

**A study of an interracial Neighbourhood in the South of
Johannesburg,
South Africa.**

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Declaration

I declare this dissertation is my own unaided work. It has been submitted for the degree, Master of Arts in Psychology to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted previously for any other degree or examination at any other University.

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ABSTRACT

The study of contact and desegregation in post apartheid South Africa has not received adequate attention (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). Mondeor, a previously White populated suburb in the South of Johannesburg has been identified as being a racially diverse neighbourhood . By focusing on this suburb, the current study investigated whether or not residents interacted or mixed with members from other race groups and whether or not increased contact with members of different race groups in a residential neighbourhood would promote positive intergroup attitudes. Zones were identified for the purpose of this study whereby each Zone was predominantly comprised of a specific race group. Quantitative data was collected by means of distributing *an intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire* to the residents according to the zones in which they resided. A sample of $N=197$ respondents was obtained. The results indicated that there was generally no significant difference in contact for the Zones (racially exclusive zones and racially mixed zones), however, significant differences existed in levels of contact for the various race groups. In addition to this it was found that significant differences in contact existed for the various education levels of the respondents. As expected, a significant negative relationship ($r = -0.16$) was found to exist between contact and affective prejudice. In addition to these results, significant relationships were found to exist between affective prejudice and the following variables: Intergroup anxiety ($r=0.37$), and social distance ($r=0.27$). In conclusion, it was found that residents were not mixing as much as what was envisaged for a racially mixed neighbourhood. In addition to this, contact in and of itself was not found to be a predictive measure for affective prejudice. Thus, this finding lends support to Allport's contact hypothesis making it clear that it is imperative to examine the nature of the contact as this may be pertinent in the promotion of the reduction of affective prejudice in intergroup contact situations.

Keywords: Intergroup relations; desegregation; segregation; contact hypothesis; social identity, residential integration; mixed areas, intergroup anxiety, affective prejudice.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Over the past 15 years the South African government has committed itself to social transformation by means of the abolishment of policies which previously created segregation throughout the various levels of South African society. In addition to this commitment, the government promotes policies which are aimed at creating opportunities for desegregation and social change. As a result of this social change which South African society has undergone, there has been a resurgence of research into racial identities, attitudes and behaviour (Seekings, 2008). This research tends to be directed towards investigating and exploring techniques and strategies for the assimilation of divergent ethnic groups into a united population group. One such technique has been the focus and discussion around contact which brings around favourable conditions to create positive attitudes. However, this focus on contact is not new to social researchers. According to Pettigrew and Tropp (2005) decades of research indicate that intergroup contact can promote reductions in intergroup prejudice, particularly when the contact situation is structured to enhance positive intergroup outcomes (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998, as cited in Pettigrew and Tropp, 2005). This idea resulted in the development of the contact hypothesis. Historically, the contact hypothesis was developed in the 1940's in the context of inter-racial relations of the United States. The contact hypothesis makes a simple prediction which states that regular interaction between members of different groups will promote intergroup harmony, providing that it occurs under favourable conditions (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Allport's (1954) Contact hypothesis has proven to be the most significant theory as it places particular emphasis on the critical situational conditions intended for intergroup contact in order to reduce prejudice. A study conducted on the Merchant Marine (Brophy, 1946) as well as

research conducted on public housing (Deutsch & Collins, 1951) supported similar conclusions. In theorizing about intergroup contact, Allport challenged the notion that simple encounters among different people would be sufficient to reduce prejudice. However, he proposed a series of situational conditions for intergroup contact that he deemed necessary for fundamental changes in intergroup prejudice (Nagda, Tropp, and Paluck, 2006).

Notably, contact theory has been relatively successful and has been applied to various contexts such as racial desegregation as well as integration in neighbourhoods and schools (Pettigrew, 1998). The idea that desegregation generates social and psychological change is supported by research and has been inspired by the writing of scholars such as Allport (1954), Clark (1953) and Pettigrew (1969). These scholars examined desegregation in relation to the contact hypothesis in numerous countries such as the U.S. and Australia. However, evidence for South Africa is much more challenging to establish than for other countries such as the U.S and Australia (Pettigrew, 2008).

The apartheid system was designed to prevent the formation of intergroup ties, thus making the study of contact difficult and the divisive effects of this system remain evident in the 'new' South Africa (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a). South Africa's past urban planning was primarily based on the assumption that separated racial groups should conform to segregated residential areas. The dehumanising effect of such an urban planning system managed to create highly segregated residential and housing spaces which resulted in a fairly clear sectoral pattern of development (McCarthy, 1990).

In 1948, the electoral victory of the National party had a significant and symbolic effect upon the development of urban segregation in South Africa (Christopher, 1992). It was under the National party in the 1950s that the Population registration Act (1950) was put into motion. This act was a policy whereby everyone was officially classified into racial groups, namely African (also known as Bantu), Coloured, Indian (also known as Asian), and White (also known as European). African

denotes the black African inhabitants of what is today South Africa, Coloured refers to individuals of mixed African, European and Asian origin, Asians refers to descendants of Indian labourers and white refers to people of European origin (Tihanyi, 2007). According to the Group Areas Act (1950), these specific race groups were required to live in areas specifically set aside for the exclusive occupation of a legally defined group. This resulted in barriers being created in the social worlds of South Africans where segregated neighbourhoods have become a persistent reminder of the past (Tithanyi, 2007).

The first stage of the apartheid model was to enforce laws against the resident Black population (Christopher, 1990). Blacks living in private or rented properties were forced to relocate to Black townships on the margins of the cities whilst pressure was exerted on White employers to reduce the number of Black employees housed on their properties. The Group Areas Act (1950) was drawn up with the express intention of removing the Black, Coloured and Asian populations from the central areas of South African cities and creating a series of self-contained mono-racial suburbs. A prime example of this would be the removal of residents in 1955 from the racially diverse neighbourhood of Sophia Town to Meadowlands Soweto. Some 65 000 people were taken to Meadowlands, Lenasia, Westbury and Noordgesig. Those residents of Sophia Town who did not qualify for resettlement had to find their own accommodation. Many people also moved to Orlando East and other parts of Soweto (Sindane, 2005).

Gradually, as the world heard of the horrific acts of apartheid, in the 1970s, international sanctions were implemented to “punish” South Africa for apartheid policies. However, these sanctions did not deter the national government at the time and they continued to weave segregation throughout the legislative fabric whilst applying some flexibility to generate economic development. It was at this time that The National Physical Development was

established as a framework to provide locations and incentives for industry to locate near homelands, whilst nearby satellite cities provided a reservoir of black labour that could be shuttled in by means of subsidized transport systems (Urban Development Timeline, n.d). The national government then centralized control of all black development issues under the Bantu Affairs Administrative Board. At this point, a greater resistance to apartheid policy built up, and the national government declared some of the homelands to be independent states. In the 1980s the government established separate parliaments for Whites, Indians and Coloureds. It was at this point in time when Black organizers created the United Democratic Front (UDF), which engaged in a resistance policy to make South Africa ungovernable by boycotting payments for rent, utilities, and other services. Additionally, nominally independent local governments were established in Black areas, but were largely rejected by residents, and local government collaborators were victimized. Meanwhile, the economic growth of South Africa slowed down considerably, which led to the establishment of arms-length development institutions such as: the Development Bank of Southern Africa, South African Housing Trust, and Independent Development Trust (Urban Development Timeline, n.d). A white paper that recognized the inevitability of urbanization established a spatial framework for publication. In the early 1990s, South Africa saw a massive civil society effort which demanded democratic representation. This culminated in 1994 with the first democratic South African elections (with the African National Congress (ANC) coming into power, followed by the constitution in 1996 (Urban Timeline Development, n.d). Despite the new government's efforts at the time, Christopher (2005) argues that the transitional phase under the National party control from 1991 to 1994 lacked clarity on policy direction as attention was focused upon the political transfer of power in as orderly and peaceful a fashion as possible. Subsequently, in 1994, the ANC embarked upon the Reconstruction and Development Programme. One of the aims stated in this programme was the reintegration of South African cities (Christopher, 2005). However, in 1996 a significant shift in

government policy resulted in the adoption of the free-market Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (Bond, 2000, as cited in Christopher, 2005). State intervention became concerned with issues of service delivery and improvement of personal living conditions, which left little room for integrative planning (Turok, 2001). However, State housing policy has been one of the key factors driving urban development since 1994. The policy has been aimed at assisting the poorer sectors of society to gain access to the formal housing market through the provision of monetary subsidies (Lanegran and Lanegran, 2001). Inevitably, in view of the shortage of housing, pressures have been exerted to provide land and construct houses as rapidly as possible. Most of the government's attention became directed towards the upgrading of existing informal settlements on the periphery of the cities (Abbott and Douglas, 2003). The development of areas generally took place where services could be made readily available on the margins of existing African and Coloured townships. In the majority of cases, such settlements tended to be mono-racial although some exceptions were noted in the Western Cape (Oldfield, 2004, as cited in Christopher, 2005). Where government had previously lacked the political will to remove squatters in the early 1990s, this was reversed and land invaders who interrupted official planning schemes were evicted again in the late 1990s (Ramutsindela, 2002). Concentrated action by suburban householders was usually sufficient in preventing squatters from invading the former all-White residential areas (Saff, 2001, as cited in Christopher, 2005). The result of this was the extension of the "apartheid town" plans and the abandonment of any policy of state-sponsored residential integration. Within the private sector the limited availability of mortgage finance for low-income earners, small savings and redlining meant that the majority of Africans, Coloureds and Asians were unable to take advantage of their newly gained freedom to purchase properties outside their formerly racially defined areas (Christopher, 2005). When there was an opportunity some movement took place but the rate of transformation has been slow reflecting the low turnover of family houses. After an initial period of activity associated with the

1994 transfer of power , interracial property transfers declined (Lemon and Clifford, 2005).

Migration has mainly been into the former White areas. At the beginning of the desegregation process it was recognised that Africans, Coloureds and Asians could only move into White areas as Whites moved on (Lemon, 1991). The decline in the White urban population has not resulted in a major freeing of the housing market as occurred in Zimbabwe after independence in 1980. Nevertheless, the continuing process of suburbanisation with the mobility of the White population has offered opportunities for other groups to enter the formerly White areas. The post-apartheid experience of segregation in South African towns has been highly diverse reflecting the lack of any central government direction on the subject (Gervais-Lambony, 1999, as cited in Christopher, 2005). As a result, more than a decade after the first democratic elections in South Africa, many neighbourhoods appear to continue to be divided in terms of race. According to Donaldson and Kotze (2006), the race-space residential divide resulting from social engineering is still evident in South Africa's cities. Residential desegregation was not expected to occur rapidly after apartheid, thus it is imperative to study the dynamics of desegregation and the attitudes that people from various race groups hold in relation to other race groups within post apartheid South Africa. Therefore, this study examines contact and intergroup attitudes within a desegregated neighborhoods in order to establish methods which promote inter-racial harmony.

Chapter Two

2.1 Framing the study of contact and its importance in post apartheid South Africa

Theoretical framework: The contact hypothesis

Many studies on intergroup relations as well as intergroup contact have been based on the contact hypothesis (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1992). The majority of empirical studies testing the contact hypothesis have been conducted abroad in field sessions such as schools, summer camps, and residential housing, but a good number have been conducted in laboratory settings (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). As a result, researchers have primarily explained the effects of contact in terms of two general principles.

The first principle, according to Stephan and Stephan (1985), states that when we bring members of different groups together a process of re-education begins that encourages them to revise derogatory and irrational stereotypes. The second principle states that because contact reduces perceptions of out-group dissimilarity it will conversely cue a process of similarity, confirming the old saying “like attracts like”. These two principles have lent some theoretical lucidity to the early contact literature and have continued to underpin modern research in this tradition (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). The basic idea which underpinned the original contact hypothesis was relatively simple: if separation and unfamiliarity breed stereotypes and intergroup prejudice, then these effects should be reversible by prompting contact and increased familiarity between members of different groups and social categories. Williams’s (1964) intergroup study which was conducted in the 1950s lends support to this idea. This particular study made use of surveys of social contact and ethnic attitudes in four cities which were situated in different regions of the United States (Williams, 1964). In all four of the

cities, greater contact was reported between members of the White majority group and one of the minority groups. The increase in contact was found to be clearly associated with lower levels of prejudice against minority groups (Forbes, 2004). This study is one of the many which has indicated that increased contact leads to a decrease in negative intergroup attitudes. Historically, early research has confirmed the benefits of contact across a number of settings such as industry (McKenzie, 1948, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b), military (Star, Williams & Stouffer, 1958, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b), housing projects (Wilner, Walkley & Cook, 1952), summer camps (Yarrow, Campbell & Yarrow, 1958, as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b) and universities (Mann, 1959).

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis has been established as a general set of ideas about reducing intergroup prejudice and discrimination. The underlying theoretical assumptions of the contact hypothesis were that contact under cooperative interactive conditions provides opportunity for positive experiences with outgroup members that disconfirm any previous negative attitudes and ultimately change attitudes toward beliefs about the group as a whole.

According to Pettigrew (1998), Allport's (1954) hypothesis proved the most influential by specifying the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. Allport (1954) held that the positive effects of intergroup contact are marked by four situational factors, namely:

- (1) equal group status within the situation
- (2) intergroup cooperation,
- (3) common goals,
- (4) and social and institutional support (Pettigrew, 1998, p66).

A review by Pettigrew (1998), has shown clear empirical support for the four conditions, and noted important evidence for a new fifth condition: that the contact situation must have potential for the growth of friendship between group members.

According to Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, & Voci (2004), recent evidence suggests that both direct and indirect friendship with outgroup members, can reduce prejudice toward the outgroup. Thus, according to the contact hypothesis, friendship is one form of prejudice reduction. However, there are a number of obstacles during intergroup contact which may hinder positive contact as well as prejudice reduction. Prejudice itself is an obvious factor, as are socialization and conformity to social norms. Another obstacle to inter-racial contact is an individuals' anxiety about how they may be received by members of the other group in a contact situation. In addition to this, perceived threat may be a hindrance to inter-racial contact and prejudice reduction. Group threat theory posits that prejudice and inter-group hostility are largely reactions to perceived threats by subordinate groups. Dominant groups seek to preserve their advantaged social position and view encroachments on their prerogatives by minority groups as disrupting to the existing social order. Accordingly, prejudice is more prevalent where sources of threat are highest, notably when and where the minority population is relatively large and where there exists competition for limited social resources, such as jobs (Blalock, 1967). In addition to this, Tredoux and Finchilescu (2009) suggest in their unpublished article on the mediators of contact-prejudice relations- that the Intergroup Threat Theory of Stephan and colleagues proposes that intergroup anxiety mediates the relationship between contact and prejudice.

In order to reduce prejudice, Allport (1954) suggests creating a situation whereby members of an in-group having positive interactions with members of an out-group which will lead to them possibly formulating friendship. As a result, an opportunity arises whereby an individual is able to gather as much information about the out-group member. This in turn will lead to them

viewing the out group member as an individual as opposed to the stereotyped group characteristics. It is then possible that, due to the formation of these acquaintances or friendships, individuals may generalize these perceptions to the out group as a whole (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). However, in a study by Ellison & Powers (1994), it was found that interracial contact in desegregated surroundings does not directly manipulate Black members perceptions of Whites , the exposure alone may aid in the formation of close friendships (Powers& Ellison, 1995).

It is imperative to discuss the four key conditions of the contact hypothesis in more detail as stipulated by Allport (1954) in order to illustrate the conceptualisation of these conditions. These situational conditions will be elaborated upon below for this purpose.

Equal group status

As mentioned previously, Allport (1954) stressed equal group status within the contact situation. Segregated groups are often unequal in status, with associated negative stereotypes about the lower status group members' competence and abilities (Pettigrew, 1998). The framers of the contact hypothesis were aware that contact situations that perpetuate status differentials would reinforce rather than disconfirm such negative expectations and hence emphasized the importance of equal-status participation within the contact situations. Residential integration most often provides opportunity for contact under equal-status conditions, but contact in work or school settings may not be equal (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). Accordingly, Allport (1954) stated that prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of a common goal. Most research has supported this notion (Pettigrew, 1998). Allport (1954) believed that contact should ideally occur between cooperating groups of equal status and should be sufficiently intimate to establish common ground (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

However, equal status is difficult to define and has been used in different ways (Cagle 1973, Riordan 1978, as cited in Pettigrew, 1998). According to Allport's theory (1954), it is important that both groups expect and perceive equal status in the situation. Some writers emphasize equal group status coming into the situation (Brewer & Kramer 1985, as cited in Pettigrew, 1998). Thus, Jackman & Crane (1986) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) show negative effects from contact with outgroup members of lower status. Yet Patchen (1982) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998), in research on racially mixed high schools, found this to be less important than equal status within the situation. The meta-analytic results of Mullen et al.,(1992) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) clarify these disparities. They noted that ingroup bias increased with relative status in laboratory groups but decreased in field research with real groups.

Common goals and intergroup cooperation

To elaborate on the condition encompassing common goals, it was postulated by Allport (1954) that prejudice reduction through contact is said to require an active goal- orientated effort. According to Chu & Griffey (1985), a prime example of this would be an athletic. In striving to win, interracial teams need each other to achieve their goal. Goal attainment such as winning season furthers this process. Attainment of common goals must have an independent effort without intergroup competition. A further example regarding cooperative interdependence between members of the different social groups in the contact situation is the classic field experiment conducted by Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues in the summer of 1954 in the boys' camp in Robbers Cave (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood & Sherif, 1961, as cited in Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

The researchers in this experiment divided 22 eleven -year-old boys into two separate groups prior to their arrival at summer camp and initially kept these two groups apart. Accordingly, in

accordance with Sherif's (as cited in Brewer & Gaertner, 2001) functional theory of intergroup relations, group orientated competitive activities were introduced, such as tug-of-war, which instigated intergroup hostility, which resulted in verbal exchanges and physical fighting between the members of the two groups (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). Subsequent contact between the two groups under neutral conditions did not calm the tensions between the two groups. Only after the researchers had introduced a series of superordinate goals, that is goals that cannot be achieved without the cooperation of both groups, did the relations between the two groups become more harmonious (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). Stemming from Robbers Cave, many field studies of intergroup contact have confirmed that intergroup cooperation leads to more friendliness and less ingroup bias than situations that do not promote or require cooperative interaction (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

Support structures

The final optimal condition, concerns the contact's support structures. According to Allport (1954) as stipulated in his highly influential book, *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), the effect of contact is greatly enhanced by institutional supports, such as law, custom or local atmosphere. To elaborate on this point, with social and institutional support, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authority support establishes norms of acceptance (Pettigrew, 1998). This is illustrated in apartheid South Africa, where Russell's (1961) study indicated that Whites had improved attitudes towards their neighbours of a different race group, however, the improved attitudes did not generalize to Coloureds and Indians as groups, and Whites were defensive about their interracial contact. Some avoided it, and the exchange that took place was not reciprocal. Whites received neighbourly aid and entered non-white homes far more than the reverse. Many

whites rationalized their interracial behaviour with the exploitative nature of the relationship (Pettigrew, 1998). All were aware that the then stern South African norms punished equal status interracial contact. Hence, this illustrates that normative support makes attainment of other optimal conditions far easier (Pettigrew, 1998). However, many studies have investigated the negative effects when all four key conditions are violated. All were aware that the then stern South African norms punished equal status interracial contact. Hence, this illustrates how normative support assist in making the attainment of the other optimal conditions far easier (Pettigrew, 1998). However, there are several limitations to the contact hypothesis and these limitations have inspired a number of reformulations which have mainly been grounded in the Social Identity framework (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a).

Brewer and Miller (1984) analyzed the contact theory within the context of the nature of the self-concept as described in the social identity theory. They concluded that Tajfel's theory has important implications for intergroup contact situations. The salience of a specific social identity will determine the nature of the interactions in intergroup situations. If a particular groups' identity is salient in a specific situation, the depersonalized nature of the interactions will tend to accentuate group differences rather than foster ingroup acceptance (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1992). As depersonalization is the main characteristic of group-determined interaction, the salience of group identity should be counteracted by the stimulation of highly personalized interaction. Personalized interaction refers to responses based on the specific relationship between individuals and implies direct self-other interpersonal comparisons about crossing group boundaries (Bornman & Mynhardt, 1992). Continuous exposure to personalized interaction will diminish group identity in future interactions. The assumed association between personalization and the salience of group identity suggests that personalized contact will be correlated with positive attitudes toward outgroups

(Bornman & Mynhardt, 1992). The work situation is a common area where members of different groups interact. In many cases, contact cannot be avoided at work.

Minard (1952) found that, although positive behaviour changes resulted from equal status contact at work, it has little significance for behaviour outside the work situation. However, research conducted by Deutsch and Collins (1951) has illustrated that contact at work could prepare people to accept contact in other areas because interaction in the work situation was associated with more positive attitudes towards residential integration. This may be an important factor in desegregation. However, as desegregation is the main focus of this study, the term will be defined at this point. Durrheim and Dixon (2005a), define the term desegregation as, “the extended contact between previously isolated social groups that is brought on either by the acute or gradual process of change”. As stated by Duckitt (1996), when groups are initially segregated, desegregation is a first step to the creation of conditions in which prejudice may be reduced. The idea that desegregation generates social and psychological change has been supported by an array of rich psychological literature that dates as far back to the middle years of the last century (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). As a result, research on desegregation and contact has been inspired by the writing of scholars such as Allport (1954), Clark (1953) and Pettigrew (1969). Durrheim and Dixon (2005) state in their book ‘Racial Encounter’, “ that generations of social psychologists have sought to understand and to promote desegregation”. Thus, it has been established that Social psychologists tend to approach desegregation in one of two ways. The first of these approaches is concerned with measuring attitudes towards other group members in contexts such as: diverse neighbourhoods, housing projects, schools, and universities (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). The second tradition of work on desegregation tends to be conducted under the rubric of the contact hypothesis (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b).

Desegregation in South Africa

As previously mentioned, very little research has been done in the area of contact as well as desegregation in South Africa. However, it is notable that the reviews conducted by Foster and Finchilescu (1986) (as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005a), and by Mynhardt and du Toit (1991) uncovered fewer than 20 published studies. Since these reviews were written, only a handful of additional studies have appeared.

A number of international studies (which were conducted in the US) have been influential in the area of desegregation. A few of these studies will be discussed briefly in order to establish further insight into the origins of contact research. Some of these studies were referred to by Russell (1961) in her research on a multi-racial neighbourhood in Kwa-Zulu Natal South Africa during the apartheid era. According to Russell (1961), these studies were made in so-called invaded areas. Invaded areas can be defined by Russell (1961) as those areas which were known as White areas into which Blacks gradually began to reside in. Two of the studies of invaded areas, one by Kramer (1950,) and the second by Wilner, Walkley and Cooks (1952), compared attitudes of residents of differing proximity to Blacks and found that competition and threat were the most important determinants of attitudes towards black individuals as neighbours. Thus, for example, in both studies, Whites already living in very close proximity to Blacks showed less prejudice than those living some distance from people of colour, yet were threatened by the prospect of living with them. In addition to this, Wilner et al.,(1952) found that economic competition affected attitudes, that low income White families had the greatest hostility to Blacks. Kramer (1950) made the additional interesting finding that house owners were more hostile towards Blacks than renters. This too was an aspect of threat, for it is the house-owner who stands to lose financially should the area deteriorate as a result of migration of Blacks into the area. This differential between renters and owners was confirmed in a study made by Rose, Atsek and McDonald (1953) who studied eight different neighbourhoods in each of which

there lived not more than two Black families. The authors found that people of higher educational levels accepted the idea of integration with Blacks more readily than those of poorer educational levels. Jones(1948)(as cited in Russell 1961) studied the progress of a neighbourhood over three years during which Blacks moved into the area which constituted one third of the population. He found four reactions to the Blacks. He reported that friendliness was increasing and that hostility was never demonstrated openly. In addition, he observed that the Black population was at conscious pains to impress the White group favourably and to minimize friction in the neighbourhood. These studies illustrate the complexities and difficulties that neighbourhoods may face when trying to overcome the complex issue of segregation.

However, following the idea of the contact hypothesis, along with the impact of Group areas legislation in South Africa, the first studies on desegregation in South Africa were conducted in the 1950s. However, these cannot be said to be true studies on desegregation as the Group Areas Act was in place which promoted segregation as opposed to desegregation.

In the first of these studies, Mann (1955) (as cited in Louw & Foster) studied various aspects of an African township outside Durban. He found that no more than a third of 193 respondents favoured any type of contact with other groups, namely; Indian, Coloured and White. The least favourable contact was reported to be with Indians. Along the lines of the contact hypothesis, Mann (1955) (as cited in Louw & Foster, 1991) found a positive correlation between desired contact and social distance scores. Although a significant correlation was only 0.13, which was not particularly convincing. The remainder of the study gave results of the attitudes separately towards Indians, Coloureds and Whites. He concluded: "The people of Baumannville are hostile towards racial outgroups. They have only a moderate amount of contact with the other races and desire no more. A diminution of tolerance, then, is not to be expected until more intense inter-racial contacts take place (Mann, 1955, p.195, as cited in Louw & Foster, 1991). However, in a more extensive study, Russell

(1961) studied an interracial neighbourhood in Durban prior to the formal imposition of the Group Areas Act (1950). She found that residential proximity was associated with increased contact between White, Indian and Coloured people, and that contact was linked to friendly relationships. Despite the conflict and generally amicable relations, the wider dominance pattern of South Africa nevertheless was revealed in the neighbourhood. Blacks were wary of Whites, and stated attitudes (by interview rather than attitude scale) of Whites toward Blacks were not particularly positive. Although subsequent research on this theme was not systematic, further work related to the contact hypothesis did appear from time to time over the recent years (Louw & Foster, 1991).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, South African researchers began to reframe the problem of contact in terms of group identification processes. Group identity processes featured in Mynhardt and du Toit's (1989) study which examined the attitudes of a mostly White sample of students. Their survey was designed to explore the relationship between several independent variables such as group identity, exposure to rumours and locus of control, and their respondents' "behavioural intentions" in regard to desegregation. In a later series of unpublished studies, Mynhardt and du Toit (as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b) have clarified the nature of the relationship between rumour and behavioural intention. They have demonstrated for instance, that the perceived credibility of fear rumours influences residents' attitudes towards desegregation, in general, the more credible the circulating rumour the more negative the attitude. Conversely, exposure to credible "wish rumours" (i.e. rumours that contact will improve intergroup relations) is associated with more favourable attitudes towards contact and residential desegregation. In short, Mynardt and du Toit (as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b) show how communicative practices such as rumour may shape collective reactions to contact and desegregation.

A study conducted by Morris (1999) on interracial mixing in Hillbrow found that White participants were pleased with interracial mixing within the apartments as they commented that they had better relations with other race groups than their White counterparts. In addition to this, the various members residing within this area had numerous interpretations for what they considered to be socializing with other group members. For some it meant visiting members from other race groups at their apartments whilst others viewed it as going to bars, pubs or nightclubs in the evening whereby they were given the opportunity to engage in conversation with members of other race groups. It was found in this particular study that interracial socializing in the neighbourhood was common and White group members were also more likely to engage in interracial friendships and mixing as they resided in mixed apartment blocks (Morris, 1999).

A more recent study which was conducted by Lemanski (2006) in the suburb of Muizenburg in Cape Town, attempted to examine whether physical desegregation within a residential neighbourhood would eventually lead to the facilitation of social integration of its residents. This study is an interesting illustration of residential desegregation. Lemanski (2006) found that neighbourhoods who have a common socio economic status are more likely to engage in social mixing and therefore promoting social integration.

Massey & Denton (1993) found that Black and White group members are segregated irrespective of the difference in income levels. This study revealed that Blacks experience segregation irrespective of how much money they earn or have. As socio-economic status increases, there is a decrease in the level of segregation for most minority groups. Massey and Denton argue (1993) that even though there is an 'acceptance' of interracial housing by White members, in essence they are still prejudiced against Black neighbours.

In a study on the segregation levels of South Africa as a whole, Christopher (2005) found that the degree of integration in South Africa was limited with considerably higher levels of segregation than compared with international standards, suggesting that South African cities are unlikely to experience a rapid transformation in desegregation. Additionally, in tracing the desegregation of South Africa since 1991, Christopher (2005) found that there had been a number of developments which have retarded it. The mere removal of restrictive legislation did not of itself result in residential reintegration. In addition, Christopher (2005) is of the opinion that the legacy of several years of systematic discrimination is still clearly apparent in post-apartheid South Africa. According to Christopher (2005), the impress which apartheid left on post-apartheid South Africa is still evident in the inequalities in wealth, access to resources and opportunities, despite the rapidly growing Black middle class.

From the discussed South Africa desegregation studies, it is clear that although there is a level of intergroup contact and desegregation occurring in many South African neighbourhoods, many neighbourhoods and townships are still segregated in South Africa and the amount of contact that race groups experience may be small and is limited to superficial and asymmetrical types of contact, often taking the form of informal and seemingly voluntary practices (Finchilescu, 2005). Dixon and Durrheim's (2003) study of informal segregation on a Kwazulu-Natal beachfront represents an attempt to study contact in a leisure space, where spatial processes are elevated to significance. Dixon (2001) (as cited in Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez, & Finchilescu, 2005), calls for contact researchers to acknowledge the role that spatial boundaries play in mediating contact. He argues that space should not be perceived as a passive backdrop to group relations but as a meaningful and dynamic production that constitutes our collective relations and identities (Dixon, 2001, as cited in Tredoux et al., 2005). Additionally, Durrheim and Dixon's (2005b) study found that although there had been socio-political and legislative change in South Africa, there was still

evidence and an inclination for members of different cultures to stick to their own kind (Durrheim & Dixon, 2000, as cited in Durrheim and Dixon, 2005b). According to Finchilescu (2005), the cultural differences between the race groups in South Africa are manifested in a wide range of varying customs and social practices. Finchilescu (2005) adds that this may contribute to perceptions of dissimilarity and in turn, heightens fears of norm conflicts. This may lead to intergroup contact becoming undesirable, both because individuals may be concerned that the out-group members may behave wrongly or they may fear that they themselves will behave inappropriately and offend the out-group members. This may suggest that intergroup anxiety is experienced in many situations in South Africa, which could be the basis of the observed informal segregation (Finchilescu, 2005). In Durrheim & Dixon's (2005b) study of the Scottburgh beach front, the idea that black people pose a threat to other groups was a recurring theme. The grounds on which such claims that were made varied, ranging from stereotypes about black criminality to elaborate theories of the discomfort that naturally ensues whenever people encounter cultural practices that differ from their own (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b).

According to Finchilescu (2005), Stephan and Stephan's (1985) model of intergroup anxiety may provide a useful framework for understanding the observed reluctance to mix with members of other race groups on the part of many people in South Africa. Stephan and Stephan's (1985) model is used to describe the fearful reactions that individuals may express when expecting or experiencing interaction with members of another group. Such reactions may include concern over being discriminated against, ridiculed or simply made to feel uncomfortable. This is an important factor in determining the kind of prejudice reduction that may occur as anxiety may interfere with the contact process (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b). Perhaps these types of threat may lead to difficulties in reintegration. It is suggested that the discussed factors may be influencing levels of desegregation in

South Africa. Moreover, according to Durrheim and Dixon (2005), South African society was previously designed to prevent the formation of intergroup ties.

In Conclusion, Christopher's (2005) census indicated that as a result of migration and population growth, South African cities became marginally less segregated between 1996 and 2001. However, this rate of decline in segregation levels was slower in the previous five years. Whereas the African, Coloured and Asian populations showed significant declines in segregation from 1991-1996, only the Coloured group did so from 1996 to 2001. According to Christopher (2005) Whites have continued to maintain remarkably high levels of residential exclusivity when measured by standard indices of segregation. In addition to this, it is in contemporary South Africa, in spite of vast social and political changes, that racial segregation continues to occur (Christopher, 2001, Schrieffer, Tredoux, Dixon, and Finchilescu, 2005) According to Finchilescu (2005), it can be argued that it is this type of historical context of South Africa which makes it difficult for the race barriers to be broken down. However, John Cell (1982) (as cited in Durrheim & Dixon, 2005b), argues that segregation is a product of modernization. He states that it was developed in cities and towns, in the early stages of industrialization of the newly formed nation states of the USA and South Africa. However, according to Donaldson and Kotze (2006) the residential desegregation process in South African cities has not been investigated to any great extent. Empirical studies on residential desegregation in post apartheid South Africa focus on secondary and metropolitan cities such as Pietermaritzburg, Pietersburg, Cape Town (Lemanski 2005; Oldfield 2004), and a comparative study of two provincial capitals (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998) whilst little attention has been paid to smaller towns such as Mondeor.

An interesting aspect of desegregation in South Africa is that it is "characterized by the in-migration of Black Africans into a previously "White area" of an income status equal to or higher than those moving out (Kitchin, 2002). According to Saff (1994), once in these areas, they are generally

accepted, if not necessarily welcomed, by the White residents and gain access to the facilities and social services within that area” (Saff, 1994, p 382). However, contradictory observations have been made in Pretoria where Prinsloo & Cloete (2002) found that desegregation is highest in low-and middle income residential areas, whereas Horn & Ngcobo (2003) observed in-movement of higher income blacks into newly developed middle and middle-to high income areas.

The repeal of the Group Areas Act meant that, “for the first time, professionals and middle class are able to differentiate themselves from other Africans residing in the same geographical locations and using the same resources and facilities available to them in the townships (Kitchin, 2002). Various studies have been conducted in South Africa to examine the experience of Black residents moving into previously White areas – asking questions such as who moves, why did they move, what has been their experience in the new suburb? For example, in-depth interviews with five middle-class black women who had recently moved to previously white suburbs showed that all five indicated violence and/or crime as a reason for their move (Rasser, 1997). One stated that she faced resentment from her neighbours in the townships as she and her husband were quite successful financially. Her husband was shot and killed and her home burned down, which precipitated her move. Although the women missed their friends and social support, she felt safer in the suburbs. One woman indicated, of her new neighbours in Woodlands (a lower middle class previously white area), “these people are poor whites. They are not any different from us”. This shows evidence of an increasing awareness of class as a distinguishing feature, rather than race. Similar results were found by Anderson (1996) (as cited in Kitchin, 2002), who points out that social capital declines with the move to the suburbs, although this is offset by greater feelings of security. For White South Africans, spatial differentiation has already been a means of establishing differences in class and social status. Therefore as Black Africans move into those formerly White areas, they are met with the class distinctions that are defined by the domain of the homes, and now choose these areas as a sign of their rising social status” (Schlemmer, 1989, as cited in Kitchin, 2002). Although forced segregation

on the basis of race has been removed from the political landscape, it has now been replaced by class-based segregation (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006). The clustering of income groups in gated communities has been driven primarily by class where certain neighbourhoods and new estate developments are spatially closed off from other areas. Moreover, the urban Black African population is becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of their level of income and employment (Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999). It seems that the results of previous studies indicate that those who are moving into formerly White areas are the better educated, and employed. Those that are left in the townships and informal settlements are generally extremely poor and are relatively uneducated. According to Gilbert and Crankshaw (1999), “The shift from race to income as a basis for residential ‘choice’ will make all too little real difference to the lives of the poor.” This is similar to the situation in Latin America where “in most cities it has been income that has been the dividing line between those with decent housing, and those without” (Gilbert and Crankshaw, 1999). In the South African situation, increasing racial mixing in previously White suburbs is likely to lead to the increasing concentration of the poor and marginalized in townships and informal settlements.

In conclusion to the discussed material, it is clear why it is imperative to examine the dynamics of desegregation within the post apartheid South African context, as a study of this nature could add value to the local study of contact and desegregation whilst furthering the knowledge of social psychologists in the areas of contact and desegregation. Therefore, a residential area, similar in racial composition to the area which Russell (1961) utilised in her study of a racially mixed neighbourhood in South Africa during apartheid, was examined in order to explore the dynamics of desegregation. The area which was used for the purpose of this study was the racially mixed suburb of Mondeor, which is situated in the South of Johannesburg. Mondeor falls within region F of Gauteng which consists of a number of contrasting suburbs (Joburg.org, (n.d). In the 2001 South African census, Mondeor was constituted of 2209 Black Africans, 3020

Whites, 769 Coloureds and 703 Indians or Asians (personal communication, March 2007). Thus, because of the unique level of integration in this area, it would be imperative to examine the dynamics of desegregation in this particular South African neighbourhood as it may offer an environment in which individuals from various race groups may interact. Christopher (2005) in a recent study, found that Coloureds seem to be declining in segregation whilst Whites are found to be maintaining a high level of residential exclusivity. Additionally, Blacks and Indians were found to be becoming less segregated from 1991-1996, however, it was found from 2001 that they were maintaining a constant level of segregation. Therefore, all of these race groups were of particular interest in this study. This study aims to investigate the dynamics of desegregation between Whites, Blacks, Indians and Coloureds in the South of Johannesburg, in the suburb of Mondeor. Furthermore, this study will explore how much actual mixing is taking place in Mondeor and will attempt to ascertain the varying intergroup attitudes of the residents from this area. Demographics such as gender, race, socio-economics, culture and education will be taken into account in this study. Research questions which investigate how much actual mixing is taking place in Mondeor will be answered using this research.

The value of this study lies in its contribution to knowledge of South African racial attitudes and the impact of contact on social behaviour. It will provide a valuable test of Allport's (1954) hypothesis in a new context and inform strategies for better racial harmony in the future.

Aim

The aim of this research is to determine how much actual mixing is occurring between residents within the multi-racial suburb of Mondeor whilst exploring the various intergroup attitudes which may arise as a result of contact.

Chapter Three

3.1. Methods

3.1.1 Research Questions

The primary research question of this study are the following:

3.1.1.1 How much actual intergroup mixing is taking place in the area of Mondeor?

The sub questions of this study include:

3.1.1.2 What is the relationship between affective prejudice and the following variables: contact, friendship, social distance, perceived outgroup variability, inter group anxiety and social identity in this study?

3.1.1.3 What is the relationship between contact and the following variables: affective prejudice, friendship, social distance, perceived outgroup variability, intergroup anxiety and social identity in this study?

3.1.1.4 Do residents living within more racially mixed Zones of Mondeor have more contact than those who live in more racially exclusive Zones?

3.1.1.5 Do individuals from different race groups have different levels of contact?

3.1.1.6 Do individuals of a higher educational level in Mondeor have more contact with people of different race groups to them more than those of a poorer educational level?

3.1.2 The sample

Mondeor, a residential area/suburb was found in the South of Johannesburg, Gauteng South Africa was identified as being a relatively racially mixed as well as desegregated neighbourhood based on 2001 census data. For the purposes of this study, a suburb is defined as a residential area which is located outside of a major city.

The census data revealed that Mondeor was constituted of 2209 Black Africans, 3020 Whites, 769 Coloureds and 703 Indians or Asians in 2001. These statistics may not have been exactly representative of the sample at the time of the commencement of data collection in 2007, however, the census data provided an indication that this neighbourhood had become relatively racially mixed and hence, Mondeor was found to be an appropriate suburb to utilise for the study of contact and intergroup relations.

The sample which was utilised for this research for the investigation of contact and intergroup attitudes, was derived from five (5) zones which were identified within the suburb of Mondeor. The zones are defined as being comprised of streets within this suburb which were identified through observations made by the researcher as well as through communicating with residents in the area. These zones were identified as being occupied by specific race groups, namely: Black African, White, Coloured, Indian/Asian or Mixed (the mixed zone was comprised of all 4 race groups). The Zones for the purpose of this study were denoted as Zones A, B, C, D and E (Appendix C).

Zone A was identified as being predominantly White in terms of racial composition and was comprised of the following streets: Montblank, Edenhurst and Francisview, Fairway and Faan, Fanthorpe and Cadogan and Endwell.

The Zones labelled B consisted of the following streets: Boswell Avenue, Swartberg, Davina, Letita, Belvoir and Columbine Avenue travelling towards the area of Meredale. These streets were identified as representing the Coloured residents, hence Zone B was identified as being predominantly Coloured. The zones labelled C on the map contain Berrymead, Swartgoud, Jane, and Liezel street, and they were established as being comprised of a highest amount of Indian residents compared to the other areas of Mondeor. In addition to this, Zone D which is comprised of the following streets: Dungarvan, Royal Park drive and Daubeney Avenue. Zone D was found to contain the majority of Black/African residents, whilst the Zones labelled E, which contained the following streets namely, Downham road and Duncombe Avenue, Brabazon, Ormonde, Canford, Bellefield Avenue, Sunsetvale, Calanbria, Colworth, Koranna, Ashden, Asher and Chelverton were considered to be the most racially mixed streets of Mondeor as they included White residents, Black/African residents, Coloured residents and Indian/Asian residents (as stated by residents and as viewed through observations).

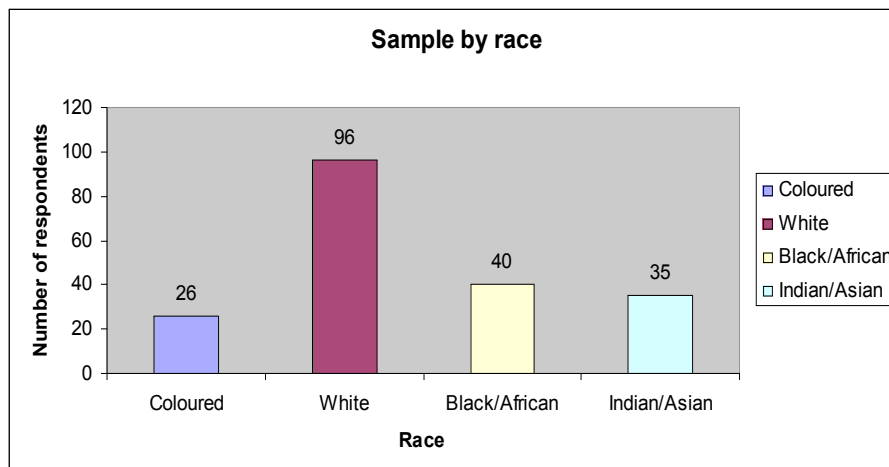
As this study was quantitative in nature, the data was collected through the distribution of an *Intergroup attitude and contact Questionnaire* which was distributed to the residents of Mondeor in the above mentioned zones. The questionnaire was developed in order to gauge and quantify the intergroup attitudes and levels of contact of the residents of Mondeor within the five (5) Zones. A total of 1600 questionnaires were distributed to residents in these zones. A total sample of 200 respondents was achieved resulting in a 12.5% response rate. However, of the 200 respondents, 3 did not complete the questionnaire sufficiently and thus, their data had to be removed, leaving an overall sample of $n=197$. It is important to note that the size of a sample within any study depends on the type or nature of study conducted. Moreover, practical constraints such as the size of the study and time may also have a significant impact on the completion of the study (Durrheim, 1999). This is evident in this research as there was a

perceived sensitive nature of this study by respondents and time constraints for the collection of data were particularly evident. Respondents did not want to be viewed as racist and feared that if they completed the survey and were honest that the neighbours may find out what they think about them and this would result in tension in the neighbourhood. In an attempt to secure more completed surveys, the researcher made appointments with potential respondents where necessary in order to build rapport and trust. In addition to this, the researcher had research assistants who were from various race groups as well as from the neighbourhood in order to assist with targeting specific race groups. Moreover, in order to promote participation an incentive was offered whereby the respondents could win an ipod or a DVD player if they participated in the study.

Demographics

When examining the sample descriptively, it was found that the majority of the sample was comprised of White respondents ($n=96$). Never the less, the sample was relatively diverse with 40 of the respondents being Black/African, 35 were Indian/Asian, and 26 of the respondents were Coloured. In addition to this, 99 of the respondents were male whilst 98 were female. The ages of the respondents ranged from 17 to 82 with the average age $M=43.5$ years.

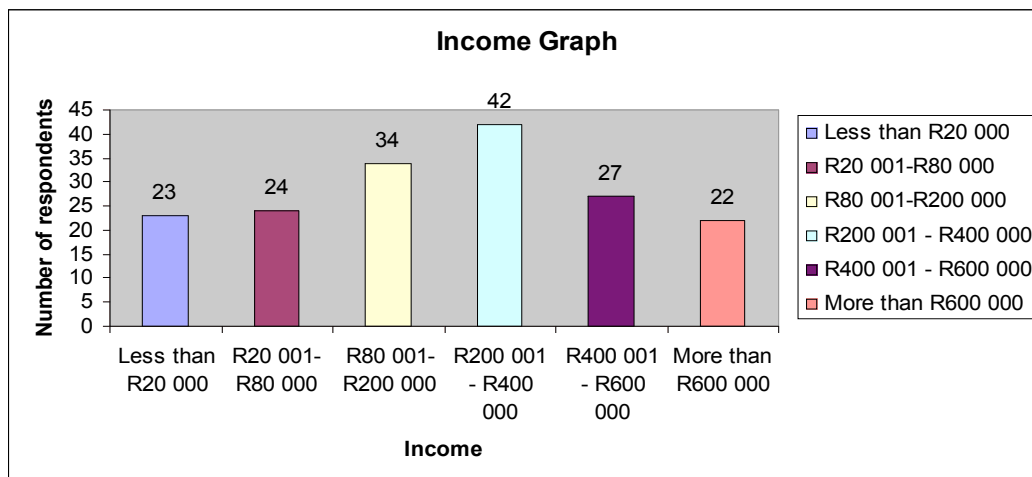
Figure 1: Graphical representation of racial composition of sample



With respect to home language, 16 of the respondents spoke Afrikaans as their primary or home language, 135 spoke English, whilst a small percentage of the respondents spoke other languages at home, namely, 4 spoke IsiNdebele, 9 spoke IsiZulu, 4 spoke Northern Sotho, 8 spoke Sesotho, 4 spoke Setswana, 2 respondents spoke other languages (namely Dutch and 1 respondent did not specify what language they spoke), and 1 spoke Tshivenda.

The most frequently reported level of education obtained by the respondents was a Diploma or a certificate. Four (4) of the respondents' highest level of education was primary school, 27 of the respondents had obtained a Matric (Grade 12), 50 of the respondents had obtained a Diploma or a certificate, 48 of the respondents had obtained a degree, and 27 of the respondents had a postgraduate degree. Five (5) of these responses were found to be missing. With regards to home ownership status, the majority of the respondents for this study indicated that they owned their homes ($n=151$) as opposed to those residents who were renting their homes ($n=39$).

Figure 2: Graphical representation of income of participants



For the annual income of the respondents, $n=172$, 24 of the respondents earned less than R 20 000 a year, 24 respondents earned from R20 001 to R 80 000 per a year, 34 earned from R80 001

to R200 000 per a year, 44 of the respondents earned from R200 001 to R 400 000 per a year (this was the majority of the respondents), 27 of the respondents earned from R400 001- R600 000 per a year and 22 of the respondents had an annual income of more than R600 000 a year. However, research has found that an indication of income is very rarely reflected accurately by respondents and may be understated or overstated.

3.1.3 Instruments:

A questionnaire to gauge intergroup attitudes and levels of contact was utilized for the purpose of this study. The scales and content of the questionnaire will be discussed in more detail below:

3.1.4 Questionnaire

An Intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire was developed for the purpose of this study.

The first section of the questionnaire consisted of several questions relating to demographics. The demographics which were included in the *Intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire* were:

gender, age, education, primary home language, population group, and residential position.

Furthermore, this section required the respondents to indicate whether they utilized shopping centres, churches/mosques/temples/place of worship in Mondeor, and recreational facilities. The respondents were required to complete a 8 sections in total (including the demographics section).

The Intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire tapped into various constructs by utilising the following scales: identity, contact, friendship, affective prejudice, social distance, perceived outgroup variability and intergroup anxiety. Each of these scales will be discussed in more detail

below. Notably, the cover page of the questionnaire contained a section whereby the respondents could supply their address or street name. This allowed the researcher the ability to code the questionnaires correctly according to the appropriate zones.

Contact:

Question 9 of the *intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire* is the contact scale which was designed for the purpose of this study. It contained questions which were used to gauge the levels of contact between White, Black African, Indian/Asian, and Coloured residents. This scale included three items, namely work, social and neighbourhood, which were measured on a five point likert scale. The Likert scale was comprised of the following degrees; never, seldom, sometimes, often, and very often. The questions in the contact scale included feelings concerning how often the respondent had contact with White/Black/Coloured/Indian people in the following situations: With White/Black/Coloured/Indian people in their residential area, with White/Coloured people in their home, With White/Black/Coloured/Indian people at the home of other people, With White/Black/Coloured/Indian people at their homes, With White/Black/Coloured/Indian people at religious events, with White/Black/Coloured/Indian people at social events, and do they have friendly conversations with White/Black/Coloured/Indian people.

Friendship:

Question 10 of the questionnaire is a measure of friendship and required the respondent to indicate how many of their friends were Black, White, Indian or Coloured. This scale was

measured on a five point likert scale which consisted of the following varying degrees: none, few, many, most and all.

Affective Prejudice:

Question 11, 12, 13 and 14 of the *Intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire* constitute the Affective Prejudice scale. The Affective prejudice scale contains six bipolar items which were used to enquire about how the respondent felt towards the other race in question. These bipolar items were measured on six (6) point scale and were as follows:

(1=warm,6=cold,1=positive,6=negative,1=friendly,6=hostile,1=trusting,6=suspicious, 1=respect,6=disrespect, 1=admiration,6=disgust). These items when reversed and averaged in a study conducted by Paolini ,et al. (2004) on Cross-Group friendship and were found to have a reliability index of $\alpha=0.91$. Thus, the higher scores in this instance denote prejudice (Paolini et al., 2004).

Social Distance:

In Questions 15, 16, 17, and18, the respondents were required to select the word which expressed or most closely represented their feelings. This scale was used in a study by Paolini,et al. (2004) on cross-group friendships and it was related to social distance. Two items which relate to aspects of work, and social events were examined with the use of this scale. The items were measured on a four point scale with the following degrees; 1=don't mind, 2=can't say/don't know, 3=mind a little, 4=mind alot. The respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they would mind if: (1) a person of a different race group who was suitably qualified were to be appointed as their boss, and if (2) a person from another race group to theirs was in close kinship by marriage.

Perceived outgroup variability:

Questions 19, 20, 21, 22 contained a measure of perceived outgroup variability and were comprised of three items. The respondents' responses were measured on a 5 point scale which consisted of the following degrees: 1= not at all, 2=not really, 3= Uncertain, 4= Partly, 5= Extremely. Respondents were required to rate the extent to which, in the other race group, the individuals differ, the members are similar to each other, the members are pretty much alike, and they're all completely different from one another. The second and third items were reversed. The reliability of this scale was found to be 0.73 in a previous study by conducted by Paolini et al., (2004). Additionally, the three items of this scale yielded a reliability index of $\alpha = 0.73$, higher scores indicate higher perceived outgroup variability.

Intergroup anxiety:

Questions 23, 24, 25 and 26 were comprised of Stephan and Stephan's (1984) intergroup anxiety scale which was adapted to Mondeor's intergroup setting.

Respondents were required to rate the extent to which they would feel happy, awkward, self-conscious, confident, relaxed, and defensive (all scales, 1=not at all, 2= a little, 3=some, 4=quite, 5=extremely). It was found in a previous research that the reliability index of the anxiety scale was $\alpha = 0.90$. Higher scores will indicate a higher intergroup anxiety (Paolini et al., 2004).

Identity:

The respondents were required to complete a scale in Question 27 which represents identification with their group (social identity,) which includes three items: namely, Group self-esteem, self-categorization and commitment to the group (Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerkerk, 1999). The Group self esteem sub-scale contained the following questions: 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. The Self categorization scale contained the following questions: I identify with other members of my group, I am like other members of my group, and my group is an important reflection of who I am. Commitment to the group contained the following questions: I would like to continue working with my group, I dislike being a member of my group, and I would rather belong to the other group. These items were used in a study by Ellemers et al.,(1999) and a factor analysis revealed that the three factors had an Eigenvalue greater than 1, which together accounted for 65 per cent of the variance in the separate questions. The loadings of the separate questions indicated that three subsets of questions constituted three different components.

The questionnaire allows the researcher to ask a standard set of questions to understand as well as describe the incidence of particular phenomena among particular groups. Notably, the cover page of the questionnaire contained a section whereby the respondents could supply their address or street name. This allowed the researcher the ability to code the questionnaires correctly according to the appropriate zones.

The Advantages of a questionnaire are that it can be administered to large numbers of people, it is time and cost efficient, and yields valuable descriptive information about broad trends. However,

questionnaires may be limited by low return rates, the replies from subjects may be ambiguous and the answers to the questionnaire depend on the truthfulness of the subject.

3.2.1 Research design

The research design is quantitative in nature, and consists of a non-experimental, cross sectional, correlational design. However, there is potential for this study to be expanded upon. The demographic variables of this study are age, gender, highest educational level, home language, population group, home owner status and income. The variables of the study are Identity, Contact, Friendship, Affective prejudice, Social distance, Perceived outgroup variability and intergroup anxiety. The advantages of a non-experimental design are that it is easy to implement, it is cost and time efficient and is useful for descriptive purposes. The limitations of a non-experimental design are that it has no control group, thus an association between variables can only be established, there is no manipulation of the IV and there is no random assignment (causing a threat to internal validity and non-spuriousness cannot be established).

(3.2.2.)Procedure:

Questionnaire

The Intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire was distributed to the residents of Mondeor who reside in the five(5) Zones, A-E which have been established for the purpose of this study through observations. Specific streets for the zones were identified based on observations made by the researcher. In order to validate the researcher's observations, the researcher approached residents within Mondeor to confirm the racial composition of the streets. The researcher

distributed the questionnaires with the help of four assistants to the residents of Mondeor in the applicable streets by going door-to-door in June 2007-July 2007. When the residents who was approached agreed to fill in the questionnaire, the researcher or assistants briefed the potential participant on the nature of the study and requested that the resident fill in the questionnaire whilst she or the research assistants are present in order to obtain a response. Residents who completed the questionnaire were required to fill in information which may have potentially allowed for the identification of responses. The participant information, obtained from the participant information sheet, was required in order to code the questionnaires according to the specific zones from which they were collected. This information is imperative when establishing whether the intergroup contact for the zones differs from one zone to the next.

The participant information sheet attached to the front of the questionnaire served three purposes, namely: (1) it assisted in the coding of the questionnaires according to the zone from which they were obtained, this in turn assisted the researcher to identify the varying intergroup attitudes and levels of contacts in the various zones, (2) it doubled as a competition form for the DVD player and MP3 player (incentive), (3) and it assisted in establishing whether or not the respondent would be interested in being interviewed for the purpose of future studies (Appendix B). Furthermore, once the questionnaires were collected, they were kept in a secure place at the University.

3.2.2 Ethical Considerations.

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of the Witwatersrand. All the necessary steps were taken by the researcher to ensure that no mental or physical harm came to the participants. The sample utilized consisted of non-vulnerable volunteer subjects. The researcher informed

possible participants of the of the study about their obligations and responsibilities as well as anything that may influence their decision to participate before the research began. The participants were briefed about the nature of the study prior to the questionnaire being distributed (Appendix B). Any questions asked by participants before and after the study were answered and all effects of the research will be discussed should the need arise. All the information obtained in the research is confidential unless agreed upon before the study by the participant. The participants were guaranteed the right to confidentiality, however, anonymity cannot be assured as there may be identifying features which would allow the researcher to identify the participant such as ID numbers and residential addresses. It is the duty of the researcher to ensure confidentiality by guaranteeing that no-one, other than the researcher and their supervisor, will have access to their research material. Furthermore, the responses of the respondents have been made unidentifiable in this research report and will be posted at the Mondeor Community Centre so that the participants can view the results of the research . Consent in this study was obtained by the participant filling in a questionnaire. Participants were informed of the right to withdraw themselves or data from the study prior to the completion of the study. However, as the researcher will not be able to trace the responses back to the participants to remove their data from the study as the participant information sheet will be detached from the questionnaire, thus, withdrawal from the study would have to take place prior to completion of the questionnaire. Contact information for the researcher will be distributed to the individuals who participated in the questionnaire ,to allow them the opportunity to contact the researcher if they have any queries relating to the study at a later stage. Additionally, the inclusion of the opportunity to win a prize if the participants completed the questionnaire should not be viewed as a form of coercion as the sample will be generally comprised of middle to upper class individuals. It will merely act as a lottery or as an incentive for the participants to complete the questionnaire. Once all of the questionnaires had been completed, and collected and the front sheet of the questionnaire had

been removed in order for the responses to the questionnaires to remain unidentifiable, names were drawn from a hat for two winners. Additionally the questionnaires, were stored in a secure place at the University.

(3.2.4) Data analysis

Once the questionnaires were collected and coded according to the zones from which they were ascertained, the following steps were taken in the analysis of the data generated from this research:

(1.1) Then psychometric characteristics and properties of the scales used in this study were checked by means of a factor analysis, Cronbach alphas and tests for normality.

(1.2) Descriptive statistics were run in order to illustrate the properties of the sample

The following statistical methods were carried out on the data collected:

(2.1) A regression and a stepwise regression to establish which variables were more predictive of affective prejudice

(2.2) Correlations were run in order to establish whether a relationship existed between Affective prejudice and the following constructs: Contact, Friendship, Social distance, Perceived outgroup variability, Intergroup anxiety, and Social identity. Moreover, correlations were conducted to establish the relationship between Contact and the following constructs: Affective prejudice, Friendship, Social distance, Perceived outgroup variability, Intergroup anxiety, and Social identity.

(2.3) Chi test analysis was used to examine whether the appropriate race groups were correctly classified according to zones as well as to examine whether a relationship between zone (mixed or unmixed) and contact existed.

(2.4) T-test was utilised to establish if a difference existed in contact and the zone in which the respondents resided (racially mixed or racially exclusive).

(2.5) An Anova analysis was conducted to establish if significant differences in contact existed between the various race groups, in addition to this, an Anova was conducted to establish if significant differences existed for the various levels of education and contact .

2.5 Analysis

Psychometric properties

Reliability

In order to establish the reliability and validity of the various subscales which were used to form the *intergroup attitude and contact questionnaire*, the psychometric properties of the subscales were analysed .

Reliability enables us to evaluate whether a low validity may be due to a reliability that is too low and could be improved by adding items (Rosenthal and Rosnow, 1991). In psychological testing, a reliability of 0.85 or higher is considered to be indicative of dependable psychological tests, whereas, in experimental research, instruments with much lower reliability coefficients may be accepted as satisfactory.

In order to validate the reliability of the subscales which were utilised for the purpose of this study, Cronbach alpha values were calculated for the 7 subscales which made up the intergroup attitude questionnaire The contact scale ($\alpha = 0.86$) , affective prejudice scale ($\alpha = 0.95$),

intergroup anxiety scale($\alpha = 0.76$), social identity scale ($\alpha = 0.74$), all proved to be very reliable. The perceived outgroup variability subscale proved to be less reliable ($\alpha = 0.68$) but this could be attributed to the fact that this subscale has three items, of which two are extremely similar to each other in meaning. Perhaps as a recommendation, if this scale is used in future research, the researcher should look at including more items to increase the reliability of this subscale. The Social Distance and Friendship subscales could not be measured effectively in terms of reliability as they each contained very few items.

When looking at these scales in terms of race and outgroup responses, the contact scale, affective prejudice scale, social distance scale, outgroup variability scale, and intergroup anxiety scale were found to be reliable across all of the race groups. The friendship scale had too few items to measure this accurately on a race level.

Factor analyses were conducted in order to establish if the items of the subscales were measuring the correct attributes. The contact and intergroup anxiety subscales were both found to load onto 2 factors. For the contact scale, Factor 1 explained 45.97% of the variance whilst factor 2 explained 12.29% of the variance. What is of particular interest about these two factors is that the items for factor 1 were differentiated from the items for factor 2 in such a way that the items which loaded onto factor 1 pertained to unforced contact, such as inviting a member of another race group into ones home, whilst the items which loaded onto factor 2 were specific to forced contact such as having contact with members of other race groups at work. For the intergroup anxiety scale factor 1 explained 24.38% of the variance whilst factor 2 explained 15.42% of the variance. What is notable about the differentiation in these items, is those items which loaded on factor 1 were those questions which were phrased positively and those which loaded on factor 2 were generally more negatively phrased.

The Affective prejudice subscale loaded onto one factor which explained 48.44% of the variance. The perceived outgroup variability subscale loaded onto one factor which explained 18.97% of the variance.

The friendship and Social Distance subscales both contained too few items, that is one and two items respectively to conduct a meaningful factor analysis.

Normality

The normality of the various subscales was determined in order to ascertain which statistical techniques would be most applicable, that is parametric or non-parametric statistical application.

The contact subscale ($M=2.3$, $SD=0.7$), Friendship subscale ($M=2.4$, $SD=0.6$), Affective prejudice subscale ($M=2.9$, $SD=0.9$), Social Distance subscale ($M=1.6$, $SD=0.6$), perceived outgroup variability subscale ($M=2.7$, $SD=0.7$), intergroup anxiety subscale ($M=2.6$, $SD=0.6$), and social identity subscale ($M=3.9$, $SD=0.5$), were all found to be normally distributed (See Appendix D).

The normal distribution can be defined as a bell shaped distribution that can be completely described from just our knowledge of the mean and the standard deviation. It is very useful in a wide variety of statistical procedures, descriptively it is useful because we can specify what proportion of the area is to be found in any region of the curve (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). In addition, many biological, psychological and sociological attributes are distributed normally or nearly normally, such is the case in this study.

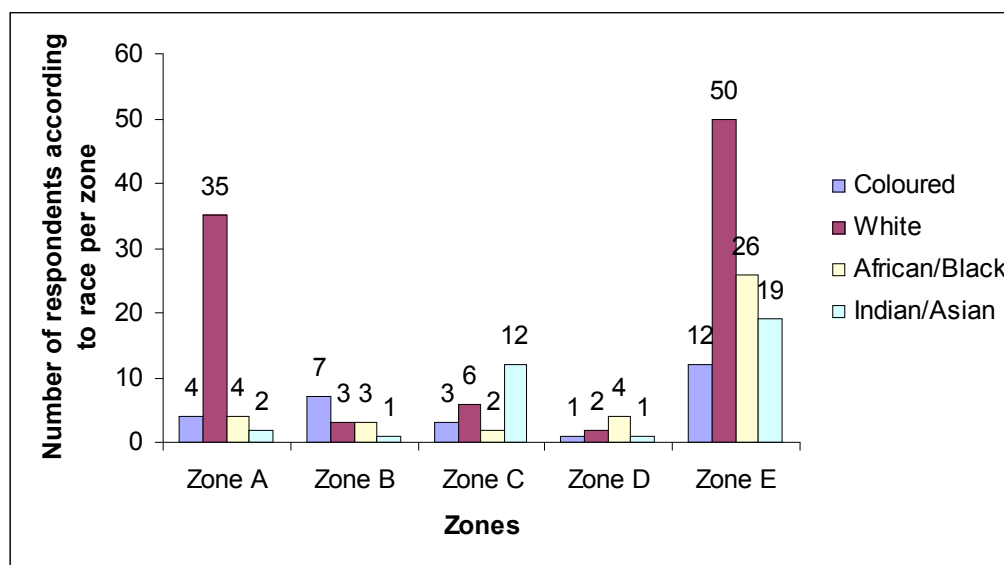
Statistical Analysis

Zones

In order to verify that the correct zones had been formulated to represent the various race groups in the neighbourhood, a chi-squared test was conducted. A chi-squared test is used when you want to see if there is a relationship between two categorical variables. In this particular study,

the stated statistical hypothesis would be that there is a relationship between race and zone preference within Mondeor. The null hypothesis in this case would be that there is no relationship between race and zone preference within Mondeor. Zone for the purpose of this research, is defined as an area where a particular race group is found. In this case, Zone A= White residents, Zone B=Coloured residents, Zone C=Indian residents, Zone D=Black residents, and Zone e=Mixed residents. The results of the chi-squared test revealed that the p value is <0.0001 , which is less than the standard alpha criterion of 0.05, which means that the Chi-squared test of independence is significant. Thus, indicating that there is a relationship between race and Zone preference. In addition to this, the Chi Squared test lends support to the rationale behind the racial break-down of each block. Block A was identified as being a predominantly White zone with 36.26% of the White respondents for this study residing in Zone A. Zone B was identified as being a predominantly coloured zone with 25% of the Coloured respondents residing in Zone B. Zone C was identified as being a predominantly Indian/Asian zone with 33.3% Indian/Asian population for this study being found in Zone C. The sample for Zone D was small compared to the other zones, however, it was identified as being a predominantly Black/African zone with the majority of this zone being comprised on Black/African's. Zone E was the mixed race zone with the majority of the respondents for this study being found in Zone E. The diagram below visually illustrates the percentage of each race group per a Zone.

Figure 3: Graphical representation of Racial Breakdown for each zone in Mondeor



Contact

In addition to this analysis, correlations were conducted in order to ascertain if a relationship existed between Contact and the following variables: affective prejudice, friendship, social distance, out group variability, and social identity. For the purpose of this study- a correlation can be defined as a single number that describes the degree of relationship between two variables and can range from +1 to -1. From these correlations, it was found that a positive, significant medium strength relationship existed between contact and friendship ($r=0.3$). Moreover, a significant negative weak relationship existed between contact and affective prejudice ($r=-0.2$), and Contact and Social distance ($r=-0.2$). A significant but weak positive relationship was found to exist between contact and outgroup variability($r=0.2$). A weak non-significant positive relationship existed between contact and social identity ($r=0.1$) and a non-significant but medium strength relationship was found between contact and intergroup anxiety ($r=0.3$)

As this study was particularly interested in investigating how much actual mixing was taking place in Mondeor, frequencies were established for question 8 of the *intergroup attitude and*

contact questionnaire which examined potential situations where intergroup contact may occur.

Below are the questions from the questionnaire which were used for this particular analysis.

Figure 4: Question 8 intergroup questionnaire

8a. Do any of your children go to schools in Mondeor?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐
8b. Do you attend a church/ temple/ mosque in Mondeor?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐
8c. Do you use the Mondeor community centre?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐
8d. Do you use any sporting facilities (gyms, yoga classes) in Mondeor?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐
8e. Do you use the shops or shopping centre in Mondeor?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐
8f. Do you work in Mondeor?	Yes	☐	No	☐	Not applicable	☐

Below, are the bar graphs (figures 5-10) which represent the frequency of contact and non-contact amongst the residents of Mondeor in various intergroup contact situations namely, at schools, shopping centres, church/place of worship, work, the community centre and sporting facilities within Mondeor. From the frequencies, it appears that the residents of Mondeor do not readily expose themselves to situations where they may be exposed to contact with other races within Mondeor. It is apparent that the majority of residents utilize the shopping centres within Mondeor and that their children attend schools within Mondeor which allows for a number of intergroup contact situations. However, the majority of residents do not utilize the Mondeor community centre, sporting facilities, and the majority of the residents were found not to work in Mondeor. In addition to this, the majority of the respondents indicated that they do not attend church/place of worship/temple or mosque in the area of Mondeor.

Figure 5: Children attend school in Mondeor.

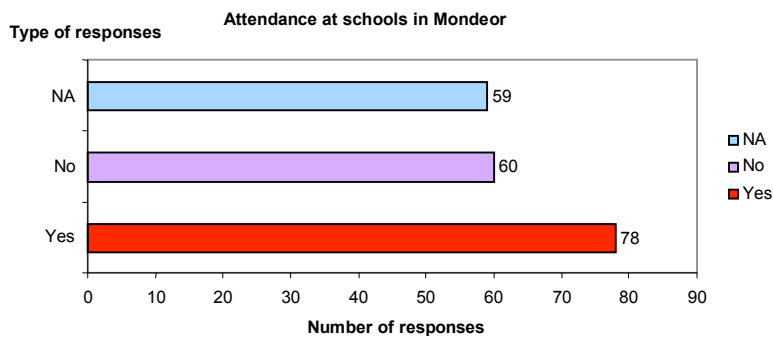


Figure 6: Attend religious facility

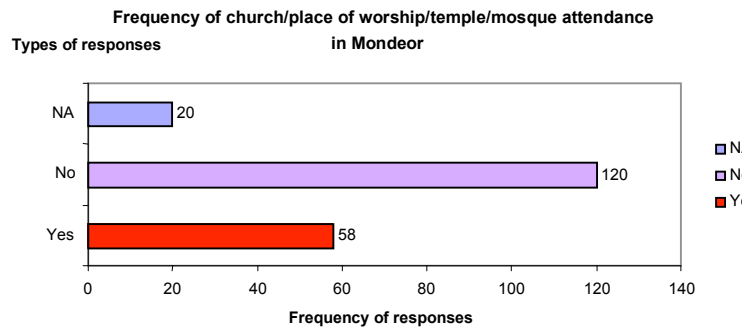


Figure 7: Utilise community centre

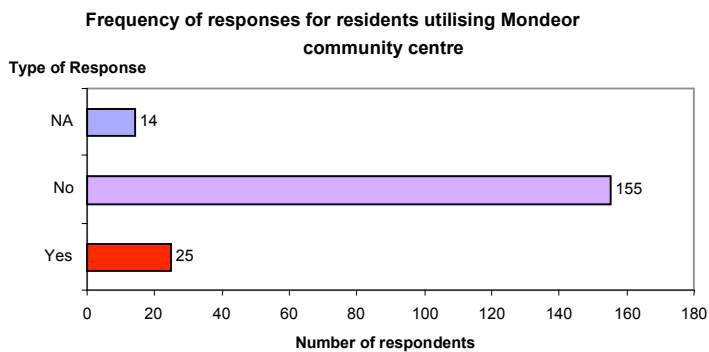


Figure 8: Utilise sport facilities

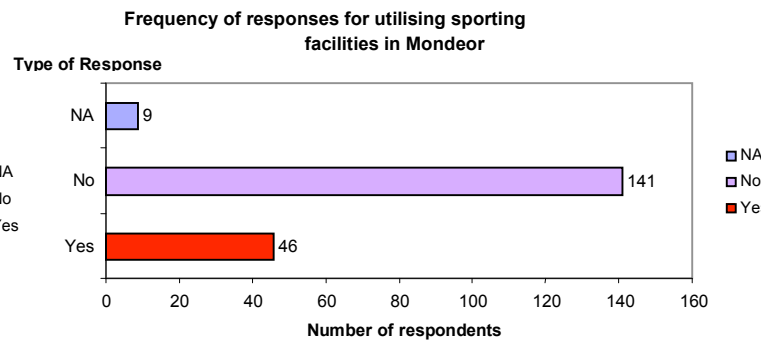


Figure 9: Work in Mondeor

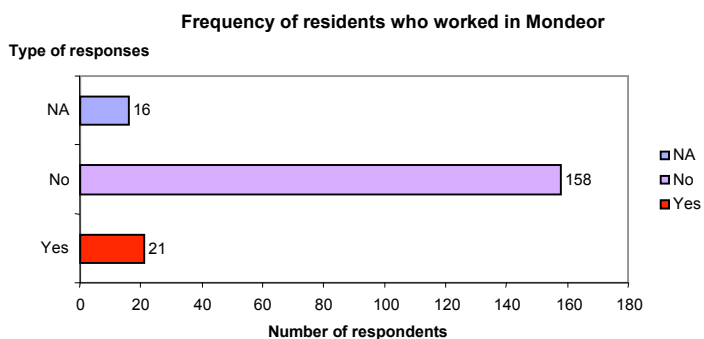
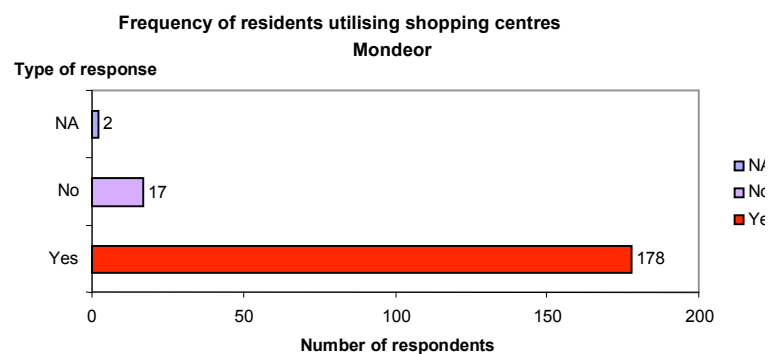


Figure 10: Utilise shopping centres



In addition to this analysis, two variables were formed using the Zones A-D, and Zone E in this study. As Zone E was the most racially mixed Zone, this Zone allowed for more intergroup contact under equal conditions for this residents of Mondeor, thus this variable was named Mondeor and can be seen as the contact variable. The other variable was comprised of all of the other Zones (A,B,C and D) which were predominantly comprised of a single race group, and thus was named, no contact, as these Zones would be assumed to have less intergroup contact between the residents residing within these race specific Zones. An independent test-test was conducted whereby the Mondeor variable was utilized as the independent variable. Homogeneity of variance was confirmed thus pooled variance was utilized (See table 1).

The results indicate that there is a non significant difference ($t=1.50$, $p=0.14$) in contact for the more racially exclusive zones and the racially mixed zone (Mondeor). Therefore, reiterating the findings from the previous Chi-squared analysis.

Table 1: T-test for Mondeor variable

Variable	Method	T-Tests			
		Variances	DF	T Value	Pr > t
Contact	Pooled	Equal	182	-1.50	0.1365
Contact	Satterthwaite	Unequal	168	-1.48	0.1408

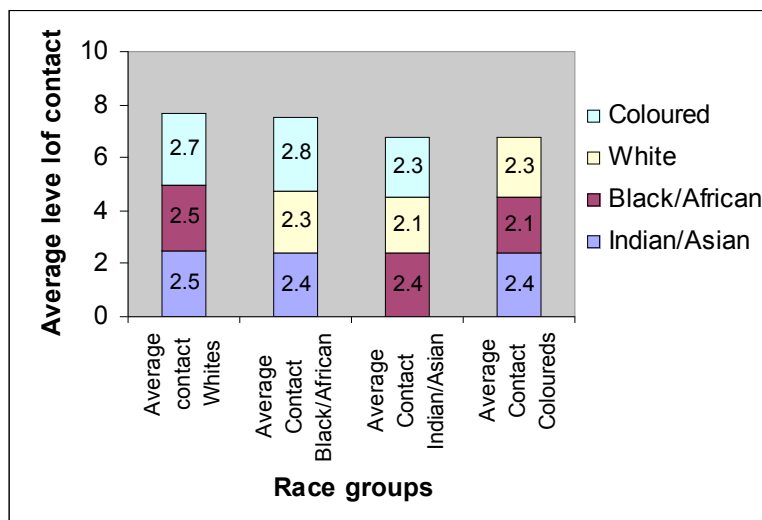
In order to explore this question further, a Chi-Squared analysis was used to analyse each of these various intergroup contact situations.

In this analysis, the researcher examined whether or not there was a difference for those respondents who lived in more racially mixed zones in Mondeor in their levels of contact compared to those respondents who lived in more racially exclusive zones in Mondeor. The results suggest that there is not a statistically significant association between type of contact and the contact situations which residents may participate in the following situations: at church/place

of worship/temple or Mosque $\chi^2=0.36$ ($p=0.5$) , the community centre $\chi^2=3.5$ ($p=0.06$) , sporting facilities $\chi^2=0.05$ ($p=0.8$) , shopping centres $\chi^2=1.5$ ($p=0.2$), work $\chi^2=5.7$ ($P=0.01$) and schools $\chi^2=0.46$ ($p=0.5$). As a result, it is clear to see that work and the community centre differ in their levels of association, however there is generally no significant association between residents who lived in more racially exclusive zones (segregated zones) compared to those in more racially mixed zones(desegregated zones) in levels of contact.

Moreover, using the Mondeor variable, an Anova Analysis was used to investigate if there was a significant difference in the levels of contact amongst White, Black, Coloured and Indian/Asian respondents. The results of this analysis revealed that a significant difference existed between race and contact ($p=0.0202$). In order to ascertain where the significant difference existed, a post hoc test whereby Tukey's Studentized Range (HSD) Test was conducted, revealed that a significant difference in levels of contact existed between Coloured and White respondents in this study.

Figure 11 :Average levels of outgroup contact



In the figure above , this illustrates the average level of contact which each race had with other race groups besides their own. Coloured respondents indicated that they had the highest overall levels of intergroup contact with other race groups, followed by Indian/Asians, Black/Africans and Whites. Coloureds and Whites reported having the highest level of contact with Black/Africans.

Black/Africans and Indian/Asians reported having the highest level of contact with Whites. Moreover, it was of interest in this study to establish if individuals with higher levels of education displayed higher levels of contact. Using an ANOVA analysis, it was found that a significant difference ($p=0.0172$) existed for education and contact ($F=2.97$; $DF=5$). A difference was found to exist in contact between respondents with postgraduate degrees and certificates and diplomas, once again between respondents with postgraduate degrees and those with a primary school/ high school, and between those respondents who had completed Matric and those who had a diploma or certificate. The descriptive statistics reveal that those respondents with the lowest level of education, had the lowest level of contact with other race groups ($M= 1.78$), whilst those respondents with the highest education level had the highest level of contact with other race groups ($M=2.52$) (See table 2) . Notably, there were non significant differences found between education level and affective prejudice.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics for Education

Education	N Obs	Variable	Label	Mean	Std Dev	Minimum	Maximum	N
Primary school	4	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	2.36	0.7	1.39	2.94	4
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.45	0.54	1.93	3.20	4
		Contact	Contact	1.78	0.39	1.36	2.30	4
High school	28	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	3.00	0.98	1.00	4.44	26
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.62	0.66	1.27	4.40	27
		Contact	Contact	2.17	0.74	1.00	3.76	27
Matric	49	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	2.86	0.98	1.00	5.44	46
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.71	0.64	1.00	4.47	49
		Contact	Contact	2.44	0.75	1.24	4.13	48
Diploma	48	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	2.91	1.07	0	6.00	47
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.49	0.8	0	5.00	46
		Contact	Contact	2.09	0.76	0	3.90	48
Degree	37	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	2.58	0.73	1.17	4.11	37
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.57	0.54	1.40	3.40	37
		Contact	Contact	2.28	0.53	1.37	3.33	37
Post grad	27	Affective Prejudice	Affective Prejudice	2.99	0.57	1.28	3.83	27
		Intergroup Anxiety	Intergroup Anxiety	2.55	0.53	1.27	3.27	26
		Contact	Contact	2.53	0.65	1.21	3.88	27

Affective prejudice and social distance

In order to answer the research question of whether a relationship existed between affective prejudice and the following variables: contact, friendship, social distance, perceived outgroup variability, intergroup anxiety and social identity, correlations were conducted. As expected in this case, a significant weak negative relationship ($p < 0.0001$) was found between Contact and Affective prejudice ($r = -0.16$). Moreover, significant positive relationships ($p < 0.0001$) were found to exist between the Affective prejudice and Intergroup Anxiety ($r = 0.37$), and social distance ($r = 0.27$), and outgroup variability ($r = 0.28$). It was found that a non significant relationship existed between the Affective prejudice and social identity (See table 3).

Table 3: Correlations for Affective prejudice

Pearson Correlation Coefficients						
	Contact	Affective Prejudice	Social Distance	Social Identity	Outgroup Variability	Intergroup Anxiety
Contact	1.00	-0.16	-0.17	0.06	0.16	-0.06
		0.033	0.02	0.4	0.0227	0.38
Sample (N)	195	189	195	194	193	191
Affective Prejudice	-0.16	1.00	0.28	0.07	0.13	0.37
	0.03		<.0001	0.35	0.08	<.0001
Sample (N)	189	192	192	192	191	190
Social Distance	-0.17	0.28	1.00	0.01	0.21	0.27
	0.02	<.0001		0.92	0.0034	0.0001
Sample (N)	195	192	198	197	196	194
Social Identity	0.06	0.07	0.00729	1.00	0.06735	-0.11
	0.4	0.4	0.92		0.35	0.14
Sample (N)	194	192	197	197	196	194
Outgroup Variability	0.16	0.13	0.22	0.07	1.00	0.28
	0.02	0.08	0.0034	0.35		<.0001

Sample(N)	193	191	196	196	196	193
Intergroup Anxiety	-0.06 0.38 191	0.37 <.0001 190	0.27 0.0001 194	-0.11 0.14 194	0.28 <.0001 193	1.00 194
Sample (N)						

In order to answer this research question further, a multiple regression was conducted in order to establish which particular variables were predictive of affective prejudice. Affective prejudice was used as the Dependent Variable (DV) for the regression, whilst contact, friendship, intergroup anxiety, outgroup variability and social identity were used as the Independent variables (IVs). Social distance was excluded due to the fact that this variable is closely related to Affective prejudice. The multiple regression revealed that contact, friendship, and outgroup variability were non-significant in predicting affective prejudice. However, Intergroup anxiety ($t=5.8$; $DF=1$) ($p=<.0001$) and Social Identity ($t=2.2$, $DF=1$) were found to be significant predictors of affective prejudice (See table 4).

Table 4: Parameter estimates for Affective prejudice regression

Variable	Parameter Estimates					
	Label	DF	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	t Value	Pr > t
Intercept	Intercept	1	0.82	0.63	1.31	0.19
Contact	Contact	1	-0.13	0.09	-1.42	0.16
Friendship	Friendship	1	-0.06	0.10	-0.62	0.53
OV	OV	1	0.00	0.09	0.03	0.98
Anx	Anx	1	0.58	0.10	5.80	<.0001
SI	SI	1	0.25	0.12	2.16	0.03

As it was surprising not to find contact to be a predictive measure of affective prejudice according to the theoretical assumptions as of the contact hypothesis, thus, based on the factor analysis for contact, where contact was found to load on two factors, the researcher created two variables which differentiated the type of contact based on these factors, namely forced and unforced contact. As a result, in order to test this further, a correlation was run to establish

whether or not a relationship existed between affective prejudice and forced and unforced/optional contact. It was found that there was a significant negative relationship between unforced or optional contact ($r=-0.22$) and affective prejudice as well as between forced contact and affective prejudice ($r=-0.22$) (See table 5)

Table 5: Correlation for contact forced and unforced

Pearson Correlation Coefficients, N = 198		
	Contact_Forced	Contact_Optional
Affective Prejudice_Mean	-0.21807	-0.21572
Affective Prejudice_Mean	0.0020	0.0023

Chapter five

Discussion

Given that the area of Mondeor has an extremely diverse racial composition when compared with other neighbourhoods in South Africa, one of the questions which the researcher sought to answer was, are these residents in actuality mixing with members from other race groups within the area? Thus, the primary aim of this study was to investigate how much actual mixing was taking place in the area of Mondeor.

Contact

Having examined the racial composition of the residents of Mondeor, the analysis considered residents' local ties irrespective of race and also whether the daily lives of different racial groups overlap (implying the possibility of mixing). This approach allows for the provision of an indicator of potential mixing as a consequence of sharing local facilities and overlapping daily movement patterns. This is conducted by analysing residents use of local facilities such as schools, shops and places of socialization (Lemanski, 2006). In order to answer this question the researcher examined the various levels of contact within the area of Mondeor by examining situations in which respondents may have increased contact with other race groups. These situations include the following:

- (1) having children who attend schools within Mondeor,
- (2) attending church/Mosque/temple or a place of worship within Mondeor,
- (3) shopping at shopping centres within Mondeor,
- (4) utilising sporting facilities,

(5) utilising the community centre within Mondeor

(6) and working in Mondeor.

These various types of contact situations were examined on three levels, namely, the respondent has contact in this situation, the respondent does not have contact in this situation, and finally this type of contact situation is not applicable to the respondent. Firstly, a frequency count allowed the researcher to establish how many of the respondents exposed themselves to these potential contact situations within Mondeor. The majority of the respondents indicated that they did not utilise facilities such as church/Mosque/temple/ place of worship, the community centre, and sporting facilities. Thus, it is imperative to explore the various possibilities as to why the respondents did not utilise these facilities within Mondeor.

When examining why residents do not use sporting facilities within Mondeor, it was found that the neighbourhood does not have many sporting facilities available to the residents. Amongst the few facilities, there is a tennis club, a swimming club and a soccer club at the Mondeor recreation centre. Jewan's (2008) unpublished qualitative study on contact and the formation of friendships in Mondeor, revealed that many of the respondents did not utilise the sporting facilities as they the sporting facilities are limited and only cater for some of the residents needs. Moreover, some of the residents had recently moved into the area and found a certain amount of reluctance in changing over to a new sports club .In addition to this, Jewan's (2008) study revealed that when examining why many of the respondents indicated that they do not attend church/Mosque/Temple/place of worship in Mondeor, even though there are many religious facilities that residents can utilise within the area, many of the residents chose to attended church/Mosque/Temple/place of worship elsewhere as they were previously members of other places of worship prior to residing in Mondeor and did not feel comfortable with changing their congregation/place of worship when they changed their place of residence. Similarly, a study by

Lemanski (2006) found that residents do not engage in social intergroup mixing in a neighbourhood due to having social ties elsewhere and feeling a lack of belonging in the suburb. This could be a facilitating factor as to why the majority of residents do not utilise the sporting facilities in Mondeor and why many residents chose to continue attending church/Mosque/Temple/place of worship in their previous neighbourhoods.

Moreover, the majority of residents who took part in this study indicated that they did not go to work in the area of Mondeor. Not working in the area of Mondeor can be attributed to the fact that the majority of businesses in Gauteng are scattered across the province which means that most employees need to travel to work which is situated outside of their residential area. However, using frequencies, it was found that the residents who participated in this study who had children, indicated that their children attended schools in Mondeor. In addition to this, the majority of residents indicated that they utilised the shopping centres in the area. Jewan's (2008) study reiterates these findings as respondents described the schools in Mondeor as being of a high quality, whilst being multi racial (Jewan, 2008). As all of the schools in the area are multi-racial, they therefore endorse interaction between different groups, thus promoting intergroup mixing. In addition to this, the residents found it easy to do their shopping in Mondeor due to convenience (Jewan, 2008). Each of these contact situations promote positive intergroup interaction between the various race groups in Mondeor.

In order to establish whether residents who lived in more racially mixed Zones had different levels of contact than residents who lived in less racially mixed Zones in Mondeor, a Chi-squared analysis was utilised. The analysis revealed that these two zones did not differ significantly in their levels of contact. Jewan's (2008) study lends support to this finding as it was found that the residents of Mondeor, regardless of whether they lived in a mixed zones or not, kept to themselves and had a certain level of reluctance to mix with one another. This is

illustrated by a statement which was made by a respondent in Jewan's (2008) study when asked about the people in the neighbourhood: ***"People keep to themselves, to be honest; I don't really know many of the people living on this street"***

In addition to this analysis, two variables were formulated, using Zones A-D and Zone E. The Zone E variable was the most racially mixed variable which allowed for intergroup contact to occur under equal conditions thus it can be viewed as the contact variable, whilst Zones A-D were more racially exclusive zones and thus, were viewed as the non contact variable. The analysis revealed that there were non-significant differences in levels of contact for residents who lived in a mixed zone, and for those who lived in more racially exclusive zones. Hence, reiterating earlier findings in this study that there was no difference in levels of contact for residents who lived in mixed zones and for those who lived in racially exclusive zones.

Furthermore, utilising the newly constructed contact variable, an Anova Analysis was used to investigate whether there was a significant difference in the levels of contact amongst White, Black African, Coloured and Indian/Asian respondents. The results of this analysis revealed that a significant difference existed between race and contact, more specifically, the difference in levels of contact were found to exist between Coloured and White respondents. Christopher's (2005) study lends support to these findings as his study revealed that Coloured were becoming more desegregated whilst Whites were becoming more racially exclusive. Furthermore, additional findings in this current study found that when examining average levels of contact which each race group had with other race groups besides their own, it was found that Coloureds had the highest overall levels of intergroup contact, followed by Indian/Asians, Black/Africans and Whites. Coloureds and Whites reported having the highest level of contact with Black/Africans. Black/Africans and Indian/Asians reported having the highest level of contact with Whites.

In addition to this analysis, correlations were conducted in order to ascertain if a relationship existed between Contact and the following variables: affective prejudice, friendship, social distance, out group variability, and social identity. From these correlations, it was found that a positive, medium strength relationship existed between contact and friendship, that is, as contact increases, friendship increases. This lends support to Pettigrew's (1998) fifth contact condition for the potential for direct cross-group friendship formation. Direct cross-group friendship formation is seen as a condition which reduces affective prejudice and in turn promotes positive intergroup relations. However, according to Hewstone (2006), direct cross-group friendships have one inevitable limitation; they can only be used as an intervention to reduce prejudice when group members have the opportunity for contact in the first place. If people do not live in the same neighbourhood, attend the same school, or occupy the same workplace as outgroup members, they are unlikely to develop friendships with them (Hewstone, 2006).

Moreover, this study found that a negative weak relationship existed between contact and affective prejudice and contact and social distance. Implying that as contact increases, affective prejudice and social distance decrease. This lends support to contact theory. Additionally, weak positive relationships were found to exist between contact and social identity and contact and outgroup variability.

It has been found in various studies that individuals with higher education are generally less prejudice and are more likely to mix with individuals from other race groups (Beckles, 2007). Lending support to these findings, a difference was found to exist in contact between respondents with postgraduate degrees, certificates and diplomas, once again for respondents with postgraduate degrees and those with a primary school education, between those respondents who had completed Matric (Grade 12) and those who had a diploma or certificate. The descriptive statistics reveal that those with the lowest level of education, had the lowest level of contact with

other race groups, whilst those respondents with the highest education level having the highest level of contact with other race groups. The pie chart below represents the qualifications of the participants of this study.

The higher levels of contact which are present for higher education can easily be explained by the fact that individuals who attend institutions of higher learning are often exposed to a variety of groups who may come from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds to their own. In addition to this, it is widely accepted that education plays a role in shaping people's attitude towards each other and the social and political world we live in. However, Beckles (2007) raised a valid argument, that over the past 30 years, the increase in tertiary education qualifications has increased drastically, however, racial injustice and a lack of inter-racial mixing still seem to plague society. However, comparatively, those individuals who are able to attend an institution of higher learning, specifically in South Africa, only comprise of a small proportion of society, therefore making it difficult for racial injustice to be reduced amongst certain groups.

Subsequently, most research indicates that people with higher levels of education score lower on most measures of prejudice. One argument suggests that people with lower socio-economic backgrounds are more rigid thinkers. Farley (2000) argues that there is a relationship between prejudice and intolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty. People of higher Socio-economic status are often better educated and education is often seen as a way to breaking down oversimplified, stereotypical thinking. As we become better educated, we become better able to understand complex ideas and situations. (Farley, 2000:34). The apparent relationship between education and prejudice may also be due to other effects. Perhaps people with higher levels of education simply know how to respond with politically correct answers regarding racial and ethnic issues, thus masking their true feelings (Farley, 2000:34).

Intergroup Attitudes

Of particular importance to this study was the relationship between affective prejudice and the following variables: contact, friendship, social distance, perceived outgroup variability, intergroup anxiety and social identity. As expected, it was found that a significant but weak negative relationship existed between contact and affective prejudice. This lends support to Allport's contact hypothesis, where it is hypothesised that as contact increases, affective prejudice will decrease and vice versa. However, it is imperative to examine the type of contact, whether it is direct or indirect as this impacts on attitude strength (Hewstone 2006).

Unsurprisingly, significant positive relationships were found to exist between Affective prejudice and Intergroup Anxiety, and Social distance. This lends support to intergroup anxiety theory as postulated by Stephan & Stephan (1985) which stipulates that affective prejudice will increase with increased intergroup anxiety. The inverse is also true, as intergroup anxiety decreases, affective prejudice will decrease. Particularly when encountering members of an outgroup for the first time, Stephan and Stephan (1985) proposed that people would be liable to feel somewhat apprehensive, perhaps because they were uncertain concerning the appropriate norms of behaviour, due to unfamiliarity, or because of some vestiges of culturally-socialized aversion to the outgroup in question. According to Stephan and Stephan (1985), intergroup anxiety stems from the expectation of negative consequences for oneself in intergroup interactions, such as embarrassment, rejection, discrimination, or misunderstanding. Antecedents of intergroup anxiety may include minimal previous contact with members of the outgroup, negative outgroup stereotypes, a history of intergroup conflict, large status differentials, or a high ratio of outgroup to ingroup members (Hewstone, 2006). Whatever its origins, such anxiety is not likely to be conducive to positive intergroup attitudes and behaviour. Moreover, intergroup anxiety may lead to avoidance of contact (Hewstone, 2006).

In order to explore affective prejudice further, a regression and a stepwise regression were conducted in order to establish which particular variables were predictive of affective prejudice. The regression revealed that contact, friendship, and social identity were non-significant in predicting affective prejudice whilst Intergroup anxiety and Social Distance were found to be significant predictors of affective prejudice.

Moreover, utilising the stepwise regression, it was found that intergroup anxiety, Social distance, and social identity were all significant in predicting affective prejudice. However, it was surprising to find that contact was removed from the model and was found to be a non-significant predictor of affective prejudice. Whilst examining social identity as a predictor of affective prejudice, it is notable that individuals with a stronger social identity, will show more group bias towards their own group, thus their affective prejudice will increase towards other groups. With a heightened sense of social identity, perceived out group variability as well as social distance will lead to an increase in intergroup anxiety which in turn will lead to an increase in affective prejudice. Williams' (1964) research lends support to this and has cautioned that "...intergroup contact in social distance will, on the whole, perpetuate and reinforce patterns of discrimination and prejudice". Allport (1954) warned that 'Theoretically, every superficial contact that we make with an outgroup member could by the law of frequency strengthen the adverse mental associations we have'. Pettigrew and Tropp (2005) also indicate the potential importance of negative factors, for example normative constraints against intergroup contact. They suggest that salient group membership or active social identity may be important hindrances to contact. Hence, the stronger an individual's social identity and social distance, the greater their affective prejudice. It was found that no relationship existed between the Affective prejudice and the following variables: perceived outgroup variability, and social identity.

As it was relatively surprising not to find contact to be a predictive measure of affective prejudice according to theoretical assumptions as proposed by the contact hypothesis, the researcher reflected back on the factor analysis for contact, where contact was found to load on two factors. Based on this fact, the researcher created two variables which differentiated the type of contact, namely forced and unforced contact. These two types of contact were found to have a significant negative relationship between contact and affective prejudice. That is, as unforced and forced contact decreased, affective prejudice increased. This lends support to the fact that contact reduces prejudice. However, it is imperative that one examines the nature of the contact as there is a widely acknowledged notion that contact can hasten the deterioration of intergroup relations.

In this particular study, differences in gender were found to exist for affective prejudice. It was found that males, were more prejudice than females, this has been found in previous studies (Hughes & Tuch,2003). In a number of studies, men have consistently displayed more racial prejudice than women. These differences are so well documented that they are, sometimes, presented as validity evidence in constructing or evaluating prejudice and prejudice-related scales (Ekehammar, Akrami, Araya, 2003). For example, social dominance orientation (SDO measured through self-reports, has been shown to be tightly linked to various types of prejudice (e.g. racial prejudice, sexism). Summing up the gender differences obtained in SDO, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) concluded: The higher relative level of SDO among males is one of the most well-documented empirical findings generated by research on social dominance theory (SDT). We have examined the male-female difference in SDO in some 45 independent samples, using almost 19,000 respondents across 10 countries. . . Men were found to have a significantly higher average SDO in 39 of the 45 samples, and there was not a single case in which women were found to have statistically higher levels of SDO than men. (p. 267). However, one interesting idea that is

suggested by Ekehammar et al., (2003), is that men and women may in fact have the same amount of prejudice but the cultural sex roles might influence the channels that are available for their expression. In addition to this, other arguments have suggested the difference in male and female attitudes towards other race groups may be produced by gender differentiated value socialization that results in women being more other-focused and men being more individualistic (Hughes & Tuch, 2003). If Herbert Blumer (as cited in Hughes & Tuch, 2003) was correct in his assertion that racial prejudice is a reflection of a sense of group position, variation in the gender difference in racial attitudes could be the result of men and women being differentially affected by structural and cultural processes, including those involving gender relations and minority group populations.

It is clear from the discussion that this particular study has only scratched the surface of the phenomena of contact and intergroup relations in this racially diverse neighbourhood. In order to explore these concepts further, it is suggested that a combination of methodologies are used to obtain more robust and in-depth data. At this point, it is imperative to discuss the limitations of this study in order to gain insights into future social research within this particular area of interest.

Limitations and Recommendations

The limitations of this study tend to vary but they are primarily focused around the generalisability of the results that were obtained through the analyses. The sample was relatively small due to the time constraints which the researcher had to adhere to. Moreover, many respondents were apprehensive to complete the questionnaire due to the perceived sensitive

nature of the questionnaire, thus, it is questionable to what degree the results are representative of entire area of Mondeor. Moreover, the sample was predominantly comprised of White residents, therefore one cannot be certain as to what extent the results may be generalized across all of the race groups within Mondeor. However, the sample was racially diverse.

As this area has a unique culture, the generalisability of these results to experiences outside of a mixed neighbourhood or even within other mixed neighbourhoods in South Africa as well as world wide may be somewhat questionable.

In addition to this, in order to understand the processes that drive attitudes that contact effects, a mediational analysis is required. However, as the sample size was relatively small, mediating variables could not be established as the analysis requires a larger sample.

As the study was strictly quantitative due to time and cost constraints, it is suggested that in future, a qualitative component as well as additional methods be utilised in order to gain more insight into the unanswered phenomena occurring in this neighbourhood.

Notably, many of the respondents were far more honest face-to-face as opposed to on paper. Many of the respondents indicated different types of intergroup attitudes during casual conversations with the researcher. This can be clearly observed from the White respondents' responses in the questionnaire. Their answers are very idealistic often presenting a halo effect. It should however be noted that many potential respondents were apprehensive to complete this questionnaire as they were afraid that confidentiality may be broken and residents within the neighbourhood would know how they felt about other race groups which would have resulted in unwanted conflict.

Conclusion

This research has considered whether the physical desegregation of a suburb leads to the social integration of its residents in Post Apartheid South Africa. From this research alone it would be ambitious to state that the desegregation of this neighbourhood has led to the social integration of its residents as it appears that many factors would have led to this that were not subject to discussion in this study. What is notable though, is that there most definitely seems to be a level of mixing within the neighbourhood which could require further investigation in order to understand the complexity of this contact and the avoidance of such contact in some cases.

According to Ray, (1983), at its best, the contact hypothesis is simplistic because it tends to embody a demonstrably false assumption that what is true of attitudes is true of behaviour. In many of the contact instances in this study this held an element of truth. Moreover, what is also clear from this research is that the nature of contact is important. From this study, the circumstances in which contact leads to positive attitudinal change remain to be teased out, but there is clearly no typical effect of contact per se, at least as far as attitudes are concerned (Ray, 1983). When Williams (1947) and Allport (1954) were fashioning intergroup contact theory, they assumed that most contact did not reduce prejudice. Hence, they sought to specify the positive features of those contact situations that could maximize the potential for contact to promote positive intergroup outcomes. This can be clearly seen in this research due to the fact that contact was found to have a significant negative relationship with affective prejudice.

However, it was not found to be predictor of affective prejudice. Consequently, explorations of the contact theory have focused traditionally on positive factors. But meta-analytic studies have revealed that our understanding of intergroup contact is limited by the emphasis on positive contact. Factors that curb contact's ability to reduce prejudice are now the most problematic theoretically, yet the least understood. These negative factors range from intergroup anxiety

(which this study took into account), to authoritarianism and normative restraints, deserve to become a more major focus of future research. Such an emphasis, would allow a more comprehensive understanding of conditions that both enhance and inhibit the potentially positive effects of contact.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire

Dear resident,

In this study we would like to get your opinion about your experience of contact with residents who belong to another population group. Please answer all of the following questions about yourself.

1. Age (years): _____

2. Sex: Male Female

3. Highest Level of Education:

Primary School	1	Diploma or certificate	4
High School	2	Degree	5
Matric	3	Postgraduate degree	6

4. Primary (main) home language:

Afrikaans	1	IsiZulu	5	SiSwati	9
English	2	Northern Sotho	6	Tshivenda	10
IsiNdebele	3	Sesotho	7	Xitsonga	11
IsiXhosa	4	Setswana	8	Other (Please specify)	_____

5. Population group:

Coloured	1	Black/African	3
White	2	Indian/Asian	4
		Other (Please specify)	_____

6. Residential status:

Home owner Renter

7. Please place a cross next to an approximation of your combined annual income of your household:

Less than R20 000	1	R200 001 – R400 000	4
R20 001 – R 80 000	2	R 400 001 – R600 000	5

R80 001 – R 200 000

3

More than R 600 000

6

8a. Do any of your children go to schools in Mondeor?	Yes		No		Not applicable	
8b. Do you attend a church/ temple/ mosque in Mondeor?	Yes		No		Not applicable	
8c. Do you use the Mondeor community centre?	Yes		No		Not applicable	
8d. Do you use any sporting facilities (gyms, yoga classes) in Mondeor?	Yes		No		Not applicable	
8e. Do you use the shops or shopping centre in Mondeor?	Yes		No		Not applicable	
8f. Do you work in Mondeor?	Yes		No		Not applicable	

This is a very mixed neighbourhood. We are interested in how often you come into contact with other groups at various events. Select the number which best represents how often you have contact with members of each of the groups in the stated situation. Please place a number in each block. The numbers mean:

1= never
2=seldom
3= sometimes
4= often
5= very often

Questions:

	White	Black	Coloured	Indian
9a. How often do you come into contact with members of these groups in your residential area?				
9b. How often do members of these groups visit you in your home?				
9c. How often do you meet members of these groups at the homes of others in your residential area?				
9d. How often do you go to the houses of members of these groups in your area?				
9e. How often do you meet members of these groups around school events or meetings?				
9f. How often do you meet members of these groups around community events or meetings?				
9g. How often do your child/children play with members of these groups in your neighbourhood?				
9h. How often do you have meet with members of these groups at religious events?				

9i. How often do you have friendly conversations with members of these groups?				
9j. How often do you have contact with members of these groups at work?				
9k. You have contact with them at social events.				

Please indicate how many of your friends are members of the Black, White, Indian and Coloured population groups by placing a cross next to the answer which best represents this. Please mark only one block per line.

10a. How many of your friends are White?

None ☐ 1 A few ☐ 2 Many ☐ 3 Most ☐ 4 All ☐ 5

10b. How many of your friends are Black/African?

None ☐ 1 A few ☐ 2 Many ☐ 3 Most ☐ 4 All ☐ 5

10c. How many of your friends are Coloured?

None ☐ 1 A few ☐ 2 Many ☐ 3 Most ☐ 4 All ☐ 5

10d. How many of your friends are Indian/Asian?

None ☐ 1 A few ☐ 2 Many ☐ 3 Most ☐ 4 All ☐ 5

Please indicate how you feel about the members of the different race groups in general by circling ONE of the numbers from 1 to 6. The strength of your feeling is indicated by relative closeness to the adjective of the selected box. For example, if the question is:

I feel the following way towards cats in general:

Warm 1 2 3 4 5 6 Cold

If I circled 1, 2 or 3 it would mean that I like cats or feel warm towards them. Marking 1 would indicate I really like them, while 3 would indicate a less strong liking. However, if I circled 4, 5 or 6, it means I feel cold towards cats, with 6 indicating the strongest dislike.

I feel the following towards Whites in general:

11a.	Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	Cold
11b.	Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	Negative
11c.	Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hostile
11d.	Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	Suspicious
11e.	Respect	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disrespect
11f.	Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disgust

I feel the following towards Blacks/Africans in general:

12a.	Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	Cold
12b.	Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	Negative
12c.	Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hostile
12d.	Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	Suspicious
12e.	Respect	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disrespect
12f.	Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disgust

I feel the following towards Coloureds in general:

13a.	Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	Cold
13b.	Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	Negative
13c.	Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hostile
13d.	Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	Suspicious
13e.	Respect	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disrespect
13f.	Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disgust

I feel the following towards Indians/Asians in general:

14a.	Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	Cold
14b.	Positive	1	2	3	4	5	6	Negative
14c.	Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	Hostile
14d.	Trusting	1	2	3	4	5	6	Suspicious
14e.	Respect	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disrespect
14f.	Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	6	Disgust

In the following questions, please mark the box next to the sentiment that best describes your opinion:

15a. How would you feel if a suitably qualified White person were appointed as your boss?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

15b. How would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a White person?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

16a. How would you feel if a suitably qualified Black/ African person were appointed as your boss?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

16b. How would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a Black/ African person?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

17a. How would you feel if a suitably qualified Coloured person were appointed as your boss?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

17b. How would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a Coloured person?

Do not mind ☐ 1 Do not know ☐ 2 Mind a little ☐ 3 Mind a lot ☐ 4

18a. How would you feel if a suitably qualified Indian/Asian person were appointed as your boss?

Do not mind

1

 Do not know

2

 Mind a little

3

 Mind a lot

4

18b. How would you feel if one of your close relatives were to marry a Indian/Asian person?

Do not mind

1

 Do not know

2

 Mind a little

3

 Mind a lot

4

19a. There are many types of White people

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 Extremely

19b. Members of the White group are very similar to each other

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 Extremely

19c. Members of the White group are pretty much alike

They are all completely different from one another

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 They are pretty much alike

20a. There are many types of Black/African people

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 Extremely

20b. Members of the Black/African group are very similar to each other

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 Extremely

20c. Members of the Black/African group are pretty much alike

They are all completely different from one another

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 They are pretty much alike

21a. There are many types of Coloured people

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

 Extremely

21b. Members of the Coloured group are very similar to each other

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

21c. Members of the Coloured group are pretty much alike

They are all completely
different from one another

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

They are pretty much
alike

22a. There are many types of Indian/Asian people

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

22b. Members of the Indian/Asian group are very similar to each other

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

22c. Members of the Indian/Asian group are pretty much alike

They are all completely
different from one another

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

They are pretty much
alike

When I meet a White person for the first time, I feel the following:

23a. Happy

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

23b. Self-conscious

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

23c. Relaxed

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

23d. Awkward

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

23e. Defensive

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

When I meet a Black/African person for the first time, I feel the following:

24a. Happy

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

24b. Self-conscious

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

24c. Relaxed

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

24d. Awkward

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

24e. Defensive

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

When I meet a Coloured person for the first time, I feel the following:

25a. Happy

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

25b. Self-conscious

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

25c. Relaxed

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

25d. Awkward

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

25e. Defensive

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

When I meet a Indian/Asian person for the first time, I feel the following:

26a. Happy

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

26b. Self-conscious

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

26c. Relaxed

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

26d. Awkward

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

26e. Defensive

Not at all

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

Extremely

Please read the following statements and place a cross next to the response that best shows your feeling concerning your population group (race group).

27a. I think my group has little to be proud of.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27b. I feel good about my group.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27c. I have little respect for my group.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27d. I would rather not tell anyone that I belong to this group.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27e. I identify with other members of my group.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27f. I am like other members of my group.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27g. My group is an important reflection of who I am.

Never	☐	Seldom	☐	Sometimes	☐	Often	☐	Very often	☐
-------	--------------------------	--------	--------------------------	-----------	--------------------------	-------	--------------------------	------------	--------------------------

27h. It upsets me when people speak negatively about my group.

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Very often

27i. I dislike being a member of my group.

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Very often

27j. I would rather belong to the other group.

Never Seldom Sometimes Often Very often

Thank-you for your help!

Appendix B: Letter of information and consent form



**School of Human &
Community Development
Psychology**

School of Human & Community Development University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Melissa Mc Nally and I am currently completing my Masters in psychological research at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am doing a study which investigates the neighbourhood relationships of people from different population groups in Mondeor. I would like to invite you to take part in this study by completing this questionnaire. The entire questionnaire should take approximately 20 to 30 minutes to complete.

Any information that you provide in the questionnaire will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. The only people to have access to the information will be myself and my supervisor. If the study is published, the results will appear as a combination of all the participants' responses, so your particular responses will not be detected.

In completing the questionnaire, you stand a chance of winning a DVD player or an MP3player. The winners will be drawn randomly from the set of people who participate in the study. Please provide your contact details below, so should you be the lucky winner, we can get hold of you once all data has been collected. Please make sure the information you provide is as accurate as possible, as you will be required to present your ID as proof of identity on collection of the prize. This page will be detached from the questionnaire and will be kept in a different place, so your responses will remain unidentifiable. If you have any queries related to the study, my contact details are as follows: cell 083278 3547, e-mail: pmcnally@mweb.co.za. The results of the study will be posted at the community centre in Mondeor after the examination of this study for you to view.

ID Number: _____

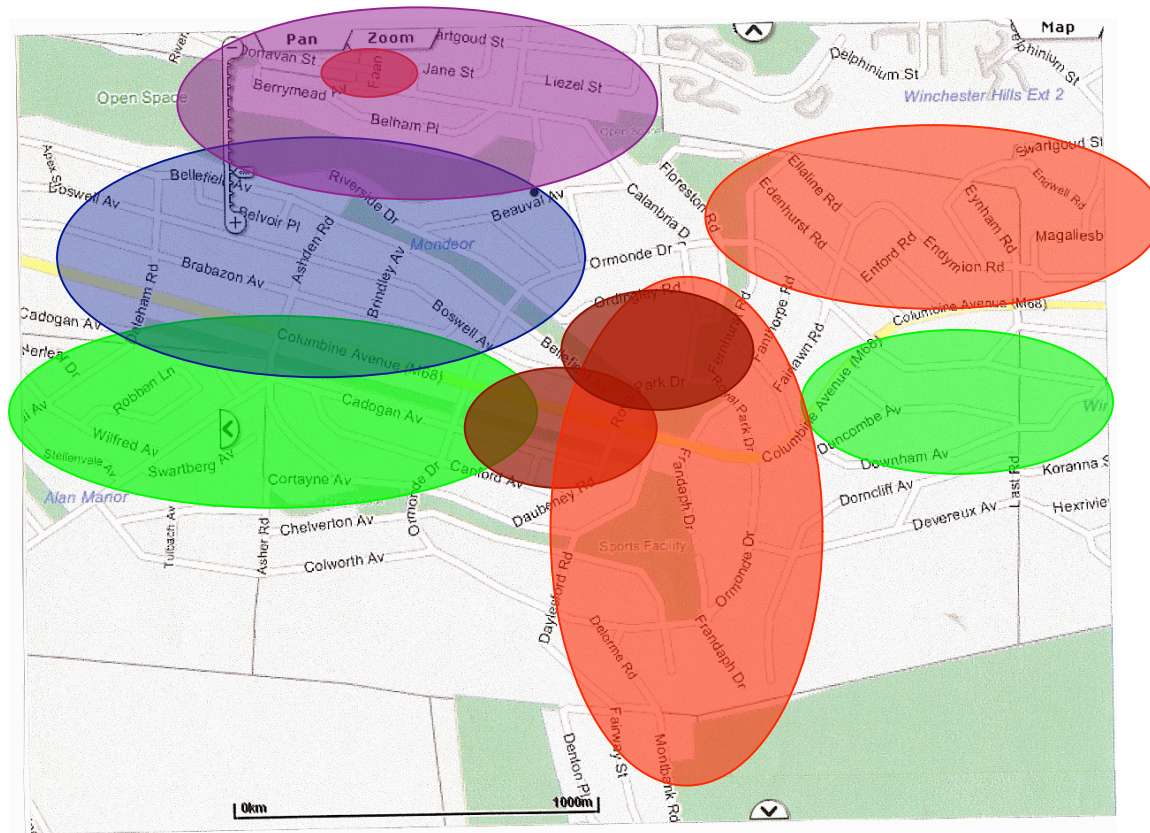
Telephone numbers: _____

Residential Address: _____

Would you be willing to be interviewed: Yes ☐ No ☐

APPENDIX C: ROAD MAP OF MONDEOR

Road Map of Mondeor



Zone A = White residents



Zone B = Coloured residents



Zone C = Indian residents



Zone D = Black residents



Zone E = Mixed residents



Appendix D STATISTICS

Normality:Contact Scale

Distribution analysis of: Contact

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Contact (Contact)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	2.283644	Std Deviation	0.71805
Median	2.181818	Variance	0.51560
Mode	1.727273	Range	4.13333
		Interquartile Range	1.09091

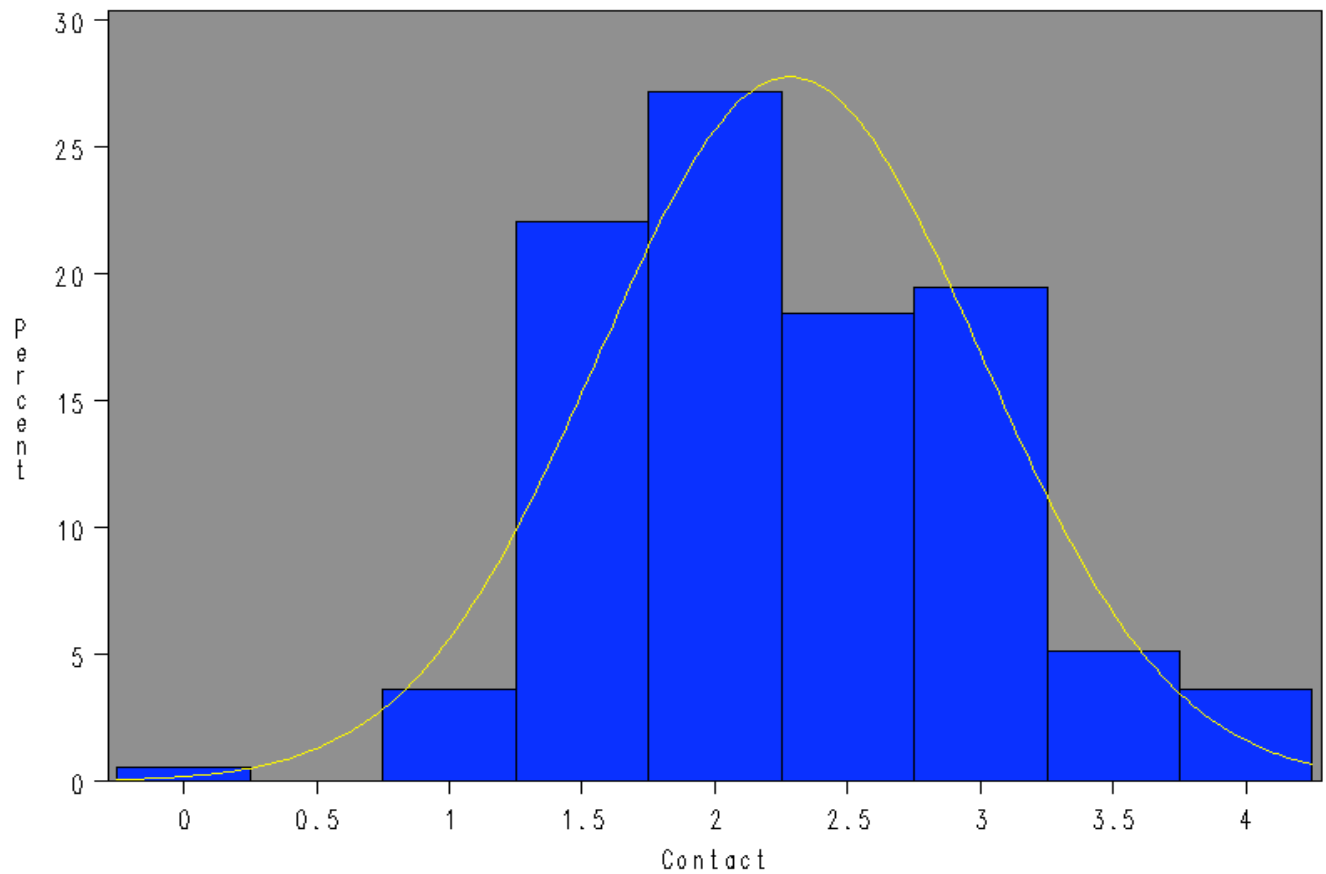
Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	2.28364	2.18223	2.38506
Std Deviation	0.71805	0.65316	0.79738
Variance	0.51560	0.42662	0.63581

Tests for Location: Mu0=0			
Test	Statistic	p Value	
Student's t	T 44.41089	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M 97	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S 9457.5	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values			
Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65337	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: Contact

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Contact (Contact)



Distribution analysis of: Contact

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for Contact

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	2.283644
Std Dev	Sigma	0.718053

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution

Test	Statistic	p Value
------	-----------	---------

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D	0.07852099	Pr > D	<0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq	0.25088802	Pr > W-Sq	<0.005
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	1.50119081	Pr > A-Sq	<0.005

Quantiles for Normal Distribution		
Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	1.00000	0.61320
5.0	1.27273	1.10255
10.0	1.45455	1.36342
25.0	1.72727	1.79933
50.0	2.18182	2.28364
75.0	2.81818	2.76796
90.0	3.24242	3.20387
95.0	3.63333	3.46474
99.0	3.96667	3.95408

Normality Friendship

Distribution analysis of: Friendship

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Friendship (Friendship)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	2.392256	Std Deviation	0.62691
Median	2.666667	Variance	0.39301
Mode	2.666667	Range	4.00000
		Interquartile Range	0.66667

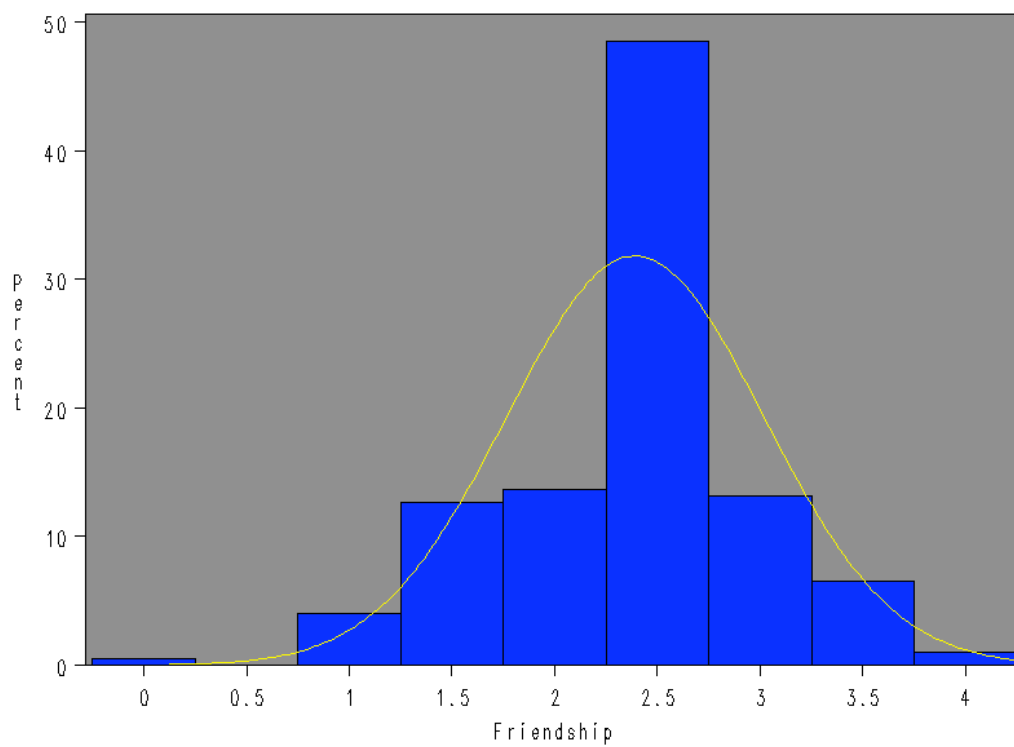
Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	2.39226	2.30440	2.48012
Std Deviation	0.62691	0.57064	0.69558
Variance	0.39301	0.32563	0.48383

Tests for Location: $\mu_0=0$				
Test		Statistic	p Value	
Student's t	T	53.69532	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M	98.5	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S	9751.5	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values			
Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65334	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: Friendship

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Friendship (Friendship)



Distribution analysis of: Friendship

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for Friendship

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	2.392256
Std Dev	Sigma	0.626908

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D	0.17425623	Pr > D	<0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq	0.86134087	Pr > W-Sq	<0.005
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	4.41764551	Pr > A-Sq	<0.005

Quantiles for Normal Distribution		
Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	1.00000	0.93385
5.0	1.33333	1.36108
10.0	1.33333	1.58884
25.0	2.00000	1.96941
50.0	2.66667	2.39226
75.0	2.66667	2.81510
90.0	3.00000	3.19567
95.0	3.33333	3.42343
99.0	4.00000	3.85066

Normality AP

Distribution analysis of: AP

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: AP (AP)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	2.855671	Std Deviation	0.92480
Median	2.944444	Variance	0.85526
Mode	3.000000	Range	6.00000
		Interquartile Range	1.05556

Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	2.85567	2.72403	2.98732
Std Deviation	0.92480	0.84063	1.02785
Variance	0.85526	0.70666	1.05648

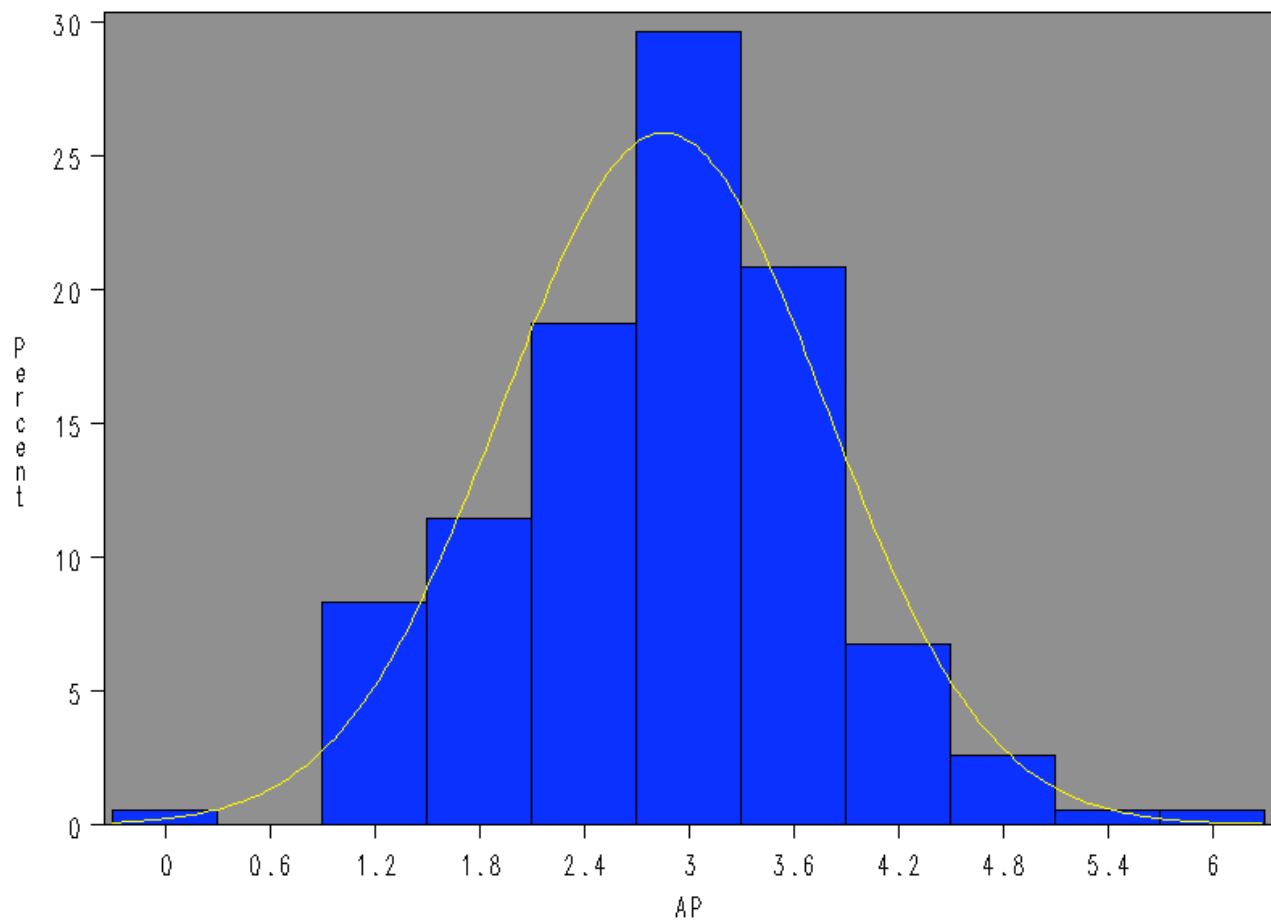
Tests for Location: $\mu_0=0$				
Test		Statistic	p Value	
Student's t	T	42.78681	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M	95.5	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S	9168	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values

Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65340	99.71	100.00

Distribution analysis of: AP

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: AP (AP)



Distribution analysis of: AP

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for AP

Parameters for Normal Distribution		
Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	2.855671
Std Dev	Sigma	0.924802

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D	0.07161803	Pr > D	0.017
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq	0.18082037	Pr > W-Sq	0.009
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	1.03775177	Pr > A-Sq	0.010

Quantiles for Normal Distribution		
Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	1.00000	0.70426
5.0	1.11111	1.33451
10.0	1.66667	1.67049
25.0	2.33333	2.23190
50.0	2.94444	2.85567
75.0	3.38889	3.47944
90.0	3.94444	4.04085
95.0	4.27778	4.37684
99.0	5.44444	5.00708

Normality SD

Distribution analysis of: SD

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: SD (SD)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	1.638889	Std Deviation	0.63409
Median	1.500000	Variance	0.40207
Mode	1.000000	Range	3.50000
		Interquartile Range	1.00000

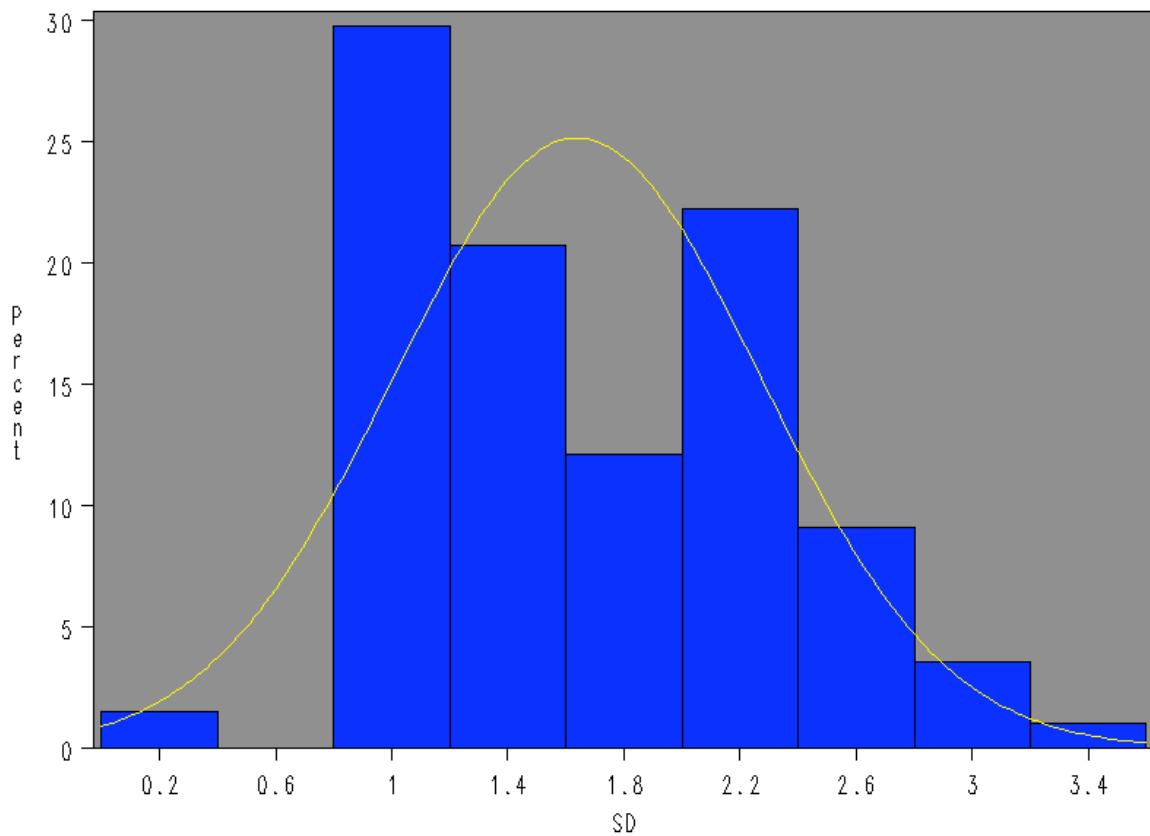
Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	1.63889	1.55002	1.72776
Std Deviation	0.63409	0.57718	0.70355
Variance	0.40207	0.33314	0.49498

Tests for Location: Mu0=0			
Test	Statistic	p Value	
Student's t	t 36.36887	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M 97.5	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S 9555	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values			
Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65334	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: SD

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: SD (SD)



Distribution analysis of: SD

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for SD

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	1.638889
Std Dev	Sigma	0.634092

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution

Test	Statistic	p Value
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D 0.14168019	Pr > D <0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq 0.70558851	Pr > W-Sq <0.005

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	4.65591235	Pr > A-Sq	<0.005

Quantiles for Normal Distribution		
Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	0.00000	0.16377
5.0	1.00000	0.59590
10.0	1.00000	0.82627
25.0	1.00000	1.21120
50.0	1.50000	1.63889
75.0	2.00000	2.06658
90.0	2.50000	2.45151
95.0	2.66667	2.68188
99.0	3.33333	3.11401

Normality OV

Distribution analysis of: OV

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: OV (OV)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	2.663832	Std Deviation	0.74916
Median	2.722222	Variance	0.56125
Mode	3.000000	Range	4.33333
		Interquartile Range	0.83333

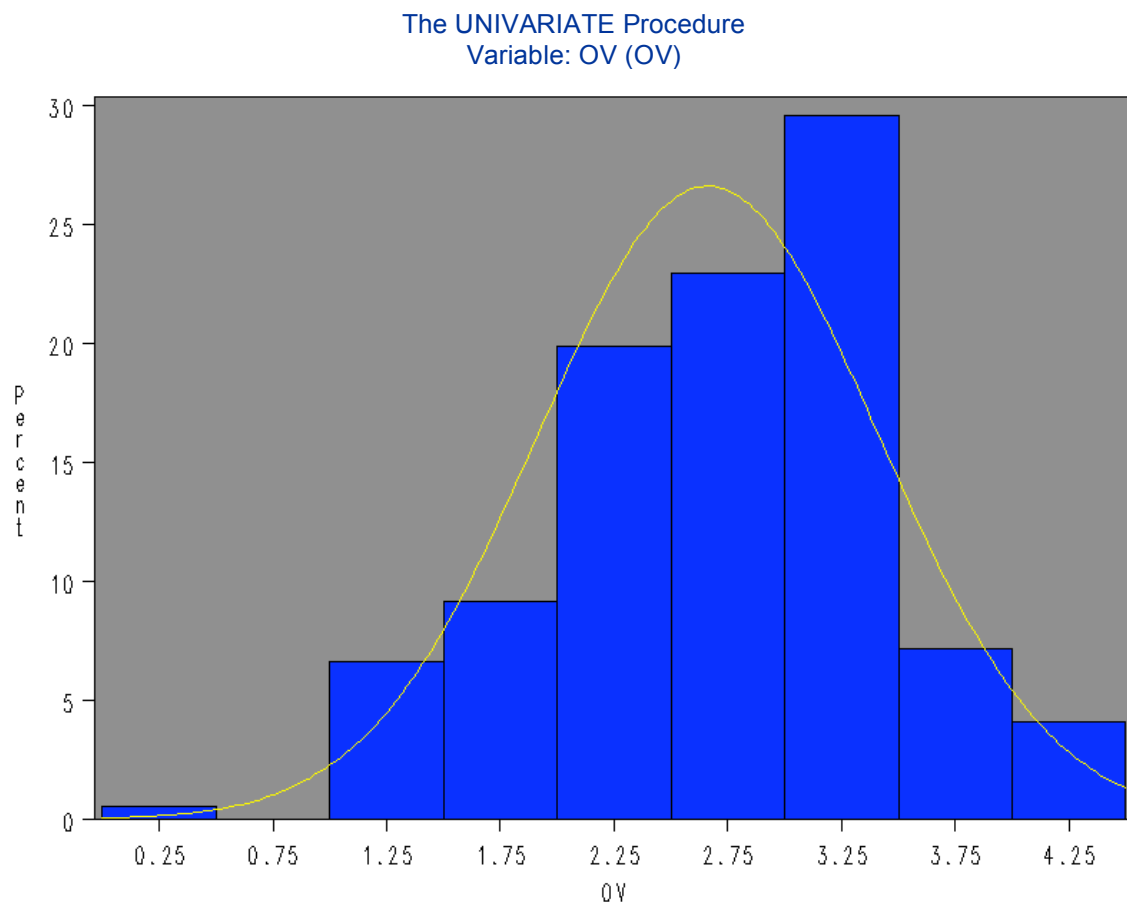
Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	2.66383	2.55830	2.76937
Std Deviation	0.74916	0.68161	0.83169
Variance	0.56125	0.46460	0.69171

Tests for Location: $\mu_0=0$				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Student's t	t	49.78041	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M	97.5	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S	9555	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values		
Missing	Count	Percent Of

		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65336	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: OV



Distribution analysis of: OV

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for OV

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	2.663832
Std Dev	Sigma	0.749163

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution

Test	Statistic	p Value
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D 0.08134802	Pr > D <0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq 0.23071336	Pr > W-Sq <0.005

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	1.36364727	Pr > A-Sq	<0.005

Quantiles for Normal Distribution		
Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	1.00000	0.92102
5.0	1.00000	1.43157
10.0	1.66667	1.70374
25.0	2.27778	2.15853
50.0	2.72222	2.66383
75.0	3.11111	3.16914
90.0	3.55556	3.62392
95.0	3.88889	3.89610
99.0	4.33333	4.40665

Normality Anxiety

Distribution analysis of: Anxiety

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Anxiety (Anxiety)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	2.596220	Std Deviation	0.64490
Median	2.800000	Variance	0.41590
Mode	3.000000	Range	5.00000
		Interquartile Range	0.73333

Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	2.59622	2.50490	2.68754
Std Deviation	0.64490	0.58648	0.71635
Variance	0.41590	0.34396	0.51316

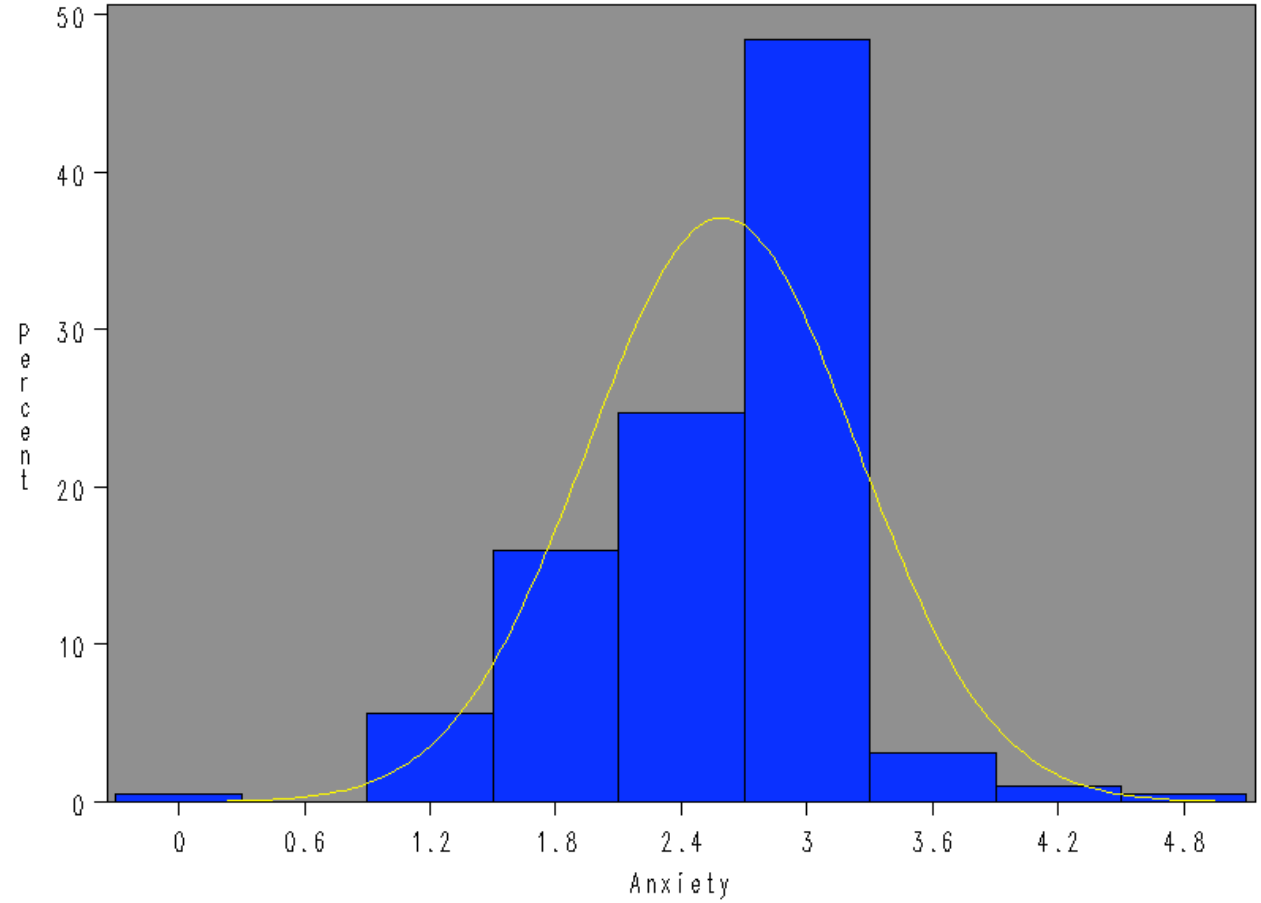
Tests for Location: Mu0=0				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Student's t	t	56.07236	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M	96.5	Pr >= M	<.0001
Signed Rank	S	9360.5	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values

Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65338	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: Anxiety

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: Anxiety (Anxiety)



Distribution analysis of: Anxiety

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for Anxiety

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	2.59622
Std Dev	Sigma	0.644902

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution

Test	Statistic	p Value
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D 0.12914818	Pr > D <0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq 0.91786789	Pr > W-Sq <0.005
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq 5.12432628	Pr > A-Sq <0.005

Quantiles for Normal Distribution

Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	1.00000	1.09595
5.0	1.40000	1.53545
10.0	1.73333	1.76975
25.0	2.26667	2.16124
50.0	2.80000	2.59622
75.0	3.00000	3.03120
90.0	3.13333	3.42269
95.0	3.26667	3.65699
99.0	4.46667	4.09649

Normality SI

Distribution analysis of: SI

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: SI (SI)

Basic Statistical Measures			
Location		Variability	
Mean	3.906430	Std Deviation	0.53532
Median	4.000000	Variance	0.28657
Mode	4.100000	Range	3.33333
		Interquartile Range	0.80000

Basic Confidence Limits Assuming Normality			
Parameter	Estimate	95% Confidence Limits	
Mean	3.90643	3.83121	3.98165
Std Deviation	0.53532	0.48717	0.59412
Variance	0.28657	0.23733	0.35298

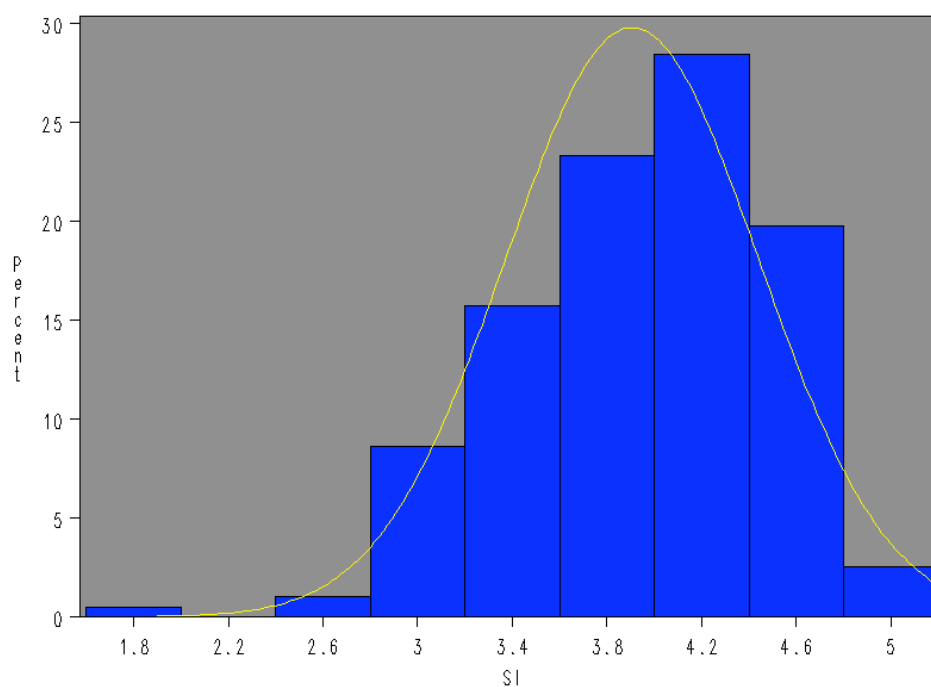
Tests for Location: $\mu_0=0$				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Student's t	t	102.4233	Pr > t	<.0001
Sign	M	98.5	Pr >= M	<.0001

Tests for Location: Mu0=0				
Test	Statistic		p Value	
Signed Rank	S	9751.5	Pr >= S	<.0001

Missing Values			
Missing Value	Count	Percent Of	
		All Obs	Missing Obs
.	65335	99.70	100.00

Distribution analysis of: SI

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Variable: SI (SI)



Distribution analysis of: SI

The UNIVARIATE Procedure
Fitted Distribution for SI

Parameters for Normal Distribution

Parameter	Symbol	Estimate
Mean	Mu	3.90643
Std Dev	Sigma	0.535321

Goodness-of-Fit Tests for Normal Distribution

Test	Statistic		p Value	
Kolmogorov-Smirnov	D	0.09294991	Pr > D	<0.010
Cramer-von Mises	W-Sq	0.17659321	Pr > W-Sq	0.010
Anderson-Darling	A-Sq	1.08971564	Pr > A-Sq	0.008

Quantiles for Normal Distribution

Percent	Quantile	
	Observed	Estimated
1.0	2.70000	2.66109
5.0	3.00000	3.02591
10.0	3.11111	3.22039
25.0	3.50000	3.54536
50.0	4.00000	3.90643
75.0	4.30000	4.26750
90.0	4.60000	4.59247
95.0	4.70000	4.78695
99.0	4.90000	5.15177

