The effect of proximity on ethnic prejudice

The case of primary schools children in "Cyprus"

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1. INTRODUCTION

"*Civilized men have gained notable mastery over energy, matter, and inanimate nature generally, and they are rapidly learning to control physical suffering and premature death. But, by contrast, we appear to be living in the Stone Age so far as our handling of human relationships is concerned*" (Allport, 1954)

The island of Cyprus is a unique place for the study of ethnic rivalry and social segregation. For the past thirty-four years, despite the numerous efforts that were made by international actors, the island remained divided in two parts, the North, with the Greek-Cypriots (G/C) and the South, with the Turkish-Cypriots (T/C). Prejudice has been well established within the sociopolitical context of both communities and incidents of hostility and violence were evident over these years.

Due to the partial lifting of the barriers in 2003, population from both communities crossed the borders, not only to explore the "long forbidden" grounds, but also to settle in with their families. This "migration" was more evident among the T/C, who moved in great numbers to the Greek-Cypriot part of the island, due its economic superiority. Within these T/C families were also young children who started to register and attend public schools in the Greek part. Therefore, after 34 years of isolation, many G/C and T/C children attend the same schools and sit next to each other in the same classroom. This type of frequent contact provides an excellent opportunity to study the effects of interaction on prejudice, which is highly relevant for both scientific and social purposes.

The "Contact Hypothesis", formulated by Allport (1954) assumes that if interaction between different ethnic groups provides true acquaintance between their members then prejudice will decrease; if not, it might even increase. The importance of identifying the effects of contact on prejudice in this case-study extends further than its theoretical and scientific relevance.

Recently the mix-school policy had been criticized for providing inadequate education to T/C students and efforts were made to abolish it and establish an exclusive T/C school (ECRI, 2005).

For this purpose, a micro level study on students attending two primary schools is conducted to examine the effects of contact on prejudice. The attitudes of children of a mixed school and an exclusive G/C school are compared in order to assess the level of prejudice G/C students carry towards T/C. Therefore, with this study I hope to contribute towards a better understanding of the interaction effects and subsequently provide useful insight and policy implications.

2. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

"Most literate people in the world know that the problem in Cyprus is between Turks and Greeks. In other words it is a problem of opposing nationalism" (Attalides, 1979). The intercommunal and geo-political conflict between the two communities has its roots in the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus from 1571-1878 when the first Turkish minority settled on the island (Nuray, 2002). Even though the island was successively conquered by every ruling empire in the region, the vast majority of the population at the time was Greek, which is believed to have settled on the island sometime after 1400BC (Severis, 2004).

The Ottoman period left an indelible mark on the island as the native population of Greek-Cypriots came to include almost 20% of Turkish-Cypriots. In 1878 Cyprus came under British administration, even though it remained part of the Ottoman Empire. Following the defeat of Turkey in WWI, Cyprus was annexed by Britain under the treaty of Lausanne and was made a crown colony in 1925. During 1955-59 EOKA[1] was created by Greek-Cypriots in an effort to banish the British administration and perform "enosis" (union of the island with Greece). However, the campaign did not accomplish union with Greece but led to an independent republic, the Republic of Cyprus, in 1960 (Fisher, 2001).

During the British administration the Turkish-Cypriot population was widely dispersed throughout the island living in both separate and mixed villages with the Greek-Cypriots, although predominantly in separate sections. Social relations between the two communities were generally harmonious and mutually beneficial but the two communities were dealt separately in terms of education, religion and cultural affairs (Fisher, 2001). However, while coexisting in an ethnically mixed society, historical ambition of both sides - "enosis" for the Greek-Cypriots (G/Cs) and "taksim" for the Turkish-Cypriots

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[1] . . . : Ethiki Organosis Kiprion Agoniston (National Organization of Cypriot Fighters)

(T/Cs) - to establish their own mono-ethnic state led to incidents of unprecedented violence (Loizos, 1988; Anastasiou, 2002).

The escalation of violence reached its peak with the invasion of Turkish military forces on the island in July 1974 which captured 38% of the North territory of the island and resulted in 200,000 and 65,000 G/C's and T/C's refugees respectively (Doob, 1986, p. 385). In addition, 1619 G/C and 806 T/C were and still are reported as missing[2]. The following decades can be described as a deadlock period of mutual rivalry and distrust which led to an ending of contact between the two communities and the beginning of a period of prejudice and racial discrimination against the "others" (Doob, 1986; Özerk, 2001)

2.1. Division in education

The educational system in Cyprus has been following a parallel trajectory to the political and social relations between the two communities. During the Ottoman period the two communities began to establish separate educational systems based primarily on religion with no inter-group relations. The Turks, which were the ruling community at the time, established schools in which the curriculum had a religious emphasis and courses were focused on training in writing and reading using the Ottoman Turkish alphabet[3]. Schools were either publicly financed or privately owned and most of them were run in connection with the Mosque (Özerk, 2001).

During the Ottoman ruling period, the Ottoman government recognized the Archbishop as the official representative of the Greek-Cypriots, an act

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[2] The number of the missing persons has been recently reduced to 1532 after the discovery of the remains of 87, using DNA identification methods. Retrieved February 10th 2008 from: http://www.missing-cy.org/

[3] The Ottoman Turkish alphabet was the version of the Arabic alphabet that was used for the Ottoman Turkish language during the time of the Ottoman Empire and in the early years of the republic of Turkey. In 1928, the Arabic script was replaced with a version of the Latin alphabet as part of the efforts of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to modernize Turkey. Retrieved June 27, 2008, from Omniglot: http://www.omniglot.com/writing/turkish.htm

which strengthened the presence and the role of the Orthodox Church on the island. G/C's strengthened their bonds with the church which committed itself as the responsible body for the education of G/C's. As a result, the educational sector developed toward schools based on the Old Testament and rich monasteries took the role of the education institutions (Özerk, 2001). Therefore it can be observed how the segregation of education between the two communities in fact reinforced the social segregation through the strong influence of religion in the educational system of both communities.

During the British administration, despite several changes the education systems of both communities remained separate from each other. One of the additions was that the Greek language was introduced into T/C schools and it remained up until the beginning of 1950's. However, the subsequent incidents of rivalry and violence between the two communities led the T/C minority to interpret physical nearness to G/C as a possible identity threat which resulted in the disassociation of the Greek language from the T/C school politics (Özerk, 2001, pp. 258-260).

Overall, the two educational systems were kept isolated from each other and the political *de facto* partition of the island in 1975 led to a language/communicational ending between the two groups. It is well documented that the segregation of the educational system along with the fact that personnel and school literature were imported from the two "mother-counties", i.e. Greece and Turkey, played a crucial role in the spreading of nationalism (Trimikliniotis, 2004).

2.2. Recent sociopolitical developments

After the partition of the island in 1974, the two communities had no contact with each other. The Southern part of the island, the Greek part, was internationally recognized as the official Republic of Cyprus and the G/C government as its legal representative. This actuality contributed a great deal to its economic development and prosperity. In addition, the G/C government

managed to include Cyprus in the European Union (E.U) as a full member on May 1st 2004 with the G/C government being recognized as the official representative of the island. In contrary, the North part maintains a lower standard of living due to international embargoes and relies on financial aid from Turkey. The E.U doesn't recognize Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and officially the Northern part is considered to be an occupied area (European Commission, 2000).

In April 2003, the T/C leader Rauf Denktash suddenly lifted the restrictions on movement across the *green line*[4], subject to passport control of the TRNC, and the boarders opened for the first time after 29 years of isolation (Severis, 2004). The immediate response by thousands of T/C's and G/C's was to cross the borders either to visit their family properties, for those who had any, or to satisfy their curiosity about what existed beyond the borders all these years. Most importantly, the opening of the boarders along with the entrance of Cyprus in the E.U the following year signaled the opportunity for several hundreds of T/C's to cross the borders and seek a better life in the more economically developed G/C part of the island.

According to the constitution of 1960, G/C's and T/C's are legitimate citizens of the republic of Cyprus. Despite the segregation of the island, the G/C government never altered the constitution to exclude T/C's; an action that would accept the invasion and the division as the *de* facto political condition. The policy of the G/C government is that a solution must be found that both communities must agree on. Since there was never any solution to the Cypriot problem or any official plan to redefine the relations between the two communities, T/C's are officially legitimate citizens of the Republic of Cyprus and are entitled to the same rights and benefits as G/C's. Therefore, they are

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[4] The green line refers to the border line that separates the territorial dominion of the two communities.

allowed to inhabit in the Greek part and claim their constitutional rights as Cypriot citizens.

The incoming flow[5] of T/C's in the Greek part to establish a new home calls attention to a series of social aspects. Besides the need for financial aid and social security of the new population, attention must be placed towards its societal integration. Integration processes involve several levels of attention but in this case, considering the historical specificity of the population, particular attention should be given in the fight against social prejudice and discrimination. Social institutions such as schools are of crucial importance in this task as their role in the production and reproduction of discriminatory patterns, ideas and discourses is well recognized (Trimikliniotis, 2004).

The educational system in Cyprus has already developed a bicultural educational program for those schools where a high number of non-Greek speaking students appeared (Trimikliniotis, 2004). Since registration to schools is determined by the area of residence, most need is met in urban areas where most foreign population, including T/C settlers, is established. Students living in rural or distant areas and wish to attend bi-cultural programs may apply for registration to their nearest bi-cultural institution. In addition, the G/C Ministry of Education implemented a series of measures to ensure the financial and social support of T/C students. Such measures are the provision of supportive tutoring for the teaching of the Greek language, coverage for the expenses of attending private primary schools (registration and tuition fees), financial support for economically disadvantaged T/C students etc[6].

2.3. Prejudice and discrimination in schools in Cyprus

The number of T/C students has increased substantially since the lifting of the barriers in 2003, which is also indicative of the flow of the T/C

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[5] According to the third report of ECRI on Cyprus, the approximate number of T/C having established in the Greek controlled area of the island is 2000 (ECRI, 2005, p. 24)
[6] This information is retrieved from the Ministry of education website on multicultural education (URL: http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/diapolitismiki.html)

population settling in the G/C part. More specifically, for the school year 2002/03, just before the boarders opened, there were 80 T/C students attending schools, both private and public, in the G/C area. Three years later, 2005/06, the number was more than doubled to 172.

Focusing on public primary schools, which are going to be the focus of this research, the situation can be observed more clearly. For the school year 2002/03, only 80 pupils attended primary schools in the G/C zone, 45 of which attended public and 35 private schools. For the school year 2005/06, the number increased to a total of 172, 126 of which attended public schools and only 46 in private. These figures indicate clearly that almost the entire increase in the population of T/C students attending primary schools in the G/C area occurred in the public sector and while the numbers are still low, whereas the T/C population is increasing, the population of G/C students is decreasing (Cystat, 2002/2003; Cystat, 2005/2006).

2.3-1: Number of T/C and G/C students attending primary schools in the G/C area

School year	Turkish-Cypriot students			Greek-Cypriots students		
	Private	Public	Total	Private	Public	Total
2002/2003	35	**45**	80	1.746	**56.776**	58.522
2005/2006	46	**126**	172	1.948	**52.007**	53.955

Source: Elaborations on Ministry of Education (2002 – 2006)

The increasing number of T/C students in public schools calls for attention on a number of issues. It is well documented how minority groups may face prejudice and discrimination from other dominant social groups on the basis of their ethnic background, religion, financial condition (Kleg, 1993; Levin & Levin, 1982; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Jones, 1997). In the case of T/C's the possibility of appearance of prejudice is enhanced by the rival historical background between the two communities. Even though this matter calls for attention on a societal level, for the purposes of this research I am going to

focus only on the school environment which is a fundamental factor in the socialization process of children..

In Cyprus, prejudice and discrimination are evident in the school environment, both in the educational system and in the daily life in schools. Regarding the educational system, traces of ethnic prejudice are well documented in the school curriculum of both communities (Christou, 2006; Crellin, 1981; Drousiotis, 2007). In addition, school commemorations of historical events related to the conflict of the two communities are deeply embedded in both educational systems (Christou, 2006; Crellin, 1981). As Christou notes, since 1974, it has been a primary goal of the G/C educational system to educate the new generation of G/C how never to forget the historical rivalry between the two communities and the occupied lands (2006).

This effort is well represented in one phrase which has been a slogan in the G/C educational system for more than 30 years " I don't forget and I struggle" (μ) (Christou, 2006, p. 286). One can easily understant how the existance of such prejudice traces in the educational system can jeopardize the social integration of T/C students in the school enviroment.

Manifestations of ethnic prejudice and discrimination are evident in the Cypriot school enviroment. In their third report on Cyprus, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) identifies the existence of prejudice and racism in G/C schools, both mixed and non-mixed, and stresses the need to reduce direct or indirect discrimination, notably on grounds such as nationality, or ethnic origin. It stresses in particular the need to equip teachers with the necessary tools to identify and adress manifestations of racism and racial discrimination in schools (ECRI, 2005, pp. 16-17).

Such manifestations have been reported in violent incidents, such as the organized group attack of 20 G/C students against 5 T/C students outside a mixed English school in Nicosia over a religious issue, on the 22nd of

November 2006 (Michailidis, 2006), or the vandal incident in Pafos the same year where students broke into a school during non operating hours and spray-painted racist slogans against minorities on the school walls (Saoulli, 2006).

These incidents are not isolated, as Dr Haji Mike suggests, nor random. In his article published in Cyprus Mail, a leading Cypriot newspaper, Haji elaborates on how racism and prejudice against T/C's flourish among G/C's students and how the educational system, notably the teachers, contribute crucialy to this condition (Haji, 2007).

Another report recognizes the existence of racism and discrimination and also suggests that the G/C government is intentionally trying to control information involving racist incidents, in an effort to avoid ethnic tension and maintain a "good image" (The Cyprus mail, 2006). This assumption is also demonstated in the annual report by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) where Cyprus was one of five countries that had not recorded any offence in 2005 as racist (EUMC, 2005). However, denying the existence of prejudice and racist violence does not eliminate the problem.

2.4. Definition of the problem

In 2005, following directives from the ECRI in introducing mother tongue education for the T/C students, the Cypriot authorities made an attempt in Limassol - where the largest community of the T/C population is settled - to abolish the mixed school policy and establish a school with Turkish as the main language of instruction in order to include all the T/C students in the area. (ECRI, 2005, p. 21). This objective was also embraced by the Turkish Cypriot Teachers Union (KTOS) which believes that currently the G/C government is following a policy of *assimilation* of T/C's students into G/C

schools and that a Turkish school is going to improve the level of education for T/C students (Bahceli, 2005).

The attempt was revoked, at least temporary, following an organized effort by the mixed school teachers and the parents of the T/C students who stated their preference for their children to attend the state school in their area (ECRI, 2005, p. 21). However, the plan for segregation in education is still under consideration. Following the remarks of KTOS, it appears that primary school mixity is receiving political attention since the establishment of a Turkish school in the Greek part would increase the influence of KTOS in the Greek part. Therefore, the critical question of how this development is going to affect the relations of the two communities is raised.

The effect of school mixity on prejudice and violent behavior, keeping in mind that forces are pushing towards school segregation, is an area that calls for immediate attention and scientific investigation. Motivated by these circumstances, this research seeks to examine the effects of proximity on the interrelation of students at the mixed school and consequently on prejudice. Potentially, they can provide useful insight in terms of shaping the educational policies, not only related to the school mixity but in improving multicultural education in general.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The chapter is aimed at clarifying the terminology and assumptions used in this research which seeks to understand the effects of intergroup contact on prejudice. The backbone of the theoretical model is the classical theory by Gordon Allport (1954), the "Contact Hypothesis", and it is supported by contemporary kindred theories and researches. Using Allport's framework, a holistic approach to the analysis of the determinants of prejudice is presented, following a path from a macro to a micro level. Subsequently, the formulation of intergroup and the dynamics of their relations are explained, borrowing theories from social psychology (Taifel, 1997; Sherif, 1961). Finally, intergroup membership is analyzed in terms of its impact on the behavior of the actors in the group.

3.1. Nature of prejudice

Contemporary theories stress the importance of examining prejudice as the coexistence of various operating variables within social contexts. They support the combination of an interdisciplinary approach in order to identify the unique causal factors in each social context accountable for the onset of prejudice behavior; which is essential for its prevention.

Psychological ideas have moved beyond the conceptualization of an intentional, self serving nature of prejudice to the view that prejudice may well be unintentional and even unconscious (Jones, 1997, p. 149). G. W. Allport described prejudice with a simple phrase "Thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant" which, as he further explains, includes the two essential ingredients of this mental state, reference to unfounded judgment and a feeling-tone (p. 6). Jones (1997) uses the term *prejudice* to describe the faulty generalization of group characteristics to an individual member of the group. Other scholars identify it as an innate psychological predisposition within all

individuals, manifestation of which is determined by socio-cultural conditioning and personality development (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1997).

Even thought biased perceptions might be both negative and positive, Allport stresses that in the case of *ethnic prejudice* the term is mostly negative. In his classical book "The nature of Prejudice", Allport draws a distinction between racial and ethnic differences where the former term refers to hereditary ties and the latter to social and cultural ties. Even though there is a distinct difference between the two, both terms can originate in the onset of *ethnic prejudice* (pp. 107-118). In the case under study here, even though other types of prejudice might take place or coexist, the presence of *ethnic prejudice*, as it was conceptualized by Allport above, cannot be questioned.

However, ethnic differentiation and conflict in Cyprus can be tracked back in ancient times, during the Ottoman period, when ethnic identity was shaped by religious and cultural factors. The process of Islamisation under the Ottomans at the time created a sense of fear and insecurity among G/C's that was culminated in feelings of Greek nationalism. Similarly, T/C's experienced analogous circumstances when Cyprus was annexed by Britain and they remained as a minority on the island (Yildizian & Ehteshami, 2004). Furthermore, the existence of a powerful Orthodox church was perceived as a potential threat which reinforced their ties with Turkey.

These ethnic differences were never bridged between the two communities and ethnic antagonism was crystallized. Observers of the Cypriot phenomenon have noted that:

"*While the separation of people by natural barriers such as rivers, seas and mountains is understandable the separation that occurs along artificial lines of hostility is horrifying. For here one is stunned by the fact that 'borders are not just geographic barriers but that they are the enemy of talk, of interaction, of the flow of ideas, in short, they are the opponents of communication*" (Anastasiou, 2002, p. 582).

3.2. <u>From macro to micro level of analysis</u>

Theoretical explanations of prejudice vary according to the level of causal explanation. G. W. Allport proposed six levels at which prejudice can be stimulated or caused (1954, pp. 208-217). All together they formulate an inclusive interdisciplinary approach to the study of prejudice; from macro level to micro. Subsequently, I present all six of them, as well as a schematic representation of Allport's model.

§ *Historical approach:* According to this view, only the total background of a conflict can lead to its understanding. For Cyprus, the historical context is undoubtedly of great importance. In a recent research conducted by Danielidou and Horvath was found that "social identity", being used as an indicator of the impact of the historical background, was one of the strongest predicting variables of "acceptance of cohabitation" between the two communities (2006, p. 416). Nevertheless, whereas history can provide important elements, it does not tell why within the same context one personality develops prejudice and one does not.

§ *Sociocultural approach:* This line of analysis combines history and sociology to illustrate the impact of tradition on the attitudes of social actors. In addition it suggests that prejudice is a result of preferences for standards of economic growth and materialism. People who lack these symbols of success are looked down upon. According to this approach, prejudice is directed at those located at the base of the socioeconomic pyramid. This approach shades light to the Cyprus case as well where it can be observed that the arrival of T/C's in the Greek part is perceived as a threat to the economy and the national wealth of G/C's (Ministry of Interior, 2004).

§ *Situational approach:* G. W. Allport also calls it an "atmosphere theory" It refers to a shift from emphasis to past patterns to current forces. It stresses the impact of the current surrounding environment on the attitudes of individuals. One might not even understand why he has developed these

particular attitudes but he feels the urge to conform to the complex and inconsistent teaching that he receives. Seumas (1999) called this condition the "prescribed actions of social agents". Anastasiou (2002) seems to find this level of analysis useful in portraying the cultural reality of "Cypriot" youth.

> "*Having been raised under ceasefire conditions, in an ethnically segregated society, these youths appeared caught between the inherited nationalistic memories and related moral obligations to their ethnic group, on the one hand, and their personal life-experiences on the other, which have no connections to the dark side*" (p. 590)

§ *Psychodynamic approach:* This explanatory path is seeking to understand human prejudice through a psychological perspective and develops three premises. The first one refers to a deterministic view of human nature as being fundamentally prone to hostility and therefore seeks to explain prejudice as an inevitable result of this aggressive nature. Hostility emerges from concerns over material rewards, fear and defensiveness. The second premise assumes that the failure to receive sufficient love and nurturance at an early age activates the latent hostility in human nature. The third premise also identifies prejudice traits in human nature but only some people by virtue of their character develop prejudice. The deterministic nature of this approach might be able to provide an explanation to the existence of prejudice but it does not leave much space for the solution of conflict differences since it perceives them as embedded in human nature.

§ *Phenomenological approach:* This perspective explains prejudice as a direct product from experience - that is how the target person or group is perceived so that it can be readily identified. Historical and cultural forces, along with the person's individual characteristics all converge to define the

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reaction of the person at a situation and provide an explanation for his behavior. The phenomenal level is the most important in the explanation of prejudice but it is best to combine this approach with others to reach causative results. This is probably the most important approach for the focus of this research. Considering that students may have already constructed a prejudiced model to identify the other group, based on the historical and sociocultural patterns they adopted from their surrounding environment. This approach stresses the importance of the immediate stimuli they will receive from the target group; in this case the "other" students. It also brings forward the idea that prejudice attitudes may as well vary according to the type of contact they will receive.

§ *Stimulus object approach:* In this approach, the final and most direct cause of prejudice is the target of prejudice itself. It looks for true differentiations between groups that may provide the source for intergroup antipathies. The level of prejudice in this case is a balance between what G. W. Allport calls "earned reputation" (true characteristics) and factors irrelevant to the target (e.g. stereotyping). As G. W. Allport notes, the greater the weight that is given to inconsistent considerations, the more prejudice is evidenced. This approach can also facilitate the design of prevention methods by identifying true differences and inconsistent factors between the two groups.

Overall, G. W. Allport has provided us with a powerful theoretical tool to observe and examine prejudice more critically. More importantly he has demonstrated how we move from macro to micro levels of analysis and how we can combine levels to attain a more comprehensive viewpoint of analysis. Below I depict his six level model of examining prejudice, as he conceptualized it.
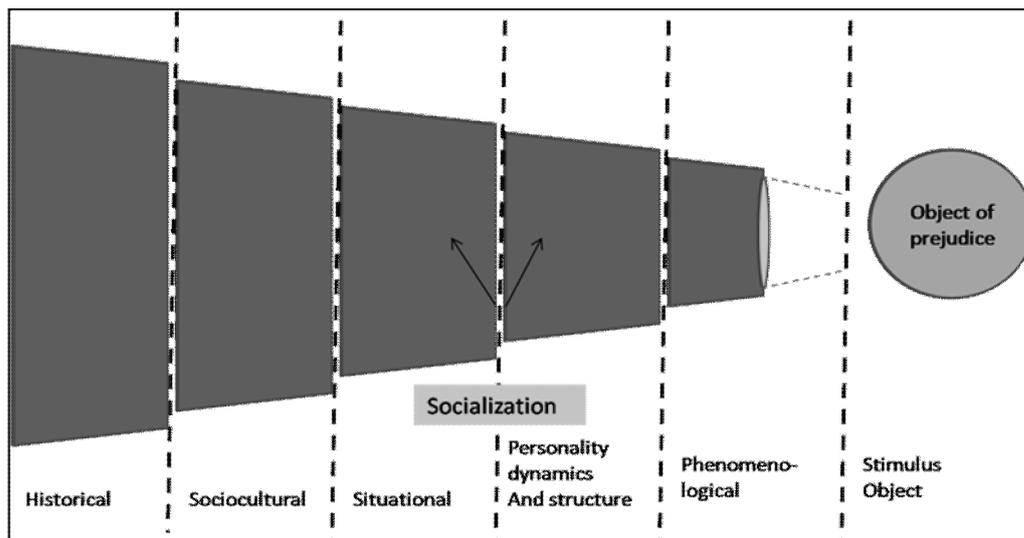
3.3. Intergroup

Intergroup relations are particularly important in the development of prejudice and are essential to examine here for the purpose of this research since I am going to deal with the intergroup relations of students. The meaning of the term "group" in itself implies a connection of some kind. Jones defined the term *social group* as a "social category of people who, in varying combinations, interact and mutually affect each other and who share goals, experience, traits or characteristics" (1997, p. 204).

In their work on prejudice, discrimination and racism, Gaertner and Dovidio argue that those characteristics that increase the salience of group boundaries, automatically increases the degree of intergroup bias (1986, p. 322). As they explain, the more individuals adopt to the idea of the intergroup boundary their perception of "in-group" – "out-group" or "we" – "they" categorizations increases. Therefore, in order to decrease prejudice among individuals it is important to lessen the strength of the group boundaries.

There are two categorizations in the social psychology regarding intergroup relations, the "competitive self-interest" approach and the "social-categorization" approach. The first refers to categorizations of people in

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groups that help us determine how best to maintain our physical and psychological well being. Maintenance of these involves competitive advantage within the society, which in turn produces both in-group preference and out-group hostility. The second refers to the categorizations people create in order to make their cognitive and behavioral tasks of living easier. During this process relevant social information are reduced to simpler, neater and fewer units. Even thought this process is done on the basis of getting greater efficiency and practicability in our daily lives, unintentionally once we make the categories, other basic instincts take over and we adopt a different behavior towards people *within* our group and those *outside* (Jones, 1997, pp. 204-205).

3.4. Intergroup categorizations

Regarding the process of categorization into intergroups, two approaches have dominated social psychological research and theory; social competition and social categorization. The former, associated with Muzafer Sherif (1961), is typified by competitive dynamics between the groups that create win-loss consequences on intergroup relations; one group's loss is the other's gain. Sherif has illustrated how competition between intergroups can lead to rivalry and even escalate to aggressive behavior. In addition, and most importantly for the purposes of this research, he demonstrated how proximity and the process of accomplishing common goals between rival groups can reduce prejudice and even lead to the development of positive relations.

The latter, associated with Henri Taifel (1997) does not involve actual physical competition between the groups but merely psychological distinctions that influence the course of interaction between members of different groups. By removing all those processes associated with group competition, namely: face-to-face interaction, conflict of interest, previous hostility etc, he managed to *depersonalize* individuals and create what he called, a "pure" intergroup context (Jones, 1997, p. 210). Therefore he

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managed to show that the mere fact of psychological categorization can lead to the onset of prejudice; which is important to note in the studies for its prevention.

3.5. Intergroup relations

After examining the importance of intergroups in the regulation of individual relations and how individuals are segregated into groups, it is also important to observe how intergroups interact with each. To achieve so I am going to make use the perspective of two theories, the "social identity theory" and the "optimal distinctiveness theory". These theories provide an insight in understanding and explaining the social processes that influence intergroup relations.

3.5.1. Social identity theory

Social identity is defined as that part of an individual's self-concept that is based upon the value and emotional significance of belonging to a social group; it refers to the need to feel good about ourselves in a social world (Jones, 1997, p. 214). In order to satisfy this need, according to the *social identity theory* (SIT), individuals must seek two premises; to accord the most positive attitudes to the groups in which they belong and to distinguish their groups from others – which they don't belong. The positive and unique nature of the groups to which individuals belong is determined through four social psychological processes, social categorization, social identity, social comparison and psychological group distinctiveness.

§ *Social categorization* refers to the process of categorizing other people in our environment. We can either include them in groups in which we also belong or don't. We tend to evaluate more positively and feel closer about the members of groups in which we also belong.

§ *Social identity* refers to the innate need of individuals to be positively evaluated and in order to satisfy this need they seek to belong in socially beneficially groups (e.g. an athletic team in schools)

§ *Social comparison* refers to the process of comparing the groups in which we belong with other in order to identify our own as superior and therefore satisfy our social identity need.

§ *Psychological group distinctiveness* refers to the need to feel unique within the groups in which we belong and therefore increase our perceived positive self-concept.

These categorizations can help us understand how prejudice is created in intergroup relations. Through the process of comparing our own group with other we are inclined to select traits to which we can expect a favorable social comparison. Also, in the process of assessment we exaggerate on the differences in a way of making our own qualities more distinctive. These processes create prejudice by leading people to project negative qualities into other groups and embracing positive to their own.

3.5.2. Optimal distinctiveness theory

Optimal distinctiveness theory refers to those conditions that specify when individuals are more likely to be identified as members of a group or individuals (Jones, 1997, p. 216). By definition individuals have a fundamental need to fit in, to blend-in, to derive support and encouragement from their group and at the same time, they have the need to feel independent, to feel unique for their own qualities or style. People are always trying to keep a balance between these needs in order to achieve the highest satisfaction.

Between intergroup, a similar relation exists. Groups maintain their attractiveness to their in-group members in part by identifying them-self as distinctive from other groups and therefore providing their members with positive rewards. Intergroup conflict or tension occurs because the capacity of the society to provide identity bases for self esteem is limited. While

subgroups seek for *identity enhanced contexts*[7] they often come into conflict with other group in search of the same objective. This theory is useful in enabling us to understand the shifting boundaries of intergroup relations and when they are likely to become competitive.

3.6. The Contact Hypothesis

The theoretical relevance of Allport's six-level model lies in its capacity to construct the conceptual basis to realize the coexistence of multidimensional factors within a prejudice context. The mixed primary school environment in the G/C part of Cyprus, as has been argued above, seems to support this premise. In addition, it provides the starting point to comprehend the analysis of the central theory used in this paper, the Contact Hypothesis.

The central assertion of the "*contact hypothesis*" disserts that proximity between individuals belonging to different groups, will gradually lead to the reduction of prejudice (Allport, 1954). However, as the author notes, there are two assumptions underlying his theory. The first, the "*casual contact*", asserts that when contact between two groups is perfunctory, it does not allow effective communication, which results in strengthening the stereotypes. Subsequently, relationships developed are superficial and are more likely to increase prejudice rather than dispel it (pp. 263-264). In contrast, the *true acquaintance* assumption lessens prejudice. When individuals develop true interpersonal relations and acquire direct experience with each other, stereotypes and prejudice attitudes are expected to decrease.

More specifically, Allport held that contact is successful and positive effects of intergroup contact occur only in situations marked by four key conditions: equal group status; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom.

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[7] Term used by Jones to define contexts that provide social acknowledgment and positive characteristics e.g. fans of the champion team (1997, p. 217)

- *Equal status*: Although the term is difficult to define and can be used in different ways (Riordan, 1978), it is essential for both groups to expect and perceive equal status in a situation (Lloyd & Cohen, 1999).

- *Common goals*: The reduction of prejudice through contact requires an active goal oriented effort. Athletic teams furnish a prime example (Chu & Griffey, 1985)

- *Intergroup cooperation:* Attainment of common goals must be an interdependent effort without intergroup competition. Sherif (1961) demonstrated this principle vividly in his Robbers Cave field study. Drawing on this thinking, Aaronson's jigsaw classroom technique structures classrooms so that students strive cooperatively for common goals (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997)

- *Support of authorities, law or custom*: The final condition concerns the contact's auspices. With explicit social sanction, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authority support establishes norms of acceptance (Pettigrew, 1998)

4. OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Overall it has been discussed how prejudice against the "others" is well settled in the cultural and social context of both communities. Furthermore, it has been shown how prejudice is linked to manifestations of violence and racist behavior which affect the relations of the two communities. Examining the effect of school mixity on prejudice and violent behavior, keeping in mind the current debate about banning the mixed school policy, is consequential.

4.1. Research question

Borrowing theories from sociological and social psychological schools of thought, I presented above the theoretical foundations of this research. Namely, I referred to theories that explain how sociocultural and historical backgrounds contribute substantially to the onset of prejudice and its maintenance over time. In addition, I have discussed how the existence of intergroups, in this case G/C and T/C, reinforces and enhances the existence of prejudice. Finally, according to the "*contact hypothesis*", I have examined the hypothesis that proximity between groups under certain circumstances should reduce prejudice attitudes (Allport, 1954). Keeping this theoretical background in mind, I wish to answer the following question:

Does contact between G/C and T/C students in mixed public primary schools reduce the prejudice G/C students have towards T/Cs?

4.2. Sub-questions and hypotheses

In this study the interest is on the prejudice attitudes of G/C primary school students towards students from another ethnic background (T/C); the key issue of study being the effects of contact on prejudice. The purpose is to provide insights about the current debate on school mixity and possibly influence the educational policies of Cyprus related to mixed schools and multicultural education in general.

The research is based on the following sub-questions and related hypotheses in order to test the "contact hypothesis" in the case of Cypriot primary school students:

Sub-question 1: *Does attending a mixed primary school in Cyprus enhance contact both with in- and out-of-school acquaintances?*

Hypothesis 1a: *G/C students of a mixed school have more contacts with T/C they met from school and outside the school context.*

This hypothesis is based on the assumption that attending a mixed school will increase the potential of meeting T/C both from the school and outside the school context.

Hypothesis 1b: *G/C students of a mixed school have more qualified contacts[8] with T/C children they met in- and out-of-school and develop true acquaintance.*

The mixed school could (or could not) support "true acquaintance" between the students, according to Allport's conception, due to the characteristics of the educational system. If the educational system is not prepared to develop true integration between students (Trimikliniotis, 2004) and the teachers express racist views (Haji, 2007) it can be expected that the educational environment at the mixed school does not foster proximity at the level that would create "true acquaintance".

Sub-question 2: *Does attending a mixed primary school in Cyprus reduce prejudice of G/C students towards T/C students?*

Hypothesis 2a: *If both H1a and Hp1b are verified, G/C students of a mixed school should have a lower level of prejudice compared to G/C students attending non-mixed school.*

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[8] It refers to contact that fulfills the four principles of the contact hypothesis, equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation and support of authorities.

<u>Hypothesis 2b:</u> *If only one or neither one of Hp1a and Hp1b are verified, G/C students of a mixed school should have an equal or higher level of prejudice compared to G/C students attending a non-mixed school.*

These two hypotheses are based on the "casual contact" and the "true acquaintance" assumptions, mentioned before (3.6-2). Even thought contact is frequent at the mixed school, if relations developed are superficial it is possible that prejudice will increase; appositively, if they are true, it will decrease.

4.3. Interdisciplinary social science relevance

The study of prejudice is one of the most visible and extensively researched topics in social sciences. Some of the landmark findings in this field, such as Allport's "*contact hypothesis*" (1954) or "Adorno's "authoritarian personality" (1950) were instrumental in the formation of social programs of desegregation and affirmative action. As societies grow and continue to change, so does the nature of prejudice research. In order to adapt to the current changes, new theories need to combine resources across the field of social sciences, as to provide an adequate framework to the study of this field (Parker & Gielen, 2007).

This research investigates prejudice within the Cypriot context; a society which lived physically segregated for over 30 years. The purpose of this research is to develop an understanding of mechanisms that foster the maintenance or the reduction of prejudice. To achieve this, a theoretical framework is constructed around one of the most influential social-psychological theories, the Contact Hypothesis. Even though the approach dates back in the 50', recent scholars have continued Allport's work and adjusted his theory with recent developments in social sciences; their work is presented here (Lloyd & Cohen, 1999; Pettigrew, 1998; Chu & Griffey, 1985; Riordan, 1978).

Finally, government policies as regards the regulation of multicultural educational policies in schools will be examined as to their applicability and results will be drawn as to their effectiveness in schools. Social and psychological theories that explain the processes of interaction of individuals and intergroups will be employed to investigate the effects of proximity on prejudice. The interdisciplinary Social Science Master program in Social Policy and Social Interventions integrates these research fields to provide a complete analytical framework to the current study.

4.4. Research design

In order to assess the influence of contact on prejudice, I designed a research to be conducted on two groups of primary school students: one of them attending a mixed school and the other one a non-mixed school, which I will refer to as "exclusive G/C" school to avoid confusion.

When the research was planned the aim was to include in the study two groups of students of equal size: 100 primary school students attending an exclusive G/C school and 100 students with a G/C background attending a mixed school. I planned to concentrate the study on students ranging from 8 to 12 years old, attending from the third to the sixth grade of primary school. The age criterion was based on previous researches (Verkuyten, 2002; 2003). This choice was also based on the idea that students below third grade would have difficulties in reading and comprehending the questionnaire. Moreover a large variation in age would make it difficult to design an appropriate questionnaire and to interpret the results.

I decided to conduct the study in the Limassol area, where most of the population of T/C students is settled. Moreover, I decided to select two schools only for the purpose of this study for two reasons. Firstly, there is only one mixed school in Limassol with an adequate percentage of T/C students to fulfill the requirements this study. Percentages in other schools are lower than

1-2%. Secondly, I wanted to avoid variations in the contexts of schools that would have an impact on the findings.

I planned to submit a questionnaire to each of the respondents in order to collect information on:

- *Prejudice* (the dependent variable of this study). The questions should distinguish between three types of prejudice - cognitive, affective and behavioral.

- *Contact* (the independent variable). Both with T/C children met from school and outside the school.

- *Control variables*, which is consisted of information about the social environment and demographic characteristics of participants. Social environment examines information about the perceived attitudes of parents, peers and teachers. Demographic variables examine age, gender, religion, refugee status, and socioeconomic background (SES).

By comparing the above mentioned information collected among the students attending the mixed and non-mixed school I planned to answer the research question and test the hypotheses.

In addition to the questionnaire directed to students, using short structured interviews with school personnel at the mixed school, I planned to collect additional information regarding the conditions under which contact between the students takes place. The qualitative data collected though these informants should provide me with valuable insights in order to interpret the results.

4.5. Questionnaire design

The questionnaire was constructed after consultation of previous research works that were conducted on similar topic and populations (Brochu & Morrison, 2007; Verkuyten, 2003; Nazar et al, 2000; Phinney et al, 1997). Additional literature was used for assistance with the structure (Seymour,

1985; Labaw, 1980). The questionnaire is divided in four parts covering all relevant variables found in previous studies.

The first part measures predictor variables for contact, which are: perception of parents prejudice, perception of peer prejudice and perception of teacher's prejudice. They were measured using the vignette technique. Vignettes are "*short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond*" (Finch, 1987). Six short stories were prepared in concordance with the method used by Verkuyten (2003).

The second part encompasses the measures for the independent variable, *contact* and was positioned on the third and fourth page. Contact was measured in two settings, in-school and out-school meeting. Each setting was designed to access quality and quantity of social interaction, which qualifies with Allports' conditions for effective contact, in concordance to (Phinney et al, 1997, p. 961).

The third part was placed on pages five and six and was aimed at measuring the dependant variable, *prejudice*, which was classified in three types: cognitive, affective and behavioral,. The classification is useful in providing more precise results about the effects of contact on prejudice. Cognitive prejudice examines what the respondent knows or thinks about the object, or in some other way has a pro or con attitude toward the object, affective prejudice examines whether the respondent likes or dislikes the object. Behavioral prejudice refers to manifestations of prejudice which involve interaction with the object (Seymour, 1985, p. 123).

The fourth part was positioned on the last page and it contained the questions measuring the demographic variables which are: age, gender, place

of birth, nationality, refugee status[9], religion, and socioeconomic status (SES). Additionally, three dummy-questions were used in order not to raise suspicion (Nazar et al, 2000, p. 524). Finally, an additional control question was used at the end of the questionnaire asking participants to report problems of comprehension with any of the questions.

The questionnaire was used on a pilot sample of eight children, aged 8-10, to determine levels of intelligibility. Some minor problems were detected and repaired in the final version of the questionnaire.

4.6. Interview structure design

Short structured interviews were used to evaluate the mixed school context in terms of its capacity to support the 4 principles of the Contact Hypothesis. The interviews were structured in four parts. The first part was aimed at gathering information about the informant, in order to assess the specific point of view from which he/she would provide information. Therefore, demographic information was asked as well as years of employment and current position at the school.

The second part was aimed at examining the development of contact between T/C and G/C students since the initial mixity of the school, in 2003. The third part was gathering information specific to the four principles of the Contact Hypothesis. Informants were requested to provide information since the initial mixity (for those informants that were employed at the school since 2003) and the present in a comparative manner.

The fourth part was an open discussion with the informants, during which they were asked, in an informal manner, to provide their personal impression about their interaction with T/C students and identify the major challenges they had encounter with them.

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[9] Term used by the G/C authorities after the invasion of Turkey in 1974 to define people who left their houses in the North part and settled in the South. The refugee status is carried on to the children by the father.

5. SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

5.1. Carrying out the research

In order to get access to the schools and the students, it was required to obtain an official permit from the Ministry of Education as well as the consent from the headmaster's of both schools. For this purpose, I sent a letter of request to the Ministry of Education, explaining in detail the purpose and procedure of the research, including a copy of the questionnaire. Thereafter, I contacted both headmasters' via telephone to request their permission.

After obtaining the permit from the Ministry of Education and the headmasters of the schools, I visited both schools to distribute a letter addressed to the parents of all candidate participants. The letter was given to the students in a sealed envelope and contained two pages; the first page explained the purpose and importance of the research and the second contained a form that parents were requested to fill in case they didn't want their children to participate in the research. Parents were assured that the questionnaires would be anonymous. In addition, parents were asked not to reveal the purpose of the research to their children in order to limit biases in the children's answers. Students were requested to give the letter to their parents the same day and a period of 5 days was given before the beginning of the research.

Coordination with the headmasters and school teachers was necessary in order to arrange the timetable for data collection. At the exclusive G/C school this process involved minimum preparation that allowed me to take into account some preferences of the teachers concerning the classes during which the questionnaire would be submitted. At the mixed school however, a timetable was build, in cooperation with the teachers, indicating the periods I was allowed to access the class and conduct the research. The timetable was based on the periods during which T/C and G/C had segregated courses, e.g.

history, as according to my research design I was interested in collecting the responses of the G/C students only. This was done in order to avoid any tension between the students or biases during the distribution, completion and collection of the questionnaires. Therefore, several visits and coordination meetings with the teachers were required.

At the set time for submitting the questionnaire to the students, the teacher would announce me to the class and then leave the room. Exceptions were made during the research with third graders –eight years old- that required more assistance. In those cases I requested the teacher to stay in class with me and respond to questions when I was not available. However, precise instructions were given to the teachers as to the provision of the assistance.

After handing-out the questionnaires, I provided details about the purpose of the research to the class. The students were told that they were going to take part in a study concerning the preferences of students and their friends during their leisure time. Thereafter I would give instructions for the completion of the questionnaire. Attention was given that all children were following the instructions and if necessary questions were answered. In addition, children with questions could raise their hand during the research and I would respond to their questions individually.

Regarding the short interviews with key informants, it was not required to obtain a permit from the Ministry of Education, as the consent of the informants was considered enough. Therefore I requested their permission for an interview during their break periods. The interviews were individual and took place in empty classrooms or the headmaster's office.

5.2. Sampling

The research has taken place in the city of Limassol where most of the population of T/C students is settled. There are 51 public primary schools in the urban area of Limassol. The selection of the mixed school was based on

the potential for contact between G/C and T/C students. The specific school that was used in this research had the highest concentration of T/C students, almost 50%. As already mentioned, some other schools that include T/C students have immensely lower percentages, 1-2%.

The exclusive G/C school was selected based matching standards to the mixed school, i.e. the socio-economical levels of the area in which the school was established[10]. The selected exclusive G/C school is situated within 5Km distance from the mixed school and there are no T/C students enrolled there. However, despite the effort to maintain matching criteria between the two schools, the total number of registered students at the exclusive G/C is notably larger than at the mixed school but this is due to the unusually small size of the latter.

The mixed school has a total of 135 students, of which only 72 are G/C, and only 55 were eligible to include in the research in relation to age and grade criteria. The selected exclusive G/C school has a total of 278 students, of which 190 were eligible to be included in the research. The reduced number of eligible G/C students in the mixed school – which was not available before the beginning of the fieldwork – forced me to change the sampling that had been foreseen in the research design.

As a result I set as a new objective to have a total sample of 150 students, of which 100 from the exclusive G/C school and 50 from the mixed school. In order to reach this goal I attempted at reaching 180 G/C participant students; 125 from the mixed and 55 from the exclusive G/C school. Even though the two sub-samples are not numerically equal, the purpose of this research is not significantly affected, considering I will have included almost every possible candidate from the mixed school (see table 5.2-1).

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[10] As in Cyprus the attribution to a school depends strictly on the place of residence, the socio-economic conditions of a given area is a proxy of the socio economic conditions of a school situated in that area.

5.2-1: Population of the two selected schools and eligibility for participation

	Total school population	G/C students	T/C students	Other nationalities	Eligible G/C students based on age (8-12) and grade (3rd-6th)
Mixed school	139	73	52	14	55
Exclusive G/C	278	240	_	38	190

In all, 162 primary students were included in the research, 109 from the exclusive G/C school and 52 from the mixed school. Gender representation was equal with 79 boys and 80 girls in the total sample and between schools at 51% - 49% at the G/C school and 47% - 53% at the mixed school; for boys and girls respectively. The age range is 8 to 12 years with a mean value 10.4 both for the total sample and between schools. There are no immigrants in the sample but 13 cases reported of having one parent with an immigrant background, 7 at the G/C school and 5 at the mixed school (see table 5.2-2).

5.2-2: Overview of the final sample

	Included participants	Gender %	Mean age between (8-12)	Participants with Immigrant background
Mixed school	53	Boys: 47%	M= 10.43	5
Exclusive G/C	109	Boys: 51%	M= 10.40	7

As previously recalled, next to the questionnaires submitted to selected students I carried out 9 interviews with key informants in the mixed school. In total, the school had 14 teachers –of which 2 were T/Cs- a headmaster, a vice-headmaster and 3 janitors. I interviewed 9 persons in total, which included, the headmaster and the vice headmaster, 5 teachers, including both T/Cs and 2 of the janitors. 5 of the informants had been employed at the school before

2003, when the mix policy was initiated. Each interview lasted 20 to 30 minutes

5.3. Problems – limitations

At the exclusive G/C school, the authority of the teacher was sufficient to ensure the attention of the students and order in the class during the completion of the questionnaire. The level of students' comprehension was very satisfactory and only a few questions were asked during the research. Only mirror cases of disturbances were noted.

At the mixed school, there were problems of unrest among the students at the beginning of the research. As I mentioned earlier, during the submission of the questionnaire only G/C students were present in class. As the teacher announced me, students tended to be restless and it was difficult to maintain order in class. However, once they started to fill in the questionnaire, they were more concentrated and quiet. The level of comprehension was sufficient between fifth and sixth graders but lower classes required more assistance than at the exclusive G/C school.

Certain difficulties were also encountered during the interview process. Despite their initial assent, some informants were reluctant or didn't provide useful answers during the interviews. Considering that the school personnel were aware of the objectives of the research, some were clearly trying to promote answers that would not harm the image of the school. Others however, especially younger informants with less years of employment there, seemed to be more sincere in their replies.

6. ANALYSIS

In this session I provide an overview of the results of the research. First I illustrate how the variables were operationilized. Second, I present the main results from the descriptive analysis. Third, I apply 4 structural equation models using Amos 16 to test the research question and sub-questions of the study.

6.1. Variable operationalization

Dependent variables

In this study nine items were used to measure prejudice. Three items were used to measure each of the classified types of prejudice: cognitive, affective and behavioral. Cognitive and affective prejudice items were built based on the appendix of classical and modern racial prejudice scale (Nazar et al, 2000, p. 532). Behavioral items were build based on the behavioral intention index (BII) found in (Brochu & Morrison, 2007, p. 688). Typical items were: "Do you believe that most T/C children are smart?"; "Would you invite a T/C child at you birthday party?". Participants replied on a four point Likert scale with the choices: (1) Certainly yes, (2) Probably yes, (3) Probably not and (4) Certainly not. High scores indicate higher levels of prejudice (for more information on the items measuring prejudice see appendix).

Independent variables

Contact was measured in two settings, contact with T/C children they know from school (in-school T/C acquaintances) and contact with children they met outside the school (non-school T/C acquaintances). For both settings the frequency and quality of contact were examined based on a four item checklist developed by (Phinney et al, 1997, p. 961). Considering that frequency at the mixed school was given, great importance was placed in measuring contact that takes place outside the school, both with respect to contacts with students from the school and contact with other acquaintances.

In-school contact was measured by one item on the basis of the question: "When you are at school, do you do any of these activities with the Turkish-Cypriot children?" (a list of activities was provided). Out-school contact with in-school T/C acquaintances was measured by asking: "When do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot students that you know from outside school?" and "How often do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot students that are at your school outside the school?" Out school contact with non-school T/C acquaintances was measured on the basis of the following questions: "When do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot students that you know from outside school?" and "How often do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot children that you know from outside school?"

Quantity of contact was measured using two items, both examining the frequency of contact; one item examining how often G/C students meet with in-school T/C and the other for non-school T/C acquaintances. Quality of contact was measured on the basis of three items, examining the circumstances under which G/C students have contact with T/C's. The first item examined contact within the school, the second and third item examined contact outside the school both for in- and non-school T/C acquaintances.

All questions were following the Likert scale structure. Responses indicating the frequency of contact were re-coded based on frequency to: (0) No contact (1) Rarely (2) Sometimes (3) Often. Responses indicating the quality of contact were re-coded based on their frequency to produce the following variables: (0) No contact (1) random contact (2) context based contact (3) contact by personal choice (for more information on the items measuring contact see appendix).

Control variables

A set of control variables was aimed at measuring the perceived influence from the social environment of the participants. It was estimated using three items, perceived parental, peer and teacher attitudes. Perceived parental attitudes item examined the beliefs of the respondents as to how their parent's would respond towards them having contact with T/C. Perceived peer attitudes item examined the beliefs of the respondents as to their peer's willingness to interact with T/C's and perceived teacher influence examined whether the respondents believed that their teacher would take action in a discriminating manner towards T/C students (for more information about the items measuring social environment see appendix).

Another set of control variables consisted of socio-demographic variables. Demographic variables encompass age, gender, refugee status (yes/no), nationality (Greek/other) and socioeconomic status (SES). Socioeconomic status was measured as a combination of (1) the profession of the father (recoded as low, mid and high) and (2) dual income families (yes/no).

6.2. Descriptive analysis

6.2.1. Prejudice

Between schools percentages for the three items measuring cognitive prejudice and the three items measuring affective prejudice are presented below (table 6.2.1-1 and 6.2.1-2). Behavioral prejudice is also presented (table 6.2.1-3) but only for the mixed school, since the exclusive G/C school context did not have enough contact to examine this variable. Low values in the response scale indicate lower levels of prejudice and high values indicate higher levels of prejudice.

Cognitive prejudice (1)

The responses provided by the students tend to concentrate at the intermediate level (2, 3) in all three items that measure cognitive prejudice,

even if as we go from item 1.1 to item 1.2 and to item 1.3 (there is an increasing concentration of responses at level 3. Comparing the mean values between schools, we can notice that the mixed school sample has slightly lower values in item 1.1, where the mean is 2.69 compared to 2.74 in the exclusive G/C school, and in item 1.3, where the mean is 2.83 in the mixed school compared to 3.00 in the exclusive G/C school. By contrast, the mixed school shows a higher mean value on item 1.2: 2.98 against 2.54. The variation in the differences of the mean values shows that there are no important differences between the two samples.

6.2.1-1: Item frequencies for Cognitive Prejudice (1)

Cognitive Prejudice (1)						
Item	1.1		1.2		1.3	
School	Mixed	Exclusive G/C	Mixed	Exclusive G/C	Mixed	Exclusive G/C
1	5,8	5,5	3,8	4,6	5,7	5,5
2	44,2	36,7	26,4	55,0	20,8	17,4
3	25,0	35,8	37,7	22,0	58,5	48,6
4	25,0	22,0	32,1	18,3	15,1	28,4
Mean	2,6923	2,7431	2,9811	2,5413	2,8302	3,0000
S.D	,91905	,86499	,86582	,84472	,75284	,82776
Variance	,845	,748	,750	,714	,567	,685

Reliability test was used to assess the internal consistency of the items measuring cognitive prejudice. Cronbach's Alpha was used and results for both schools were high with reliability coefficient value, .635 for the exclusive G/C and .724 for the mixed school.

Affective prejudice (2)

The overall levels of affective prejudice appear to be lower than cognitive prejudice on all three items in both schools. Between schools, the difference in the mean values does not provide any important results, but it follows an interesting sequence. While the mixed school has a lower mean value than the exclusive G/C school on item 2.1, the mean value of item 2.2 is higher. In

addition, the mean value of item 2.3 is almost identical. In general, there is no distinct difference between schools in the distributions of prejudice for each item alone. Variance appears to be notably higher in all three items at the mixed school but again the difference is not significant enough to draw safe assumptions. Cronbach's Alpha test showed high reliability coefficient values for both schools at .761 for the exclusive G/C and .697 for the mixed school.

6.2.1-2 Item frequencies for Affective prejudice

Affective Prejudice (2)						
Item	2.1		2.2		2.3	
School	Mixed	Exclusive G/C	Mixed	Exclusive G/C	Mixed	Exclusive G/C
1	11,9	22,6	18,3	18,9	35,8	37,7
2	32,1	37,7	36,7	28,3	35,8	34,0
3	28,4	18,9	22,9	17,0	11,0	7,5
4	27,5	20,8	22,0	35,8	17,4	20,8
Mean	2,3774	2,7156	2,6981	2,4862	2,1132	2,1009
S.D	1,06023	1,00085	1,15334	1,03293	1,13782	1,07965
Variance	, 1,124	1,002	1,330	1,067	1,295	1,166

Behavioral prejudice (3)

Participants responded significantly lower levels of behavioral prejudice than in the two previous types of prejudice (at the mixed school only). By examining the response values, we can observe a significant concentration of cases (more than 65%) at the low level (1, 2) which indicates that the mean value is in fact oversized by the small percentage of cases allocated in the high level (4). The variance values do not show any significant difference than the two previous types. Cronbach's Alpha test showed high reliability coefficient value .687.

6.2.1-3: Item frequencies for Behavioral prejudice

Mixed school			
Item	3.1	3.2	3.3
Response	Valid Percent	Valid Percent	Valid Percent
1	50,9	52,8	52,8
2	26,4	13,2	17,0
3	13,2	20,8	20,8
4	9,4	13,2	9,4
Mean	1,8113	1,9434	1,8679
S.D	1,00109	1,13366	1,05680
Variance	1,002	1,285	1,117

Total prejudice comparison

The sums of the three items used to measure each type of prejudice were computed to produce the total levels of prejudice for each type. Frequency tables as well as graph distributions of total cognitive and affective prejudice are presented below for comparative purposes (table 6.2.1-4, graphs: 6.2.1-1-2). Skewness and kurtosis values are also included in the analysis.

6.2.1-4: Means and Standard deviation of Total Cognitive and Affective prejudice

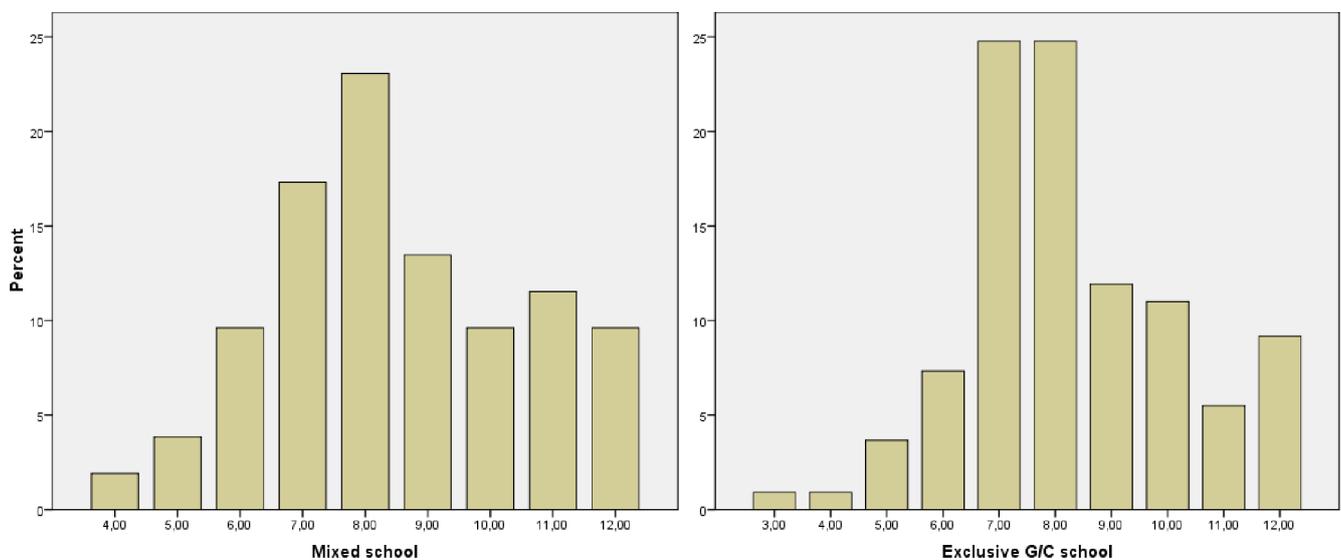|	Total Cognitive prejudice		Total Affective prejudice	
School	Mixed	Exclusive G/C	Mixed	Exclusive G/C
Mean	8,5000	8,2844	7,1887	7,3028
Median	8,0000	8,0000	7,0000	7,0000
S.D	2,03402	1,92975	2,64616	2,56221
Variance	4,137	3,724	7,002	6,565
Skewness	,095	,233	,118	,403
Kurtosis	-,656	-,111	-,740	-,657

Total Cognitive Prejudice

From the graphs, we can observe some differences in the distribution of total cognitive prejudice scores between the two schools that were not obvious during the item description. The mean value at the mixed school appears

notably higher than at the exclusive G/C school, 8.50 and 8.28 respectively. However, considering I am using a 12 point scale in this analysis, the mean difference does not reveal important results. Looking at the histograms we can observe that the exclusive G/C school presents a considerable concentration of cases around the median (50%) while at the mixed school there is a higher frequency of cases in correspondence with lower values. This is clear also from the comparison of variance, at 3,724 and 4,137 for the G/C and mixed school.

What can be extracted from the above is that both populations have a similar level of cognitive prejudice (in both subgroups the median=8.00 and the mean values are similar). However, the population which has no contact with the T/C appears to have a higher concentration of cases around the median and low frequencies in correspondence with low scores; which could be a sign of the adherence to a social norm. On the other hand, at the mixed school, the higher dispersion (namely higher frequencies in correspondence with low scores) may lead to the assumption that contact leads to the development of personal opinion for part of the population.

6.2.1-1: Distribution of Total Cognitive Prejudice at the mixed and G/C school

45

6.2.1-2: Distribution of Total Affective Prejudice at the mixed and G/C school
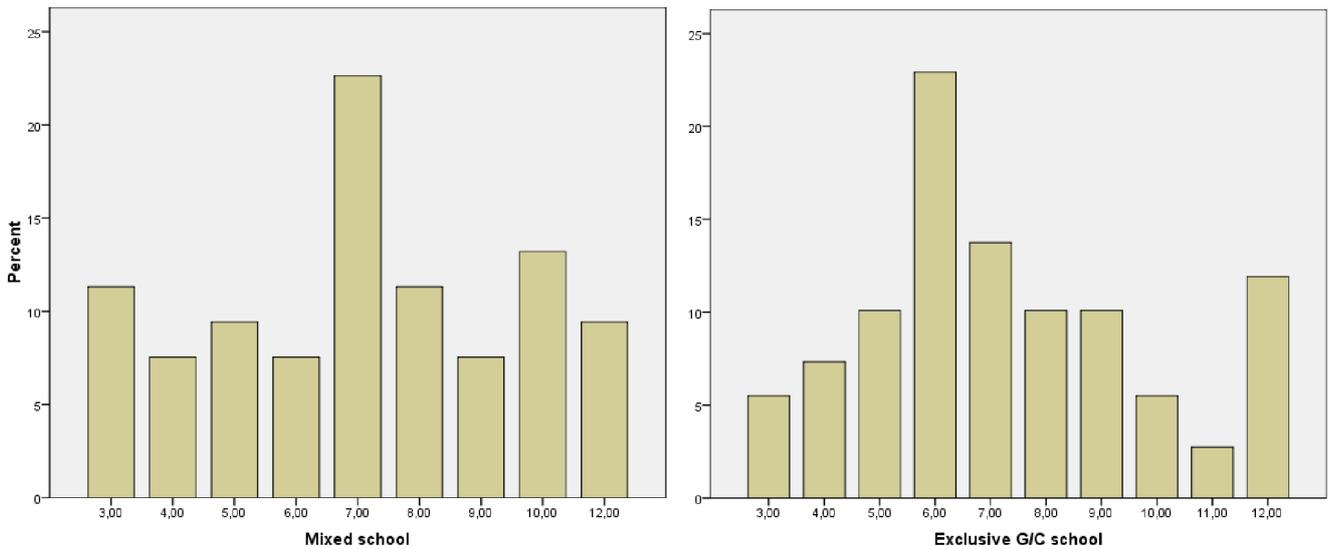
Total Affective Prejudice

From the analysis we can observe that total affective prejudice is similar at both schools with a median value of 7.00 and a mean value of 7.30 at the G/C school and 7.18 at the mixed school. However, looking at the histograms, we can observe important differentiations in the frequency distribution.

At the exclusive G/C school, the distribution follows rather roughly the Gaussian curve; with a peak point in correspondence with very high score. At the mixed school, the histogram presents an intense peak in the middle of the distribution exactly at the median point while the rest of the cases follow almost a flat distribution. While the peak at the mixed school appears at a higher value point than at the exclusive G/C school, the mean value is lower. In addition, the overall score level is distributed more evenly on the histogram, with a variance of 7.0 compared to 6.5 in the G/C school.

Total Cognitive - Affective prejudice

The sums of the six items measuring cognitive and affective prejudice were computed to produce this variable for each school. Cronbach's Alpha test for

the six items was .787. The frequency table and graph distribution are presented below (table 6.2.1-5, graph 6.2.1-3).

6.2.1-5: Means and Standard deviation of Total Cognitive - Affective prejudice

	Total Cognitive - Affective prejudice	
School	Mixed	Exclusive G/C
Mean	7,7936	7,8846
Median	7,5000	7,5000
S.D	2,01063	2,04032
Variance	4,043	4,163
Skewness	,460	,274
Kurtosis	-,517	-,424

Total cognitive-affective prejudice appears to have a similar distribution for both subgroups. The median value is 7.50 and the mean value is similar at 7.79 and 7.88 at the mixed and exclusive G/C school respectively. In addition, looking at the variance and standard deviation values, we can observe the same proximity between the two variables. In fact, compared to the previous analyses for cognitive and affective prejudice between the two subgroups, these variables present the most similarities regarding the frequency and distribution of prejudice between the two subgroups (To be noted that a 12 point scale is also used in this analysis).

The histograms of total cognitive-affective prejudice seem to support the previous results about the similarities in the comparison of cognitive and affective prejudice. However, it appears that at the mixed school population, there is a higher frequency of cases in correspondence with low values. Skewness difference also supports this observation. While both distributions are positively skewed, the mixed value is higher than the exclusive G/C school, at .460 to .274 respectively. In addition, looking at the mixed school sample, if we focus on the cases that correspond to high values, we can detect a considerable concentration of cases at the highest value point (12) while the

following value points (11-11.5) present notably lower concentration of cases. Similarly, looking at the same value points at the exclusive G/C school distribution, we can see that the cases are distributed more evenly.

6.2.1-3: Distribution of Total Cognitive - Affective prejudice at the mixed and G/C
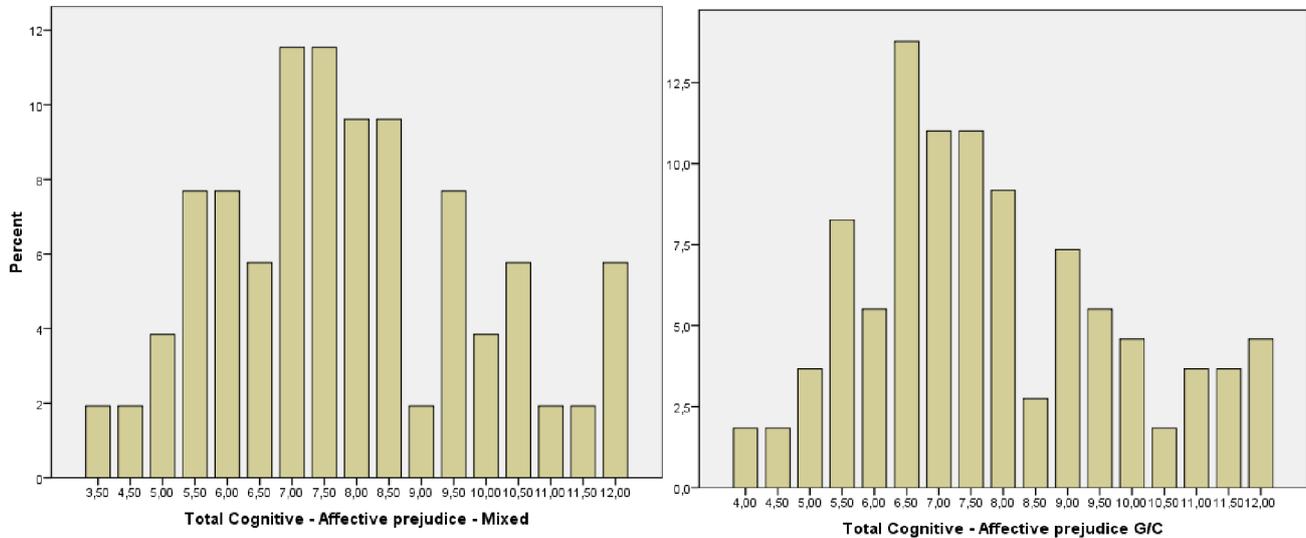
6.2.2.   Contact

Between schools percentages for the five items measuring in-school and non-school acquaintances are depicted below at tables' 6.2.2-1 and 6.2.2-2. Items are arranged in respect to the type of contact they examine (quality and quantity). All the items examine contacts outside the school, except item quality 1 which examined contact within the school. From the scale, low values indicate lower levels of quality and frequency of contact and accordingly, higher values correspond to higher frequency or quality.

Quality of contact

A significant observation regarding quality of contact at the mixed school is that, while frequency of contact is given (five times a week at least-based on the school agenda), an important percentage of cases for all three items, concentrates at values 1 or 0, which corresponds to random or no contact.

6.2.2-1: Item frequencies for quality of contact

Type/Item	IN-school acquaintances				NON-school acquaintances	
	Quality 1		Quality 2		Quality 3	
	Mixed	G/C	Mixed	G/C	Mixed	G/C
0	0	100	0	100	38,5	91,7
1	32,1	0	66,0	0	34,6	4,6
2	32,1	0	22,6	0	15,4	1,8
3	35,8	0	11,3	0	11,5	1,8
Mean	2,0377	,0000	1,4528	,0000	1,0000	,1376
Median	2,0000	,0000	1,0000	,0000	1,0000	,0000
S.D	,83118	,00000	,69520	,00000	1,00976	,51761
Variance	,691	,000	,483	,000	1,020	,268

Quality item 1 deviates from this observation with no cases in value 0 and an almost equidistribution of cases in values 1 to 3. Presumably, this is related to the fact that item 1 examines contact inside the school context. However, looking at item 2 which examines contact with in-school acquaintances outside the school context, the highest percentage of cases (66%) corresponds to value 1, which reflects random contact. In addition, at quality item 3 -that examines contact with non-school acquaintances outside the school- the percentage of cases corresponding to value 0 or 1 reaches 73.1%, and only 11.5% corresponds to value 3.

These results lead to the assumption that the highest percentage of G/C students at the mixed school does not have qualified contact -in the sense that contact is either non-existent or random- with T/C fellow students or other acquaintances outside the school. However, the mixed school context appears to be enhancing the relations between the two groups.

At the exclusive G/C school, items measuring quality of contact with in-school acquaintances show that 100% of the cases correspond to value 0, which is expected since there were no T/C students at the school. Item 3, that measures contact with non-school acquaintances, reveals very low levels of quality contact. The vast percentage of cases is concentrated at value 0 and 1

(96.3%) and only 1.8% of cases correspond to values 2 and 3 accordingly. This observation strengthens the previous assumption about the contribution of the mixed school context in enhancing quality of contact with in-school acquaintances. It appears that the mixed school context enhances quality contact with non-school acquaintances as well.

Quantity of contact

At the mixed school, quantity of contact is similarly distributed both for in- and non-school acquaintances. For both items we can observe a high concentration of cases at the two extremes of the value scale (0, 3), which is also depicted by the variation value at 1.53 for item 1 and 1.54 for item 2. In addition, item 1 presents higher levels of contact frequency than item 2 with a mean value 1.33 to 1.15. However, it is worth mentioning that similarly to the analysis of the quality of contact, the highest percentage of cases in the distribution of the quantity of contact corresponds to value 0.

6.2.2-2: Item frequencies for quantity of contact

Type/Item	IN-school acquaintances		NON-school acquaintances	
	Quantity 1		Quantity 2	
	Mixed	G/C	Mixed	G/C
0	37,7	100	46,2	91,7
1	17,0	0	15,4	2,8
2	18,9	0	15,4	3,7
3	26,4	0	23,1	1,8
Mean	1,3396	,0000	1,1538	,1560
Median	1,0000	,0000	1,0000	,0000
S.D	1,23947	,00000	1,24278	,56395
Variance	1,536	,000	1,544	,318

At the exclusive G/C school, quantity of contact corresponds to 0 for 100% of the responses indicating contact with in-school acquaintances and 91.7% for contact with out-school acquaintances. There are some fluctuations throughout the scale in the distribution of contact with non-school

acquaintances but the percentages are very small to produce considerable findings.

In all, distribution of the quantity of contact suggests the same results as with the distribution of the quality of contact. Specifically, despite the given frequency of contact at the mixed school, students do not have frequent contacts with in- or non-school T/C outside the school. In addition, the mixed school context appears to be a contributory factor towards increasing the quantity of contact, both with in- and non-school T/C.

Total contact

The sum of the five items measuring contact, both quality and quantity, were computed to produce the variable total-contact on a 15 point scale. Graph distribution and table of frequencies of total-contact at the mixed, exclusive G/C school and for both school are presented below at figures (table: 6.2.2-3, graph: 6.2.2-1).

6.2.2-3: Means and Standard deviation of total contact

	Total contact	
School	Mixed	Exclusive G/C
Mean	6,8431	,2936
Median	7,0000	,0000
S.D	3,36079	1,02110
Variance	11,295	1,043
Skewness	,490	3,474
Kurtosis	-,421	11,164

The distribution of total-contact at the mixed and exclusive G/C school, histograms 6.2.2-1, depicts clearly the observations I noted previously during the analysis of the items measuring quality and quantity of contact. Once again we can observe that at the G/C school, almost all cases correspond to value 0, with some small fluctuations between the values 2 and 5, which however remain unimportant. The mean value is very low at .29 and the

median is 0. Distribution at the mixed school is slightly skewed to the right, with a high variance value at 10.23. There is a peak point corresponding to value 8 next to the median value which corresponds to value 7.

6.2.2-1: Distribution of total contact at the mixed and exclusive G/C school
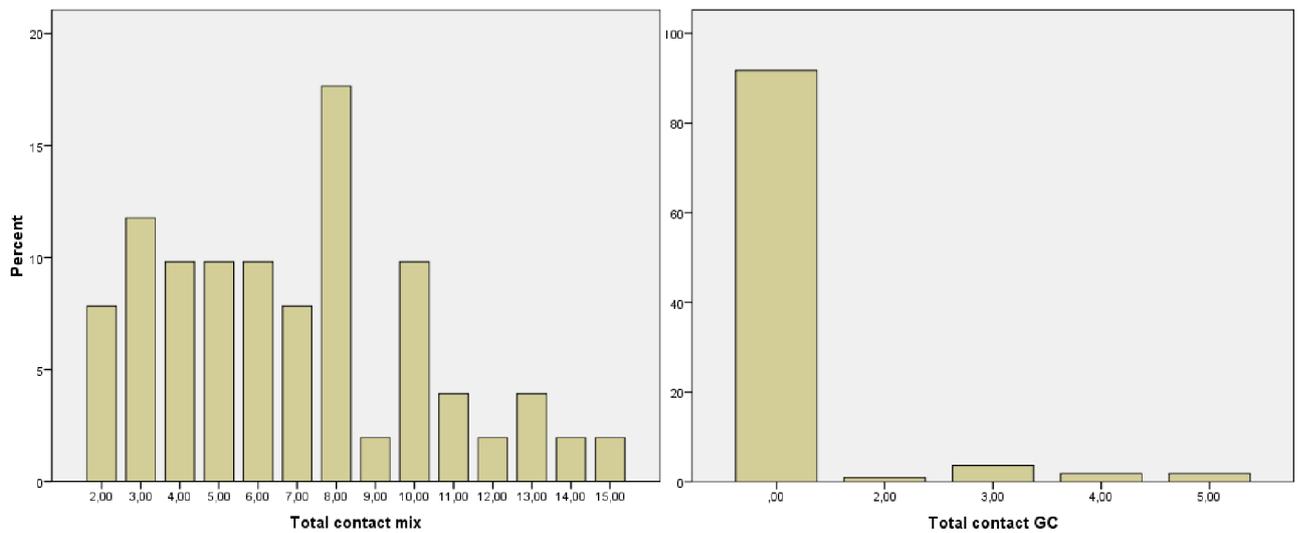
Overall, considering that the mixed school provides regular contact between G/C and T/C students, the level of interaction, both quantitative and qualitative, between G/C and T/C at the mixed school is lower than expected; with the equivalent mean value at 4.35 on a 15 point scale. At the exclusive G/C schools, levels of interaction were extremely low, which provides support to the assumption that the context of a mixed school is a contributory factor for higher interaction between the G/C and T/C students.

6.2.3. Perceived influence from social environment

Percentages for the three items used to examine perceived influence from the social environment of respondents are depicted below in table 6.2.3-1. Low values indicate positive perceived influence while high values indicate negative.

6.2.3-1: Perceived influence from social environment

Social environment						
Item	Parents		Peers		Teachers	
School	Mixed	G/C	Mixed	G/C	Mixed	G/C
1	11,3	29,4	22,6	32,4	3,8	10,2
2	45,3	57,8	32,1	39,8	22,6	27,8
3	13,2	6,4	28,3	16,7	30,2	38,9
4	30,2	6,4	17,0	11,1	43,4	23,1
Mean	2,6226	1,8991	2,3962	2,0648	3,1321	2,7500
Median	2,0000	2,0000	2,0000	2,0000	3,0000	3,0000
S.D	1,04194	,78108	1,02544	,96937	,89952	,92852
Variance	1,086	,610	1,052	,940	,809	,862

Distributions of the items measuring social-environment are widely scattered for both schools but there is a general tendency for higher levels of perceived negative influence at the mixed school. This observation is consistent in all three items, wherein perceived negative influence from the teacher presents the highest concentration of cases at the higher values in both schools at 43.4 and 23.1 at the mixed and exclusive G/C school respectively.

At the exclusive G/C school, respondents seem to perceive positive influence from their parents and neutral from their peers towards contact with T/C students, at corresponding mean values of 1.89 and 2.06 respectively. At the mixed school, the lowest mean value corresponds to the perceived influence from peers, but it is still negative at 2.39. Respondents from both schools indicated that in their perception, the teacher would act in a discriminating way towards T/C with a corresponding mean value of 3.13 at the mixed school and 2.75 at the exclusive G/C school.

6.2.4.   Demographic variables

Percentages of the demographic variables from both schools are presented below at table 6.2.4-1 for descriptive purposes.

6.2.4-1: Percentages of demographic variables

Variables	Items	School	
		Mixed	**G/C**
Age	Low (8-9)	35.8	22.2
	Mid (10-11)	34.0	54.6
	High (12-13)	30.2	23.2
Gender	Boy	46.2	51.4
	Girl	53.8	48.6
Refugee status	Yes	54.2	23.4
	No	33.3	62.6
	Don't know	12.5	14.0
Nationality	Cypriot	56.2	66.7
	Greek-Cypriot	33.3	23.8
	Other	10.4	6.7
	Don't know	0	2.9
Religion	Christian	85.8	93.6
	Other	14.2	6.4
SES	Low	48.0	82.6
	Mid	42.2	17.4
	High	9.8	0

Overall, there are some noteworthy differences in the distribution of the demographic characteristics between the two samples. The highest percentage of respondents from the exclusive G/C school corresponds to the mid level of the age scale (10-11) while at the mixed school they are distributed evenly on all three levels. In addition, there is an importantly greater percentage of respondents at the mixed school with a refugee status than at the exclusive G/C school at 54.3 to 23.4 respectively.

Regarding nationality and religion status, there are some small percentage differences but they follow a similar distribution within the school. Finally, there is an important difference between the two samples regarding the socioeconomic status. Respondents at the mixed school are highly concentrated at the lowest SES level (1) at a corresponding percentage of 82.6 while at the exclusive G/C school most of the cases correspond to SES levels 2 and 3. Gender balance appears to be fairly equal for both samples.

6.3. <u>Structural equation models</u>

To examine the hypotheses of this study, four structural equation models were built using Amos 16. The first three are exploratory models examining for causal relationships between the control and demographic variables towards the independent and dependent variables. The fourth model is following a confirmatory approach based on the theoretical framework while controlling for non significant relations that derived from the previous models.

Each model is discussed separately. Fit measures, which indicate how the theoretical model fits the data, are reported for each table. Four fit indices that measure goodness-of-fit, as suggested by Chan (2007, p. 49) are used here. One approach is to divide the chi-square value by the degrees of freedom. According to (Carmines & McIver (1981), x^2/df ratios in the range of 2:1 or 3:1 indicate an acceptable fit. The other three are, the goodness-of-fit index (GFI), the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). The GFI and CFI both have values ranging from 0 to 1; *a good fit* is indicated by values greater than .90 for GFI and 0.95 for CFI. For RMSEA, a value of 0 is interpreted as an *exact fit*; values greater than .05 are a *close fit*; values between .05 and .08 are a *mediocre fit* and values more than .10 are a poor fit.

6.3.1. First model: Social environment, demographic variables and school – Contact

This model examined for possible causal relationship between the control variables and school towards the contacts of G/C students with T/C. School was included in this model in order to explore the hypotheses of sub-question 1 (see paragraph 4.2). Correlation between school and SES was examined based on the results from the descriptive analysis.

Model 1: Social environment, demographic variables and school - Contact
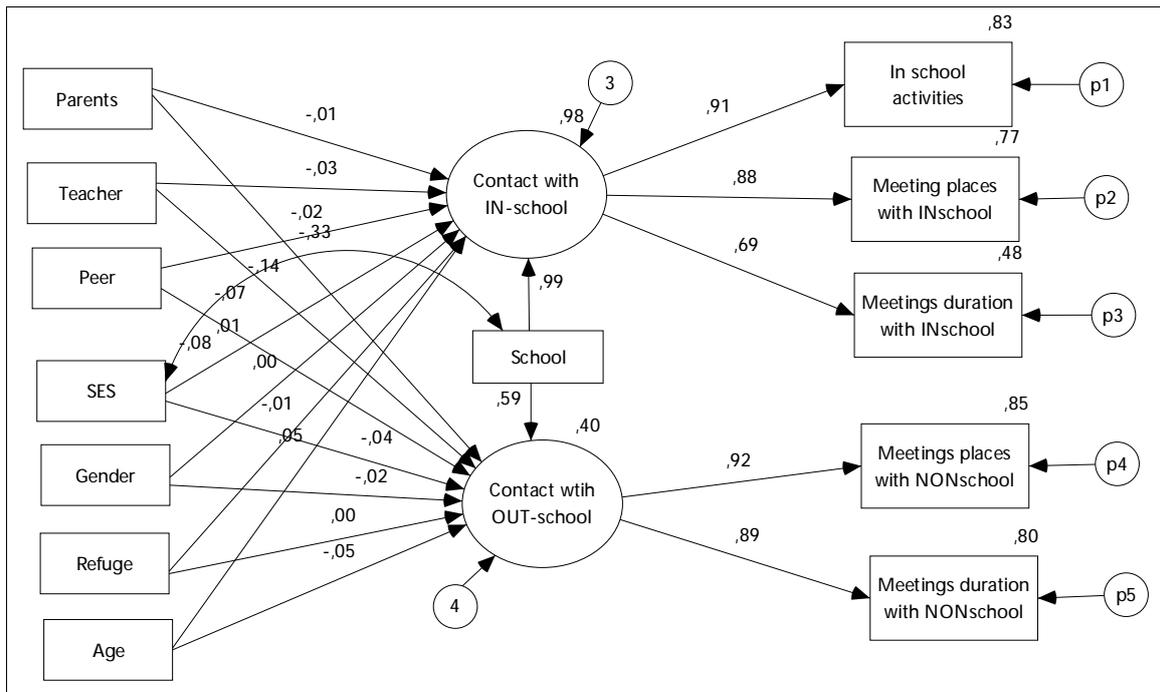
Maximum likelihood estimates

Regression weights of maximum likelihood from model 1 are presented below table 6.3.1. None of the demographic variables appears to have a significant effect on contact, both for in- or out-school acquaintances. Perceived social influence also appears to be non-significantly related to contact, except for the perceived parental influence towards contact with out-school acquaintances. Regression estimates show that perceived parental influence is likely to decrease the contact G/C students have with T/C out-school acquaintances by .118 at a significance value 0.05. Concerning school, it is estimated that attending a mixed school will substantially increase the possibilities of developing contacts with in-school T/C acquaintances by 2.089 and by 1.008 with out-school acquaintances at a significance value 0.001. In addition, there is a positive correlation at the value .329 between mixed school and low SES.

6.3.1: Maximum likelihoods for social environment, demographic variables and school-Contact

			Estimate	P
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Teacher	-,034	,260
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Teacher	-,059	,300
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Peer	-,024	,400
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Peer	-,064	,236
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Parents	-,015	,614
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Parents	-,118	,038
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Gender	-,029	,787
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Gender	-,007	,903
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Age	-,051	,490
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Age	,071	,065
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	SES	-,058	,497
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	SES	,016	,723
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	Refuge	,004	,970
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	Refuge	-,028	,646
Contact with IN-school T/C	<---	School	2,089	***
Contact with OUT-school T/C	<---	School	1,008	***

Results from the first model seem to correspond very well with *Hypothesis 1a* and respond positively to *Sub-question 1*. This statement is raised not only in the light of the positive relation of school and contact but also by the complete absence of causality between the demographic variables and contact which show that the relation is not mediated by these variables. The negative association of perceived parental influence and contact with out-school acquaintances can be useful in explaining the increased levels of prejudice at the mixed school; considering that respondents at the mixed school reported notably higher levels of perceived parental influence.

Fit measures of the first model

Overall, this model exhibited a mediocre fit with the data collected. The AMOS estimation of the model showed a value of 3.02 in the x^2/df ratio, which is slightly over the recommend criterion of less than 3.0. The GFI and CFI showed values of .861 and .878 respectively, which is lower than the commonly

recommended value of over 0.9 and 0.95. Finally, RMSEA was .112, which corresponds to a poor fit of the model.

6.3.2. Second model: Social environment and demographic variables – Prejudice

This model examined for possible direct effects between the control variables and the dependant variable prejudice. School was removed in this model to examine explicitly the relationship between socio-demographic variables and prejudice. Covariance estimate between cognitive and affective prejudice was also examined.

Maximum likelihood estimates

Regression weights of maximum likelihood of the second model are presented below table 6.3.2. All of the social environment variables showed significant relations to at least one type of prejudice whereas from the demographic variables only gender appeared to have a significant relation.

Model 2: Social environment and demographic variables – Prejudice
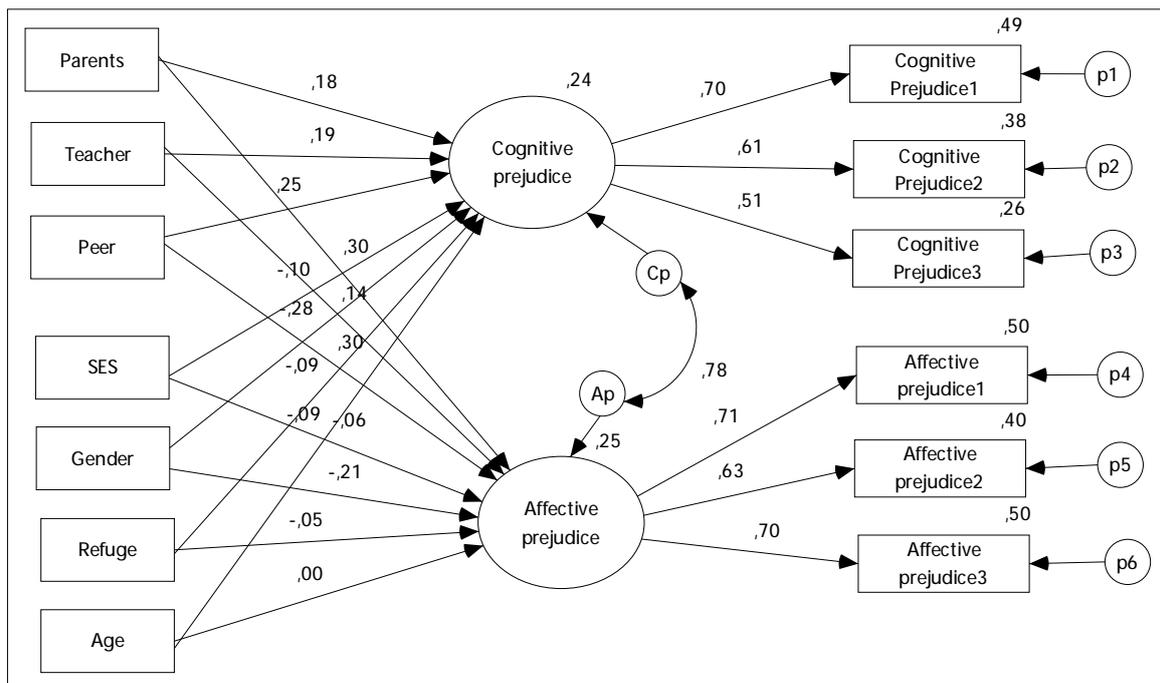
Perceived influence from peers and parents is estimated to increase affective prejudice by .217 and .235 respectively, at a significance value .001. Perceived peer influence is also estimated to increase cognitive prejudice by .154 at a significance value .05. Perceived influence from teachers is estimated to increase cognitive prejudice by .123 at a significance value .05. Concerning gender, it is estimated that girls will express less prejudice than boys, by .343 for cognitive and by .298 for affective prejudice. Both estimations were found significant at the .05 value. Covariance between cognitive and affective prejudice was positive with an estimated value .219 at the .001 significance level.

6.3.2: Maximum likelihoods for social environment and demographic variables – Prejudice

			Estimate	P
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Teacher	,123	,047
Affective Prejudice	<---	Teacher	,112	,101
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Peer	,154	,008
Affective Prejudice	<---	Peer	,217	,001
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Parents	,119	,063
Affective Prejudice	<---	Parents	,235	***
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Gender	-,343	,003
Affective Prejudice	<---	Gender	-,298	,019
Affective Prejudice	<---	Age	,004	,964
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Age	-,075	,340
Affective Prejudice	<---	SES	-,065	,529
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	SES	-,096	,301
Affective Prejudice	<---	Refuge	-,076	,570
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Refuge	-,116	,347

Results show that perceived attitudes from the social environment have a causal positive relation to prejudice. However, it was not clear whether this relation is one dimensional and if it can be explained only by this pathway. Using the same model, I have reversed the pathways between prejudice and social environment in order to examine prejudice as a predictor for negative

perceived influence from the social environment. Results showed no significant relations estimates for cognitive prejudice. Affective prejudice however had a significant positive relation, at the .05 value, to perceived peer and parental influence. It appears that there is a positive correlation between prejudice and social environment but social environment was found more suitable as a predictor variable in this relation.

Results from this model can provide feedback to the locus of explanation for prejudice at the mixed school; bearing in mind the fact that respondents at the mixed school scored overall higher levels of perceived influence from the social environment. Gender differences correspond to the results found in other studies examining this relation where girls express generally less prejudice attitudes than boys (Mills & McGrath, 1995; Ekehammar et al, 2003; Carter et al, 2006).

Fit measures of the second model

The second model had a moderate fit with the data collected. The χ^2/df ratio value was 1.68 which fits well within the recommended values. The GFI value was .915 which corresponds to a good fit but the CFI value was .867 which is lower than the recommended value of .95. Finally, RMSEA was .065, which corresponds to a mediocre fit of the model.

6.3.3.   Third model: Contact – Prejudice

This model examined the central premise of the "contact hypothesis" and the research question of this study. Contact with in-school and out-school acquaintances was examined as a predictor for prejudice.

Model 3: Contact - Prejudice
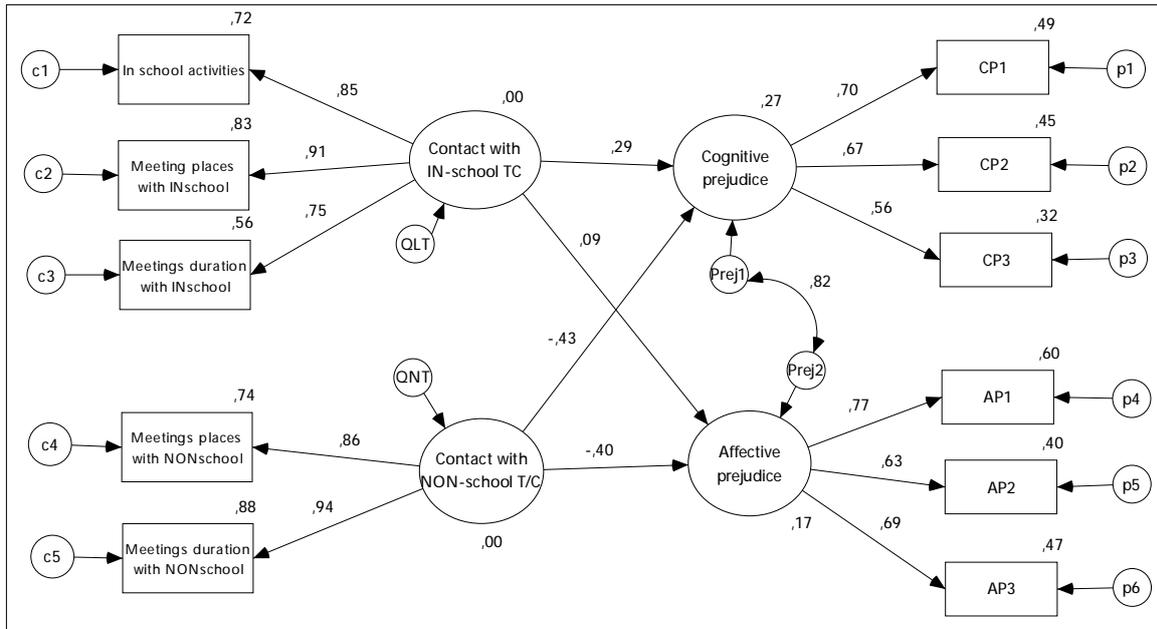
Maximum likelihood estimates

Regression estimates for the third model are presented below at table 6.3.3. Contact with out-school acquaintances had a significant negative relation at the .001 level to both cognitive and affective prejudice with estimation values of -.295 and -349 respectively. Both estimations were significant at the .001 level. Contact with in-school acquaintances had a positive relation to cognitive prejudice with an estimation value .205 at the .05 significance level but the relation to affective prejudice was not significant.

Results revealed two important findings. For respondents at both schools, having contacts with non-school acquaintances will potentially lead to a reduction of prejudice, both cognitive and affective. On the other hand, having contacts with fellow students, both in- or out-of-school, might increase cognitive prejudice while it appears that there is no significant relation to affective prejudice. However, results do not explain explicitly these pathways. Analysis of the levels of contact did not show any significant differences between in- or non-school contacts that could justify these relations. On the contrary, respondents at the mixed school reported of having higher levels of

contact with in-school acquaintances than with out-school which would suggest the opposite results.

6.3.3: Maximum likelihoods for Contact - Prejudice

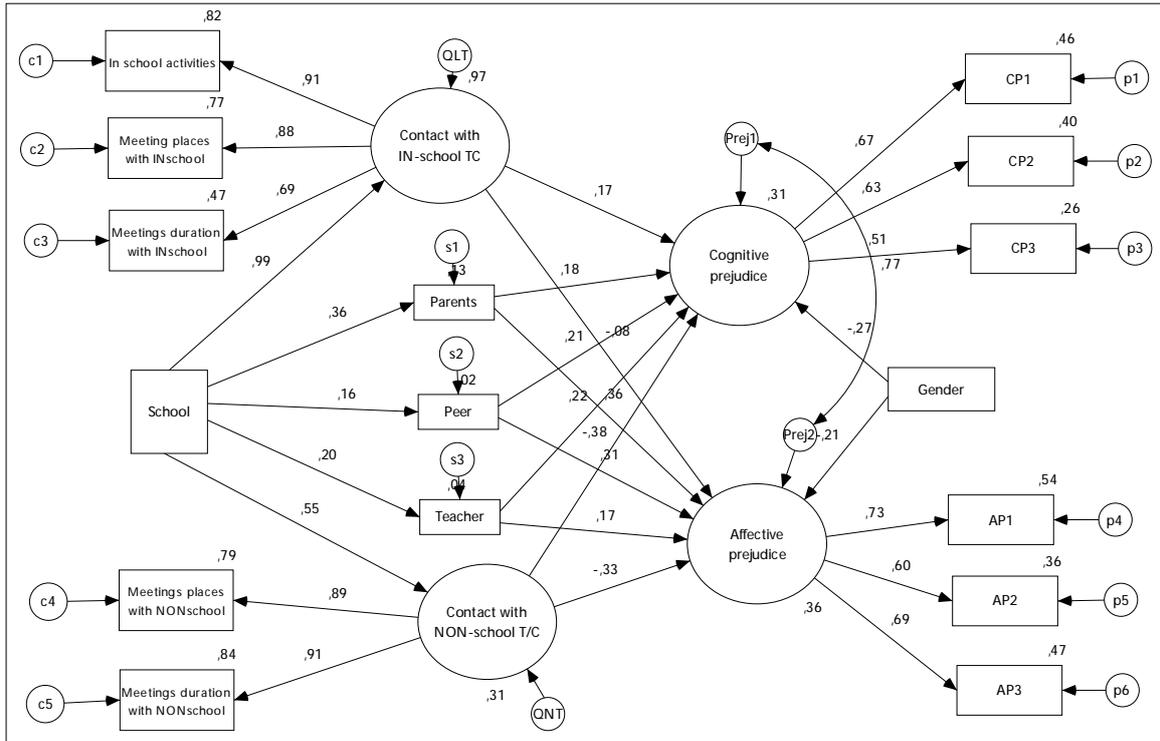|			Estimate	P
Affective Prejudice	<---	Contact with NON-school T/C	-,349	***
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Contact with NON-school T/C	-,295	***
Affective Prejudice	<---	Contact with IN-school T/C	,080	.324
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Contact with IN-school T/C	,205	.002

Fit measures of the third model

In general, this model did not have a good fit with the data collected. It is possible that the lack of contact at the exclusive G/C school might be responsible for this effect, since this model did not control for school. AMOS estimation of the model showed a value of 3.99 in the χ^2/df ratio, which is notably higher than the recommend value of lower than 3. The GFI had a value of .860 and the CFI a value of .850 which is lower than the commonly recommended value of over 0.9 and 0.95. Finally, RMSEA was .136, which suggests that the model corresponds to a poor fit.

6.3.4. Fourth model: Confirmatory approach

This model followed a confirmatory approach based on the theoretical framework to examine the research question and the hypotheses of this study. Contact, social environment and gender are used as direct predictors for prejudice, based on the results from the previous models, in order to examine for aggregate effects. School is used as a control variable for contact and social environment.

Model 4: Confirmatory approach

Maximum likelihood estimates

Regression weights of the model are presented below at table 6.3.4. The mixed school context is significantly related to higher levels of perceived negative influence from the social environment and to higher levels of contact both with in- and non-school acquaintances. For teacher and peer influence it is estimated that the mixed school context will increase perceived negative influence by .389 and .332 respectively, at a significance level of .05. For perceived parental influence, the relation was even stronger, at an estimated regression value of .724 at the .001 significance level. The relation between school and contact is the same as in the first model. The regression estimate for contact with non-school acquaintances was positive at 1.053 and for in-school acquaintances 2.033, both at significance value .001.

The relation of contact and prejudice was affected by aggregate effects and showed different regression estimates than the ones in the analysis of the third model that examined this relation isolated. Regression estimates for

contact with in-school acquaintances was weak but positive for cognitive prejudice and negative for affective prejudice but both estimates were not significant. Regression estimates for contact with out-school acquaintances was significant for both types of prejudice at the .001 level. More specifically, out-school acquaintances is estimated to reduce both cognitive and affective prejudice at the estimated values of -.252 and -.276 respectively.

6.3.4: Maximum likelihoods for confirmatory model

			Estimate	P
Teacher	<---	School	,389	,011
Peer	<---	School	,332	,043
Parents	<---	School	,724	***
Contact with NON-school T/C	<---	School	1,053	***
Contact with IN-school TC	<---	School	2,033	***
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Contact with IN-school T/C	,100	,160
Affective prejudice	<---	Contact with IN-school T/C	-,061	,453
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Contact with NON-school T/C	-,252	,001
Affective prejudice	<---	Contact with NON-school T/C	-,276	,001
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Parents	,115	,054
Affective prejudice	<---	Parents	,284	***
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Teacher	,139	,016
Affective prejudice	<---	Teacher	,137	,036
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Peer	,127	,018
Affective prejudice	<---	Peer	,228	***
Cognitive Prejudice	<---	Gender	-,319	,003
Affective prejudice	<---	Gender	-,304	,011

Regression estimates of social environment as a predictor of prejudice was found in correspondence to the results of the second model. Parental influence was estimated to increase affective prejudice by .254 but it had no significant relation to cognitive prejudice. Perceived teacher influence had a positive relation to both cognitive and affective prejudice at the estimation values of .139 and .137 respectively. Both relations were significant at the .05 level. Peer influence was significantly related to both types of prejudice; it was estimated to increase cognitive prejudice by .127, at the .05 significance level, and increase affective prejudice by .228 at the .001 significance level. Regression estimates for gender correspond to the results of the second

model. Girls seem to correspond to reduced levels of cognitive prejudice at an estimated value of -.319 and -.304 for affective prejudice. Both estimations were found significant at the .05 level.

Fit measures of the fourth model

The fourth model had a reasonable fit with the data collected. The x^2/df ratio value was 2.08 which is a good fit in concordance to the recommended values. The GFI and CFI values were .873 and .919 respectively, which corresponds to a mediocre fit. The RMSEA value was .082, which corresponds to a mediocre fit of the model.

7. DISCUSSION

In this session I provide an interpretation of the results with an integration of the content from the interviews with the key actors from the mixed school. The purpose is to re-examine the results from the models in the light of the empirical findings from the interviews and provide the final estimations regarding the research question and sub-questions of this study. Furthermore, I provide a discussion regarding the limitations and findings of the study.

7.1. Research question and sub-questions

Sub-question 1 examined whether the mixed school context, compared to the exclusive G/C school, increases contacts of G/C students with T/C children they meet from school or outside the school. Hypothesis 1a was verified by the descriptive analysis (tables: 6.2.2-1-2) on contact and the Amos first model. Hypothesis 1b appears to be unproven. Distribution and mean analysis of contact at the mixed school shows very low levels of contact, both qualitative and quantitative, which suggests that G/C students have not yet developed "true acquaintance" with T/C students.

Supplementary information from the key actors at the mixed school supports this assumption and reveals that even thought students from the two communities have developed frequent interaction in daily activities such as studying together in class, participating in common games during the interludes etc; there is still evident discrimination between them. They identified certain factors which are related to the ethnic background of T/C students as responsible for this condition. According to the key respondents, almost the entire population of T/C children attending the mixed school belongs to a minority ethnic group, the *Roma*[11], often referred to as *Gypsies*.

Even thought discrimination towards the Roma in Cyprus was not examined in this research, information derived from the key informants seems

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[11] The Roma are a transnational minority which exists for centuries and are present in every country. They cannot claim an existing country of their own or one of origin (Liegeois, 2007).

to correspond on certain stereotypes traditionally used against the Roma (Christian Science Monitor, 1999; Gheorghe, 1991). According to the descriptions, Roma children very often go to school without the school uniform[12], dressed in dirty clothes which are often over- or short-sized. Some descriptions also referred to children attending school wearing their night dresses and slippers. Remarks were also made about personal hygiene issues or a tendency to steal belongings or money from fellow students. School administration members explained that they are trying to deal with these conditions in a discrete way in order to avoid tension and further attention on these matters. As they argue, conditions have improved since the establishment of the mixed policy, 2003-2004, but further attention and measures are required to deal with the integration and acceptance of the children belonging to the Roma culture in schools.

In all, key informants reported a different type of discrimination which is not related to the ethnic rivalry between the two communities. As they explain, the school administration has been making a great effort to eradicate incidents of ethnic conflict and there were very few occurrences recently where ethnic rivalry caused tension between the students. However, cultural distinctiveness of the Roma culture appears to be the cause for the onset of discriminative behavior of G/C students towards T/C, which also affects contact between them.

Sub-question 2 examined whether attending a mixed school reduces prejudice of G/C students towards T/C. Hypothesis 2a assumes that if the previous two hypotheses (1a-1b) were verified, prejudice levels at the mixed school should be lower than at the exclusive G/C school. As it was presented in the discussion above, only hypothesis 1a was verified. Hypothesis 2b posits that if only one of the hypotheses if verified, prejudice levels should be equal

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[12] The school uniform which is obligatory in primary school in Cyprus requires black shoes, grey trousers and white shirts.

or higher at the mixed school. The mean analysis of total prejudice (table: 6.2.1-3), supports this hypothesis. Cognitive prejudice is higher at the mixed school but affective prejudice is lower. Information derived from the discussion with the key informants, provides useful insights to the interpretation of these results.

It appears that cognitive prejudice which is described as what the respondents knows or thinks about T/C (Seymour, 1985), is increased through contact. Assumingly, certain aspects related to the distinctiveness of the Roma culture, discussed above, cause the increase. However affective prejudice, which corresponds to whether respondents like or dislike T/C (Farley, 2000), is lower at the mixed school, which suggest that even when contact does not fully support true acquaintance, it might be responsible for the development of sympathetic attitudes towards T/C.

Results from the Amos models provide further explanation to the relation between contact and prejudice. Looking at the regression estimates derived from the third and fourth model, there is a significant negative relation between contacts with non-school acquaintances and both types of prejudice while contact with in-school acquaintances is not significantly related to either type. A possible explanation to these results is that contact with children G/C students met outside the given school context postulates a certain set of assumptions i.e. common social environment, personal preference towards the characteristics of the contact person, personal choice for contact etc, that suggests more qualified or intimate relations. Also, it is possible that non-school acquaintances are not members of the Roma ethnicity, which is linked to the onset of racial prejudice.

Having discussed these results, it can be argued that attending a mixed school contributes to the reduction of prejudice of G/C students towards T/C. Even thought the mixed school context contains elements that appear to increase levels of prejudice – higher levels of perceived negative influence

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from the social environment, cultural differences related to the Roma culture-the context of the mixed school substantially increases contacts with non-school acquaintances which were found negatively linked to prejudice, both cognitive and affective.

7.2. <u>Limitations and future research</u>

Sample size

The most evident weakness of this study is the inadequate sample size of G/C participants from the mixed school. Even though almost all G/C students at the mixed school which corresponded to the selection criteria of this study were included, the sample size was particularly small. A small sample size has a greater probability that the observation just happened to be particularly good or particularly bad. Therefore it is harder to support causal relationships from the data, as statistical tests normally require a larger sample size to justify that the effect did not just happened by chance alone. In addition, the small sample size restricts the generalization capabilities of the study.

Unforeseen factors

During the preliminary research which gathered information regarding the population and the context of the mixed school, no information was acquired about the fact that the highest percentage of T/C students belongs to the Roma ethnic group. As a result, this factor, which according to the key informants contributes substantially to the existence of prejudice at the mixed school, was not examined thoroughly. Thus, it is not clear whether the levels of prejudice between the two sub-groups, the mixed and exclusive G/C school, correspond to the same underlying causes. Therefore, it is suggested that future researches will investigate the attitudes of G/C students towards Roma T/C and non-Roma T/C children to identify whether prejudice towards T/C is linked to the Roma culture or the rival ethnic background of the groups.

One dimensional viewpoint

Even though it was the intention of this study to investigate only the attitudes of G/C students, due to research limitations[13], it is recognized that the results are one dimensional, overlooking the attitudes of T/C students. It is proposed that future researches examine conditions of contact and prejudice levels of T/C students towards G/C and cross-examine the findings of this study in the light of the new information.

7.3. Research implications

The "contact hypothesis" was partly verified in this study in the sense that in view of the findings on the relation between contact and prejudice, it is not clear why contact with non-school acquaintances was found significantly related to the reduction of prejudice and contact with in-school acquaintances were not. Therefore, it is important for future studies to examine further the ethnic background of non-school acquaintances and determine whether they belong to the Roma ethnic group or not.

In the case that they are members of the Roma group, then the assumption that contact with non-school acquaintances is more qualified is supported and attention should be placed in improving contact with in-school acquaintances. If they are not, the argument is raised that prejudice towards T/C at the mixed school is not caused by ethnic conflict, as discussed in the theoretical part, but is triggered by stereotypes related to the Roma culture and therefore should not be examined as a case of ethnic prejudice alone but as a case of racial prejudice as well.

7.4. Policy implications

Based on the findings and the discussion with the key informants it is suggested that policy makers should place their attention on two subjects

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[13] The economic and time resources required to include T/C students from an exclusive T/C school in the North part (no contact context) of Cyprus were not available.

associated with the mixed school context; enhancement of bicultural education and policy interventions for the social inclusion of the Roma children.

Bicultural education enhancement

Empirical findings from the mixed school during the research confirm previous discussion regarding the efforts of the Ministry of Education to implement bicultural education in schools where a large number of immigrant children is registered. The specific mixed school was also a member of ZEP[14] (Zone of Educational Priority), which provides close supervision and support in matters related to multicultural education and social inclusion of the students. In addition, a number of interventions targeting the enhancement of the relations between the students were implemented either by directives of the Ministry of Education or by initiatives of the school administration.

Despite the efforts of the Ministry and the school administration, key informants have expressed their general dissatisfaction regarding specific difficulties they encounter due to the working conditions at the mixed school and identified several points regarding the provision of multicultural education required of immediate attention. Most of the remarks refer to the educational level of the curriculum. According to the informants, it is almost impossible to teach the intended curriculum for mutual courses arranged by the Ministry of Education, when half of the students in class cannot speak proper Greek, which is the working language of the school. They emphasize the need to lower the level of difficulty of the educational material and the need to implement a scheme of special education at the school. In addition,

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[14] Since school year 2003-2004, the Ministry of education of Cyprus admitted the estate of Zones of Education Priority (ZEP). Economically and socially downgraded areas where a large number of non-Greek speaking students abide are characterized as ZEP. ZEP includes kindergartens, primary schools and high schools of the areas and cooperates closely with the administration of these institutions to elaborate mutual programs for the smooth social inclusion of the students. (Source: Ministry of Education, Primary Education. Retrieved June 28, 2008, from: http://www.moec.gov.cy/dde/ekpaideutika_programmata.html)

they argue that there are no books available for non-Greek speakers and they are forced to translate texts or improvise by themselves in order to overcome teaching difficulties.

Moreover, key informants referred to problems with the organization of the school regarding the coordination of segregated courses. As they explained, there is a general disarrangement between the teachers and the school administration regarding the hours that students follow segregated courses. They ascribe the problem largely to the lack of T/C personnel (only two). As they explain, the school is in need of additional and more qualified T/C personnel to fulfill adequately the teaching hours. (Currently both of the teachers at the mixed school are not qualified primary school teachers but university graduates in other sciences and have no experience in multicultural education).

In addition to the remarks made by the key informants, some additional observations were noted regarding the readiness of the school personnel to implement multicultural education at the mixed school. Part of the interviews with the key informants requested information regarding their personal training and years of service as primary school teachers. The average value in years of employment at the mixed school was 2.4 which according to statements from the key informants, it is not sufficient to develop an understanding of the special teaching requirements of the school context. As informants argue, personnel at the mixed school should be given permanent or at least longer-term contracts to contribute with their acquired knowledge to the development of multicultural education at the school.

Regarding, the implementation of multicultural education, the capabilities of the school personnel to realize this purpose was found very limited. Only half of the participants had some training in multicultural education which involved training seminars arranged by the Ministry of Education. However, some reported of attending only 10 hours of training

while the longest duration reported was 40 hours, by a school teacher with more than 22 years of service in primary education.

Other members of the school personnel who didn't have any experience reported that they found themselves much unprepared to deal with the working conditions and multicultural requirements at the mixed school. The headmaster of the school stressed the fact that the school administration is making every endeavor to offer some elementary training on multicultural education to new personnel but the need for more qualified assistance by the Ministry of Education is evident.

Social inclusion of the Roma children in schools

As it has been argued in the previous paragraphs, the social inclusion of the Roma children in schools is an emerging necessity in the line of reducing prejudice towards T/C children in schools. Overall, there have been some improvements in dealing with the Roma and other minorities over the past 5 years, in that there is more awareness regarding their social exclusion and some elements of recognition of their cultures. However, the goals remain general and there are no concrete policies and targets, as proposed by the most important study on Cyprus education in the 'Proposal for Educational Reform' (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Dr Hristo Kyuchukov (2000), a leading figure in the advancement of human rights for Roma children in eastern Europe and throughout the world argues that the biggest challenge for educators everywhere, is to adapt the teaching methods and curriculum in ways that they will become more interesting and accessible by Roma children, and also that majority students and teachers will become more familiar with the Roma culture and history. His arguments correspond with the remarks of the mixed school personnel regarding the difficulties they face in their working environment.

Kyuchukov (2007) stresses the need to adapt Roma children in mainstream schools –not segregated or special schools- and include the Romani language,

culture and history in the school curriculum of the majority children, not as part of special or segregated courses. As he explains, the introduction of these elements in the education of the majority group will enhance the social acceptance of the Roma children in schools and at the same time increase the interest of the Roma children to get involved with the school environment and receive education. *In reference to the previous discussion regarding school mixity; this is a strong argument against segregation of the schools.*

Finally, another point that Kyuchukov (2000) stresses, and partially[15] comes in concordance with the findings of this study, is that teachers or other school members working with Roma children need to receive anti-bias education in order to overcome their existing prejudices and racism (p. 277). In addition, considering that most of the population of T/C belongs to the Roma group, school personnel should receive specialized training in dealing with the needs of Roma children and culture. During the interviews with the key informants discussion was concentrated in dealing with the context of ethnic conflict between the students and it was not made clear whether they received any training in dealing with Roma children.

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[15] This study did not measure the levels of prejudice of the teachers at the mixed school, nor does it suggest that the personnel of the mixed school was prejudice or biased against T/C children. However, findings from the interviews with the key informants confirm that there is insufficient training in multicultural education.

8. CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the effects of contact on ethnic prejudice in primary schools in the South part of Cyprus in order to contribute to the ongoing discussion about school mixity or segregation. Findings provide support towards keeping the school mixity policy, as a promising system in reducing prejudice between ethnic groups and increasing social tolerance, but also stress the need for educational reform towards the needs of a multicultural society.

Overall, there have been some improvements in dealing with immigrants and other minorities. However in practice reform was slow and little has been implemented in terms of the content of education, the combating of discrimination and achieving a genuine multicultural education. Discussion is made for a new impetus in the upcoming years, 2008-2009, which has been named as the '*year for education reform*' with the appointment of specialist committees for curricula revision; but this can only be confirmed through time.

9. APPENDICES

Items measuring the dependant variable:

Cognitive Prejudice

1. Do you believe that most Turkish-Cypriot children are smart?
☐ Very smart
☐ Quite smart
☐ Not very smart
☐ Not smart at all

2. Do you believe most Turkish-Cypriot children tell lies?
☐ Never
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often
☐ Always

3. Do you believe most Turkish-Cypriot children wear nice and clean clothes?
☐ Never
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often
☐ Always

Affective Prejudice

1. Would you vote for a Turkish-Cypriot child to be the president of your class?
☐ Certainly yes
☐ Probably yes
☐ Probably not
☐ No, never

2. Would you invite a Turkish-Cypriot child at your birthday party?
☐ Certainly yes
☐ Probably yes
☐ Probably not
☐ No, never

3. Would you share your sandwich with a Turkish-Cypriot child if he/she didn't have one?

☐ Certainly yes
☐ Probably yes
☐ Probably not
☐ No, never

Behavioral Prejudice

1. Have you ever mocked a child just because he/she is Turkish-Cypriot?

☐ Never
☐ Seldom
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often

2. Have you ever had an argument with a child just because he/she is Turkish-Cypriot?

☐ Never
☐ Seldom
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often

3. Have you ever had a fight with a child just because he/she is Turkish-Cypriot?

☐ Never
☐ Seldom
☐ Sometimes
☐ Often

Items measuring the independent variable:

Contact with in-school acquaintances

1. When you are at school, do you do any of these activities with the Turkish-Cypriot children that you know from school?

☐ I don't know any T/C children at my school
☐ We work and study together in class
☐ We play together during the interval
☐ We participate in some activities organized by the school together (the choir, the football team or other activities)
☐ I do not have any contact with them

2. How often do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot children that are at your school outside the school?

☐ I don't know any T/C children at my school
☐ Very often (more than twice a week)
☐ Sometimes (at least once or twice a month)
☐ Rarely (few times in a year or even less)
☐ Never

3. When do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot children that are at your school besides the school?

☐ I don't know any T/C children at my school
☐ I see them by chance, but we do not really do things together
☐ I meet them in some specific occasions, for instance birthday party
☐ We do sports or other hobbies together
☐ We do the homework together

Contact with non-school acquaintances

1. How often do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot children that you know from outside school?

☐ I don't know any T/C children from outside school
☐ Very often (more than twice a week)
☐ Sometimes (at least once or twice a month)
☐ Rarely (few times in a year or even less)
☐ Never

4. When do you meet the Turkish-Cypriot children that you know from outside school?

☐ I don't know any T/C children from outside school
☐ I see them by chance, but we do not really do things together
☐ I meet them in some specific occasions, for instance ....
☐ We play/do sports or other hobbies together
☐ We do the homework together

Items measuring the control variables: Social environment

Perceived parental influence

1. Achmet is a new classmate. He has just moved to the city with his family. They come from Kerinia and they are Turkish Cypriots. On Saturday it is his birthday and he invites all children of the street, including you, to his birthday party that is going to take place at his house. When you go home you tell your parents and ask for their permission to attend the party. How will they respond?

☐ Certainly they will not allow me to go
☐ Probably they will not allow me to go
☐ Probably they will allow me to go
☐ Certainly they will allow me to go

Perceived peer influence

2. During the interlude you are going to play hide and seek with your friends and one of your friends is going to select which children are going to participate in the game. Aishe is a new student in your class. She just arrived together with her family from Rizokarpaso. She is a Turkish Cypriot. She asks your friend if she can play too. How will your friend respond?

☐ Certainly my friend will let her play too
☐ Probably my friend will let her play too
☐ Probably my friend will not let her play
☐ Certainly my friend will not let her play

Perceived teacher influence

3. Kostas and Achmet are the best players of the basketball team. The teacher has to decide which student is going to be the new team captain. Who do you think the teacher is going to choose?

☐ Certainly the teacher will choose Achmet
☐ Probably the teacher will choose Achmet
☐ Probably the teacher will choose Kostas
☐ Certainly the teacher will choose Kostas

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