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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.

í í í í í í í í í í í í í í

Rupti Jewan
February 2008

The transition of neighbourhoods in post apartheid South Africa has not received adequate attention. Mondeor, a previously White populated suburb in the South of Johannesburg has been identified as progressively diverse in respect of racially diverse neighbourhoods in the aftermath of Apartheid. By focusing on this suburb, the current study investigated whether increased contact with members from different race groups in a residential neighbourhood promotes the formation of inter-racial friendships and social mixing. In addition, it explored whether there were particular associations which promoted interracial friendships or social mixing. Finally, the different types of contact occurring within the suburb were explored. In order to address the above questions the study followed a Qualitative Cross Sectional design. Data for the study was attained through in-depth interviews from twenty residents of Mondeor. The sample was further divided into five participants from each of the four major race groups prevalent in South Africa(African Black, White, and Indian and so-called Coloured). The results from this study found that racial proximity facilitated for much social mixing and a few friendship formations. Closer examination found that there was a reluctance to mix in the suburb however religious and educational institutions as well as recreational facilities in the neighbourhood promoted some integration in the area. In conclusion, the area was racially diverse however not significantly integrated.

Keywords

Contact, desegregation, segregation, friendship

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*People must learn to hate
And if they can learn to hate
Then they can be taught to love
For love, comes more naturally to the human heart*

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela

I dedicate this research in memory of my Granddad, Mohammed Ameen Cajee (13 April 1918 -2005).



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The formation of friendships and social mixing in a multiracial neighbourhood in the South of Johannesburg.

Chapter One

South African neighbourhoods are currently under a stage of metamorphosis as individuals are no longer restricted to previously allocated regions. Thus, this research attempted to investigate whether individuals engage in interracial social mixing or friendship formation living within a multiracial suburb.

Chapter Two provides a comprehensive overview of research that has been carried out within the area of intergroup friendships. However, very few studies have been done in South Africa and therefore this research could have critical implications for contributing towards efforts aimed at getting rid of the remnants of apartheid. This chapter also outlines Gordon Allports Contact Hypothesis and its significance in relation to this study.

Chapter Three outlines the data collection procedures employed in order to investigate intergroup friendships. As this study followed a Qualitative approach, twenty participants were interviewed by means of an interview schedule. Participants' responses were analysed using Thematic Content Analysis.

Chapter Four presented the analysis and interpretation yielded from the participants thematic content analysis. Seven themes and fifteen sub-themes emerged from the data collected. By using participants' responses, the researcher was able to extract direct quotes from the interviews that aided in substantiating the above themes and sub-themes.

Chapter Five discusses the implications of this study's results together with previous research as well as its relationship to the theoretical framework used in this research.

Chapter Six provides the limitations of this study and the future recommendations for this field of study.



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researcher attempts to bring together the results of this study. In addition, the significance of this study's findings.

Chapter Two

2.1 Theoretical Orientation: Contact Hypothesis

Since the 1940s and 50s researchers attempted to solve the major problem of White prejudice and discrimination within racially segregated societies as was the case of South Africa and the apartheid legislature. The Contact hypothesis emerged in the United States as an attempt to formulate a policy whereby personal contact of White individuals with individuals of colour would aid in understanding and managing their prejudice towards these latter individuals as a group (Jackman & Crane, 1986). Prejudice, according to the Contact hypothesis, does not arise from feelings of personal animosity instead, from an implicit sense of group position (Jackman & Crane, 1986).

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. Allport (1954) derived his hypothesis from early field research from an Alabama study conducted by Sims & Patrick (1936) which found that there were negative effects to intergroup contact when all four conditions (to be described in detail later) were violated. Another study conducted on the Merchant Marine (Brophy, 1946) as well as research conducted on public housing (Deutsch & Collins, 1951) supported similar conclusions. The hypothesis puts forth the notion that true acquaintance lessens prejudice, stereotyping as well as other forms of intergroup bias. It further states that the rupture between Black and White individuals promotes Whites' ignorance about individuals of colour which encompass negative attitudes and beliefs about them (and vice versa). This leads to hostile feelings towards members of the opposite group. However, with personal contact, and the presence of the four conditions of the contact hypothesis, the barriers can be reduced (Jackman & Crane, 1986). 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 across the US as well as in Australia and parts of Europe (Pettigrew, 1998). Evidence for South Africa is much more challenging to establish possibly due to the country's political history.

Individual's knowledge regarding prejudice is not sufficient to change stereotypes and thoughts about others. Instead, intergroup interaction seems to be a more useful technique to break stereotypes. According to Allport (1954), when an individual who belongs to a majority group meets with a member belonging to a minority group, an attitude change will take place on two levels provided that the experience is positive. Firstly, negative stereotypes associated with the individual are replaced by positive perceptions of the individual. Secondly, these positive associations are then extended to the individual's group as a whole (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006).

Allport's (1954) theory states that positive effects of intergroup contact takes place in situations marked by four conditions. Firstly, equal group status within the situation is necessary. It is important to note that it is rather difficult to define the term equal status as it can be used to describe different things in different contexts, as it has been used in different ways. However, perceptions of equal status may be sufficient (Pettigrew, 1998). Moreover, both groups are required to recognize, as well as expect, equal status when placed within a situation (Allport, 1954). Jackman & Crane (1982) have however found negative effects when a member of the group with which the subject does not identify with (that is, the out-group), has a low socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, Patchen (1982) found that having an equal status within a situation was more important than one's socioeconomic status. Ford's study further adds that (1994), equal status contact reduces stereotyped images and decreases physical proximity between the groups. This therefore could facilitate interracial neighbouring or contact among families (Morris, 1999).

The second condition refers to members of both the in-group and out-group having common goals such as winning a match. When group members have common goals, this could lead to a reduction in prejudice. Past studies have illustrated this condition. A primary example would be group of athletes who worked as a team, in order to win the games serves as an example of working towards an ultimate goal (Chu & Griffey, 1985). A third condition emphasised is intergroup co-operation. According to Bettencourt (1992)(as cited in Pettigrew, 1998), group members need to attain common goals with

athletic team would be relying on each other to attain
However, no intergroup competition should exist in
order to maintain intergroup co-operation. This was confirmed by Sherif (1966) (as cited
in Pettigrew, 1998) in his RobbersøCave field study.

The fourth condition involves the support of authorities and the law. When there is a
clear social sanction, contact between groups is more readily accepted and has effects that
are more positive. In addition, the support of members who have authority creates norms
of acceptance (Allport, 1954). A positive attitude change has been found to occur when
the four above conditions are met (Allport, 1954). This positive attitude change may be
said to be target specific. However, there is little evidence to support the idea that a
change towards the individual results in a change towards the whole group. In general,
Scarberry, Raticiff, Lord, Lanicek & Desforges (1997) (as cited in Eller & Abrams, 2004)
found that a global attitude change is possible if each of the four conditions is carefully
controlled. Over the past fifty years, the contact hypothesis has been widely tested on a
multitude of target populations, participants as well as research methods (Eller &
Abrams, 2004).

In spite of the four conditions necessary for reducing prejudice, there are four processes
of change that could result from intergroup contact. They are: learning about the out-
group, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and in-group reappraisal. The first
process refers to learning about the out-group in an effort to alter the negative views
associated with members of the out-group, thereby reducing the levels of prejudice. Many
studies provide evidence that learning about an out-group may improve both intergroup
attitudes and decrease stereotypes. Stereotypes may be defined as beliefs about the
characteristics of a specific social group. These viewpoints are likely to change when
new stereotypic structures surface, modification of the existing stereotypic content as
well as when the group is expected to be diverse (Nowacki, 2005). Furthermore, a study
conducted by Weber & Crocker (1983) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) found that members
of a group who noticeably disconfirm the stereotype are more likely to alter the
stereotype as they are clearly disconfirming. These findings are consistent with Allports

members reduces prejudice as well as stereotypes (Allport, 1954). Turner (1985) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) found that disconfirming evidence alters stereotypes if out-group members' behaviour is inconsistent with the initial perception. However, the out-group members would have to be viewed as typical. Most intergroup contact does not meet these criteria. In conclusion, attaining new information about out-group members ultimately improves attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998).

The second process is changing behaviour which is usually the antecedent of attitude change. Individuals are able to resolve their conflict between old prejudices and new behaviour by revising their attitudes. Group members are required to maintain contact which makes the interaction between groups more comfortable which leads to liking (Pettigrew, 1998). Generating affective ties is the third key process. Members may initially experience anxiety when interacting with other group members which is likely to lead to negative reactions which may be present without any intergroup prejudice. If a group member engages in continued contact, it may reduce anxiety ultimately mediating intergroup contact effects and resulting in affective ties such as friendship (Pettigrew, 1998). The last process is in-group reappraisal. The in-group refers to the group with which an individual identifies, for example, a White individual would likely identify with other White individuals). When members from different race groups continuously interact with each other, the interaction provides them with an insight. Thus, members may find that the norms and customs of their own group may be reshaped. However, group members are required to have less contact with their in-group because of having more contact with the out-group (Pettigrew, 1998).

Research has shown that as more of Allport's conditions are present, the greater the likelihood of a successful and lasting outcome. Yet, some evidence suggests that significant barriers do exist which hinder the fulfillment of Allport's conditions (Pettigrew, 1998). There are three significant barriers. Firstly, it might be difficult to arrange contact between rival groups according to the conditions set out in the contact hypothesis. Secondly, even though participation in a contact situation is voluntary, the

contact with an out-group member may hamper its success. An important question, how is one able to make a generalization to an entire out-group based on a contact with a specific group member? (Amichai-Hamburger & McKenna, 2006).

Although, much research supports the Contact hypothesis there are still numerous problems which remain. Firstly, prejudiced people are likely to avoid intergroup contact, thus the bias limits cross sectional studies. Interestingly, research has revealed that the positive effects of intergroup contact are larger than those of the aforementioned bias. Secondly, researchers overburden the contact hypothesis with a multitude of facilitating conditions but few essential criteria which is viewed as a danger, eliminating all interest from the hypothesis. All these factors prohibit most intergroup situations as many of these aspects are related to the primary mediating processes however not necessary for optimal contact to take place. Thirdly, the process of intergroup interaction is not addressed by the hypothesis. However, one should consider Pettigrew's (1998) four processes, discussed above, as it may be able to alleviate those concerns. Fourthly, the Contact hypothesis does not elaborate as to how positive effects of intergroup contact can be generalized to other contexts (Pettigrew, 1998).

The Contact hypothesis has been criticized as being parsimonious as other researchers have put forth numerous other conditions qualifying for positive contact. The hypothesis is, therefore, viewed as lacking coherency and prone to falsification. For Pettigrew (1998), it is important to differentiate between the contacts that are necessary instead of the ones which simply facilitate the contact to have positive outcomes. Furthermore, Allport's hypothesis did not specify how and why contact reduces prejudice. It also does not explain how the effects of contact between individuals and groups could be generalized to both uninvolved out-groups as well as an out-group as a whole. Based on these limitations, Pettigrew added a fifth condition to Allport's four conditions which mediate attitude change through contact. The fifth condition, a *friendship potential* is a crucial situational factor which has a prejudice-reducing role (Elter & Abrams, 2004). Pettigrew (1998) states that intergroup friendship is potent because it potentially invokes

76) The model states that contact as friends lead to your modification, in-group reappraisal as well as an increased liking of the out-group. In addition, it reduces intergroup anxiety and bias which, importantly, may be generalized to other out-groups as well (Elter & Abrams, 2004). For example, a White individual interacting with an African Black person on the athletic team will feel reduced anxiety and bias not just towards the African Black person and African Blacks as a group but, also, towards members of other races.

Pettigrew (1998) integrated three central models of generalisation of contact effects. These include: Firstly, decategorisation which results when individuals interact with one another without being concerned about group membership. Secondly, salient categorisations whereby group members are aware of belonging to different groups and are able to value the differences between each other. Lastly, recategorization whereby members are able to achieve a superordinate level of categorization, such as being South African rather than White or African Black South Africans.

According to Jackman & Crane (1986) the following set of criteria is required in order for an interracial contact to be successful. Firstly, it is important that the contact does not take place within a competitive environment. Secondly, the contact is required to be sustained instead of episodic. Thirdly, it is necessary that the contact is personal and informal. Fourthly, the support of the relevant authorities is essential during the contact. And fifthly, it is vital that the setting in which the contact takes place does not give one member precedence over the other by emphasising any disparity in racial status. It is important to note that a great deal of interracial contact does not meet these requirements, such as the contact between interracial neighbours who meet regularly on a daily basis. However, it is interesting that the contact between personal friends meet most of the requirements of the Contact hypothesis (Jackman & Crane, 1986).

Meta-analysis suggests that intergroup contact does in fact reduce intergroup prejudice. Researchers have proposed that interracial contact would lead to a mutual understanding and regard (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Longitudinal, experimental and meta-analytic

It has been demonstrated that contact may reduce prejudice, and the positive outcomes experienced during contact. However, research has not assessed whether group differences in status might moderate the extent to which intergroup contact can promote positive intergroup attitudes to both minority and majority status groups (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Field studies conducted on public housing have been the most useful and significant in testing particular aspects of intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Research conducted on interracial interactions

Intergroup relations has been defined as "the actions of individuals belonging to one group when they interact collectively or individually, with one another or its members in terms of their group membership" (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994, p. 6). Within the South African context, intergroup conflict began from the arrival of the Dutch settlers as early as 1652. There was conflict over the distribution of land between Dutch settlers and African inhabitants which resulted in their land being seized as well as a restriction of where they were allowed to reside and in due course, disenfranchisement (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Clearly, both segregation and discrimination on the basis of race began much earlier and was further developed within the apartheid era. Moreover, the patterns are consistent with European colonies with the exception of the restrictive policies which were set into motion after the proliferation of the apartheid era. Even though the policies were harsh and the penalties were severe, it did not preclude interracial contact. In fact, contact was characterized by a hierarchical relationship between members of different race groups. A further illustration of this discrimination, were additional omissions whereby a minority of non White students in South Africa registered at White universities (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press).

Intergroup research is certainly lacking during the period between the 1960s and 1980s, when the Nationalist Party had governing power and particular emphasis was placed on interracial contact in neighbourhoods or educational settings in an effort to segregate and discriminate (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Application of the Contact Hypothesis

er difficult as it violated the most important key
chilescu & Tredoux, In press). A Quasi Experimental
study conducted by Luiz and Krige (1981) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press)
on racial attitudes between White and Coloured females found that the contact had a
positive effect. Results were still consistent after a year. On the contrary, a study carried
out by Mynhardt (1982) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press) on interracial
contact and attitudes amongst White English speaking girls who had been recruited from
ten private secondary schools, demonstrated that these students had contact with Black
students during some of their mixed classes, reported negative attitudes after interacting
with them, as opposed to those White students who had not mixed with Black students at
all. These findings are consistent to a study carried out on interracial mixing among
Black, Indian and Coloured university students whereby there was reluctance to interact
with each other (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press).

Desegregation is defined as physical presence of different races in shared residential
space (while recognizing that residential is not the only sphere of desegregation) and
social integration in reference to micro level relations between people of different
races (Lemanski, 2006, p. 565). Desegregation results when there is racial mixing within
an area which allows new Black residents entrée into the facilities and resources of that
particular area as well as on an equal footing with the White group members in that area
(Kitchin, 2002). For Harvey (1989) desegregation is described as

Residential differentiation in the capitalist city means differential access
to the scarce resources required to acquire market capacity. For example,
differential access to educational opportunity is understood in broad terms
as those experiences derived from family, geographic neighbourhood and
community, classroom and the mass media which facilitates the
intergenerational transference of market capacity and typically leads to the
restriction of mobility chances. The homogenisation of life experiences
which (residential segregation) produces reinforces the tendency for

ul groupings to emerge with a relatively
ential differentiationö (Harvey, 1989, p 118).

According to Kitchin (2002), the pace of desegregation in South Africa has not contributed to the empowerment of the vast majority of the poor. The emerging African Black middle class after the collapse of apartheid has benefited from the abolition of racial controls, whilst those living in the peripheries, which are the majority of South Africans are still poorer (Kitchin, 2002). Thus, many theorists argue that there is in fact a widening gap between rich and poor after apartheid. Hence, inequality has now become an integral aspect of postmodern urbanism (Kitchin, 2002). According to Massey (1996) (as cited in Kitchin, 2002), with the process of urbanization, there is a rise in both class segregation as well as income inequality (Kitchin, 2002).

For Post Apartheid South Africa, there have been significant changes within urban structure as access to urban space is now based on wealth as opposed to race (Kitchin, 2002). There has been a movement of Blacks from townships into suburbs with the exclusion of informal settlements and townships. Thus, race is no longer the fundamental element of classification, as class has become a key feature in urban landscape. On the other hand, in the past, those rare occurrences of wealthy and educated inhabitants occupied townships and informal settlements (Kitchin, 2002).

The pace of residential desegregation was not expected to occur rapidly after the apartheid era, as there are many structural forces, which both perpetuate as well as maintain social segregation with the aid of residential segregation. It is through measuring the levels of residential segregation that we are able to ascertain whether urban restructuring in post apartheid South Africa has been successful. The primary reason for residential segregation in South Africa was racial discrimination (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006). Discrimination is not unnatural and is a common phenomenon found in all societies in the world. With regard to South Africa, Parnell (1996) (as cited in Donaldson & Kotze, 2006) suggests that researchers need to inquire on how, why and when urban forms became racialized, as race still continues to be an important structural feature.

erations of discrimination which are attained through
ulation of policies in land use zoning, unintentional,
exclusion of minorities in urban renewal, rehabilitation schemes, and housing
development (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006). According to Robinson (1992) the segregation
policies enforced during the apartheid era is viewed as a means of maintaining control,
domination as well as manipulation of the African Black race group. Even though the
segregative policies were revoked, there has not been much research on residential
desegregation in South Africa. The empirical studies conducted focus on larger cities
such as Cape Town instead of smaller towns such as Margate (Lemon & Clifford, 2005)
or Mondeor for that matter.

There are four questions which need to be asked when researching residential
desegregation. These include; how many people of a specific race are moving into an
area previously preserved for another group, which people are moving, where will they
locate, and lastly why are they moving there? The manner in which social segregation is
defined has changed thus, it is important to question how, why, and where it occurs
(Donaldson & Kotze, 2006).

With the 1950 implementation of the Group Areas Act, a large fraction of inhabitants in
many cities throughout the country were forced to relocate, as in the case of Durban
whereby 60% of the African Black population and 10% of its White population were
relocated (Kitchin, 2002). The repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991 enabled that,
individuals were legally allowed to live in any residential area. Still, there was not a
significant increase in movement of African Black and Indian families into formerly
White residential areas. At the same time, a significant proportion of African Black
families had moved into formerly Indian areas (Kitchin, 2002). In addition, African Black
professionals and middle class individuals were able to differentiate themselves from
other Africans residing in the same area (Kitchin, 2002).

There are five viewpoints which post apartheid studies encompass. The first viewpoint is
that there has not been a significant amount of desegregation (Kotze & Donaldson 1998;

...ted by Christopher (2005) found that transformations
this would be that, the province of Kwa-Zulu Natal is
the most desegregated region whilst Free State continues to be the most segregated
province as was in the past dispensation. The second viewpoint is that the desegregation
which has taken place, which involves the movement of members of the African Black
group into previously White neighbourhoods. A study by Horn & Ngcobo (2003) (as
cited in Donaldson & Kotze, 2006), found that there was an in-movement of higher
income African Blacks into newly developed middle and middle-to high income areas.
The third viewpoint is that segregation based on class has appeared to have replaced
segregation on race. This is evident in gated communities where income groups are
clustered. The last viewpoint is that there is no significant relationship between interracial
mixing and desegregation. Moreover, the formation of new identities is evident in certain
areas of shared spaces. An important point to note is that members of the African Black
group have not been involved in the housing market for a long period. In addition, they
were vulnerable under the current tough economic conditions and high interest rates
during 1998-1999. This has resulted in many of their homes being repossessed by banks
(Donaldson & Kotze, 2006).

With the end of the Apartheid era, the process of desegregation began. Statistics have
revealed that the pace has not been strong (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). The inter
census period between 1996 and 2001 found that the process of residential desegregation
has been a rather slow process. There have been notable differences between groups and
regions. The provinces differ vastly in terms of segregation and desegregation. Yet, a
large proportion of the urban population continues to live in highly segregated areas. A
significant amount of research on intergroup relations has been conducted in the United
States of America. Thus, in terms of desegregation, South Africa has followed a similar
pace and trend as the United States (Frey & Farley, 1996; Johnston, Poulsen & Forrest,
2003). However, even though the process has been slow, desegregation in
neighbourhoods can be viewed as a symbolic representation of the break with the
apartheid era (Christopher, 2005).

Other problems such as the housing crisis as well as solutions were sought in order to reinforce the segregated patterns of apartheid (Christopher, 2005). Within the private sector, the process of residential desegregation differed vastly as it was largely dependent on credit financing. African Black, Indian and so-called Coloured residents were unable to attain these credit facilities due to numerous factors such as low incomes and lack of collateral. Members of these race groups who were able to attain these facilities moved into formerly White neighbourhoods (Christopher, 2005). This is an interesting factor as members of these groups were originally banished from these areas. There are further constraints which prevent integration of these groups into neighbourhoods. According to Lemon (1991) the movement of other race groups into formerly White neighbourhoods was made possible as White members moved out of the area, the process was thus rather slow. In addition, another constraint that emerged was the gated neighbourhoods which aimed at preservation of residential exclusivity. These limitations have contributed to the slow process of desegregation in South Africa (Christopher, 2005).

It appears as though race is no longer a defining characteristic of segregation in South Africa. However, there are other social issues, which have emerged due to segregation such as low income, soaring rates of unemployment and high crime (Kitchin, 2002). Patterns of desegregation in South Africa show a significant amount of African Black families moving into formerly White residential areas. However, they are not necessarily welcomed and accepted by White residents within the area. A qualitative study conducted in a formerly White residential area on five middle class African Black females have revealed that they moved into the area due to the significant increase in crime and violence. In addition, another participant revealed that her motive for moving was based on the resentment that her family experienced from their neighbours, as they were quite financially successful, her husband was killed and her home was burned down which then led her to move from the area (Kitchin, 2002). The escalating levels of crime and violence in South Africa meant that that further hindered intergroup contact (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). The study also found that the women missed their friends and familial support; they felt safer in the suburbs (Kitchin, 2002). Another participant

poor White residents and therefore not any different as the awareness of class as a distinguishing feature instead of race. In addition, a study conducted by Pearce Anderson (1996) (as cited in Kitchin, 2002) supports these findings.

The class distinctions meant that African Black members who moved into formerly White areas are then defined by the domain of the homes. The area, which they reside in revealed there rise in social status. A survey conducted by Fleurinor on 15 African Black residents of Westville, found that all the members had a secondary education, all participants were homeowners, and had lived in the residential area for an average of 3.8 years. Participants also revealed that 80% had tertiary education. The study also found that crime and violence were key precipitating factors for them moving into the residential area (Kitchin, 2002).

As noted above, crime is seen as a precipitating factor to prevention of intergroup contact and thus much of the interracial mixing takes place in other settings such as occupational and educational institutions. Studies conducted in a tertiary institution present the best instance of an inter-racial mixing as members meet on an equal status basis. Much research has therefore been conducted in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. A study conducted by Holtman, Louw, Tredoux & Carney (2005) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press) on 1119 adolescents across eighteen different schools. The participants were from all four race groups. The study assessed contact (in the school, outside of the school as well as the quality of the contact) as well as attitudes of each group towards others. The results revealed that contact outside of the school, was viewed as a key determinant of positive intergroup attitudes. The study has a rather large sample from eighteen different schools; therefore these findings are generalisable and have great credence as the study was conducted recently. An additional study by Moholola and Finchilescu (2006)(as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press) assessing attitudes of African Black learners towards white learners in two different groups, the first was African Black students who attended a multiracial school and the other was African Black students attending an all African Black School. The study found that students

...e more positive as compared to the latter. Moreover, ... with White members was correlated to reducing the prejudice levels. Researchers have constructed a very optimistic view of the nature of race relations in South Africa. According to Finchilescu & Tredoux (In press) it can be argued that it is difficult to ascertain whether contact between members may improve racial relations. The type of sample that these studies employ may also have an impact on the findings. Once again researchers cannot ascertain that the participants of an inter-racial contact study may possibly have been less prejudiced before being recruited (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press).

Thomas Pettigrew's work has focused largely on political issues regarding desegregation and segregation. In South Africa, Pettigrew explored various areas such as racial attitudes and perceptions, conformity as well as social distance. A study which received much attention was a comparison between South Africa and South America investigating racial attitudes and authoritarianism (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). The results indicate that these two continents have high levels of racism, as well as not a great deal of difference between racial attitudes and authoritarianism (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). These results allowed Pettigrew to re-evaluate the function of individual factors involved in racial prejudice, by associating the heightened levels of prejudice to politics, norms, conventionality and supremacist principles of both South African and South American culture (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press).

Researchers have also investigated contact in the occupational setting. Spangenberg and Nel (1983) investigated the difference between White lecturers who were employed in an almost all White University and White lecturers working at a so-called Coloured university. The sample included so-called Coloured colleagues and students. Findings indicate that the contact group had more positive attitudes to so-called Coloureds as opposed to the non-contact group and was not as significant when the sample included only Afrikaans speaking participants. Moreover, the study also revealed that cross-race friendships were related with more positive racial attitudes (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Importantly, most of these studies do not eliminate the notion that contact

ing the Apartheid era (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In

There has been a considerable amount of research conducted in Post Apartheid South Africa on contact between different groups. Various methods have been employed in order to assess these aspects. They range from surveys to observational techniques. A survey by Durrheim and colleagues focusing on the quality of intergroup contact found that a large proportion of African Blacks report not having any contact with White members both inside and out of the occupational setting as opposed to White members. In addition, African Blacks reported no social contact with White members. Social status emerged as an issue from the study. White members reported that they interacted with Africans of an equal social status whilst Africans reported their interactions with White members who belonged to a higher social status (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Durrheim and Dixon (2005) have conducted an observational study regarding interracial contact. This type of research is valuable in that it informs us about the role of contact in the total intergroup medley (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press).

Numerous racial integration studies were conducted during the 1940s and 50s. A study by Deutsch & Collins (1951) compared racially desegregated housing projects in New York City and similar segregated projects in Newark. The findings revealed that desegregated White homemakers held their Black neighbours in higher esteem as well as favoured interracial housing more. Wilner (1955) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) extended research from these findings and found that a third of White tenants who engaged in casual greetings with their Black neighbours developed much more favourable racial attitudes whilst the other three fourths who engaged in multiple interactions and the half who engaged in conversation established much more positive racial outlooks (Pettigrew, 1998).

Most of the studies revealed that integration had a positive effect on whites' racial attitudes. However, the external validity of these studies remains questionable as a result of temporal and geographical considerations. A study conducted by Deutsch & Collins

whites in segregated housing projects revealed that there was a decline in the levels of informal interaction as well as friendships with Blacks. These factors, in turn, had a tremendous effect on the attitude towards Blacks in general. Another study by Cook (1955) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press), found that members often accept, as well as begin to approve of, interracial contact within a situation whereby they have experienced such a circumstance. For example, when people have played on a sports team and are then exposed to members of different races within that context, they are more likely to engage in interracial contact. Moreover, that approval may be generalized to other situations provided that the individual has a close personal association with members of the other group (Jackson & Crane, 1986).

These housing studies have left many pragmatic questions unanswered such as whether these results can be generalized to contact conditions within regular neighbourhoods and workplaces. Secondly, these studies have measured racial attitudes, beliefs, feelings and predispositions but have not taken into account support by the government for interventions regarding the promotion of interracial contact. Hence, one may question whether contact occurs in response to personal acceptance or forced interaction? (Jackson & Crane, 1986).

Societies may have a significant impact on contact effects. A study conducted by Russell (1961) in a racially mixed neighbourhood during the apartheid era in South Africa demonstrated how societal norms and values of discrimination impact on intergroup contact. The neighbourhood comprised of 50% whites, 20% so-called Coloureds, and 30% Indians. The study found that modest improvements surfaced in White members' attitudes toward their neighbours of colour as a result of contact. However, these results have been difficult to replicate. Moreover, these findings could not be generalized to so-called Coloureds and Indians as groups. Even so, it may be said that if society accepts interracial interaction, equal-status is no longer unorthodox (Russell, 1961).

amount of controversy surrounding neighbourhood racial issues. Neighbourhoods supply individuals with refuge, and the essential commodities for survival. In South Africa, neighbourhoods are currently under a metamorphosis, there is a gradual pace of desegregation with the incorporation of people from different ethnic backgrounds, racial backgrounds, and religion as well as socio economic status (Farrell, Aubrey, Coulombe, 2004). A neighbourhood serves as an interesting constituent to understand the association between social ties and diversity. Some neighbourhoods also comprise of neighbourhood disorders (i.e. crime, vandalism and drugs). Studies have found that there is a significant relationship between neighbourhood disorder and social ties. Findings from Ross & Yang (2000) (as cited in Nowacki, 2005), have revealed that when individuals have informal social ties with neighbours there is a decrease in fear and mistrust thereby reducing the effects of neighbourhood disorder (Nowacki, 2005). Suburbs which have homogenous populations are probable to having residents who share a set of common values, characteristics and interests, thus greater interaction is facilitated in this type of neighbourhood. When considering socio economic status, this type of neighbourhood also has a better level of social networking between residents as compared to heterogeneous neighbourhoods (Nowacki, 2005).

According to Russell (1961), an interracial neighbourhood provides a very interesting situation of sustained contact between individuals. This in turn, is viewed as a natural source of data on the effects of such a contact (Russell, 1961). There are two categories of multiracial neighbourhoods which have been studied. The first category is referred to as the 'invaded area' whereby it is a white neighbourhood into which non white residents have moved into. The second category is known as the State or Federal controlled housing Project. This project supplies public housing for all race groups (Russell, 1961). It is important to note that studies have indicated that contact at a residential level may lead to favorable outcomes such as an improvement in race relations which is measured by individual's race perceptions and attitudes (Russell, 1961).

illustration of a suburb in Johannesburg, which became segregation. Up until the late 1970s, the neighbourhood as well as its facilities were reserved for the white race group. However, by the second half of the 1980s, there was a movement of Africans into Hillbrow due to the political violence within townships, housing shortages as well as scrapping of influx control. By 1987, the South African government had abandoned the implementation of the GAA in Johannesburg. By 1990, the first set of apartments was placed on the market whereby any tenant from any racial classification could purchase the property. A survey conducted in 1993 revealed that 62 percent of apartment occupants were African followed by 22 percent so-called Coloured or Indian and the remaining 16 percent White (Morris, 1999).

Morris (1999) further 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. Members residing in the area had numerous interpretations for socialising. 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. Interracial socialising in the neighbourhood was common. White group members were also more likely to engage in interracial friendships and mixing as they resided in mixed apartment blocks (Morris, 1999). With changing social norms, further inquiry into South African interracial neighbourhoods would be appropriate.

A study conducted by Lemanski (2006) in a suburb in Muizenburg in Cape Town attempted to examine whether physical desegregation within a residential neighbourhood eventually facilitates social integration of its residents. The criteria used in the study in order to define desegregation in this study are that no racial group comprised of more than 50% and at least one other racial group comprised of 25%. The study hypothesized whether these increases ultimately increases social mixing between neighbours of different race groups? In South Africa, even though the government has implemented policies in order to assist the process of desegregation, the dominance of the social structure as created during the apartheid continues to exist (Lemanski, 2006).

...nburg is an interesting illustration of residential ... was still a white residential area. Data from 2001 reveals that the area has become highly desegregated as Whites and so-called Coloureds comprise of 36% each and African Blacks comprising of 26%. A large fraction of White residents are professionals or skilled workers whilst the African Black group is more likely to be employed in manual labour. The so-called Coloured group is spread evenly across a range of occupations. Perceptions of residents revealed that Black Africans were attracted to the area for numerous reasons such as friendship, work, studies and feeling secure and safe. White and so-called Coloured residents were attracted to the area because of its cultural, physical and economic features such as its natural environment and its vibe. This reveals that there are a range of differences in perceptions regarding the area which may ultimately hamper instead of facilitate integration (Lemanski, 2006). In addition, the area has a junior and secondary school. Majority of the White children in the area attend school elsewhere whilst the African Black residents are most likely to educate their children in a school in the neighbourhood. Race however is not the reason for the difference in school selection. Due to the high income bracket between White and African Black residents, White residents are able to afford the tuition fees of private schools as well as the additional requirements such as transport fees. These results are consistent across both levels (i.e. junior and secondary school). Thus, these findings are consistent with other studies cited above, in that it is linked to class instead of race. Thus there is an overlap between these two variables. During the interview, a participant revealed that both schools were part of the community in the past. The community was strong; however it is now a divided community. Another participant responded that the school is a transient school, as the teachers and pupils do not live in the suburb. It is thus not a community school (Lemanski, 2006).

With regard to mixing on the street between neighbours, they indicate that they share a similar characteristic, class. This is apparent as the pricing of the homes are in a similar price bracket in each area. Thus, Lemanski found that neighbourhoods who have a common socio economic status are more likely to engage in social mixing and therefore promoting social integration. A so-called Coloured family responded that they previously

dynamics were rather different as compared to their neighbours in the lower class area would engage in much more mixing than the middle class area. Both so-called Coloured and White respondents found that they do not engage in much mixing in their current area and the only form of mixing is greeting their neighbours. They have not been in each others homes and neither have their children played together on the street. Thus, the levels of both socializing and friendship formation are not uncommon for the middle class area (Lemanski, 2006).

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

The neighbourhood also has religious institutions such as churches, mosques, pre schools and various interest groups. These facilities are also viewed as tools which enable social integration. Within this particular study, most of the churches mentioned that members of all the groups belonged to the church. It was also found that the interaction varied between different races. Both White and so-called Coloured members mentioned that there was much social mixing and friendship because of belonging to the same religious institution. Participants identified that the interaction was different from that of the actual neighbourhood whereby they would simply greet each other when passing. The response differed for Black African participants who revealed that there was no real friendship formation with other groups within the church and that African Black people socialized amongst themselves. On the other hand, children belonging to pre-schools in the area enabled social integration amongst parents of different groups. The study found that, often time, parents take home children of different race groups. In addition, the owner of a particular pre-school in the area has a very different perspective regarding social mixing which may be a precipitating factor for integration (Lemanski, 2006).

periphery location of so-called Coloureds and African
on. It is therefore important that the construction of
low cost housing will accommodate for these groups which may lead to the formation of
a multiracial neighbourhood. Integration is possible in this neighbourhood as members of
the group share the same class identity (Lemanski, 2006).

Friendship is thought to be dyadic and viewed as a social phenomenon. Sarason, Sarason & Pierce (1995) acknowledge the importance of friendship and those personal relationships do not operate independently from one another. Moreover, they are also predisposed by social communication and the significant relationship between important others in their lives. Thus, friendships operate in a form of a system. Feld & Carter (1998) view friendships as developed from some on going activity. Friendship is conceptualized as a non economic activity and when it is mixed with economic activity, it can affect the costs and benefits of the latter. This has been termed by Granovetter (1985) as the social embedding of the economy. Friendships are thus embedded into various institutions where individuals can engage such as organizations, families, work places and neighbourhoods. These serve as a common meeting area for individuals to interact with each other whereby they may share common goals, interests and opinions and perceptions. Thus, Feld & Carter (1998) found that individuals then tend to follow the norms of the group in which they belong to. However, being part of this network may have its advantage whereby an individual has support from other members but on the other hand, belonging to this network limits their free choice due to social pressure.

Nevertheless, individuals are likely to form friendships with individuals that share a similar common ground as them, this has been termed homophily. There are three forms of status homophily: these included; ascribed (i.e. Race, age, sex), acquired (i.e. Marital status, education) and values homophily (i.e. attitudes and stereotypes). Many studies have focused on homophily in social networks. There are two main reasons why individuals engage in homophily. The first is that, individuals are likely to form friendships with others who share common features as them. Secondly, individuals form and maintain friendships with others who they have contact with either due to geographic

ing projects) or as mentioned above, some form of friendship are likely when individuals have a close proximity towards each other and members have easy access to each other, which will result in the probability of homophily. It has been reported that neighbourhoods are separated by both class and ethnicity. However, due to the geographical propinquity, homophily is more likely amongst neighbours. Within a South African context, due to various laws which were implemented during the Apartheid era, people were segregated and forced to live in specific regions as allocated by the government. Thus, homophily may also be influenced by social structures and pressures (Kadushin & Livert, 2002) which may either prevent or allow certain friendships to develop.

Much research on the Contact hypothesis and friendship literature is not conversant of each other even though a major outcome of contact between members may lead to friendship. Friendship is viewed as the most far reaching and delicate outcome of contact (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). Due to the tendency of homophily, social contact may not be seen as a random event. Instead, contact between individuals has social and structural rules. Thus, according to the Contact hypothesis, friendship is one form of prejudice reduction (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). Prejudice itself is an obvious factor, as are socialization and conformity to social norms. Another obstacle to inter-racial contact is individuals' anxiety about how they will be received by members of the other group in a contact situation. In order to reduce prejudice, Allport suggests creating a situation whereby members of an in-group has positive interactions with members of an out-group which will lead to them possibly formulating friendship (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). At this stage, an opportunity arises whereby an individual is able to gather as much information about the out-group member. This will lead to them viewing the out group members as an individual instead of ascribing them with the stereotyped group characteristics. It is thereby 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). Ellison & Powers (1994) found that interracial contact in desegregated surroundings does not directly manipulate Black members perceptions of

one may aid in the formation of close friendships

Thus, formation and maintenance of friendships is an interesting aspect of interracial contact. A survey was conducted by Gibson (2004) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press) regarding the incidence of interracial friendship in South Africa. The results indicate that only a small proportion of the White Population have Black friends whilst the Black group reported having no White friends at all. It is important to note that the largest group in South Africa is African Black. Thus, members of the Black group are more likely to have friends in the same group. As noted above, individuals engage in cross racial friendships when they are presented with an opportunity to do so. Thus, tertiary institutions are viewed as ideal context for such opportunities (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Schrieff (2005) (as cited in Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press) conducted a longitudinal study on the formation of friendships amongst first year university students. The study was conducted at the University of Cape Town in a mixed race residence. The study found that only a small proportion of the students knew any other students on arrival. However, 285 friendships had been formed at the end of the study. In addition, 51 of the friendships were interracial (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Once again, homophily is a key component, as these students have common features (i.e. education or achievement) as well as geographic proximity (i.e. living in the university residence).

A study was conducted by Spilimbergo and Ubeda (2001) (as cited in Belot & Ermisch, 2006) on the role of the extended family and geographical mobility. The study carried out a comparison on White and Black families in a neighbourhood in the US. The study found that individuals are less likely to move away from the neighbourhood if they have many relatives living in the same neighbourhood. In addition, results revealed that Black members have a significant amount of relatives family living in a close proximity and are therefore less probable to leave than Whites members (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Therefore family may act as a factor for keeping certain groups within areas.

effect of the number of close friends on geographical factors which influence the formation of friendships.

Individuals may not invest much time and effort in the formation of friendships if they are planning to move from the area (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Belot & Ermisch (2006) also found that a friend living in a close proximity decreases the likelihood of moving by two percent, which is 40% of the average 20-mile-plus mobility (Belot & Ermisch, 2006).

The location of creating friendships is very important as one is more likely to meet someone who lives in the same neighbourhood as compared to someone living further away. If someone stays further away, it may be more difficult for individual to maintain friendships due to factors such as transport, time and using the telephone (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). When individuals move into a new neighbourhood, they begin at a stage where they have no friends. As time progresses they are acquainted with their neighbours and depending on whether they share similar interest and characteristics, they begin to form new friendships. However, if they still have a significant amount of relatives and friends in the area which they grew up in than anywhere else, they may also feel a greater loss when moving into a new neighbourhood (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Data from the British Household Panel Survey (as cited in Belot & Ermisch, 2006) found that residential movement may affect the number of close friends the individual has? The findings of the survey reveal that movement does break-up close friendships especially amongst individuals who move further than five miles. Thus, individuals tend to create and maintain new friendships with people who live in a close proximity (Belot & Ermisch, 2006).

Interracial contact between individuals has many different appearances such as greetings, acquaintances, working together in organizations as well as friendships. With each contact, there is a range of strengths and weaknesses. The formulation and maintenance of friendships is a key aspect in many individuals' lives. A friendship comprises of a mutual attraction towards each other and expectations such as trust, loyalty, providing emotional support and intimacy (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). Friends encompass the social

Jackman & Crane, 1986). Cross-race, friendships have to diminish racial segregation as well as prejudice.

Friendships provide individuals with a sense of intergroup contact, which is individualized, and trusting whereby they symbolize the personalized and equal-status contact, which is envisioned by Contact theorists such as Allport (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003).

It is important to note that self-selection plays a key role in an individual's preference of close friends. Individuals believe that they are in control with selection of personal relationships and not the factors, which are out of their control such as racial barriers and social and institutional forces. Even though some individuals would prefer to avoid any contact with members of different races, there are economic as well as practical concerns, which ensure contact (Jackman & Crane, 1986). An illustration would be living in an interracial neighbourhood or taking a job irrespective of having to be in the presence of different race groups. As literature states, the forming of friendships is generally viewed as a personal choice. However, it is not a free choice as interaction and friendships often take place between individuals who meet by chance or who are in close proximity to each other (Jackman & Crane, 1986). Circumstantial factors, therefore, play a role in friend selection.

A study conducted by Festinger, Schachter & Back (1950) on friendship patterns in a housing project found that proximity was the most important factor. Proximity was supposed to be the condition, which fostered equal status contacts within integrated housing. Two key aspects influencing friendship, which emerged from this study, were the distance between the homes and, secondly, the direction in which the house faced. They found that closeness in both physical and functional distance significantly increased the chances of contact between residents (Festinger et al., 1950). A study by Deutsch & Collins (1951) also addressing proximity found a strong association between the degree of White individuals' closeness to Black individuals as well as the extent of their informal interaction and friendships with Blacks. Recent research conducted on cross-

generalization of the proximity factor (Jackman &

Age differences can also play a key component in cross-racial friendships. An interesting finding by Aboud (1988) revealed that racial prejudice does not increase during school years. However, cross-racial friendships may significantly decline with age, especially among females. Other studies have found that there is no age difference for cross-racial friendships an individual has (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003). Epstein (1986) (as cited in Aboud et al, 2003) found that older students are very selective when choosing friends. Even so, an important point to note is that they may engage in cross racial friendships due to activity based relationships such as playing on a sports team together (Aboud et al., 2003). A study conducted by Aboud et al (2003) found that cross racial friendships are not viewed differently from other sex friends but may be differentiated from intimacy and exciting companionship. Importantly, racial attitude was not viewed as a factor in friend selection (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003).

Studies conducted in the US have found that White members were more likely to accept interracial friendship and mixing if they engaged in interracial contact within an educational or occupational setting. Building on this finding, Hunt found that white members who moved into a neighbourhood after integration had taken place were more likely to accept a mixed neighbourhood than the residents who had been there from the beginning. Still, residents who maintain interracial contact are more likely to develop both positive attitudes and openness. However, this does not guarantee greater acceptance and elimination of racial prejudice (Morris, 1999).

Individual differences and societal norms also have a significant impact on intergroup contact effects (Pettigrew, 1998). It is important to mention that social norms play a vital role in intergroup contact. Studies have found that within desegregated areas, White members wanted an approval from their neighbours for their friendly interracial behaviour whilst, within segregated areas, white members feared social ostracism from other members of their group for engaging in such behaviour (Pettigrew, 1998). Thus, it

group contact and perceived social climate tend to
ver operates in the same direction and terminate each
other when their power works in opposite directions (Pettigrew, 1998).

Cook (1972), Amir (1969) and Allport (1954) stated that the central characteristic of interethnic contact is the intimacy between the groups. They found that positive changes in racial attitudes are associated with an increase in intimacy. An advantage of desegregation between inter ethnic members is that it provides many increases in opportunities for contact. However, it does not necessarily lead to any increases in informal contact.

Another aspect, which may affect racial attitudes during desegregation, is self-esteem. Studies have demonstrated that there is a strong relationship between attitude towards others and self esteem. A study by Tabachnich (1962) found that self-attitudes as well as attitudes towards Blacks were significantly related. It is, therefore, evident that individuals who show an increase in self-esteem during desegregation are prone to develop more positive racial attitudes than individuals are whose self esteem decreases during desegregation (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1978).

Allport's notion that intergroup contact will of itself produce better relations between groups continues to receive support. Research conducted in various contexts and in many different countries across the globe report positive contact effects. According to Smith (1994) (as cited in Pettigrew, 1998) contact comprising of all the key conditions decreased levels of prejudice among African Black and White neighbours. Another study found that interracial friendships proved to be a significant predictor of African Black members' racial attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998). South Africa, with its unique characteristics as far as race is concerned, produces interesting findings. The value of this study lies in its contribution to knowledge of South African racial attitudes and the impact of interracial friendships on social behavior. It will provide a valuable test of Allport's hypothesis in a new context and inform strategies for better racial harmony in the future.

The term apartheid was formulated during the early twentieth century by the South African government to refer to a set of social practices and policies by governing the population in racialized ways. There are numerous historical debates such as structuralist, individualistic and dialogical approaches which attempt to explain segregation and the reason as to why colour became a critical component of social division. After the union of South Africa in 1910, white individuals used their power in order to create one of the most notorious forms of racial discrimination in history, the political tension between white and non-white citizens intensified which resulted in the proliferation of the policy of apartheid (Beinart & Dubow, 1995). Many social scientists found apartheid South Africa to be a monument of racial inequality (Seidman, 1999).

Segregation in South Africa involved numerous social relationships, ranging from where racial groups could live or work to how White people treated their Black counterparts. After the Nationalist Party's victory in 1948, the parliament created numerous policies which enabled segregation such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 which stipulated that there were four racial categories, namely, African Black, so-called Coloured, Indian and White (Morris, 1998). The levels of segregation were severe and were entrenched into the law, from the prohibition of interracial marriage to the use of public facilities (Seidman, 1999). The main instrument for residential segregation was the Group Areas Act (GAA) of 1950, revised in 1960 (Lemon & Clifford, 2005). The Group Areas Act stated that all residential areas be segregated. The law divided the country into different regions whereby areas were allocated to specific racial groups. Importantly, this law was at the heart of apartheid as it was the basis upon which both political and social division was created (Seidman, 1999). South Africa was progressing to such extremes in segregation whereby non-white inhabitants were excluded from voting in elections and, eventually, to such a degree that they were actually not referred to as South Africans (Seidman, 1999). Violations of the GAA were minimal during this period and enforcing segregation had a very dramatic social impact (Morris, 1999). By the year 1990, an estimated amount of between 750 000 and one million African Blacks had been relocated

and 126 000 families had been relocated under the
(5). White dominance was reflected in both the
attractiveness and proximity to amenities of white neighbourhoods as compared to other
race groups whose neighbourhoods were small and peripheral, with little or no
development (Lemon & Clifford, 2005).

After the 1994 democratic election, laws which prohibited interracial mixing were proscribed and a significant progression was made towards residential desegregation. Dixon & Durrheim (2005) describe desegregation as comprehensive contact between formerly isolated social groups that are brought on by acute or gradual change. Statistics from the year 1996 up until 2001 show an increase of 17.2 per cent inhabitants residing in towns and cities, with that increase being highest in the African Black population (Beinart & Dubow, 1995). It is important to note that the removal of restrictive legislation has not been entirely successful as the social, economic and physical aspects of society continue to differ along racial lines. The 2001 census reveals that towns and cities are still highly segregated. Even so; the first steps toward residential desegregation have occurred through the removal of restrictive policies as well as the transfer of political power. However, the pace of desegregation will not be rapid, and barriers are still visible, such as the poorer living standards of the majority of the African Black population (Christopher, 2005). Friendships are viewed as being embedded into various institutions where individuals can engage in such as organizations, families, workplaces and neighbourhoods and thus serve as a common meeting area for individuals to interact with each other whereby they may share common goals, interests and attitudes and perceptions. Individuals may also pursue the norms of the group in which they belong to (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). Therefore, friendships may facilitate interracial interactions and eradicate segregative notions based on race.

Living within a post apartheid period, neighbourhoods are gradually becoming desegregated. Thus, a multiracial neighbourhood is a very interesting context to study contact between different race groups and the formation of interracial friendships as it provides access to a multitude of interaction. Politically, the government has changed;



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to examine how individuals' attitudes and perceptions
l. Much of the research conducted on residential
desegregation focuses largely on the United States. Therefore this study investigated
whether patterns of residential desegregation, multiracial contact and friendship
formation are the same for the multitude of race groups in South Africa.



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The aim of this research was to investigate whether individuals engage in interracial social mixing or friendship formation living within a multiracial suburb, like, Mondeor, located in the South of Johannesburg.

Chapter Three

3.1. Methods

3.1.1 Research Questions

- 3.1.1.1 Does increased contact with members of different race groups in a residential neighbourhood promote the formation of inter-racial friendships and social mixing?
- 3.1.1.2 Are there particular associations which promote these interracial friendships or social mixing?
- 3.1.1.3 What types of contact is prevalent within this suburb?

3.1.2. Sample

It is important to note that the size of a sample within any study depends on the type of study conducted; however, practical constraints like both size and time may also have a significant impact on the completion of the study (Durrheim, 1999). Two studies were carried out in order to establish the occurrence of interracial friendship formation. The first study recruited 200 participants from the Mondeor suburb, in the South of Johannesburg which was carried out by a fellow Masters student. Participants, from that study who indicated that they would like to be interviewed further were approached by the researcher of the current study. Subsequently, twenty participants were then interviewed for this study. Furthermore, this sample comprised of five participants from each of the four major race groups prevalent in South Africa (i.e. African Black, so-called Coloured, Indian and White). The sample was made up of five females and fifteen males. Each participant was provided with a pseudonym or code to protect their identities and maintain confidentiality. Participants were grouped according to previously established racial categories in an attempt to identify whether intergroup interaction was occurring between the races and not to discriminate against any group. The participants' age ranged between twenty-one and eighty years. The suburb is rather large and therefore had been divided into five convenient zones (A, B, C, D & E) in order to aid the data collection procedure (Refer to Appendix A). Each zone represented approximately five streets,

ce groups. This study used participants from all five

The table below illustrates how the streets in the suburb were divided into the following zones

Zone	Group	Street
A	White	Belvoir place and Boswell Avenue, Ormonde Drive, Cadogan Avenue and Canford Avenue. Cortayne Avenue and Chelverton Avenue
B	Coloured	Columbine (was mixed), Swartberg, Brabazon Avenue
C	Indian	Belham, Riverside drive, Berrymead, Calanbria Drive.
D	African Black	Downham, Duncombe, Devereux and Dorncliffe Avenue.
E	Mixed	Mixed: Columbine etc.

A non-probability purposive sampling technique was used in order to obtain a sample. This type of sampling entails having a predefined group, in this instance race cannot be altered and has been predefined. The sample consisted of a few participants and therefore the results from this study cannot be generalised to the rest of the population (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). According to the South African 2001 census, the area Mondeor comprised of 3020 white residents, 2209 Black residents 769 Coloured residents and 703 Indian residents. K. Parry (Personal Communication, March, 6, 2007)

ants henceforth will be indicated by their pseudonyms

Participant	Race	Gender	Pseudonym
African Black 1	African Black	Male	AB1
African Black 2	African Black	Male	AB2
African Black 3	African Black	Male	AB3
African Black 4	African Black	Male	AB4
African Black 5	African Black	Male	AB5
Coloured 1	Coloured	Male	C1
Coloured 2	Coloured	Male	C2
Coloured 3	Coloured	Male	C3
Coloured 4	Coloured	Male	C4
Coloured 5	Coloured	Male	C5
Indian 1	Indian	Male	I1
Indian 2	Indian	Female	I2
Indian 3	Indian	Male	I3
Indian 4	Indian	Male	I4
Indian 5	Indian	Male	I5
White 1	White	Female	W1
White 2	White	Female	W2
White 3	White	Female	W3
White 4	White	Male	W4
White 5	White	Female	W5

3.1.3. Design

In order to address the research questions, the overall research design followed a Qualitative Cross Sectional design. A qualitative cross sectional approach followed an observational method in which the raw data existed in non numerical form such as the reports of the conversation. Furthermore, the cross sectional design enabled the researcher to analyze in-depth information retrieved from a small group of respondents at one point in time (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). All participants were interviewed by the researcher within a period of one month.

The researcher adapted the Russell's (1961) Interview Schedule. Additional questions relating to whether any intergroup friendships were formed or any form of intergroup social interaction that participants may have engaged in were included in the scale as these aspects were the main focus of the study.

Interview Schedule: (refer to Appendix B)

The interview schedule comprised of questions focusing on how participants viewed interracial social mixing as well as the formation and maintenance of intergroup friendships. Overall, it consisted of eight questions. Subsequently, each question encompassed sub-questions in order to further explore the participants' perceptions, thoughts and perspectives. The questions enabled the researcher to both elaborate and identify the relevant themes and issues that emerged within the study. In addition, the interview schedule includes themes, which have emerged from other prominent research as well as attaining participants' perspectives, descriptions and attitudes of living within an interracial neighbourhood.

3.1.5. Procedures

The study commenced once permission was granted by the University Ethics Committee. The researcher approached participants from Mondeor, a residential area in the South of Johannesburg. The researcher conducted the interview at participants' homes. During the interviews, the researcher was accompanied by an assistant for safety purposes. Participants were given consent forms for the interviews to be recorded as well as requesting the use of their direct responses within this study (refer to Appendix C). Furthermore, participants were allocated a pseudonym before the interview commenced. This pseudonym enabled confidentiality of participants' responses. Next, participants were asked the questions from the interview schedule (refer to Appendix B). The researcher used non-directive probes to ensure that respondents were not led to desired

... used selective follow-up questions in order to keep
... participants' responses were collected, the researcher
thanked them for participation and debriefed them with the study's aims. The data
collection process took approximately one month. Once the researcher had collected all
the data, the recorded interviews were then coded and analyzed.

3.1.6. Analysis

A qualitative approach was used in order to analyze the data. A qualitative approach includes inductive and naturalistic techniques (Durrheim, 1999). The researcher builds abstractions, notions, hypothesis and theories from the information or data collected (Creswell, 1994). As a component of the above approach, thematic content analysis was used in order to build and develop themes from the interviews.

This type of analysis enabled the researcher to explore the multifaceted occurrences concealed in the data as well as an intuitive and holistic understanding of the data that is collected. Thematic content analysis is a technique, which examines information, content as well as written and symbolic material (Neuman, 1997). According to Krippendorff (1980, p.21), content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data due to their context". Thematic content analysis allowed the researcher to extract the relevant themes, which are indicative of the research questions.

Furthermore, content analysis is a process whereby the raw data gathered is compressed into different categories. These categories were based on both valid inferences as well as interpretations. The analysis enabled the researcher to extract various themes with close examination of the data gathered from the interviews (Patton, 1990). The process of content analysis was separated into the following steps. The first step involved the researcher arranging the data for qualitative analysis. This was carried out by transforming the data into written text format. This allowed the researcher to obtain themes, similarities and differences in the participants' behaviours, thoughts and perceptions from the transcripts (Patton, 1990). The second step focused on identifying

particularly, as a change of a unit may ultimately affect with previous studies. The third step involved the development of categories and a coding scheme following the second step of analysis. The fourth step involved testing the coding on a sample text in order to attain consistency (Patton, 1990). The text was coded and thereafter reassessed to determine whether there was a coding consistency (Schilling, 2006). The last step finally drew conclusions from the data (Patton, 1990).

3.1.7. Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval for the study was attained from the University. Participants were assured of confidentiality, as no identifying questions were asked during the interview. Participants were given informed consent forms which described the nature of the study prior to participating in the research (refer to Appendix D). Informed consent was obtained from participants. The information that was collected was not of a highly sensitive nature and no harm to the participants was expected. Participants were also notified that there were no risks or benefits for partaking in the study. In addition, they were given consent forms for recording as well as for the use of direct quotes from the interviews. Participants were also informed that only the researcher and researcher's supervisor would have access to the recordings of the interview. Participants' contact details were not divulged to anyone, and the researcher assured participants of the above. Finally, they were informed that they were not forced to participate in this study and could withdraw at any time.

Chapter four

Analysis and Interpretation

The current study aimed at identifying whether there were any interracial friendship formations or social mixing in a multiracial neighbourhood in the South of Johannesburg. Qualitative interviews were conducted with residents in Mondeor in order to obtain a better understanding of the residents' lives, attitudes and perceptions regarding living in a multiracial neighbourhood. Twenty residents were interviewed. There are various themes which emerged from the interviews which have been coded accordingly. Dominant and recurring themes as well as supporting themes were identified in order to obtain insight into the research objectives. The following themes have emerged from the data gathered.

Theme one: Interracial friendship formation in the neighbourhood

The first theme was prominent in all the participants' responses as it explored their responses with regard to whether there was any interracial friendship formation in Mondeor. The following direct quotations are illustrations of why this theme functions as an umbrella theme in the study. The theme embodies the essence of living in a racially diverse neighbourhood.

Sub-theme one: Description of friendship formation in the neighbourhood

Fundamental to this study, is the inquiry into whether there is friendship formation in the suburb. The residents have different viewpoints on actual mixing and friendship formation and thus the description of friendship formation emerged as the first sub-theme. For instance, one participant responded that friendships are based on need as well as being in the same social setting. This participant further stated that individuals are autonomous and would interact with others if they are placed in the same surroundings.

...independent kind of neighbourhood, people do
er, em, I think people are more likely to have
on places which they attend" (I4).

All white respondents share a similar viewpoint of the neighbourhood. This is interesting as the suburb was predominantly white and they still maintain this viewpoint even though the area is under a metamorphosis. However, a member from the so-called Coloured group asserted that it is not difficult to form friendships, as he claims that he approaches people. Other respondents have different perspectives of the development of friendships and interacting with other residents in general. The majority of the respondents found it difficult to form friendships and this may be due to the proximity of where one resides.

All White participants responded in the following manner:

"Then with regard to the neighbourhood, it's very quiet, most people tend to stick to themselves, although they are generally aware of what is happening on around. If you want to make friendships you can". (W1)

"Em, its pretty good, and the neighbours are very good like if you driving down the road, and Mr. Becker down there and you can have a chat and it's mainly sort of waving a hello over the wall type thing" (W2).

"Well, I don't really know because talking to people is really easy. People come in and out of the area". (W3).

"I have got no problem, I mix freely with the people and they mix very nicely with me and there is a very nice concept of looking after each other. We never really visit, personally like having chats and drinking tea, whatever, but when the need is there we stick together". (W4).

"Well, it's a good neighbourhood, friendly people". (W5).

One Coloured participant attempted to provide an explanation for why people do not form interracial friendships easily:

"In this area, er, well, er for me it's easy to form friendships with people because I approach them. Over all, "I think people are very to themselves, they keep to themselves". (C3).

The remaining portion of the sample differed in their perspectives regarding interracial friendships:

*... friendships in this area, I can tell you that. I
live here, extremely apprehensive” (C2).*

*“Well, in this neighbourhood, I guess it’s the same everywhere; people
don’t really talk to you unless there is a reason to do so”. (C4).*

*“Basically we all stick to us and we like our own culture and we like to stick to
ourselves” (C5).*

“Er, I would say a bit mild, yah”. (AB1).

“Friendship forming, it is non existent, you know what I mean”. (AB2).

*“Well, to be honest, people aren’t really that friendly in this area. If I had to
describe friendship formation in this area, I would have to say that is
minimal”. (AB3).*

*“Friendships in this area, well, okay, we grew up in Lenasia and there
everyone knew everyone, and people coming into our house and everything
and here in our area now, it’s very different. Everyone sticks to themselves
and if you want to go to someone, you have to go with the car, knock on their
doors, and see if you can come first, so I think it’s a bit different compared to
Lenasia”. (I2)*

*“Personally, okay, everyone sticks together; I don’t think that people make
alot of friends in the area. It is quite a multiracial area, but I don’t think that
there are any friendships formed with neighbours in this area” (I3)*

“People just tend to stick to themselves”. (I5).

“Selective I think, somehow because of proximity’ (C1).

Sub-theme two: Duration of living in the area

Living in a predominantly White suburb is interesting due to the pace of desegregation and therefore, the duration of participants living in the area emerged as a theme. As would be expected, appears as though all the White participants residing in this neighbourhood have lived in the area for the longest period. These results are apparent and significant as, Mondeor was a predominantly White area which is currently in the process of desegregation. It can be argued that participants do not have a difficulty adjusting to the process of residential desegregation.

The participants responded as follows:

“Forty one years in this house, only forty one (laughs)”. (W4).

“About ten years”. (I5).

“We have been here for two and a half years, in December it will be three years”. (C2).

“We moved here about four years ago” (AB3).

Sub-theme three: Participant’s initial perception of the neighbourhood

Residents were aware of the process of desegregation, it was apparent from the White participants’ responses in the sample, whereby they mentioned that when they first moved into the area, it was predominantly White and it has gradually become more integrated where members from other race groups now also live in the area. Thus, it was important to observe the initial acuity of participants when they first moved into the suburb and thus emerged as the third sub-theme.

“Meeting people, there was hardly anybody here. I mean Mondeor, there was some people across the streets and at the shops, and there were not a lot of people here.” (W3).

“It was all white people at that stage but now take it from the corner, White, its another White, Black, Black, Indian, er Coloured, we are a very mixed group of people. The change was from a White area to a multicultural area. We grew into it and no problem and the same with other people’. (W4).

Another participant responded that, being a child at that stage, he was not aware of the restrictive policies which were in place and therefore mixed considerably with other children in the area. This is interesting as, the mixing amongst the youth in the area could facilitate potential and meaningful friendships.

“Em, well back then it was pre-democracy, we were at such a young age, we were not aware em of apartheid. We actually mixed a lot with people of other race groups. I actually did actually mix with other kids because back then there were a lot of young kids living in the area.” (I3).

ence when moving into a new area is the uneasiness of
environment which is apparent in the following

responses.

“Em, for the first month it was difficult, I really missed home, I felt like I didn’t belong here, I felt like I was on a holiday and that, when was I going to wake up and go home. It felt strange. It was so different from my last area; we were living in a new house. It didn’t feel like home, it felt like a new place, I didn’t feel comfortable at first, I felt a bit unsettled at first”. (I4).

“Okay, look, like any area, its new, you new, you don’t really know anyone, trying to find your feet. Normally, you talk to your neighbours, the first people you get into contact with” (AB5).

Generally, when moving into a new residential area, the transition can be rather unsettling, especially if one has no friends and family in the area. However, the first individuals one is likely to come into contact with are one’s neighbours. Thus, it is likely that these casual acquaintances may lead to more meaningful friendships. The following is a description of a participant’s initial experience:

“Okay, I have to think about that, em, when we first came here, em, we introduced ourselves to our neighbours. Generally the other people on the street would greet or wave when I drive past or when I am outside in the garden”. (AB3).

For some participants, the experience was not too optimistic particularly when racial issues were also raised. The next participant indicated having a lack of support from other neighbours during a crisis. Investigation of the emerging themes of crime in the neighbourhood and reliance of neighbours will be further analyzed.

“Oh, it was real terrible hey. Because majority of our neighbours were white people and I think a few families were Indian. And I see a lot of Indians now. However, initially it was extremely difficult”. (C5).

“The people stick to themselves. But other than that, my house was broken into and no one came to see what’s happening even though the police were all over here, no one came to find out what’s going on’. (AB2).

Sub-theme four: Current perception of the neighbourhood

regard to whether Mondeor was regarded as a friendly area, a larger proportion of participants revealed that the area is mostly welcoming, sociable and friendly.

“Yes, no people, like I say, if you drive past, even people that are further down the road that we don’t really know, just give a wave as you go by”. (W2).

“Well, I think, people by nature are all friendly but when, this kind of living, we tend to stick to ourselves, I think, we really, I think by nature Suburbia is where people stick to themselves, there has got to be something for friendships but I think people, since we here, people would walk by, jogging, walking their dogs, and if I am outside gardening, they will greet” (C1).

“No not at all, because everyone, if I may say so, is racist”. (C5).

“Generally, so far yes, they are friendly, since I moved in the area. Most of the people, I have come across were very very respectful”. (AB1).

“Well, I don’t really think so; people don’t talk to each other as much. In my experience of the neighbourhood, I would say that people are quite reserved”. (AB3).

The following excerpts from participants appear to be contradictions as compared to what has been revealed in theme one which was friendship formation in the neighbourhood. The participants have an optimistic viewpoint of the neighbourhood, whilst claimed that residents were difficult to interact with and form relationships with.

“Very friendly, very friendly”. (B5).

“Yah, it is a friendly neighbourhood, yah it’s not so bad, I promise it’s nice”. (I2).

Participant I5 responds that it may be friendly once one adapts to the new environment.

“Once you settle, yeah it is’. (I5).

Sub-theme five: Friendship formation in the neighbourhood

Imperative to this research study was to investigate whether residents engage in any form of friendship formation in the suburb. Thus, during the course of the data analysis, friendship development in the neighbourhood materialized as a theme. Findings were

most participants have formed as well as maintained with the exception of one participant, C4 who maintains contact with friends from the previous area of residence. Thus, from the findings, it can be deduced that there is some form of interracial friendship formation occurring in the neighbourhood.

“Em, yes I do, one or two. Got friends across the whole of the district” (W1).

“That is a tough question, em, I do have friends but most of my friends that I know, I know from high school and some of them have moved away, and some of them still live in Mondeor and some in Cape Town” (I4).

“Yes we do, em, the vast majority is non White as well, Black, Indian and Coloured er, and we have 2 couples, a White couple in the same age group as well and their kids are about the same age as ours and another couple, I don’t know if we can call it an interracial, there is a Coloured husband and Indian wife, they also got children our kids age, so we interact quite often. And then we have got family, sort of, staying in Eldorado Park” (C1).

“I do have friends, we grew up together, went to primary school, and to high school” (AB2).

“No, not really. Most of my friends live in Robertsham and the north. We lived there for a rather long time and so I know much more people in that area. Also, I have a few friends from varsity with whom I keep in touch with. But not in Mondeor” (C4).

Sub-theme six: Friendship maintenance outside of the neighbourhood

Most of the participants continue to maintain friendships from outside areas, ranging from relationships formed in educational or religious institutions, and therefore surfaced as a theme. An interesting response provided by participant I4, revealed an instance when he realized how other individuals reacted towards interracial friendships. It is also important to note that that participant had some insight into the dynamics involved in intergroup associations.

“Yes quite a few actually, well, they come to the house maybe twice a month. Sometimes, we will have a braai and invite our family and friends over, that’s the only time that we are able to see each other” (AB3).

“Yes I do. Almost every weekend” (C5).

“Yes. About once in a month or twice in a month”. (AB5)

church community, you have people that live lives in Primville that come here. The more you interact with them the more friendly you become, the odds that you would make a special friend. So most of my friends are other people in ministries and they are from all over Johannesburg and Pretoria” (W1).

“More outside than inside of the neighbourhood. Well, because we on campus, we see each other maybe once a week. In the neighbourhood, possibly also once a week” (I3).

“Yes, I do have many friends, I have friends currently are outside of Mondeor. Those friends were very diverse; they came from all race groups. Infact it was quite funny because em, one day the four of us went out, it was myself and three friends. The one was White, his name is Alan, the One is Coloured and his name is Emlyn and Stanley, he is Black and of course I’m Indian. We were sitting one day, and there was an Indian couple passing by and they whispered to themselves, ‘Oh look, there’s the rainbow nation’. And, it was quite a joke of course and at the same time, the moment that they said that, we became conscious of it, the fact that we were, wow, the fact, if you want to think of the irony of different race groups, we were an example of the rainbow nation, we all came from separate race groups and we were very unconscious about it and suddenly and someone made us conscious about it. Like we were trying too hard but we weren’t even aware of that.” (I4).

Sub-theme seven: Obstacles to interracial friendships

Having relatives in the same neighbourhood impedes interaction and friendship formation amongst residents. Thus, having relatives that live in the same area emerged as a sub-theme in the study. Many of the participants revealed that they have family living in Mondeor; on the other hand, if their family resided elsewhere, they still maintained contact through telecommunication or did not see them as frequently.

“Yes, we tend to see them on the same frequency and very often they overlap and friends and family come over at the same time” (C2).

“Em, like depends, like sometimes we will see each other every weekend and then we will go without seeing them for a couple of weeks, like nothing is happening, like there is no birthdays or whatever. So, again I would say, like two weekends a month we mix with my family” (W2).

“Yes, my first cousin stays up the road, that’s where we going to for Eid. Ay, not often huh. Maybe once in two weeks”. (I2).

“Not at the moment, my kids used to stay in the area but they moved out. The one is staying in Springs and the other is living in Krugersdorp. And the little one calls. We don’t have personal contact, also, like telephonic communication. Yes and my brothers and my sister stay all over the country,

act each other and find out what's going on”

“No, we don't have relatives in Mondeor but they live in the surrounding areas and they come and visit, as I said on weekends and sometimes we go over to their homes”. (AB3).

“From Mondeor, Ridgeway, yes, I see them quite often. Well maybe once a week’ (AB5).

Sub-theme eight: Friendship formation with members from other groups

Participants also revealed that they have friendships with members belonging to other race groups. This led to the development of sub-theme eight. Participant W1 formed interracial friendships due to the surrounding which is the workplace. Thus, it could be stated that the context plays a role in interactions and mixing with other members.

“Well, the Methodist church is eighty percent black so, I mean a lot of my friends are black and I mean some of my friends are Indian and some of my friends are Coloured. Mostly Black, because you have more Black families in the Methodist church” (W1).

“Em, well I do have a good Black friend lady. And her husband worked with my husband, he was murdered a few years ago but we still keep in touch” (W2).

“Yah, infact I have got em, I've got em, I've got Black friends, I've got White friends, I've got Coloured friends. I've got one Indian friend who moved away” (I4).

“Both, predominantly Coloured individuals as well as Blacks. I have a few Indian friends but it is not as much as the Black and Coloured friends” (AB5).

Theme two: Actual interracial mixing among individuals in the neighbourhood

The second theme emerged when it was inquired whether participants interacted with members from other groups in the area as well as places which they would find other group members whereby they could interact with. It is important to distinguish between friendship formation and social mixing as the first is meaningful, warm and personal contact with members of other groups whilst the latter is more of an acquaintance based relationship. This is apparent in participant W1's response whereby she asserts that there is an interaction, however one would not visit personally have tea or coffee at the other

categorized as friendship. The last sentence of the
nstrates that the onus lies in both parties' hands. Other
participants mentioned that the area is quite mixed and therefore there is a great
likelihood of interracial mixing. Schools and shopping centers are also contexts which
facilitate interaction amongst members of different groups.

*“Definitely. Across the road, next door. Have conversation wise, we don’t visit
and have coffee and tea but if one wanted to. Well, my job is as such that
when I get home, I really don’t want to interact with more people. I interact
with people all the time. Generally if people want to interact they would like to,
there certainly is opportunity. Much interaction as you want, no forced
interaction. It is as much as you want to give and to be part of” (W1).*

*“Next door, the guy is Black guy, and the guy across the road is a White guy
and the guy at the back here is German actually. But he has been in the area
for quite a while. Yah, definitely, there is actually quite a cosmopolitan street
of people in the area. Which is why I don’t understand the barriers, its very
strange” (C2).*

*“When you go to the shopping centre, there is a Spar up the road here. Other
than that, I can’t really say” (AB3).*

*“I think there is a tendency in this area for people to group amongst
themselves” (I4).*

*“I mean if you go to the supermarket, at school, I mean I take my children to
school, but there are mainly African children coming to the school now, but
that’s also fairly mixed and I mean at school functions. Those are the only
social activities which I am part of” (I1).*

*“Em, on this premises and if you go to the nearest shopping complex and you
will see racial groups” (AB1).*

*“Places, you see them in schools, community hall, if you take the bus, you see
them on the bus or shopping centers”. (W5).*

The following quotation is interesting as the participant provides an explanation as to
why there is not much interaction between members of different groups or general
interaction at all.

*“Em, it is a working class area, so people leave early in the morning and come
home a little bit late because of the distance. But I would say the shopping
centers”. (AB5).*

ature of people from different groups residing in the
verse points of view. It was generally stated that there
was a reluctance to mix with other members as they were not friendly and tend to
socialize within their own racial grouping.

“Fine, the people across the road from us, I think they mostly are students. They seem quite friendly” (W1).

“They are very to themselves unless you know them personally and the thing with Mondeor like I said, it seems like in order for you to know people, even for you to become a friend with a White person, Coloured or Indian, you need to attend some kind of organisation’ (I4).

“I wouldn’t say friendly” (AB1).

“People keep to themselves, to be honest; I don’t really know many of the people living on this street” (AB3).

“They are very friendly (He laughs) everybody is quite friendly in this neighbourhood” (AB4).

“I think that they are very friendly, people that you can mingle with. There is no problem with the Black individuals” (AB5).

“They are just open minded and friendly. They are willing to give your friendship a chance or if you approach them, they are welcoming” (I5).

Sub-theme one: Authentic interracial mixing with residents

The following excerpts are interesting as they provide an overview of the actual thought, feelings and viewpoints of the participants in the neighbourhood. In addition, some participants provided illustrations for the reluctance to authentically mix with other residents in the neighbourhood.

Participant W1 cited that home is generally viewed as a place of rest and as individuals work a -full dayø when returning home, there is not much time left for interaction and activity, thus, this is a possible factor which hampers contact.

“Oh, I think a lot of people work else where so when they come home, they prefer to just switch off. I think that’s just where we are in society today. We really live a fast paced life so that when you go home, wherever your home might be, you just want to go home, get your shoes off, and have a cup of tea.

On the other hand, participant W2 stated that one of her neighbours interacts with most of the residents. In addition, he takes the initiative to render assistance if there are any problems.

‘Em, like say now Mr. Becker and his wife, they are retired, if there is anything happening, or something goes wrong or some problem, they come and Mr. Becker, shame, I think he is in his 70’s and he will come up the road and find out, but I think that they like the two people who know most of the people in this area’. (W2).

Participant W4 stated that he has no problem interacting with other members. However, he had an experience with a member from another group and when he expressed his opinion in the matter, he was accused of racism, and this appeared to upset him immensely.

‘I say, you will always find the exception, you always find the exception, like, the Black man that came over here and on a Saturday, his little son, 12, got into a car like his and started driving. I said to the man listen, that young man, he drives without a license, and don’t you think it’s dangerous? So he said, ‘Oh you playing the racial guitar’. So I said that young man is either going to get himself killed or someone else killed. Can you take the responsibility? So he said, ‘I never thought of that’. So I said, please, I am a teacher, and I know how their minds work, if they get behind a wheel, what do they do, and the result, either they get killed or some innocent person’ (W4).

The following participants revealed that they do not interact with members for numerous reasons such as not taking the initiative to form relationships, the society being different compared to where the participant grew up and not feeling comfortable interacting with other race groups.

‘Oh, I don’t go out of my way to see them but if we see each other then, we greet each other. If I am walking and they outside then we stand and chat, that kind of thing. Yah, I don’t think other people go out of their way to interact with. I mean that’s they dynamics of the suburb generally, I mean you will only mix with your friends. That’s why, like London for example, nice living there, because no body cares, there all the functions we went to were mixed, its much more integrated than here. But London is probably one of the most Cosmopolitan cities in the world. Most integrated, so there is a very big difference living there and living here’. (I1).

In general we all grew up in townships, and I grew up in townships as a Black shanty town. We grew up in a township in Cape Town, there we knew everybody's business, and there everybody also knew whether you were home or not. Er, this is suburbia, locked behind the walls, palisade fences and alarm systems. No, haven't heard of any, that's utopia. Em, I think people are to themselves". (C1).

"From what I have observed I would say no. People don't know the backgrounds as I said before. I think that's a problem. People feel more comfortable interacting with their own race group". (AB1).

Socially no. Basically like just going to the shopping centre and they don't interact. Not like we want to really talk to each other. We don't necessarily make time to go and see each other". (AB2).

Theme three: Resident's perceptions of interracial relationships and their generalizations to other neighbourhoods

Resident's perceptions of the neighbourhood being generalized to other areas in the country emerged as a prominent theme in the study. The suburb is a multiracial area and participants responded that it is difficult to generalize the standing of the neighbourhood with other areas due to issues such as living in an Indian area or having different socio-economic status and importantly that individuals are unique.

"Mondeor is a multiracial area, you can move to the north and it's a multiracial area but it's different because of the socio economic status. You go to Durban where it's a confined Indian area, it's different. I guess you can't really compare. I don't think that you can generalize because it's where you come from, how you grew up. Some people would have grown up in that area and others would have moved in" (I3).

"I think it is pretty much the same, the same in the sense that you are going to get a diverse area. In Mondeor, people are going to try; they know that we are living in a post Apartheid, in a new South Africa. People are going to try, if people are in the space where they are confronted by White, Coloured and Black people. If they stay in a space where they all stay together, they will interact. So it causes those race groups to almost regress into their comfort zone and to relate to members of their own race". (I4).

"No, my experience is that this is very friendly. I mean I have some friends staying in different suburbs, all over Johannesburg and even in the North and there experience is much more different than mine. I would say that my experience is unique to me, everyone has different perceptions. But, er yah. I can't generalize, no I wouldn't say that". (C3).

"I would say that it is difficult to compare people living in this neighbourhood to other people in the country; there are different relations between people

... difficult to make that comparison, this area
groups and some residential areas aren't the
people". (C4).

Theme four: Social mixing in the neighbourhood

The fourth theme emerged when it was inquired whether participants belonged to any groups, clubs or meetings in the neighbourhood. It was anticipated that these organisations would facilitate social mixing amongst residents. As stated above, this would involve associations amongst members from different groups. These associations would not be deep and personal such as intimate friendships, rather acquaintances. The neighbourhood does not have many facilities available. Amongst the few services, there is a tennis club, a shopping centre, a swimming club and a soccer club at the Mondeor recreation centre. The following are quotations from participants which formed social mixing in the neighbourhood as another prominent theme.

These were all cited by participants; however, none of the services were used by the participants with the exception of the shopping centre.

"I don't know hey, I haven't been part of any. I am sure there is. There is a soccer one I think". (I2).

"Not in the area. Most of the clubs that I have joined are on campus. So, I don't know, its more on campus". (I3).

"No I don't belong to any clubs and societies in Mondeor". (I4).

"None in Mondeor unfortunately. We lived in Robertsham for a couple of years before we moved to Mondeor so we never joined any when we moved to this area". (C4).

"There is nothing I attend, personally on my behalf". (I5).

Sub-theme one: Religious organizations promoting social mixing in the Neighbourhood

A large proportion of the sample belongs to the faith Christian. This was followed by four participants who do not follow any religious doctrines, one participant following Islam

Hinduism. In addition, all participants revealed that in their surrounding who follow the same religious practices. It was also inquired whether participants attend any services in the area as well as whether they were familiar with any religious places of worship in the area. Thus, the sub theme emerged. The following are quotations from the interview transcripts:

“Yes, they belong to the Mondeor church and this is Robertsham, I just happen to have my house in Mondeor, it is a church house, the church owns it, just happen to have it there”. (W1).

“Yes, there are a lot of them. Oh and every week we get together with them. And we have, I don’t know if it falls as part of a club but, just all Muslim women get together. And we talk about our religion, we read of the Quran. Its just to remember God once a week, all of us”. (I2)

“Yah, my neighbour, Indian neighbour, they are also Catholic’. (AB1).

Most of the participants were aware of areas of worship in the neighbourhood such as churches, mosques and temples. It was hoped that these areas would aid in social mixing amongst residents of the neighbourhood. Participant I4 revealed that there was a lot of controversy surrounding the construction of the mosque in the neighbourhood due to using the microphone which they believed would be a disruption in the area. Thus, the issue is not related to race, instead just something which they have not been habituated towards.

“Yes, there are two mosques in Mondeor, there is one on the main road across the centre and then is another one that is around the corner if you come from Mondeor to Robertsham, a small more informal one that is being built”. (W1).

“I think they probably religious. They just building a mosque here now, there is a church down the road, quite a few churches in the area. There’s a house, two three houses away, that actually belongs to a church. I think most people, our neighbours are quite religious. There in fact used to be a temple on the road, it was on Columbine but then they closed down”. (I1).

“Em hm, I do, I know of a couple of churches. A mosque just came up in the area and apparently, the white people in the area were not too happy about the mosque coming up. People were just a bit concerned about that. Em , there are quite a bit of churches, I think that they could be about five churches, maybe five or six of them. There is one mosque in the area. There is no temple in the area”. (I4).

up here, there's a Kerk up here, and a church,
I have Sunday meetings there, trying to think
it". (C1).

"There are many Churches in the neighbourhood, maybe 4 or 5. They are also building a Mosque in the area. I am not so sure of a temple. No, actually I don't think that there is a temple in the area". (C4).

"Yes there are churches in the area; we attend the services every week. And, there is a mosque, they are building one, I think some of the people were really upset about them building the mosque". (AB3).

When inquiring whether participants attended any services in the area, there were mixed responses. Some of the subjects responded that they do attend services in the area. The participants that do not attend any services in the area do attend services elsewhere. They have substantiated that, the reason is because they have always belonged to that place of worship and did not feel comfortable moving when they changed their residence.

"No, we church out in Randburg. We stayed here 13 years ago and we belonged to the Reiner Church in the south. Its in Randburg, its bit of a schlep but we like the type of service that they have there, for the youngsters, which they don't have here. They have the equivalent for youngsters at the church. We do have cell groups in our area, 700-800 groups across Gauteng. There is one just at the top of the road, Berry Mead Avenue, which we attend, we interact. And em, that's the bit of interaction that we have, our close friends also attend there'. (C1).

"We attend the one in Mulbarton. We have been to the one in Robertsham, and you know there is a certain level that you have of doing things and we felt a bit uncomfortable. And em, Mulbarton is a lot more bigger and you would think that you would feel a bit more uncomfortable but my daughter is actually making much more friends there than at Robert Sham". (C2).

"Yes, we do go to church". (C4).

"Yah, I attend the church". (AB4).

"Anglican Church" (AB5).

Theme five: Participants perceptions of neighbours

Residents share common perceptions of their neighbours and thus theme five materialized from the data. Participants described their neighbours as accommodating, independent, reliable, and helpful.

is a problem, they certainly there, quick to

“Pretty good, I have a very good relationship with my neighbours, yah. The guy next door is an Afrikaner who we know since we first moved here about ten years ago, so we have a very good relationship with him. And the neighbours on our left we have a White family, we also have a good relationship with them”. (I1).

“They are quiet, in terms of personality cos I cant. Two of my neighbours are helpful and reliable” (I3).

Very independent, very to themselves. I will describe them as friendly. When I see them, they will greet me and I will greet them. Two of my neighbours are accommodating. The one that lives close to me and the one next door. We might need things and borrow things from each other. Like my family to look after their house if they on holiday or something. And we do the same, just watch our house. So they are quite accommodating”. (I4).

“Listen, if we differ, we differ with love. I have never had a fight with anybody in the forty one years”. (W4).

“At the moment, they are very very; so far I am comfortable with them. They were very good. Er, not really. Look I mean they are actually quite nice”. (AB1).

“Well, as I said, they really friendly, they make you feel welcomed when you go to their home. They helpful, supportive and quite sociable I would say’. (C4).

“Well, they are nice. The one neighbour, they are a White family and they are quite helpful. We have each others telephone numbers and sometimes we will go over there”. (AB3).

Sub-theme one: Dependence on neighbours

Even though there appeared to be reluctance to mix amongst residents, there was a general dependence on each other. Thus, the second sub-theme emerged. The following are excerpts from participants regarding instances when they believed they could rely on their neighbours for their support.

“If they see something wrong with your place, they come and see what’s wrong or they suspect something, they come and ask are you alright. I think that’s the best, for example when my son was killed in a car accident, within hours everybody offered some help with the funeral and whatever and whatever, we were like a close knit family. That I really appreciated”. (W4).

“Em, I would, well if I done it I would view it as an act of reciprocity because. If do it for someone, I want them to help me out as well if I were in the same situation. It could be a selfish act, its not about like Im so caring”. (I3).

... they don't have any contact numbers, the only (k), he will be able to phone me and if they go away, they say would you please keep an eye on the place, we have their phone numbers and they have ours. So, if there is an incident that's our first point of call but everybody else no". (C2).

"Yes, they have my cell number and I have their cell number. Like even, my wife the other day, like I was in Cape Town and the gate motor didn't want to open the gate and she couldn't open the gate. So she went to the neighbour and he helped her". (C3)

"Yes, the White neighbour, he would give me a call, like I said, we have each others telephone numbers". (AB3).

Sub-theme two: Experiences with neighbours belonging to different racial groupings

The following theme emerged from the data; the theme is further subdivided into good experiences with neighbours and bad experiences with neighbours.

An interesting finding is that participant I1 had a bad experience with a member of another group. He has not generalized these feelings towards the group as a whole as his spouse belongs to the same racial group.

Bad experiences reported by participants are illustrated in the following excerpts:

"I and an incident with the guy at the back, and the guy opposite, we sort of made an attempt to get to know like the neighbours". (C2).

"I had an experience with the guy next door, because his dog was not controlled. His dog used to come and poo on my lawn and that I don't like, because my kids play outside and things like that. And then I spoke to him about it. He didn't like it. But his dog was a nuisance, I think quite a few people complained. He is Coloured. My wife is Coloured" (I1).

"The guy at the back here, the German, I had my dogs in a little corner, they were barking and it was a Sunday afternoon. And he sort of shouted across the wall, and I mean we had visitors and the yard was full. Keep the dogs quiet. And I would have appreciated it if he came to the door and said, I am so and so and I think that your dogs are a bit rowdy. I wouldn't say good or bad, but I would say that there is room for improvement. My dog went out of here the one day, and my dog is not that big, he is medium sized and he runs across the road barking. He was standing there with a bat to whack my dog.

words with me. And I was just like sorry, sorry
just wanted to bash my dog (laughs). Very
is a bad neighbour, I don't know him so, its

hard to judge" (C3).

Good experiences reported by participants are illustrated in the following excerpts:

"No, they have all been good; we haven't had any incidents or anything. Some naughty boys throwing crackers one Sunday afternoon. So we had a few words, it's a house further that way. But other than that we have had no problems with neighbours. We had dogs to start but they both passed on now. Some days, they would bark and that but nothing that you want to phone the police about or anything. It's a good area, we enjoy staying here". (W2).

"Most of my neighbours are quite good because they interact with me. Infact two of my neighbours are quite accommodating in the sense that if I need something to be done. So, it's been pleasant but I have yet to have a bad experience". (I4).

"The guy next door here, but that's after I had a talk with him the second time. But then we needed to do some building works and stuff like that. I had to go to the guy and speak to him. That's when I realized what type of person he is, he is actually like a businessman, he is quite a diverse guy, and then his wife came and popped in one day and sat in here for about 40 minutes. You know, so that's the kind of thing we like" (C2).

Sub-theme three: Friendly family?

Friendly family? Emerged as a theme when respondents were asked whether they were introverted or extroverted and whether they considered their family to be friendly. Most of the sample responded that they were friendly and open to interacting with people in the neighbourhood. There was certainly a sense of willingness to interact with residents in the area.

"I think so, because em, I don't know. Yes, our gates are always open; there is no appointment that you have to make. You can come and visit at twelve o'clock at night, it doesn't matter and also, em, when it is Eid, we take plates for everyone. I gave to the other Pakistani lady, she also comes here. So I think, we are friendly." (I2).

"I think we independent but I think we are open to meeting new families. I would say my family is quite friendly in the sense that if we get someone new who wants to chat to us about something, I would say that my family is quite perceptive of other people coming into our property just talking and chatting. I don't think we deliberately, I think its just because of our lifestyles and the busy things we do in the day, it just creates that almost atmosphere and we

have things to do. I would say my family is

“Yah, I would say that, there is a willingness to mix with other people. We try, its not that we haven’t, I think the simple fact that we have gone over there and sort of, a bit of an icebreaker” (C2).

“Yah, me and my wife and two children, we like to interact with people” (AB2).

“Yes, I think we are quite introverted’ (C4).

“Yes, I would say that we are.” (AB3).

“Yes, of course, because we try and socialize with people and they don’t want to socialize with us” (C5).

Theme six: Demographical Influence

Sub-theme one: Schooling in the neighbourhood

“There are very good schools, junior and a high school, two or three junior schools and high schools and there are lots of nursery schools. We have young families and families with children of teenage age that go to Mondeor high school. So, yes, and off course with the children, if you have mothers at home, they are going to interact with other mothers at home. Em, so you will have that kind of mix as well. Probably the tennis club that is where they usually congregate”. (W1).

“Yes, my children attend Mondeor primary”. (I1).

“My other child attends Mondeor primary, so I get to see other parents there. When I go to meetings and that”. (B2).

“Oh yes, schools, Mondeor has many good schools. My daughter goes to a pre-school and there is a primary school and a high school. I have also heard that it’s quite a good school to attend” (B3).

“Oh, yes, I do know her friends parents, I meet them sometimes when I am picking her up at school and when they come and drop off their children here”. (B3).

“No, she is studying ay Bryanston high. The reason for that is her mother works in the area and her mom can pick her up and shuffle her to after school activities. Otherwise coming back here, it’s just more convenient”. (C2).

With regard to schooling in the neighbourhood, results are consistent across all groups as many of the participants revealed that the area has high-quality schools which has been maintained and preserved over time. Although participants stated that the schools are

between different groups, one should consider that children to private schools which are located out of the suburb. Another participant mentioned that his daughter does not attend a school in the area; however, this is due to convenience. The participant revealed that the child schools in an area close by to work therefore it is easier to travel and much more suitable.

In addition, another participant revealed that once moving into the neighbourhood, it was with the aid of a school that he was first exposed to interracial contact. This was a major adjustment in addition to adapting to the new environment.

“When I went to school, I was confronted with Coloured, White and Black people for the first time in my life. And previously I had been in a predominantly Indian school, so I was much more comfortable with Indian friends or boys. My first year at high school was difficult, I didn’t like it, especially Black, White and Coloured people were so different and I couldn’t understand that. And so em, the neighbourhood was nice”. (I4).

Sub-theme two: Crime in the neighbourhood

With the escalating levels of crime within the country as a whole, it is not surprising that crime emerged as a theme within this particular suburb. Fourteen participants disclosed that they have been exposed to some form of crime. Participants revealed that Mondeor’s crime statistics have increased.

“Some incidents yah, but nothing stolen”. (W2).

“We had a break in when we were away, they burgled our house. Em, I haven’t heard of any hijackings or so. There is a police station just here. Mondeor is up in the crime statistics. But I think its pretty much like in most parts of Joburg”. (I1).

“Burglaries and that. Actually only once. Once, our neighbours said that there were a few people in our yard. We didn’t hear anything. And then the once, we woke up in the morning and our car was broken into and the radio was taken. But nothing serious like coming into the house or anything, thank God”. (I2).

“Its not safe. Although, I think more crime happens in the North than in the South. Yesterday, my brother told me that he was coming out of the driveway and then our neighbour, the guy opposite, someone stole the rims of the car. And then I think 2 months ago, our domestic got assaulted and she was trying

five minutes later the same guys assaulted (3).

“Not really, no! Yes, I have had my house broken into, twice. We have had our car stolen once there up the road while we were in the house. There is plenty of crime around here. You wouldn’t think so, would you?” (W3).

“Yes, one of my cars was outside in the yard, it was getting repaired and on a really cold night, they broke the window and stole some of the items in the car. Other than that nothing major, like breaking in or robbing us in our home”. (B3).

“Crime is a serious problem in this area. Getting your house broken into is one of the major problems in the area. Trying to deal with it. It is an extremely a serious issue in the area. Drugs are available in the area. Those are the two. I think you would also find car hijacking in the area”. (B5).

“Crime is everywhere, wherever you go, it will follow you. So you do what you have to secure your property and whatever. Like if someone is passing by and they see something they like, they will take it”. (I5).

One subject exemplifies the concept in a rather remarkable manner:

But crime, how do you say it, crime, it’s like HIV. Not everyone is infected but everyone is affected by it. We all are vulnerable”. (I3).

“Er, you see er, the criminals go from area to area, as soon as the police get their line of doing in the area then the move to another area. And, at one time, it was quite a bit of a problem and the police got a hang of it and the next thing I heard, they in Mulbarton, and from there they went to Meyersdale. If you read the story you can see how they go from area to area. And they move on. Yes, I mean that the break-ins that we had was organised by our own servant. And the servant next door. In the 41 years, they cam for specific things, they were informed, just beak here, grab it and go. They were searching, usually jewellery or garden machinery. So, they were looking for it and how could they find it if they weren’t informed, I mean they are not clairvoyants” (W4).

This appears to be a very interesting statement, as the respondent decided to make neighbours aware of the crime in the area.

“We have had only one incident. It wasn’t the guys who were going to come and do like real criminal activity. A matter of stealing a lawnmower standing outside and a couple of paint tins and that. So, thought it was a bit strange, just went to the police station, reported it, got a case number and came home and made a few photocopies of the case number and put it in the people’s post-box”. (C2).

This is a very interesting view of crime. The participant identifies race as a precipitant for the increase in levels of crime in the neighbourhood.

high. Like I think particularly in the last three
I'm really scared about it, and they worry, about the
when I think when we first moved in the area,
em, there was hardly any crime, it was a safe area. And I think it points to
racial, at that point there were a lot of White people living in the area. A lot of
white unity, now, what's quite interesting is that there is a new extension that
came up, its called Mondeor extension three. And I think what happened was
a lot of Black people have bought that pieces of land, you have got a lot of
Black people living in extension three because the land was cheap and its
almost em, I don't want to sound racist but what its seems like is with
Mondeor extension three, it has invited a lot of crime to the area. The top part
of Mondeor has become very Black, I think its like segregation, the top is very
Black and Coloured and the bottom is very White and Indian". (I4).

*"Crime in general is bad everywhere. Em, I must say that I don't have a
White's person's mentality; I have one garage and 2 cars, so it stresses me. I
haven't experienced any crime here. People in the other street, they said they
tried to break in their house about 3 times. So, I haven't had any problems yet,
touch wood that it won't, haven't had many issues like someone trying to
break into my house". (C3).*

The participant responded consistently about the levels of crime in the area. However an interesting statement was raised. When asked to emphasize on a "White person's mentality, the participant responded:

*"Its like, 94.7, if you listen to the station. They are creating that king of
lifestyle where they are influencing people to think in a certain way, people on
the radio have influence. It's like watching Carte Blanche, it's been on TV for
21 years and all they report is negative stuff. The country looks so bad and all
White people watch this and they are obviously going to think that was. They
associate crime with people of colour, that pisses me off, I something happens,
they come to em and tell me first, why not other people? So, and that's why I
don't want to get to that point of thinking. Like a stereotype and I think they
want to influence people to be negative by having this in media. And if you see
viewership for Carte Blanche, it is 98% White, you know and I hate that
programme. I just felt like it's a load of bull". (C3).*

The participant raised an important issue, that is, crime is associated with people of colour. The participant was really upset with this issue. It is interesting that participant I4 associate crime with people of colour. Thus, this claim made, appears to have some legitimacy.

status of the neighbourhood

Mondeor was a predominantly white suburb which is in the process of desegregation. All of the participants categorized the area as a middle class area and thus, socio-economic status emerged as a theme. In addition, the cost of living is quite high as well as additional maintenance costs and the rise in property value. There is also the movement of people into the area. Another participant also stated that there are many professionals living in the area. Moreover, participant W1 stated that there are no informal settlements in the area.

“It’s a middle income area generally; there are some townhouse clusters and flats but not many of them. Mostly, there its single house dwellings that might have a cottage on the premises. The house prices vary from four hundred thousand to one and half million, em. Something like that, be cos you have the hillside area and housing area in the middle where the streets is and then you have the, where the shops are. You have like clusters and the flats. So there is a bit of a cross section. There is no informal settlements, no informal dwellings that I am aware of at all’ (W1).

“Upper to middle class. So people who are middle class and then those people living on the ridge are quite rich, most professionals living there, its not as expensive as the North but you would have to be at least middle class to live here” (I1).

“I would say middle class. Not rich and nor poor so I would say middle class” (I2).

“I would say that it is strictly middle class, there are upper class but I would say strictly, strictly, strictly, middle class’ (I4).

“Em, you see, the better employed people are moving in, and so money is coming in”. (W4).

“Middle to upper class, there are a lot of professionals here, em yah, at least middle upper’ (C1).

“I would say middle class’ (AB2).

‘Well, in Mondeor, I would say, middle to upper class. The property values here are quite high and maintenance costs as well’ (C4).

Theme seven: Racial integration in Mondeor

(W4) tends to provide credence to this theme. The process has been slow, thus, results revealed by participants indicate that the area is still predominantly White, however, members of other groups are moving into the residential area.

“No, this is a mixed area. I mean we were Lilly white, now we a rainbow. We looking for that little nest of luck at the end of the rainbow. (He laughs)” (W4).

“Originally I would have although that it might be White but I think that the demographic is changing, em, possibly the Black group, there is more than the Indian group and the Coloured group” (W1).

“It might be White but as I say we only come up to this end of the road. But, Im not very sure” (W2).

“I would say that it is mainly White. Mondeor is not that big but there is lots of Indian and Coloured families living and moving in. But there are quite a few African families as well” (I1).

“Its rather difficult, because they coming and going. It was predominantly White, now I should say its Indian and a lot of Coloured people coming into Mondeor” (W3).

“Em, when I first moved here, I see a lot of Indian people. Em, I see a lot of Indians and Whites’ (AB1).

“Well, I would say the White, yes, there is a lot of in between people of colour staying in between, but in terms of the bigger community, there are little groups like the tea lady club or whatever, you know can see, white people, in terms of that are still dominating the area on the recreational side” (C3).

‘Well, I would say Indian and Coloured, and there are quite a lot of White people who still live in the area, I think there is quite a mix, no one group predominates’ (C4).

“I would say that it is still White, I don’t know what the percentages are like but I see a lot of White people around” (AB3).

Chapter Five

The current study aimed at identifying whether there were any interracial friendship formations or social mixing in a multiracial neighbourhood in the South of Johannesburg. The implications of the results will be discussed in order to gain a better understanding of the residents' lives, feelings and views concerning living in a multiracial neighbourhood.

It is widely believed that the neighbourhood in which one resides makes a great difference to the opportunities available to the individuals such as behaviours and skills attained from acquaintances, friends and neighbours in the area. These are viewed as positive learning experiences whereby they assist individuals in progressing with their lives. Regarding interracial friendship formation in the neighbourhood, it was seen to be a factor prominent in all the participants' responses and therefore it functioned as an umbrella theme in the study. It emphasised the quintessence of living in a racially diverse neighbourhood. The theme further comprised of eight sub-themes. The ramifications and implications of each premise will further be elaborated upon in attempting to answer each research question.

Does increased contact with members of different race groups in a residential neighbourhood promote the formation of inter-racial friendships and social mixing?

Results indicated that residents shared different viewpoints regarding friendship formation in the neighbourhood. It was found that residents would interact amongst each other if they were placed in the same social setting. This finding concurs with Granovetter's study (1985), whereby, friendships were viewed as being embedded into various institutions where individuals can engage, such as organisations, families, work places and neighbourhoods which serve as a common meeting area for individuals to interact with each other whereby they may share common goals, interests, opinions and perceptions. For instance, residing in the same neighbourhood would serve as a catalyst for friendship formation. Furthermore, White respondents shared a similar perspective of

is not difficult to communicate and form friendships to be a fascinating result as Mondeor is currently in the process of desegregation and yet the stance has remained at a constant. On the other hand, members of the other groups have found difficulty is forming relationships or acquaintances with other race groups. They have asserted that individuals do not associate with each other and are not warm or amicable. Nevertheless, a so-called Coloured respondent revealed that friendships are possible in the neighbourhood as, one needs to approach others in order to form contact. Thus, as cited in the literature, the contact hypothesis has been criticised as being prudent as well as lacking coherency. Pettigrew has demonstrated empirical support for the four key conditions and included a fifth condition, a friendship prospective between group members. Friendship reduces intergroup apprehension and bias which may be generalized to other out-groups (Elter & Abrams, 2004). In this particular context, residents are required to approach members of different groups in order to form contact. Accordingly, evidence suggests that both direct and indirect friendship and contact with members belonging to different racial groups can reduce prejudice.

This study's results indicated that all the White participants residing in this neighbourhood have lived in the area for the longest period. These results are expected as; Mondeor was a predominantly White area which is currently in the process of desegregation. Although the past structure of this neighbourhood is indicative of the Apartheid Era. Residents have appeared to adjust to desegregation. Thus, White participants have been living in the area for a longer period than members of other race groups. This signifies that there is a positive shift in terms of racial relations in the suburb. However, as emphasised by Lemon (1991) although the restrictive policies have been abolished; there are other constraints which prevent integration of other groups into neighbourhoods. The movement of other race groups into formerly White neighbourhoods was made possible as White members moved out of the area. This is one possible factor for the gradual process of neighbourhood integration. Although one needs to consider why other White residents decided to leave the neighbourhood. The positive attitude of the participants could also be attributed to the fact that racist residents had left

began to desegregate. Hence, interesting findings participants who have moved into an integrated neighbourhood in order to view whether they are more open to intergroup mixing in this desegregated area.

South African neighbourhoods are currently under transformation, and individuals from different race groups are no longer restricted to live within those previously designated areas. Neighbourhoods provide individuals with refuge and the necessary commodities for survival. Farrell, Aubrey & Coulombe (2004) state, that there is a gradual pace of desegregation whereby members of different racial groups, ethnic backgrounds, religion and socio-economic status are included. Residents in Mondeor were aware of the process of desegregation as it was cited that the neighbourhood was under a process of integration and that it was initially predominantly White. Clearly Mondeor is in a process of transformation and desegregation which will be occurring gradually in respect to race, religion, socio economic status and other significant aspects.

When individuals move into a new residential area, the transition and adjustment is a rather difficult process. It becomes even more difficult if one does not have any friends or relatives in the neighbourhood. In addition, there is a common response of uneasiness when moving into a new neighbourhood due to becoming accustomed to a new environment and meeting other residents. The first people which one would form contact with are usually neighbours depending on whether they share similar interests and characteristics; new residents begin to form new friendships (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Thus, these close proximities to other individuals may form casual acquaintances which may lead to more meaningful friendships. A study by Festinger, Schachter & Back (1950) on friendship patterns in a housing project found that proximity was the most important factor as it fostered equal status contacts within integrated housing. Another study by Deutsch & Collins (1951) addressing proximity found a strong association between the degree of Whites' closeness to African Blacks as well as the extent of their informal interaction and friendships with African Blacks. The current study also confirms that proximity is a key condition for the formation of friendships which may be

revealed that there was interracial interaction amongst
ven though, at the time, there were restrictive policies
in place, children mixed amongst each other. The interaction may facilitate friendship
formation. This is all feasible due to proximity.

Results from the British Household Panel Survey found that residential movement may
affect the number of close friends and individual has? The findings of the survey reveal
that movement does break-up close friendships especially amongst individuals who move
further than five miles. Thus, individuals tend to create and maintain new friendships and
relationships with people who live in a close proximity such as their neighbourhood
(Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Therefore, the loss of these relationships makes the transition
more difficult. However, it may lead to the development of new friendships and
associations amongst residents in the neighbourhood.

Results demonstrated that the neighbourhood is friendly, welcoming and sociable.
Although this suburb was described in this manner, there was still reluctance amongst
residents to form friendships that individuals tend to keep to themselves. This finding
concurrs with that of Kitchin (2002) where a considerable amount of African Black
families are moving into formerly White residential areas, and are not necessarily
welcomed and accepted by White residents within the area. However one should consider
that this may not only be some form of aversion to intergroup mixing but that adaptation
to a new environment is taxing in itself for individuals. Although it may appear as though
the residents of the neighbourhood are not friendly and are unwelcoming. Thus, when
one becomes accustomed to the change, perspective may also be altered. A study
conducted by Morris (1999) found that African Black residents felt that due to previously
living in a racially compartmentalised world whereby, White members were viewed as
the prevailing group, it was difficult to socialise with their neighbours and other residents
in the neighbourhood. This may also be a causative factor for the apprehension and
unwillingness to mix in the neighbourhood.

of friendships in Mondeor amongst African Black, ed residents. In fact, residents also formed interracial friendships with other residents in the area. Belot & Ermisch (2006) found that there are numerous factors which affect geographical mobility such as residents may not invest much time and effort in the formation of friendships if they are planning to move from the neighbourhood and that a friend living in the neighbourhood reduces the likelihood of individuals moving out of the area (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). Similarly, in the current study, members who have created friendships from school, have maintained these relationships and enjoyed residing in Mondeor and therefore would not move to another neighbourhood. According to Belot & Ermisch (2006) the setting of forming friendships is important, as individuals are more likely to become acquainted with people who live in the same neighbourhood as compared to individuals living far away. When residents initially move into a new neighbourhood, they begin at a stage whereby they are not familiar with any of the other residents. However, as time progresses, and depending on whether they share similar characteristics with their neighbours, they become acquainted and possibly form close relationships. Thus, the results of the present study are consistent with Belot & Ermisch (2006). The current study also revealed that certain members maintained contact with friends acquired from previous residential, areas.

According to Pettigrew (1998), there are four processes of change which can be achieved through intergroup contact namely; learning about the out-group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties, and in-group reappraisal. It could be assumed that interracial interaction and friendship formation encompasses all of these factors.

Maintenance of friendships outside the neighbourhood was quite evident. It is important to note that self-selection plays a key role in an individual's preference of close friends (Jackman & Crane, 1986). Homophily is defined as a continual phenomenon of social networks. Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) define homophily as it applies very broadly, as measured by demographic variables such as age, race, gender, religion and profession whereby different types of individuals associate with others who are similar to themselves. Homophily is quite a strong and robust phenomenon. Homophily is more

is share similar meanings, beliefs and understandings. While interacting with others who are similar and communication with others who are different requires much more effort in order to thrive (Currarini, Jackson & Pin, 2007). Homophily is more likely amongst neighbours due to geographical proximity. However, within a South African context, due to various laws which were implemented during the Apartheid era, people were segregated and forced to live in separate regions as allocated by the government. Thus, homophily was also influenced by social structures and pressures (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). A possible explanation of maintenance of friendships outside of the neighbourhood may have been influenced by the policies of the Apartheid era. Having friendships with individuals outside of the neighbourhood also meet the two essential criteria for homophily (i.e. sharing common characteristics and having contact due to geographic proximity or some form of activity). Belmot & Ermisch (2006) also found that the location of creating friendships is very important as one is more likely to meet someone who lives in the same neighbourhood as compared to someone living farther away. If friends live farther away, it may be more difficult for individuals to maintain friendships due to factors such as transport, time and access to a telephone (Belot & Ermisch, 2006). However, residents in Mondeor still maintain these relationships irrespective of the constraints mentioned above.

The current study emphasises on an excerpt where it was found that an interracial friendship was referred to as being "the rainbow nation". No doubt, that this statement is offensive especially because of currently living in a post democratic South Africa.

As literature indicates, having relatives in the same neighbourhood is viewed as a barrier to interaction and friendship formation amongst intergroup residents. The findings of the current study indicated that residents maintained frequent contact with their relatives living in the neighbourhood. Moreover, they still maintained contact through telecommunication. According to Belot & Ermisch (2006), if residents have a significant amount of relatives and friends in the area which they grew up in than anywhere else, they may also feel a greater loss when moving into a new neighbourhood. Thus, the

ghbourhood is not enhanced. A study conducted by participants' common experiences such as oppression and inequality were regarded as a central determinant of interracial contact. Members of the same racial group thus tended to interact with each other. A large proportion of Mondeor comprises of White and African Black members, therefore, one could presume that there is a less need for interracial social mixing amongst these residents as they are more likely to interact amongst themselves. In addition, having relatives in the same area, which was evident in the current study, may also prevent interracial mixing.

The current study found that residents have friendships with members belonging to other race groups. Interracial contact between individuals has many different manifestations such as greetings, acquaintances, working together in organisations as well as friendship (Jackman & Crane, 1986). As literature indicates, the Contact hypothesis and friendship literature are not conversant of each other even though a major outcome of contact between members may lead to friendship. According to Kadushin & Livert (2002) friendships between individuals is the most far reaching and delicate outcome of contact. Moreover, friendship can aid in prejudice reduction. Cross race friendships have become a key feature in attempts to diminish racial segregation as well as prejudice as friendships, provide individuals with a sense of intergroup contact, which is individualized, and trusting whereby they symbolize the personalized and equal-status contact (Aboud, Mendelson & Purdy, 2003). Thus, as residents are engaging in interracial contact it could be argued that there is some form of prejudice reduction. A study by Ellison & Powers (1994) found that interracial contact in desegregated surroundings does not directly manipulate African Black members' perceptions of Whites however, the exposure alone may aid in the formation of close friendships (Ellison & Powers, 1994). Therefore, the results from the current study are consistent with the study by Ellison & Powers (1994).

A further obstacle to inter-racial contact is individuals' anxiety about how they will be received by members of the other groups within a contact situation. Thus, Allport suggests that in order to reduce prejudice, a situation needs to be created whereby

ive interactions with members of an out-group which
ing friendship (Allport, 1954). These situations could
be workplaces or religious institutions. Circumstances whereby an individual is able to
gather as much information about the out-group member will lead to them viewing the
out group members as an individual instead of the stereotyped group characteristics.
Learning about the out-group members alters the often negative views associated with
members of the out-group thereby reducing the levels of prejudice. With the aid of these
acquaintances, individuals may generalize these perceptions to the out group as a whole
(Kadushin & Livert 2002). Thus, attaining new information about out-group members
ultimately improves attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998). It is interesting to note that residents
formed interracial friendships within their surrounding such as within their workplace.
Thus, it could be stated that the context plays a role in interactions and mixing with
members from other race groups. And, as mentioned above, the Contact Hypothesis
elucidates this finding. Often time, individuals would prefer to avoid any contact with
members of different races. However, due to economic and practical concerns contact is
ensued. As literature states, the forming of friendships is generally viewed as a personal
choice. Still, it is not a free choice, as interaction and friendships often take place
between individuals who meet by chance or who are in close proximity to each other.
Thus circumstantial factors play a role in friend selection (Jackman & Crane, 1986).
Consequently, residents in Mondeor are likely to form interracial friendships as they live
near each other.

As mentioned above, there is a difference between friendship formation and social
mixing. The first is described as meaningful, warm and personal contact with members of
other groups whilst the latter is more of an acquaintance based relationships. Residents in
Mondeor interact with each other; however, they do not visit each other at their homes.
Thus, there is social mixing between residents. Moreover, there was not much interracial
interaction as residents formed relationships amongst each other. The present study
found that home is generally viewed as a place of rest as individuals work a full day.
Thus, when returning home, there is not much time left for interaction and activity, thus,
this is a possible factor which hampers interracial contact. In addition, neighbours interact

take the initiative to render assistance if there are any
interact with members for numerous reasons such as not

taking the prospect to form relationships, the society being different compared to where the participant grew up and not feeling comfortable interacting with other race groups. Lastly, it was difficult to generalize the standing of the neighbourhood with other areas.

Groups, clubs and meetings facilitate social mixing amongst residents amongst members from different groups. Mondeor has a few facilities available such as a tennis club, a shopping centre, a swimming club and a soccer club at the Mondeor recreation centre. When individuals meet at these organisations, they form associations instead of meaningful friendships. However, the results of the current study indicate that none of these facilities were used by the participants. A study by Lemanski (2006) found that members do not engage in social mixing in the neighbourhood due to having social ties elsewhere and feeling a lack of belonging in the suburb. All respondents revealed that they frequently socialize with residents from the neighbouring suburbs. They claim that they do not engage in social mixing in the suburb for two reasons. Firstly, they have social ties elsewhere. Secondly, they feel a lack of belonging in the suburb. A White participant responded that they have long standing friendships elsewhere and acquaintances in Muizenburg. Another White participant revealed that he has friends in an area called Tokai, which is a White area where they previously lived. He also reported that his wife claims that she has no support in this suburb from the time they moved to this area three years ago. A so-called Coloured respondent revealed that they have good friends elsewhere and in addition, there is not much entertainment on a Saturday night. Moreover, another so-called Coloured respondent revealed that they do not really mix much with White residents in the area, as White residents go out of the area to socialize (Lemanski, 2006). These findings are consistent with those of shopping and schooling in the area. There appears to be an absence of belonging in the area. Thus the area is viewed only for residing instead of social mixing, shopping and schooling. According to Lemanski (2006) White residents tend to avoid using these facilities as it is viewed as inferior in comparison to what had been offered in the area during the Apartheid era (Lemanski, 2006). Thus the neighbourhood is viewed only for purposes of residing

and schooling. Clearly, these facilities (Schools and promote social integration. The present study supports these findings. Consistent with past research, particularly strong data from experimental research confirm that contact in these facilities can cause meaningful reduction in prejudice. Thus, if members use these facilities, there is a propensity for forming close acquaintances and friendships.

Are there particular associations which promote these interracial friendships or social mixing?

Religious institutions facilitate for both homophily and social mixing amongst individuals. The study by Lemanski (2006) revealed that religious institutions such as churches, mosques and various interest groups are facilities which enable social integration. Most of the participants mentioned that members of all the groups belonged to the church. Interaction varied between different races, both White and so called Coloured members mentioned that there was much social mixing and friendship because of belonging to the same religious institution. A distinction was made; participants stated that the relations were different from that of the actual neighbourhood whereby they would simply greet each other when passing. The study also found that responses differed for Black African participants who revealed that there was no real friendship formation with other groups within the church and that African Black people socialized amongst themselves (Lemanski, 2006). Christianity was the most practiced religion in Mondeor. In addition, the subjects stated that they attended religious services in the neighbourhood. Thus, it can be stated that residents engage in some form of interaction when they attend these services. Moreover, participants also mentioned that they belonged to cell groups which provide them with an opportunity to mix with other group members. When belonging to a group, feelings of intolerance and antagonism disappear (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Therefore, according to the Contact hypothesis, coming into contact with members of different groups when attending these services may reduce prejudice. Results from the current study indicated that interracial social mixing in religious institutions was fairly common. Thus, in response to the second research question,

to promote both interracial friendship formation and social

As mentioned above, there are two reasons why individuals engage in homophily (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). Belonging to religious organisations characterises both features, firstly, members attending the church share common features (i.e. religious beliefs) and secondly members have a common meeting area. Thus, both key conditions are met and therefore, it can be said that belonging to a church and attending services enables homophily.

As outlined in the results, participants from different groups cited that the area has high-quality schools which has been maintained and preserved over time. All the schools are multi-racial and therefore also endorse interaction between different groups. Furthermore, another participant revealed that once moving into the neighbourhood, it was at the school that he was first exposed to interracial contact and friendship. As cited in literature, Granovetter (1985) stated that friendships are embedded in different institutions such as workplaces, neighbourhoods, and educational institutions, as this is viewed as a place where individuals can congregate as they share similar characteristics, goals and interests (Kadushin & Livert, 2002). A school is therefore an environment which may facilitate interracial friendship. As Mondeor is a multiracial suburb and comprises of numerous interracial schools, this could be an ideal environment to assist in the formation of interracial friendship. Race continues to stratify society and is quite evident in an educational setting. Racial homophily takes place whereby, students form friendships with other students who belong to the same racial category. It is quite apparent that individuals tend to form relationships with members belonging to the same gender, class; nonetheless race remains a key margin which is difficult to cross (Doyle & Kao, 2004). Thus, students in Mondeor may form meaningful friendships in an educational setting however, not much interracial interaction. Studies conducted in the US in multiracial areas whereby White residents who had previously interacted with African American members as social equals either in an educational or occupational institution, were more likely to accept residential integration (Morris, 1999). In a local

ational institution presents the best instance of inter-
an equal status basis. Much research has therefore
been conducted in primary, secondary and tertiary institutions (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In
press). Moreover, Allports hypothesis of prejudice reduction is also likely to occur in this
situation, whereby interaction between different groups on a daily basis may lead to
prejudice reduction. In addition, these changes will take place on children living in the
post democratic South Africa; therefore, this serves as an initial stepping stone in
eliminating the racial discretion of the apartheid legacy.

The study by Lemanski (2006) found that there were many junior and secondary schools
in the area. However, majority of the White children schooled outside of the area and
most of the African Black residents educated their children in the area. Race was not the
reason for the difference in school selection; instead it was the difference in income
brackets between the two groups. The finding as are associated to class instead of race
(Lemanski, 2006). The findings of the current study differ as participants indicated that
children from both the Indian and African Black group school in the area. The choice of
school is based on factors such as convenience and a high standard of education. It is
important to note that none of the White participants had any children who were currently
schooling. In addition, Mondeor is a middle class area and therefore there are not such
disparities in the income brackets between residents. It is important to consider prior
racial attitudes of White residents living in a mixed area and the manner in which they
related to members of other groups moving into the area. As, studies conducted in the US
have found that, when African Black members moving into a previously White area
reaches fifty percent, acceptance of these members becomes strained (Morris, 1999).
According to the South African 2001 census, the area Mondeor comprised of 3020 white
residents, 2209 African Black residents 769 Coloured residents and 703 Indian residents.
K. Parry (Personal Communication, March, 6, 2007). These statistics reveal that the
amount of the African Black group has exceeded the fifty percent category, however, a
possible explanation as to Mondeor residents not having this strain is that members live
in their own homes and the proximity is not such as living in apartment blocks whereby
interaction would be more frequent.

children belonging to pre-schools in the area enabled of different groups. The study found that, often times, parents take their children's friends to their homes, which may belong to other groups (Lemanski, 2006). The results of the current study are consistent with the findings by Lemanski (2006) as participants have also revealed that they interact with other parents when they have to attend school meetings or when they have to collect their children from the school. Thus, the context facilitates for some form of interaction and probably, interracial mixing. The educational setting is also an association which may aid in interracial friendship formation and social mixing.

Crime in the neighbourhood was quite evident from the findings. Based on literature, it has been found that crime is viewed as an impetuous factor which prevents intergroup contact and may encourage desegregatory racial stereotypes. Therefore, interaction and mixing amongst individuals often takes place in other settings such as occupational and educational institutions (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Thus, these escalating levels of crime and violence in South Africa meant that contact amongst individuals was hindered (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Based on the results, fourteen participants disclosed that they had been exposed to some form of confrontation. Participants also revealed that the area is elevated in terms of crime statistics.

The theme had many interesting findings, amongst them, importantly was that a subject had revealed that race was a precipitant for the increase in levels of crime in the neighbourhood. At the same time, another participant had responded consistently about the levels of crime in the area. The participant further emphasised on a 'white person's mentality. This concept was described as members of the White race group associating crime with 'people of colour'. Thus, this claim made, appears to have some legitimacy. According to Allport's Contact Hypothesis (1959), contact between different groups reduces prejudice. Another obstruction to inter-racial contact is individuals' anxiety about how they will be received by members of the other group in a contact situation. Therefore in order to reduce levels of prejudice, a situation whereby members of and in-group has positive interactions with members of an out-group needs to be created. This may

friendship. It is at this point, that, an opportunity arises
whether as much information about the out-group member.

This will lead to them viewing the out group member as an individual instead of the stereotyped group characteristics. Thereafter, individuals may generalize these perceptions to the out group as a whole (Kadushin & Livert 2002). If, Allports theory is exercised, the notion whereby crime is associated with people of colour may be eradicated. Concurrently, it is for this exact reason, Allports hypothesis that an individual who has had a negative experience such as a confrontation with a member of another race group, and thus, has generalised these feelings to the group as a whole.

Allports second condition is having common goals which will lead to prejudice reduction (Chu & Griffey, 1985; Patchen, 1982; Pettigrew, 1998). The third condition is intergroup cooperation. Bettencourt (1992) states that when group members need to attain common goals, due to co-dependent effort by relying on each other in order to attain their goal may aid in prejudice reduction (Pettigrew, 1998). These conditions were evident in the current study with regard to crime in the neighbourhood. One particular participant decided to make the neighbourhood aware of the crime, due to experiencing a negative incident. This revealed that there is some form of concern to make the neighbourhood a safer place to reside. Other respondents have also revealed that, whenever there is a need, all members are there to render assistance. This point demonstrates that, even though there may be a reluctance to interact, when there is an external threat, there is some form of group cohesion.

Crime and violence may have negative effects with regard to social mixing and friendship formation in the neighbourhood, Crime may isolate individuals as it is viewed as deviant behaviour which poses as a threat to the individual, thus, one may be hesitant about leaving ones home. As a result, it hampers socialisation amongst residents.

Mondeor was a predominantly white suburb which is in the process of integration. Socio-economic status of the neighbourhood emerged as all participants considered the area as a middle class area. With regard to a Post Apartheid South African context, there have been significant changes regarding urban structure. The access to urban space is now based on wealth as opposed to race. Thus, race is no longer the primary element of classification, as class has become a key feature in urban landscape (Kitchin, 2002). Therefore, individuals move into different neighbourhoods based on whether they can afford to reside there as opposed to their race. In addition, it was also made known that the cost of living is quite high as well as additional maintenance costs and the rise in property value. There was also the movement of people into the area. Another participant also stated that there are many professionals living in the area. Most of the Black residents who had moved into Mondeor were employed in skilled positions as well as having a relatively high education.

A study by Lemanski (2006) conducted on residential desegregation in Muizenburg in South Africa reported similar findings whereby participants had also indicated that in terms of mixing on the street between neighbours, they pointed out that they share a similar characteristic which is class. This is apparent in Mondeor as the pricing of the homes are in a similar price bracket in each area. Research has consistently found that contact in a neighbourhood among residents whose socio-economic status is equivalent leads to a greater likelihood of interracial contact being affable. Equal status contact reduces stereotyped descriptions and physical propinquity as well as facilitates neighbouring amongst families having homogenous socio-economic characteristics (Morris, 1999). Lemanski (2006) also found that, neighbourhoods, which encompass a similar or common socio-economic status, are more likely to engage in social mixing and therefore promoting social integration. In addition, the study also revealed that there was not much mixing in the area and the only form of mixing was greeting neighbours. This was evident by both the so-called Coloured and White responses. It was further elaborated that these individuals have not been in each others homes and neither have their children played together on the street. Thus, the levels of both socializing and

common for the middle class area (Lemanski, 2006). The
consistent with the study carried out in Muizenburg.

On the other hand, Massey & Denton (1993) found that Black and White group members are segregated irrespective of the difference in income levels. They assert that members from the Black group still experience segregation irrespective of how much money they earn or have and as socio-economic status increases; there is a decrease in the level of segregation for most minority groups. They argue that, even though there is an acceptance of interracial housing by White members, in essence they are still prejudice against African Black neighbours (Massey & Denton, 1993). It appears as the finding by Massey & Denton(1993) is not consistent with the results from this study as there is a general acceptance of African Black group members by White residents in there neighbourhood. In fact, as discussed in other themes, there is a high propensity of white members interacting with members from all other groups.

The first key condition of the Contact hypothesis is that members are required to have an equal group status as segregated groups are often unequal in status. According to Pettigrew (1998), it is important that both groups have equal group status when placed within a situation. A study conducted by Jackman & Crane (1982) revealed that there are negative effects when members belonging to the out-group have a low socio-economic status. It is difficult to define equal status, as the term may be used to depict different matters in numerous contexts. Ford (1994) equal status contact reduces stereotyped images and increases physical proximity. This in turn facilitates interracial neighbouring among families (Morris, 1999). Residential integration provides an opportunity for contact under equal group status as opposed to occupational and educational settings (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). Therefore, with regard to the current study, participants categorised the area and as a medium socio-economic status area. Thus, the results are consistent with findings of Ford (1994) whereby having an equal status may foster interracial mixing amongst residents.

common perspectives on their neighbours. Neighbours are seen as being, independent, trustworthy and helpful. This is interesting, as stated above, neighbours are the first residents that individuals form contact with when moving into a new neighbourhood. Moreover, the perspectives were positive and therefore, there is a likelihood of forming close friendships. It was also found that residents had a general reliance on their neighbours. Despite the reluctance to mix amongst residents, there was a general dependence on each other. According to Nowacki (2003) a neighbourhood is an interesting component to understand the association between social ties and diversity. Neighbourhoods also comprise of neighbourhood disorders (i.e. crime, vandalism and drugs). Studies have found that there is a significant relationship between neighbourhood disorder and social ties. Findings from Ross & Yang (2000) have revealed that when individuals have informal social ties with neighbours there is a decrease in fear and mistrust thereby reducing the effects of neighbourhood disorder (Nowacki, 2005). Thus, residents rely on each other when they require any form of assistance and therefore the study above applicable to residents in Mondeor. Even though there appeared to be a significant amount of bad experiences with members from other racial groups, experiences were not generalised to the group as a whole. Furthermore, there was definitely a willingness amongst residents to mix amongst each other. Therefore, there is a potential for interracial friendship formation in the neighbourhood. Therefore, in response to the third research question; investigating what types of contact is prevalent in the suburb; it is supposed that there is both social mixing and friendship formation as there is a willing attitude to mix with members from other race groups.

An excerpt by a White respondent (W4) provided credence to the above statement. *“No, this is a mixed area. I mean we were lily white, now we a rainbow. We looking for that little nest of luck at the end of the rainbow. (He laughs)”* (W4). The process of desegregation began at the end of the Apartheid Era (Finchilescu & Tredoux, In press). Statistics from the inter census period between 1996 and 2001 found that the process of residential desegregation has been a rather slow process however; there have been prominent differences between groups and regions. Even though, the process has been

oods can be viewed as a symbolic representation of the (Christopher, 2005). An interracial neighbourhood is a very interesting location of sustained contact between individuals. This in turn, is viewed as a natural source of data on the effects of such a contact (Russell, 1961). According to Russell (1961) an 'invaded area' is defined as a previously white neighbourhood into which non-white residents have moved into. Participant's responses from the present study are consistent with statistics. The pace of residential desegregation has been slow, thus, results revealed by participants indicate that the area is still predominantly White, however, members of other groups are moving into the residential area. In addition, the class distinctions supposed that African Black members who moved into formerly White areas are then defined by the domain of the homes and the area, which they reside in, revealed their rise in social status (Kitchin, 2002). It is important to consider prior racial attitudes of White residents living in a mixed area and the manner in which they related to members of other groups moving into the area. As, studies conducted in the US have found that, when Black members moving into a previously White area reaches fifty percent, acceptance of these members becomes strained (Morris, 1999). The South African 2001 statistics reveal that the amount of the Black race group has exceeded the fifty percent category, however, a possible explanation as to Mondeor residents not having this strain is that members live in their own homes and the proximity is not such as living in apartment blocks whereby interaction would be more frequent.

In response to the first research question; investigating whether increased contact with members of different race groups in a residential neighbourhood promotes the formation of inter-racial friendships and social mixing, residents in the neighbourhood do in fact engage in friendship formation. Certainly, not all contact leads to prejudice reduction and much of the data concurred with the equal status contact hypothesis, whereby increased contact appeared to lessen prejudice. However; there is much more social mixing amongst residents due to belonging to certain associations such as the church or recreational club. Although it appears that there is a significant amount of interracial interaction between residents, this was not the case as most interracial interaction took place where interaction was 'forced' such as belonging to a certain club or shopping in



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indication that individuals from different race groups
out of these situations. Thus as mentioned above

belonging to these associations promotes mixing and depending on whether individuals want to form close relationships, then it is possible for genuine friendship amongst residents which answers the second research question. Lastly, it can be concluded that there is a considerable amount of social mixing in the neighbourhood; however, there is not as much friendship formation.

Chapter Six

Limitations and Recommendations

As this study required the participation of only a few participants, generalisability of the study would be difficult. In addition, causality cannot be established, as the study does not allow for an experimental design. Thus, it cannot be said that interracial contact *causes* changes in racial attitudes. The researcher's gender and ethnicity (being an Indian female) could have played a role in the study's results. The research could have been strengthened by using a larger sample. This would have provided much more valuable insight into the dynamics which occur within a multiracial neighbourhood. In addition, the external validity is affected as the results cannot be generalized to a broader population. Also, due to the qualitative nature of the study, a Dictaphone was used in order to capture the data; this may have hindered participant's responses as the study focused on interracial mixing which may have caused some uneasiness. Furthermore, due to the time constraints, the researcher was unable to conduct a pilot of the interview. This would have allowed for the relevant modifications.

Another disadvantage is that the gender of the researcher may have influenced the participant's responses as a large proportion of the sample was male. It would be interesting to view the gender difference in perceptions and viewpoints held by female participants from the so-called Coloured and African Black racial groups with regard to interracial social mixing.

Few qualitative studies concerning desegregation in neighbourhoods has been conducted in South Africa and this research may have added value as it places particular emphasis on the pertinent problems currently being faced in South Africa. It is anticipated that this research will serve as an impetus for this area and contribute to a larger body of knowledge. Furthermore, it is suggested that in the future a quantitative study as well as the segregation index be incorporated in order to assess the pace of desegregation.



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Chapter Seven

The primary aim of this study was to ascertain whether individuals engage in friendship formation and social mixing. This was made possible by investigating residents' perceptions of intergroup friendships. In order to do this, the study requested participation from twenty residents living in a suburb in the South of Johannesburg, Mondeor.

By using Thematic Content Analysis Participants responses in the interviews demonstrated some significant findings. Firstly, the results showed that there was very little social integration in the area, in spite of the suburb being one of the more desegregated areas within the South African context.

Another important finding demonstrated that most intergroup interaction occurred within situations whereby residents were obliged to interact with each other namely religious setting, shopping malls, clubs and various societies. The above finding leads to this last and significant result which demonstrated that contact between individuals from different race groups was more prevalent within situations characterized by necessary interaction, rather than as a choice that individuals made in order to interact with members from other groups. Therefore, no authentic intergroup relationships were formed instead rather superficial interaction occurred between members from different races.

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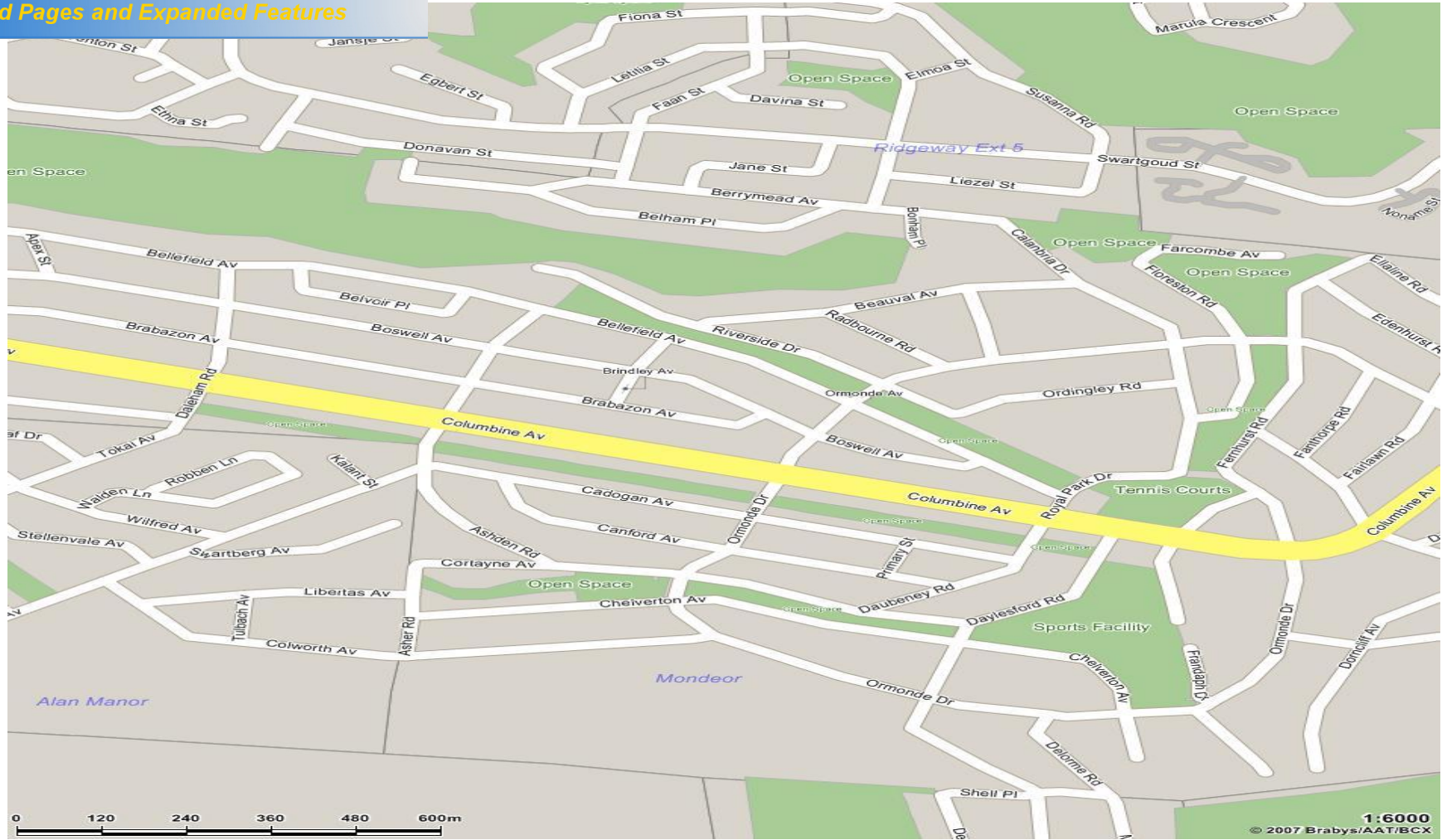
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Appendix A: Map of Mondeor

- 1. How would you describe friendships formed in this area?**
 - How long have you lived in this area?

- 2. What was the first month like in this area (making friends with neighbours, particularly out-group neighbours)?**
 - Is this a friendly neighbourhood?

- 3. Will I be likely to get to know people in this area?**
 - Am I likely to be in contact with African Black, Indian, so-called Coloured or White people in this neighbourhood?
 - Where will I see them?
 - What are the Indians/African Blacks/so-called Coloured/Whites who live around here like?
 - How do these people compare to other people living in the rest of the country?

- 4. Are there any clubs, meetings and societies in this neighbourhood?**
 - What clubs, meetings societies do you belong to?
 - How would you describe your neighbours?
 - Which of your neighbours would you say were good neighbours?
 - Which people around here are not good neighbours?
 - Compared to other people around here, would you say you were on the whole a friendly family?

- 5. What religion do you practice?**
 - Are there any other people around here of that religion?
 - Is there a church/mosque/temple in the area?
 - If affirmative, do you attend any of the services?

ur neighbourhood?

ative: You have said that you have ___ friends in this

neighbourhood. Have you any close friends outside of this neighbourhood?

- How often do you see each other?
- Have you any relatives in Mondeor? If so, how often do you see each other?
- Including your relatives, would you say that you have more friends inside or outside the neighbourhood?

7. Apart from your neighbours or people living around here, do you know any Indians/Blacks/Coloured/whites?

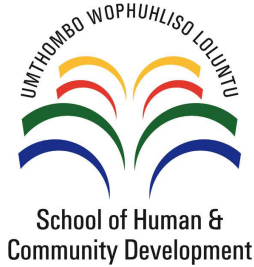
- In the past, have you ever known any Indians/African Blacks/so-called Coloured/Whites? If the answer is affirmative, how did you come to know these people?

8. Do you think that there are any particular advantages to living in this area?

- Which group predominates in this neighbourhood?
- Do you like living here?
- If you had a chance to move now, would you?
- Where would you move?
- Why would you like to move to that place?

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Consent Forms:
Recording and Transcribing of Interview

I hereby give my consent for my interview to be audio taped, transcribed as well as the use of any direct quotations. It is understandable that this material will be treated as strictly confidential and will remain between the researcher and researcher's supervisor. The tapes will be destroyed on completion of the research.

Name of participant _____

Pseudonym _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher: Rupti Jewan

Supervisor: Ms. Noleen Pillay

Email: Rupti@hotmail.com

Email: Noleen.Pillay@wits.ac.za

Appendix D



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My name is Rupti Jewan, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters Degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. My area of focus is that of investigating the formation of friendships in a multiracial neighbourhood.

Participation in this study will entail an interview. The interview duration will be approximately 45 minutes to one hour. The questions asked will relate to your perceptions about the formation and maintenance of friendships. All information provided will remain confidential and participation is voluntary. Responses will only be looked at in general and no individual will be advantaged or disadvantaged. No identifying details will be recorded.

As part of the study all participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any given point without any negative repercussion. Participants are also entitled not to answer any questions that they may feel uncomfortable answering (with no negative consequences).

This research will contribute to a larger body of knowledge on interracial neighbourhoods in South Africa. Kindly note that for more information on the study, you can contact the researcher or the researcher's supervisor.

Kind Regards
 Rupti Jewan

Name of participant _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Researcher: Rupti Jewan

Supervisor: Ms. Noleen Pillay

Email: rupti@hotmail.com

Email: Noleen.Pillay@wits.ac.za