PRINT: ISSN 0976-6634 ONLINE: ISSN 2456-6764
J Sociology Soc Anth, 6(1):45-63 (2015)
DOI: 10.31901/24566764.2015/06.01.189

Racial Integration among Students at The University of Johannesburg

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KEYWORDS Transformation. Higher Education Institutions. Gender. Religiosity.

ABSTRACT One of the objectives of restructuring the South African higher education sector following the transition to democracy was to address the racial imbalances within the sector. Since then, studies have examined the impact of transformation on individual universities and various aspects of the sector as a whole. However, less attention has been paid to how it affects integration among students within these institutions. As a 'transformed' higher education institution, and a place of socialisation for young adults, the University of Johannesburg is an appropriate place to explore to what extent racial integration is occurring in higher education. A survey was used to investigate to what extent students consider themselves to be racially integrated, and also to provide insight into their attitudes regarding racial integration. The findings show that racial integration is limited and occurs in less intimate situations, and, that there are also some contradictions between the attitudes and behaviour towards racial integration.

INTRODUCTION

Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and the Transition to Democracy in South Africa

By the end of apartheid, South Africa's historical system of racial oppression and discrimination had left a legacy of a deeply entrenched system of racially, ethnically and regionally divided Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (CHE 2000). These institutions were characterised by gross differences in teaching, student intake and outputs, curriculum, and access to funds and other resources (NCHE 1996; CHE 2000). One of the immediate priorities after the transition to democracy, was the overhauling of the education system in South Africa. This was, regarded by the post-democratic government, as a crucial step in bringing about social transformation not only within the education system itself, but more broadly in South African society as a whole (Department of Education 1997). As part of the various national initiatives that the restructuring of the Higher Education system would include, was the merging of advantaged 'historically white universities[1]' (HWUs) and disadvantaged 'historically black universities' (HBUs). The mergers were seen as a necessary compromise in moving towards an equitable and racially integrated system of education and a non-racial society. It was aimed at correcting the structural inequalities, primarily those of race and class, at a macro level of society.

Despite substantial resistance initially (Jansen and Taylor 2003: 11; Kampsteeg 2008: 435; Mouton et al. 2013), partly due to concerns of state intervention within the sector, the merging of institutions proceeded in the early 2000s. The arrangement of 36 racially (and class) divided institutions (colleges, technikons, universities) across the country, was reconfigured into 21 institutions (universities, comprehensive universities and universities of technology) in order to allow for greater integration of student bodies, reflective of the diversity of the South African society.Some institutionsremainedas they were (typically, these were the major HWUs and also HBUs from the former 'homelands[2]'), and others were recreated into new comprehensive institutions through the merging of HWUs, HBUs and technikons.

For the most part, the student profiles of universities have indeed changed since the transformation. Although it appears at the outset that the first democratically elected government may have achieved structural and systemic changes of the higher education sector, studies show that racial integration occurs mostly within the mid-

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dle classes (Morrow 2008) and that racism is a continued feature in the everyday lives of South African university students, in new and subtle forms (Walker 2005a, b). Following from this, the researchers explore to what extent we are able to claim that racial integration, based on the principles of non-racism, has occurred at onecomprehensive university in South Africa. The researchers examine what attitudes towards racial integration exist among students, and to what extent their behaviours reflect meaningful racial integration.

This study looks at racial integration at one comprehensive university in South Africa, namely the University of Johannesburg (UJ). As a comprehensive Higher Educational Institution (HEI), UJ was reconstituted as a result of the merger between a former HWU, HBU and a Technikon. The merger brought about a culturally diverse and multiracial student population, comprising in 2011 of approximately 50527 students (UJ Annual Report 2011). In order to understand to what extent racial integration/redress has occurred at this comprehensive institution, this study explored the attitudes towards racial integration and behaviours indicating the extent to which students believe themselves to be integrated.

Race, Racism and Racial Integration at Universities in South Africa

Since the transformation of Higher Education Institutions, numerous studies have been conducted to observe and reflect on 'race', racism, diversity and racial integration among students on university campuses in South Africa (among the many studies conducted are Jansen and Taylor 2003; Schrieff et al. 2005; Walker 2005 a, b; Erasmus 2006; Robus and Macleod 2006; Moguerane 2007; Cross and Johnson 2008; Soudien 2008; Sharp and Vally 2009; Alexander and Tredoux 2010; Pattman 2010; Cakal et al. 2011 may be cited). From these studies, the researchers identify three important problems that exist in universities today. Firstly, while the former HWUs and merged and comprehensive universities have become multiracial, the former HBUs have remained predominantly Black (Morrow 2008: 266) and at the same time, it appears that the former Afrikaner HWUs have retained (if not increased) White student enrolments. Racial integration appears to have become asymmetrical creating an environment of unequal transformation. Data released by Higher Education South Africa (HESA) showing the headcount enrolments at HEI by race support this view (UJ Annual Report 2011; Stumpf 2013; Narsee 2014). The proportional representation of race by headcounts from 2000 to 2011, reflects a steady increase of Black student enrolment across all institutions with a decline in numbers for white students and almost no change in Indian/Asian and Coloured student enrolments. In the year 2000, 58% of the enrolments were African. In 2006 it increased to 61% and in 2011 it further increased to 69% (Stumpf 2013). White student enrolments, which were at 30% in 2000, dropped to 25% in 2006, and 19% in 2011 (Stumpf 2013). Indian/Asian and Coloured student enrolments has remained more or less the same. In 2000, the enrolments of Indian/Asian and Coloured students was 7% and 5% respectively, in 2006 it was 7% and 7%, and in 2011, 6% and 6% respectively (Stumpf 2013).

Secondly, and related to the first point, since the transformation of the higher education sector, the institutional landscape of education in South Africa has settled into new patterns of race and class relations, rather than the eradication of such. The intention of the sector's restructuring was to create an environment in which universities may become institutions of non-racism and non-discrimination on the grounds of class, gender or disability. They were intended to be important vehicles of socialisation for South Africa's future leaders in this respect. However, the picture that has emerged, is that overall, apartheid's race and class cleavages between (and within) institutions continue to exist, but the lineaments are more complex than before. This is clearly portrayed in Morrow's (2008) chapter on race, redress and historically Black institutions in South Africa following the transformation of the sector. Morrow argues that the former HWU campuses have not only become multiracial but also middle class (2008: 264) whereas, the former HBUs have remained overwhelmingly Black with student bodies that come from the poorest and least privileged sections of the Black population (2008: 266). Merged and comprehensive institutions (consisting of former HWUs and HBUs) are more complex as their composition has resulted in the racial and socio-economic inequalities embedded within the institutions themselves (Morrow 2008: 267) - al-

though this is not to say that other universities are free of the same internal challenges in dealing with integration. Morrow (2008: 284) argues that:

"in class terms the intake [of students at Black universities] has for the most part moved down the social scale, with the Black middle class now, as in the school sector, moving to the ex-White institutions leaving the HDIs [historically disadvantaged institutions] populated with students from poorer and less advantaged backgrounds".

Morrow (2008: 266) also asserts:

"those [students] who lose out, relatively speaking in higher education tend to be those who go to the still existing Black universities, desegregated in theory, but in fact catering to the poorer or less qualified Black students. Those [students who are] benefitting most are those, Black and White, who with good educational backgrounds and some financial resources, are in a position to take advantage of the best higher education available".

The conclusion one draws is that racial integration within the transformed higher education sector appears to be taking place within the middle classes, irrespective of colour, and in the former White universities. The former Black universities, although "desegregated in theory", remain segregated and disadvantaged. However, less is known of the merged and comprehensive universities and it is worth exploring how these institutions fit into this scenario. The situation described by Morrow (2008) paints a worrying picture of how macro-level restructuring towards the goal of racial integration has had the unintended consequence of reproducing racialised class inequalities in education and has been limited to certain classes[3]. Interestingly, this is not unlike patterns of racial integration within the broader the South African society.

The overall sentiment from general research of race, racism and racial integration is that "segregation continues to dominate the urban landscape" (Durrheim and Dixon 2010: 274) along lines of race and class. Generally it is found that middle class South Africans display more integration in their neighbourhoods and schools than lower class South Africans (Seekings 2008). Opportunities for racial interaction are therefore limited among the impoverished who remain marginalised and in racially homogenous areas (Durrheim and Dixon 2010: 274). One of the reasons why opportunities for racial interaction have been limited, is because residential areas and schools, still remain largely segregated along racial lines reminiscent of the apartheid roadmap (Seekings 2008: 8). It is claimed that "Most African children attend schools in townships or rural areas where all of the others are also African. It is only a small and fortunate minority that is able to get access to better schools found in formerly Coloured and, especially, formerly White areas" (Seekings 2008: 15). It appears that few South African children attend multiracial schools or mature in environments in which contact with other race groups is frequent or commonplace (Seekings 2008: 15). Despite twenty years of democracy, class discrepancies still prevail in urban townships and rural areas. In the case where universities campuses are located in townships which today are still inhabited by mostly disadvantaged Black people, students remain in predominantly desegregated environments – unless they are able to afford fees at multiracial campuses in cities where a diversity of middle class students would be found. It would not be inconceivable therefore for university students to arrive at university and be faced with the first ever fully multiracial environment. Racial integration at university is limited again by class (Bhana 2014) with the poorer segments of the Black population having had few experiences of racial integration. This relates to the third problem encountered at post-transformed universities in South Africa. Transformation appears to have occurred without the deconstruction of 'race', which allows for not only the reproduction of somewhat mutated race class divisions and limited racial integration, but also the reproduction of new forms of racism.

Racism at universities in South Africa, was thrown into the public consciousness in 2007 when 4 White male students at the Reitz Residence of the University of Free State (UFS) produced a video in which Black female (and one male) middle aged cleaners were subjected to various forms of degradation. The video demonstrated acts of White supremacy (Lewins 2010: 127; Naidoo 2010: 121), direct and indirect forms of discrimination and inequalities based on race, class and gender (Lewins 2010: 127). The video was created as part of the Reitzresidence initiation ceremony, in protest to the university's action to racially integrate White residences (Soudien Report 2008: 23). As a result of

this video and incident that sparked outrage through-out South Africa and beyond, the Ministry of Education commissioned an investigation into discrimination in higher education which also included an enquiry into 'the nature and extent of racism and racial discrimination in public higher education, and in particular university residences (Soudien Report 2008: 8). This investigation was also motivated by a number of other concerns related to university transformation in South Africa, including concern over the slow pace of transformation at universities (Lewins 2010: 127). It was deemed a necessary inquiry despite the various structural initiatives that had already taken place (such as the mergers of historically disadvantaged and advantaged institutions) and that were ongoing (such as admission criteria, fee structures, employment equity, curriculum design). The report concluded that 'discrimination in particular with regard to racism and sexism, is pervasive in our institutions' (Soudien 2008: 13), and that problems with integration were arising in various forms within residences at universities (Soudien 2008: 83-99). As Pattman (2010: 953) argues, had it not been for the incident at UFS, there would have been no investigation into racism (and sexism) at universities and neither would the issue have had such a presence in the public domain.

The UFS incident has sparked a flurry of concern over racism at universitiesresulting in a number of studies (Moguerane 2007; Sharp and Vally 2009). These studies show that although structural transformation may have occurred, various manifestations of institutional and personal racism continue within the higher education sector in South Africa (Moguerane 2007). For example, in a study conducted at a former Afrikaans HWI, the University of Pretoria (UP), the university handled transformation at the residence by allocating rooms according to 'culture' based on their group differences. This 'strategy' served to maintain segregation between students in the residences by keeping different cultures from sharing intimate spaces and privileging White students over Black students by allocating them better accommodation (Sharp and Vally 2009: 5). Moguerane (2007: 59) the author of the study argues, "that it is through the use of a discourse of 'culture' that…ongoing racism and racial ordering are legitimised and sustained…that the discourse around 'cultural differences' is a 'silencing of race'". Commenting on the implications of Mogeurane's (2007) study,others point out that UP's handling of transformation at residences at the university have had the unfortunate outcome of the *heightening* racial identity in social interactions among students (Sharp and Vally 2009: 3), as well as apartheid-like class divisions between Black and White students. Sharp and Vally (2009: 6) point out that the discourse of 'culture' is not only a euphemism for 'race', but for class as well.

These views perhaps best explain a more recent incident of alleged racism at the UP campus. In August 2014, two White female students posted pictures of themselves on social media,dressed up as Black domestic workers replete with skirts, headgear, with their bodies painted in brown paint with added padding to their bottoms. The university immediately took disciplinary steps against the students for bringing the university into disrepute. However, the ongoing incidents of racist behaviour at universities are a major cause for concern. The Soudien Report (2008: 83) details an incident at UJ, and in 2014 at least two more incidents were reported at the UP and one at the UFS. In response to the racist attacks against Black students at South African universities, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) proclaimed its concern about the lack of transformation at South African universities twenty years into democracy, and was even more perturbed about the increase in racist attacks, particularly against Black students (Narsee 2014).

If racism among students is a persistent issue among students at university, then it is likely that they are not well integrated. A number of studies have explored the extent of intergroup contact and racial segregationamong students in informal settings at universities by observing their behaviour on campuses and in informal settings such as dining halls (Schrieff et al. 2005; Cross and Johnson 2008; Alexander and Tredoux 2010). These studies show that there is little racial integration among students and that 'people of different races tend to cluster together in homogenous groups in the so-called integrated places' (Dixon et al. 2008 cited in Durrheim and Dixon 2010: 275). These studies show that segregation on campuses is spatially configured according to race groups.

These are but a few of the many studies that make a tremendous contribution to understanding race, racism and racial integration in the high-

er education sector in post-apartheid South Africa. They open further avenues for research of racial integration at universities in post-apartheid South Africa. It is argued that "South Africans continue to see themselves in the racial categories of the apartheid era, in part because these categories have become the basis for post-apartheid 'redress' and in part because they retain cultural meaning in everyday life" (Seekings 2008: 1). Students enter universities with racial identities shaped by their environments and are likely to act in accordance with their beliefs, especially if they go unchallenged. However, in South Africa today, people are less likely to express racist attitudes or behave in overtly racist ways and therefore new and subtle forms of racism (Walker 2005 a, b; Durrheim et al. 2011) and racial segregation emergedespite whatever broader transformation may have occurred. 'Whiteness' too remains present as a hegemonic structure (Steyn 2001; Vice 2010), operating silently and invisibly, maintaining barriers to racial integration. Even though institutional change may have occurred within the higher education sector, institutional cultures may still require attention in fostering equity and interaction especially in former White universities. Institutional restructuring on its own may not necessarily be accompanied by a culture of support for transformation so that "making a former White South African university function in a way that is not racist is not easy and cannot be achieved solely through putting in place appropriate policies and procedures… in post-segregationist settings (that is, places where there was official segregation, but that has now been removed), racism often operates in subtle ways" (Matthews 2013). Is it enough therefore to state that racial integration is achieved by accepting revised student profiles without investigating the attitudes and behaviours of students towards racial integration?

It is against this backdrop of institutional transformation that our study of racial integration within the higher education sector in South Africa is conducted. In our view, integration is more than macro restructuring which rearranges the public face of higher education. Racial integration should include micro restructuring of attitudes and behaviours in order to achieve true transformation on the grounds of non-racism. Transformation, without addressing the meaning of race and racism leavescurrent racial attitudes and divisions unchallenged, rendering the envisaged outcome of transformation of a non-racist society redundant. As the studies show, racism is left unchecked and intact and therefore efforts at transformation make no or little impact on the already formed identities of students. This makes the goal of non-racialism very difficult to achieve.

The definition that we adopt in this paper therefore reflects a broader conceptualisation of integration - thatwhich goes beyond the demonstration of the representativity of 'race' groups in student bodies. We make use of a definition of integration offered by Gouws (2008), Moguerane (2007) and Pattman (2010), that integration must be more than the co-existence with others, but also the voluntary mingling between race groups (Gouws 2008), the "engagement and friendship between students of different 'races'" (Pattman 2010: 954) and the "sharing of intimate spaces, such as bathrooms and kitchens in residential places" (Moguerane 2007: 43). Following this definition, we also suggest that integration should extend further than social contact and friendships, and include dating and marriage. Integration should also encompass positive attitudes. Without positive attitudes, integration is less likely to occur in any meaningful way.

This paper explores attitudes towards racial integration among students at a comprehensive university made up of the merger between a former White and a former Black university and a technikon. It also explores the behaviours of students with regard to racial integration in order to ascertain to what extent there is integration between attitudes and behaviours. The attention in this paper is directed at what is occurring at an interpersonal level among students. Transformation is an ongoing process and it appears that there is still much work to be done. While many studies on racism and racial integration have been conducted at different universities in South Africa (discussed above), a study is still to be done at the University of Johannesburg. In response to the UFS incident, Gouws called for more analyses "of the limited nature of integration at historically Afrikaans universities, but also the meaning of integration" (2008: 1).Since UJ includes one former Afrikaans university, ahistorically Black university, and a technikon geared more towards White students, this study addresses a gap and pro-

vides important insights into understanding the relationship between racial integration, context and higher education institutions in working towards a democratic society.

UJ, Transformation and Racial Integration

UJ is the 'product' of an institutional merger (between the former Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Vista University and the Technikon Witwatersrand). RAU was an Afrikaans university which today is referred to as a historically White university (HWU). It was located in a former White, urban suburb in Johannesburg namely Auckland Park, and it was predominantly aimed at upskilling the Afrikaner working class. Vista University was created as a university catering to the needs of specifically urban Black students, and would today be referred to as a historically Black university (HBU). Vista University consisted of a number of campuses,mainly in townships close to large cities such as Johannesburg and Pretoria, and each campus was incorporated into specific institutions in the region where they were located during the restructuring of HEIs during 2003-2005. The Soweto and East Rand campuses of Vista University were paired up with RAU. The Technikon Witwatersrandwas a vocational Higher Education Institution catering to the needs of White, English-speaking middle class students and consisted of 2 campuses in different parts of the city. By 2005, UJ had emerged as a new and comprehensive Higher Education Institution with four campuses located in three different parts of the Johannesburg metropolis: the Kingsway-Campus in Auckland Park (the main campus), the Bunting Road Campus also in Auckland Park, the Doornfontein Campus in Johannesburg, and the newly expanded Soweto Campus in the Soweto township. The East Rand Campus was closed down in 2006 and students were transferred from the East Rand to the main Kingsway Campus. Each campus is 'connected' to a former historical institution with a racialised and spatially segregated history.

Today, in post-apartheid South Africa, each campus has a different racial composition to that of its past.The student composition that has emerged at UJ is as a result of the consolidation of the different campuseswith a student body comprising of many different nationalities, race, ethnic, class, and religious backgrounds. A new, 'diverse' student body isvisible at UJ - one that was not evident at anyof the former, racially-segregated institutions that now constitute UJ. At the same time, although UJ may be said to have a diverse student composition, most of the students today in terms of enrolments are Black (UJ Annual Report 2011: 12). In terms of context, all of the abovementioned dynamics are interesting for understanding the minority-majority group relations. UJ provides an interesting case study, therefore, for racial integration among students. As a microcosm of the broader South African society, UJ is ideally placed for a study related to racial integration.

It is also relevant to consider that UJ may be the first opportunity for students of different racial backgrounds to mix socially and romantically. As already mentioned, many neighbourhoods, and consequently schools in South Africa are still not desegregated or as desegregated as one would have hoped. Students may have attended schools in which many race groups are present, but it is still possible today (given the location of the campuses) that some students come from an environmentin which there is very little meaningful and ongoing contact with members of other race groups. Entering university may present a number of possibilities for interaction that students may not have had before, including opportunities for romantic relationships. While we are long past the days in which romantic relationships across racial lines are prohibited, it is still of significance to examine what students believe is acceptable today in terms socialising, dating and marriage as it reveals attitudes to racism and racial integration. Differences in attitudes between males and females are of particular interest to this study. UJ is also a religiously diverse place of higher learning,which also provides an opportunity to see to what extent the level of religiosity and racial integration is correlated.

Religiosity, Racial Prejudice and Integration

What seems to be absent in South African sociological studies of racial integration, is whether religiosity impacts on results. In order to understand the relationship between religiosity and racial integration, we turn to social psychological studies on racial prejudice (as opposed to racial integration) as more has been written on the topic in relation to religiosity.

Studies have shown that the association between religion and racial prejudice have not produced consistent findings. Some studies have shown that religion exacerbates racial prejudice by creating in-group versus out-group dynamics (Smith et al. 2007: 264), while other studies have shown that religion overrides racial prejudice by uniting individuals together within a common framework (Smith et al. 2007). At the same time, studies also shown that religious people tend to prefer other religious people rather than non-believers, and that non-believers tend to show prejudice towards the religious (Smith et al. 2007). However, the nature of an individual's religiousness is important in explaining that result. Furthermore, in considering the relationship between religion and racial prejudice, it must be remembered that both are directly and indirectly influenced by a number of other variables such as education, socio-economic conditions, culture, social values, nationalism, ethnic identity (Smith et al. 2007: 264), historical circumstances and political ideology. Therefore, the relationship between both religion and racial prejudice is not straightforward. When these variables interface with religion and race, both separately and together, the outcome may be either a positive or negative association between religion and racial prejudice (Smith et al. 2007). Ultimately, these studies highlight that the association between religion and racial prejudice is complex, context-specific and dependent on the nature of the religiousness that has been examined (Smith et al. 2007).

This paper explores to what extent students at UJ report to be racially integrated and have favourable attitudes towards racial integration. Gender, race and levels of religiosity are variables against which racial integration, and attitudes to racial integration, are tested. Apart from the above mentioned contextual, historical, religious and political factors, as a place of socialisation for young adults, UJ is an appropriate place to test to what extent racial integration is occurring.It has been more than nine years since the merger, andit would be interesting to explore what interactions we find between different student groups at UJ, and whether there is any difference between their behaviour and attitudes. The hypotheses were:

Among students at UJ, racial integration is independent of race, gender and level of religiosity.

Among students at UJ, attitudes towards racial integration are independent of race, gender and level of religiosity.

METHODOLOGY

During 2011, a large survey was undertaken by the Department of Sociology on all of the University of Johannesburg campuses, the focus of which was "Student Communities". A detailed quantitative questionnaire was developed to obtain demographic information about both undergraduate and postgraduate students studying at UJ. The questionnaire focused on a number of pertinent issues directly related to students' views and attitudes on issues relating to UJ and their lives, such as issues on racial integration, religiosity, gender, sex, sexuality and politics, among others. The focus of this paper is on racial integration and attitudes towards racial integration against race, gender and level of religious practice among undergraduate students. The interviews were conducted during October and November of 2011 and only undergraduate students were surveyed across all four of the UJ campuses. The participants completed the questionnaire in personal interviews with a researcher.

Stratified random sampling was used to identify respondents. The variables that were included in the sampling frame included campus, faculty, gender, race and year of study.The types of questions asked to assess attitudes and behaviours regarding racial integration included "To what extent do you socialise with people from another racial group?", "To what extent do you have friends who are members of a different racial group?", "To what extent do you feel comfortable about attending lectures / participating in a study group / sharing accommodation but not the same room / sharing a room / being friends with / and dating somebody of a different race group?". Other attitudinal questions included "It is okay for people from different racial groups to attend social functions (parties, weddings, funerals etc.) together", "It is okay to associate mostly with your own race group at a mixed social function", "It is okay for people fromdifferent racialgroups to dateeach other", and "People should be free to marry whoever they want to marry regardless of their race".

Initially the survey sought to interview 2 600 students on all of the UJ campuses, due to a

number of constraints, such as examinations taking place, data collection was deemed sample sufficient once 1214 students had been interviewed. While the majority of undergraduate students were interviewed at the Auckland Park Campus (590), significant samples were achieved at the Bunting Road Campus (255), the Doornfontein Campus (215) and 154 students at the Soweto Campus. These samples are considered representative of the student population registered in 2011, in terms of race and gender and across the different campuses. The majority of the students in the sample were of South African origin (92.8%), while 5.1% came from other SADC countries, 1.9% from the rest of Africa and only 0.3% came from outside Africa.

The sample consisted of 53.1% female and 46.9% male respondents. Black students made up 80.2 % of the sample, 12.2% were Whites, 5.5% were Indian/Asian and Coloured students accounted or 2.1%. The socio-economic backgrounds ofthe students were largely working class. In response to a question asking whether they had enough money to cover their basic needs, 14% said ''never/rarely'', 52% said ''sometimes/usually" and a minority (34%) said ''always". This finding is consistent with Morrow's (2008) argument that historically Black institutions have remained Black and consist of students from lower economic categories – although UJ is a merger of a HWU and HBU.

Of the neighbourhoods that students come from, 60.3% came from mainly Black suburbs, 14.0% came from mainly White suburbs, 4.0% from Indian/Asian, and 2.1% from mainly Coloured suburbs. 18.7% claim to be from mixed suburbs. This shows that the majority of students (80.4%) come from predominantly racially homogenous and segregated neighbourhoods.

Students were surveyed across all nine faculties at UJ. 24% of the students surveyed were from the Faculty of Management; 20.2% from the Faculty of Economic and Financial Sciences; the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment accounted for 17.5% of the sample, while Humanities 13.7%; Education (5.5%); Science (5.5%) and Arts, Design and Architecture, Health Sciences, and Law made up 5.4%, 4.9% and 3.4% of the sample respectively.

It is interesting to note that 100% of the sample reported on religious affiliation. Of this, 83.2% described themselves as Christian, 6.1% of the students said they had no religious affiliation, and 4.2% of the students stated they were Muslim. The remaining 6.5% of the student body affiliated with Judaism (1%), Hinduism (2.3%), Traditional African (2%), and Other (1.2%). While religious affiliation does not mean level of religiosity of a person, the fact that93.9% reported some form of religious affiliation, is worth exploring further.

From the 1140 students who affiliated themselves with a religion,68.0% consideredthemselvesto be a religious person, 20.0% remained neutral and 12.0% did not consider themselves to be a religious person. More female students appeared to consider themselves to be religious than male students. Among females, 74.9% considered themselves to be religious, 17.5% remained neutral and only 7.7% considered themselves to not be religious. Among male students, 60.1% considered themselves to be religious, 22.8% remained neutral and 17.1% stated they were not religious.

However, when looking at student responses with regard to their religious practices it was noted that 50.1% said that they participate in religious activities with others, and 57.9% said that they practiced religious activities privately.A small percentage (18.6%) belonged to a religious student association / society at UJ. However it is not known how many belong to religious associations / societies outside of UJ. Being religious is subjective and needs to be understood further, as the results indicate that there is a gap in perception and activity around level of religiosity. However, the level of religiosity in this paper was accepted as whether the students defined themselves to be a religious person or not.

Data analysis was carried out using STATA (version 11) as a statistical programme.Chi2 tests were used. The dependent variables were Likert-type questions and the independent variables were race, genderand religiosity.

RESULTS

Students mostly felt that "Racism is a big problem in South Africa". 64.5% agreed to varying extents with this statement, 28.6% remained neutral and 8.7% disagreed. Regarding racism on campus, 48.1% of the students "Strongly agree" / "Agree" with the statement that good race relations exist on campus. 34.8% of the students remained neutral and 17.1% "Strongly Dis-

Table 1: Comparison of responses to racism and race relations in South Africa and UJ

	Strongly agree / Agree	*Neutral*	*Strongly disagree / Disagree*	*Total*
Racism is a big problem in South Africa	64.5% (779)	28.6% (345)	8.7% (105)	100% (1207)
Good race relations exist on campus	48.1% (582)	34.8% (422)	17.1% (207)	100% (1211)

agree" / "Disagree" with the statement. On the issue of racism, Table 1 indicates that students felt that racism is a bigger problem in South Africa than it is at UJ. However, less than half of the students (48.1%) agreed that race relations were good, indicating that there are perceptions that an improvement in race relations is required at UJ.

Student Activities Indicating Racial Integration

A total of 1207 students answered the question "To what extent do you socialise with people from another racial group?". Student responses show that the majority of the students (97.9%) socialised with people from another race to some extent. Only 2.1% of the students said that "to no extent" do they socialise with people from another racial group (Fig. 1) .

Following this, students were asked "To what extent do you have friends who are members of a different racial group?" All 1214 students in the survey answered the question. 85.1% of the students have friends from different racial group to some extent, and 14.9% of the students reported here that they do not have friends of a different racial group. At the outset, it appears from these two statements that most students are racially integrated in terms of social activities and friendships. While the majority of the students socialise and have friends with people from different racial groups, it can be seen that more students socialise with, rather than become friends with people from a different race group. However, the survey does not interrogate what kinds of socialising students do together, nor the nature of their friendships, and therefore there could be variances in meaning.

In both responses, there was no difference between male and female students, and whether or not the students are religious. Race did however provide some variations in the results. The racial spread in the results of "To a large / very large extent"is evident in Table 2.

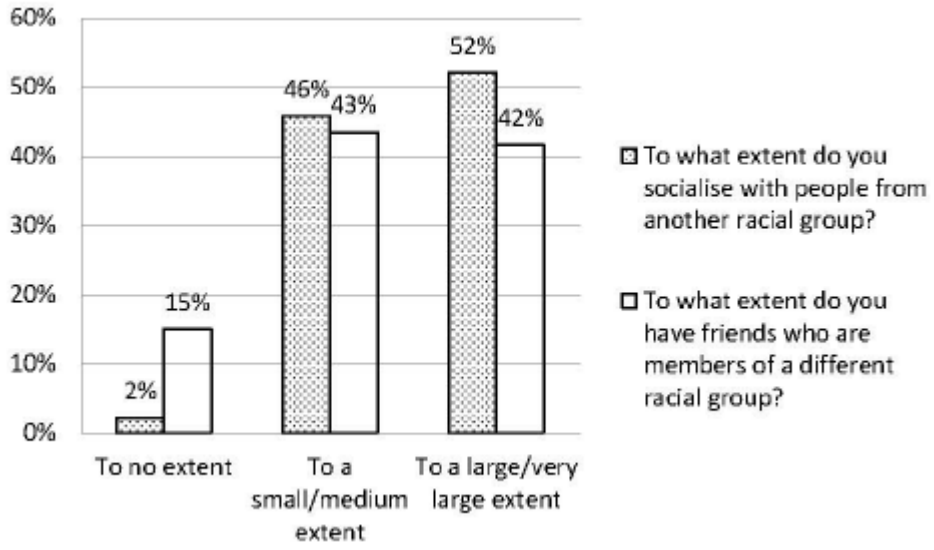

Fig. 1. Student responses towards socialising and being friends according to race

Table 2: Comparison of socialising and friends with another racial group

	To a large / very large extent			
	Black	*White*	*Indian/Asian*	*Coloured*
Socialise with people from another racial group	48.6%	54.7%	85.1%	80.8%
Friends with people from another racial group	36.5%	49.3%	82.1%	80.8%

With regard to socialising with people from another racial group, Table 2 shows that 85.1% of the Indian/Asian students reported that they are comfortable "To a large extent"/ "to a very large extent" with doing so. This is 80.8% among Coloured students, 54.7% among White students, and 48.6% among Black students. It should however be noted that the number of Coloured students surveyed was 26 and the number of Indian/Asian students included in this survey was 67.

Similarly, 82.1% of the Indian/Asian students and 80.8% of the Coloured students reported to be comfortable "To a large extent"/"to a very large extent" with being friends with somebody from a different race. This was 49.3% among White students and 36.5% among the Black students.

The results show that the smallest minority groups (Indian/Asian and Coloured students) displayed the most positive responses on this issue, followed by White students. Black students indicated the least positive responses on both issues.

Students were also asked a set of questions relating to situations at university in which they would be integrating with others. The activities range from those in which students have no choice but to be integrated (for example, attend lectures together), have some choice over their integration (for example, participate in a study group together), to scenarios where they may have complete choice over their actions (for example, share a room, share accommodation but not the same room, being friends and dating). This range also moves from less intimate (impersonal) to more intimate (personal) activities. The range of activities across choice and intimacy provides a greater depth to what extent students are prepared to integrate.

The majority of the students are comfortable with attending a lecture(84.4% to a very large / large extent) and participating in a study group (72.3% "To a very large" / "To a large extent") with other race groups (the "To no extent" results in each case were slim- 1.7% and 3.5% respectively). These two activities have less choice and are more impersonal. Lectures at UJ tend to be made up of very large classes at undergraduate level and are therefore the most impersonal activity in the range presented. The extent to which 'participating in a study group' is personal, depends on the size of the class, the nature of the study group task, and the duration over which the group is formed. Race, gender and level of religiosity did not alter the results here in anyway. In contrast, it is interesting to note how the results change once more intimate activities are engaged with.

From the bar graph (Fig. 2), it is evident that more intimate activities, and those that offer greater exercise of choice, alter the results. This result refers to when students are presented with a scenario such as sharing accommodation but not the same room, sharing a room and dating members of other race groups. Out of these three activities, students are mostcomfortable with sharing accommodation but not the same room (61% "To a very large" / "To a large extent"). Interestingly, students feel more comfortable dating someone of another race group (49% "To a very large" / "To a large extent") than sharing a room (36% "To a very large / large extent"). This does not seem to make sense. Perhaps students feel they need to portray themselves as more comfortable with dating than they really are and in all likelihood want to be seen to be 'politically correct' in their answers.

Race and religiosity influence the results of the more intimate activities mentioned. The results indicate that sharing accommodation (be it a room or not) and dating are dependent on race.

Comfort levels also seem to depend on the level of religiosity, as the results in Table 3 display that those who are not religious have higher levels of comfort than those who are neutral or religious when it comes to sharing accommodation (be it a room or not). The extent to which students consider themselves to be religious appears to have some influence on the extent to

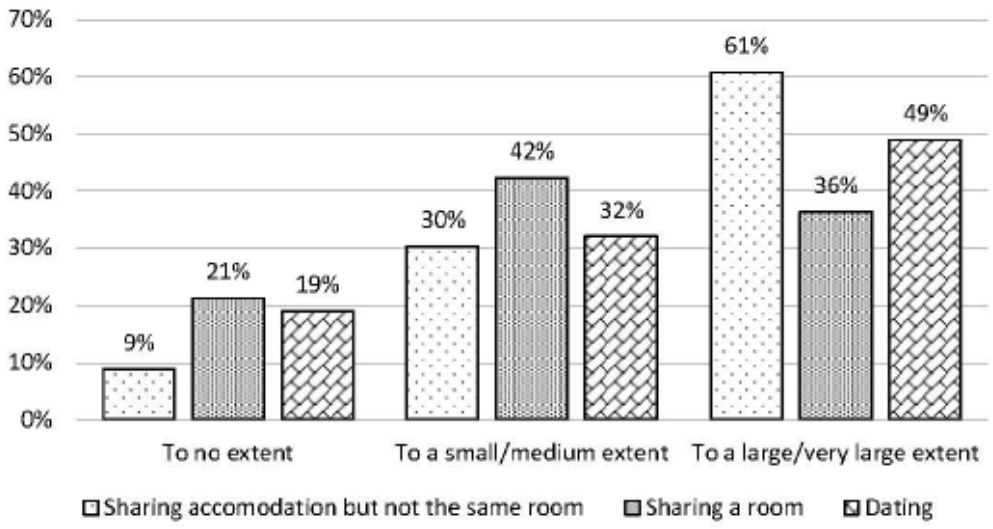

Fig. 2. Student responses towards various activities in which integration may occur.

which students are comfortable with sharing accommodation but not a room with somebody from a different racial group. 72.6% of the people who do not consider themselves to be religious, report that they are comfortable with sharing accommodation"To a large extent"/"To a very large extent". For studentswho are neutral with regard to religion, this is 54.8% and for people who consider themselves to be religious this is 60.5%.

Similarly, as to the statement 'sharing accommodation but not a room', students who do not consider themselves to be religious are more comfortable with sharing a room than other students. 50% of the students who do not consider themselves to be religious were comfortable "To a large extent"/"To a very large extent" with sharing a room with someone from a different race. This was 35.6% amongst students who consider themselves religious and 30.3% of the students who remained neutral with regard to them being religious.

The extent to which students consider themselves to be religious does not influence to what extent they are comfortable with dating somebody from a different race group. Dating is not affected by the level of religiosity.

Gender makes no difference tosharing accommodation (be it a room or not). Gender does however make a difference to dating. Male and female students differ in terms of being comfortable with dating someone from a different racial group (p=0.009). The data suggests that male students are more comfortable than female students in terms of dating someone from a different racial group. 53.3% of the male students reported that they are comfortable "To a large extent" / "To a very large extent" with dating somebody from a different race group, whereas this is 45.1% among the female students. A further

Table 3: Comparison of responses towards sharing accommodation but not the same room', 'Sharing a room' and 'Dating' by race

		Sharing accommodation but not the same room	*Sharing the same room*	*Dating*
To a large / very large extent	Black	63.3%	39.7%	56.4%
	Coloured	57.7%	42.3%	42.3%
	Indian / Asian	47.8%	19.4%	16.4%
	White	51.4%	21.1%	15.4%

21.6% of the female students reported that they were "To no extent" comfortable with dating somebody from a different racial group, this was 16.2% among the male students.

Finally, a comparison of "To what extent do you have friends who are members of a different racial group?" and "To what extent do you feel comfortable with "Being friends" with somebody of a different race" (Fig. 3), revealed that while students are mostly comfortable with having friends with members of another race group (80%), their behaviour shows that they do this less (42%). The "To no extent" category is equally revealing of this difference in attitude and behaviour. 3% said that they were "to no extent" comfortable with having friends from a different race group, while 15% said that they "to no extent" agreed with the statement that they have friends who are members from a different race group. This indicates that people who do not object to having friends from a different racial group, do not necessarily actually have friends from a different racial group. Race, gender and level of religiosity do not appear to alter these results.

Attitudes towards Racial Integration

A number of statements were used to test the attitudes towards racial integration: "It is okay for people from different racial groups to attend social functions (parties, weddings, funerals, etc.) together", "It is okay to be associated mostly with your own racial group at a mixed social function", "It is okay for people from different racial groups to date each other", and "People should be free to marry whoever they want to marry regardless of their race".The former two statements were analysed as "socialising" and the latter two statements as "intimate relations".

Socialising at Events

The results for racial integration at social events is shown in Table 4. The majority of the students, 90.4%, agree / strongly agree that it is okay for people from different racial groups to attend social functions together, while 3.3% disagreed or strongly disagreed. However, only 38.7% agreed / strongly agree that it is okay to associate mostly with your own racial group at a mixed social function, and 35.1% disagreed / strongly disagreed. At the same time, 35.1% of the students do not agree that it is okay for people to mostly associate with their own racial group, and 26.2% remained neutral on the matter. This indicates that while students agree that mixed social events are okay, they are hesitant

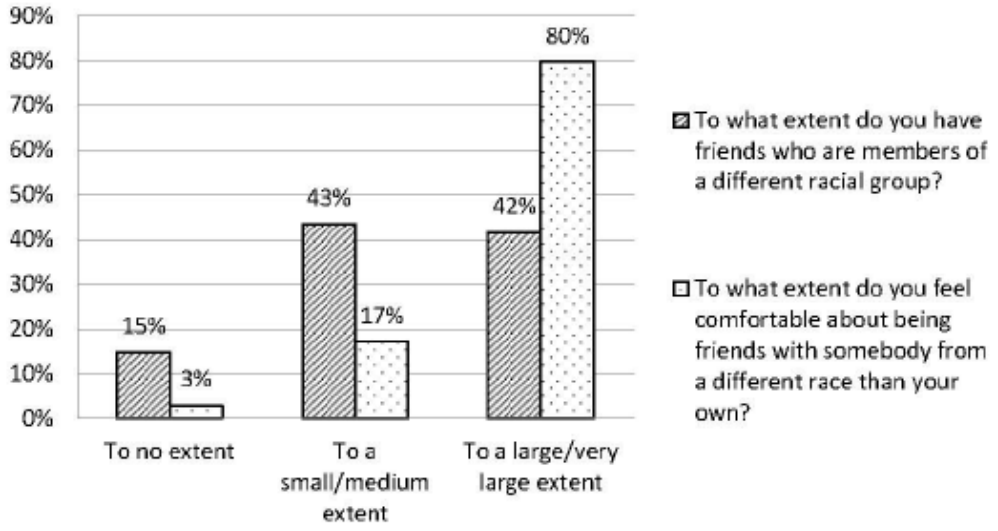

Fig. 3. Differences between "feeling comfortable with" and "having friends" with people of other racial groups.

Table 4: Comparison of attitudes to racial integration

	Strongly disagree N(n)	*Disagree N(n)*	*Neutral N(n)*	*Agree N(n)*	*Strongly agree N(n)*	*Total N(n)*
It is okay for people of different racial groups to attend social functions	1.2% (14)	2.1% (25)	6.4% (77)	30.1% (365)	60.3% (731)	100% (1212)
It is okay to be associated mostly with your own race group at mixed social functions	14% (169)	21.1% (255)	26.2% (317)	21.6% (261)	17.1% (207)	100% (1209)

to have a strong opinion about whether or not one can actually mix at these events and raises the possibility that students may still feel more comfortable to mix among their own race group at a mixed event.It would be worthwhile understanding what students believe 'socialising' with other race groups means in real terms.

The level of religiosity did not impact on the results, but race did.

Regarding attitudes towards different racial groups attending social functions together (Table 5), 94% of the Indian/Asian students "Agree"/"Strongly Agree" with the statement that it is okay to associate mostly with your own race group at a social function. This was 90.6% among Black students, 88.5% among White students, and 84.6% among Coloured students.

With regard to gender (not in Table), female students (66.2%) "Strongly Agree" with the statement "It is okay for people from different racial groups to attend social functions (parties, weddings, funerals, etc) together', compared to 53.7% of the male students. 93.3% of the female students "Agree" / "Strongly agree" with the statement compared to 87.2% of the male students. The responses of male and female students are statistically different from each other (p=0.000).

The second statement posed to the respondents (with regard to socialising) was "It is okay to associate mostly with your own racial group at a mixed social function". The responses to this statement are presented in Table 6 and show that 34.5% of White students "Strongly Agree" with this statement, while 16.4% of Indian/Asian students, 14.7% of Black students, and 11.5% of Coloured students strongly agree. Among the White students, 67.6% agreed to some degree with the statement, but this was 34.8% among Black students.However, for the statement: "It is okay to associate mostly with your own racial group at a mixed social function male and female students have the same views on this statement. The responses for Black and White students are statistically different from each other (p=0.000).

In both cases, race influenced views on socialising at mixed events. Students were more assured about socialising at a mixed event, rather than socialising outside of their own group at a mixed event.

Table 5: Attitudes towards different racial groups attending social functions together

It is okay for people of different racial groups to attend social functions together	*Race*				
	Black	*White*	*Indian/Asian*	*Coloured*	*Total*
Strongly disagree	1.3% (13)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	3.8% (1)	1.2% (14)
Disagree	2.2% (21)	1.4% (2)	1.5% (1)	3.8% (1)	2.1% (25)
Neutral	5.9% (57)	10.1% (15)	4.5% (3)	7.7% (2)	6.4% (77)
Agree	30.8% (299)	27.7% (41)	23.9% (16)	34.6% (9)	30.1% (365)
Strongly agree	59.8% (581)	60.8% (90)	70.1% (47)	50.0% (13)	60.3% (731)
	100.0% (971)	100.0% (148)	100.0% (67)	100.0% (26)	100.0% (1212)

Table 6: Attitudes towards associating mostly with your own race group at mixed social functions

It is okay to associate mostly with your own race group at mixed social functions	*Race*				
	Black	*White*	*Indian/Asian*	*Coloured*	*Total*
Strongly disagree	15.8% (153)	2.0% (3)	16.4% (11)	7.7% (2)	14.0% (169)
Disagree	22.9% (222)	4.7% (7)	28.4% (19)	226.9% (7)	21.1% (255)
Neutral	26.4% (256)	25.7% (38)	22.4% (15)	30.8% (8)	26.2% (317)
Agree	20.1% (195)	33.1% (49)	16.4% (11)	23.1% (6)	21.6% (261)
Strongly agree	14.7% (142)	34.5% (51)	16.4% (11)	11.5% (3)	17.1% (207)
	100.0% (968)	100.0% (148)	100.0% (67)	100.0 (26)	100.0% (1209)

Intimate Relations

Next students were asked how they felt about the following two statements: "It is okay for people from different racial groups to date each other", and "People should be free to marry whoever they want to marry regardless of their race". Both these statements drew favourable results. Interestingly, the students are more positive towards interracial marriages than they are towards interracial dating. 83.7% of the students agree that people should be free to marry whoever they want regardless of their race and 76.4% of the students agree that it is okay for people from different racial groups to date each other. It is odd that there is a difference in the two attitudes. Perhaps interracial dating represents a response to the students'sense of (dis)comfort in the present tense, compared to marrying someone from another race in the future, something which they may not need to address right now.

For both these statements, gender and race did make a difference to the results.For both statements, female students (42%) were more favourable compared to males (34.4%) with regard to interracial dating.This was similar for interracial marriage,where females accounted for (46%) compared to males at (37.7%).

- *Dating:* 79.3% of the female students "Agree"/ "Strongly agree" with the statement compared to 73.3% of the male students (p=0.000).
- *Marriage:* 86.6% of the female students "Agree" / "Strongly agree" with the statement compared to 80.3% of the male students. The responses of male and female students are statistically different from each other (p=0.000).

Similar results are found when interracial dating and interracial marriage were tested against race. Views were delineated according to race and overall more support for interracial marriage was found.

- *Dating:* 82.5% of Black students "Agree"/ "Strongly Agree" with this statement. This was 69.2% for Coloured students, 63.6% for the Indian/Asian students, and 43.9% among White students. The responses for Black and White students are statistically different from each other (p=0.000).
- *Marriage:* 87.7% of Black students "Agree"/ "Strongly Agree" with this statement. This was 84.6% for Coloured students, 67.2% for the Indian/Asian students, and 64.2% among White students. The responses for Black and White students are statistically different from each other (p=0.000).

The level of religiosity however did not make an impact on the results. But, an interesting and unexpected finding emerged from the data relating to religion and dating and marriage. Indian/Asian students are mainly Muslim (59.7%) and Hindu (34.3%). Coloured students are predominantly Christian (88.6%) and 11.5% of the Coloured students are Muslim. The majority of the White and Black students are Christian: Black 89.7% and White 74.3% students. 17.6% of the White students reported that they do not have a religious affiliation. While White, Coloured, and Black students are predominantly Christian, it is not possible to compare these as the question on affiliation does not distinguish between different Christian groups, such as Catholics, Protestants, Evangelicals. However, the Indian/Asian students are indeed religiously different from the other groups. If we compare the above statement referring to dating with religion, it can be seen that for the questions where race appeared to influence the responses of students so did religion. Students who are Hindu

are less comfortable with dating somebody from a different race group. They are on average more comfortable than other students about being friends with somebody from a different racial group, than dating. This pattern repeated itself in other situations (not presented in this paper) and would be worthy of further qualitative investigation. Furthermore, research into the different Christian groups that exist may also yield an insight into whether it is race that is at play or religion – or even interplay of these two factors.

DISCUSSION

From the responses on how comfortable students are with various scenarios of racial integration (activities they are prepared to do), a number of patterns were observed. The more intimate the scenarios became, the lower the comfort levels among some groups of students. This was evident in the fact that students were less comfortable to share a room with or date a person from another race group, than any of the other scenarios. It was also evident that students preferred friendships (79.8%) with members of another race group, to dating (48.9%). There was also an interesting result showing that sharing a room had the highest level of discomfort, indicating that spatially students may still have deeply entrenched ideas around segregation. Based on these scenarios, while overall students seem to be comfortable with racial integration,it seems that there are limits around intimacy as the more impersonal the activities (and the less choice students have in participating in these activities), and perhaps the more spatially demarcated they are, the more comfortable they feel. These findings support the views in literature that show that students of different races are more comfortable within their homogenous groups, rather than in the sharing of intimate spaces such as sharing a room or even dating a person from another race group.

When analysing the social acceptability of racial integration (attitudes), similar conclusions can be drawn. Again, it is noted that students are more comfortable with less intimate socialising than with more intimate relations such as dating and marriage. However, there is one contradiction - interracial dating seems to be less acceptable than interracial marriage which is strange, since if one is prepared to marry a person of another race, then there should be no difference in the response concerning that he/she is prepared to date a person of another race. Does this result indicate that students feel that they should portray what they believe is politically correct on sensitive issues? A university environment provides the freedom to experiment and perhaps dating a person outside of one's racial groupis seen as more acceptable than marriage. Since marriage may be seen as a long-term commitment, it may be more difficult for students to accept, and/or hold challenging social consequences which they may not want to face. The greatest discrepancies in responses existed for Coloured students who found it less acceptable to date outside of their group (69.2%), but this increased to 84.6% for intermarriage. For White students this discrepancy was even more obvious, only 43.9% of White students "Agree"/ "Strongly Agree" with interracial dating. For interracial marriage, this figure increases to 64.2%. The discrepancies in answers indicate either some inconsistency in the data, or that perhaps students were not altogether honest/consistent in their reporting.

Comparing what students were prepared to do versus what they feel is acceptable, also reveals interesting results. If dating as an action versus dating as an attitude is considered, one finds that again students displayed a difference in opinion. While 76.4% agreed that interracial dating was acceptable, only 48.9% were comfortable to date a person from another race group. Furthermore, student attitudes were more favourable towards dating (76.4%) rather than marriage (61.5%), but given that only 48.9% are comfortable with dating indicates that either, 1) students are providing politically correct answers in terms of attitudes, and/or 2) the attitudes are not altogether internally integrated, and 3) there is greater acceptance about what others choose to do, without it being a choice one enacts oneself.

From the above results, there appears to be some discord between what students do and what students believe is acceptable. This suggests that while students' attitudes are liberal in terms of socially acceptable behaviour around racial integration, the behaviour tends to be more conservative. This point seems to be especially true for friendships, dating (and marriage). If one considers Morrow's (2008) argument that the unintended goal of racial integration has reproduced racialised class inequalities, given the

working class background of respondents in this sample, and the racial composition of their neighbourhoods,it may be possible to argue that students at UJ come from segregated environments and replicate the conservative attitudes of their home environments. These findings are worthy of deeper investigation, perhaps through in-depth qualitative methods.

Race, Gender, Religiosity and Racial Integration

The level of religiosity made no difference to most of the variables in the study. It impacted only on two variables, both of which relate to residence (sharing accommodation but not a room, and sharing a room). Is this finding attributable to either the intimacy of the issue or the level of religiosity? It is a curious finding and should be followed up with qualitative research to understand the result further – especially since the understanding of what it means to be religious is not explored in the survey.

Gender did however impact on certain variables. Students may be inclined to feel comfortable dating, but while socialising and being friends with are not impacted on by gender and religiosity, it is not the case with dating. With dating, males are more comfortable with interracial relations than females. However, when looking at attitudes towards socialising with, dating and marrying other race groups, females tend to be in greater support than males. Why is this the case? And, why does this result contradict the earlier result that shows that males are more comfortable with interracial dating than females?

With regard to dating, student views differ further according to race. Indian/Asian and Coloured students were the least comfortable, while White and Black students the most comfortable. It should be noted that the influence of race may well come from religious convictions. While differences in levels of religiosity did not feature, there were other noteworthy observations relating to religion.

Race is also notable in variances in other responses for attitudes to racial integration. If one examines the results carefully, it becomes clear that there is racial differences in responses between socialising with others at functions, and socialising outside of one's own race groups at functions compared to dating and marriage. Black students are most supportive of dating and marrying, and White students (while overall supportive) are considerably less so than any other race group suggesting that White students' attitudes still have room to adjust further.

Looking at the responses that students gave to the questions on socialising with, having friends from and dating members of another race group, the following observations can be made. It can be seen that while the majority of the students socialise and have friends with people from different racial groups, a difference in response in this statement can be seen. More students socialise with, than become friends with people from a different race. Race appears as a factor of difference. In both cases here, Indian/Asian and Coloured students were most comfortable and White and Black students less so. Black students were the least comfortable with socialising and being friends with individuals of other race groups.

The study produced interesting results that could be examined further in qualitative research, and it raises concerns of whether racial segregation is a continuing reality among students. In a complex and comprehensive institution such as UJ, the research raises interesting questions about the extent of racial integration at both a macrolevel and a micro level, and to what extent the university itself has dealt with racial and class socio-economic inequalities that Morrow (2008) refers to.

CONCLUSION

This paper explores UJ students' attitudes towards racial integration on campus and compares the results to their behaviours. The dependent variables (racial integration and attitudes towards racial integration) were tested against religion (expressed as religious affiliation and level of religious observance – which also makes provision for none), race and gender. Racial integration is relevant, given the particular history of the institutions which merged into the UJ, and also because of the transition from our past into our contemporary society. The results indicate that while some level of integration exists at UJ, on close, personal and intimate levels, the comfort levels of students were lower, in particular to sharing a room or accommodation, or interracial dating. Students also preferred to have friendships across races (79.8%) compared to interracial dating (48.9%).

Twenty years into democracy, these results are significant in that they still reveal deeply held beliefs about race and racial integration. This was also apparent in the contradictory results with regard to interracial marriage, particularly among Coloured and White students. This alludes to students either not being totally honest in their responses, or under pressure to be 'politically correct' in their responses. Nevertheless, what it does imply is that at intimate levels, interracial relationships are not as easily accepted by students at UJ. These views are not isolated to UJ. As a former study on transformation of residences at the UP reveal (cited earlier) how the strategy of keeping different cultures from sharing intimate spaces might be reinforcing racist discourses, as evidenced by the latest incident of the students racist portrayal and stereotyping of African women.

Beside the Reitz Residence at the UFS, twenty years into democracy racism at South African universities still persists, indicative of fissures within society that have not been addressed. At a national and institutional level, the government intends to implement several measures to curb racism and discrimination at educational institutions. The current Higher Education Minster, Blade Nzimande, intends setting in place a social inclusion policy framework that aims to eradicate 'racism and patriarchy' that the minister finds is still rife in institutions of higher learning.

RECOMMENDATIONS

UJ may be said to have resulted in a racially diverse student composition, but the main population group today in terms of enrolments is Black students.However, the dominant institution around which the merger took place was the former advantaged White institution of RAU and while UJ does not resemble its former predecessor, it is relevant to question whether 'Whiteness' continues to persist as a hegemonic feature within the institution, and whether this is transmitted into the student body. This survey did not test for 'Whiteness', so we would not be able to say whether this is a factor that influences the result. However, given the perception that good relations on campus is less than 50% and that Black students seem to be socialising with other race groups the least, it would suggest that students are aware of something more impacting on the levels of integration. Whether Whiteness is still hegemonic, can only be revealed if tested for in future research on racism on campus.

Students at UJ are seen to be integrating to some extent; however, the variances in their behaviour and the attitudes to behaviour need to be investigated further in order to explain the results.The literature indicates that not enough attention has been paid to the intersection of race and class in student experiences at universities. This study could benefit by doing so. Furthermore, experiences of racism were not explored and it is not our intention in this paper to imply that it is or is not happening at UJ. Simply, we cannot comment much on racism at UJ as it was not included in the survey. Future research should also address this to understand more fully what the social environment 'feels' like to the student when it comes to racial relations.

In terms of methodological recommendations, sample sizes among Indian/Asian, Coloured and White students were so small that a true reflection of what each group feels about race, racism, and integration at various levels, may not be accurately reflected. If this research is to be extended, we recommend increasing the number of contributions of the minority group responses. The survey could be stratified on race in order to ensure better sample sizes for the different race groups. Moreover, the variable religion could be refined by including different Christian categories, and the notion of religiosity further explored by using multiple questions in order to derive Likert-type scale data.

The transformation of a university through the merger of four historically and geographically different institutions is no easy feat. It may be argued that UJ has been thorough in all its attempts to create a wholly integrated multiracial institution characterised by equal opportunities. However, transformation initiatives should place more emphasis on interpersonal relations among students. For example, UJ does have diversity programmes in place to help foster greater positive interactions between students, and one such programme is Diversity Week which takes place in September every year. It is recommended that more effort at micro-level initiatives such as Diversity Week, be devoted to the larger student body in an effort to increase levels of integration and promote diversity on all of the campuses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful and constructive comments. Any shortcomings or inaccuracies remain the responsibility of the authors.

NOTES

1. In the literature, the terms 'historically advantaged institutions' (HAIs) and 'historically disadvantaged institutions' (HDIs) are also used to refer to the different educational institutions in South Africa.
2. 'Homelands' is an apartheid term used to describe 'self-governing' geographic regions allocated to the 'separate development' of various Black ethnic groups. There were 10 homelands that were created during apartheid and each homeland had access to a HDI.
3. Other authors draw similar conclusions and point out that more attention should be paid to the intersection of race and class in understanding (racialised) student identities and experiences (Lewins 2010; Soudien 2010; Bhana 2014).

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