does not necessarily involve sexual relations.

There have been numerous studies conducted in the area of interracial friendships and contact. However, most of these studies have been done outside the continent of Africa. It is difficult for one to make generalizations on a South African population based on such studies. It is, therefore, important to explore interracial friendship looking within a South African context. Secondly, it has been noted that existing studies conducted within South African contexts tend to look at particular racial groups (e.g. white samples) and exclude other racial groups. For example, there are few, if any studies devoted to studying black South African's perceptions of interracial contact, be it romantic or intimate interracial

friendships (Ratele & Duncan, 2003). It has also been noted that in existing studies in which whites were participants, the aim of such studies was to look at the participants perceptions in relation to black participants (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

As stated earlier, the study will be looking at black people's perceptions and feelings in relation to their white counterparts. The rationale behind this is that interracial relations between the two races in South Africa have always been a subject of study and therefore this study will extend and add more into the contemporary debates about race relations in South Africa. Another reason to look at race lies within the changes in interactions between blacks and whites that can be observed on daily basis. Thus, this research would explore black participant's feelings in relations to youth involved in interracial friendships in the context of the new South Africa in which everyone has equal rights and where interracial contact and unity are encouraged.

Thus the aim of this study is to investigate black people's feelings about black youth having white friends. The research also looks at what factors affect how black people feel about youth in interracial friendship. The factors to be investigated include the level to which black participants identify themselves as black; their attitude towards interracial mixing; the level of contact they have or had with white people; and whether having white friends affect how black people feel about youth in interracial friendships. The study will also look at whether knowing someone who has white friends affect how one feel about youth in interracial friendship. The study will also investigate whether the level

of ones affective prejudice affects how one feels about black youth and interracial mixing.

In addition to the above-mentioned variables, the study will also look at whether there could be other factors or variables that might be influencing black participant's feelings about youth in interracial friendship. For example, the study will look at whether demographic information such as socio-economic status is by any chance a contributing factor in generating certain feelings towards youth involved interracial friendships. Other factors that will be investigated include gender, education, and age.

The question that one would like to answer is whether these interracial interactions have any impact on how blacks perceive interracial friendships in the light of some of the issues already discussed. The rationale is to present an approach which is in line with studies already undertaken in this field which argue that opportunities for cross-race interaction influence interracial sociability and friendship (Hallinan & Williams, 1987). By adopting this view, the research hopes to pave a way towards better racial relations in South Africa. It is argued that one of the most effective ways to break down the racial boundaries that exist between South African adolescents and to contribute to reconstruction, development and reconciliation in South African society, is through the exploration of race relations in youth (du Plessis, 1999). Therefore, the researcher perceives this study to be of importance in improving racial relations in this country.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This study attempts to investigate how black people's feelings about black youth in interracial friendships are affected or influenced by variables such as the level of identification with their own race group, existing affective prejudice, social distance, general feelings about interracial contact and the amount and nature of contact they have or had in interracial mixing. In exploring these variables, this chapter will look at both existing research building theories as well as theory driven research.

Theories to be considered in this chapter include the Contact Hypothesis which maintains that regular interactions between members of different groups reduce prejudice, provided it occurs under favourable conditions (Allport, 1954). This theory will be used to investigate and explore the extent to which contact in interracial mixing influences the level of prejudice, especially between black and white people in the South African historical context. An extension of the contact hypothesis will also be presented. The reformulation of contact hypothesis was proposed by Pettigrew (1998). He argued that "to take intergroup contact forward, researchers should focus on understanding in greater depth how unique forms of contact such as friendship reduce prejudice" (Pettigrew, 1998 cited in Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini & Christ 2007, p.213).

Secondly, this chapter will also look at the Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice which postulates that in intergroup relations there exist at least four different types of threats.

These threats include realistic threats, symbolic threats, threats stemming from intergroup anxiety, and threats arising from negative stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In the light of this postulation, the study will investigate whether black people hold perceived threats that could be considered realistic and/or symbolic in relation to interracial mixing.

The third theory to be outlined is the Social Identity theory which holds that we identify with groups that we perceive ourselves to belong to. This identification includes but is not limited to race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The Social Identity theory will be used to understand how one's level of identification with one's group affects one's feelings towards interracial mixing. Finally this chapter will explore findings on the influence that demographic information such as education, socio-economic status, gender and age has on interracial mixing.

2.2. Contact Hypothesis

The contact hypothesis was put forward by Allport (1954) as one way of reducing intergroup conflict. Allport (1954, p.281) noted that,

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

The central premise of the contact hypothesis is that the best way to "reduce tension and hostility between groups is to bring them into systematic contact with each other in various ways" (Brown, 1995, p. 236).

There are at least four conditions that need to be met for the contact hypothesis to be effective. In addition to the four conditions, there is a process known as individuation. In this regard, Wilder (1981) argues that,

> if deindividuation of target persons lessens our (i.e. in-group) regard for them (i.e. out-group), then individuation of those persons may enhance our favourability toward them. Individuation of out-group members may mediate a reduction of bias for any several reasons. First, individuation of the group breaks down the simple perception of the out-group as a homogeneous unit. Second, individuation of out-group members focuses attention on these persons and may enable one to notice points of similarity between oneself and the individuated members of the out-group. Third, if attention is focused on the individuated members, one should be more prone to take their role and, perhaps, empathize with them. (p. 235)

Therefore, contact hypothesis would argue that interracial friendship is more likely to be forged and fostered once members of the different racial groups begin to individuate out-group members. This also means that the lesser the differences people perceive in relation to the out-group member the better the chances for them to forge interracial relationship and thus reduce prejudice.

In support of the above argument, one would to turn to a study on mixed racial relationships which was conducted in South Africa by Mojapelo-Batka in 2008. Mojapelo-Batka (2008) found that individuals involved in mixed race relationship found the experience to be a positive one,

> thus resulting in a positive attitude change and a sense of personal growth. M-R couple [Mixed Race relationship couples] and their

> extended families experienced cognitive dissonance which required them to discard their previously internalized racial stereotypes, using strategies such as cognitive differentiation, re-categorization and de-categorization, allowing shifts toward non-racial socially constructed categories. (Mojapelo-Batka, 2008, p. ii)

Cognitive differentiation, re-categorization and de-categorization could be viewed as processes similar to what Wilder (1981) referred to as individuation. Goldstein (1994) adds that if individuation becomes successful, then category distinction may become less salient and "the persons involved in the contact situation may perceive one another more as individuals and less in dichotomous us-versus-them terms" (p. 134). Therefore a close intimate relationship is more likely to occur without prejudice.

The process of individuation is not an easy process, it could be said that it requires an active participation on the part of both the in and the out-group members. This challenge is posed by what has been alluded to earlier as casual versus intimate contact (Amir, 1969). Amir (1969) argues that,

> casual intergroup contact has little or no effect on basic attitude change. Intimate contact, on the other hand, tends to produce favourable changes. When intimate contact relations are established, the in-group no longer perceives the member of the out-group in a stereotyped way but begins to consider him as an individual and thereby discovers areas of similarities. (p. 334)

Given this assumption, it is important to note the challenges that South Africa faces in dealing with the depth and level of interracial interaction.

As shown earlier studies conducted in South Africa on interracial contact, intimate contact has proven to be the least improved of all interracial contact subtypes. Casual interracial contact seems to be prevalent, especially in public places, work places and

other places (Kornegay, 2005). In the light of such findings and the historical background on interracial interactions, it could be hypothesized that the majority of black South Africans are more likely to have had less interracial intimate contact as compared to other races, Indians and coloureds (intimate contact in this case refers to contact that allows members of two different race groups to foster a friendly relationship that goes beyond fulfilling a particular goal or mission, this type of contact exclude interracial sexual relations). As a result, one would expect that casual interracial contact alone is less likely to influence black people's level of prejudice against their counterparts.

The second key element which will be discussed briefly because of its minor relevance to this study is that for the Contact Hypothesis to be effective there should be a cooperative activity. This means that that both groups work on a problem/ or task and share this as a common goal, sometimes called a *superordinate goal* (Brown, 1995). In this case, the task must be structured so that individual members of both groups are interdependent on each other to achieve this common goal (Brown, 1995). The third prerequisite is that there should be personal interaction or what is known as "acquaintance potential" (Cook, 1962). This key element requires that members of different groups engage in frequent systematic meetings. Such high contact will therefore facilitate the acquisition of new information about each group and at the same time smooth the progress of the discovery of similar attributes leading to what Byrne (1971) referred to as Similarity-Attraction Hypothesis.

In short, acquaintance potential allows for the challenge of stereotypes as well as unfounded judgments about each group. Lastly the hypothesis suggests that social norms that encourage interracial contact and at the same time discourages prejudice are more likely to positively influence intergroup relations. In other words there must be some authority that both groups acknowledge to define social norms that support the contact and interactions between the groups and their members (Brown, 1995).

The Policy Co-ordination and Advisory Services (PCAS) found that,

> for those who assert an improvement in race relations (in South Africa), the factors that they attribute to such improvement are, in order of preference: the church, sporting events, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the Constitution, affirmative action and employment equity legislation. These choices may have been influenced by high profile events during specific periods, but they do point to important policy implications about partnerships, sport as a unifier and the church as the place for truth, penance and forgiveness in creating a sense of closure. (Netshitenzhe & Chikane, 2003, p. 32)

Although the existence of such institutions is central to the improvement of race relations in this country, it is important to note what other studies have found in this regard. For example, Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux (2005, p. 3) argue that "prejudice is resistant to change, even in societies where overt bigotry has become unacceptable". Thus it will not be surprising to find that in this study, black people might have high level of prejudice against their white counterparts. This could be due to what Kinder and Sears (1981) refer to as multi-dimensionality and fluidity of prejudice or what Pettigrew and Meertens (1995) referred to as subtle and blatant prejudice and implicit and explicit prejudice

(Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). As a result of such multi-dimensionality of prejudice, Dovidio and Gaertner (1998, p. 25) liken prejudice to "a virus that has mutated and evolved into different forms that are more difficult not only to recognize but also to combat." In short, this suggests that prejudice can exist in different forms, and that despite institutional support against its existence, it will always find a way to manifest itself. In addition, it could be said that all of the above-mentioned conditions and prerequisites co-exist and that they are interdependent on each other. In conclusion, one would argue that contact alone is less likely to be effective in fighting or combating prejudice. Instead one would argue that the depth, experience and the level of interracial contact can and is more likely to provide a better platform that will facilitate interracial interaction and at the same time fight against prejudice.

2.2.1. Extended Contact Hypothesis

Since contact alone seem to be less effective in reducing prejudice, it is important to look at other contributors within the field of intergroup contact. Notable contributors such as Pettigrew's (1998)'s reformulation of contact hypothesis or extended contact hypothesis is worth noting. Pettigrew (1998) argues that contact alone is less likely to yield positive results in combating intergroup prejudice. Instead he suggests that there is a need for optimal intergroup contact. This "optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76). He then continues to add that "once we adopt a long-term perspective that allows cross-group friendship to develop and the full decategorization, salient categorization, and decategorization sequence to unfold, we can expect striking results" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 76). In short, Pettigrew (1998, p. 76)

views what he termed "friendship potential, *as* an essential, *and* not merely *a* facilitating, condition for positive intergroup contact effects that generalize".

Pettigrew's (1997) cross-group friendship studies have shown that Europeans with out-group friends scored significantly lower on five measures of prejudice. Upon further analyses, Pettigrew (1997) found that those with intergroup friends had more liberal views about immigration policy. Optimal intergroup contact and lower levels of prejudice were also found in studies conducted by Van Laar, Levin, Sinclair and Sidanius (2005) and Hamberger and Hewstone (1997).

The extended contact hypothesis has also paved a way for further proposals, such as that extended cross-group friendship also contributes to the reduction of prejudice. Extended cross-group friendship "refers to vicarious experiences of cross-group friendship" (Turner et al, 2007, p.212); the knowledge that in-group members have friends in the out-group (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Turner et al (2007, p. 216) further suggest that if an "out-group member is observed being friendly and positive to in-group member, expectations about intergroup interactions may be more positive". And on the other hand "seeing an in-group member showing tolerance towards an out-group may influence the attitudes of other in-group members" (Turner et al, 2007, p. 216). It is argued that existing research has shown that knowing an in-group member who has an out-group friend is very important in order to reduce prejudice (Turner et al, 2007).

Extended cross-group friendship studies conducted in the United States have shown that "White respondents who knew at least one in-group member with an out-group friend (African American, Asian American, or Latino American) reported weaker out-group prejudice towards that target group than did those who had no extended out-group friends" (Wright et al, 1997 cited in Turner et al, 2007, p. 216). The extended cross-group friendship has also been proven to be effective in different contexts; for example, educational context (Liebkind & McLister, 1999); and between disabled and non-disabled children (Cameron & Rutland, 2006).

Having established that direct and extended cross-group friendship are associated with lower levels of prejudice, it is important to consider contact and friendship in the South African context, especially given its historical background. South African studies on contact and friendship have presented unsatisfying results. For instance, Gibson's (2004b) survey on prevalence of interracial friendship in South Africa found that the majority of black South Africans have no white friends. Schrieff (2005) examined the formation of friendships amongst first year university students in mixed race residences at the University of Cape Town. A small portion of these first year students knew other students upon entrance. At the end of the study, Schrieff (2005) found that 285 friendships had been formed. In these 285 friendships, only 51 were cross-race. Schrieff (2005) noted that most of these friendships developed along race lines.

Though the above study findings seem to present a not so encouraging view of interracial friendships in South Africa, the country's studies on cross-race friendship seem to

support international findings. And that is, cross-race friendships are related to lower level of prejudice. Mohololа and Finchilescu (2006) found that Black students' attitudes were significantly more positive in the multiracial school than those in all-Black school. This significant difference could be due to the fact that multicultural schools provide more opportunities for interracial optimal contact than all-Black schools. And Finchilescu, Tredoux, Muianga, Mynhardt, and Pillay, (2006) conducted a survey of 2559 black and white students in 4 different universities. They measured the amount of interracial contact and prejudice. Their study showed that the greater the amount of contact, the lower the affective prejudice. Other studies have presented contradictory results. For example, a national survey of 1917 black and white participants showed that for black participants, greater interracial contact led to greater opposition to measures set in place to deal with injustices of the past (Dixon, et al, 2005).

Though there are few studies that have found such results, it is difficult to ignore them, especially given previous studies that have found low interest in interracial friendships. Different studies on interracial contact have found what one could term challenges and obstacles that one would view as hindrances to the effectiveness of contact and cross-race friendships. There are at least six identifiable obstacles to contact and cross-race friendships. These obstacles include, but are not limited to self-segregation or informal segregation and level of group identification (Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim; Finchilescu & Clack, 2008; Smith, Dube, Gansola & Myeza, 2004), historical and hierarchal relationships between black and white people (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986), inter-racial avoidance (Finchilescu, 2005) and intergroup anxiety (Stephen & Stephen, 1985).

2.2.2. Obstacles to Cross-race Friendships

Self-segregation could be considered as a hindrance to cross-race friendship and thus lead to unchanged racial prejudices. The voluntary practice of self-segregation has been observed in a lot of studies on interracial contact. Examples include Durrheim and Dixon (2005) beach-goers, self-selected seating distance in university dining halls (Dixon et al, 2008; Schrieff et al, 2005) and university residential arrangements (Smith, et al, 2004). Looking at these studies, one sees self-segregation taking place in environments that could be considered to be conducive for interracial contact and have "friendship potential". Despite these conditions, it is found that people choose to segregate themselves; which results in missed opportunities for interracial interaction that might later foster interracial friendships and thus reduce interracial prejudice and lead to positive feelings about interracial friendships.

The practice of self-segregation or informal segregation has become so pervasive to an extent that it results in socially acceptable practice. An example is discussed later in the form of the Forum for Black Journalists. Other organizations of such nature include Black Management Forum, Black Consciousness Movement, political parties that hold strong views about race relations and racial identity. No matter how innocent the gathering of such organizations might be or look like, at times they may appear not only controversial but unproductive in improving interracial relationships and interracial friendships in South Africa. This argument has been confirmed in a study conducted by Dixon et al (2008); he found that shared identity of members (i.e. same race) is closely related to intra-group (i.e. within the in-group) than inter-group (i.e. between the groups)

relations. This therefore suggests that informal segregation is more likely to lead to a constrained inter-group or cross-race relationships; this would ultimately mean that people within organizations which hold strong views on racial identity will see no need to establish optimal relationships with people of other races that share might share same ideologies, e.g. Forum for Black Journalist controversy which is discussed later in the paper.

In Smith, et al, (2004, p. 31) focus group with the students of the University of Cape Town, they found that "there were very clear divisions between racial groups, and that this separation was "normal". One black student was quoted as saying that:

> "But at times you find that UCT does encourage the segregation. One, there's Nescafe Coffee Shop. It used to be White dominated, I swear to God, if you go there, they look at you funny and you gonna feel like I don't belong here. I shouldn't even be here . . . even the staff who are serving you are a bit concerned about "what you are Black, why are you here?" Two, even the residences, like Liesbeck, has Black students only… so they actually encourage segregation in UCT (BCF)".

The above statement seems to show that though racial segregation is not the university's policy, allowing informal racial segregation to continue unchallenged is more likely to pose obstacles to better interracial relationships. Secondly, informal racial segregation is also more likely to lead people to complacency and thus lead to rationalization of exclusion of others. This rationalization of exclusion of others is evident in the below statements in which two white students tried to express how they feel about informal segregation (Smith, et al, 2004, pp. 31-32):

> I am very angry with these people because for me it is a culture thing. It is not racial at all. We have been brought up in a new

> democracy. If we do not feel like socializing with people of other races then we don't have to…Why must people always ask "Why don't you sit next to them…why don't you greet your server in dining hall, is that because she is Black?" I think that is insulting they are accusing us that we are racist but I do not want to be forced. It made me even angrier when they turned it into a racial thing. I have got nothing in common with them (WF).

Another student agreed with the previous sentiment

> We do different clubs and they do their own thing together, which is culture, as X said… we do our own thing. They are happy and we are happy and we do a lot of stuff together but cannot sit there together all the time. The stuff that we listen to is different to what they are listening to. We get together to laugh and have a good time and we do not spend all the time together. It looks like we are segregated on our campus and we are not really like that, I am closer to them… I really think it is improving. I do not think anybody is upset about it (WF).

The two students seem to be of an opinion that having people of other races in the university premises is not a problem, but they seem to prefer their own space during their leisure time. Culture, democracy and personal preferences, such as the type of music that one chooses to listen are being used to keep those who are different away from them. Though some of the views expressed are legitimate and understandable, some views are more likely to create obstacles to building a bridge between groups who do not necessarily come or share similar preferences. This in turn will create a situation in which interracial contact is difficult to be forged and thus interracial friendship will remain at the lowest level despite countless opportunities to create them.

The South African historical and hierarchical relationship between black and white people could be seen as an obstacle that hinders cross-race friendships. As stated in the previous chapter, there was limited and often negative inter-racial contact, and this

contact was largely hierarchical (e.g. boss-servant) or bureaucratic (state agent – supplicant), and was frequently oppressive and violent (Foster & Finchilescu, 1986). Though this kind of bureaucratic relationship between white and black people is no longer common in post-Apartheid; hierarchical relationships, especially of the employer-employee type is still prevalent. Such relationships do not provide equal status contact; this in itself is a challenge to the contact hypothesis which argues that equal status is a facilitating condition for better inter-group relations. It is therefore difficult in such a relationship to establish optimal contact that will lead to cross-race friendship. As Pettigrew (1998) puts it, in the absence of optimal contact or friendship potential, inter-group prejudice will prevail.

2.3. Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice

One of the models of inter-group attitudes that could be as applicable to black population as it is to white population is the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Stephen and Stephen (2000) argued that the same threats that create negative attitudes toward minority groups should also create negative attitudes toward majority groups (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The theory focuses on four types of threats. These threats include but are not limited to realistic threats, symbolic threats, threats stemming from intergroup anxiety, and threats arising from negative stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). All the threats are to some degree interlinked or even correlated to each other. According to LeVine and Campbell (1972, p. 30), "real threat causes hostility to the source of the threat". Realistic threats refer to situations that threaten the very existence of the in-group (e.g., warfare, crime etc.); threats to the political and economic power of

the in-group; and threats to the physical or material well-being of the in-group (e.g., their health). Symbolic threats are threats that jeopardize the worldview of the in-group. The different worldview of the other group is perceived as a challenge to one's own world. This is feared as the consequence of the interaction between in-group and out-group members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Such threats arise, in part, because the in-group believes in the moral correctness of its own system of values and ideas. Stephan and Stephan (2000) argue that Allport (1954, p. 74) was referring to symbolic threats when he wrote that, "in a deep sense, we are the values that we hold; we cannot help but defend them with pride and affection, rejecting every group that opposes them". This in other words means that the existence of groups depends largely on it values and ideals; tempering with the group's values and ideals results in hostile reaction. Such reaction is not determined by the size of the group as Feagin (1989) argues that minority groups would be expected to respond to symbolic threats in much the same way as majority groups (Feagin, 1989).

It is clear that both majority and minority groups may perceive that the other group poses a threat to their well-being or existence (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). For example, though it could be argued that the Apartheid regime was orchestrated by white supremacists that had negative stereotypes about black people, the idea behind the regime could also be understood as a reaction towards perceived or even real threats posed by the black majority. The extreme racial segregation created by the Apartheid regime served to

reduce perceived threats posed by the black population to white population's hold on the country's resources, and to their health, safety and security (Hayward, 1989).

The segregation (between blacks and whites) as spearheaded by the Apartheid regime, was deemed necessary in order to preserve the identity of the white minority and avoid "contamination" by the other race groups. Racial segregation became a national policy principle led by the Apartheid regime; an important example of this can be found in an address to the South African Senate in 1964 by the late PW Botha, the then minister of Coloured Affairs. Botha stated that,

> I am one of those who believe that there is no permanent home for even a section of the Bantu in the white area of South Africa and the destiny of South Africa depends on this essential point. If the principle of permanent residence for the black man in the area of the white is accepted then it is the beginning of the end of civilization as we know it in this country (Heerden, 2006).

Botha's statement clearly represented the regime's sentiments regarding black people and the manner in which they posed both symbolic and realistic threats to the existence of the ruling minority group. As Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald and Tur-Kaspa (1998, p. 559) assert, realistic threats "typically arise as a result of competition for scarce resources such as land, power, or jobs". One can conclude, therefore, that Botha's statement also represented concerns that if black people were to be allowed into the so called white residences, then white people would have to fight for their own survival. It was thus seen as reasonable for Botha's government to protect themselves from being annihilated by the black majority. Stephan and Stephan's (2000) Integrated Threat Theory of prejudice suggests that such perceptions arise from the anxiety that there are expectations that the other group will do one harm.

Intimate interracial relationships (including close friendships) or miscegenation between black and white people were banned because they were also viewed as posing both real and symbolic threats to the white culture (Thompson, 2001). Both real and symbolic threats, as discussed above, could be said to be due to at least four factors (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The first factor is related to the fact that the national segregation policy, as implemented by the Apartheid regime, was deeply rooted in a strong identification with one's own group. The Apartheid government believed strongly that white racial identity was superior to other racial identities, including Indian, coloured and black racial identities (The term identity includes culture, language, social norms and values). Thus, for example black people who strongly identified with their own group posed more threat towards the white minority and made the Apartheid government to feel and think that they needed more power to control black people.

As LeVine and Campbell (1972, p. 30) argue that "real threat causes hostility to the source of the threat". Black people's reaction towards the oppression they suffered under the Apartheid regime was very hostile. The formation of movements such as the Black Consciousness Movement sought to protect the identity of black people as well as to counter real threats (in that black people were killed in masses, they were forced to receive instructions in Afrikaans) posed by the Apartheid regime.

Some post-Apartheid studies have shown that "black South Africans in particular tended to have negative attitudes towards their own group who show friendliness to their white counterparts" (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997, p .250). Some of the reasons cited range from

fear of losing one's culture, language, values and roots to the counterculture i.e. to white culture. This suggests that black people are afraid that they will lose their culture and be dominated by white culture. This in itself would be deemed to pose a challenge on the idea of Rainbow Nation or a society living in harmony with itself.

The expansion of globalization also poses threats and challenges to black people's identity. For example, though black pupils are allowed to learn their own mother tongue, the general medium of instruction is a foreign language (i.e. English). Since language is a vehicle through which one expresses who they are, and how they live their lives, young black people find themselves assimilated and absorbed in cultures other than theirs. It is thus not surprising that FutureFact's (2004) data across the years reveals a strong move away from ethnicity towards nationhood. In 2000, only 44% of South Africans defined themselves according to their race, ethnic group or language. By September 2001 this figure had decreased to only 22%, with 12% race and 10% ethnicity. The most recent survey puts the figure at 18% - a mere 4% in terms of race alone (FutureFact, 2004).

This recent survey reported that only 3% of the respondents used "black" as their primary form of identity and only 18% used their ethnicities as their primary form of identity. And 44% of the black respondents identified themselves as South African and 23% as Africans. The survey also found that primary self-identity by age shows that 5% of young black people (between the ages of 16-24) use black as their primary form of identity compared to 3% of those between the ages of 25 and 39; and only 6% of those who are 50 and above identified themselves as black. The survey has shown that between 50-58%

of black people who are 16 and above prefer to identify themselves as South Africans (FutureFact, 2004).

As stated earlier the above-mentioned findings could be due to globalization or improvements in race relations in South Africa. However, given the influence of globalization it is also possible that "the black and particularly African middle strata are being acculturated into Euro or American-centric credos as the primary frames of reference" (Netshitenzhe & Chikane, 2005, p. 46). The second factor that could be said to be a product of both realistic and symbolic threats seems to be the quality, quantity and the type of experience that exist during contact between two groups. According to studies conducted on race, prejudice and contact, improved racial interaction or contact resulted in less prejudice and improved racial interaction (Pettigrew, 1997; 1998; Tropp, 2003). Before and during the years of Apartheid rule, black and white people had limited interaction. As a result, during Apartheid white people were threatened by black people because they did not know much about them and had little contact with them.

2.4. Social Identity Theory

Social Identity theory argues that we identify with groups that we perceive ourselves to belong to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) differentiated between those elements of self-identity derived from individual personality traits and interpersonal relationships (personal identity) and those elements derived from belonging to a particular group (social identity).

Each individual is seen to have a repertoire of identities open to them (social and personal), each identity informing the individual of whom he or she is and what this identity entails. Tajfel and Turner (1979) then postulated that social behaviour exists on a spectrum from the purely interpersonal to the purely intergroup. Where personal identity is salient, the individual will relate to others in an interpersonal manner, dependent on their character traits and any personal relationship existing between the individuals. However, under certain conditions social identity is more salient than personal identity. When this is the case behaviour is qualitatively different; it is group behaviour rather individual behaviour (Tajfel & Turner 1979).

Inter-racial conflict, racism and intolerance as was common in apartheid South Africa inevitably intensified people's awareness of their group membership. In such a situation Tajfel and Turner (1979) would argue that social identity would be salient and the individual would think, feel and act on the basis of his/her group membership. Tajfel and Turner (1979) identified variables that contribute to the emergence of in-group favouritism. One of the variables is the extent to which individuals identify with the in-group and internalize the group membership as an aspect of their self-concept. The more one identifies oneself with the in-group, the more likely one is to internalize the group membership and, therefore, in-group favouritism is expressed and out-group discrimination encouraged.

2.4.1. Emergence of black identity

As white people were forming their identity, black people also began to organize themselves and seek to fight the Apartheid regime. Young people were on the forefront of the struggle. An unforgettable example of this is the freedom fighter and prolific author, Steve Biko and his form of *Black Consciousness* (Biko, 1978). He sought to remind black people of who they were and what they stood for. Most young black people quickly adopted his views and some took them further and adopted an identity of "AmaComrades" (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). According to Stevens & Lockhart (1997), the term AmaComrades, was used to "promote a common social identity through identification of a common enemy (white people), common oppressive experiences, and common objectives" (p.250).

The term, AmaComrades is still being used today by a majority of young and old black people, especially the politically minded. Although it no longer has the same political connotation as it had during the Apartheid era, its essence has remained intact (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). Black people still use this term to refer to themselves, and the term still means that they identify with each other, especially in relation to shared experienced social difficulties such as unemployment, poverty, economic and other social struggles (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). By using the term Amacomrades, black people inevitably exclude other races who are relatively rich or with higher socio-economic status. This also means that us vs. them or in-group and out-group views are maintained. Those who are identifying themselves with such a group would be considered loyal and will also be

preferred compared to those who might want to identify with the group but prove to be dissimilar by race and socio-economic status.

In the post-Apartheid South Africa, the term is also used to distinguish relative poor black people from those who are in fortunate circumstances financially or moderately rich (Stevens & Lockhart, 1997). The moderately rich black people are seen and labelled as not black enough because they do not share the experiences and struggles of the majority of the other young black people. These well-off young black people are labelled as either "AmaCoconuts', "cheeseboys" and "cheesegirls" or simply "*Amabhujwa*" (bourgeoisie). They are always viewed as being very close to white people, hence they are called coconuts, as coconuts are brown outside but white inside just as such people are seen to be black on the outside and white in the inside(Stevens & Lockhart, 1997).

A study of 13 focus groups conducted with black students from the University of Cape Town has revealed that many black students identified "AmaCoconuts" as black people who speak English as though they were white people (Smith, et al, 2004). The participants also said that "AmaCoconuts"do not usually identify themselves as black, they always "hang around with white people" (Smith, et al, 2004). In Smith, et al's (2004) study, it was found that the relations between, the so called 'AmaCoconuts' and other black students were marked by intense feelings of hostility towards each other.

For example, since the 'other black students' (Smith et al, 2004, p.27) were coming from townships, they struggled to communicate or express themselves very well in English,

while on the other hand 'AmaCoconuts' did not have any problem at all. As a result, the black participants argued that at times lecturers made them "look stupid" (Smith, et al, 2004, p. 27) when they asked questions. Such students said they were embarrassed at being laughed at because of their accents. These students pointed out that it was not the white students who would laugh at them but the "coconuts" (Smith, et al, 2004, p. 35). This kind of relationships manifested itself also in the manner in which the 'other black students' related to other races, especially white people. Some black students also mentioned that fellow students put pressure on them. One of the students was quoted as saying:

> You can't even be seen hanging out with White people. … people will point you out and say she is a coconut, very very quickly you know. You can't do that. You'd just risk being victimised as an individual because you just sort of lean towards the other side of the fence (Smith et al, 2004, p.38).

The above statement depicts someone who is worried about being victimized for mixing with white students. The statement also tells us how this particular student is being socialized by her own race group. She is forced to remain within her in-group and dissuaded from interacting with people of other races. For example, the fact that she says "you can't even be seen hanging out with White people…" tells us that spending time in the company of white people is something that one is not expected to do.

In their studies exploring the determinants of adult black identity, Hughes and Hertel (1990) and Hughes and Demo (1989) found that the participants presented statements about identity which could be classified under three categories.

The first sets of statements were labelled universalistic or individualistic. These were statements in which, during their childhood socialization, participants were given advice that denied the importance of race. The second category included statements which were labelled as integrative or assertive and they were advices that helped maintain a positive group-oriented outlook. The final category had statements labelled as cautious or defensive. These were messages about white prejudice and placing emphasis on the importance of black power to maintain black identity (Hughes & Demo, 1989; Hughes & Hertel, 1990).

2.5. Post-Apartheid, Attitudes and Interracial Contact

The collapse of the Apartheid regime led to the implementation of policies and practices that were aimed at scrapping Apartheid laws and rectifying its injustices. As a result, racial contact could occur more frequently at all levels, such as acquaintanceship, friendship or even as intimate as in marriage, without fear of facing prosecution by the law. Apartheid's end and the increased possibility for interracial contact could be said to have been positive components of social change. However, the challenge that is facing interracial contact beyond Apartheid era is the feelings and attitudes provoked by this contact. The question to be asked is whether this interracial contact brings about opportunities for the development of future friendships and to some extent increase in interracial marriage. Christopher (2005) cited in Finchilescu and Tredoux (2008) argues that post-Apartheid, sites of interracial contact remained limited and the polarization of wealth and resources along race lines, as well as cultural and linguistic differences,

retarded racial transformation. In addition, neighbourhoods were slow to change and, by 2001, were barely more integrated than under Apartheid.

A number of studies conducted in the post-Apartheid era have revealed that spontaneous segregation is evident in South Africa (Gibson 2004b; Schrieff, 2005; Vergnani, 2000; Woods, 2001). This means that although opportunities for interracial contact are available, both Black and White people appear to use less of these opportunities to interact intimately. For example, in Gibson's (2004b) survey, prevalence of interracial friendship in South Africa were measured through the use of a Likert type scale. He found that almost no Blacks report a lot of White friends", and that this number is similarly very small for White people with only 6.6 % report having "quite a number of Black friends" (p. 163). In addition, the majority of Black South Africans were reported to have responded as having no White friends at all. Vergnani (2000) also reported extreme spontaneous segregation in South African university residences located in former Afrikaans language campuses. He reported that white and black students literally established physical barriers within their shared dormitories.

2.6. Interracial Friendships and Area of Residence

The manner in which a person's identity is socialized and negotiated within their in-group is dependent on social identity and attitudes that an in-group shares. However, it would be unfair to ignore other variables that contribute to an understanding of dynamics within perceptions of interracial friendships. For example, Hewitt (1986) found that interracial friendships were influenced by the area of residence within which black and

white participants resided. For instance, the closer these two groups are to each other, the better they will understand each other and the easier it seems for them to form interracial friendships.

This kind of contact and formation of interracial friendships should not be confused with issues of pragmatism, as illustrated by statements such as "you've got to live with them… or you have no choice, but to interact with them" (Hewitt, 1986). However, Hewitt (1986) argues that proximity, such as sharing the same location, community and other things encourages constant contact. According to Hewitt (1986) this has been supported by the contact hypothesis theory, which argued that more racial contact meant less negative attitudes and prejudices towards each other. This however, only applies to situations where constant interracial interaction is possible (Hewitt, 1986).

2.7. Interracial Friendships and Gender

In the same study conducted by Hewitt (1986), he found that male and female participants cited pragmatic reasons for getting along with other races. Females as well as males were more likely to have a friend of the same gender. However, when Hewitt asked about dating, black females were very adamant about not dating a white man. Some of the reasons cited included that "they would feel ashamed, and that families would not like it at all" (Hewitt, 1986, p.91). Some participants volunteered derogations and prejudicial ideas about white men. For example, female participants said that they would not date white men because "they are scruffy, shabby and untidy" (Hewitt, 1986, p. 91).

The female participants also said that they "would not go out with a black man who had a white girlfriend(s) before" (Hewitt, 1986, p. 91). Negative perceptions towards the members of the in-group seemed to be evident in both genders. For example, one black male participant "reported that he had been accustomed to think that going out with a white girl was a 'crime' from a 'black point of view'" (Hewitt, 1986, p.92). He said he was accused of being a "'Babbacheck', meaning a person who has over-close relations with whites" (Hewitt, 1986, p.92).

2.8. Research hypothesis

The research hypothesis in relation to the proposed variables and findings of the previous studies is as follows:

- Level of identification

  The study hypothesize that participants who strongly identify themselves as black are more likely to hold negative feelings about black youth involved in interracial friendship. This is due to the fact that many studies have found that strong identification is closely related to less interracial interaction (Ratele & Duncan, 2003)

- Symbolic threats

  Based on the integrated threat theory, this study hypothesize that participants' perception of symbolic threats is related to negative attitudes towards black youth having white friends.

- Level of contact with white people

  As it was discussed earlier, contact and extended contact hypothesis studies have paved a way in understanding intergroup relations. Contact and extended contact have been found to be positively related to less intergroup prejudice. This study hypothesize that participants who know white people, have white friends or know someone who has a white friend are also more likely to have positive feelings about black youth who have white friends.

- Intergroup anxiety

  The study hypothesize that participants whose experience of contact with white produced intergroup anxiety are more likely to hold negative feelings towards black youth who have white friends.

2.9. Research Questions

1. What do black people feel about black youth having white friends?

- Are these feelings influenced by absence or presence of perceived threats posed by such friendships?
- Do any of the contact and attitudinal measures explain feelings about youth having white friends?
    - Contact and attitudinal measures to be investigated include the level of identification, feelings about youth having white friends and perceived symbolic threat scales; the three dichotomous contact variables (knowing white people, having white friends and knowing others who have white

friends), intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity of white people and affective prejudice.

2. Is there an association and difference between the following demographic variables and how black people feel about black youth in interracial friendships?
    - Gender
    - Socio-economic status
    - Age

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research Methods

3.1. Research Design

In this research, a quantitative method was used to gather and analyze data. The reason for using quantitative method is that it gives the researcher the ability to use statistical analysis to generalize the results found. Secondly, quantitative method allows the researcher to investigate participants' feelings, attitudes and opinions about youth involved in interracial friendships. And thirdly, the researcher will able to test the effects of the interaction of other variables, such as gender, age, education and economic status on the participants' feelings and attitudes about youth and interracial friendship. Since the research was investigating people's feelings and attitudes, the only research design appropriate was the non-experiment design.

3.2. Sampling: Background

The sample of this study was drawn from one of Soweto's townships, Meadowlands. Meadowlands is one of Soweto's oldest suburbs. Created in 1958 as a direct result of the forced removal policy of the apartheid state, Meadowlands has witnessed a legacy of political turbulence unique to the township areas of South Africa (Burton, 2003). On 9th of February 1955, 2,000 policemen and soldiers armed with guns, knobkerries and rifles, forcefully removed black families of Sophiatown to Meadowlands; Soweto (Sindane, 2005). It is well documented that at least 65,000 people were moved from Sophiatown to Meadowlands and surrounding areas (Sindane, 2005). This removal was part of the

Apartheid government's racial classification (Sindane, 2005). Meadowlands used to be the location of the office of the Native Resettlement Board, where people had to report when they arrived in Meadowlands.

The researcher selected this township because of its history and uniqueness and that is it the only township in Soweto that represents almost every language group found in South Africa. It is divided into 12 sections, referred to as zones. For example, through unstructured interviews the researcher found out that zone 1-3 is predominately Tswana speaking people; zone 4 is dominated by Zulu residents and zone 5-9, one finds a mixture of Sotho, Tsonga, Venda and Xhosa speaking people. The Township was seen as an ideal research site where one could obtain different views and sentiments that are more likely to represent almost every ethnolinguistic group.

3.3. Sample

3.3.1. Participants

At the beginning of the study 100 participants agreed to participate in the study. And 100 participants answered the questionnaire; however, during data capturing it was noticed that 22 questionnaires were spoilt (i.e. respondents did not follow proper guidelines in answering the questionnaire). As a result the final sample for this research was comprised of 78 participants (37 males (47.44%) and 41 females (52.56%). The sample was drawn from all the Meadowlands zones; however no co-relation or matching was done on which zone a participant was coming from. The age range of the participants was between 18

and 60+. There were 50% participants (n= 39) who were between the ages of 18 and 26; and 23.8% of the participants (n=18) were between the ages of 26 and 35. The age ranges between 36-45 and 46-60 were combined and these accounted 24.36% of participants (n=19). And lastly 2.56% participants (n=2) were above 60 years old.

On education, the demographics showed that 10.26% participants (n=8) had primary education (i.e. grade 1-grade 7). There were 57.69% participants (n=45) who had secondary education (grade 8-grade 12). And 20.51% participants (n=16) had obtained a certificate post matric or grade 12. There were 7.69% participants (n=6) who had a National Diploma and 3.85% participants (n=3) had obtained a university degree. On occupation, it was noticed that 46.15% participants (n=36) were unemployed. As a result the Socio-economic Status scale (Living Standard Measure) showed that 70.51% participants (n=55) had an annual income of between 0 and R20 000. Only 14% of the participants (n=11) earned between R80 000 and R200 000.

3.3.2. Sampling Strategy

The form of sampling that the researcher chose could be regarded as a non-probability sampling in that it does not involve random selection because not everyone in the population in which the sample was drawn had an equal chance of being included in the study. Instead the form of sampling applied in this research could be regarded as purposive sampling. The researcher chose the purposive sampling because of its usefulness for situations where one needed to reach a targeted sample quickly (i.e. black

community). This form of sampling also made it easier for the researcher to obtain opinions of the targeted population.

3.4. Measuring Instruments

Questionnaires

3.4.1. Demographic Details

The data relating to demographic information was elicited from participants. The following demographic details were asked of the participants: Gender, level of education, living arrangement (this includes, marital status, and the number of children the participants have), occupation, language (i.e. participants' home language). Race (i.e. whether participants viewed themselves as white, black, Indian or coloured), nationality and participant's socio-economic status.

3.4.2. Level of Identification Scale

The scale was adapted from Finchilescu and Tredoux (2007) study. They used it to elicit responses that best show white participants' feelings concerning their own population group. Changes were made to the scale to suit the targeted sample. These changes include rephrasing questions and as well as excluding some questions (see Appendix C). For example, in their study Finchilescu and Tredoux (2007), phrased their questions in this manner: "*I am a person who sees myself belonging to the White population group*". This question was rephrased to "*I identify with other members of my group*". The purpose of this scale was to measure participant's level of identification with their own group. The scale was initially comprised of 10 items which asked questions such as "*I think my*

group has little to be proud of, I feel good about my group I would rather not tell that I belong to this group" etc. Two items were removed due to statistical purposes. The responses on the items were averaged, after the reversal of the scores of the items with inconsistent meanings. The high score in this scale represented strong identification with participants' own race. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale after the two items were removed was .87.

3.4.3. Feelings about Youth Having White Friends

This was a self-designed scale; it measured the participants' feelings about youth having white friends. It has 8 items; it is a bipolar scale with two opposing feelings separated by numbers between 1 and 7 which represent the extent to which participants feel about youth and interracial friendships. The high score represented positive attitudes towards youth who have white friends. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale was .94.

3.4.4. Symbolic Threat Scale

This scale was self-designed and it assesses threats posed by perceived differences in values and beliefs that exist between Black and White people. The scale contains nine items with a 6 point Likert-type responses. Participants were asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the perceived threat that could result from interracial friendship. For example participants were asked whether interracial friendships would lead black youth to lose their culture, language, and adopting undesirable values from their white counterparts. The scale also contained items which asked whether participants thought that interracial friendship could lead or contribute to harmonious interracial relations. A

high score meant that participants had negative attitudes towards interracial mixing. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale was .84.

3.4.5. Feelings of Contact with White People

This scale was derived from Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns and Voci (2004) who used it to measure intergroup anxiety in Northern Ireland. In this study the scale used to look at how black participants feel about their contact with white people. Initially the scale contained 5 items with a 5 point Likert scale. The high score represented negative feelings about contact with white people. Only 4 items were used in this study due to statistical reasons. The responses on the items were averaged, after the reversal of the scores of the items with inconsistent meanings. The scale contained questions such as "*when you meet White people, do you feel awkward, at ease, self-conscious or tense"*. The 5 point options ranged from "not at all to extremely". The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale was .76 compared to Paolini et al (2004)'s $\alpha = .90$.

3.4.6. Perception of heterogeneity of Whites Scale

This scale was derived from Paolini et al (2004) who used it to investigate participants' perceptions of out-group variability, i.e. the extent to which, in the other community, there were many different types of people. The scale had 3 items with a 5 point Likert scale. The 5 point options were between "*not at all* to *extremely*". A high score meant that participants view white people as heterogeneous. The Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .71 compare to Paolini, et al 2004's $\alpha = .73$

3.4.7. Social Distance Scale

The scale was used to measure the participant's level of prejudice. The scale asks questions such as "*would you mind if a white person moved next door; participants having to choose whether they would mind, or would not mind at all*". This scale has been used by Finchilescu, Tredoux, Muianga, Mynhardt, and Pillay (2006). The scale was administered to university students; it was found to have a Cronbach's Alpha of .87 when administered to all races, and a Cronbach's Alpha of .88 when administered to black students. The Cronbach's Alpha of this scale in this study was .77. A high score meant that participants had high level of prejudice against white people.

3.4.8. Affective Prejudice Scale

This scale was derived from Finchilescu, et al (2006). The scale was used to measure black participants' affective prejudice in relation to white people. The scale had 5 items; a bipolar scale with two contradictory feelings separated by a 7 point Likert type of response to represent the extent to which participants feel toward White people. For example, participants were asked "*I feel the following toward White people in general*", they have to choose whether *friendly or hostile*. The extent to which they feel each affect is represented by either 1 which means very close, 4 which meant neutral or 7 which is very close to hostile feeling. Thus the higher the score shows high level of prejudice. The scale was administered to university students; it was found to have a Cronbach's Alpha of .88 when administered to all races, and a Cronbach's Alpha of .70 when administered to black students. The Cronbach's Alpha of this scale in this study was .91.

3.4.9. Dichotomous contact variables

Three questions measured the level or amount of contact the participants have or had with white people. The first item asked if participants knew any white person. The scale had two ratings. Participants scored a 1 for knowing someone who was white and score 0 for not knowing someone who was white. The second variable asked if participants had a white friend. The scoring was similar to the first variable. Participants scored 1 for having a white friend and 0 for not having a white friend. And the last variable asked if the participants knew anyone of their own race who had a white friend. Participants scored 1 for knowing someone who had a white friend and scored a 0 for not knowing someone who had a white friend.

3.5. Procedure

The researcher approached the councilor's office in Meadowlands zone 3. An information sheet detailing the purpose of the research was handed to the councilor's office. A meeting was arranged with the councilor; he then gave the researcher a verbal permission to conduct the research in the community. The researcher requested permission to brief the residents about the purpose of the research as well as requesting their participation. The councilor advised that the best option was to visit the residents at their homes because organizing a meeting in a hall was going to be difficult and also incur monetary expenses. The researcher randomly selected streets and homes that were to be visited in each zone.

The researcher then walked house to house asking for residents' participation in the research. Voluntary participants were then briefed about the purpose of the research; an information sheet and a questionnaire were given to each potential participant. Potential participants were informed that filling the questionnaire was a sign for consent to participate in the research. It was then agreed with the potential participants that questionnaires were going to be collected the following day and to ensure anonymity no names or any identifying data were taken. As agreed the researcher revisited all the houses whose occupants agreed to participate. Questionnaires were collected and placed in a box.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The following measures were undertaken to ensure that this research study adheres to the necessary research ethical practices. The protocol for the study was reviewed and approved by the University of the Witwatersrand Internal Ethics Review Panel: School of Humanities and Community Research Committee. A permission to visit houses in which this study was conducted was granted by the Meadowlands council. Participants were informed that the questionnaires were an attitude survey about youth having white friends. The participants information sheet (Appendix A) included the protection of confidentiality, anonymity and the voluntary nature of the participants' participation.

In addition the researcher verbally reminded the participants about confidentiality of their participation in this research prior to the administration of the questionnaires. Participants were also requested not to write their names or any identifying information on the

questionnaires. Participants were also reminded that withdrawal from participating in this research was allowed should they wish to do so. The researcher emphasized that completion and submission of the questionnaires constituted consent to participate in this study.

Chapter 4

Results

4.1. Introduction

The following chapter presents the results of the statistical analysis performed in this study. The statistical analysis was carried out on the statistical computer programme: SAS (Cary, 2000).

- In the first section of this chapter, the psychometrics properties of the scales are described, followed by an outline of the basic descriptive statistics of the scales. There are two sets of descriptive statistics presented. The first table (Table 4.3.1.1) presents the descriptive statistics of the first set of data which was not normally distributed. The second table (Table 4.3.1.2) presents the descriptive statistics of the three variables that were transformed to bring them closer to a normal distribution. The transformation was a log function of the reversed scores (as the log transformation can only be used for positively skewed data).
- The second section presents the analyses that investigate the participants' feelings about black youth having white friends and explores their responses to the symbolic threats that this may constitute.
- The third section presents the analyses that establish which factors influence participants' feeling about black youth having white friends. Though it was not part of the questions asked at the beginning of the study, the last section of this chapter presents the analysis that looks at whether intergroup contact and friendship is related to lower level of prejudice as well as lower intergroup anxiety, as predicted by contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998).

4.2 Psychometric properties of measuring instruments

To determine the internal reliability of the measuring instruments used in this study; internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) was conducted for each of the measuring instruments.

There were seven scales used in this study (see the table below). Some scales were self-constructed and others were adapted from previous studies. It should also be noted that changes were made in order to suit the targeted sample. The changes made include rephrasing, and removing or adding items. Items were removed from two of the scales on the basis of the Cronbach alpha analyses. These items had item-total correlations of less that 0.20 and their removal improved the total Cronbach alphas. The two scales were (i) the level of identification scale, which initially comprised of 10 items and the intergroup anxiety scale which had 5 items. Two items were removed from level of identification scale. Item 2 *(I feel good about my group)* and 8 *(it upsets me when people speak negatively about my group)* were removed as they showed to have lowered internal reliability of the scale. The second scale which required an item to be removed was the scale measuring intergroup anxiety. The first item was removed; the item asked participants if they felt relaxed or not when meeting white people. Its exclusion seemed to have improved the overall alpha of the scale. Table 4.2 presents the final reliabilities (Alpha coefficients) of the scales.

Tablẹ 4.2 Final Cronbach Alpha Coefficients of the Scales

Scale	Number of Items	Alpha
Level of Identification	8	.87
Feelings about Youth having White Friends	8	.94
Symbolic Threats	9	.84
Intergroup anxiety	4	.76
Perception of Heterogeneity of White People	3	.71
Social Distance	4	.77
Affective Prejudice	5	.91

N= 78

All the scales used in this study have shown themselves to be reliable with Cronbach's alpha values of above 0.7.

4.3. Descriptive Statistics

The responses on the items of each scale were averaged, after the reversal of the scores of the items with inconsistent meanings.

The following section presents results of the basic descriptive statistics of the measuring instruments (scales) comprising of the mean values, standard deviation, minimum and maximum, skewness and kurtosis scores. Two tables are presented in this section. Table **4.3.1** presents the descriptive statistics of each of the measuring instruments.

Table 4.3.1 Descriptive Statistics of the original data

Variable	Mean	Std Dev.	Min.	Max.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Level of Identification	4.2	0.8	1.8	5.0	-1.2	1.0
Feelings about Youth having White Friends	5.9	1.3	1.0	7.0	-1.8	3.6
Symbolic Threats	3.8	1.0	1	6	-1.04	1.1
Intergroup anxiety	3.9	0.9	1.7	5.0	-0.8	-0.3
Perception of Heterogeneity of White People	3.4	1.2	1.3	5.0	-0.07	-1.4
Social Distance	1.3	0.4	1.0	3.0	2.2	4.5
Affective Prejudice	2.3	1.2	1.0	4.6	0.4	-1.1

The above table shows that the level of identification scale is negatively skewed (skewness is -1.2) with a mean score of 4.2 and a standard deviation of 0.8. The scale shows that participants on average seem to strongly identify themselves as black. The perception of Symbolic threats scale is negatively skewed (skewness is -1.0) with a mean score of 3.8 and a standard deviation of 1.0. The mean score seem to suggests that in general participants do not feel that black youth having white friends pose symbolic threats. The feeling about youth having white friends' scale shows that the data is also negatively skewed (skewness is -1.8) and a mean score of 5.9 and a standard deviation of 1.3. This suggests that the participants seem to have a positive attitude towards youth having white friends. The inter-group anxiety scale appears to be slightly negatively skewed (skewness is -0.8) with a mean score of 3.9 and a standard deviation of 0.9. However, the skewness and kurtosis are within the acceptable limits, allowing the scale

to be taken as normally distributed. The data is spread over the scale with the mean marginally above the midpoint, on the low anxiety side of the scale.

The perception of heterogeneity scale is not skewed (skewness is -0.0) and has a mean score of 3.4 and standard deviation of 1.2. This suggests that participants are widely spread over the scale with the mean just above the midpoint, on the side indicating the perception of whites heterogeneous. The Social distance scale is more problematic. The data is extremely positively skewed (skewness is 2.2) with a mean score of 1.3 and a standard deviation of 0.4. The results show there is very little variation in the participants' responses on this scale. Almost all the responses imply very low social distance (low prejudice) towards whites. Lastly, the affective prejudice scale is slightly positively skewed (skewness is 0.4), and has a mean score of 2.3 and a standard deviation of 1.2. This scale may be taken as normal. The data is widely spread over the scale, though its mean is slightly below the midpoint on the side indicating low prejudice against white people.

The skewness and kurtosis of four scales (group identification, feelings about youth having white friends, perceptions of symbolic threats and social distance) indicated that the data could not be accepted as normally distributed. The distribution of three of the scales was negatively skewed. These scales were firstly transformed to make them positively skewed then log transformations were performed. Social distance scale was both extremely positively skewed and had very little variation. No transformation was

possible to correct this, so this scale could not be used in subsequent analyses. Table 4.3.2 shows descriptive statistics of the scales with transformed data.

Table 4.3.2 Descriptive statistics of the transformed scales

Variable	Mean	Std Dev.	Min	Max.	Skewness	Kurtosis
Level of Identification	0.5	0.4	0	1.4	0.4	-0.6
Feelings about Youth having White Friends	0.5	0.5	0	1.9	0.7	-0.2
Symbolic threats	1.1	0.3	0	1.7	-0.2	1.5

The log transformation was successful in bringing the distribution of these scales close to normality. However, the transformation also changed the meaning of participants' high and low scores. In the transformed data, a high score for the level of identification scale suggested that participants do not strongly identify themselves as black. A low score on the other hand suggested a strong identification with participants' own group. The transformations also change the meaning of participants' high and low score of feelings about youth having white friends' scale and the symbolic threats' scales. This meant that who scored high on feelings about youth having white friends scale have negative attitudes to interracial mixing; while participants who scored low in this scale meant that they held positive attitudes to interracial mixing. And lastly, participants who scored high on symbolic threats suggested that these participants perceived interracial friendship as a threat; whereas those who scored low do not perceive interracial friendship as a threat.

4.3.3. Dichotomous contact variables

No means, standard deviation or skewness and kurtosis are possible for the dichotomous contact variables (know white people, have white friends and know others who have white friends). A cross-tabulation was performed, and the following results were found:

4.3.3.1. Table of those who have white friends by those who knew white people

Have white friends	Know white people		Total
	0	1	
0	19 34.55 82.61	36 65.45 65.45	55
1	4 17.39 17.39	19 82.61 34.55	23
Total	23	55	78

0= do not have white friends and 1= have white friends
0= do not know white people and 1= know white people

The above table shows that of the 55 respondents that said they knew white people, 36 (65.5%) did not have white friends while 19 (34.6%) did. Of the 23 people who said they did not know any whites, only 4 claimed to have white friends. The results suggest that knowing or having contact with white people did not translate into interracial friendship.

4.3.3.2. Table of who those knew someone who has a white friend by those who have white friends

Know someone who has white friends	Have white friends		Total
	0	1	
0	22 62.86 40.00	13 37.14 56.52	35
1	33 76.74 60.00	10 23.26 43.48	43
Total	55	23	78

0= do not know someone who has white friends and 1= know someone who has white friends
0= do not have white friends and 1= have white friends

The above table shows that of the 23 respondents who said they had white friends, only 10 (43.5%) knew other people who had white friends. Thirteen (56.5%) of those who had white friends did not know anyone else who had white friends. Such results suggest that although there is a relationship between having white friends and knowing people who have white friends, the strength of such a relationship is not necessarily strong. Of the 55 respondents who did not themselves have white friends, 33 (60%) said they knew other people who had white friends. The results seem to imply that not having white friends does not in itself mean that one cannot know other people who have white friends.

4.3.3.3. Table of those who knew someone who has white friends by those who knew white people

Know someone who has white friends	Know white people		Total
	0	1	
0	19 54.29 82.61	16 45.71 29.09	35
1	4 9.30 17.39	39 90.70 70.91	43
Total	23	55	7

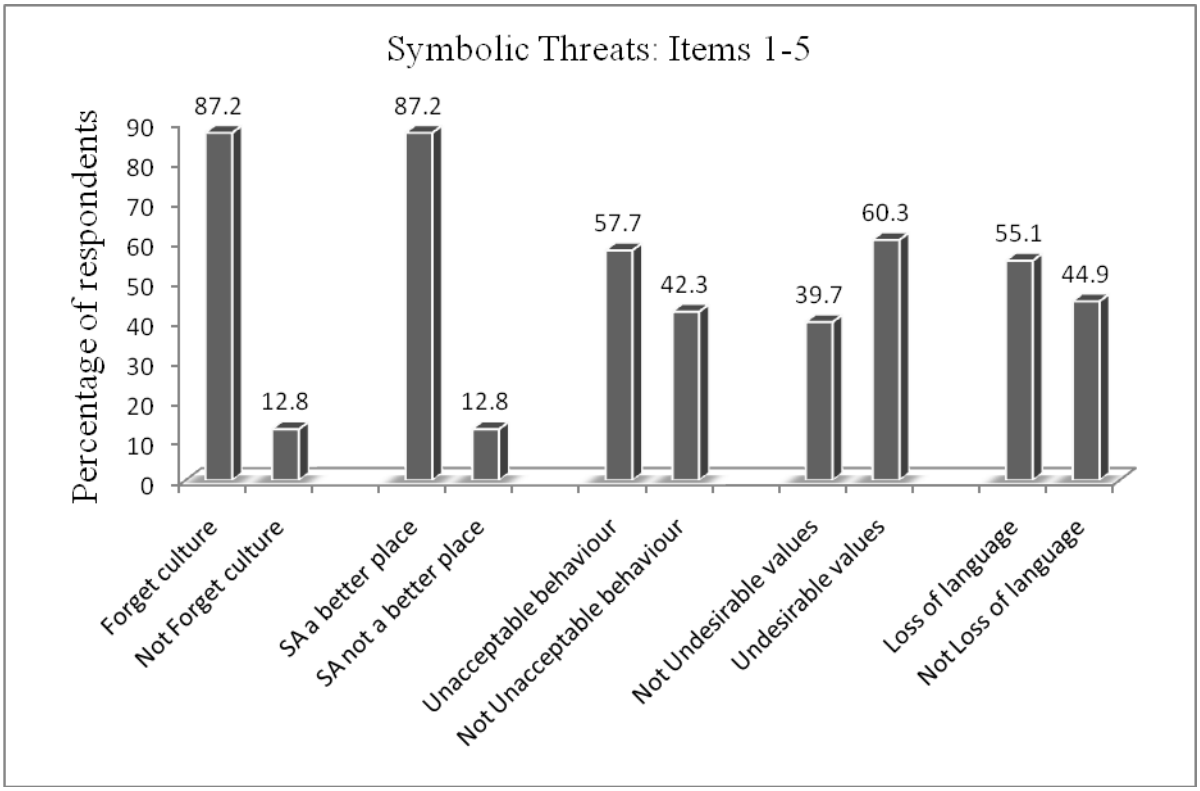
0= do not know someone who has white friends and 1= know someone who has white friends
0= do not know white people and 1= know white people

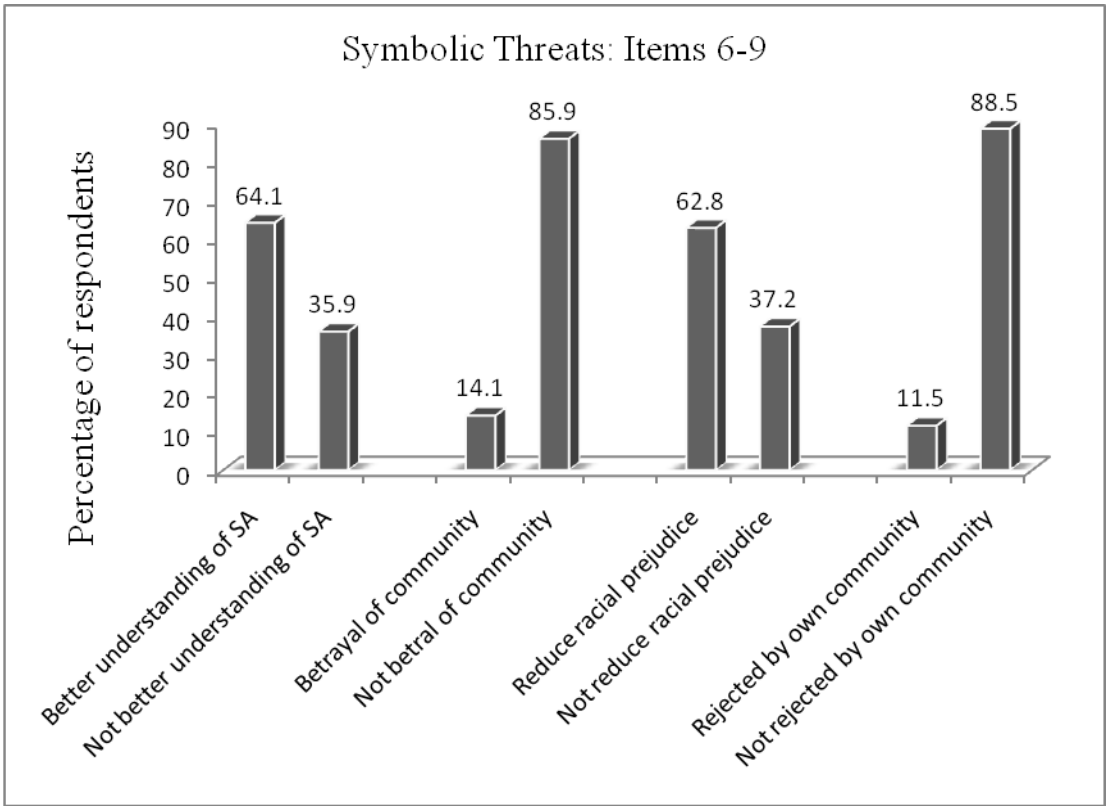
Of the 23 respondents who said they did not know any whites, 4 participants claim to know people who have white friends. Of the 55 who know white people, 39 (70.9%) know people who have white friends.

4.4. Feelings about black youth having white friends

To answer the question of what the participants felt about youth in their community having white friends the scales, feelings about youth having white friends, and the perception of symbolic threats are considered in detail. The responses on each of the threats in the perception of symbolic threats scale were dichotomised into agree (incorporating strongly agree, agree and slightly agree) or disagree (incorporating strongly disagree, disagree and slightly disagree). The percentage of respondents agreeing and disagreeing with the items are presented in the graph, Figure 4.4

Figure 4.4 Respondents' agreement or disagreement with symbolic threat items





The responses as shown in the graphs show that 87.2% of the respondents feel that black youth having white friends will lead them into forgetting about their own culture. This figure seems to be in conflict with the second item on which most participants (87.2%) felt that interracial friendships between black and white youth will result in South Africa becoming a better place. The third, fourth and fifth items seem to reveal that participants responded in a different way compared to how they responded in the first and second items. And 57.7% of respondents in the third item feel that black youth having white friends will lead them to behave in ways which are deemed unacceptable to black people. And 60.3% of the respondents in the fourth item feel that black youth having white friends will lead them to adopt values which are undesirable to black people. The fifth

item shows that 55.1% feel that interracial friendship will lead to loss of language for the black youth.

On the other hand participants seem to feel positive about the items which focus on community and nation's adhesion and cohesion. As seen on the first item 87.7% agree that interracial friendships will result in South Africa becoming a better place. The positive attitude seems to prevail in the rest of the remaining items. For instance, 64.1% of the respondents feel that interracial friendships will lead South Africa into becoming a better place. 85.9% of the respondents do not believe that interracial friendships constitute betrayal of the black community. And 62.8% of the participants feel that racial prejudice can be reduced through youth who have interracial friendships. And lastly 88.9% of the participants do not believe that black youth having white friends will be rejected by their own community. The only items in which there is a difference between the percentages of respondents agreeing and disagreeing seems to be items the first and second item, and the sixth to the ninth item. On the other hand, from the third to the fifth item, respondents appear to be evenly split between the issues raised.

4.4.1. Correlation between perceptions of symbolic threat and feelings about youth having white friends.

A Pearson test of correlation was used to test the relationship between the (transformed) feelings about youth having white friends and the perceived symbolic threat scales. The resulting coefficient was r=.233; p<0.05. This positive correlation indicates that

respondents who had negative feelings about youth having white friends were more likely to perceive threats from such friendships.

4.5. Do any of the contact and attitudinal measures explain feelings about youth having white friends?

To answer this question a multiple linear regression was conducted, regressing the contact variables and the attitudinal variables on feelings about inter-racial mixing. The analysis was conducted using the transformed level of identification, feelings about youth having white friends and perceived symbolic threat scales; the three dichotomous contact variables (know whites, have white friends and know others who have white friends), intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity and affective prejudice as explanatory variables. Initial regression diagnostic tests indicated that multicollinearity was a problem (Condition index>30) and there were two cases of influential scores. These scores were removed and stepwise regression was used. Table 4.5.1 present the results of the forward stepwise regression.

Table 4.5.1. Results of the forward stepwise regression

Parameter Estimates						
Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > |t|	Standardized Estimate
Intercept	1	-0.08	0.23	-0.37	0.71	0
Know White People	1	0.26	0.12	2.20	0.03	0.23
Have White Friends	1	-0.62	0.14	-4.44	<.0001	-0.48
Symbolic Threats	1	0.56	0.18	3.01	0.0036	0.31

R^2= 0.25; Adjusted R^2= 0.22; F= 8.16; p<0.0001

The forward selection model of multiple linear regression presented is statistically significant (*F (3, 72)* = 8.16; p<0.0001). The model explained 25% of the variability of

feelings about youth having white friends. Three explanatory variables were significant: knowing white people, having white friends and symbolic threats are good predictors of how participants feel about youth having white friends. Considering the standardized beta values, the most powerful predictor of feelings of cross-race friendships is whether or not the respondent had white friends themselves (β=-0.48). Those that had white friends were more likely to have positive feelings about youth having white friends. Perceived symbolic threats were the next most powerful predictor (β =0.31), indicating that those who perceived that having white friends presented a threat, were more likely to have negative feelings about cross-race friends. The standardized parameter estimate for knowing white people was positive (β=0.23), indicating that the respondents who know white people are more likely to hold negative feelings about youth having white friends. This is unexpected, as the first order correlation coefficient was negligible (*r*=0.10; *p*=0.399), this suggests that this may be a suppressor variable, in other words it could be said that this variable is to some extent correlated with symbolic threats (Howell, 1997).

Level of identification, intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity/heterogeneity of whites, and prejudice do not appear to be predictors of feelings about black youth having white friends.

4.6 Testing the contact hypothesis

Although not a direct research question in this study, it was decided to test whether the contact variables, intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity of whites, and group identification predicted the respondents' affective prejudice. The regression diagnostics

indicated that multicollinearity was not a problem (Condition index <30), but that there was one outlier. This case was removed from the final regression analysis. Table 4.6.1 presents results of multiple linear regression.

4.6.1. Multilinear Regression

Parameter Estimates						
Variable	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > |t|	Standardized Estimate
Intercept	1	5.63	1.04	5.37	<.0001	0
Know white people	1	-1.00	0.40	-2.49	0.0152	-0.35
Have white friends	1	-1.078	0.34	-3.16	0.0023	-0.38
Know someone who has white friends	1	0.64	0.37	1.71	0.0920	0.25
Intergroup anxiety	1	-0.55	0.18	-3.06	0.0032	-0.42
Heterogeneous/Homogeneous	1	-0.08	0.13	-0.59	0.5593	-0.07
Level of identification	1	-0.19	0.37	-0.50	0.6160	-0.06

R^2= 0.21; Adjusted R^2=0.14; F (6, 70) =3.18; p<0.0082

The multiple linear regression presented is statistically significant (*F (6, 70)* = 3.18; p<0.0082). The model explained 21% of the variability of participants' affective prejudice. Three explanatory variables were significant: knowing white people, having white friends and intergroup anxiety are good predictors of how participants' affective prejudice. Considering the standardized beta values, the most powerful predictor of affective prejudice is the level of participants' intergroup anxiety (β= -0.42). Participants who are more anxious were more likely to display a high level of affective prejudice. Having white friends was the next most powerful predictor (β = -0.38), indicating that those who have white friends, were less likely to have affective prejudice. The standardized parameter estimate for knowing whites was (β= -0.35), indicating that the respondents who knew white people were less likely to have affective prejudice.

4.7. Dichotomous contact variables and intergroup anxiety

A two sample t-test was conducted to find out if there were difference between participants' level of interracial contact and their level of intergroup anxiety.

4.7.1 Know white people and level of intergroup anxiety

A two sample t-test was conducted in order to investigate whether there was a difference in the level of intergroup anxiety between participants who knew white people and those who did not. The test showed that there was a difference between the two groups. Participants who knew white people had a mean score of 3.8 and those who did not know white people had a mean score of 4.3. The results showed that the difference was statistically significant ($t(70) = 3.2$; $p<0.0017$) (see Appendix F). These results suggest that interracial contact is associated with low levels of intergroup anxiety. And as a result intergroup relation between groups is more likely to be improved when intergroup anxiety is low.

4.7.2. Have white friends and intergroup anxiety

The results showed that participants who had white friends had a mean score of 2.8 while those who did not have white friends had a mean score of 4.0. The difference in these two groups proved to be statistically significant ($t(32.1) = 4.1$; $p<0.0003$). These results also suggest that cross-race friendship is closely related with low levels of intergroup anxiety. And low intergroup anxiety would mean that intergroup relations between groups are more likely to be positive.

4.8. Testing the difference between demographic variables and feelings about black youth having white friends

4.8.1. A t-test was performed in order to see if there was a difference in the feelings about black youth having white friends between men and women. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was not violated ($F(36, 40) = 1.41$, $p > .05$) so one looks at the t test calculated with pooled variances. The results were not significant ($t(76) = 0.75$; $p > .05$). This means that there is no difference between men and women's feelings about black youth having white friends.

4.8.2. A 1-way ANOVA was performed to see if there was a difference in feelings as a function of age. The assumption of homogeneity of variances was not violated. The results were not significant ($F(2, 73) = 0.376$; $p > 0.05$). Hence age does not appear to be related to feelings about black youth having white friends.

4.8.3. A 1-way ANOVA was performed to see if there was a difference in feelings as a function of socio-economic status. There were big differences in the numbers of respondents in each category, but the ANOVA test uses the Type III method of calculating the sums of squares, which accounts for this discrepancy. The homogeneity of variance was not violated. As it can be seen in the test for differences between the 3 SES categories, the F ratio is not significant ($F(2, 75) = 0.63$; $p > 0.05$). This therefore suggests that socio-economic status is not related with how people feel about black youth having white friends.

Chapter 5

Discussion

5.1. Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate black people's feelings about black youth having white friends. The study also wanted to investigate which of the proposed explanatory variables influence such feelings. Eight variables were used as possible predictors of these feelings. The variables used were, the extent to which the participants identified with the black group; perceived symbolic threats posed by interracial friendships; three dichotomous contact variables (knowing white people, having white friends and knowing others who have white friends); intergroup anxiety; perceptions of homogeneity of white people; participants attitudes toward social distance between white and black people and lastly participants' own affective prejudice. Presented below is the discussion of the research findings.

5.2. Black people's feelings about youth having white friends.

In answering the main question which asks what do black people feel about black youth having white friends, the perceived symbolic threat scale was treated in two ways. Firstly the scale, which had good internal consistency, was averaged to give a single score. This score had to be transformed (with a log function) to make the distributions more normal. The correlation between the transformed perceptions of symbolic threat and feelings about youth having white friends was investigated. Secondly, the responses on each item were dichotomized and the percentage of respondents agreeing or disagreeing with each item in the symbolic threats scale was calculated.

5.2.1. Symbolic threats scale

The responses as shown in the graphs show that a majority of the respondents feel that black youth having white friends will lead them into forgetting about their own culture. The results on this item seem to be in conflict with the second item which showed that most participants felt that interracial friendships between black and white youth will result in South Africa becoming a better place. It is unclear what could have led to such opposite responses. Possible explanation could be that participants who oppose interracial friendships on the basis of culture are more likely to be concerned about what has come to be known as acculturation. Acculturation refers to an extent to which individuals or a group adopts the beliefs and cultural practices of the dominant or host culture (Comas-Diaz & Grenier, 1998). The fear of being acculturated will therefore affect how people view interracial friendships in the light of their own culture.

The third, fourth and fifth items seem to show a split between participants views about the impact or influence of interracial friendships on black youth's behaviour, values and language. At least half of the respondents in the third item feel that black youth having white friends will lead them to behave in ways which are deemed unacceptable to black people. And over half of the respondents in the fourth item feel that black youth having white friends will lead them to adopt values which are undesirable to black people. The fifth item shows that another half feel that interracial friendship will lead to loss of language for the black youth.

The three items seem to show that values, behaviour and language are contentious issues among participants. It could be said that some participants are concerned about

acculturation and some are not. However, in the light of the South African context, it is difficult to argue that participants who seem to be less concerned about the influence of interracial friendships on their group's behaviour, values and language are content about the dominant culture or "white culture". There multiple possible reasons why some participants do not view interracial friendships as a threat to their group's behaviour, values and language. The first possible reason could be the forever changing racial interaction since post Apartheid. For example, racial interaction takes place in churches, sporting fields, work places and schools. All these environments allow people of different backgrounds to share and appreciate different cultures; thus some will be comfortable to adopt values, language and behaviour of the other race without feeling threatened by such a culture or race (Rebelo, 2004).

Positive attitude and feelings seem to prevail in the rest of the remaining items. For instance, most respondents do not believe that interracial friendships constitute betrayal of the black community; this particular item seem to contradict Stevens & Lockhart (1997, p.250) finding which revealed that "black South Africans in particular tended to have negative attitudes towards their own group who show friendliness to their white counterparts". However, the difference between Stevens & Lockhart (1997) and this study's finding could be due to improved interracial relations witnessed in South Africa since 1994 (Netshitenzhe & Chikane, 2003). It is therefore also not surprising to see that more than half of the participants feel that racial prejudice can be reduced through youth who have interracial friendships. And lastly a majority of the participants do not believe that black youth having white friends will be rejected by their own community.

5.2.2 Correlation between perceptions of symbolic threat and feelings about youth having white friends.

The test showed a positive relationship between perceived symbolic threats and feelings about youth having white friends. The analysis seems to have confirmed the study's hypothesis which suggested that participants' perception of symbolic threats was positively related to negative or positive attitudes towards black youth having white friends. The test revealed that participants who had negative feelings about black youth having white friends were more likely to perceive threats from such friendships. And it also showed that participants who had positive feelings about black youth in interracial friendship do not perceive such relationships as posing threats. There are no studies in the South African context which can be used to compare the study's findings. However, it is seems to be clear that reducing people's perceived threats of interracial friendships might result in positive feelings about such friendships. More studies will be needed to confirm such a hypothesis.

5.3. Predictor variables of feelings about black youth having white friends.

5.3.1. Explanatory variables of participants' feelings about black youth having white friends.

A forward selection model of multiple linear regression was conducted in order to investigate which of the contact and attitudinal variables explain participants' feelings about black youth having white friends. Three explanatory variables were found to be significant: knowing white people, having white friends and symbolic threats were good predictors of how participants feel about youth having white friends. The analysis

revealed that having white friends was the most powerful predictor of participants' feelings about black youth having white friends. It further showed that those who had white friends were more likely to have positive feelings about youth having white friends. Thus, participants who have white friends are more likely to encourage black youth to engage in interracial friendship as opposed to those who do not have white friends. Despite this particular finding (having white friends as a strong predictor of how participants feel about black youth having white friends), the analysis showed that knowing or not knowing someone who has white friends was not a predictor of how people feel about black youth having white friends.

The exclusion of such a variable seems to be unexpected; especially in relation to the fact that findings of the extended contact hypothesis suggest that extended cross-group friendships are associated with lower levels of prejudice. One would expect that knowing someone who has a white friend would be a predictor of how people feel about black youth having white friends. This inconsistency could be due to the fact that of the 23 respondents who said they had white friends, only less than half knew other people who had white friends. And just over a half of those who had white friends did not know anyone else who had white friends. These findings indicate the state and nature of interracial contact and friendships in South Africa. Gibson's (2004b) survey on prevalence of interracial friendship in South Africa found that the majority of black South Africans have no white friends; and on the other hand this study shows that those who have white friends do not know others who have white friends. And as a result, this study

shows that knowing someone who has white friends was not a predictor of how people feel about black youth having white friends.

The second most powerful predictor of how people feel about black youth having white friends is the perception of symbolic threats. This explanatory variable indicated that those who perceived that having white friends presented a threat, were more likely to have negative feelings about cross-race friends. This finding is consistent with the finding presented earlier in this study which showed that participants who had negative feelings about youth having white friends were more likely to perceive threats from such friendships. The third and last predictor variable was that knowing white people influences how people feel about black youth having white friends.

The results indicated that the participants who know white people were more likely to hold negative feelings about black youth having white friends. Though it is not clear why participants who knew or had contact with white people held negative feelings about black youth involved in interracial friendships. Possible explanation could be the nature of contact that such participants have with white people. As it has been stated earlier in the study, the nature of racial interaction (particularly between black and white people) in South Africa is the hierarchal one. It could be found that such participants know white people from employer-employee, boss-servant and senior-junior relationships. Furthermore, it might be found that participants had negative experiences during these interactions and as a result hold negative feelings about black youth having white friends.

Further investigation shows that there is a statistically significant negative correlation (-0.29) between knowing white people and participants' level of intergroup anxiety. This study shows that participants who do not know white people are more likely to have anxiety around white people compared to those participants who have contact or know few white people. This finding seems to explain why participants who do not know white people appear to be negative about black youth in interracial friendships. It could also be said that the nature of contact that such participants have with white people evokes intergroup anxiety. As stated above, the historical nature of interracial contact in South Africa is that most participants, who know white people, know them (white people) in a beaureacratic or hierarchical relationship. And negative experiences in such relationships will result in general negative views and feelings about interracial interactions.

Level of identification, intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity/heterogeneity of whites, and prejudice did not appear to be predictors of feelings about black youth having white friends. It is not clear why the above variables were non-significant in understanding participants' feelings about black youth having white friends. There are also no previous studies that one can use to compare the non-significance of these variables. The assumption was that level of identification would be a significant predictor of how black people feel about black youth having white friends. Possible exclusion of level of identification could be due to the fact that multiplicity of identities among South Africa's four major socio-racial groups have changed and have also improved (Kornegay,2005). Kornegay (2005, p.4) found that "all groups reflect strongly held racial and ethnic identification, with ethnic loyalties competing more or less evenly with racial

identification". Such findings suggest that the general participants' confidence in their own self-identity is strong, and therefore there are very few people who feel negative about their own group. The strong racial identity in most participants puts them on equal standing, and thus level of racial identification is not an important predictor of how they feel about youth having white friends. Intergroup anxiety, perceptions of homogeneity/heterogeneity of whites, and prejudice were also excluded as possible predictors of how black people feel about black youth in interracial friendships. Although there are no studies to compare these results with; the findings were unexpected since prejudice and intergroup anxiety are known to affect how people view intergroup relations. It is not clear why these variables were excluded.

5.4. Testing the contact hypothesis

As stated in the previous chapter, testing the hypothesis was not part of the questions asked in the main aims of the study. However, the results led to the presentation of possible predictors of affective prejudice. The multiple linear regression tests showed that there were three powerful predictors of affective prejudice. The most powerful predictor of affective prejudice was the level of participants' intergroup anxiety. This study showed that participants who reported more intergroup anxiety were more likely to display a high level of affective prejudice. This finding is in line with what Henderson-King and Nisbett (1996) have postulated that people who are anxious were more likely to find ways to avoid intergroup contact as this helps them deal with their anxieties. The intergroup avoidant behaviour predisposes such people to high levels of prejudice (Turner et al,

2007). This suggests that participants who have high intergroup anxiety are more likely to avoid racial interactions; and as a result they will hold racial prejudice.

The second most powerful predictor was whether the participants had white friends or not. The study indicated that those who have white friends were less likely to prejudice against white people. This finding is consistent with previous studies that have shown that cross-race friendships were associated with lower levels of prejudice (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1997). The final most powerful predictor of affective prejudice was whether the participants knew any white people or not. The variable refers to general contact with white people. The finding indicated that that people who knew white people were less likely to have affective prejudice. The result support the general contact literature which argues that intergroup contact is paramount to reducing intergroup prejudice (Allport 1954; Brown 1995; Pettigrew, 1997; Turner, et al, 2007).

5.4.1. Interracial contact and intergroup anxiety

Comparison tests showed that participants who knew white people and those who had white friends had significantly lower intergroup anxieties compared to those who did not know white people and those who did not have white friends. The findings further revealed that people who knew someone who had a white friend had lower levels of intergroup anxiety in comparison to those who did not know any person who had a white friend. The findings are similar to those reported by (Paolini et al., 2004; Vonofakou, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007). These researchers found that cross-race friendship and extended cross-race friendship were associated with lower levels of intergroup anxieties.

5.5. Conclusion

In conclusion this study was able to answer the main question raised about black people's feelings towards black youth who have white friends. The findings seem to suggest that black people hold diverse feelings about youth who have white friends, especially when the constructs pose challenges to the choicest or most essential and vital part of their own group's existence. The study showed that when language, desirable values, and acceptable behavior were part of the question participants seem to show evenly split views about youth who have white friends. On the other hand, participants seem to have shown positive feelings when youth who had white friends led to social, communal and national cohesion. Such responses seem to indicate that it is important to preserve both cultural diversity and national harmony. This implication seems to be in line with the phrase which has come to be known as 'unity in diversity'.

At the same time the findings tells us that respondents view interracial friendship as an important tool in advancing national harmony. But such friendship should not assimilate or absorb one into another's culture. It is therefore important that one's culture, language, values are preserved during such an interaction. In order to achieve this, it is imperative that the South African government continues to promote every culture and language as promised by the constitution. Every South African should feel valued and respected for who he or she is.

The findings in this study have also confirmed some of the hypothesis put forward at the beginning of the study. It was shown that there was a relationship between black people's perceptions of symbolic threats and how they felt about black youth involved in

interracial friendships. The study did reveal that those who perceived that having white friends presented a threat, were more likely to have negative feelings about cross-race friends. Predictor variables that were investigated in this study seem to support contact literature, especially the extended contact hypothesis which argues that intergroup "friendship potential is an essential, *and* not merely *a* facilitating condition for positive intergroup contact effects that generalize" Pettigrew (1998, p.76).

The study showed that interracial friendship was a very strong predictor variable of how black people feel about youth who have white friends. The finding supports the proposition that says interracial contact is important, but contact that leads to friendship is even more important. Interracial friendship was also seen to be an important element in reducing both affective prejudice and intergroup anxiety. Demographic variables such as gender, age and socio-economic status seem not to be related to how black people feel about black youth who have white friends. The results showed that there was no statistical significant difference between the levels of these variables.

5.6. Limitations of the Research

Since the research was investigating people's feelings and attitudes about black youth involved in cross-race friendships, the only research design appropriate was the non-experimental design. This research design is a limitation in itself in that it does not allow direct attribution of causality in understanding the variables investigated. Thus, the statistical tests performed are those which seek to inquire about relationships between variables. Secondly, the use of this research design did not allow manipulation of

variables and as a result confounding or extraneous variables could not be controlled. Another limitation of this study was the sampling strategy. The form of sampling used was non-probability sampling which does not involve random selection as not everyone in the population in which the sample was drawn had an equal chance of being included in the study. Purposive sampling was used instead. Though the researcher attempted to have a representative sample by inviting every black South African ethnolinguistic group into the study, some groups were overrepresented and others were under represented. Non-probability sampling made it difficult to ensure full representation of the population from which the sample is drawn. Therefore conclusion and inferences that can be made about the outcome of the study are more likely to be applicable to the sample used than to the general population from which the sample came.

The relatively small sample size poses a challenge in that the sampling strategy was depended on the availability and willingness of the participants to participate in the study. For example at the beginning of the study 100 participants agreed to participate in the study. And 100 participants answered the questionnaire; however, during data capturing it was noticed that 22 questionnaires were spoilt (i.e. respondents did not follow proper guidelines in answering the questionnaire). As a result only 78 questionnaires were used in the study. This in turn affected statistical analysis which could be performed with a bigger sample size.

The use of quantitative rather than qualitative method meant that only self-report questionnaires can used to capture data. This form of data capturing limits the amount of

data that can be obtained from the participants as participants can only tick the already constructed responses. This type of data collection prevents the researcher from eliciting richer data by allowing participants to express how they feel about certain factors asked.

5.7. Recommendations

This study attempted to answer some questions on black people's feelings about youth having white friends.

Secondly, future research would also increase sample size and conduct a proper probability sampling in order to generalize and interpret statistical results with greater level of confidence. Lastly a use of different methodology can also contribute to a better understanding of black people's attitudes towards cross-race friendships. The use of qualitative method would provide and in-depth and richer data about black people's feelings about youth in cross-race friendships.

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