

Intergroup Behavior: South African Gen Y

Kurt April*, Jeanne Loubser** and Kai Peters***

Intergroup behavior among Gen Y undergraduate South Africans is better understood through (1) a historical overview and aftereffects, (2) homophily, (3) minority-majority group psychology, (4) transformation of racism from overt to aversive, (5) socioeconomic disparity and stratification, and (6) the influence of language and culture. A social distance study was conducted among 405 undergraduate male and female students, which included 310 black students and 95 white students. Factor analysis suggested two major groups for white students, namely, non-intimate and intimate, while black students yielded three major emergent groups, namely, non-intimate, intimate and neutral. A high correlation between non-intimate and intimate variables was found among the out-group attitudes of white students, indicative of consistency and similarity. The converse was found with black students; low variable correlation indicates high variability in question-answering and low similarity in the approach to various social situations with out-group. Qualitative data analysis was conducted to underscore primary quantitative data yield. Interviews yielded information to substantiate social distance study.

Over 100 years ago, the theme of 'social comfort' first became topical (Poole, 1927; and Ethington, 1997), culminating in the development of the original Social Distance Scale for measuring intra and intergroup attitudes (Bogardus, 1925 and 1933). Over the years, the scale has been updated and adapted, leading to the 1988 Social Scale by Byrnes and Kiger, which analyzes white persons' comfort with blacks, and Rollock and Vrana's (2005) study, which looks at black persons' comfort levels with

black and white persons. In all of these cases, the studies have focused on opinions about, or of, African-Americans, in educational settings.

The South African context provides a parallel experience. Black/white relations have a long, often very oppressive history. More recently, the post-apartheid era has removed historical barriers and has sought to integrate South Africa's diverse communities. This study thus seeks to explore social distance factors in the South African context by sampling both in- and

* Professor of Leadership, Diversity & Inclusion, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, South Africa; Ashridge Business School, UK. The author can be reached at kapril@iafrica.com

** Researcher, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, South Africa. The author can be reached at Jeanne.loubser@gmail.com

*** CEO & Dean, Ashridge Business School, UK. The author can be reached at Kai.Peters@ashridge.org.uk

out-group attitudes of both black and white Gen Y students.

The sample group in this study represents those that have experienced a history of total integration from a pre-tertiary schooling perspective, where favorable contact conditions (Allport, 1954) were fully present. This paper explores the levels of current interracial social comfort among Gen Y, undergraduate university students at the University of Cape Town, one of South Africa's top English-language universities. The Rollock and Vrana (2005) measurement instrument was localized for the South African context. The survey, which was distributed to all Gen Y undergraduates, yielded 405 male and female student responses. Of these, 310 were from black students and 95 from white students. The quantitative data was supported by qualitative data gathering, in the form of short interviews and a focus group, where the main theme for discussion was intergroup behavior among Gen Y undergraduate students at the University of Cape Town. The primary research question explored current social comfort levels. The analysis concluded that white South African students are socially more distant than black South African students, when attitudes are measured toward respective out-groups.

Literature Review

Social Distance Overview

The Social Distance Concept

Social distance is the magnitude of discord, manifested in the extremities of contact (Hypes, 1928). The central theme of social distance concerns individual feeling towards other individuals or groups, providing essential clues to human attitudes (Bogardus, 1925). Social distance in its inception phase was considered an assessment tool for researching the level of

intimacy, or intensity of rejection, between the members of widely represented culture groups (Sherif, 1973). Social distance is a group generalization (Poole, 1927) which does not accommodate those of independent thought. It is a measure of social approval (Payne et al., 1974), a measurement of spatial distance (Park and Rothbart, 1982) or social proximity (Ogunlade, 1980), an explanation of social decisions (Akerlof, 1997), and a tool in the study of intergroup conflict (Pettigrew, 1960). Hagendoorn and Hraba (1987, p. 320) assert that social distance is about in-group-out-group differentiation, often associated with prejudice, ethnocentrism, "negative beliefs and evaluations of out-groups" but not always due to prejudice, but part of 'social representation', about sense-making of who the individual is.

The Social Distance Scale

The Bogardus Scale of Social Distance was created as one of the first formal attitude measurement tools (Sartain and Bell, 1949), initially designed as a quantitative measurement tool for racial or ethnic attitudes (Wark and Galliher, 2007) toward representatives from the out-group (Brauer et al., 2000), but it is by no means limited and can be applied to countless social groups (Sartain and Bell, 1949; and Brinkerhoff and Mackie, 1986). Bogardus administered the first social distance scale survey in 1929, with measurement of racial attitudes as the primary objective; this same survey was repeated in 1946, 1956 and 1966 (Wark and Galliher, 2007). The original Bogardus Social Distance Scale consists of seven items or graduations, with equal-appearing intervals, relating to social relationships initially designed to measure race and national groups (Sartain and Bell, 1949; and Wark and Galliher, 2007). If one has zero social distance, it implies that the individual is willing to marry someone from a particular out-group, and if an individual has maximum social distance, it implies the desire

to exclude such an out-group member from the country (Triandis and Triandis, 1960). "The assumption is that a low social distance score indicates a high degree of acceptable intimacy" (Payne et al., 1974, p. 131).

Critical Review of the Scale

The scale has been criticized as a purely quantitative measurement tool which is insufficient to accurately measure attitudes (Katz and Braly, 1933), as it may hide authenticity in a guise of 'political correctness' (Parillo and Donoghue, 2005, p. 259). Observations in dynamic settings are more effective to gauge accurate attitudes (Rokeach, 1960, cited by Boyanowsky and Allen, 1973; Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975, cited by Hagendoorn and Hraba, 1987). In addition, cautious interpretation is required, as cultural relativity exists in intergroup attitudes (Triandis et al., 1965; Sherif, 1973; and Weinfurt and Moghaddam, 2001). Brauer et al. (2000, p. 79) argue that the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was actively used in the 1960s and 1970s, at a time when societal pressure against racial discrimination began to rise, and racism was overtly expressed; four decades later, prejudice has taken on more 'subtle and insidious forms' for which more complex measurement scales are required.

History

Intergroup and social distance analysis should be underscored by a socio-historical frame of reference (Chapoulie, 2004; and Randall and Delbridge, 2005;). The region that is known today as South Africa has been in conflict since 1652 (Bekker, 1996), when the first colonists arrived.

According to Meredith (2005, p. 4), the British colonized South Africa, in particular the two independent Boer¹ republics, then referred to as Transvaal and Orange Free State, over a period of three years. The period of conquest involved 'scorched-earth-tactics'² and the placement of women and children in concentration camps;³ this culminated in deeply rooted, multigenerational Boer bitterness toward the British which, according to Meredith (2005, p. 4), spawned "virulent Afrikaner nationalism that eventually took hold of South Africa." Johnson (1982, p. 216) adds that Afrikaner nationalism stems from a desire to preserve 'distinctive language and culture'. MacCrone (1953, cited by Lever, 1981, p. 255) described the Afrikaner personality as 'Puritanical-Calvinistic', known for their in-group preference and out-group hostility.

Apartheid's presence first became official with the National Party victory in 1948,⁴ however, many of its attributes were already active prior to 1948 (Davies, 1996; Meredith, 2005; and Seekings and Natrass, 2005). The National Party enforced racial segregation in all thinkable components of South African life (Duckitt and Mphuthing, 1998; and Meredith, 2005). Their apartheid laws sought to keep social distance high (Sparks, 1990; and Seekings and Natrass, 2005). The Group Areas Act legislated geographical separation based on race or ethnicity (Seekings and Natrass, 2005); the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, also referred to as 'petty Apartheid', as well legislated separate 'workplaces and public amenities' (Seekings and Natrass, 2005, pp. 19, 20). The Prevention of

¹ This refers to the descendants of the Dutch who became the Afrikaner settlers.

² Meredith (2005, p. 4) describes this as the total destruction of farmsteads, thereby "reducing the Boers to an impoverished people."

³ According to Meredith (2005), 26,000 people died due to challenging conditions in concentration camps.

⁴ According to Lever (1981), apartheid was concomitant with the National Party, interwoven into their election campaign, and therefore the very element the white voters were supporting through the cast of a vote.

Mixed Marriages Act and continuation of the Immorality Act were to criminalize “mixed marriages and sex across the color bar” (Seekings and Natrass, 2005, p. 20). Pass laws entailed strict monitoring of movement, enabling the maintenance of distance (Seekings and Natrass, 2005).

The crux of apartheid education was to sustain and perpetuate separateness; social stratification in South Africa was based on ethnicity and the schooling system was used as an ‘instrument of social engineering’ (Johnson, 1982, p. 214). The industrialization of South Africa changed the playing field to become more competitive for “jobs, wealth, and economic opportunity” (Kuper, 1964; Johnson, 1982, p. 216; and Turnbull and Irlam, 2003), which motivated the stratification of education—“an uneducated man... can be exploited as an economic asset” (Wilson and Thompson, 1975, p. 223, cited by Johnson, 1982, p. 216). And so the very premise of the Bantu Education Act of 1953,⁵ according to Davies (1996), was to limit and control the ambitions of young black South Africans. The damage caused by apartheid education is not considered easily reversible (Nkhoma, 2002), with student capabilities being underestimated and insufficiently harnessed.

In 1994, apartheid came to an end. Since then, social interaction has been encouraged and legislated for. As noted earlier, the Gen Y students participating in this research would thus have experienced partial to full integration and integrated education throughout their childhood.

⁵ Johnson (1982, p. 219) cites Birley (1968, p. 153) who in turn quotes Verwoerd: “When I am controller of Native Education I will reform it so that the natives [sic] will be taught from childhood to realize [sic] that equality with Europeans is not for them”, and also “Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life—according to the sphere in which they live.”

⁶ High correlation implies close relationship and therefore can form one combined component. A low correlation indicates no relationship and cannot form one combined component or factor. In the case of this study, variables in a joined factor imply that the questions were answered in a similar fashion.

Method

Instruments and Procedure

Primary/Quantitative: Revised Social Scales
Byrnes and Kiger adjusted the original Bogardus social distance scale in 1988, followed by adjustment by Rollock and Vrana (2005). The scale contained 16 statements, describing different interaction scenarios, with the primary goal to ascertain the ‘emotional ease’ of interracial interaction (Rollock and Vrana, 2005, p. 394). Each of these statements was evaluated on a graduation continuum with seven Likert-type graduations, ranging from very uncomfortable to very comfortable. On the measurement instrument, the scope ranging from 1 (“I would be very uncomfortable”) to 7 (“I would be very comfortable”), is followed by 16 statements describing both intimate and non-intimate social interaction scenarios. For example, “I would be ... (level of comfort) ... having a Black person as my dance partner”. For this particular study, minor contextual word adjustments were made to the Rollock and Vrana social scales; “Governor of my State” was amended to read “Premier of my Province”, and “President of the United States” changed to “President of South Africa”. The responses to the measurement instrument were captured in the online survey system and exported to Excel. Sufficient data screening was done to ensure consistency and validity of the data entries before it was exported to SPSS.

Factor Analysis: Measurement Instrument Correlation: The first step was to ascertain the association between the 16 variables on the measurement instrument. The high correlation variables yielded main categories⁶ and were

extracted by using a rotation component through SPSS, retaining all Eigenvalues higher than 1.⁷ Two categories emerged: non-intimate⁸ and intimate.⁹ In cases, where the weighting was high on both non-intimate and intimate (above 40%), they were regarded as dual. The variables on the middle of the scatter plots in the section to follow (component 1 on the X-axis and component 2 on the Y-axis) are the dual variables. These components or factors are indicative of how each sub-sample views certain variables. In each case, the leading variable (variable with highest percentage) defines the rest of the variables. Cronbach's Alpha: After establishing components 1, 2 and 3 as non-intimate, intimate, and neither intimate nor non-intimate, respectively, Cronbach's Alpha was utilized to determine the internal consistency of the measurement instrument's variables. A high Cronbach's Alpha indicated a strong correlation between component variables, essentially indicative of the health of the factor. The strength of relationship within the factor was therefore measured and analyzed below. A Cronbach's Alpha of above 70% was considered good.

Secondary/Qualitative: Interpretive Information Gathering

In support of the quantitative data, the researchers conducted 14 interviews with undergraduate male and female students at the University, which

included seven black students, four white students, one colored¹⁰ student and two Indian students. Additionally, the researchers facilitated a social distance discussion group with current students: two were white students, one black student and one colored student. The interviews and discussion group insights were all recorded and transcribed. The data was separated into primary documents: P1 to group all black students; P2 to group all white students; and P3 to group neither black nor white¹¹ students. These documents were then inserted into the Atlas ti qualitative analysis software program, and primary codes and themes were established. Due to word duplication in different contexts (class settings, in the context of lecture theater situations, versus class or social stratification) a secondary sorting was done by manually sifting through all the primary documents. The latter secondary sorting was retained, as it was more accurate.

Participants

The primary quantitative data collection was done through a measurement instrument, distributed among Gen Y undergraduate students and collated at the predominant undergraduate residences at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. The total sample size was 405; of these, 310 surveys were completed by black¹² students and 95 surveys by white students. Participants

⁷ Components with an Eigenvalue bigger than 1 are the only ones to consider, in line with the criteria for selecting components. It indicates that no other emerging component or factor group is relevant in this instance.

⁸ The non-intimate component or factor represents all the variables that were considered with less social proximity, when compared to the intimate component.

⁹ The intimate component or factor represents all the variables that were considered high in close proximity allowance. As an example, "kiss me in public" would be considered more intimate than "as premier of my province". In this particular study, it shows the relevance of in-group versus out-group social distance in terms of personal space.

¹⁰ The particular mixed-race student indicated a preference to be called colored.

¹¹ This category was created for students that specifically preferred to be classified as South African Indian or colored. The researchers acknowledge that this classification was done under apartheid-legislation and intrinsically racist. The theme-emergence from racial identity uncertainty illuminated salient information regarding interracial behavior, and these "neither white or neither black" categories are included in the qualitative section.

¹² Students who are termed not-white, previously disadvantaged, can also be self-classified as colored, Indian or African black.

were from a wide range of disciplines and not from one isolated faculty.

The secondary qualitative component entailed 14 interviews, and a focus group among four students from the University of Cape Town. The nature of the interviews and discussion was both personal and general status about attitudes and behavior at the university. Interviews were conducted to obtain multiple vantage points (Yin, 1994), with a spread of students studying in different faculties, both male and female, and representing different racial groups.

Results

Primary / Quantitative Results

Black Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group

Three factors emerged, namely, non-intimate (tabulated as component 1 in Table 1), neutral - neither intimate nor non-intimate (tabulated in Table 1 as component 2), and intimate (tabulated in Table 1 as component 3). In instances where there was a strong weighting for both components, each of these should have been at least above 40% to be valid. In each case, the

Rotated Component Matrix*					
	Means	Std. Deviation	Factor Analysis Components		
			1	2	3
As the Premier of My Province	5.55	1.638	0.636	0.495	0.138
Rent My House from Me	5.83	1.483	0.384	0.688	0.150
As a Dance Partner	5.72	1.663	0.209	0.605	0.483
As the President of South Africa	4.99	1.858	0.630	0.261	0.264
My Personal Physician	6.13	1.354	0.269	0.773	0.252
As My Spiritual Counselor	5.56	1.733	0.593	0.344	0.296
As Someone I Would Date	5.38	1.789	0.230	0.246	0.855
As My Roommate	5.53	1.771	0.442	0.332	0.534
Sit Next to Me in a Dining Hall	6.08	1.412	0.265	0.653	0.364
Marry a Brother or Sister of Mine	5.51	1.775	0.452	0.298	0.610
As My Academic Advisor	6.28	1.292	0.281	0.763	0.200
Kiss Me in Public	4.95	2.172	0.147	0.189	0.747
As a Lover	5.28	1.898	0.164	0.229	0.887
On a Sports Team With Me	6.31	1.317	0.174	0.804	0.297
Baby-sit My Child	5.59	1.772	0.666	0.316	0.305
Interact With Me as a Police Officer	5.22	1.993	0.795	0.120	0.084
	5.61	1.68			

Note: * Rotation converged in 3 iterations. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

leading variable (variable with highest percentage) defined the rest of the variables. Emerging strong non-intimate variables included: interact with me as a police officer (79.5%), baby-sit my child (66.6%), president of South Africa (63%), and my spiritual counsellor (59.3%). The strong intimate variables included: as a lover (88.7%), someone I would date (85.5%), and kiss me in public (74.7%). The following were both non-intimate and intimate: marry a brother or sister of mine (weighted towards intimate), and my roommate (weighted towards intimate).

A dance partner was weighted more towards neutral than intimate. Premier of my province was weighted more towards non-intimate than neutral. The neither intimate nor non-intimate variables included: on a sports team with me (80.4%), my personal physician (77.3%), my academic advisor (76.3%), rent my house from me (68.8%), and sit next to me in a dining hall (65.3%).

The Eigenvalues greater than 1 indicated strongest components; they are highlighted (figures in bold) in Table 2. These emerging

Table 2: Black Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group – Eigenvalues

Total Variance Explained*									
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)
1	8.954	52.673	52.673	8.954	52.673	52.673	4.350	25.589	25.589
2	1.639	9.638	62.311	1.639	9.638	62.311	4.062	23.897	49.486
3	1.028	6.046	68.357	1.028	6.046	68.357	3.208	18.871	68.357
4	0.751	4.415	72.773						
5	0.679	3.997	76.769						
6	0.600	3.529	80.298						
7	0.464	2.730	83.028						
8	0.438	2.574	85.602						
9	0.422	2.484	88.086						
10	0.383	2.252	90.337						
11	0.351	2.064	92.401						
12	0.290	1.707	94.108						
13	0.277	1.632	95.740						
14	0.256	1.506	97.246						
15	0.146	0.859	99.368						
16	0.107	0.632	100.000						

Note: * Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

components accounted for 68.3% of variances in the data. Additionally, the spread between non-intimate, intimate and neither intimate nor non-intimate is not skewed towards a particular factor group.

White Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group

The same two factors emerged, namely, non-intimate (tabulated in Table 3 as component 1) and intimate (tabulated in Table 3 as component 2). In instances where there was a strong weighting for both components, each of these should have

been at least above 40% to be valid. In each case, the leading variable (variable with highest percentage) defined the rest of the variables. Emerging strong non-intimate variables included: sit next to me in a dining hall (85.8%), my academic advisor (85.2%), on a sports team with me (83.2%), my spiritual counsellor (80.9%), baby-sit my child (80.2%), interact with me as a police officer (78.4%), president of South Africa (76.9%), premier of my province (76.8%), my personal physician (77.6%), rent my house from me

Table 3: White Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group

Rotated Component Matrix*				
	Means	Std. Deviation	Factor Analysis Components	
			1	2
As the Premier of My Province	5.59	1.588	0.768	0.250
Rent My House from Me	5.34	1.661	0.776	0.365
As a Dance Partner	5.52	1.688	0.621	0.536
As the President of South Africa	5.83	1.548	0.769	0.249
My Personal Physician	5.36	1.839	0.776	0.384
As My Spiritual Counselor	5.54	1.761	0.809	0.349
As Someone I Would Date	3.68	2.218	0.212	0.935
As My Roommate	5.60	1.818	0.760	0.389
Sit Next to Me in a Dining Hall	6.40	1.432	0.858	0.135
Marry a Brother or Sister of Mine	4.81	2.189	0.450	0.715
As My Academic Advisor	6.08	1.596	0.852	0.104
Kiss Me in Public	3.57	2.225	0.188	0.890
As a Lover	3.31	2.198	0.179	0.905
On a Sports Team With Me	6.53	1.295	0.832	0.008
Baby-Sit My Child	5.83	1.699	0.802	0.333
Interact With Me as a Police Officer	5.83	1.615	0.784	0.173
	5.30	1.77		

Note: * Rotation converged in 3 iterations. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

(77.6%), and my roommate (76%). This subsample group's non-intimate variables were the most in number. The strong intimate variables included: someone I would date (93.5%), as a lover (90.5%), and kiss me in public (89%). The following were both non-intimate and intimate: a dance partner (weighted towards non-intimate), and marry a brother or sister of mine (strongly weighted towards intimate).

The Eigenvalues greater than 1 indicated strongest components; they are highlighted (figures in bold) in Table 4. These emerging

components accounted for 75% of variances in the data. The screen plot illustrates the two emergent components. The component plot displays the spread between non-intimate and intimate. The spread is skewed towards the non-intimate factor group.

Factor Analysis Summary

Two major component groups emerged as consensual for all the respondent combinations, namely, non-intimate and intimate. The overall consensus indicated a strong agreement among both white and black students in terms of which

Table 4: White Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group – Eigenvalues

Total Variance Explained*									
Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative (%)
1	10.154	59.729	59.729	10.154	59.729	59.729	7.759	45.644	45.644
2	2.618	15.401	75.131	2.618	15.401	75.131	5.013	29.487	75.131
3	0.893	5.251	80.381						
4	0.623	3.665	84.046						
5	0.513	3.015	87.061						
6	0.397	2.334	89.395						
7	0.309	1.820	91.214						
8	0.268	1.577	92.791						
9	0.265	1.557	94.348						
10	0.222	1.309	95.657						
11	0.166	0.974	96.631						
12	0.153	0.900	97.531						
13	0.118	0.695	98.225						
14	0.100	0.587	98.812						
15	0.083	0.491	99.801						
16	0.034	0.199	100.000						

Note: * Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

variables (and effectual social settings, situations and scenarios) were considered non-intimate or intimate.

The black student attitudes toward out-group yielded a third neutral variable (neither intimate nor non-intimate). For this particular group, the neutral group (component 2) indicated a higher Eigenvalue, accounting for 9.6% of the total variance in the data when compared to the intimate group (component 3), which accounted for 6.0%.

Black students' intimate components indicated 'as a lover' as the leading variable, whereas white students' indicated 'someone I would date' as the leading variable. The intimate variables included: 'as a lover', 'someone I would date', and 'kiss me in public'; black students also include the variable, 'marry a brother or sister of mine' as intimate. Black students regarded 'as my roommate' as an intimate variable for both in-group and out-group, whereas white students regarded this as one of the leading non-intimate variables for both in-group and out-group. This may suggest that black students regarded a close associate as intimate, while white students did not. This could be as a result of respective individualism or collectivism in black and white students, and therefore more of a cultural difference (Theimann et al., 2006).

Among the isolated samples in this section, the subgroups that indicated both intimate and non-intimate were mostly weighted to non-intimate. The variables which had both intimate and non-intimate percentages were equally split when it concerned the in-group, but more decided in weighting when it concerned the out-group. This means that there were higher levels of certainty or strong views of whether out-groups in variable settings (social settings, scenarios and situations) were non-intimate or intimate.

Consensus in terms of non-intimate variables across all subgroups were achieved for 'as the Premier of my Province', 'as the President of South Africa', and 'interact with me as a police officer'.

General consensus does not equate specific common denominators. Six of the 16 variables were assigned to intimate or non-intimate groups (split exactly in half). Lack of agreement on the remaining ten is an indication of different attitudes. Subgroups were more socially distant when it concerns intimate settings. A lack of consensus will therefore lead to comparing social distance for variables with differing meaning to subgroup.

Consistency

After establishing components 1, 2 and 3, as non-intimate, intimate, and neither intimate nor non-intimate, respectively, Cronbach's Alpha was utilized to determine the internal consistency of the measurement instruments variables. A high Cronbach's Alpha indicates a strong correlation between factor or component variables, essentially indicative of the health of the factor. The strength of relationship within the factor is therefore measured and analyzed below.

Black Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group:

The tabulation of black student attitudes toward the out-group yields three components or factors, namely, non-intimate, intimate, and neither intimate nor non-intimate. Table 5 details the correlation between the non-intimate variables and attitudes held by black students toward the out-group. Table 5 yielded medium-level correlation and the lowest percentages of all the categories reviewed. Correlation does not imply causality, but goes some way in explaining the non-intimate relationships.

Table 6 details the correlation between the neither intimate nor non-intimate variables and

Non-Intimate	President of South Africa	As My Spiritual Counselor	Baby-Sit My Child	Interact as Police Officer
President of South Africa	1.000			
As My Spiritual Counselor	0.380**	1.000		
Baby-Sit My Child	0.438**	0.567**	1.000	
Interact as Police Officer	0.432**	0.438**	0.509**	1.000
Note: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				
Reliability Statistics				
Cronbach's Alpha		No. of Items		
0.72*		4		
Note: * Cronbach's Alpha for the four non-intimate variables was 72.0%, indicating that these four variables were related (however, not as strong as with the other sub-samples or attitude-groups), thereby suggesting a satisfactory non-intimate factor or component.				

attitudes held by black students toward the out-group. Table 6 also yielded medium-level correlation and the lowest percentages of all the categories reviewed. Correlation does not imply causality, but goes some way in explaining the neither intimate nor non-intimate variable relationships. The high correlation between 'in

my sports team' and 'sit next to me in dining hall' indicated similar answering style and therefore similar attitudes toward people on the same sports team and potential people at the dining hall table.

Table 7 details the correlation between the intimate variables and attitudes held by black

Neither Intimate Nor Non-Intimate	Rent My House from Me	As My Personal Physician	Sit Next to Me in the Dining Hall	As My Academic Advisor	In My Sport's Team
Rent My House from Me	1.000				
As My Personal Physician	0.672**	1.000			
Sit Next to Me in the Dining Hall	0.522**	0.555**	1.000		
As My Academic Advisor	0.546**	0.664**	0.578**	1.000	
In My Sports Team	0.567**	0.685**	0.714**	0.684**	1.000
Note: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).					
Reliability Statistics					
Cronbach's Alpha			No. of Items		
0.888*			5		
Note: * Cronbach's Alpha for the five neither intimate nor non-intimate variables was 88.8%, indicating that these five variables were strongly related, thereby suggesting a strong and reliable neither intimate nor non-intimate variable factor or component.					

students toward the out-group. The highlighted figure (figure in bold) in the table was statistically meaningful due to high values. Correlation does not imply causality, but goes some way in explaining the intimate relationships. The leading variable 'as a lover' indicated a high correlation with both 'as someone I would date' but not 'as someone I would kiss in public', which indicated a smaller correlation and answering style.

White Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group: Table 8 details the correlation between the non-intimate variables and attitudes held by white students toward out-group. A myriad of high correlations were emergent in this subgroup and are highlighted (figures in bold) in the table. Correlation does not imply causality, but goes some way in explaining the non-intimate relationships.

Table 9 details the correlation between the intimate variables and attitudes held by white

Table 7: Correlation Between the Intimate Variables and Attitudes Held by Black Students Toward the Out-Group			
Intimate	Someone I Would Date	As Someone I Would Kiss in Public	As a Lover
Someone I Would Date	1.000		
As Someone I Would Kiss in Public	0.616**	1.000	
As a Lover	0.834**	0.682**	1.000
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).			
Reliability Statistics			
Cronbach's Alpha		No. of Items	
0.874*		3	
Note: * Cronbach's Alpha for the three intimate variables was 87.4%, indicating that these three variables were strongly related, thereby suggesting a strong and reliable intimate factor or component.			

Table 8: Correlation Between the Non-Intimate Variables and Attitudes Held by White Students Toward Out-Group										
Non-Intimate	Premier of My Province	Rent My House from Me	President of South Africa	As My Personal Physician	As My Spiritual Counselor	As My Room-mate	As My Academic Advisor	In My Sport's Team	Baby-Sit My Child	Interact as Police Officer
Premier of My Province	1.000									
Rent My House from Me	0.751**	1.000								
President of South Africa	0.833**	0.780**	1.000							
As My Personal Physician	0.721**	0.751**	0.679**	1.000						

Table 8 (Cont.)

Non-Intimate	Premier of My Province	Rent My House from me	President of South Africa	As My Personal Physician	As My Spiritual Counselor	As My Room-mate	As My Academic Advisor	In My Sport's Team	Baby-Sit My Child	Interact as Police Officer
As My Spiritual Counselor	0.684**	0.727**	0.673**	0.804**	1.000					
As My Room-mate	0.558**	0.700**	0.596**	0.673**	0.785**	1.000				
As My Academic Advisor	0.610**	0.656**	0.656**	0.624**	0.729**	0.694**	1.000			
In My Sports Team	0.546**	0.530**	0.501**	0.581**	0.579**	0.614**	0.725**	1.000		
Baby-Sit My Child	0.617**	0.718**	0.559**	0.769**	0.752**	0.756**	0.645**	0.713**	1.000	
Interact as Police Officer	0.582**	0.664**	0.601**	0.722**	0.671**	0.564**	0.670**	0.658**	0.687**	1.000

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
0.953*	10

Note: * Cronbach's Alpha for the ten non-intimate variables was 95.3%, indicating that these ten variables were strongly related, thereby suggesting a strong and reliable non-intimate factor or component.

students toward out-group. The highlighted figures (figures in bold) in the table were statistically meaningful due to high values. Correlation does not imply causality, but goes

some way in explaining the intimate relationships. High correlations were emergent with all variables in this subgroup and highlighted in the table.

Table 9: Correlation Between the Intimate Variables and Attitudes Held by White Students Toward Out-Group

Intimate	Someone I Would Date	As Someone I Would Kiss in Public	As a Lover
Someone I Would Date	1.000		
As Someone I Would Kiss in Public	0.854**	1.000	
As a Lover	0.849**	0.839**	1.000

Note: ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 9 (Cont.)

Reliability Statistics	
Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
0.943*	3
Note: * Cronbach's Alpha for the three intimate variables was 94.3%, indicating that these three variables were strongly related, thereby suggesting a strong and reliable intimate factor or component.	

Consistency Summary

WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD OUT-GROUP was the subgroup that indicated the highest correlations between both non-intimate and intimate variables. This means that the way in which white students answered questions regarding interaction with the out-group was consistent. This could suggest that white student attitudes, in various social settings, are similar. The highest and most frequent correlation was 'baby-sit my child' with 'rent my house from me', 'as my personal physician', 'as my spiritual counselor', 'as my roommate' and 'in my sports team'. This indicated similarity in question-answering, which led the researchers to conclude that interaction with the people involved in these settings were reviewed in the same context. WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD IN-GROUP yielded a great amount of variable correlations, but not as many as TOWARD OUT-GROUP. This could further suggest a concrete idea of in-group and out-group attitudes, which indicates certainty and high in-group similarity.

BLACK STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD OUT-GROUP yielded the least amount of highly correlated variables. This is an indication that there was higher variability in how respective questions were answered, and therefore, low similarity in how different social situations are approached. It is salient to note that BLACK STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD

IN-GROUP yielded higher correlations than TOWARD OUT-GROUP, but still very limited. This is perhaps indicative of variance in answers, or the existence of a neutral factor group. This could indicate uncrystallized in-group and out-group attitudes on average, perhaps an uncertainty of how the in-group, as well as out-group, is perceived on average.

Mean and Standard Deviation (ANOVA)¹³

Black Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group: The average mean for this subgroup was 5.61, with an average standard deviation of 1.68 for this subgroup. The lowest mean (4.95) in this sub-sample was for the variable 'kiss me in public'; the standard deviation (2.172) was the highest for this sub-sample. This indicated that social distance was highest for this variable; students were least comfortable with public affirmation, with low sub-sample consensus. Similar variables with low means (and therefore low social comfort) and high standard deviations (volatility in answers) included:

- 'as the president of South Africa' (mean: 4.99; standard deviation: 1.858);
- 'interact with me as a police officer' (mean: 5.22; standard deviation: 1.993);
- 'as a lover' (mean: 5.28; standard deviation: 1.898); and

¹³ The means indicate the average answers by the whole sample or sub-group, and the standard deviation provides additional information on the spread of the whole group or sub-sample. The means are therefore indicative of the trends in survey answering. The measurement instrument allowed seven equal-interval answer options. A mean of 4.5 would indicate a high level of consistency in answering. Means of 1, 2, 6 and 7 would indicate extreme answering between various respondents. Extreme answers would lead to an unreliable mean, but able to be detected by a high standard deviation. High volatility (high standard deviation) is indicative of low group consensus regarding particular variable.

- ‘as someone I would date’ (mean: 5.38; standard deviation: 1.789).

This sub-sample has historic links with the infamy of discrimination enforced by white South African presidents and white police officers. For this sub-sample, the variable ‘on a sports team with me’ had the highest mean of 6.31 and the second lowest standard deviation of 1.317. This indicated that out of all the variables, students were the most comfortable with sports team members, where the standard deviation indicates that responses were contained and similar in relation to the rest of the variables for this subset. Similar variables with high means (and therefore high social comfort) and low standard deviations (great similarity in answers) included:

- ‘as my academic advisor’ (mean: 6.28; standard deviation: 1.292); and
- ‘as my personal physician’ (mean: 6.13; standard deviation: 1.354).

White Student Attitudes Toward Out-Group: The average mean for this subgroup was 5.30, with an average standard deviation of 1.77 for this subgroup. The lowest mean (3.31) in this sub-sample was for the variable ‘as a lover’; the standard deviation (2.198) was the highest for this sub-sample. This indicated that social distance was highest for this variable; students were least comfortable with a black lover, with low sub-sample consensus. Similar variables with low means (and therefore low social comfort) and high standard deviations (volatility in answers) included:

- ‘kiss me in public’ (mean: 3.57; standard deviation: 2.225);
- ‘as someone I would date’ (mean: 3.68; standard deviation: 2.218); and
- ‘marry a brother or sister of mine’ (mean: 4.81; standard deviation: 2.189).

For this sub-sample, the variable ‘on a sports team with me’ had the highest mean of 6.53

and the lowest standard deviation of 1.295. This indicated that out of all the variables, students were the most comfortable with sports team members, where the standard deviation indicates that responses were contained and similar in relation to the rest of the variables for this subset. Similar variables with high means (and therefore high social comfort) and low standard deviations (great similarity in answers) included:

- ‘sit next to me in a dining hall’ (mean: 6.4; standard deviation: 1.432); and
- ‘as my academic advisor’ (mean: 6.08; standard deviation: 1.596).

Mean and Standard Deviation Summary

The lowest mean was 5.30 and the highest standard deviation was 1.77 (WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD OUT-GROUP), and the highest mean was 6.24 and the lowest standard deviation was 1.34 (WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD IN-GROUP). This indicated that white students were the most consistently collective, on average, in answering questions about the in-group, confirmed by the low standard deviation. Conversely, of all the sub-samples, they were the most inconsistent in answering questions about the out-group, as confirmed by the highest standard deviation of 1.77. This could indicate that they are collective in their in-group attitude, but less collective in social distance levels concerning the out-group. It is interesting to note that BLACK STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD OUT-GROUP closely follows with a high standard deviation of 1.68, the variance in attitudes deviates relatively largely from the mean.

The variable ‘kiss me in public’ indicated low social distance and volatility in response with all the sub-samples. It is therefore illuminated as a salient matter among South

African students. The variables 'as a lover' and 'as someone I would date' also emerged as high social distance, but with extremist answers among all respondents.

'On a sports team with me' emerged as the strongest low social distance variable with high consensus among all sub-samples. Similarly, 'as my academic advisor', 'as my personal physician' and 'sit next to me in a dining room', emerged as low social distance variables with high consensus among all respondents. This simply indicates that all respondents are socially comfortable in these settings of interaction.

A medium level of social distance with medium level consensus is highlighted in Figure 1. The means for these variables are above 5, which indicate 'slightly comfortable', according to the equal intervals scale. The variable 'marry a brother or sister of mine' also yielded a mean of 5, but with higher standard deviation, which means volatility in answers. In addition, black students indicated low means and high volatility toward the out-group for 'as the president of South Africa' and 'interact with me as a police officer' variables. These same attitudes were not the same for white student attitudes toward out-group (Figures 2 and 3).

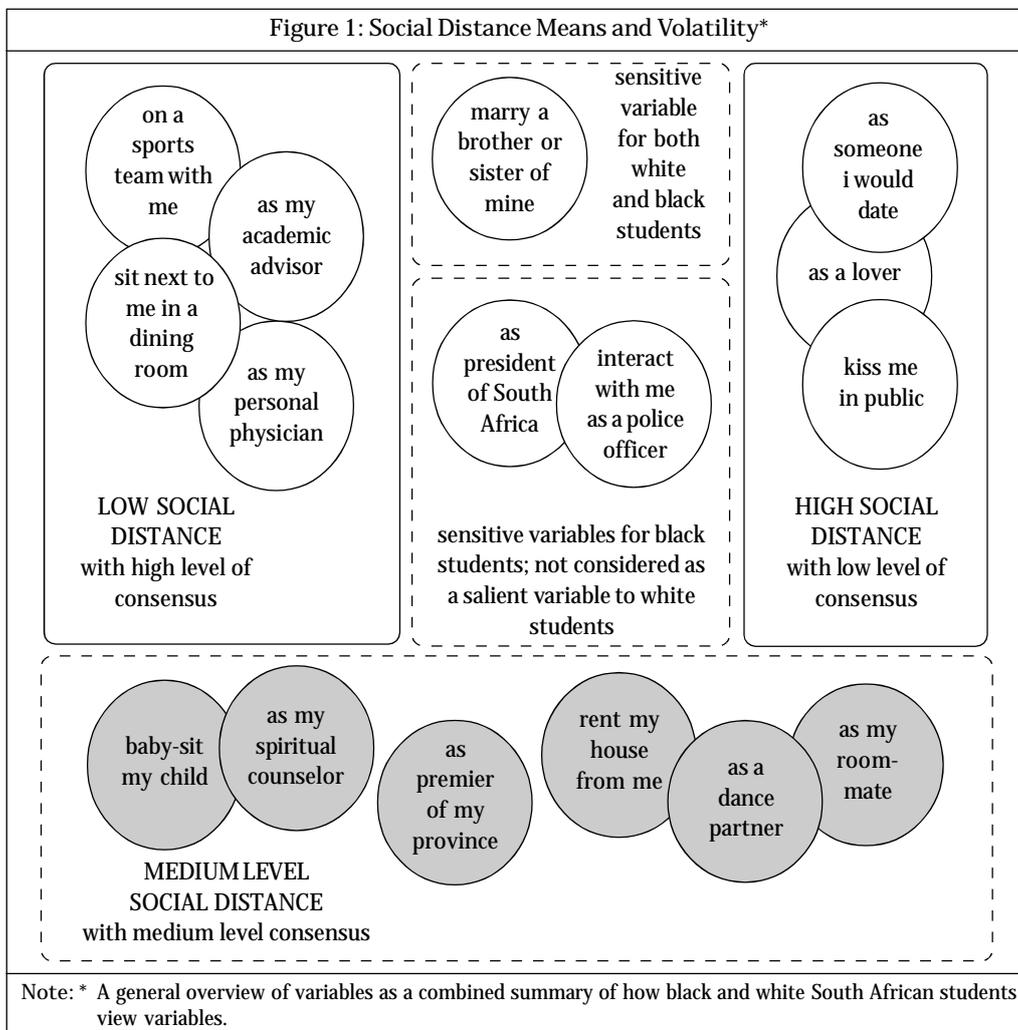
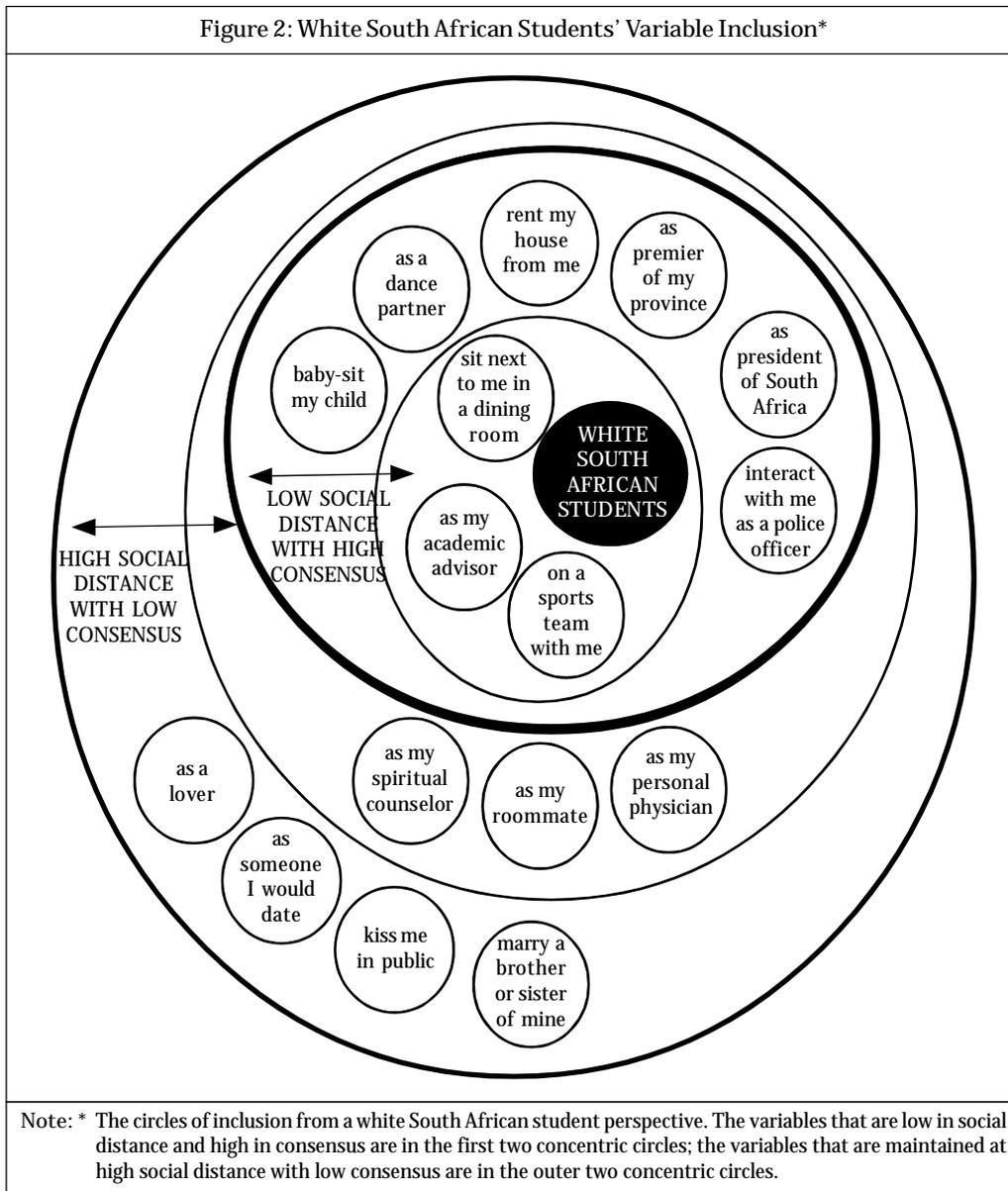


Figure 2: White South African Students' Variable Inclusion*

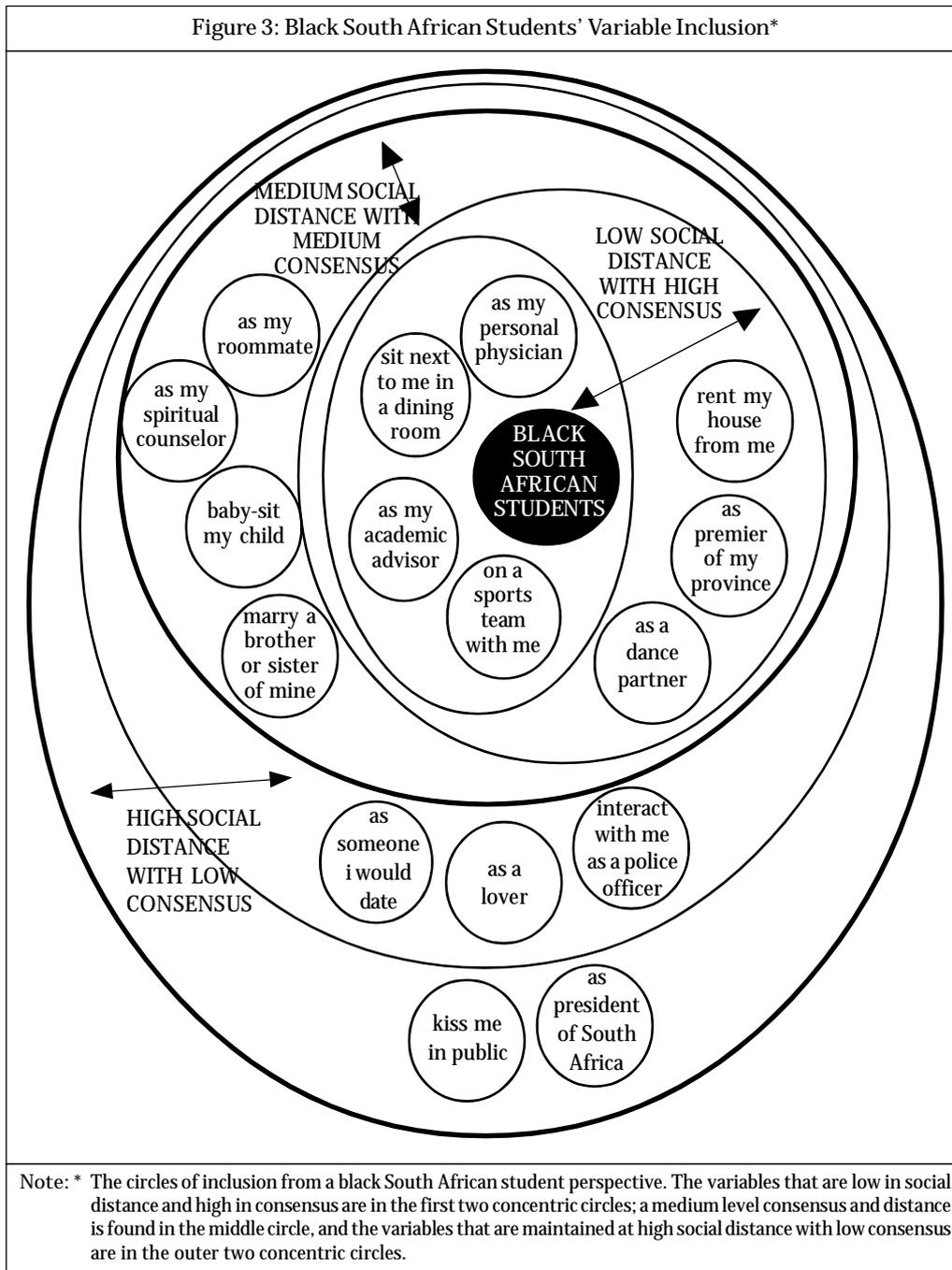


Research Findings: Qualitative Data

The qualitative research filled in the gaps left by the quantitative survey. While many areas prompted positive or neutral responses, there was an overall feeling of anxiety towards the out-group, skewed towards the negative, especially by black, Indian and colored respondents.

Interview prompting in terms of physical interracial threat or fear of proximity yielded predominantly neutral responses from all three respondent groups: "No...just moving through... I have no issues... I feel neutral" [P1]. However, one respondent indicated a negative feeling in terms of moving through a white crowd to get to an entrance. "Yes... I will feel so uncomfortable..."

Figure 3: Black South African Students' Variable Inclusion*



I will try to find another door... I will really feel uncomfortable... I think in my head... they are not going to allow me to pass. But it's mostly stuff that I think of before I even get close" [P1].

Some respondents highlighted the benefits of an integrated friendship group in order to defy out-group anxiety; "now that I have such a diverse group of friends... my issues are practically

non-existent" [P3]; and "if you don't know another culture, you will end up judging it, because your culture is the only one that you know" [P1]. The general spread of results in terms of interracial friendship formation was positive, neutral and negative. Black students indicate a predominant negative view: "It's kind of like difficult to interact" [P1]; "getting used to white people is a little bit hard" [P1]; "there's always a mild level of discomfort due to our differences, be it racial, social or economic. But once I get past those superficial boundaries, I get right at home!" [P1]; "I think we come from too different environments which we are now trying to integrate... I think that is a bit difficult..." [P1]; it's easy for me if they are okay with it... I don't have any issues, but it depends on how open they are" [P1]. Conversely, the white students indicated a more neutral view: "Ethnicity is not a consideration for me when I make friends" [P2]; "there are no barriers from my side" [P2].

The uncertainty regarding racial identity and appropriate classification emerged strongly. Black students reported fear of losing in-group identity by amalgamating to form one larger group: "the black people try to mix... but my problem is... when they mix... they lose who they are... especially when they mix with whites... they completely change. And then they look at other black guys as if we are wrong or something" [P1]; "and you almost have to cling to... to being black... because... what will you be if you are not... you are selling out if you are not" [P1]. Self-classified Indian and colored students, as well as black and white students, expressed uncertainty in terms of classification and identity: "so I probably identify

more with Indian as a culture group because that is how I grew up" [P3]; "it is a bit difficult for me... I am trying to figure that out for myself" [P3]; "it's strange... to me, when I am in Jo[hannes]burg... for example... colored people are black. But when I am in Cape Town... colored is colored... if anything... it's more white than... it is black" [P1]; "it's an entity of its own. For me... there is nothing racist about saying someone is colored... it's the same as saying... I am black..." [P1]; "my sister will laugh at me... at the way I speak... just because I don't speak like... her... like a colored... like... colored people will look down on me... because I am like... being a... coconut or... not living true to my colored ways" [P3].

According to one of the respondents, a "hierarchy in terms of race" [P1] exists,¹⁴ which in turn creates subdivisions of racism between so-called apartheid-classified groups. "I have heard that in Cape Town... the racial tensions between black people and colored people are far worse... it is even worse than the tensions between black people and white people" [P2].

The respondents were all questioned on the awareness level of in-group and out-group position of formations when selecting a seat in class. Predominant neutrality emerged and it would seem that it is more of a functional decision.

External Structure

According to all respondents, interracial clustering was a real problem with unanimous negative responses. In class or lecture theater settings,¹⁵

¹⁴ "we will take you as colored because you can be our black, because we know that you are not nearly as black as the other blacks can be..." so it's convenient... its convenient for them to be called blacks... because... in many ways... there are hardly any black people in power in the Western Cape... in the ANC... you know what mean..." [P1]

¹⁵ "you can see that mostly black people will sit together and mostly white in another group" [P1]; "there is still separation" [P3]; "if there is a majority black group, there will be a gravitation towards it by other black people" [P1]; "Ja...ja... I often see them" [P1]; "the racial groups don't mix as much as I thought they would" [P3]; "there are still little groups" [P2]; "there is a general separation" [P3]; "I can see the separation. It is distinct." [P3]; "for sure... at all my classes... and at res as well" [P2]; "Yes... everywhere" [P3]; "Oh without a doubt" [P1]; "there are definite clusters" [P1]; "the white students mostly sit in front and the black guys towards the back" [P1]; "Yes. Definitely" [P1].

the same respondents would indicate neutrality in terms of selecting own seat, but highlight the fact that there was a conglomeration of same-group students in clusters. Respondents highlighted the same clustering effect around campus,¹⁶ and the food court area was predominantly segregated along racial groups. Social settings¹⁷ were in-group predominant, unless there was a class or stratification similarity.

External Behavior/Attitude

Some of the respondents flagged lecturer prejudice as a salient point. On the topic of overcompensation or sugarcoating, all three respondent groups were in agreement: "Yes... lots of superficial friendships... interaction... communication" [P3]; "there is a huge amount of sugarcoating happening" [P2]; "people are so scared of looking racist" [P2]; "have to sugarcoat everything if they want to achieve anything" [P2]; "we know there is no way you suddenly like us" [P1]; "colorblindness... the notion of white people saying... I'm not racist because I have a black friend" [P2]; "a lot of black people will tell you... that they prefer white Afrikaans people because they are frank about how they feel..." [P1]; "white people have to start taking responsibility that there is such a thing as race" [P2]; "A white English person just doesn't want to be honest"

[P3]; "now racism still exists but it is masked... because people put up a façade and pretend that they don't have any prejudice against you" [P1].

The very basic tenet emerged as "like attracts like... and birds of a feather will flock together" [P2], in the innocent sense that similarity enables interaction, or overlapping spheres: "brings in the class aspect again... I can relate to them because we both study the same thing..." [P1]. All respondents were in respective agreement about the relevance of class-issues at the University of Cape Town.¹⁸ In addition, the respondents all highlighted social class issues to either be concomitant with racism, or a precursor to racism. Due to the apartheid-legacy of socioeconomic stratification, not coincidentally along racial lines, the class-issue and the race-issue become blurry. "And none of the black students have a car... and it makes it very strange to know at the end of a shift... you have to now find a way to arrange transport to get back home. And those are real things... that DO create animosity, even if it isn't intentional... it becomes racial in the end" [P1].

A black student that went to a private school "would have more of a rounded English accent" [P2] and a better chance¹⁹ of making white friends. Conversely, in a respective interview, the black respondents picked up this same attitude of white

¹⁶ "You will find the clusters" [P1]; "Yes... everywhere" [P3]; "Yes... every every day... and everywhere" [P3]; "Ja... I do see those... but I don't know if they are organized... or if it just happens that way..." [P1]; "definitely at res... there are black tables and there are white tables" [P2]; "there are big sections where Indian guys and chicks sit" [P2]; "I think it happens everywhere... even in the dining hall... people just sit together in racial groups... I don't think sometime they intend to... it's just something that happens... you enter... you get in... you see a group of white guys and you see a group of black guys... you feel more comfortable going to black guys... rather than the white people... even though the white people will appreciate you joining them... you don't really have that in mind" [P1]; "you stick to people of your own kind" [P2]; "the white peeps hang alone... the black peeps hang alone... the colored peeps DEFINITELY hang alone" [P1]; "people are not free... like maybe in other parts of the world. I suppose... it is a very long process for those barriers to disappear" [P3].

¹⁷ "No... it's mostly with black friends" [P1]; "it's mainly black friends... like... some of my white friends have sort of fallen away... I don't see them as much as I used to" [P1]; "where it's a setting full of white people, my black friends wouldn't want to go because they will feel intimidated" [P1]; "tend to be quite white" [P2]; "Mostly with black friends... entirely with black friends" [P1]; "you hang out with people that are like you" [P1].

¹⁸ "I think there is more separation along class lines" [P2]; "I make friends with people that are similar to me" [P2]; "it is not so much a race thing, but more of a class thing" [P2]; "I think to a large degree it has a lot to do with class" [P2]; "class thing is possibly more relevant" [P2]; "It has come down to a class thing" [P1].

¹⁹ If you went to a private school and you speak an impeccable English... are your chances better of making friends with white students? Yes. Definitely [Helen Sullivan, P2].

students: "I feel pressure to speak an accentless English... everywhere... like... when you speak... sometimes I find that white people correct me... like comment on my accent... like... this is pronounced in this way... no this way doesn't apply here... like you feel pressurized everytime..." [P1].

Hypotheses

Social Distance Among South African Undergraduates

Null Hypothesis 1: The level of social distance among Gen Y undergraduate students at UCT is low.

Alternative Hypothesis 1: Undergraduate Gen Y students at a South African university exhibit high levels of social distance.

Factor Analysis

The COMBINED BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK PEOPLE, compared with COMBINED BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITE PEOPLE, almost remained entirely preserved. Both groups maintained the same three intimate variables and in the same order ('as a lover'; 'as someone I would date'; 'kiss me in public'). The both intimate and non-intimate variables were the same for both these groups. The only variable that the two groups could not agree on was 'sit next to me in a dining hall'. The COMBINED BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACK PEOPLE unequivocally rated this as non-intimate (80% vs. 23% on the intimate rating or percentage of commonality). However, the COMBINED BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD WHITE PEOPLE indicated a 66%-42% commonality split, weighed more to the non-intimate side. A deeper investigation yields the core of the discord: when black and white students respectively

commented on social distance with regard to respective in-group, the 'sit next to me in a dining hall'-variable was almost an equal split between non-intimate and intimate in both cases. Black student attitudes toward out-group for this variable indicated neutrality; it was a neither intimate nor non-intimate variable with a 65% commonality consensus. Both groups marked the same non-intimate variables, except for the 'sit next to me in a dining hall'-variable. There was therefore a close similarity to the way in which both black and white students view non-intimate and intimate variables, or scenarios, when combined attitudes were reviewed.

Means and T-Stats

Combined White and Black Attitudes Toward Black People: An analysis was done of respective statistics for black students and white students, and their attitude toward black people. A first tier review illuminated high means for both subsamples, where a high mean indicated low social distance. The variables that indicated disparity between black and white attitudes toward black students were 'someone I would date' (white students' mean was 3.68, with a standard deviation of 2.218, which further indicated the irregularity of answers); 'as a lover' yielded similar results with a mean of 3.31 and a standard deviation of 2.198. Noteworthy was both the black and the white student attitudes toward 'kiss me in public'-variable; white students reported a 3.57 mean and a standard deviation of 2.225, and black students reported a mean of 5.59 and a standard deviation of 2.083. This may allude to the fact that 'kiss me in public'-variable was an issue in itself, not primarily related to in-group or out-group, but a social discomfort in general.²⁰

²⁰ In 2007, the South African Government banned public demonstration of affirmation for below 16-year-old as part of the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment on Act 32 of 2007, Section 16, (Nicholson, 2007), which could potentially have an effect on how students answered the variable pertaining to 'kiss me in public'.

The second-tier review investigated the t-stat²¹ of the respective sub-samples. A variable that yielded a t-stat higher than 1.96 indicated a significant difference between black students and white students in social comfort levels. The six variables in this instance were: 'premier of my province', 'rent my house from me', 'sit next to me in a dining hall', 'as my academic advisor', 'in a sports team with me', 'baby-sit my child', and 'interact with me as a police officer'. The remaining 10 variables all indicated a great difference, with the highest ranking 'as someone I would date', 'as a lover', 'kiss me in public' and 'marry a brother or sister of mine'.

Combined White and Black Attitudes Toward White People: The same analysis was done of respective statistics for black students and white students, and their attitude toward white people. A similar first tier review illuminated high means for both sub-samples, where a high mean indicated low social distance. The variables that indicated disparity between black and white attitudes toward white people were 'as the president of South Africa' (black students' mean was 4.99, with a standard deviation of 1.858); 'kiss me in public'-variable yielded similar results with a mean of 4.95 and a standard deviation of 2.172. In this case, white students were more comfortable with kissing a member of the in-group in public than the out-group reflected figure. This therefore refutes the previous paragraph's postulation that kissing in public was an issue for all students; it now emerges that it was an issue in general for black students, but still in-group/out-group dependent for white students. The same second-tier review investigated the

t-stat²² of the respective sub-samples. A variable that yielded a t-stat higher than 1.96 indicated a significant difference between black students and white students in social comfort levels. The three variables, in this instance, were: 'rent my house from me', 'as my personal physician', and 'as my academic advisor'. The remaining 13 variables all indicated significant differences, with the highest disparity 'as someone I would date', 'marry a sister or brother of mine', and 'as a lover'.

To Sum Up

There were more cases of high social distance or social comfort disparity, and therefore it could be concluded that social distance was quite high. The Alternative Hypothesis was accepted and the Null Hypothesis was rejected as a result.

Discussion

In the literature review, a score of authors highlight the danger of the sole reliance on quantitative information (Sherif, 1973; Hagendoorn and Hraba, 1987; Parillo and Donoghue, 2005) due to the risk of excluding culture-specific explanations and historical considerations, as well as the possibility of politically-correct answering, thereby skewing results.²³

From the qualitative study, it is evident that white South African students are socially more distant than black South African students when attitudes are measured toward their respective out-groups. As a comparison to the US Rollock and Vrana (2005) study, African-American students are more socially distant toward their out-group than black South African students are to their out-group. When the qualitative data

²¹ This tests the validity of independent factors; above 1.96 indicates a significant difference between independent variables.

²² Ibid.

²³ This is confirmed through qualitative respondents as a real and tangible problem: white South Africans in particular do not want to come across as racist. Political correctness, color-blind or over-compensative attitudes were also highlighted by qualitative respondents.

is added, however, a more complex picture emerges.

Identity Crisis: Who Am I?

This study illuminates the lack of in-group and out-group membership clarity. Triandis et al. (1965) stress the importance of a clearly defined in-group and out-group; the data yield in this study might therefore be skewed due to the uncertainty in a South African setting regarding racial identity. This classification issue becomes apparent in the qualitative data analysis; students are unsure as to which group they belong to and how to refer to the other students. Among the white respondents, it was apparent from their change in speech intonation that they still struggled to use certain words. A slight delay was apparent before saying words like 'black', 'mother-tongue', 'colored', 'race' or 'racial group'.

Birds of a Feather

Some of the black, white and Indian respondents from the qualitative data analysis indicated a strong primary in-group comfort and cohesiveness, which has little or nothing to do with intergroup prejudice. The researchers can only speculate that this could be the reason for out-group distance as part of the quantitative data review. Individualism or collectivism as a cultural orientation can also cause increased in-group cohesiveness and therefore be linked to 'innocent' homophily; in other words, where there is no hidden agenda or underlying prejudicial influence other than straightforward in-group comfort. Some of the qualitative respondents highlighted the fear of losing their in-group identity through intergroup interaction.

Conclusion

This research sets out to ascertain the absolute and true level of interracial social comfort among

black and white South African Gen Y, undergraduate students. The measurement instrument was distributed among undergraduate students and collated at the predominant undergraduate residences at the University of Cape Town. The total sample size was 405; of these, 310 surveys were completed by black students and 95 surveys by white students.

In this study, the researchers assessed the social distance levels of black and white South African undergraduate students. The quantitative and qualitative data have placed the social distance in the context of minority-majority psychology, homophilous interaction, class-stratification, individualism and collectivism. The salience of understanding social proximity in terms of intergroup behavior will assist diversified work groups, school settings, university settings and other forms of social interaction.

This study indicates a number of areas in which further research would be valuable. The black South African student attitudes toward out-group yielded three components after factor analysis was complete. This third component of neutrality (neither intimate nor non-intimate) was an interesting emergence and further analysis could be useful. At core, research is required concerning identity. In as diverse a nation as South Africa, and by extension in many other countries, defining group affiliation is a challenge. Another interesting angle could be research in terms of class stratification versus race stratification, perhaps linked with reparative empowerment initiatives in order to gauge socioeconomic minority and majority issues. Additionally, a comparative social distance survey among all Gen Y undergraduate students at a predominantly Afrikaans-speaking university, correlated with a predominantly English-speaking university, will yield further interesting and useful information. Regular social distance studies for comparative purposes will

also yield interesting information and will also indicate whether progress is being made from an interaction point of view. ☺

Bibliography

1. Abel T (1959), "The Contribution of Georg Simmel: A Reappraisal", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 473-479.
2. Adam H and Adam K (2000), "The Politics of Memory in Divided Societies", in W James and Linda van de Vijver (Eds.), *After the TRC – Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, pp. 32-47, David Philip Publishers (Pty) Ltd., Claremont.
3. Adewuya AO and Makanjuola RO A (2005), "Social Distance Towards People with Mental Illness Amongst Nigerian University Students", *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, Vol. 40, No. 11, pp. 865-868.
4. Aguilera A and Ugalde E (2007), "A Spatially Extended Model for Residential Segregation", *Discrete Dynamics in Nature and Society*, Vol. 2007, pp. 1-20.
5. Akerlof G A (1997), "Social Distance and Social Decisions", *Econometrica*, Vol. 65, No. 5, pp. 1005-1027.
6. Bahora M, Hanafi S U, Chien V H and Crompton M T (2008), "Preliminary Evidence of Effects of Crisis Intervention Team Training on Self-Efficacy and Social Distance", *Administration and Policy in Mental Health*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 159-167.
7. Basson J (2008), *State of the Nation: As Viewed from a Front Bench in Parliament*, Politika, Camps Bay.
8. Bekker S (1996), "Conflict, Ethnicity and Democratization in Contemporary South Africa", in S Bekker and D Carlton (Eds.), *Racism, Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 77-96, Indicator Press, Durban.
9. Beshers J M, Mizruchi E H and Perrucci R (1963), "Social Distance Strategies and Status Symbols: An Approach to the Study of Social Structure", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 311-324.
10. Bessenoff G R (2006), "Can the Media Affect Us? Social Comparison, Self-Discrepancy, and the Thin Ideal", *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 239-251.
11. Biko S (1978), *I Write What I Like*, Picador Africa, Johannesburg.
12. Blauner R (1982), "Colonised and Immigrant Minorities", in A Giddens and D Held (Eds.), *Classes, Power, and Conflict*, pp. 501-519, MacMillan Education, London.
13. Bobo L and Hutchings V L (1996), "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 6, pp. 951-972.
14. Bogardus E S (1925), "Measuring Social Distances", *Journal of Applied Sociology*, Vol. 9, pp. 299-308, available at http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Bogardus/Bogardus_1925.html. Accessed on June 02, 2008.
15. Bogardus E S (1930), "Social-Distance Changes in Educational Procedure", *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. 3, No. 8, *Social Changes in Education in 1929*, pp. 497-502.
16. Bogardus E S (1933), "A Social Distance Scale", *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 22, pp. 265-271.
17. Boyanowsky E O and Allen V L (1973), "In-Group Norms and Self-Identity as Determinants of Discriminatory Behaviour", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 408-418.

18. Brand ES, Ruiz RA and Padilla AM (1974), "Ethnic Identification and Preference", *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 11, pp. 860-890.
19. Brauer M, Niedenthal P and Wasel W (2000), "Implicit and Explicit Components of Prejudice", *Review of General Psychology*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 79-101.
20. Brewer MB (1979), "In-Group Bias in the Minimal Intergroup Situation: A Cognitive-Motivation Analysis", *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 86, No. 2, pp. 307-324.
21. Brewer M B and Gaertner S L (2004), "Toward Reduction of Prejudice: Intergroup Contact and Social Categorization", in M Brewer and M Hewstone (Eds.), *Self and Social Identity*, pp. 298-318, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Malden, MA, USA.
22. Brinkerhoff M B and Mackie M M (1986), "The Applicability of Social Distance for Religious Research: An Exploration", *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 151-167.
23. Brislin R (1981), *Cross-Cultural Encounters: Face-to-Face Interaction*, Pergamom, Elmsford, New York.
24. Brislin RW, Cushner K, Cherrie C and Yong M (1986), *Intercultural Interactions: A Practical Guide*, Vol. 7, Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA.
25. Brown R, Zagefka H, Gonzáles R, Manzi J, and Èehajìè S (2008), "Nuestra Culpa: Collective Guilt and Shame as Predictors of Reparation for Historical Wrongdoing", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 94, No. 1, pp. 75-90.
26. Burgess S (2002), *SA Tribes*, David Philip Publishers, Claremont, South Africa.
27. Byrnes D A and Kiger G (1988), "Contemporary Measures of Attitudes Towards Blacks", *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. 48, pp. 107-118.
28. Chapoulie J (2004), "Using the History of the Chicago Tradition of Sociology for Empirical Research", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 595, No. 1, pp. 157-167.
29. Christopher A J (2002), "'To Define the Indefinable': Population Classification and the Census in South Africa", *Area*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 401-408.
30. Coghlan C L and Huggins D W (2004), "'That's Not Fair!': A Simulation Exercise in Social Stratification and Structural Inequality", *Teaching Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 2, pp. 177-187.
31. Cohen G L and Garcia J (2005), "'I Am Us': Negative Stereotypes as Collective Threats", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 89, No. 4, pp. 566-582.
32. Crandall C S, Schiffhauer K L and Harvey R (1997), "Friendship Pair Similarity as a Measure of Group Value", *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research and Practice*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 133-143.
33. Dagut S (2000), "Gender, Colonial 'Women's History' and the Construction of Social Distance: Middle-Class British Women in Later Nineteenth-Century South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 555-572.
34. Dalcanton C D (1976), "Vorster and the Politics of Confidence 1966-1974", *African Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 299, pp. 163-181.
35. David E J R and Okazaki S (2006), "Colonial Mentality: A Review and Recommendation for Filipino American Psychology", *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 1-16.
36. Davies J (1996), "The State of the South African University System Under

- Apartheid", *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No. 3, pp. 319-332.
37. Duckitt J and Mphuthing T (1998), "Group Identification and Intergroup Attitudes: A Longitudinal Analysis in South Africa", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 74, No.1, pp. 80-85.
 38. Duckitt J and Mphuthing T (1998), "Political Power and Race Relations in South Africa: African Attitudes Before and After the Transition", *Political Psychology*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 809-832.
 39. Dufwenberg M and Muren A (2002), "Discrimination by Gender and Social Distance", unpublished manuscript, Stockholm University, available at http://www.ne.su.se/paper/wp02_02.pdf. Accessed on June 02, 2008.
 40. Du Toit (1983), "No Chosen People: The Myth of the Calvinist Origins of Afrikaner Nationalism and Racial Ideology", *The American Historical Association*, Vol. 88, No. 44, pp. 920-952.
 41. Elder T J, Douglas K M and Sutton R M (2006), "Perceptions of Social Influence When Messages Favour 'Us' versus 'Them': A Closer Look at the Social Distance Effect", *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 353-365.
 42. Elphick R (1983), "Review: A Comparative History of White Supremacy", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 503-513.
 43. Engberg ME (2004), "Improving Intergroup Relations in Higher Education: A Critical Examination of the Influence of Educational Interventions on Racial Bias", *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 74, No. 4, pp. 473-524.
 44. Ethington P J (1997), "The Intellectual Construction of 'Social Distance': Toward a Recovery of Georg Simmel's Social Geometry", *Cybergeo, Epistémologie, Histoire, Didactique*, article 20, available at <http://www.cybergeo.eu/index227.html>. Accessed on May 26, 2008.
 45. Fein S and Spencer S J (1997), "Prejudice as Self-Image Maintenance: Affirming the Self Through Derogating Others", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 73, No. 1, pp. 31-44.
 46. Fisher R (2007), *Race*, Jacana Media, Cape Town.
 47. Fosset M (2006), "Including Preference and Social Distance Dynamics in Multi-Factor Theories of Segregation", *Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, Vol. 30, Nos. 3-4, pp. 289-298.
 48. Goffee R and Jones G (2006), *Why Should Anyone Be Led By You? What It Takes to Be an Authentic Leader*, Harvard Business School Press, Boston.
 49. Goldschmidt M M (2003), "Identifying Labels Among University Students in the New South Africa: A Retrospective Study", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 204-221.
 50. Hagendoorn L and Hraba J (1987), "Social Distance Toward Holland's Minorities: Discrimination Against and Among Ethnic Out-Groups", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3, pp. 317-333.
 51. Hallinan M T and Smith S S (1985), "The Effects of Classroom Racial Composition on Students' Interracial Friendliness", *American Sociological Association*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 3-16.
 52. Henrard K (2002), "Post Apartheid South Africa's Democratic Transformation Process: Redress of the Past, Reconciliation and Unity in Diversity", *The Global Review on Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 18-38,

- available at www.ethnopolitics.org/ethnopolitics/archive/volume_I/issue_3/henrard.pdf. Accessed on May 27, 2008.
53. Hewstone M, Islam M R and Judd C M (1993), "Models of Cross Categorization and In-Group Relations", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 779-793.
 54. Hogg M A (2004), "Social Categorization and Group Behaviour", in M Brewer and M Hewstone (Eds.), *Self and Social Identity*, pp. 203-231, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Malden, MA, USA.
 55. Hogg M A, Terry D J and White K M (1995), "A Tale of Two Theories: A Critical Comparison of Identity Theory with Social Identity Theory", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 4, pp. 255-269.
 56. Hong Y, Chiu C, Hansen I G, Tong Y, Chan G, Wong R Y M, Lee S and Fu H (2003), "How Are Social Identities Linked to Self-Conception and Intergroup Orientation? The Moderating Effect of Implicit Theories", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 85, No. 6, pp. 1147-1160.
 57. Houlette M A, Gaertner S L, Johnson K M, Banker B S, Riek B M and Dovidio J F (2004), "Developing a More Inclusive Social Identity: An Elementary School Intervention", *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 35-55.
 58. Howard J A (2000), "Social Psychology of Identities", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 26, pp. 367-393.
 59. Hypes J L (1928), "The Social Distance Score Card as a Teaching Device", *Social Forces*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 234-237.
 60. James E H, Brief A P, Dietz J and Cohen R R (2001), "Prejudice Matters: Understanding the Reactions for Whites to Affirmative Action Programs Targeted to Benefit Blacks", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 86, No. 6, pp. 1120-1128.
 61. Johnson W R (1982), "Keystone of Apartheid", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, African Education and Social Stratification (Autumn, 1982), pp. 214-237.
 62. Kandel D B (1978), "Homophily, Selection, and Socialization in Adolescent Friendships", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 84, No. 2, pp. 427-436.
 63. Katz D and Braly K W (1933), "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 175-193.
 64. Kawakami K, Dovidio J F, Moll J, Hermsen S and Russin A (2000), "Just Say No (to Stereotyping): Effects of Training in the Negation of Stereotypic Associations on Stereotype Activation", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 78, No. 5, pp. 871-888.
 65. Kessler T and Mummendrey A (2001), "Is There Any Scapegoat Around? Determinants of Intergroup Conflicts at Difference Categorization Levels", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 81, No. 6, pp. 1090-1102.
 66. Kinloch G C (1997), "Racial Attitudes in the Post-Colonial Situation: The Case of Zimbabwe", *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 6, pp. 820-838.
 67. Komarraju M and Cokley K O (2008), "Horizontal and Vertical Dimensions of Individualism-Collectivism: A Comparison of African-American and European-American", *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 336-343.

68. Kuper H (1964), "The Colonial Situation in Southern Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 149-164.
69. Lever H (1969), "The Johannesburg Station Explosion and Ethnic Attitudes", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 180-189.
70. Lever H (1981), "Sociology in South Africa: Supplementary Comments", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 7, pp. 249-262.
71. Lyman S M (1968), "The Race Relations Cycle of Robert E Park", *The Pacific Sociological Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 16-22.
72. Mackie D M and Smith E R (1998), "Intergroup Relations: Insights from a Theoretically Integrative Approach", *Psychological Review*, Vol. 105, No. 3, pp. 499-529.
73. Manzo K and McGowan P (1992), "Afrikaner Fears and the Politics of Despair: Understanding Change in South Africa", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 1-24.
74. McPherson J M and Smith-Lovin L (1987), "Homophily in Voluntary Organizations: Status Distance and the Composition of Face-to-Face Groups", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 370-379.
75. McPherson J M, Smith-Lovin L and Cook J M (2001), "Birds of a Feather: Homophily on Social Networks", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 27, pp. 415-444.
76. Mekeel S (1944), "Concerning Race Prejudice", *Phylon (1940-1956)*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 305-313.
77. Meredith M (2005), *The State of Africa*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg.
78. Mollica K A, Gray B and Treviño L K (2003), "Racial Homophily and Its Persistence in Newcomers' Social Networks", *Organizational Science*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 123-136.
79. Myer D G (2007), *Exploring Social Psychology*, McGraw-Hill, Boston.
80. Negy C, Shreve T L, Jensen B J and Uddin N (2003), "Ethnic Identity, Self-Esteem, and Ethnocentrism: A Study of Social Identity Versus Multicultural Theory of Development", *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 333-344.
81. Nkhoma P M (2002), "What Successful Black South African Students Consider as Factors to Their Success", *Educational Studies in Mathematics*, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 103-113.
82. Odell P, Korgen K and Wang G (2005), "Cross-Racial Friendships and Social Distance Between Racial Groups on a College Campus", *Innovation Higher Education*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 291-305.
83. Ogbu J U (1979), "Social Stratification and the Socialisation of Competence", *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 3-20.
84. Ogunlade J O (1980), "Social Distance Among the Yoruba of Nigeria", *Social Behaviour and Personality*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 121-124.
85. Oyserman D, Coon H M and Kemmelmeier M (2002), "Rethinking Individualism and Collectivism: Evaluation of Theoretical Assumptions and Meta-Analysis", *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 128, No. 1, pp. 3-72.
86. Parillo V N and Donoghue C (2005), "Updating the Bogardus Social Distance Studies: A New National Survey", *The Social Science Journal*, Vol. 42, pp. 257-271.
87. Park B and Rothbart M (1982), "Perception of Out-Group Homogeneity and Levels of Social Categorization: Memory for the Subordinate Attributes of In-Group and Out-Group Members", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 42, pp. 1051-1068.

88. Parker S R, Brown R K, Child J and Smith M A (1967), *The Sociology of Industry*, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London.
89. Payne M C, York C M and Fagan J (1974), "Changes in Measured Social Distance Over Time", *Sociometry*, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 131-136.
90. Perdue C W, Dovidio J F, Gurtman M B and Tyler R B (1990), "Us and Them: Social Categorization and the Process of Intergroup Bias", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 59, No. 3, pp. 475-486.
91. Pettigrew T F (1960), "Social Distance Attitudes of South African Students", *Social Forces*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 246-253.
92. Pollis A (1973), "Intergroup Conflict and British Colonial Policy: The Case of Cyprus", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 575-599.
93. Pols H (2007), "Psychological Knowledge in a Colonial Context: Theories on the Nature of the 'Native Mind' in the Former Dutch East Indies", *History of Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 111-131.
94. Poole W C (1927), "Distance in Sociology", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 99-104.
95. Quillan L and Campbell M E (2003), "Beyond Black and White: The Present and Future of Multiracial Friendship Segregation", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 68, No. 4, August, pp. 540-566.
96. Randall N H and Delbridge S (2005), "Perceptions of Social Distance in an Ethnically Fluid Community", *Sociological Spectrum*, Vol. 25, pp. 103-122.
97. Rollock D and Vrana S R (2005), "Ethnic Social Comfort I: Construct Validity Through Social Distance Measurement", *Journal of Black Psychology*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 386-417.
98. Rowley S J, Burchinal M R, Roberts J E, Zeisel S A (2008), "Racial Identity, Social Context, and Race-Related Social Cognition in African Americans During Middle Childhood", *Developmental Psychology*, Vol. 44, No. 6, pp. 1537-1546.
99. Sartain A Q and Bell H V (1949), "An Evaluation of the Bogardus Scale of Social Distance by Method of Equal Appearing Intervals", *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 29, pp. 85-91.
100. Schechory M and Idisis Y (2006), "Rape Myths and Social Distance Toward Sex Offenders and Victims Among Therapists and Students", *Sex Roles*, Vol. 54, pp. 651-658.
101. Schutte A (1996), "Philosophy for Africa: Community and Individual Freedom, and Conceptions of Humanity", in M E Steyn and K B Motshabi (Eds.), *Cultural Synergy in South Africa*, pp. 27-35, Knowledge Resources, Randburg, Gauteng.
102. Schwartz L (1998), *Culture and Mental Health: A Southern African View*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town.
103. Seekings J and Nattrass N (2005), *Class, Race, and Inequality in South Africa*, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, Scottsville.
104. Sherif C W (1973), "Social Distance as Categorization of Intergroup Interaction", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 327-334.
105. Siegel S and Shepherd I L (1959), "An Ordered Metric Measure of Social Distance", *Sociometry*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 336-342.
106. Simmel G (1897), "The Persistence of Social Groups: I", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 3, pp. 662-698, available at http://www.brocku.ca/MeadProject/Simmel/Simmel_1897a.html. Accessed on June 02, 2008.

107. Simon B, Aufderheide B and Kampmeier C (2004), "The Social Psychology of Minority-Majority Relations", in M Brewer and M Hewstone (Eds.), *Self and Social Identity*, pp. 278-297, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., Malden, MA, USA.
108. Smith T E and Graham P B (1995), "Socioeconomic Stratification in Family Research", *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 57, No. 4, pp. 930-940.
109. South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) (1968), *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 196*, Compiled by Muriel Horrell, January 1968, Johannesburg.
110. Sparks A (1990), *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg.
111. Sparks A (2003), *The Mind of South Africa – The Story of the Rise and Fall of Apartheid*, Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg.
112. Stricker G (1963), "Scapegoating: An Experimental Investigation", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 67, No. 2, pp. 125-131.
113. Suh E, Diener E, Oishi S and Triandis H C (1998), "The Shifting Basis of Life Satisfaction Judgments Across Cultures: Emotions Versus Norms", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 74, No. 2, pp. 482-493.
114. Suzuki-Crumly J and Hyers LL (2004), "The Relationship Among Ethnic Identity, Psychological Well-Being, and Intergroup Competence: An Investigation of Two Biracial Groups", *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 137-150.
115. Theimann N, April K and Blass E (2006), "Context Tension: Cultural Influences on Leadership and Management Practice", *Reflections*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 38-51.
116. Thomas D C and Inkson K (2004), *Cultural Intelligence*, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, San Francisco, USA.
117. Tredoux C and Finchilescu G (2007), "The Contact Hypothesis and Intergroup Relations 50 Years On: Introduction to the Special Issue", *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 34, No. 4, pp. 667-678.
118. Triandis H C and Triandis L M (1960), "Race, Social Class, Religion, and Nationality as Determinants of Social Distance", *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 110-118.
119. Triandis H C, Davis E E and Takezawa S (1965), "Some Determinants of Social Distance Among American, German, and Japanese Students", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 540-551.
120. Turnbull D C and Irlam S (2003), "The Dark Hour: Detention and Torture in Apartheid South Africa", a paper by David C Turnbull and Dr. Shaun Irlam, *South African Study Abroad*, available at www.ruf.rice.edu/~wreed/ugrc/turnbull.pdf. Accessed on May 27, 2008.
121. Van Dyk G A J and Nefale M C (2005), "The Split-Ego Experience of Africans: Ubuntu Therapy as a Healing Alternative", *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 48-66.
122. Verkuyten M and Kinket B (2000), "Social Distances in a Multi Ethnic Society: The Ethnic Hierarchy Among Dutch Preadolescents", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol. 63, No. 1, pp. 75-85.
123. Viljoen H G (1974), "Relationship Between Stereotypes and Social Distance", *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 92, pp. 313-314.
124. Wark C and Galliher J F (2007), "Emory Bogardus and the Origin of the Social

- Distance Scale”, *American Sociologist*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 383-395.
125. Weinfurt KP and Moghaddam FM (2001), “Culture and Social Distance: A Case Study of Methodological Cautions”, *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 141, No. 1, pp. 101-110.
126. Wiberg H (1996), “Identity, Ethnicity, Conflict”, in S Bekker and D Carlton (Eds.), *Racism, Xenophobia and Ethnic Conflict*, pp. 1-20, Indicator Press, Durban.
127. Williams S (2006), *Colour Bar – The Triumph of Seretse Khama and his Nation*, Penguin Books, London.
128. Wohl M J A and Branscombe N R (2008), “Remembering Historical Victimization: Collective Guilt for Current In-Group Transgressions”, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol. 94, No. 6, pp. 988-1006.
129. Yamaguchi K (1990), “Homophily and Social Distance in the Choice of Multiple Friends: An Analysis Based on Conditionally Symmetric Log-Bilinear Association Model”, *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 85, No. 410, pp. 356-366.
130. Yin R K (1994), *Case Study Research Design and Methods*, Second Edition, Sage Publications Inc., California.
131. Zegeye A (2001), “Imposed Ethnicity”, in A Zegeye (Ed.), *Social Identities in the New South Africa*, pp. 1-23, Kwela Books, Cape Town.

Appendix 1: Measurement Instrument

Social Scale A																										
<p>Below are some statements regarding possible social situations in which some people feel comfortable while others do not feel as comfortable. For each question, circle the number that corresponds with how comfortable you would feel in the situation described. Please use the following scale to complete the sentence:</p> <p>I WOULD BE: BLACK / WHITE (circle appropriate option)</p> <table style="width: 100%; text-align: center; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Very Uncomfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Moderately Uncomfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Slightly Uncomfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Neither Comfortable Nor Uncomfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Slightly Comfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Moderately Comfortable</td> <td style="width: 12.5%;">Very Comfortable</td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>2</td> <td>3</td> <td>4</td> <td>5</td> <td>6</td> <td>7</td> <td colspan="2"></td> </tr> </table>									Very Uncomfortable	Moderately Uncomfortable	Slightly Uncomfortable	Neither Comfortable Nor Uncomfortable	Slightly Comfortable	Moderately Comfortable	Very Comfortable			1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Very Uncomfortable	Moderately Uncomfortable	Slightly Uncomfortable	Neither Comfortable Nor Uncomfortable	Slightly Comfortable	Moderately Comfortable	Very Comfortable																				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7																				
1.	... having a black person as the premier of my province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
2.	... having a black person rent my house from me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
3.	... having a black person as a dance partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
4.	... having a black person as president of South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
5.	... having a black person as my personal physician	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
6.	... having a black person as my spiritual counselor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
7.	... having a black person as someone I would date	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
8.	... having a black person as my roommate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
9.	... having a black person sit next to me in a dining hall	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
10.	... having a black person marry a brother or sister of mine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
11.	... having a black person as my academic advisor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
12.	... having a black person kiss me in public	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
13.	... having a black person as a lover	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
14.	... having a black person on a sports team with me	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
15.	... having a black person baby-sit my child	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		
16.	... having a black person interact with me as a police officer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7																		

Appendix 1 (Cont.)

Social Scale B										
Below are some statements regarding possible social situations in which some people feel comfortable while others do not feel as comfortable. For each question, circle the number that corresponds with how comfortable you would feel in the situation described. Please use the following scale to complete the sentence:										
I WOULD BE: BLACK/WHITE (circle appropriate option)										
	Very Uncomfortable	Moderately Uncomfortable	Slightly Uncomfortable	Neither Comfortable Nor Uncomfortable	Slightly Comfortable	Moderately Comfortable	Very Comfortable			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
1.	... having a white person as the premier of my province			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	... having a white person rent my house from me			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	... having a white person as a dance partner			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	... having a white person as president of South Africa			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	... having a white person as my personal physician			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	... having a white person as my spiritual counselor			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	... having a white person as someone I would date			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	... having a white person as my roommate			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	... having a white person sit next to me in a dining hall			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	... having a white person marry a brother or sister of mine			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	... having a white person as my academic advisor			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	... having a white person kiss me in public			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	... having a white person as a lover			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	... having a white person on a sports team with me			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	... having a white person baby-sit my child			1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	... having a white person interact with me as a police officer			1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Reference # 03M-2012-06-02-01