

CHILDREN'S SELF-ESTEEM AND THEIR
PERCEPTIONS
OF
PREJUDICE, SOCIAL SATISFACTION AND STATUS

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By

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Unless specifically indicated to the contrary,
this thesis is the result of my own work.

ABSTRACT

The recent social and political changes in South Africa are having a profound effect on social relations in South Africa, and it seems appropriate to study the attitudes of children and their perceptions of racial and gender relations. This study attempts to explore self-esteem, perceptions of social satisfaction, status and prejudice in relation to race and gender.

The sample consists of 444 Black and White children aged 12/13 years and 14/15 years. The children were from schools in an urban area (Pietermaritzburg) in Kwa-Zulu, Natal. Three instruments were administered: The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory, the Social Status Technique and the Social Distance Scale.

A review of theoretical considerations of prejudice, self-esteem and social identity theory is provided. Statistical analysis indicated the following findings: there is no difference in assessed self-esteem between the races although boys exhibited a more positive self-esteem than girls. Black children showed more positive levels of self-esteem on the academic and parent-related sub-scales, while White children showed a more positive social self-esteem.

With regard to social satisfaction and preference, all children identified Whites as being the most satisfied and having the most status. With the exception of Black boys, all children perceive that girls have more satisfaction and status than boys. There is a clear difference between boys and girls with girls showing a strong bias towards their own gender in the preference and satisfaction questions but not on the identification question. In relation to identification, children showed a clear own-group identification. On the Social Distance Scale, Black children were more prejudiced than White children, and were most prejudiced towards the Afrikaans speaking group. Boys also were more prejudiced than girls.

The findings are discussed in relation to the theoretical perspectives and to previous findings. A critique of the study and recommendations for future research are included.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The term “race” when applied to humans has an essentially social and political meaning and reference, rather than a biological one. In the South African context, particularly, the political, economic and social status of every individual was conditioned, if not predetermined by his/her race. Suzman (1960) wrote that “the whole pattern of every individual’s life is circumscribed by his/her race” (p 339). It is necessary to look at past as well as present influences, as these relate to how the individual perceives his/her position within the society. Mass media, science, literature, history and religion all supported what in South Africa was apartheid, i.e. a politically enforced segregation of the different races.

Race and gender awareness and attitudes develop, as part of the socialisation process, at an early age (Williams & Morland, 1976; Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1975). Social and cultural norms and values are conveyed to children primarily through the words and behaviour of others who project or behave in accordance with their own knowledge, needs and perceptions. Children are active participants in the learning process. They absorb, imitate, and learn from their environment and from significant others in their environment.

The recent socio-political changes in South Africa, including the dismantling of apartheid, the first democratic elections, the transition towards a racially integrated society with regard to education, health, politics and economics suggest a society in a state of uncertainty and expectations with a new set of beliefs and attitudes being negotiated. As beliefs, attitudes and behaviours were legitimized by the political and legal structures and the fact that these laws have now been abolished it is considered that research in the area of racial and gender attitudes and perceptions is necessary to determine what the children in our society are experiencing.

“The problems of racism and sexism are most accurately described as having multiple causes. Intrapersonal, interpersonal and societal factors must be recognised as contributors having summative, as well as interactive, effects” (Reid, 1988, p 205). The above quotation succinctly defines the complexity of racism and sexism. Childhood experiences, family attitudes, peer and

social group influences and the media all influence the attitudes and behaviour that individuals internalise and which they utilise in their interactions with others. This complexity contributes both to the interest and difficulty of researching the broad issues of racism and prejudice.

Researchers frequently suggest that the solution to many social problems lies in a better understanding of the issues involved. It is with this suggestion in mind that this study was undertaken, in the hope that by gathering information about children in our changing society will enable us to develop interventions which may contribute to the amelioration of past and the prevention of future problems. For example, in the United States the literature is dominated by new terminology referring to “subtle, covert or symbolic” racism and research suggests that programmes such as busing Black children to “White” schools, integrating buses etc. which were aimed at eliminating racism have actually given birth to this new type of covert racism. Similarly sexism, sexual harassment, rape and violence towards women has been more publicly exposed.

There has been extensive research carried out on these issues and reference to only the more relevant and pertinent areas will be made in this study. This study hopes to gain insight into gender and racial perceptions of children who are currently going through a transition which impacts on every facet of their lives. As Duckitt (1991) wrote, “the socio-political circumstances of South Africa have made the issues of race, social attitudes, and prejudice highly salient ones, South African psychologists have not yet made major descriptive or explanatory contributions in this area” (p 199). In this study, children’s self-esteem, perceptions of social distance, racial identification, social satisfaction and preference were focused on as a means of determining how these compare with previous findings. As Aboud (1988) wrote, “a great deal of controversy surrounds the idea that ethnic attitudes are related to self-esteem” (p 95), this suggest that research in a context such as South Africa with its multi-cultural society, research is indicated as a means of obtaining clarity.

In this study it is hoped to gain some insight into the current perceptions and attitudes of children who are being integrated at school level. Although interracial contact is not a focus of this study, it is hoped that current perceptions may provide useful insight in relation to future development of attitudes. In international research much has been written about what causes attitude change.

“Variables that operate in interracial contact situations are complex and culturally embedded, making the generalizability of racial attitude change a difficult task; the change itself is a social phenomenon that is often peculiar to the situation in which it originally occurred” (Bradnum et al., 1993, p 207). South African researchers, Foster & Finchilescue (1986) argue that “in a society such as ours where the divisions between races have been so deeply entrenched, it seems that even under favourable conditions, interracial contact is unlikely to change the established social relations in any substantial way” (p 120).

This exploratory study forms part of a large cross-sectional and longitudinal study involving researchers from several academic departments. It aims to follow children over a ten year period and attempts to explore issues in relation to gender, race and class. This specific study aims to explore relationships between self-esteem, racial identification and perceptions of social status and satisfaction.

The theoretical component of the study will include a review of the theory surrounding self-esteem, theoretical perspectives of the causes of prejudice encompassing individual theories, social psychology perspectives and social identity theory, cognitive developmental theory and a review of research findings within the area of racial and gender attitudes and preferences.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A survey of the available literature on the subjects of prejudice, self-esteem, identification and preference reveals that these subjects have been extensively dealt with, and yet continue to perplex both local and international social scientists. There appears to be limited local research into the relationship between self-esteem and the concepts of prejudice and social relations. What follows is an attempt to conceptualize each of the above-mentioned issues by integrating the relevant literature and by taking the South African context into account.

2.1. SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The history of South Africa is unique in that it has legitimized and institutionalised racism by instituting laws to govern social relationships. In South Africa race was used to define the power status of the individual within the society which had political, economic and social implications. Since 1948, the Afrikaner government which was in power implemented apartheid laws and segregation policies which led to the oppression and repression of people of colour, particularly Black people, and until today racist ideology remains an integral part of South African society.

It is beyond the scope of this study to focus on the atrocities and severely adverse conditions under which Black people were forced to live. It should be noted that Black, Indian and Coloured people were denied their basic rights to economic, educational, health and occupational opportunities by the legal entrenchment of racism. These limitations created a segregated population, with Blacks, Indians and Coloureds on the one end of the continuum and the Whites on the other. The discrimination was designed to result in a polarized society.

In response to the overt oppression, resistance movements developed which were subjected to acts of extreme brutality by the government in their attempt to keep control. However, these

resistance movements could not be eradicated and continued to gain support. In addition, international pressure was brought to bear on the government in the form of punitive sanctions and economic isolation. It became clear that change was essential and inevitable. Although efforts were made to introduce reforms that would mark the beginning of the rebalance of power, the process was slow-moving. The unbanning of the African National Congress and other parties and the release of Nelson Mandela in February 1991, finally brought an end to apartheid and events unfolded that began a shift in the status quo.

The current period in South Africa's history started with the first general elections of 1994 and is termed as the "period of transformation". The changes occurring in this period of transformation were numerous and extensive including the dismantling of apartheid laws, the drafting of a new Constitution outlining civil rights for all people, the desegregation of racist social structures such as the apartheid education and health systems.

It appears that after the initial euphoria of the election of a democratic government and the subsequent dismantling of apartheid, there developed new stumbling blocks in the form of disillusionment, fear, disappointment, prejudice, discrimination, violence, crime which arose in reaction to unmet expectations. Many challenges face the government to redress the inherent inequalities which have pervaded our society for many decades, and structures such as education, health and welfare require on-going and efficient attention so that some semblance of social stability can become the right of every individual. The primary social challenge is of prejudice and discrimination. Currently the challenge that faces social scientists is to establish what can be done to facilitate change in individuals' attitudes and behaviour in a society which needs to become integrated.

The above brief discussion constitutes the rationale for the study which becomes relevant due to the monumental changes which have occurred in South Africa in the relatively short time frame of 5 years. At this juncture, these changes provide the impetus for this study which is based on

the racial attitudes and the perceptions of social relations, particularly of South African children, to determine what is being reflected and expressed by children of the post-apartheid regime.

2.2. RACISM, PREJUDICE and DISCRIMINATION

Two concepts, namely **culture** and **majority/minority** groups, require definition as they are particularly pertinent in South Africa's context. Culture has often been used synonymously with race and ethnic group. Linton defined culture (1945, cited in Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1992) as "the configuration of learned behaviour whose components and elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (p 7). This definition proposes that culture refers to learned and transmitted behaviour. For example, an individual may belong to the race group termed "Black"; the ethnic group "Zulu"; and have adopted or learned a "Western culture". Hoare (1994) commented that identity and personal reality are inseparable from the culture within which they are formed. She stated that culture refers to ethnic heritage or collective ideology including prevailing norms, traditions and beliefs.

The definitions of **minority group** and **majority group** are interlinked as there can be no majority group without a minority group. The terms are in no way related to numerical concepts but rather to power relations. The majority is the group which holds the political, social and economic power, while the minority group is discriminated against on the basis of lack of power. *For example, during the apartheid era, in numerical terms Black people greatly outnumbered the White people in South African society, yet as the White people held the economic and political power, they were referred to as the majority while Black people were called the minority.

2.2.1. RACISM

To define the term "racism" is difficult as the definitions encompass both semantic and emotive variables. Components of the definitions include biological differences, belief systems, value systems and behavioural variables to name but a few, which explains the complexity of the term.

Katz (1976) defines racism as “the unequal treatment of individuals because of their membership in a particular group” (p 6). Taylor (1984a) focusing on social structures and processes defines racism as “the cumulative effects of individuals, institutions, and cultures that result in the oppression of ethnic minorities” (p 6, in Katz & Taylor, 1988).

The terms racism and prejudice have often been used interchangeably and separating these conceptually is necessary. Classical definitions of race use the term within a biological classification system. Simpson and Yinger (1985, cited in Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993) provide a description of physical characteristics that distinguish one race from another, namely, “skin pigmentation, nasal index, lip form, color distribution and texture of body hair” (p 5).

Jones (1988) identified racism as consisting of three sub-types: individual racism, institutional racism and cultural racism. Sears (1988) talks about symbolic racism, and others prefer to use terms such as inequality, discrimination, racial injustice and prejudice (Triandis, Pettigrew, Trimble, Bobo, Aronson, Glasser, 1988, cited in Katz & Taylor, 1988). All the above terms are used interchangeably and usually the term used, depicts the authors focus or an aspect of racism. Racism remains as Sears pointed out “deeply ingrained throughout Western culture and represents a major complex of national and cultural beliefs” (in Katz & Taylor, 1988; p 7). Several writers (Duckitt, 1991; 1992, Foster 1988) have highlighted that the concept of “race” is a political tool utilized by the dominant power group in the oppression of minority groups in order to maintain status and power.

For the purposes of this study race refers to the classification in South African society of people according to the colour of their skin. [The four main groups in South Africa include Black, Indian, Coloured and White people. The two main groups studied in this research were Black and White children, these being two of the major race groups resident in this province.]

2.2.2. PREJUDICE

Allport's (1954) definition of prejudice states "ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual simply because he is a member of that group" (p 10). Many authors have included concepts about the evaluative, affective, cognitive and behavioural components which are considered to be an integral part of prejudice. The most salient characteristic of prejudice is its negativity. "Prejudice refers to an organised predisposition to respond in an unfavourable manner towards people because of their ethnic group" (Aboud, 1988, p 229). The nature of prejudice is such that it contains an evaluative component which is negative. The second component of prejudice is that feelings are interlinked with ethnicity or race rather than personal attributes or qualities of an individual. Prejudice can only exist if it relates to all members of the race group (Aboud, 1988).

Another term which warrants definition as it relates to prejudice, is **stereotypes**. These are rigid, overgeneralised beliefs about the attributes of ethnic people. The concepts of prejudice and stereotypes are closely related. Prejudice, defined as a negative attitude toward an out-group (minority), is generally linked with a negative group stereotype. The distinction between prejudice and stereotype parallels the common distinction between attitudes and beliefs. Stereotypes may be defined as a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people. A stereotype may be considered as a cognitive aspect whereas prejudice encompasses an evaluative component. Discrimination is the behavioural component which is a consequence of the beliefs and values held by the individual or group. The concept of prejudice is seen as a negative attitude based on irrational beliefs which are stereotypes and these in turn, are seen as rigid, generalisations which are biased and incorrect (Bergman, 1994).

In summary, the difference between prejudice and racism is that prejudice includes internal attitudes and beliefs which are not necessarily expressed, while racism encompasses a behavioural aspect. Racism, it may be generalised, stems from prejudice (although it is

recognised that non-prejudiced people may also be racist, for example, when they respond to the prevailing group norm). Prejudice, however, does not always lead to racism. In South Africa, at present, racism or racist behaviour is deemed unacceptable, although prejudice is believed to be widespread.

2.2.3. PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

It is important to comment on the distinction between prejudice and discrimination as a means of understanding these concepts. Prejudice involves a belief and an attitude which does not necessarily have to be expressed in overt negative behaviour, whereas discrimination incorporates prejudice and involves an action or event where beliefs or attitudes create situations that are based (unjustly) on distorted value systems. Other factors need to be taken into account, such as the context or social environment where prejudice takes place. In South Africa, the eradication of discrimination has been a primary goal in all spheres: political, social and economic, however prejudice or prejudicial beliefs and attitudes are not being challenged in any direct form.

In the school system, attempts are being made towards defining and prescribing the correct and incorrect behaviours expected from individuals within a society, but the attitudes and beliefs which underlie the behaviour do not appear to be addressed in a meaningful way. What can be expected in future if behaviour is prescribed, with a lack of focus on learnt attitudes and internalised beliefs? Of relevance in this regard are the lessons to be learnt from the rise of neo-nazism in countries such as Germany after the Second World War, where anti-Semitism was condemned by the world and where feelings of guilt and prejudice were repressed to the extent that resentment built up. Racism and prejudice in the United States is seen to be on the increase despite the affirmative action policies and legal reform against discrimination in the 60's and 70's.

Allport (1954) views prejudice as a problem of personality formation and development, because no two cases of prejudice are identical in all respects.] He maintained that the notion of the collective group consciousness has a role to play in how individual members think and behave. He wrote “It is possible to hold the individualistic type of theory without denying that the major influences upon the individual may be collective” (Allport, 1954, p 41).

2.3. THEORIES OF PREJUDICE

Many theories have been proposed to explain prejudice. As Allport noted (1954) these theories attempt to define an important causal factor in prejudice, but they neglect to implicate all other factors operating in prejudice. Duckitt (1992) comments that this is still true today: “the different theories of prejudice focus on a wide variety of specific and different causal factors - and no theory or framework has yet been proposed that provides a complete explanation of prejudice” (p 1182).

Research on prejudice and stereotypes began in the 1920’s with the development of the Social Distance Scale by Emory Bogardus and the conceptual structure of Walter Lippman Bergmann, 1994). It continued through into the 1940’s with the development of adjective checklists by David Katz and Kenneth W. Braly (ibid). Most of this research focused on the measurement of attitudes. In the 1950’s research began to focus towards frameworks based on the personality theories, such as, authoritarian personality type and frustration-aggression theory. In the 1960’s social psychology introduced social structures and inter-group theories to explain prejudice and the psychopathological aspects of prejudice were questioned. The rise of cognitive psychology in the 1970’s once again led to re-definitions of the concepts of prejudice and stereotypes (Duckitt, 1992; Bergmann, 1994).

Duckitt (1992) writes that while these theories of prejudice have been classified according to the level at which they operate, for example, individual-personality level, social-cultural level, they

do not appear to show how these theories complement each other or the historical period in which they were dominant. Duckitt (ibid) notes that the fundamental shifts in the theories are due to shifts in interest and new issues or problems which required the development of new perspectives and theories concerning prejudice.

2.3.1. Historical Overview of Theories of Prejudice

Before the 1920's, prejudice and racism were not questioned or challenged. As a result of colonialism, it was accepted that Black people were inferior and "backward" in their development (Haller, 1971, in Duckitt, 1992). The concept of prejudice became a social construct to be studied in the context of racial relations and racial differences. This change came after World War 1, with the emergence of a Black civil rights movement in the United States, and the emergence of movements in Europe which challenged the legitimacy of European colonial rule and domination (Samelson, 1978, in Duckitt, 1992).

2.3.1.a. Psychoanalytic theories

The psychodynamic and personality theories attempt to analyze the affective aspects of prejudice. They state that prejudices originate in internal psychic conflicts i.e. prejudice may be interpreted as a symptom of underlying personality conflicts, and is a neurotic form of conflict resolution. As Bergman (1994) wrote ["The individual develops prejudices (projections) and tends toward discrimination against others (displacement of aggression) in order to resolve his internal conflicts and tensions" (p 576).] This view holds that prejudices are problems expressed in a compulsive manner, these problems have their sources in other areas, for example, Oedipal complex, social or religious experiences and in the aggression drive. It is assumed that a conflict exists between the id, ego and superego. The ego is weak and cannot protect itself from the demands of either the id or the superego. As a result defences in the form of displacement, projection, and scapegoating develop in order to protect the ego from the conflicts between id and superego. The psychoanalytic theories are criticised for not explaining group variations in prejudice.

The **Frustration-Aggression** theory is based on four assumptions, namely, 1) frustration is always followed by aggression; 2) the stronger the frustration, the stronger the aggression; 3) acting out the aggression is a cathartic and relieving experience; 4) if the release of aggression is blocked, there will be a displacement of aggression either onto an external stimulus or internally towards oneself (Duckitt, 1992, Bergmann, 1994).

The “scapegoat” theory of prejudice, which is similar to the frustration-aggression theory, and refers to aggression which is displaced onto individuals who are perceived to be weaker or powerless. The aggression arises from frustration or anger which cannot be directed at the object of anger (which is too vague or abstract), thus a scapegoat is chosen onto which the anger may be displaced in different forms of prejudice (Collins & Ashmore, 1970, Aronson, 1992).

These theories have received much criticism, for example, that aggression does not always result after frustration, nor is aggression always cathartic as it may exacerbate the situation and lead to more aggression. The theory does not account for social prejudices or prejudices held by the group towards others which are learned rather than resulting from aggression (Bermann, 1992).

The Authoritarian Personality - The development of this theory is based on the assumption that an individual's beliefs form a coherent pattern and are an expression of deep-lying personality traits. (Adorno et al.; 1950, cited in Aronson, 1992). The attitudes a person holds are based on personality characteristics and so we can distinguish between different personality types such as, tolerant or authoritarian. These characteristics include rigid beliefs, conventional values, intolerance of weakness in others, punitive, suspicious and respect for authority. These belief structures have their origin in childhood and arise due to a disturbed relationship between parent and child. Most research has suggested that these characteristics are related to prejudice but a causal link cannot be directly ascribed (Aronson, 1992). The major criticism of this theory is that individuals are not equally prejudiced towards all minority groups for e.g. an individual may be prejudiced towards Black people but not towards Jewish people.

Aronson (1992) describes four basic causes of prejudice; firstly, economic and political competition and conflict, secondly, displaced aggression, thirdly, personality needs and fourthly, conformity to social norms. These causes are not necessarily independent of each other and can operate simultaneously. Political and economic competition refers to competition between groups for scarce resources. If resources are limited then the dominant group needs to exploit or disparage a minority group in order to have access to the resources they require. The conflict and competition between groups increases as the resources or goals are more limited. For example, scarcity or competition for jobs results in prejudice and discrimination by one group towards another. This theory may be seen as a combination of the Realistic Conflict and Relative Deprivation theories.

Aronson (1992) identified one of the determinants of prejudice to be a need for self-justification. Self-justification is the need to justify oneself by denigrating others. If one convinces oneself that a group of individuals is unworthy or bad then one can justify discriminatory behaviour towards that group. Other human needs which may lead to prejudice are the needs for status and power. In order to feel superior or powerful, an individual needs to compare him/herself to others who must be inferior and less powerful. Several studies have shown that if a person's social status is declining then the individual is likely to be more prejudiced than a person whose status is rising.

2.3.1.b. Realistic Conflict Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory replaced the authoritarian and personality perspectives. These theories look at group processes and psychological functioning in terms of conflict as a consequence of competitiveness and threat toward the majority group by minority groups. In Realistic Conflict Theory, prejudice and discrimination arises from a perceived threat from a hostile and competitive out-group. This threat increases solidarity and in-group cohesion while encouraging rejection of the out-group. In Relative Deprivation Theory, prejudice and rejection of the out-group results where members of the in-group perceive a deprivation relative to the out-group, i.e. the other group is blamed for the decline or deprivation of resources (Louw & Edwards, 1991, Bergmann, 1994).

2.3.1.c. Social Identity Theory is based on social categorisation and differentiation and a need to promote or enhance the social or group identity by comparing one's own group more favourably with other groups (de la Rey, 1991, in Louw & Edwards 1991, see subsequent explanation of SIT).

2.3.1.d. The Cognitive Approach in Social psychology defines prejudice and stereotypes as a "cognitive structure" which is determined by categorisation that organises and represents information about social categories. Recently, cognitive theorists have addressed the role of affective and emotional factors in prejudice and recognised that motivational factors may also be involved. This was in response to criticisms that cognitive theory was limited to cognitions and did not address the issues of in-group favouritism and individual differences within social categories (Bergman, 1994; de la Rey, 1991, Duckitt, 1992).

2.3.1.e. Social Learning Theory postulates that prejudicial attitudes are not developed but adopted or learned through the social structures of the society, parents, peers, schools, media etc. Research on the adoption of prejudices shows that children learn racial, ethnic and gender stereotypes at an early age (For a detailed summary of these theoretical perspectives, see Bergman, 1994).

2.3.1.f. An Integrative framework combining the above theories was attempted by Duckitt (1992). He identified four complementary processes to provide an understanding of prejudice both as a group phenomena and as an individual process. Firstly, universal psychological processes such as projection and displacement underlie each individual with a propensity for prejudice. Secondly, social categorization, evaluative and motivational processes define individuals in relation to groups and group relations. Thirdly, inter-group conflicts of interest or competition and other types of social interactions, such as, status and class are necessary to elicit prejudice. Finally, social influence, socialisation and contact experiences with the out-groups will account for individual differences in prejudice. Individual personality differences also will impact on prejudice.

Aronson (1992) elaborated on certain relevant aspects which contribute to prejudice, such as conformity to the norms of society, which others (Duckitt, 1992) did not incorporate in their theories. South Africa may be used as an example here. Why did apartheid continue to exist for so long, among people who were not authoritarian personalities or displacing anger, in a society experiencing intense international pressure to dismantle it. Conformity to the norms of the society may explain this phenomenon. Whites and Blacks have worked together in mines, Black women have raised White children, without hate existing between these individuals. Yet discrimination continued. In a study by Pettigrew (1950, cited in Aronson, 1992) it was found that those individuals who were most likely to conform to social norms were also more likely to be more prejudiced. Institutions in the society can create and perpetuate the prejudicial norms, thereby increasing conformity.

2.3.1.g Social-Cognitive Developmental Framework - In a recent review of developmental causes of racial and gender attitudes in children, Katz (1983) noted that there are a multitude of theories including biological, cognitive and learning theories to explain children's attitudes. She suggested that although there were similarities in the developmental processes, there were also differences. One of the most important differences is that gender-role expectations change with age while racial attitudes seem to be constant and stable with age.

* Allport (1954) was one of the first to propose that young children are curious and aware of different skin colours, but only acquire prejudice as a result of learning from parents, peers, schools, etc. However, Aboud (1988) after reviewing the literature, discovered that children of four years are already prejudiced. They become more prejudiced as they get older and then from about age 8 prejudice starts to decline. These findings seem to suggest a cognitive developmental framework. [As children develop cognitively they are better able to evaluate racial differences than when they are cognitively in the concrete stage of thinking.]

* Aboud et al. (1993) propose that prejudice develops in a similar manner to other cognitive developments in the child. They maintain that a child who is in the preoperational stage of

cognitive development (Piaget, 1951) is limited by his/her cognitive immaturity and thus prejudice is high. After age 7 a child has developed cognitively and prejudice declines. At this age a child has reached the stage of concrete operations in their development. Concrete operational thinking occurs after a child has mastered the concept of conservation, i.e. a child learns to understand that Black people and White people can be both good and bad.

However, conservation is not the only ability which contributes to a reduction in prejudice. Other social-cognitive abilities are required to decrease prejudice, namely egocentrism and differentiation (Aboud, 1993). Egocentrism refers to children's inability to accept a perspective different from theirs. Differentiation refers to the ability to comprehend that there are individual and group differences and that people are not the same. Katz et al. (1975, in Aboud, 1993) found that younger children perceive Blacks and Whites to be very different from one another, and cannot identify differences among individuals within those groups. They can't see that some individuals may be both different and similar to themselves.

✱ Piaget & Weil (1951) proposed that, with the development of perspective-taking skills, children understand the feelings of different groups and so show less prejudice toward them. They noted that the understanding of racial relationships includes reciprocity and reconciliation. Reciprocity is the awareness that other race groups prefer their in-group as much as the child prefers his/her own in-group. Reconciliation is the awareness that both are right. The ability to reconcile two different racial perspectives increases from age 5 to 9 years (Aboud, 1981). The ability to perceive similarity within races and dissimilarity between races is considered to be an important component of racial prejudice (Linville, Fiscer & Salovey, 1989; Messick & Mackie, 1989; in Doyle & Aboud, 1995).

Doyle & Aboud (1995) focused on this developmental change and found that prejudice does decline with age. Further they found support that counter-bias, i.e. the ability to attribute both positive and negative evaluations to the Black and White group, increased with age, suggesting that reconciliation and perspective taking, both skills acquired developmentally, do impact on

levels of prejudice. Other studies using multiple measures of prejudice and bias substantiate these findings of a developmental framework. These studies including assigning positive, negative and “both” evaluations to Black and White groups, as well as to English and French speakers, have indicated that as children grow older they choose the “both” category more frequently, suggesting a developmental increase in counter-bias (Doyle, Beaudet, Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; in Doyle & Aboud, 1995).

✂ Schofield (1982, in Aboud, 1993) noted children do not usually express their prejudice in behaviour such as conflict or verbal fighting. Aboud, however, found that children express their attitudes in their preference and choice of friends or avoidance of children as friends. “Avoidance, in particular, is detrimental to social development because it keeps the child’s attitudes isolated from reality and from disconfirmation” (Aboud, 1993, p 230). This comment indicates a pertinent reason for research in the area of prejudice in children as children grow into adults who will inform the structure of society.



2.4. SELF-ESTEEM

Self-esteem may be described as the degree of regard and acceptance an individual perceives of him/herself. This term encompasses the innate sense of personal worth, competence and positive regard. Abraham Maslow (1970) regarded self-esteem as a necessary condition to the process of self-actualisation. According to Maslow’s hierarchy of human needs, self-esteem can only be achieved provided the basic physiology, safety and love needs are met. He viewed esteem as emanating from a sense of mastery, competence, confidence, independence and freedom within the individual, and from how others accord prestige, status, recognition and attention to the individual (Bandura, 1994).

Coopersmith (1967) defined self-esteem as “the evaluation which the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself; it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy” (in Howcroft, 1990, p 32). According to Coopersmith (1967), the level of esteem which an individual has for the self has an influence on how he/she perceives others.

Turner (1958) sees the self as a “selective organisation of values and standards edited to form a workable anchorage for social interaction....” (p105). A number of writers have written about the influence of relationships particularly parental relationships on the development of self-esteem in children (Coopersmith, 1967; Battle, 1992).

The self-concept may be viewed as a cognitive schema that organises abstract and concrete memories about the self and controls the processing of relevant information. It is recognised that both an affective and an evaluative component are fundamental to the development of self-esteem. Campbell (1990) conceptualizes the evaluative component as “...trait self-esteem, a global self-reflexive attitude addressing how one feels about the self when it is viewed as an object of evaluation” (p 539). She recognises that feelings of self-worth can vary across situations and over time. Self-esteem is thus a multidimensional concept, a vital component of one’s self-concept. For example, an individual may have low social self-esteem but a high self-esteem related to academic achievements.

“Self-esteem has been shown to have a pervasive impact on human behaviour” (Campbell, 1990, p 538). Research has demonstrated that individual differences in self-esteem have a direct impact on the individual’s capacity for factors such as, competition, conformity, attraction, achievement and helping (Wells & Marwell, 1976; Wylie, 1974; in Campbell, 1990). It seems that studies which have attempted to find a relationship between variables such as gender, race, age, socio-economic status have shown limited and inconclusive relationships (Wylie, 1979, in Stensrud, 1994). Maccoby & Jacklin (1974) in their meta-analysis of studies into gender differences, found little evidence of the myth that girls have lower self-esteem than boys. They found that boys and

girls differed in the areas within which they feel confident. For example, girls see themselves as more socially competent. They suggest an alternative interpretation that, perhaps boys are overconfident rather than girls having lower self-esteem (cited in Doyle, 1985).

According to Howcroft (1990), "Self-esteem seems to be emerging within South Africa today as one of the key social indicators in current analyses of social change, growth and progress" (p 30). This statement was written prior to the changes in South Africa and is particularly relevant today. Given the current South African context, the concept of self-esteem with all its inherent nuances, has become a critical area of research. Howcroft (1990) wrote, "the concept (self-esteem) appears as a key component in discussions of problems such as "racism", "equal education" and "integration" (p 31). This has led researchers to focus on Black identity and the establishment and maintenance of Black consciousness. Erikson (1968) made reference to the low self-esteem which is the result of on-going assumptions, labelling and negative images imposed on minorities (in Howcroft, 1990).

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) the concept of self is based on two major dimensions: one is personal identity, which includes beliefs about one's skills, abilities, or attributes such as intelligence. The second is social identity, which is defined as "that aspect of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that social group" (Tajfel, 1981; in Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990, p 60). Several theorists (Greenwald, 1980; Rosenberg, 1979; Taylor & Brown, 1988 in Crocker et al, 1990) studied social identity theory and have found that individuals are motivated to achieve a high self-esteem in relation to their social identity.

This positive identity is maintained by favourable comparisons between their own groups and out-groups. Thus, discriminating or negative evaluations of out-groups serve to promote identity of the in-group and thus enhance self-esteem of the individual. Social identity theory provides a compelling account of prejudice and discrimination against out-groups by linking this behaviour

to the maintenance of a positive social identity. Therefore social identity theory is used to provide a basis for the literature reviewed in this study.

In the discussion of findings from the numerous studies carried out on the concept of self-esteem, a caveat should be implemented, in that the definition of this diverse concept is subject to much debate. Furthermore, the nature of the concept is such that it renders quantitative measurement somewhat problematic.

In discussing studies of self-esteem in South Africa, (see Howcroft, 1990) the status system of individuals based along racial lines is always a matter of much debate. Manganyi (1973) has described how the nature of the treatment meted out to the Black population by the Whites, i.e. regarding and defining this sector of the population as inherently inferior in all aspects of social, political and economic realms is related to how Black people have come to see and accept themselves; as inferior and unworthy. Heaven and Niewoudt (1981) reinforce this notion that one would expect Black people to show lower levels of self-esteem than White people due to their oppressed status. Gergen and Gergen (1981) noted that persons who are a target of discrimination carry a psychological burden and that continual rejection by others may result in feelings of worthlessness, inferiority and self-hatred. Pettigrew (1964), Lever (1979) and MaCrone (1975) have suggested that the fragmented and racially differentiated lifestyle of Black South Africans may lead to feelings of inferiority which predicts that they will rate themselves less positively than other race groups.

MaCrone (1975) observed that South African Black people develop resources which help them to cope with White domination through an awareness of group belonging, which implies the existence of a group identity as opposed to an individual internalised self-esteem. Much debate exists around the concept that the nature of the Black culture and people evokes a group identity and that self-esteem is a western notion. Brett and Morse (1975) in their study found that Black people tended to blame the structure of the society and believe the realisation of their personal goals and ambitions is impeded by the very society in which they live. Similarly, Lobban (1975)

noted that Black matriculants blamed the social system rather than themselves for their social status. Based on this notion Lobban postulated that the Black population in South Africa would be expected to have a higher self-esteem than Blacks in the United States.

Heaven & Niewoudt (1981) found an overall positive self-esteem among Black university students which they explained as an outcome of the Black Consciousness movement. This is a common finding by international Black leaders and writers. In South Africa, Black students at university are conferred with higher status by their own cultural group and community which could also account for the positive self-esteem. Heaven et al (1984) observed that there is a higher academic motivation among Black students than White students which may be indicative of the degree of pressure placed on these students by their community. Edwards (1984) also found positive self-esteem among Black students which is contradictory to the predictions of earlier writers and international studies. These findings attest to the controversial nature of the study of self-esteem mentioned previously.

In her study, Howcroft (1990) attempted to measure levels of self-esteem and defensiveness among Black university students. Her findings elicited positive levels of general self-esteem as well as elevated levels of academic self-esteem thereby confirming the findings of previous studies (Heaven, 1981; Lobban, 1975). She also found high levels of defensiveness and suggested that “a Black student has adjusted to his environment in such a way that he can maintain positive feelings about himself” (p 35). She comments that high self-esteem in Black students is maintained by defensive manoeuvres designed to reduce anxiety and enhance a sense of security and enables them to cope with their discriminatory environment.

The results of the South African studies show a degree of variation, in that some indicated that Black people exposed to discrimination and prejudice showed evidence of a lower level of self-esteem, whilst others showed evidence of positive self-esteem among Black people.

As self-esteem is comprised of the self-concept which in turn is formed by social identity, it is considered that social identity theory may be used to inform part of the theoretical basis for this study (see section below).

2.5. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory (SIT) is a social psychological approach to inter-group relations developed by Tajfel. Tajfel's (1969) earlier findings stated that the mere division of individuals into groups was sufficient for the appearance of inter-group behaviour. He proposed that "inter-group bias may be a direct result of the perception by individuals that they belong to a common social category" (Tajfel, 1969; in Louw & Edwards, 1991, p 42). This proposition was investigated in a number of studies known as the minimal group studies, and which attempted to identify the minimal conditions under which bias between groups will emerge. Results consistently showed that subjects discriminated in favour of their own in-group. Subsequent studies which ruled out confounding variables such as social norms or perceived similarities (Billig & Tajfel, 1973, 1974, Doise & Sinclair, 1973) confirmed the initial conclusion.

The concept of social categorisation, that is the perception of people in terms of categories or groups on the basis of criteria that have relevance to the classifier, e.g. race, sex, class, religion, or language, is one of the key concepts of social identity theory. Tajfel and others (Tajfel, 1978, 1981, Bruner, 1957, Wilder, 1981) have written that people develop ways of classifying people and objects into groups as a means of coping with the complexity of the information from the environment. The differences between people or groups of people which have been classified into specific groups is exaggerated through a process of accentuation. Individuals belong to varying numbers of social groups and each of these group memberships represent a social identity which describes and defines an individual's attributes i.e. what one should think, feel and how to behave as a member of that group.

In addition the perception of social groups by individuals is characterised by an evaluative and emotional component. This evaluative-emotive component only serves to emphasise the accentuation of inter-group differences or perceived similarities of the in-group. "Social identities are not only descriptive and prescriptive, they are also evaluative" (Hogg et al, 1995, p260); they provide an evaluation which is shared by the society of a social category, and of its members, relative to other social categories. "Because social identities have these important self-evaluative consequences, groups and their members are strongly motivated to adopt behavioural strategies for achieving or maintaining in-group/out-group comparisons that favour the in-group, and thus of course the self" (Hogg et al, 1995, p 260).

Categorisation emphasises inter-group boundaries through stereotypes and perceptions of different social groups and assigns people to relevant categories. These perceptions are based on "subjective belief structures" which relate to people's beliefs and the nature of relations between their own group and out-groups. These beliefs are not necessarily based on reality and are often ideological. "These beliefs are concerned with the stability and legitimacy of inter-group status relations and the possibility of social mobility (psychologically passing from one group to another) or social change (psychologically changing the self-evaluative consequences of existing in-group membership)" (Hogg et al, 1995, p261).

Self-enhancement is the process that guides categorisation. It is assumed that people have a need to see themselves in a positive light in relation to others and that self-enhancement can be achieved in groups by making comparisons between the in-group and the out-groups in ways that favour the in-group. If the comparison is favourable then the individual through membership of that group can perceive themselves also favourably and this will influence the individual's social identity and thus their sense of self or their self-esteem. This principle of accentuation or self-enhancement is believed to be the cause of social stereotypes. Stereotypes such as boys are strong and girls are emotional are accentuated to children and result in stereotypes and gender discrimination.

SIT has increasingly influenced how the dynamics and sources of inter-group discrimination are viewed. SIT's basic position is that when the out-group is considered of equal or lower status, even without a prior history of inter-group contact, there will be evaluative and behavioural discrimination in favour of the in-group. This in-group favouritism is considered to be toward in-group rather than hostility toward the out-group. The basic in-group bias effect has been found to be remarkably consistent across situations and cultures (Brewer, 1979; Brewer & Silver, 1978; Brown, 1986; in Sidanus et al, 1994). People may believe that their group's status is lower and may adopt behaviours of a higher status group in order to acquire status or membership of that group thereby enhancing their sense of self. For example, children's responses on race questions of preference and identification for out-groups may be an attempt at self-enhancement.

As with any theory or approach, SIT cannot be considered in isolation to explain the reality. Tajfel (1978) wrote that social psychological constructs must be used as tools of analysis and one needs to take cognisance of all social, cultural, economic and historical factors which are integral to any social situation. SIT has attempted to move away from individualistic perspectives which viewed social relations as static, to a perspective which views social relations and inter-group relations as dynamic and unstable.

Several critics (Billig, 1976) have argued that social categorisation is not defined only by the perceptions of differences. Rather social categorisation is a result of social activity within a historical or political context, e.g. South Africa social categorisation was a legal and politically motivated activity. SIT does not adequately explore the role of ideology which needs to be incorporated into SIT theory in order to clarify and elaborate on certain concepts and how they inter-relate. The concept of social identity has also been criticised from the point of view that although people may define themselves as members of a group, the meanings which they attribute to this identification may differ between individuals. (Kitzinger & Stainton Rogers, 1985 in Louw & Edwards, 1991). Another criticism of SIT is that it predicts a link between self-esteem and intergroup discrimination, however research has not been consistent in supporting

this. Hunter et al (1996), in their study recommended using realistic groups and defining self-esteem within specific domains rather than artificial groups and global self-esteem.

In spite of this need for greater clarification with certain concepts, SIT has contributed to our knowledge of intergroup relations.

2.6. DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY

An ethnic group has been defined as “a reference group called upon by people who share a common history and culture, who may be identifiable because they share similar physical features and values and who, through the process of interacting with each other and establishing boundaries with others, identify themselves as being a member of that group” (Smith, 1991, p 181). ‘Ethnic identity’ is the sum total of group members’ feelings about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group. Furthermore, a person does not belong to an ethnic group by choice, rather he/she must be born into one and becomes related to that group by emotional ties.

The definition of ethnic awareness refers to a conscious recognition of ethnicity in individuals and groups, which involves being able to assign racial labels to the different people. This is a simple visual perceptual awareness. Awareness of another’s ethnicity requires a recognition or identification of race, a perceived similarity or dissimilarity, and a cognitive categorisation e.g. person is Black. Highly generalized ethnic categories and labels only develop late in children’s lives. Children also tend to overdiscriminate. This is due to the fact that they have a simple structure due to their cognitive limitations. Young children generally show less organisation and less cohesion in their behaviour which suggests that children’s prejudice may be less unified and consistent over time.

“Ethnic identity, a related but distinct dimension of self-concept, refers to a sense of belonging to an ethnic group, and those thoughts and behaviors that are due in part to ethnic group membership” (Blash & Unger, 1995, p 360). Ethnic self-identification involves describing oneself in terms of a critical ethnic attribute, such as race. A second component is a recognition that one is different in some way from other groups. Ethnicity has been conceptualized as referring to a group of people who share a unique social and cultural heritage e.g. language, religion, customs. Race differs from ethnicity as the focus, with the former is on biological or physical characteristics. A specific example may be Jews who are an ethnic group but not a race. Ethnicity is said to be constant across context and time i.e. one is always White or Black.

Less is understood about ethnic identity in adolescence than is known about self-esteem. Most research in this age group has been conducted on establishing a sense of identity as it is a major developmental task of adolescence, but very little research on ethnic identity has been done. As noted by Phinney et al.(1990), this seems surprising since ethnic identity provides a sense of belonging and group pride which provide a positive way for adolescents to cope with prejudice, peer pressure and differences between the values and norms of their culture and those of the major culture (Phinney, Lochney & Murphy, in Brash & Unger, 1995).

According to Erikson (1950), ethnic identity is a process located both in the core of the individual and in his/her communal culture. He stated that “only an identity safely anchored in the patrimony of a cultural identity can produce a workable psychosocial equilibrium” (1950, in Smith, 1994, p 182). “Ethnic identity development is a process of coming to terms with one’s ethnic-racial membership group as a salient reference group” (Smith, 1989; p 182). An individual, through shared experiences with a specific ethnic group, develops a sense of ethnicity which forms a part of his/her personality and identity.

Individuals vary in their ethnic group identification depending on their social status, their abilities, their interactions, the value they attribute to membership of a particular group, and the willingness to adopt the norms of the group. The fact that people have the capacity to label and

differentiate makes it inevitable that some form of status inequality will exist. In a multi-racial or cultural society each group develops a social distance between the groups. This social distance is usually anchored in the majority group's (the group with power) values and feelings about the minority groups. The minority group is usually the one least like the majority group and thus the social distance between them becomes great because of their dissimilarity. In South Africa this social distance has manifested not only from dissimilarities but from political and economic conditions. The dissimilarities were emphasised to serve the political and economic objectives of the time.

According to Smith (1994) both minority and majority status influence the development of ethnic identity. However minority children are confronted with their ethnicity at an earlier age and are more aware of ethnic differences than are majority children (Goodman, 1964, in Smith, 1994). It has been found that White children express more favourable attitudes towards their own group than Black children do for their group (Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980, in Smith, 1994). They suggest that for minority children their ethnic identity development entails dealing with a sense of rejection of their ethnic group while for majority children their identity and ethnic group is positively reinforced and validated by the group and by the society's infrastructures and systems. This may have implications for the development of self-esteem which forms a part of identity. Contact with other ethnic groups may lead to a conflict in members of both majority and minority groups, as it may require an individual to challenge their previous firmly entrenched beliefs and revise their perceptions of another ethnic group.

2.7. GENDER IDENTITY AND DISCRIMINATION

In comparing racism and sexism Reid (1988) noted that the similarities between them include negative generalizations and belief systems pertaining to individuals of a particular groups. She quotes Chesler's (1976) definition of institutional racism, "...acts or institutional procedures which help create or perpetuate sets of advantages or privileges for Whites and exclusions or

deprivations for minority groups” (cited in Reid, 1988, p 204) and explains that it is equally applicable to women. Reid writes that “the picture of Blacks as powerless with respect to social institutions is also reflected in the discrimination experienced by women” (1988, p 204). The difference between racism and sexism lies in the perception of each concept. Racism has been labelled pathological while those who are sexist are considered to be misinformed or ignorant. It appears that society perceives racism in a more serious light and as more derogatory than sexism. This may be, because the atrocities committed as a result of racism, are considered as more heinous than those endured as a result of sexism e.g. Nazism, Klu Klux Klan.

Gender identity may be defined as the subjective feelings and perceptions of being one specific sex and not the other. Our gender identity develops over time from age 2 to 3/4 years. Much debate exists around the influences which form gender identity, this debate will continue in an attempt to understand complex issues such as transsexualism which contribute to this controversial area. Social Learning theorists argue that learning and social pressures shape our awareness of being either male or female. Biologists claim that biological factors determine our gender identity formation. Other theorists suggest that both biological and social factors lead to gender identity.

Children are aware of categorical distinctions and are able to discriminate between male and female pictured faces as early as 5 months. (Fagan & Shepherd, 1982; Fagan & Singer, 1979; in Politshwa et al, 1994). By age 3, children are able to sort photographs and accurately use gender labels for themselves and others (Thompson, 1975; Weintraub et al., 1984; in Politshwa et al., 1994). While gender may be one of the first social categories that children notice, ethnic awareness is also seen in children as young as 3 years, where they can distinguish between Black and White figures (Aboud, 1988; Crooks, 1970; Katz & Zalk, 1974; Sigel & Singleton, 1986; in Politshwa et al., 1994). In addition, children often hold negative views about categories to which they do not belong. When asked to choose friends from pictures of unfamiliar people or to assign evaluative adjectives to pictures, children tend to display strong biases in favour of their own gender (Zalk & Katz, 1978; Martin, 1989; Politshwa, 1990a, 1990b; in Politshwa et al., 1994).

Although extensive research exists on prejudice during childhood against different social groups, it is unclear whether children who are highly biased in one area, e.g. male versus female, are also highly biased in other areas e.g. Black versus White. Further research in this area is required to determine whether a child's personality or experiences are more relevant in order to provide a better understanding of prejudice.

Studies in children's prejudice have focused more on group averages than individual differences (Sigelman et al., 1986; in Powlitsha, 1994). Information about developmental changes is similarly sparse. Several studies have found evidence of a decline in prejudice during middle childhood which would be consistent with a cognitive developmental perspective (Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1976; Kohlberg, 1966, 1969; Martin & Halverson, 1981; in Politshawa et al., 1994). The latter proposes that young children focus on external attributes and they assume that people similar on one characteristic are alike on other characteristics e.g. if a person is fat then they are lazy and thus all fat people must be lazy. Children indicate prejudice as a means of boosting their own self-esteem and this will manifest in identifying a preference for someone that looks like themselves.

Cognitive development allows children to recognise that members of different social categories may possess similar traits, and also allows them to hold more flexible attitudes with a consequent decline in prejudice (Aboud, 1988; Doyle & Aboud, 1991). Psychanalytic theorists (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson & Sanford, 1950) suggest that as prejudice is caused by stable personality traits acquired in early childhood, prejudice should remain consistent over time. Social Learning theorists (Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1977; in Politshwa et al) however suggest that prejudice is learnt from experiences and that it may vary depending on childhood experiences, but that generally, prejudice is expected to decrease over time.

Previous research on developmental patterns in prejudice has produced mixed results with the evidence pointing to a decline with age on some dimensions and to increase with age on other measures. Politshwa et al (1994) in their research recommended using multiple measures of

prejudice. They found evidence of both in-group favouritism and out-group rejection which were significantly correlated to each other. The gender bias was most relevant and significant i.e. both boys and girls favoured their own gender more highly.

Politshwa et al (1994) found that gender bias increases with age: older children are more likely to indicate same sex bias or preference in their positive attributions selection, i.e. girls are more likely to choose girls as playmates and similarly with boys. Differences in play between boys and girls, the embarrassment during adolescents of boy/girl friends and the growing awareness of their sexuality could explain this heightened gender bias. This gender bias is also greater for girls than boys. This could be explained by the finding that, lower status groups (e.g. females) show more in-group favouritism than higher status groups (Turner & Brown, 1978; Van Kippenburg, 1984; in Politshwa et al., 1994).

This area of gender differences is even more fraught with controversy than gender identity formation. In early research (Doyle, 1985) gender differences were found in some areas (e.g. girls have greater verbal ability than boys; and boys are more aggressive than girls), but these studies have been criticised for either methodological flaws or insignificant gender differences. Doyle (1985) wrote that psychologists, "...have not produced the highest grade of results, and that possibly it's time to move the emphasis towards a process-orientated approach in the study of gender" (p 57).

One of the factors contributing to the debate around gender differences is that of gender stereotypes. Regarding gender stereotypes, certain personality characteristics are perceived to be male-related while others are female-related, e.g. women are seen as passive, gentle, dependent while men are perceived as aggressive, competitive, independent. While earlier research found (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968) that these gender stereotypical characteristics were segregated between the genders, recent research (Deaux & Lewis, 1984) has found that perceptions have changed. For e.g. Males are no longer perceived as the sole provider, women can also be providers. "Many characteristics once thought to be the sole feature of one gender or the other have been found to

vary” (Janeway, 1984; in Doyle 1985). It appears that perceptions of gender stereotypes are changing from absolute differences to more relative differences. These changes may be attributed to social and political changes in society e.g. women entering professions previously reserved for men. One might expect these changing perceptions to be evident in children who are exposed to different social conditions, however, Kuhn et al (1978 in Doyle,1985) found that pre-school children whose parents were students or lecturers at a university held the same stereotypical beliefs and behaviours of the past. Other researchers found similar results (Brown, 1957; Fagot, 1984a, 1984b; in Doyle, 1984), i.e. that very young children have an awareness and knowledge of gender stereotypes. The question arises why children are behaving stereotypically when the social circumstances are changing.

An explanation has been postulated in the notion of self-fulfilling prophecy. Theorists have noted that gender stereotypes are learned early in life through rewards and punishment, self-fulfilling prophecy and other social forces. Snyder et al. (1977; Snyder & Swann, 1982) have found that self-fulfilling prophecy explains why so many males and females act in accordance with stereotypes. For e.g. if a girl is expected to be scared of frogs, through reinforcement by others, she will believe that she is scared of frogs, even if originally she wasn't scared. The same reasoning could be applied to racial stereotypes as gender stereotypes.

The combination of both gender and racial stereotypes becomes further complicated if one considers the influence of culture or race on gender roles as each culture has their own gender roles e.g. in Black culture men are perceived to be powerful and protective however, in a society such as South Africa where Black men have been denied any form of power due to race segregation and oppression, there is an inherent conflict in the formation of an identity and self-esteem. This makes research in a country such as South Africa difficult and complex as many factors are impacting and influencing the development of concepts such as self-esteem or social identity. The interplay between gender and ethnicity seems to be dynamic and multifaceted and as Davenport and Yurich (1991) have noted “we need to move beyond our preference for looking

at others through a singular lens such as gender or ethnicity and instead examine the interactive nature of various influences” (p 70).

2.8. STUDIES ON IDENTITY, PREFERENCE AND SELF-ESTEEM

Earlier research on children’s racial attitudes have consistently shown that children are aware of race and racial differences from a young age (Clark & Clark, 1947; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938; cited in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). On the issues of racial preference and racial self-identification there is much disagreement. Clark & Clark (1947) found that both Black and White children preferred White dolls and rejected Black dolls. This research was criticised on the grounds that preferring White dolls does not mean that Black children wanted to be White (Hraba & Grant, 1970, in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). Foster (1986) noted that “mis-identification of young Black children has frequently been assumed, but seldom demonstrated to be the basis of deleterious psychological states such as impaired self-esteem, alienation and identity conflicts” (cited in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995, p 217).

The issue of category awareness is central to the issue of children and prejudice because any type of prejudicial attitude or belief implies a prior application of some form of categorisation. Davey (1983) in his study found that children categorized people into groups, firstly using race, secondly, gender and thirdly, socio-economic status. Davey also found that the context was an important determinant of whether children will classify according to race or gender first. For example, in the context of play when children were asked with whom they wanted to play, they selected their playmate according to gender rather than race, indicating that gender segregation is of greater significance. This suggests that categorization and context is an important area for research.

As previously mentioned, research indicated that prejudice in children increases until age 7/8 and then although still prejudiced, children’s scores decrease somewhat as they get older (Aboud,1988; Clark, Hocevar & Dembo,1980; in Aboud,1993; Williams & Morland,1976).

Some researchers (Katz , Sohn & Zalk,1975; in Aboud,1993) believe that this could result from the social desirability aspect, i.e., children perceive that they must hide their prejudices. Aboud's response is that children's negative perceptions about Blacks do not change, however children develop a more balanced attitude in that they can attribute more positive evaluations to Blacks (Aboud et al. 1988).

With regard to preference, children are able to correctly identify themselves with the doll/picture of their own race group. Early research findings relating to preference and evaluative judgements, indicate that the majority of White children showed a preference for their own race group while with Black children, there was more ambivalence. The latter were not as strong in preference for their own race group, and in fact they often showed an identification with and preference for the in-group, that is White. This tendency was found to decline with age indicating that as Black children get older their identification and preference for the White group decreases and they are able to show a greater preference for their own race group. White children, as they get older, are more able to differentiate and recognise that other race groups are similar to their own group (Aboud 1984, 1988). Similar findings with Indian children were reported by Spencer & Markstom-Adams (1990, in Aboud, 1993).

The major criticism of these studies involves whether the in-group preference of Black children suggests that they rejected their own group? Clearly this cannot be conclusively stated. The fact that children were indicating a preference for the white group, could be influenced by a number of variables, the most important of these being socio-economic status and education.

Rosenburg & Simmons (1971, in Aboud, 1993) found that children under 12 years of age use their own community to draw conclusions about status. For example, Black children thought that Blacks were the most important in their community while White children perceived Whites to be the most important. However when it came to their preference, both groups preferred Whites. There does not seem to be a correlation between how children perceive status and their attitudes.

Similarly, research on gender identification and preference, suggests that children are able to identify with their own gender at a young age and gender segregation is evident from the age of 4 years and up. This preference for own sex increases with age and only starts to decline in adolescence. In addition, girls show a stronger and earlier preference for their own gender than boys. The age effects within these studies reveals a pattern, where younger children show higher levels of prejudice or bias peaking at ages 5 to 8 years. These findings show either an increase or decrease with age, depending on whether gender or race are the variables (Politshwa et al.,1994).

Hogg and Turner (1987) also found that when gender was made salient, subjects identified more closely with their own gender, accentuated gender differences and evaluated themselves more favourably. Since people are motivated to make between-group comparisons, they will compare on those dimensions which are acceptable to the majority in society. This leads to majority groups retaining their dominant power position in society and the members having a positive social identity, while minority members perceive themselves as having a lower status with a lower social identity and thus lower self-esteem. One way which minority children may attempt to enhance their social identity is by joining or aspiring to join the majority group.

It was previously mentioned that Tajfel and Turner (1979), argue that people can enhance their self-esteem or social identity by accentuating positively the differences between their own and other groups. Discrimination against Black minority children was originally viewed as causing them to evaluate their own-group negatively and the White out-group positively. This was thought to impair self-esteem, yet, research has produced inconsistent findings. Some of the reasons cited for this have been social change and the Black Consciousness movement. In a study with Black South African children Kelly and Duckitt (1995) found that older Black children had higher levels of self-esteem, own-group racial pride and ethnocentrism than younger Black children. Younger children showed slight out-group preference while older children showed non-preference.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) could explain why young minority children tend to identify with or prefer majority group pictures or figures. Although own-group identification increases with age, the percentage of Black children who identify with own-group members is less than for White children (Aboud, 1988). However an increase in own-group identification with age among minority children is not accompanied by an increase in positive own-group attitudes, as it is for White children. Aboud (ibid.) suggests that for minority children, it may be their wish to be part of the majority group which influences them and their attitudes to distance themselves from their own group. SIT has been criticised as it does not consider cognitive development or changes in prejudice with age.

During the 70's research findings began to indicate that there were no significant differences in the self-esteem of minority and majority children (Adam, 1978, in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). The change in findings was attributed to social changes occurring at that time. However, research findings remained inconsistent. For e.g. Ward & Braun (1972, in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995) found that Black children's preference for the Black doll was associated with positive self-esteem. George & Hoppe (1979, in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995) found a positive correlation of racial identification and preference with self-esteem with younger black children, but with older children there was no significant relationship. Williams-Burns, however(1980, in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995) found no relationship between self-esteem and racial preference.

According to the Cognitive Development Theory, levels of cognitive structure and self-esteem predict own-group attitudes. In both majority and minority children increases in cognitive structure is associated with the development of positive own-group attitudes. Self-esteem is also associated with own-group attitudes but differs for minority and majority children. Young minority children appear to identify with and express a preference for majority group members while White children identify with and prefer own-group members (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Skerry, 1984; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1946; in Corenblum & Annis, 1993). These results suggest that minority children experience a conflict between their own racial identity and the value of their race in society. Minority children know which race group they belong to, but

choose to say otherwise because own group membership reflects poorly on themselves (Spencer, 1984; Clark, 1965; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; in Corenblum & Annis, 1993). Spencer (1982) found positive relationships between social-cognitive abilities and identification of own and other group members. With the attainment of concrete operational thought, children display more mature reasoning about race concepts, themselves and others (Aboud & Skerry, 1983; Doyle, Beaudet & Aboud, 1988). By age ten, majority children give less extreme ratings to own and other-group members, possibly because they can conceive of racially dissimilar others being similar to themselves on attributes other than race. Among minority children, increases in cognitive development have been associated with own-group identification (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Skerry, 1984).

The fact that children's attitudes and preferences show an inverted U-shape suggesting an increase, a peak and then a decrease with age provides some support for a developmental approach (Aboud, 1988; Piaget & Weil, 1957). However, on its own a developmental approach does not sufficiently explain why some minority children do not show the same in-group preference pattern as White children. It can be postulated that the developmental approach can be best complimented by Social Identity Theory. A criticism of Cognitive Development Theory is that it assumes that children make judgements but not how they make these judgements. It assumes that similar processes underly the judgement of social and non-social stimuli. Tajfel and Turner (1979) write that evaluations of others involve, either implicitly or explicitly, evaluation of the self. Questions about identity and preference thus include the self as part of the evaluation. A consequence of this is that self-esteem issues are likely to become pertinent when evaluating own and other-group members.

The evidence that children acquire or learn their attitudes through their parents, peers and media is inconclusive in several studies (Mosher & Scodel, 1960, Horowitz & Horowitz, 1983). Although they have shown a correlation there is however little clear evidence of a direct causal relationship, i.e. that children's gender or race attitudes are caused or are a result of their parents' attitudes (Repitti, 1984; Macoby & Jacob, 1974; 1987).

The review of South African research by Foster (1986) indicates similar findings to the American findings. That is, young Black children show White out-group preference and mis-identification, that decreases with age. Black children show accurate own-group identification but with regard to preference they show out-group (White) preference. Tyson (1985) wrote, that international trends after the 70's are not applicable to South Africa because of the lack of social change and that "older Black South African children may continue to show out-group preference and consequent lower self-esteem" (cited in Kelly & Duckitt, 1995, p 218) because of socio-political circumstances. Kelly & Duckitt (1995) found no overall significant relationships between self-esteem, out-group prejudice and ethnocentrism.

MacCrone (1934-44) consistently found that Whites displayed a high degree of ethnic identity and in-group racial preference, and high racial prejudice towards Blacks. Blacks, on the other hand, exhibited comparatively minimal racial prejudice and a minimal degree of in-group racial preference. Later studies, using MacCrone's scale found similar results (Crijns, 1959; Edelstein, 1972, 1974; Groenewald, 1975; Groenewald & Heaven, 1977; Lever, 1968b, 1972; Pettigrew, 1960; Spangenberg & Nel, 1983; Colman, 1971; Thiele, 1988; for review see Foster, 1991).

Studies using adaptations of Bogardus's Social Distance Scale in South Africa found similar results, namely that Whites put the greatest amount of social distance between themselves and Black groups, while Blacks put a smaller social distance between themselves and White groups. More recent research (IDASA, 1990 & Gagiano, 1991 cited in Foster, 1991) indicates that these attitudes among Whites towards Blacks have remained stable over time.

At this time in the history and transformation of South African society, it is considered important to look at these relationships between racial identification, self-esteem, social satisfaction and status as perceived by children who are growing up during this process of change. New findings can be discussed in relation to past findings as well as providing discussion for future research.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. HYPOTHESES

This study was conceptualised by the formulation of a number of hypotheses which were derived from a review of the relevant literature and which were based on the specific aims of this research project.

A. SELF-ESTEEM

Hypothesis 1:

There is a significant difference in the level of self-esteem with respect to different race groups: White children will display higher self-esteem than Black children.

Hypothesis 2:

There is a difference in the level self-esteem of male and female children across the gender groups with boys showing more positive self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3:

There is no significant difference between the level of self-esteem of the children in grade 7 and grade 9, with children in both grades exhibiting similar levels of positive self-esteem.

B. SOCIAL SATISFACTION AND PREFERENCE

Hypothesis 4:

White and Black children will render a stronger degree of social satisfaction for their own specific race group, i.e. they will tend to favour their own-race group members in terms of social satisfaction.

Hypothesis 5:

Boys and girls will indicate a stronger preference for their own gender with regard to the criteria of satisfaction and preference(status).

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant difference between the two age groups with regard to satisfaction and status with older children indicating higher scores in their selection of figures on both satisfaction and status.

Hypothesis 7:

There will be no difference in social categorisation across the two race groups in relation to status: both race groups will perceive White status higher than Black status.

Hypothesis 8:

In relation to identification, children's highest identification score will be for figures of their own race and gender.

C. SOCIAL DISTANCE**Hypothesis 9:**

There is a difference in children across the different racial groups regarding racial prejudice: White children will display higher levels of social distance than Black children, i.e. White children will show more prejudice than Black children.

Hypothesis 10:

There is a no significant gender difference in the degree of racial prejudice with boys and girls manifesting similar levels of prejudice.

Hypothesis 11:

There is a difference in racial prejudice between the two age groups with the children in grade 9 showing showing less prejudice than the children in grade 7.

3.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

This study forms part of a large research project which is being conducted in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in Kwazulu-Natal. The organisation responsible for the research is the Community Agency for Social Enquiry(CASE). It is a non-government organisation which receives funding from private organisations. The aims of the project are to research the issues of class, race and gender (CRG) amongst school children. The principal researcher and co-ordinator of the research project is a Sociology professor. The research team includes a multi-disciplinary team from the sociology, psychology, education and dietetics departments from the University of Natal, with each department focusing on their own interests within the broader themes of class, race and gender.

The research design is longitudinal and cross-sequential. The project aims to follow children in several grades at different schools over a ten year period. The same instruments will be administered to the same children at different grades and developmental stages. The present study was undertaken in the initial stages of the research project and provides the initial findings of the first subjects to be assessed. This study, through a cross-sectional design, attempts to examine the relationships between self-esteem, social satisfaction and preference and racial prejudice as measured by social distance.

Children from two grades and five schools were selected and assessed on three instruments. The instruments which were utilised include a self-esteem inventory, a technique for assessing social status and a social distance scale. These instruments were selected by the psychology team and were included with the battery of instruments which formed part of the larger project. The instruments were administered either individually or on a group basis by the researchers and a team of field workers who were employed and trained in the administration of these instruments.

3.3. SUBJECTS

The total number of subjects involved in this section of the larger study was 444. The children for the larger project were selected from ten schools in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in Kwazulu-Natal. The grades which were assessed were grades 1, 4, 7 and 9. The

schools were chosen as they reflect a broad cross-section of cultures and backgrounds in terms of race, socio-economic status, and geographical location. The schools were accessible to the research team and are considered to be functional and largely representative of the South African context. One limitation in the choice of schools was the insufficient number of “coloured” children in the sample of subjects. However, the schools are representative of the geographic composition of cultures and people in Kwazulu-Natal.

For this section of the larger study, five schools were selected according to their area and grades. The grades used were grade 7 and 9, and all schools were in an urban area. Schools from rural areas were excluded from this study as a means of controlling the number of variables for the scope of this study. The race groups represented in this sample are Black and White children. The number of coloured children in the sample were limited and thus were excluded from the study. The intention had been to include Indian children in the sample, however during the statistical analyses, it became clear that the numbers of Indian children were too few to be statistically viable and therefore they too were excluded from the sample.

A description of the schools and the sample of children from each school follows:

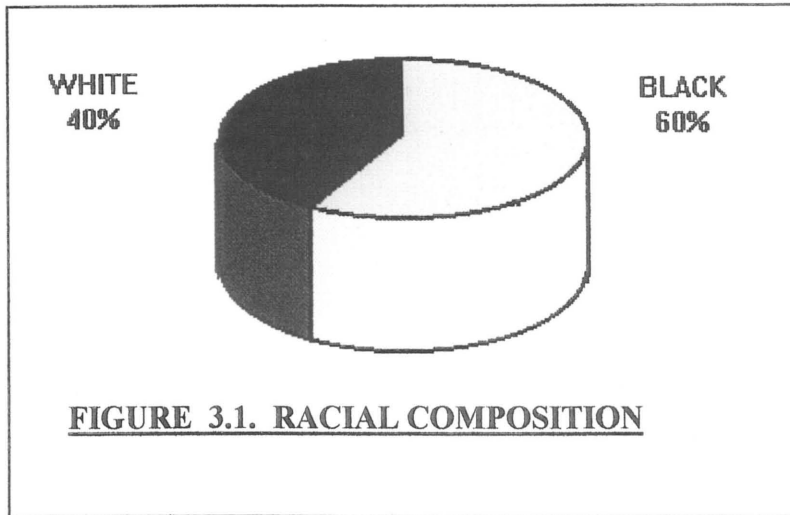
School 1: This is a government, urban, primary (grade 1 to grade 7) school. It recently became racially integrated and has predominantly white children. It is an English medium school and consists of children mainly from middle-class backgrounds.

School 2: This is a government, urban, high (grade 8 to 12) school. Although it has recently become racially integrated, the children are primarily white. It is an English medium school with children from mainly middle-class backgrounds.

School 3: This is a private, urban primary and high school. It has been racially integrated for longer than government schools but due to the high cost of schooling, is currently predominantly white. It is English-medium and reflects mainly upper and middle-class backgrounds. It has a majority of girls as boys have only recently been eligible for admission at the primary school level.

School 4: This is a government, urban, primary school (grade 1 to 7). It is a Zulu-medium school and has only black children. Children from lower to middle-class backgrounds attend this school which has very large numbers in each class.

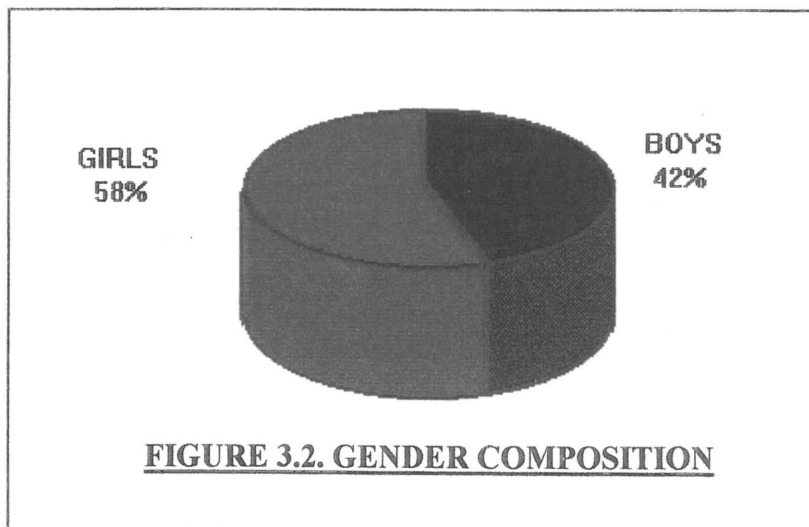
School 5: This is a government, urban, high school (grade 8 to 12). Only black children attend this school as the language of instruction is Zulu. Children from lower and middle socio-economic background are enrolled. Large numbers of children are accommodated in classrooms.



N = 436

Black children = 260

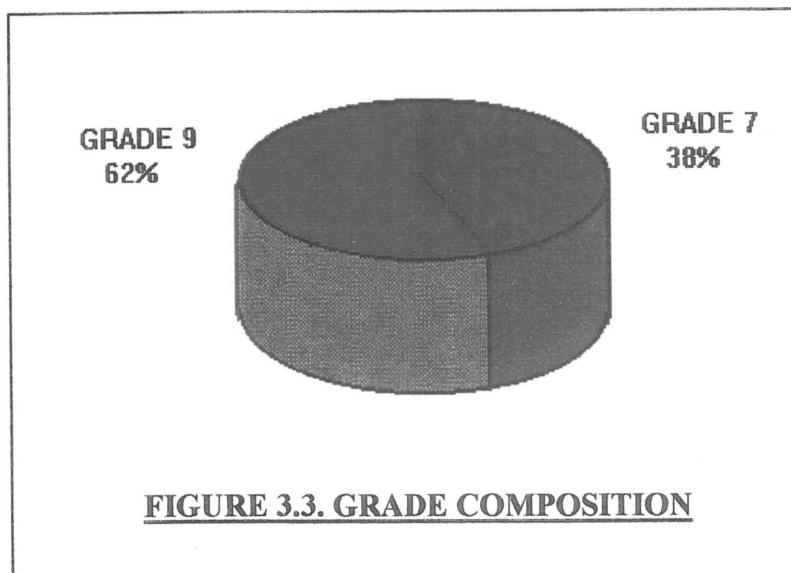
White children = 176



N = 436

Boys = 185

Girls = 270



N = 436

Grade 7 = 166

Grade 9 = 270

School principals and teachers were informed of the aims of the research and were asked to accommodate the research by allowing two days for the administration of the instruments with each group of subjects. After school participation had been granted, a letter of consent (see Appendix 1) was submitted to the parents of each child. Each child and parent was assured that participation in the project was voluntary and if for any reason consent was not given, the child was excluded.

The confidentiality of each child was guaranteed by allocating numbers to the children. Only identity numbers were used in the input of data and analysis. Children were assured of this confidentiality by the researchers as well as being given the right to choose whether they wanted to answer specific questions.

3.4. INSTRUMENTS

3.4.1. Demographic Data

The age and race of each subject was obtained from class records supplied by teachers and schools. The demographic variables in this study include age, grade, gender and race.

The demographic variable of socio-economic background is not being considered in this study as the history of South Africa with its apartheid policies makes it difficult to define the different classes according to social and economic factors. Previously race defined class with most black people falling within the lower socio-economic class. With the transition to a New South Africa and the dismantling of apartheid, new criteria will have to be developed based on income, occupation, or social factors such as education. In addition, class and socio-economic status may have different meanings in the different cultures and race groups and for children this is a confusing issue as they attempt to learn that all races are equal in a society where previously race was used to classify and demarcate the society. This is an area which future research could attempt to explore. For the purposes of this study, the children have been categorised based on income and the geographical location of the school in terms of middle or lower class. It is acknowledged and recognised that a wide range of incomes within the middle and lower class is evident.

3.4.2. Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventories for Children and Adults (CFSEI) (Battle, 1981, 1992), formerly known as the Canadian Self-Esteem Inventories for Children and Adults, are a series of self-report checklists designed to measure an individual's perception of self. Two forms exist, Form A which consists of 60 items and Form B consisting of 30 items. The items are short statements, such as "I often feel ashamed of myself", and individuals are required to answer "yes" or "no". The statements in the CFSEI-2 (second version, Form B) comprise several self-esteem components including general, social, academic and parent-related self-esteem. The scoring procedure yields scores of the following subscales:

- a) General Self-Esteem - measures the individual's overall perceptions of their worth. (10 items)
- b) Social Self-Esteem - measures the individual's perceptions of the quality of their relationships with peers. (5 items)
- c) Academic Self-Esteem - measures the individual's perceptions of their academic ability to succeed. (5 items)
- d) Parent-Related Self-Esteem - measures the individual's perceptions of how their parents view them. (5 items)
- e) Lie Score - measure of defensiveness. (5 items)

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory (CFSEI-2) was selected from a number of self-esteem inventories for several reasons (Appendix 2). The CFSEI-2 is the second version (Battle, 1992) and was standardized on boys and girls in the United States and Canada in Grades 2 to 9. The manual reports extensive data on reliability and validity. Test-retest reliability in the manual shows correlations which range from a relatively low of 0.79 to a high of 0.92 for the total scores. Concurrent validity with the Coopersmith Inventory (Coopersmith, 1981) indicates correlations of between 0.71 and 0.80.

The CFSEI-2 has been designed to be useful with children from a variety of cultures and has been effectively and extensively used in over 20 countries (Battle, 1992). Battle wrote that the items were chosen because they were least sensitive to cultural differences. These studies conducted around the world and which form a data base provide some evidence for the claim that the items reflect a universal concept of self-esteem (for summaries of these studies, see Battle, 1992). These studies also found no significant sex differences which formed the basis for a hypothesis to be researched in this study.

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory, Form B, the shorter version was selected in order to facilitate quick administration due to the number of instruments included in the larger project. It was considered that the longer version would take too long and as the children had to complete many instruments the shorter version would facilitate concentration and help reduce fatigue or boredom. The CFSEI-2 is easily administered and does not require much training. This was useful for this study, as those collecting data were not psychologically trained. For this study the CFSEI was translated into Zulu by a Zulu-speaking psychologist and back-translated by another Zulu-speaking psychologist. The inventory was administered to the children in groups and, in the child's first language. Each statement was read out loud by the administrator to ensure that each child could follow. Scoring was done manually by the psychologists to produce numerical values for each of the subscales. These values were captured for statistical analyses.

A major criticism of this inventory is its claim of being "culture-free". While some studies previously mentioned have supported this claim, no systematic norming studies have been undertaken. Anastasi (1988) argued that "not only is the concept of a "culture-free" test

indefensible, a meaningful “culture-fair” test that samples only behaviour common to all cultures has not been, and cannot, be developed” (p357).

In a study by Holaday et al. (1996) the CFSEI was administered to 7 groups of children from different cultures and geographic regions. The findings showed significant differences on all the subscales, in particular the Social Self-Esteem subscale. The researchers acknowledge possible reasons such as socio-historical factors but caution against regarding the inventory as truly culture-free. They recommend that potential users develop their own local norms. This recommendation has been echoed by Subkoviak and Kavan (1995). In South Africa although no local norms are available, these results were not compared to international norms, they were used comparatively within the study, thus this is not seen as a major disadvantage to the study.

Furthermore, in a developing country such as South Africa with both western and African cultures it becomes difficult to ascertain the meaning that self-esteem has for individuals from the different cultures. Writers (Watkins, D., Akande, A. & Mpofu, E. 1995) have noted that in many African cultures the emphasis is on community and co-operative values as opposed to the western value of individualism. Olowu (1985, in Watkins, D. et al 1995) argued that self-concept in Nigeria was becoming more individualistic as a result of acculturation with the west. This could be occurring in South Africa with the integration of schools and with the previous domination of “western” white culture. This is a contentious area and could benefit from further research.

A further disadvantage of the inventory is the forced-choice procedure which has been criticised in the literature for generating scores which may be misinterpreted, open to different interpretations or may not be reflecting the actual range of self-perceptions (Williams & Morland, 1976). This criticism suggests that caution is necessary when drawing conclusions from the results of the inventory.

3.4.3. Social-Status Technique

The Social Status Technique was adopted from Cantril's (1965) Self-Anchoring Striving Technique, which consists of a rating scale in the form of a ladder. In Cantril's original technique, subjects were asked to place themselves, hypothetically, onto a certain level of the ladder. The levels of the ladder represented life satisfaction. Subjects were asked to respond to specifically-designed questions, for e.g. "Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?".

For the present study, Cantril's basic technique was adapted for use with children and a set of questions was designed for the purposes of this study. The adapted technique was termed the Social Status Technique (SST). The SST consists of wooden steps, with each step representing hierarchical positions. There are seven steps with three holes on each step into which the child was asked to place hand-painted, cardboard figures of children. The child was instructed to imagine that the steps represented positions in life. For e.g. the child was told to imagine that the top step was "the best place to be" and the bottom step was "the worst place to be" (See complete instructions in Appendix 3).

The hand-painted cardboard figures were attached to sticks which could be inserted into the holes on each step. This was demonstrated to each child. There were six figures which represented children from different race groups and the sexes (See Appendix 4). The figures were painted with as little variance as possible i.e. they had identical uniforms, were identical in size, the only difference was in skin colour, hair texture and minor facial features. There were two sets of figures, one representing children from the middle to higher socio-economic group, the other from a lower socio-economic group. Each child was only given one of the sets of six figures i.e. either from the middle or from the lower socio-economic group. The children were asked to place the figures on the steps where they felt they belonged, in response to ten questions.

The questions were grouped into the following three categories:

A. Social Satisfaction

1. Who do you think has the best food?
2. Who do you think is the happiest?
3. Who do you think does the best at school?
4. Who do you think gets sick the most?
5. Who do you think has to walk the furthest?

B. Preference

6. If there were a problem in the classroom, who do you think would be most able to sort it out?
7. Who do you think will have the best job one day?
8. Who do you think is most likely to be an important person in the world?
9. Who do you think has the most friends?

C. Identification

10. Who do you think is most like you?

Each child had to select one figure and place it on the top step, the question was then phrased in the negative, for e.g. "Who do you think has the worst food?" This figure was placed on the bottom step. The child was then asked to rate where they thought the rest of the figures should be placed on the ladder. The child's responses were recorded on an answer sheet (see Appendix 5) and numerical values were assigned to each figure according to the step on which they were placed e.g. the value 7 was assigned to a figure placed on the top step, 1 to the figure on the bottom step etc. Each question was scored separately. The numerical values for each child were then statistically analysed.

The administration was done in the child's first language. Translation of the instructions and questions into Zulu was done by a Zulu-speaking clinical psychologist and back translation by an independent psychologist. Administrators were trained in the use of the technique by clinical psychologists from the psychology department.

At the time of this study no reliability and validity data was available as these research projects are still being conducted. However, a researcher involved in the same study conducted reliability and validity analysis and found Cronbach reliability coefficients which ranged from 0.659 to 0.745 (Meintjies, 1997). Factor analysis for validity confirmed that dividing the questions into categories of satisfaction, preference and identification appeared to be valid (See Meintjies, 1977 for detail re: factor analysis). The lack of sufficient reliability and validity data is an important criticism which must be considered when interpreting the results.

As this is a type of projective technique, it was hoped to elicit the children's more realistic perceptions regarding social status, satisfaction and preference in relation towards gender and race. The technique aimed to decrease defensiveness and socially desirable responses. One advantage of the technique was that the child was first asked the question positively i.e. who do you think has the best food?, and after the child had selected a figure and placed it onto the top step (the best place to be), the question was asked negatively, i.e. who do you think has the worst food? (the worst place to be). This distinguishes the test from earlier studies (e.g. using the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure (PRAM II- Williams & Morland, 1976.)) , which yielded a single-response index and made interpretation of the results confusing. Researchers could not be sure whether children were racially prejudiced towards other races or whether they were expressing in-group preference.

The concrete and visual nature of this technique makes it suitable for children who could easily understand as it does not require any level of literacy and promotes an enjoyable aspect to the battery of tests. It is designed to be non-threatening and allows children to categorise the figures themselves without a forced choice as they decide on which steps they want to place the figures. This rating format allows for a wider range of preferences and feelings to be expressed towards the different race groups and genders. This distinguishes the technique from instruments requiring a forced choice, thereby making it unclear whether the choice represents preference for one group or rejection of a group.

An advantage of individual administration was that children's reactions could be observed and their verbalisations could be noted. The disadvantage of the structured questions and limited time was that the reasons for a child's choice of a particular figure could not be explored in any meaningful manner.

A further disadvantage of the technique is that it excludes the race group referred to as “coloured” and thus does not represent all the race groups in South African society. This group was excluded from the technique as it was considered that it would be time-consuming and could lead to tiredness and a decrease in concentration, particularly with the younger children. This reason also led to the two sets of figures, i.e. the middle and lower socio-economic groups being separated.

The use of figures or pictures introduces a confounding difficulty of uncertainty for the basis which children were selecting figures. It is assumed that with older children who are cognitively at a different developmental stage that their choice was differentiated either by gender or race (Aboud, 1988). It is evident that further research including a qualitative component is required in this area.

The lack of suitable instruments for assessing prejudice in children and representing the race groups of the children who participated in this study led to the specific design of this technique. The three categories of questions allows for greater differentiation between preference and perceived social satisfaction.

3.4.5. Social Distance Scale

Bogardus (1925) contributed greatly to the field of prejudice research, with his design of an attitude measure devised to assess social distance between people of different cultures called the Social Distance Scale, which has resulted in many researchers employing adapted versions of his scale. The social distance technique aims to assess behavioural intention rather than actual behaviour. According to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, in Verkuyten & Masson 1995) “measures of behavioural intentions are better predictors of actual behaviour than traditional measures of attitudes.” It is regarded (Hagendoorn & Kleinpeening 1991) that social distance scales are suitable for measuring the negative feelings that motivate the avoidance of ethnic outgroups.

The Social Distance Scale is described (Denmark, 1994) as composed “of a series of hypothetical relationships between subjects and members of specific groups. The series of

items represents increasing levels of closeness or intimacy between the respondents and members of various groups” (p 111). These levels of closeness range from living in the same country to living next-door to intermarriage. Subjects are asked to rate their acceptance of each hypothetical relationship, that is, their willingness to accept individuals from another group at a certain level of intimacy. Subjects’ responses to the list of situations are combined, giving a measure of the degree of proximity that subjects will tolerate with various racial or cultural groups.

The Social Distance Scale used in this study (See Appendix 6) was adapted and simplified for use with children. Five groups were identified from South African society namely: English-speakers, Afrikaners, Black people, Indians and Coloureds. The seven hypothetical situations with the five groups included the following:

- a. Entering their country
- b. Living and working in their country
- c. Coming to their school
- d. Living in their neighbourhood
- e. Being their friend
- f. Coming into their home
- g. Marrying into their family

The children could choose from responses which included: Many, Some, or No members of that group in response to the above hypothetical relationships. Their choices were scored 1 for Many, 2 for Some and 3 for No. These scores were then added for each of the five groups. High scores indicated a high social distance score, implying a higher prejudice towards that particular group. Low scores showed less social distance and thus less prejudice or more tolerance towards that group.

Once again translation of the scale was done by a Zulu-speaking clinical psychologist and back-translation was done by a Zulu-speaking psychologist. Administration of the social distance scale was conducted in groups in the child’s first language and items were read out by the administrators so that children could follow.

The advantage of this scale is its quick and easy administration. It has been widely used and has dominated research into prejudice for many years. There are many adaptations of this scale which demonstrates the flexibility of this technique in that it may be adapted to particular population groups and countries (Taylor et al. 1995). Taylor et al. report that it has adequate reliability and construct validity. The three-point rating scale allows for expression of behavioural intentions and attitudes to more than one group of people and is less limiting than a forced-choice instrument. For children in our context it was considered the most appropriate technique for measuring prejudicial attitudes.

The Social Distance Scale has been criticised as it fails to differentiate between the finer aspects of social differentiation. The groups are treated as single groups without defining class or gender differences within the groups (Heaven and Bezuidenhout, 1978). This is a relevant criticism as it is difficult to determine who the children are defining as belonging to a particular group especially a group such as English-speakers. Other writers (Lee, Sapp and Ray (1994)) criticise the scale on the grounds that it accesses the perceptions of the majority rather than minority groups. They recommend the inclusion of questions such as “would you mind living next to a particular group?” Practical time constraints did not allow for the inclusion of further items. This criticism requires consideration when interpreting the results.

3.5. ADMINISTRATION

The battery of instruments were administered to the children both individually and in groups. The larger study also involved questionnaires relating to race, class, gender diet and the measurement of height and weight. Before each administration children were told that the study is about children and how they think and feel. The children were encouraged to be honest and the issue of confidentiality was explained. They all received labels with an identifying number. They were also informed that if they felt uncomfortable with any of the questions they did not have to answer them.

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory and the Social Distance Scale were administered in groups by the psychology researchers. There were at least two researchers representing two race groups in each group administration. The researcher read out the questions or statements to ensure that everybody could follow.

The Social Status Technique was administered in individual interviews with each child. There was random assignment of administrators for the individual interviews. The field workers received training during a morning session from the researchers and clinical psychologists in the use of the technique prior to the collection of data. The aims of and basis for the technique was explained and demonstrated. Field workers then had a chance to practice with each other during the training and were encouraged to practice again before they administered the technique.

The field workers and research team represented both male and female, and the four race groups. They were post-graduate students from the sociology, psychology and education departments. Some of the field workers were experienced in field work with children as they had worked for a research organisation. After each administration the children were thanked for their participation.

3.6. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Statistical analysis were conducted on the data for the self-esteem, racial preference and identification and social distance separately.

For the measure of self-esteem, the analysis included a reliability analysis of the sub-scales; namely general, social, parent and academic. The lie or defensiveness scale was not included in this analysis as some of the data was incomplete. ANOVAS were conducted using the statistical package SPSS. Further analysis of self-esteem included exploration of 2-way and 3-way interactions between the variables gender, race and grade.

For the measures of social satisfaction, preference and identification, the statistical analysis included 5-way ANOVAS examining effects and interactions between race, gender, and grade. The between-group variables covered grade of subjects, sex of subjects and race of subjects. The within-group variables included the sex of the picture and the race of the pictures. The variable of socio-economic status i.e. the different sets of pictures according to income, were excluded as this would have been a third within-subjects variable, however there were no shared differences between subjects and this reduced the analyses to 5-way ANOVAS. Separate 5-way ANOVAS were run for the Preference, Satisfaction, and

Identification scores. As a 5-way ANOVA produces 31 F-tests, only the most highly significant and relevant to the hypotheses will be discussed due to the scope of this study. All significant differences will be reported (See Appendix 7).

Similarly, with the Social Distance Scale a reliability analysis was conducted on the items to determine reliability coefficients of the items which included the different categories or groups. Effects and interactions using 2-way and 3-way ANOVAS were examined.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

Statistical analysis included reliability analyses of the Culture-Free Self-Esteem (CFSEI) and the Social Distance Scale. These Cronbach Alpha Co-efficients will be presented in tables. (Table 4.1.a & b; Table 4.3.a.)

The results of the CFSEI include 2- and 3-way anovas reflecting the main effects and interactions. These will be presented as follows:

- (i) Significant effects
- (ii) Significant interaction with a bar graph
- (iii) Brief explanation will accompany each significant main effect and interaction

The results of the Social Status Technique (SST) have been divided into Satisfaction, Preference and Identification. The Between-subject anovas yielded 7 scores, namely, race, sex, grade, race by sex, race by grade, sex by grade, race by sex by grade. The within-subject anovas included the variables by sex of picture and by race of picture.

These results are presented as follows:

- (i) Significant effects only will be listed
- (ii) Significant main effects will be graphically presented with graphs
- (iii) Significant two and three-way interactions will be shown with tables and graphs
- (iv) Brief explanations will accompany each significant main effect and interaction
- (v) Significant four or five-way interactions will be mentioned only if they seem particularly relevant to the hypotheses

The Social Distance Scale results will be presented as follows:

- (i) Reliability Co-efficients (Table 4.3.a.)
- (ii) Significant main effects and interactions
- (iii) Graphic representation of the significant effects

As only the significant effects and interactions will be reported and discussed the detailed tests of significance (SST) are included in the appendix (Appendix 7).

4.1. SELF-ESTEEM

The statistical analysis of the Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory (CFSEI) included an analysis of Cronbach-alpha reliability of all the subscales and items excluding the lie scale. The lie scale was excluded from the reliability analysis as during the statistical procedures it was discovered that one item from the lie-scale was missing from the Black inventory which had been translated into Zulu. The SPSS package excludes cases if there is one item missing.

The Cronbach-alpha reliability analysis of individual items is based on 444 cases and 25 items yielded a score of alpha: 0.7302(excluding the lie items).

TABLE 4.1.a. Reliability Co-efficients by sub-scales - CFSEI

SCALE	ALPHA	No of subjects	No of items
GENERAL	0.6467	444	10
SOCIAL	0.2677	444	5
ACADEMIC	0.3485	444	5
PARENT	0.5856	444	5
LIE	0.4142	234	5
TOTAL ITEMS (Excl. LIE)	0.7302	444	25

The above co-efficients are considered to be lower than those in the manual and caution is necessary when interpreting any significant results. The reliability co-efficient for the total items(excluding lie) was 0,73 and the sub-scale reliabilities ranged from 0.3 for the Social scale to 0.59 to the Parent-related scale. The low co-efficients may be a consequence of the short scales i.e. only 5 items per scale.

TABLE 4.1.b. Inter-scale Reliability Correlations -CFSEI

	TOTAL	GENERAL	SOCIAL	ACADEMIC	PARENT
TOTAL	1.0000	0.8830**	0.6997**	0.6655**	0.5660**
GENERAL	0.8830*	1.0000	0.5401**	0.4244**	0.3123**
SOCIAL	0.6997**	0.5401**	1.0000	0.2976**	0.2022*
ACADEMI	0.6655**	0.4244**	0.2976**	1.0000	0.2823**
PARENT	0.5660**	0.3223**	0.2022*	0.2823**	1.0000

KEY:

1 = Tailed significance

* = 0.01

**= 0.001

Table 4.1.b. indicates that the four sub-scales overlap with scores between 0.2022 and 0.5401. The total (row and column) scores are bound to be high due to the fact that all the subscales contribute to this score.

SELF-ESTEEM ANOVA RESULTS

The second part of the analysis relating to self-esteem included 2-and 3-way anovas which were conducted between the total scores, and the subscales with the variables of race, sex and grade.

SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS:***Hypothesis 1:***

There is a significant difference in the level of self-esteem with respect to different race groups: White children will display higher self-esteem than Black children.

Hypothesis 2:

There is a difference in the level self-esteem of male and female children across the gender groups with boys showing more positive self-esteem.

Hypothesis 3:

There is no significant difference between the level of self-esteem of the children in grade 7 and grade 9, with children in both grades exhibiting similar levels of positive self-esteem.

The first scores on which 2 and 3-way anovas were conducted were the total scores. There were no main effects and the only interaction which was significant was race by grade.

Although it is realised that p-values do not reach 0.000, the SPSS package gives only the first three decimal places, and it is considered acceptable to use this practice.

Table 4.1.c. Tests of Significance: 2 & 3-way anova results relating to total scores -CFSEI

Source of Variation	F	Sign. F (p)
RACE	2.719	0.100
SEX	0.613	0.434
GRADE	0.606	0.437
RACE X SEX	0.169	0.682
SEX X GRADE	0.797	0.373
RACE X GRADE	8.205	0.004

Bold denotes significance at the $p \leq 0.005$ level.

Table 4.1.d. Tests of significance: 2 and 3-way Anova results relating to sub-scales-CFSEI

SOURCE OF VARIATION	F	SIGN.OF F (p)
<u>GENERAL SELF-ESTEEM</u>		
SEX	8.381	0.004
GRADE	0.778	0.378
RACE	2.197	0.139
RACE X GRADE	8.660	0.003
<u>SOCIAL SELF-ESTEEM</u>		
RACE	20.781	0.000
SEX	3.920	0.048
GRADE	0.837	0.361
<u>ACADEMIC SELF-ESTEEM</u>		
RACE	4.016	0.046
SEX	0.430	0.513
GRADE	0.169	0.618
<u>PARENT-RELATED SELF-ESTEEM</u>		
RACE	4.862	0.028
SEX	1.060	0.304
GRADE	5.133	0.024
RACE X GRADE	6.027	0.014

Bold denotes significance where $p \leq 0.001/0.005$

The analysis of the sub-scales showed the main effects to be sex, race and grade to be significantly correlated only with some of the scales.

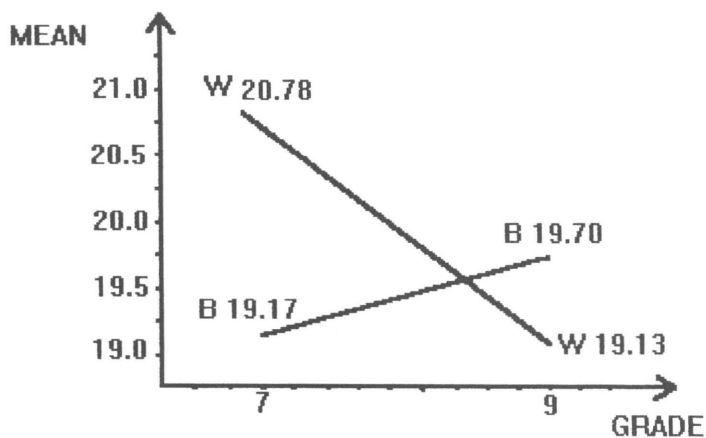
- (i) The sex of subjects was significant on the General scale ($p=0.004$) with boys scoring higher than girls.
- (ii) The sex of subjects was significant on the Social scale ($p=0.048$) with boys scoring higher than girls.
- iii) The race of subjects was significant on the Social scale ($p=0.000$) with White children scoring higher than Black children.

- (iv) The race of subjects was significant on the Academic scale ($p=0.046$) with Black children scoring higher than White children.
- (v) The race of subjects was significant on the Parent-related scale ($p= 0.028$) with Black children scoring higher than White children.
- (vi) The grade of the subjects was significant on the Parent-related scale ($p= 0.024$) with children in grade 7 scoring higher than those in grade 9.
- (vii) Race and grade of subjects was significant on the total scores($p= 0.004$), general ($p=0.003$)and parent-related ($p=0.014$) scales with White children in grade 7 scoring the highest and Whites in grade 7 scoring the lowest. Black children in grade 9 scored higher than Black children in grade 7.

TABLE 4.1.e. Total & Subscales: Means broken down by sex, race and grade

		TOTAL	GENERAL	SOCIAL	ACADEM	PARENT
SEX	M	19.89	7.81	3.70	4.01	4.39
	F	19.32	7.28	3.54	4.06	4.46
RACE	B	19.48	7.42	3.43	4.11	4.51
	W	19.70	7.64	3.89	3.92	4.31
GRADE	7	19.75	7.62	3.54	4.07	4.56
	9	19.46	7.44	3.66	4.02	4.35

Figure 4.1.a. Race X Grade Interaction with Total scores -CFSEI



KEY: B = Black children W = White children

The main interactions were a grade X race interaction with the total, general and parent-related scales. This interaction with total scores can be seen in figure 4.1.a. above.

Figure 4.1.a. shows that White children in grade 9 have the lowest level of self-esteem ($x=19.13$), followed by Black children in grade 7 ($x=19.17$) and Black children in grade 9 ($x=19.69$). White children in grade 7 have the highest self-esteem ($x= 20.78$).

4.2. SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE

4.2.1. SATISFACTION

The first aspect of the Social Status Technique deals with social satisfaction, i.e. which figures did children identify as being more satisfied and least satisfied, and whether any differences were present between the variables of race, gender and grade. The statistical analysis included between-subjects and within-subjects 5-way anovas, including sex of picture and race of picture..

Hypothesis 4:

White and Black children will render a stronger degree of social satisfaction for their own specific race group, i.e. they will tend to favour their own-race group members in terms of social satisfaction.

Hypothesis 5:

Boys and girls will indicate a stronger preference for their own gender with regard to the criteria of satisfaction and preference(status).

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant difference between the two age groups with regard to satisfaction and status with older children indicating higher scores in their selection of figures on both satisfaction and status.

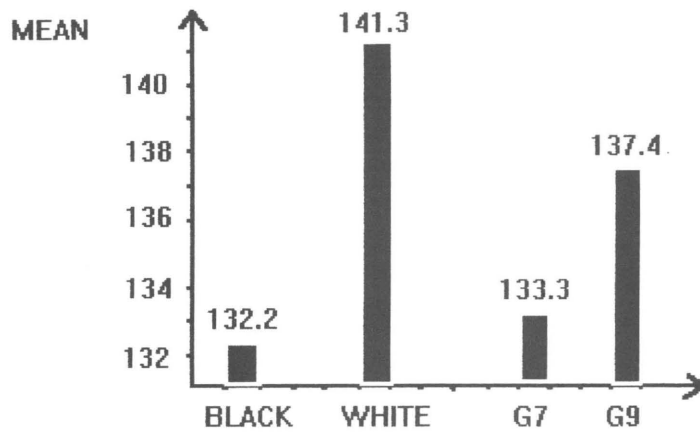
Table 4.2.1.a. presents the tests of significance of the 2 and 3-way anovas including the variables of within subjects i.e. sex of picture and race of picture. This is followed by bar graphs representing the main effects and figures showing the relevant interactions.

Table 4.2.1.a.Satisfaction:Tests of significance: 2 & 3-way anova results.

Source of Variation	F	SIGN. OF F (p)
RACE	24.51	p= 0.000
SEX	0.17	p= 0.679
GRADE	6.85	p= 0.009
RACE X SEX	4.99	p= 0.026
RACE X GRADE	1.01	p= 0.315
SEX X GRADE	2.15	p= 0.143
RACE X SEX X GRADE	0.15	p= 0.675
SEX OF PICTURE	79.04	p= 0.000
RACE X SEX OF PIC	0.34	p= 0.561
SEX X SEX OF PIC	34.20	p= 0.000
GRADE X SEX OF PIC	5.17	p= 0.024
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC	4.71	p= 0.031
RACE OF PICTURE	214.86	p= 0.000
RACE X RACE OF PIC	3.82	p= 0.022
SEX X RACE OF PIC	7.19	p= 0.001
GRADE X RACE OF PIC	1.42	p= 0.242
RACE X SEX X RACE/PIC	11.47	p= 0.000
RACE X GRADE X RACE/PIC	3.91	p= 0.020

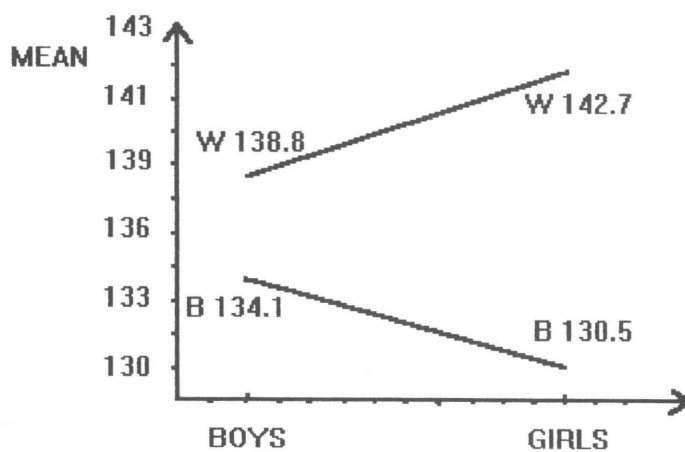
Bold denotes significance where $p < 0.005$ or 0.001 levels.

Figure 4.2.1.a. Satisfaction: Race & Grade as main effects



The main interaction of race by sex is reflected in Figure 4.2.1.b. below.

Figure 4.2.1.b. Satisfaction: Race X Sex Interaction



KEY: B= Black W= White

The 2 and 3-way anova results (between-subjects) represented above indicate the following results:

(i) The race of subjects was significant ($p=0.000$) with White children scoring higher than Black children.

(ii)The grade of subjects was significant ($p=0.009$) with children in grade 9 scoring higher than those in grade 7.

(iii)The race and sex of subjects was significant ($p=0.026$) with Whites scoring higher than Blacks, this is particularly marked for White girls. Black girls scored least of all the children.

The F-tests involving within-subjects variables, i.e. the sex of the picture and the race of the picture with the variables of race, sex and grade are presented below:

The 2 and 3-way anovas within subjects with sex of picture indicates the following:

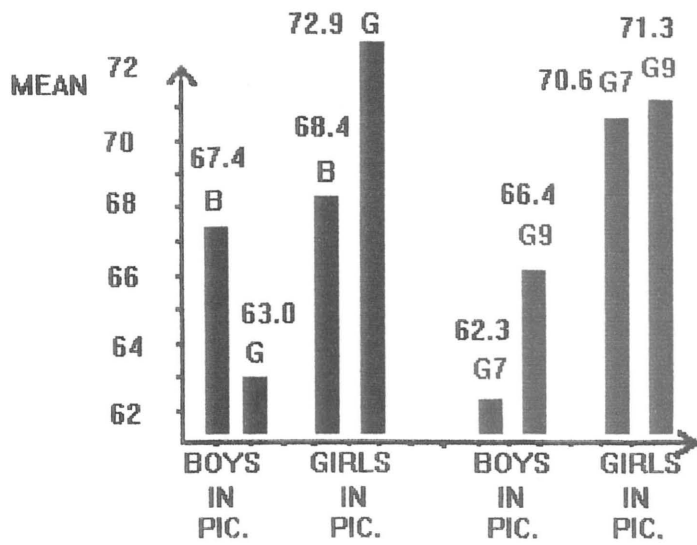
(i)The sex of subjects was significant in the selection of pictures by sex ($p=0.000$), with girls selecting female pictures more often than boys selecting female pictures.

(ii)The grade of subjects was significant in the selection of pictures by sex($p=0.024$), with children in grade 9 selecting female pictures more often than children in grade 7.

(iii)The sex and race of subjects by sex-of-picture was a significant interaction (shown in figure 4.2.1.c.) It can be seen that all children rate females-in-picture higher than males-in-picture but this is particularly so for White girls. Black boys rated males-in-picture slightly more than females-in-picture.

As can be seen in the interaction (Figure 4.2.1.c.) both White boys and girls and Black girls perceive females to be more satisfied than males. Black boys think that males are more satisfied than females however, this is a very slight difference. Black girls perceive males to be the least satisfied of all the children. White girls also think males are least satisfied. White and Black boys do not see such a great discrepancy between males and females as do the girls of both race groups.

Figure 4.2.1.c. Satisfaction: Sex & Grade effects by sex of picture



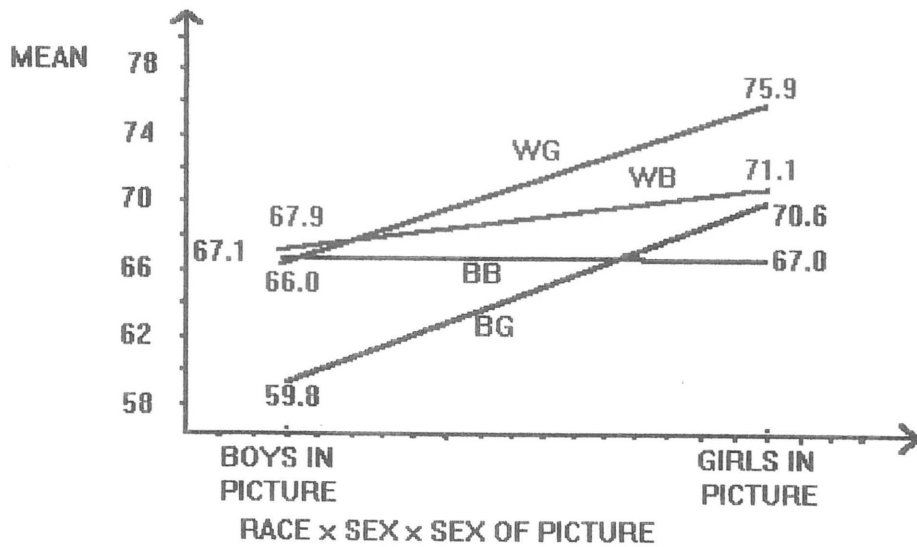
SEX EFFECT

GRADE EFFECT

KEY: B = boys
G = girls

G7 = grade 7
G9 = grade 9

Figure 4.2.1.d. Satisfaction: Race X Sex by Sex of Picture



KEY: BB = Black boys WB = White boys
BG = Black girls WG = White girls

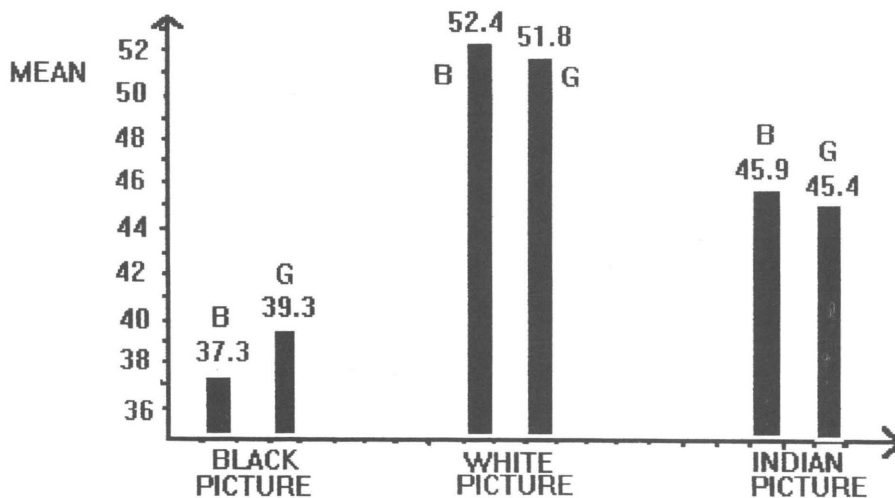
The F-tests involving within-subjects by race of picture, i.e. 2 and 3-way anovas are explained below:

(i)The race of subjects was significant in the selection of race of picture($p=0.022$), while White children gave consistently higher scores to the pictures, the difference from the Black children was largest for the White stimulus pictures.

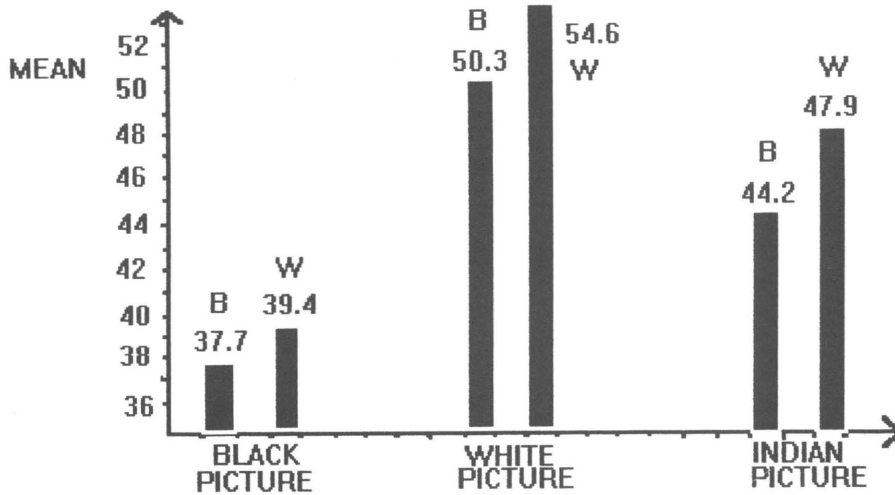
(ii)The race of the picture was significant in satisfaction($p=0.000$), with all children perceive Whites as being most satisfied, followed by Indians and then Blacks.

(iii)The sex of the subjects was significant ($p=0.001$), with both boys and girls perceiving Whites to be the most satisfied, however girls see Blacks as more satisfied than boys. Boys also see Indians as marginally more satisfied than girls.

Figure 4.2.1.e. Satisfaction: Sex by Race of Picture Effect



KEY: B = Boys G = Girls

Figure 4.2.1.f. Satisfaction: Race by Race of Picture Effect

KEY: B = Black children W = White children

The significant interactions involving race of picture included two main interactions: race and sex of subjects ($p = 0.000$) and race and grade of subjects ($p = 0.020$). Table 4.2.1.b. shows the means of the two interactions.

Table 4.2.1.b. Satisfaction-Means of Interactions by Race of Picture

		RACE OF PICTURE		
		BLACK PICS	WHITE PICS	INDIAN PICS
RACE X	Black boys	39.06	50.18	44.51
	White boys	34.07	56.44	48.42
SEX	Black girls	36.52	50.41	43.87
	White girls	42.70	53.33	47.25
RACE X	Black Gr. 7	36.50	50.06	44.04
	White Gr. 7	38.77	54.41	44.39
GRADE	Black Gr. 9	38.85	50.45	44.18
	White Gr. 9	38.46	55.30	49.71

(i) The difference between Black boys and Black girls indicates that Black boys gave higher scores to the Black stimulus pictures than Black girls.

- (ii) Black girls gave higher scores to the White stimulus pictures than Black boys.
- (iii) Of all the children, White boys consistently gave higher scores to the White pictures.
- (iv) The race by grade by race of picture interaction indicates that White children in both grade 7 and 9 consistently gave higher scores than Black children to the stimulus pictures, in particular the White pictures.
- (v) Black children in grade 9 gave the Black stimulus pictures higher scores than Black children in grade 7 and White children.
- (vi) White children see Indians as marginally more satisfied than Black children.

4.2.2. PREFERENCE

The second component of the Social Status Technique includes the preference questions. The preference questions reflect the social status attributed to the figures by the different race groups and genders. The statistical analysis was similar to the satisfaction questions and included between- and within-subject 5-way anovas.

Hypothesis 5:

Boys and girls will indicate a stronger preference for their own gender with regard to the criteria of satisfaction and preference (status)

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant difference between the two age groups with regard to satisfaction and status with older children indicating higher scores in their selection of figures

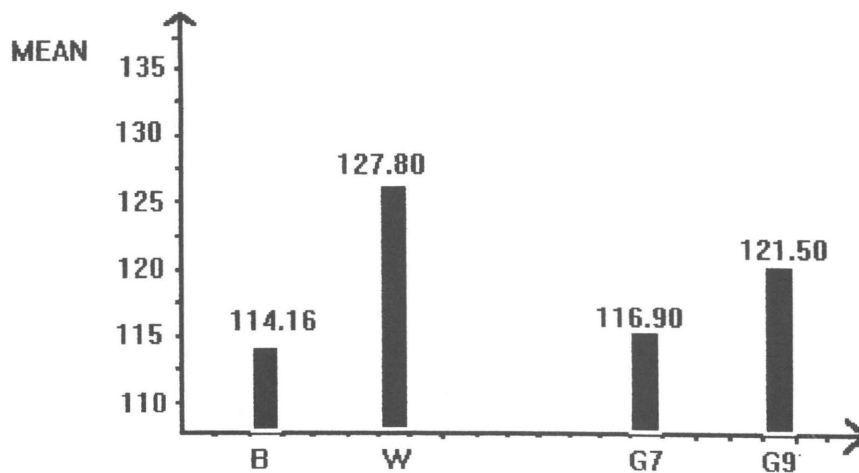
Hypothesis 7:

There will be no difference in social categorisation across the two race groups in relation to status: both race groups will perceive White status higher than Black status.

Table 4.2.2.a. presents the tests of significance of the 2 and 3-way anovas including the variables sex of picture and race of picture. This will be followed by bar graphs representing the main effects and figures showing the relevant interactions.

Table 4.2.2.a. Preference: Tests of significance 2 and 3-way anova results

<u>SOURCE OF VARIATION</u>	F	SIGN. OF F.
RACE	53.67	p= 0.000
GRADE	5.85	p= 0.016
SEX	0.05	p= 0.826
RACE X SEX	0.11	p= 0.736
RACE X GRADE	0.57	p= 0.449
SEX X GRADE	0.00	p= 0.997
RACE X SEX X GRADE	2.26	p= 0.134
SEX OF PICTURE	9.10	p= 0.003
RACE X SEX OF PIC.	5.94	p= 0.015
SEX X SEX OF PIC	29.69	p= 0.000
GRADE X SEX OF PIC	3.85	p= 0.050
RACE OF PICTURE	24.44	p= 0.000
RACE X RACE OF PIC	2.29	p= 0.102
SEX X RACE OF PIC	0.30	p= 0.740
GRADE X RACE OF PIC	1.01	p= 0.365
RACE X SEX X RACE/PIC	3.52	p= 0.030
RACE X GRADE X RACE/PIC	3.78	p= 0.023

Figure 4.2.2.a. Preference: Race and Grade as main effects**KEY:**

B= Black children W= White children

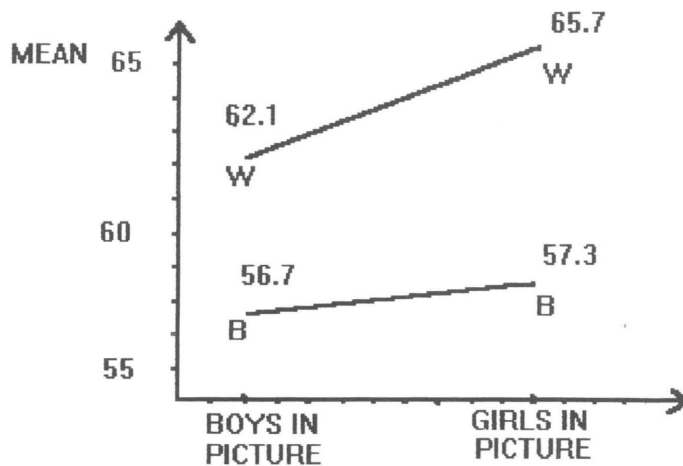
G7= Grade 7 G= Grade 9

The graph (figure 4.2.2.a.) above represents the between-subjects 2-way anova and shows the main effects.

(i) White children gave significantly higher scores than Black children on the preference questions.

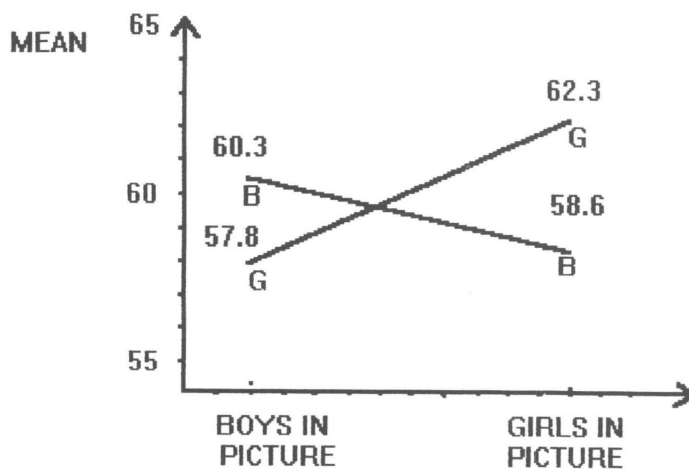
(ii) Children in grade also gave significantly higher scores than children in grade 7.

Figure 4.2.2.b. Preference: Race by Sex of Picture Effect

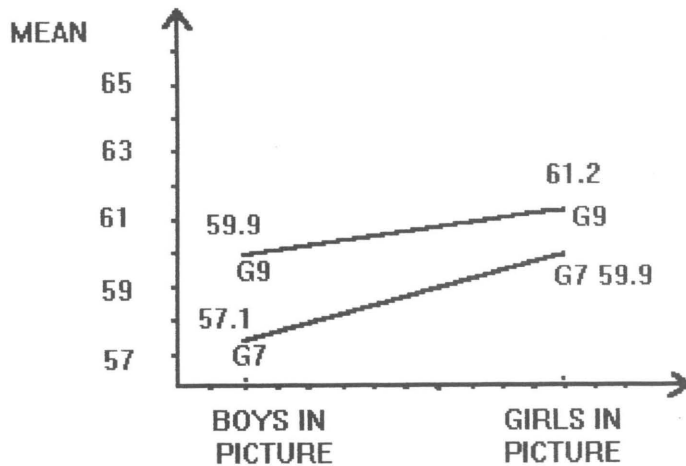


KEY: B = Black children W = White children

Figure 4.2.2.c. Preference: Sex by Sex of Picture Effect



KEY: B= boys G= girls

Figure 4.2.2.d. Preference: Grade by Sex of Picture Effect

KEY: G7 = Grade 7 G9 = Grade 9

The significant effects of the 2 and 3-way anovas with sex of picture are represented in figures 4.2.2. c and d above. The main effects with sex of picture which were significant are race, sex, and grade.

(i) The sex of the picture was significant ($p = 0.003$), with children attributing more status to girls in the picture stimulus pictures than to boys in the picture. The exception was in the sex by sex of picture anova.

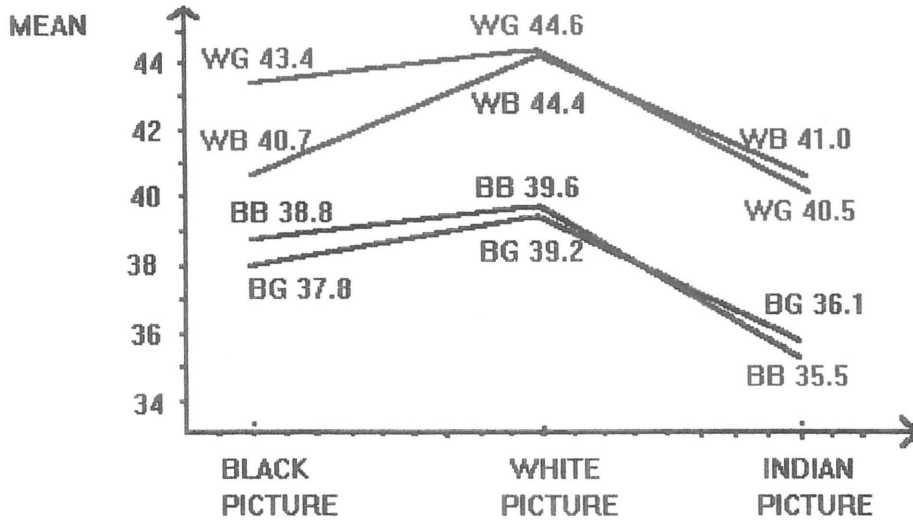
(ii) The race of subjects was significant with the sex of picture stimulus ($p = 0.015$), with White children consistently attributing higher preference scores to the pictures, the main difference being that girls in picture were given more status than boys in picture by White children.

(iii) The sex of subjects was significant in their preference with regard to sex of picture ($p = 0.000$), with boys giving higher scores to the male pictures and girls giving higher scores to the female pictures. Although the graph shows an interaction, this was not statistically significant.

(iv) The grade of subjects was significant with sex of picture ($p = 0.050$), with children in grade 9 giving higher scores than those in grade 7. Girls in picture were attributed more status than boys

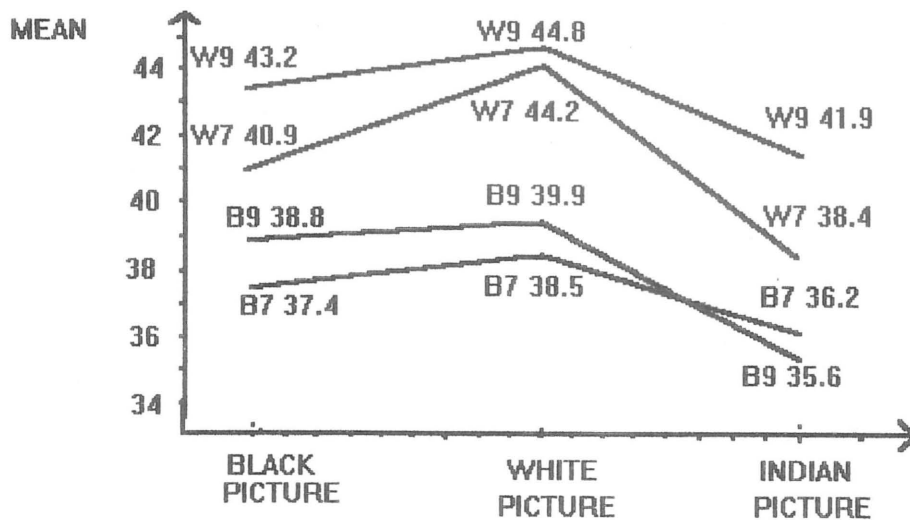
in picture by both grades, although children in grade 9 gave girls marginally higher scores than those in grade 7.

Figure 4.2.2.e. Preference: Race X Sex by Race of Picture Interaction



KEY: BB = Black boys WB = White boys BG = Black girls WG = White girls

Figure 4.2.2.f. Preference: Race X Grade by Race of Picture Interaction



KEY: B7 = Black children in Grade 7 W7 = White children in Grade 7
 B9 = Black children in Grade 9 W9 = White children in grade 9

The F-tests involving race of picture revealed no main effects, the two interactions of race x sex x race-of-picture and race x grade x race of picture were significant. (Figures 4.2.2.e and 4.2.2.f.)

- (i) The race of the picture was significant ($p= 0.000$) with White stimulus pictures being attributed more status than the other race groups. The Black stimulus pictures were attributed more status than the Indian pictures by all children.
- (ii) The race and sex of subjects was significant in the preference questions with the race of picture stimulus ($p= 0.030$), with White children consistently attributing higher scores than Black children to the race stimulus pictures, with the difference being that White girls consistently attributed higher status to the White and Black pictures than the other children. The exception being Indian pictures where White boys attributed the highest status to them. Of all the children, Black girls attributed least status to the White and Black groups. White boys attributed more status to pictures than Black children. Black girls did however attribute more status to Indian stimulus pictures than Black boys did.
- (iii) The race and grade of subjects was significant with race of picture ($p=0.023$), with White children again attributing higher scores to the three groups than Black children. The difference lie with older children attribute more status than younger children to all race groups, except the Indian pictures which were attributed the least status by Black children in grade 9.

4.2.3. IDENTIFICATION

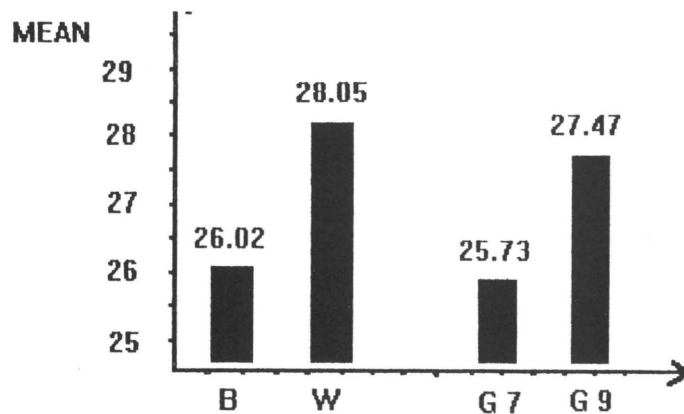
This section relates to the final question of the Social Status Technique, namely, Which figure is most like you? The statistical analysis similarly to satisfaction and preference included between and within-subjects 2- and 3-way anovas to reveal main effects and interactions.

Hypothesis 8:

In relation to identification, children's highest identification score will be for figures of their own race and gender.

Table 4.2.3.a. Identification: Tests of significance: 2-and 3-way anova results

<u>SOURCE OF VARIATION</u>	F	SIGN. OF F.
RACE	7.28	p=0.007
SEX	2.07	p=0.151
GRADE	9.98	p=0.002
SEX OF PICTURE	7.31	p=0.007
RACE X SEX OF PIC	4.60	p=0.033
SEX X SEX OF PIC	254.39	p=0.000
GRADE X SEX OF PIC	1.84	p=0.176
RACE X SEX X SEX OF PIC	23.07	p=0.000
RACE OF PICTURE	24.59	p=0.000
RACE X RACE OF PIC	214.22	p=0.000
SEX X RACE OF PIC	7.41	p=0.001
GRADE X RACE OF PIC	0.92	p=0.401

Figure 4.2.3.a. Identification: Race & Grade as main effects

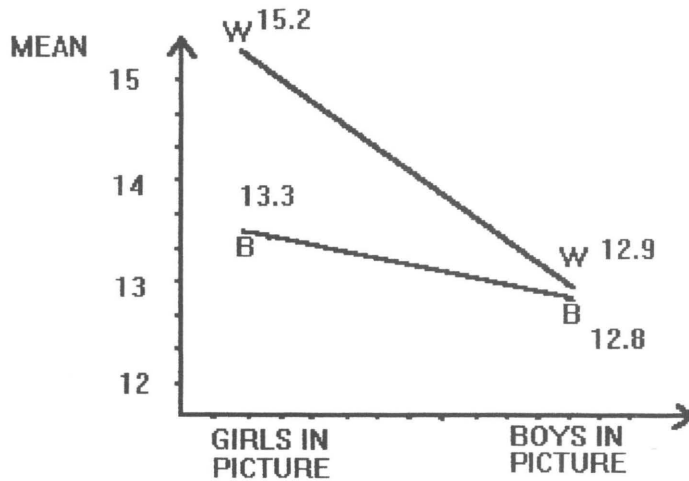
KEY: B = Black children G7 = Grade 7
W = White children G9 = Grade 9

The above graph (figure 4.2.3.a) represents the between-subjects 2-way anova and indicated the main effects:

(i) The race of subjects was significant ($p=0.007$), with White children giving higher scores than Black children on the identification question.

(ii) The grade of subjects was significant ($p=0.002$), with children in grade 9 scoring higher than those in grade 7.

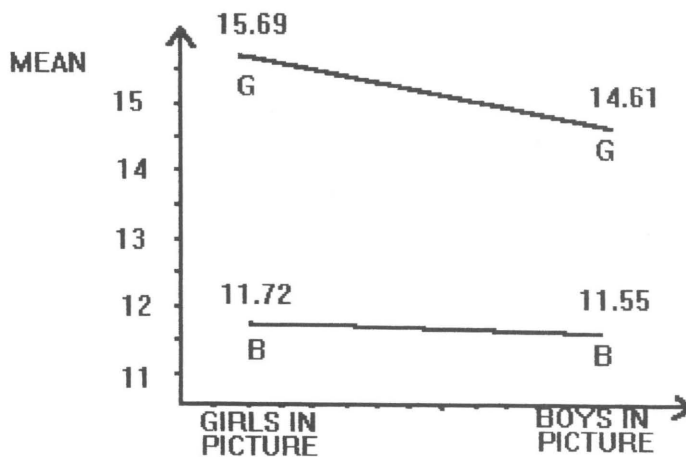
Figure 4.2.3.b. Identification: Race by Sex of Picture Effect



KEY: B = Black children

W = White children

Figure 4.2.3.c. Identification: Sex by Sex of Picture Effect



KEY: B = Boys

G = Girls

The significant effects of the 2- and 3-way ANOVA with sex-of-picture show the following:

(i) The sex of the picture was significant ($p=0.007$), with girls in the picture receiving higher scores than boys in the picture.

(ii) The race of the subjects by sex of the picture was significant ($p=0.033$), with White children identifying with girls in the picture more strongly than Black children. The difference between Black and White children in identifying with boys in the picture was marginal.

(iii) The sex of the subjects with sex of picture was significant ($p=0.000$), with girls giving consistently higher scores to both sex of picture stimulus pictures than boys, the main difference being that girls identified with girls in picture significantly more than with boys in picture.

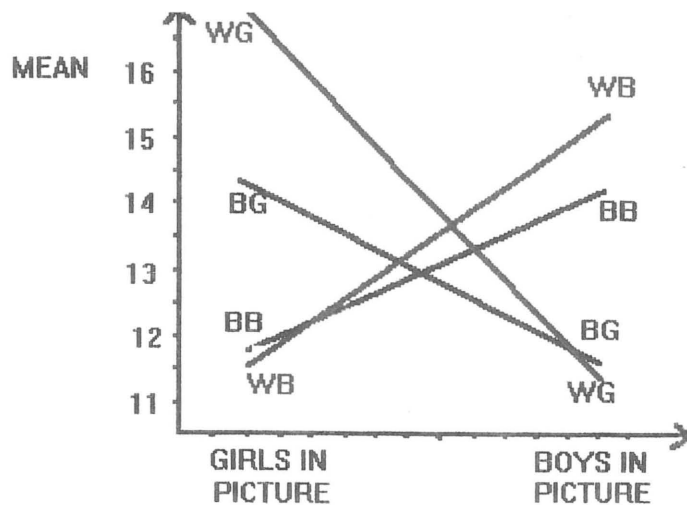
Although boys identified more with boys in picture than with girls in picture this difference was marginal.

The main interaction with sex of picture was a race by sex interaction.

Table 4.2.3.b. Identification: Means of race x sex x sex of picture interaction

	SEX OF PICTURE	
	MALE	FEMALE
Black boys	14.18	11.80
White boys	15.39	11.56
Black girls	11.64	14.42
White girls	11.43	17.31

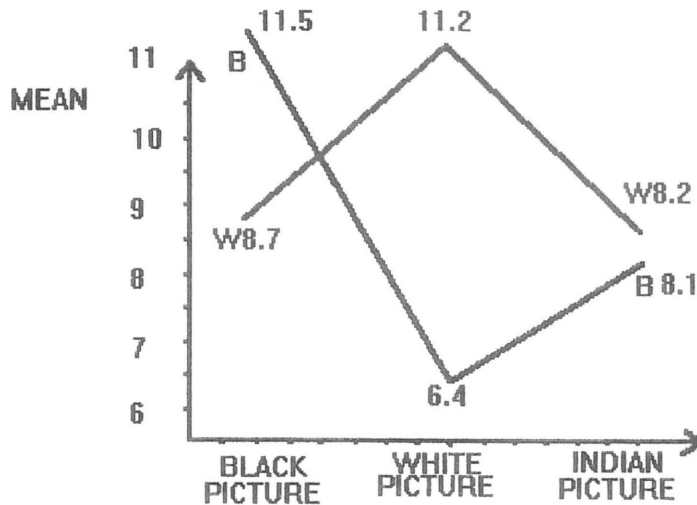
Figure 4.2.3.d. Identification: Race X Sex by Sex of Picture Interaction



KEY: BB = Black boys BG = Black girls WB = White boys WG = White girls

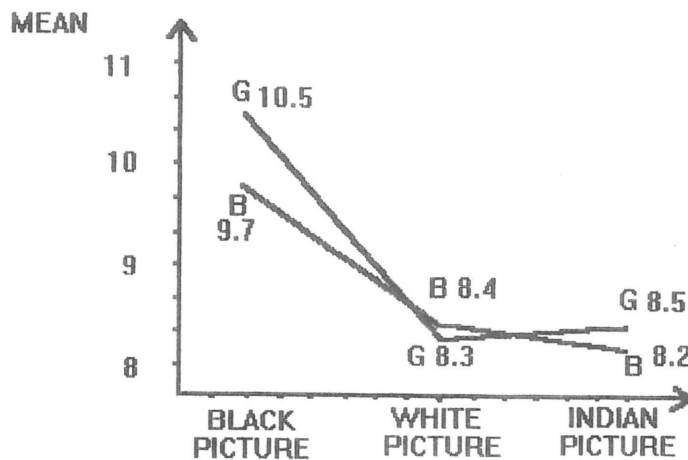
The race x sex x sex of picture interaction is significant ($p=0.000$) with White and Black girls identifying with girls in picture, the main difference being that White girls scored higher than Black girls. White and Black boys identified with boys in picture, with White boys scoring higher than Black boys. White girls showed the lowest identification with boys in picture.

Figure 4.2.3.e. Identification: Race by Race of Picture Effect



KEY: B = Black children W = White children

Figure 4.2.3.f. Identification: Sex by Race of Picture Effect



KEY: B= Boys G = Girls

The 2- and 3-way anovas with race of picture indicated 2 main effects , namely race and grade:

(i)The race of the subjects was significant with race of picture ($p = 0.000$), with Black children identifying with Black pictures and White children identifying with White pictures.

Black children identified with the Black marginally more than White children identified with White pictures. White children identified with Black picture marginally more than with Indian pictures. Black children identified with Indian pictures significantly more than with White pictures.

(ii)The sex of the subjects was significant ($p= 0.001$), with both boys and girls identifying significantly more with Black pictures than with any of the other pictures. Boys identified with the White pictures marginally more than girls, while girls scored higher on Indian pictures than boys. However, these differences between boys and girls with White and Indian pictures was minimal.

4.3. SOCIAL DISTANCE

A reliability analysis was conducted on the Social Distance scale and was based on 258 subjects.

The Cronbach reliability coefficients for each subscale are presented in Table 4.3.a. below.

Table 4.3.a. Reliability Co-Efficients-Social Distance

Russians	English	Afrik	Black	Indian	Coloured	Poor	Rich
0.8682	0.9048	0.9483	0.9548	0.9027	0.9264	0.9199	0.8991

These co-efficients are high indicating that inter-item reliability is good.

There were three main effects on the social distance scale, namely race, sex and grade. These are presented in Table 4.3.b.

Hypothesis 9:

There is a difference in children across the different racial groups regarding racial prejudice: White children will display higher levels of social distance than Black children, i.e. White children will show more prejudice than Black children.

Hypothesis 10:

There is no significant gender difference in the degree of racial prejudice with boys and girls manifesting similar levels of prejudice.

Hypothesis 11:

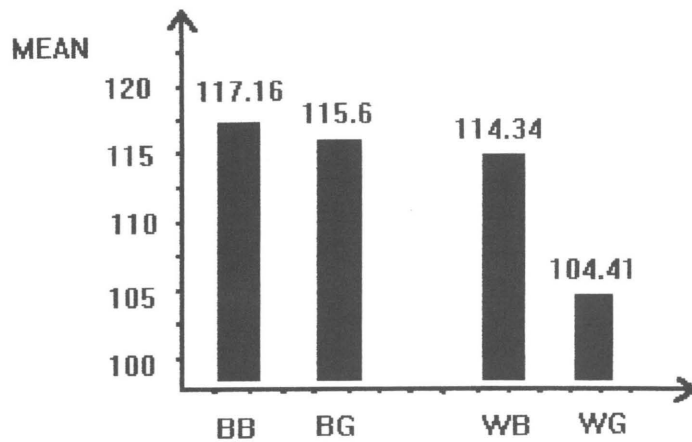
There is a difference in racial prejudice between the two age groups with the children in grade 9 showing less prejudice than the children in grade 7.

Table 4.3.b. Social Distance: Tests of significance: 2 & 3-way anova results (total scores)

		MEANS	F	SIGN. OF F.
SEX	M	116.35	5.950	p= 0.015
	F	112.66		
RACE	B	116.37	17.976	p= 0.000
	W	109.60		
GRADE	7	112.38	8.048	p= 0.005
	9	115.14		
RACE X SEX			4.417	p= 0.037

The 2-an d 3-way anovas represented above suggest the following results:

- (i)The sex of subjects was significant with social distance ($p= 0.015$), with boys showing greater social distance scores than girls.
- (ii)The race of subjects was significant in social distance ratings ($p=0.000$), with Black children scoring higher on social distance than White children.
- (iii)The grade of subjects was significant with social distance ($p=0.005$), with children in grade 9 indicating a higher social distance score than those in grade 7.
- (iv)The race and sex of subjects interaction was significant ($p=0.037$), with Black boys scoring the highest social distance, followed by Black girls and White boys, while White girls scored the lowest social distance scores. The difference between Black girls and White boys is marginal with the main difference being between Black boys and White girls.(Figure 4.3.a.)

Figure 4.3.a. Social Distance: Race X Sex Interaction

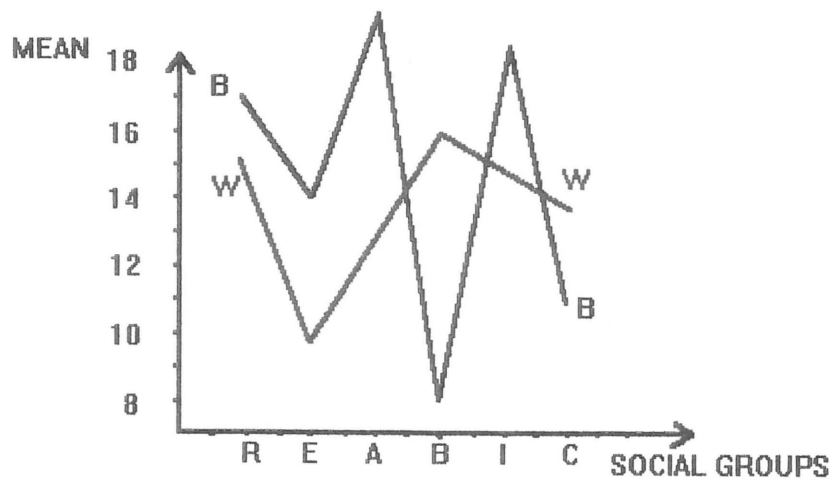
KEY: BB= Black Boys BG = Black Girls
 WB = White Boys WG = White Girls

Table 4.3.c. Tests of significance: 2& 3-way anova results broken down by race groups

Source of Variation	F	significance of F
Race X English	47.563	0.000
Race X Afrikaans	198.477	0.000
Race X Blacks	230.869	0.000
Race X Indians	54.971	0.000
Race X Coloured	21.810	0.000
Sex X Black	5.743	0.017
Grade X English	15.198	0.000
Grade X Afrikaans	2.070	0.151 n/s
Grade X Blacks	8.579	0.004
Grade X Indians	.273	0.602 n/s
Grade X Coloured	5.815	0.017

Table 4.3.d. Social Distance: Means of main effects broken down by race groups

		English	Afrikaans	Black	Indian	Coloured
SEX	M	12.81	18.24	11.10	17.72	12.52
	F	12.79	18.06	10.16	17.19	12.78
RACE	B	14.00	19.58	8.82	18.20	11.79
	W	9.16	13.82	16.07	15.16	14.93
GRADE	7	12.74	19.86	7.39	18.41	10.77
	9	12.82	17.86	11.39	17.17	13.21

Figure 4.3.b. Social Distance: Race by Race Groups - main effect

KEY: B = Black children W = White children
 R = Russians E = English-speakers A = Afrikaans-speakers
 B = Blacks I = Indians C = Coloureds

The results of the 2- and 3-way anovas when categorised by the race groups indicate the following findings:

(i) The race of the subjects is significant with each race group ($p = 0.000$), with both Black and White children showing social distance towards each of the race groups. Black children show higher scores than White children towards all race groups except Blacks and Coloureds where

White children showed higher scores. Black children showed the greatest social distance towards Afrikaans-speakers, followed by the Indian group. White children indicated the greatest social distance towards the Black group, followed by the Indian group.

(ii) The sex of the subjects was significant only towards the Black group ($p= 0.017$), with boys evidencing higher social distance than girls towards the Black group.

(iii) The grade of subjects was significant towards all race groups except the Afrikaans speakers and the Indians. Children in grade 9 showed greater social distance than those in grade 7, with the main differences being towards the Black and Indian groups. The difference towards English-speakers was only marginal with older children scoring higher.

Appendix 7 includes detailed tests of significance for the Social Status Technique.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

5.1. SELF-ESTEEM

Hypothesis 1:

There is a significant difference in the level of self-esteem with respect to different race groups: White children will display higher self-esteem than Black children.

The results contradict the hypothesis as no significant difference between the level of general and total self-esteem scores was found suggesting that both Black and White children have similar levels of positive general self-esteem. However, the Social subscale yielded a difference between Black and White children, with White children showing more positive Social self-esteem than Black children. On the Academic and Parent-related sub-scales, the opposite was evidenced where Black children scored more positively than White children.

These findings seem to be consistent with international trends and later research in South Africa. For example, Heaven & Niewoudt (1981) and Edwards (1984) found positive self-esteem among Black university students. This was concluded to be a consequence of the Black Consciousness Movement. In the current social climate of social and political change, it is emphasised that apartheid and prejudice are unacceptable. This notion appears to be infiltrating through to the schools and could therefore be affecting the levels of self-esteem among Black children in a positive manner. It seems that children are being taught at schools that they are all equal and that prejudice is wrong and unfair. It is therefore possible that children are responding to these teachings and as a result, are showing similar positive self-esteem levels. This also implies that Black children are not expressing feelings of inferiority and worthlessness as postulated by the theory of oppression and discrimination.

The positive Social self-esteem among White children may be understood by their experience, in that they are accustomed to expressing a western notion of social identity. On the other hand, Black children who have only recently come into contact with western ideas and culture by entering mixed schools, are becoming aware of a social identity which may differ from their experience and culture. They therefore may be feeling less confident in a social context. However, the sample includes Black children mainly from Black schools, suggesting that their lower Social self-esteem may be linked to the prejudice and discrimination to which they were exposed and where they were not encouraged to express themselves in a social context.

The findings on the Academic and Parent-related subscales where Black children scored higher than White children are consistent with Howcroft (1990), who found elevated levels of academic self-esteem among Black students which she commented, was a result of the attitude within the Black community towards education. Black students at universities are conferred a higher status by the community because it was a rarity under the previous government and because education is highly valued. Heaven et al. (1984) also observed that there was a higher academic motivation among Black students which could be indicative of pressure from parents and the community.

It is difficult to determine, purely on the basis of self-esteem scores, the reasons for the levels without considering the effects of other factors such as parental influence and social context. The Parent-related self-esteem scale and the Academic scale may be related to each other in the case of Black children, who may be perceiving pressure from their community and parents to achieve academically. There is a high value placed on education by the Black community, many of whom did not receive an education. This attitude may be expressed to the children. The current social changes may be influencing White children negatively, as previously they perceived themselves to be superior and having advantages which are no longer relevant. White children may also be exposed to their parents attitudes and feelings about the changes and may be influenced by their expectations to do well.

Hypothesis 2:

There is a difference in the level self-esteem of male and female children across the gender groups with boys showing more positive self-esteem.

The results supported this hypothesis, with boys showing higher levels than girls on the General and Social self-esteem scales. The fact that boys have a more positive self-esteem than girls could be a reflection of a patriarchal society where boys are valued more than girls and are expected to be dominant. Their higher Social self-esteem is surprising because the popular belief that women are more verbal and socially skilled than men is clearly not being expressed here (Janeway, 1984, in Doyle, 1985). It may be that girls are dominated by boys at this stage of their development where identity formation is being negotiated.

Hypothesis 3:

There is no significant difference between the level of self-esteem of the children in grade 7 and grade 9, with children in both grades exhibiting similar levels of positive self-esteem.

The results contradict this hypothesis on all the sub-scales except the Parent-related scale. Children in grade 9 showed more positive self-esteem on all the subscales except the Parent-related one where children in grade 7 indicated higher levels than those in grade 9. Children in grade 9 may be experiencing more positive levels of self-esteem as their identity formation is more developed than those in grade 7, who are still cognitively immature. It is possible that children entering the higher grade experience more pressure and increased expectations from parents and teachers to perform well at school. It could also suggest that as children get older they become more aware of their parent's expectations and cognitively can understand what these expectations mean.

Despite the “culture-free” criticisms, it is important to consider the implications of the findings on the Parent-related scale which suggest that White children perceive that they are not pleasing their parents or meeting their parents expectations of them. In light of the high suicide rate among matric students, it is possible that parental pressure (although not solely responsible) may be a factor requiring consideration.

When the sample of children was further categorised by race and grade a significant difference was found between the two age groups. The main interaction of race by grade (Fig. 4.1.a.) indicates that White children in grade 9 have the lowest level of self-esteem while White children in grade 7 have the highest level. Something appears to occur, which results in a decrease in self-esteem as White children become older. In contrast, the Black children’s level of self-esteem increases with age from grade 7 to 9 which may be a result of the expected developmental progress. This is consistent with previous research (Aboud, 1988; Katz, 1988) which suggests that Black children’s self-esteem increases as their own-group identification increases with age. Although it cannot be conclusively stated that the Black children’s self-esteem increased due to an increase in own-group identification, there is some support for this in the Identification results from the Social Status Technique. These results indicated that children in grade 9 identified more strongly with the Black figures than those in grade 7.

The decrease in self-esteem in White children could be explained in many different ways. However, it is posited that they are becoming increasingly aware of the changes in the social structures via their parents and the media, and this may be negatively influencing how they see themselves. Their previous perception implied that White people are secure in their status and have opportunities available to them. The current changes in society may be challenging this perception and it is possible that the attitudes which are being transferred from their parents is being reflected in the children’s self-esteem, i.e. they may be feeling threatened in their attempt to understand themselves in this new social structure.

5.2.1. SOCIAL SATISFACTION

Hypothesis 4:

White and Black children will render a stronger degree of social satisfaction for their own specific race group, i.e. they will tend to favour their own-race group members in terms of social satisfaction.

The findings did not support hypothesis 4. All children perceived that White people are more satisfied than Black people. White people are considered to be the most socially satisfied, followed by Indian people and then Black people. This is true for Black and White children and boys and girls (Fig.4.2.1.c.). However, there is a difference between White and Black children and between girls and boys. White children gave consistently higher scores to the White, Indian and Black figures than Black children. Girls selected Black pictures more than boys while boys gave higher scores to White pictures more than girls (Graph 4.2.1.d.).

There is also an interaction between race and sex (Graph 4.2.1.f.) suggesting differences between Black boys and girls, and White boys and girls, and who they perceive to be more satisfied. The race and sex of the figure were significant variables in social satisfaction. Therefore, White children showed greater own-group preference or favouritism than Black children, and girls indicated a greater own-gender preference than boys on social satisfaction. Of all the children, Black girls selected boys as being the least satisfied. It appears that Black girls are aware of the differences between the genders, this could be as a result of the stage of adolescent identity formation where girls identify with girls and boys identify with boys. Politshwa et al.(1994) found that gender bias increases with age and that older children seem to be more aware of sex differences than any other social difference.

This appears to be an accurate reflection of South African society where Whites have always had all the advantages, followed by Indians and then the Blacks. The difference between boys and girls is an interesting one and difficult to interpret. It may be noted that girls were less prejudiced than boys as suggested by the Social Distance findings. It is hypothesised that girls are more tolerant than boys or that they are less likely to express socially undesirable attitudes. Possibly boys may be more competitive and are attempting to enhance their own self-concept or self-esteem by comparing themselves more favourably with other races.

Similarly, the difference between Black and White children may be explained by the own-group identification theory. Many researchers have found that White children express more favourable attitudes towards their own group than Black children (Clark, Hocevar & Dembo, 1980, in Smith, 1994). They suggest that for minority children, ethnic development entails dealing with a sense of rejection of their ethnic group, while for majority children identity and ethnic group is positively reinforced and validated by the group and the social structures.

Hypothesis 5:

Boys and girls will indicate a stronger preference for their own gender with regard to the criteria of satisfaction and preference(status).

Support for hypothesis 5 was not evidenced in the results for social satisfaction. Females in the picture were identified by all children to be more satisfied than males in the picture. In the interaction race by sex (Graph 4.2.1.d.), the only group which identifies boys as more satisfied than girls, were the Black boys. Although this is a slight difference it is the only one which supports hypothesis 5.

This gender effect is interesting as the Black boys may be reflecting the patriarchal nature of their culture or community where women are perceived to have a lower status

than men and where women do experience physical hardships. Black boys may be expressing this attitude where they perceive themselves to be more satisfied. The rest of the subjects, Black girls, White boys and girls, may be reflecting the culture of western society, where for example, girls are seen as doing better at school, and having less physical hardships than boys.

White girls attributed the highest satisfaction to females, followed by Black girls. It appears that gender stereotypes are strongly entrenched in these children. Other researchers also found a gender bias (Turner & Brown, 1978; Van Kippenburg, 1984; in Politshwa et al., 1994) and postulated that it could be explained by the finding that lower status groups such as women show more in-group favouritism than higher status groups.

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant difference between the two age groups with regard to satisfaction and status with older children indicating higher scores in their selection of figures on both satisfaction and status.

A difference between the younger and older children was found in support of hypothesis 6. The difference appears to lie in the degree of perception, rather than a difference in race or gender. It appears that as children get older they have a stronger perception that females are more satisfied, as more children in grade 9 selected female figures than in grade 7. As they get older, children may become more cognitively aware of the differences between men and women, as gender identity is negotiated during the ages of 14/15 years and they are comparing themselves according to the criteria of gender. Although the social cognitive framework suggested that prejudice decreases with age, gender discrimination or awareness seems to increase with age (Politshwa et al, 1994, Aboud 1988, 1995).

5.2.2. PREFERENCE - SOCIAL STATUS

Hypothesis 5:

Boys and girls will indicate a stronger preference for their own gender with regard to the criteria of satisfaction and preference(status).

The findings support Hypothesis 5 in relation to preference. Although, similarly to satisfaction, females in the picture are attributed with a higher social status than males by both race groups. With regard to boys and girls, both attributed more status to their own gender (Table 4.2.2.a.). The difference with the satisfaction findings is that boys attribute more status to their own gender, but perceive girls (females) to be more satisfied. This is an interesting finding in light of the result that boys have a more positive self-esteem than girls. It appears that self-esteem may be related to status but not to social satisfaction.

It appears that the difference between boys and girls is more relevant than is the difference between Black children and White children, in certain contexts as noted by Davey (1983). This suggests that gender stereotypes and issues play a more significant role in children's perceptions than does race. It may also be that there is less stigma attached to expressing gender stereotypes or sexism issues in comparison to overt racism, which is unacceptable in the present climate (Reid, 1988). This is in accordance with international research where a gender bias was most relevant and significant and generally increased with age (Politshwa et al., 1984).

Hypothesis 6:

There will be a significant difference between the two age groups with regard to satisfaction and status with older children indicating higher scores in their selection of figures on both satisfaction and status.

Hypothesis 6 was supported by the results (Fig. 4.2.2.d.). Older children (grade 9) in this study attributed more social status to females than did children in grade 7 implying that there is an age difference. This was similar to the satisfaction findings where the older children attributed higher status to females than the younger children.

Another significant finding was that children in grade 9, that is, the older children showed the least preference for the Indian pictures of all the other children. This could imply that as they get older, Black children become more prejudiced in their attitude or belief and their preference for their own-group becomes stronger, as found by Aboud (1988). Alternatively, they may be attempting to enhance their own identity by decreasing the status of the Indian group which historically was slightly more advantaged than they were.

The Social Cognitive framework postulates, that as children mature and develop cognitively, they are better able to differentiate between race groups and understand the similarities (Aboud, 1995). In this regard, the findings of this study do not support this notion, as they are inconsistent. There are other factors influencing the children's selection of figures such as the apartheid ideology with its entrenched attitudes. It seems that children have not been in close contact with other races for long enough for the old ideas to be challenged and changed.

Hypothesis 7:

There will be no difference in social categorisation across the two race groups in relation to status: both race groups will perceive White status higher than Black status.

The results of this analysis confirm hypothesis 7. There is however, a slightly different trend for satisfaction. Both Black and White children attribute the most status to the White figures followed by the Black figures and then the Indian figures. Although, the

race by race of picture effect is not significant, it is an interesting finding, as it seems to suggest that both Black and White children bestow the least status to the Indian figures (Fig. 4.2.2.e.), although they recognised that the Indian figures were more satisfied than the Black figures. This may suggest prejudice towards the Indian race group or it may reflect the attitude of the geographic region where the Indian population are a greater numerical group than elsewhere in the country. In other words, there may be a perception of a perceived threat or a conflict for resources from the Indian group by the other race groups.

The interaction race by sex by race of picture (Fig. 4.2.2.e.) indicates that White boys and Black girls attributed more status to Indian figures than White girls and Black boys. This race and gender difference is interesting, yet difficult to understand. It seems that White girls who attributed more status to Black pictures than any of the other children, preferred the out-group (Blacks) to the Indian group to a greater degree than the rest of the children. This is in accordance with the Social Distance results where White girls were the least prejudiced. Blacks boys may have attributed the least status to the Indian pictures as a means of enhancing their own status. Black girls too, attributed, the least status to Indian figures.

The results seem to provide some support for Social Identity Theory which states that people will always discriminate in favour of their own in-group in order to enhance their social identity, regardless of the reality. Alternatively, it may be expressing a wish on the part of minority children to be part of the majority group which influences them, and to distance themselves from their own group and other minority groups. (Aboud, 1988).

A further interesting issue which arises from this finding, is that the social status or preference questions are equally divided into present and predictive scenarios. For example, "who is likely to be more successful?" or "who is likely to have the best job?". It seems that children of both race groups perceive that Whites will still have more status in the future, despite the current changes and the fact that the current president of the

country is Black. This implies that attitudes are strongly entrenched and may be difficult to change, possibly requiring proactive intervention.

The above findings provide some evidence for social identity theory when it relates to status, but not when it relates to satisfaction. Variables such as class, socio-economic, social and political factors still play a prominent role in the perceptions of children.

5.2.3. IDENTIFICATION

Hypothesis 8:

In relation to identification, children's highest identification score will be for figures of their own race and gender.

Hypothesis 8 was supported by the results (Fig.4.2.3.b.). Children of both races and genders identified with their own race group and gender. The significant difference between Black children and White children was in the identification with the Indian figures. Black children identified first with the Black pictures followed by the Indian pictures and then White pictures, while White children identified first with the White figures, then the Black and finally the Indian figures. Although, this is interesting when compared with status, where Indians were attributed the least status by both race groups, it is in accordance with the expected hypothesis.

It seems that Black children identified according to skin colour, while White children identified with the other race groups on some other basis. Alternatively, this could reflect that prejudice toward the Indian group by White children is greater than towards the Black group. Another explanation could be, that White children are expressing a socially desirable response in line with the culture of political correctness of the White society at present.

The finding that children's own-group identification increases with age among minority children (Aboud, 1988) is reflected in this study, although the reasons for this are not clear. It may be explained by the Cognitive Development model, which posits that as children mature cognitively, they are able to attribute positive evaluations to their own group (Aboud, 1995). Furthermore, it may be the current social context which South Africa is experiencing.

White girls exhibit a higher identification with the Black figures than the White boys, and they identified least with the White figures (Fig. 4.2.3.e.). Again, it appears that girls are identifying with the previously disadvantaged group, suggesting less prejudice.

Foster (1986), found that Black children show accurate own-identification, but that with preference they show out-group or White-group preference. This appears to be similar to the findings of this study where Black children identified with their own-group, but showed a preference for the White figures in terms of satisfaction and preference (status).

5.3. SOCIAL DISTANCE

Hypothesis 9:

There is a difference in children across the different racial groups regarding racial prejudice: White children will display higher levels of social distance than Black children, i.e. White children will show more prejudice than Black children.

Hypothesis 9 was contradicted by the results with Black children showing greater social distance than White children and thereby, implying greater prejudice towards all race groups (Table 4.3.b.). The greatest social distance was expressed towards the Afrikaans-speaking group, followed by the Indian group (Fig.4.3.b.). The prejudice towards Afrikaans people is to be expected in terms of the past, where they were the people in

power and the oppressors of the Black people. The prejudice of Black children may be an expression of resentment towards their previous oppressors.

The prejudice towards the Indian group is interesting as they were also victims of the apartheid government. It is possible that, although they were discriminated against, it was to a lesser degree than the Black people. Furthermore, Indian people may be perceived as lacking in empathy towards Black people as they did not actively support Black people and maintained a social distance from them.

Social Identity theory postulates that people will compare themselves to, and favour their own group, in order to make themselves feel better and enhance their own status (Hogg et al, 1995). It is therefore, possible that Black children express this prejudice towards the Indian group in order to show their resentment against a group who are also racially different, but whose experience of apartheid was less extreme and who treated Black people as inferior to themselves.

Earlier research (Macrone, 1936-1944) found that White people displayed higher social distance between themselves and Black people and that Black people showed less social distance towards White people. The present study's findings indicate the opposite. Black children are now showing more prejudice than White children and a high degree of racial identity by identifying with their own group and showing the least social distance towards their own group. These findings appear to imply that White children's attitudes, although still prejudiced, seem to be less extreme than those of Black children, and differ from previous findings where it was found that White attitudes were stable. There does seem to be some shift in attitudes, especially among girls.

Hypothesis 10:

There is no significant gender difference in the degree of racial prejudice with boys and girls manifesting similar levels of prejudice.

Hypothesis 10 was contradicted by the findings (Table 4.3.b.) with boys scoring higher social distance scores than girls. It is possible that boys are traditionally thought to be more competitive (Doyle, 1985), and in conflict for resources and therefore need to compare themselves more favourably to other groups in order to perceive themselves as better. Girls, on the other hand, are thought to be more tolerant and less competitive and thus do not express prejudice as strongly (Rosenkrantz et al., 1968). It cannot however be stated that they are not prejudiced instead, that they may perceive it to be socially inappropriate to respond in a prejudiced manner.

Hypothesis 11:

There is a difference in racial prejudice between the two age groups with the children in grade 9 showing less prejudice than the children in grade 7.

Hypothesis 11 was contradicted by the results in which children in grade 9 showed more social distance than those in grade 7 towards all groups, except the Afrikaans and Indian groups. Children in grade 9 showed more prejudice towards the Afrikaans groups than did the grade 7's (Table 4.3.d.). This finding differs to international research which indicates that as children get older and become more capable of discriminatory thinking, their prejudice decreases (Aboud, 1988; Doyle & Aboud, 1991). It is possible, that in light of the social and political changes, the older children are becoming more aware, through their parents and friends, of these changes occurring and are feeling threatened and vulnerable in relation to their position in society. This could be increasing their prejudice as they no longer feel certain of their status. Previously they were reared in a society which indoctrinated a sense that Black people are inferior and White people superior and were assured of optimal opportunities in the society. With the current changes, where all people have access to opportunities coupled with affirmative action, White people may be expressing fear and resentment which children are reflecting by their social distance scores.

These are tentative explanations as much more information is required before it can be stated why children are showing greater prejudice as they get older. Younger children may be displaying less prejudice because they are not yet competing, and are only playing with other children. Their cognitive processes are not yet developed to the extent that they are aware of the implications of change.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the children expressed their feelings in a strong manner. The responses required children to respond either by saying “no”, “many”, or “few,” about members of other race groups. Most children selected the extreme response of “no members” suggesting that they have strong opinions.

A factor requiring comment of a qualitative nature was that, in one of the questionnaires compiled by the sociology department, where children were asked if it was acceptable for people of different colour to marry, most children responded in the affirmative. Yet, on the Social Distance Scale, in response to the question of whether they would accept marriage into another race group, most children responded “no members”, indicating that they would not accept marriage with someone of another race. It is possible that the more anonymous questionnaire allowed children to answer more honestly than in the one-to-one interview. It seems that children in this sample are not more discriminating as they get older, instead they seem to be more prejudiced than the younger group.

5.4. SUMMARY

The results of the CFSEI seem to indicate that older White children have lower levels of self-esteem than the younger children, which would support the explanation that the older children are reflecting the changes occurring in the country and their uncertainty about the future. The preference or social status results showed that Black children perceive White people to have more status and in the predictive questions they perceive Whites will continue to have more status in the future. This suggests, that although there

are changes occurring in the status of Black people these changes are not yet sufficiently entrenched to have changed perceptions and attitudes of Black children, or that these changes are not visible to children in their community.

Further, the self-esteem results indicate that boys have more positive self-esteem: General and Social, than girls. This is a contradictory finding when comparing these results to the satisfaction results, where both boys and girls perceive that girls are more satisfied than boys. Perhaps the self-esteem results are reflecting an enhanced self-esteem by boys which is reflected in the preference findings where boys attributed more status to boys (males) than to girls (females). Perhaps boys are enhancing their status in order to enhance their own social identity. Perhaps status is a greater factor in self-esteem than satisfaction and if status is being enhanced through comparison to other race groups, then do boys really have a more positive self-esteem than girls? Alternatively, it is possible that girls are expressing a lowered self-esteem in line with traditional female roles which portray women as submissive to men.

The finding that females were perceived by all children as a group, to be more satisfied and have more status than males, may be due to the nature of questions asked, e.g. who has to walk the furthest? The Black boys attributed less status to women, because in their culture, women do experience more physical hardships.

Conclusive answers cannot be given in this study, as more qualitative information is required. The possibilities are merely raised as a means of identifying the complexity within this area of research.

The finding that there was a difference in levels of self-esteem between boys and girls on the general scale and social scale, contradicts recent research and suggests that the relationship between the genders in South Africa may be influenced by gender stereotypes and societal structures. There appears to be a relationship between self-esteem and status, although it is unclear what the nature of this relationship may be. It

appears that although Black children perceive White people to be more satisfied and have more status, this does not impact on their self-esteem. For White children, on the other hand, there appears to be some influence from social and other factors on their attitudes and perceptions. They are showing less social distance and prejudice and are acknowledging an identification with Black people. They are aware of similarities between the different race groups by their responses on the social distance scale and status questions.

A final point that needs to be made is that the social culture is one where “political correctness” is emphasised, and it is difficult to draw any conclusions with regard to these findings as one cannot be sure if true feelings are being expressed or socially desirable responses. However, it needs to be considered that even if the responses are socially desirable, it suggests that children’s perceptions are being challenged on a greater scale than ever in the history of South Africa, and while it may take a generation before prejudicial attitudes and beliefs are changed, the process has begun.

5.5. CRITIQUE OF THE STUDY

Various factors and criticisms need to be highlighted when discussing the results of this study as they place limitations on the generalisability of the findings.

5.5.1. Research Design

Firstly, the fact that this is an exploratory study implies that conclusions need to be carefully considered. The lack of local norms and limited research in this area, particularly with children, makes comparison with previous research difficult. Shifts in attitudes and perceptions can only be inferred and not stated. The advantage of exploratory studies is that they contribute by increasing the existing knowledge base and provide suggestions for further research.

The research design which is cross-sectional is also a criticism, as there is a need for longitudinal research. The fact that the society is in the process of transformation and that it is in the early stages of change implies that these findings may change over time and are in a state of flux at present, as people are still experiencing feelings of stress and uncertainty coupled with a high crime rate which serves to increase both anxiety and prejudice. This suggests that the findings will possibly change over time. It is nevertheless relevant and worthwhile to document the process of change and not just the results of change.

The primary advantage of this study appears to be the attempt to broaden our knowledge in the areas of prejudice, self-esteem and social perceptions of race and gender, particularly with children. There appears to be little research undertaken in South Africa under the old regime which would not tolerate any criticism of its policies. The disadvantage of a study in such an unresearched area is that the theoretical perspectives are not as clearly defined as would be ideal. However, a study of this nature invites critical analysis and discussion of several perspectives, rather than validating one or more theoretical perspectives.

A further criticism is the neglect of other factors such as media and parental influence, social structures such as the role of the school, socio-economic and class issues. Although these were discussed, they were not included in the empirical measurement due to the space and time limitations of such a study. However these factors might be considered for future research.

5.5.2. Sample of Subjects

The composition of this study's sample is problematic in that it consists of only Black and White children. As previously mentioned the limited size of the Indian and Coloured

samples, excluded them from the study. This results in an incomplete picture of the population and does not represent the true multi-cultural nature of the country. The large sample size contributes to the generalisability of the results to other Black and White children. The exclusion of rural children from the sample implies that the findings cannot be generalised to those children. The complex nature of the society with the four different race groups, rural vs. urban, the different geographic regions with different cultures and ethnic tribes, indicates the difficulty of doing research in South Africa and the generalisability of the findings to the rest of the population. Trends can be tentatively postulated and new hypothesis may be developed from research undertaken in South Africa, because to draw any conclusions in a complex society such as ours would be a disservice to the rest of the population.

The two age groups selected were from primary school and high school and an attempt to determine developmental trends was made, however it is possible that a group of older children e.g. 16-18 years may have indicated more clear information as the age difference in this study may have been too slight. The longitudinal nature of the greater study, of which this forms a part, could not accommodate the older children as it would be impossible to follow them once they have left school.

5.5.3. Instruments

With regard to the instruments several limitations need to be highlighted. Firstly, the "Culture-Free" Self-Esteem questionnaire has been criticised on its claim of being culture free. Secondly, there is a lack of local norms. Thirdly, the self-report nature of the self-esteem questionnaire elicits primarily subjective data and the forced-choice format means that the reasons for their choices cannot be explored. There is a lack of qualitative information from this type of format and allows only for inferred comments.

Roland (1988) wrote that Erikson's (1950, 1968; in Roland, 1988) psychosocial concept of identity which linked the individual's self with the community's values, norms, and social roles is central to the understanding of ethnic and racial identity if viewed in a multicultural perspective. He noted that as with many writers whose work originates from within a Western cultural framework, it is important to examine Erikson's theory in a multicultural analyses. He identified our Western notion of individualism as unique to our culture, where the individual is considered as inviolate and each individual has rights and obligations. Roland stated that Erikson's theory focused on the development of an identity within a context of the Western notion of individualism where adolescents had to integrate adult commitments with self-images based on individual choices.

This theory wrote Roland (1988) did not reflect the experiences of youth in traditional societies where the emphasis is on family rather than on the individual, "that esteem is experienced much more in a "we-self" context and is related to the reputation of the family and the other in various hierarchical relationships" (Roland, 1988' p 18). This is a pertinent factor in a study involving self-esteem which is primarily a Western notion. However, Watkins et al.(1995) argued that, in Nigeria, self-concept is becoming individualistic as a result of acculturation with the west. These ideas could be further explored in future research. Although the self-esteem questionnaire includes Social self-esteem and Parent-related self-esteem, it does not include the importance of culture and the impact that this may have on self-esteem.

The Social Status Technique was developed from Cantril's Ladder which means that the reliability and validity of the instrument are not validated and that no local norms exist. Although, the reliability co-efficients were adequate, caution is necessary when interpreting the results. While the Social Status Technique was adapted and designed for use with children it is susceptible to socially desirable responses due to it being administered on a one-to-one basis. Furthermore, the response style allows only for a quantitative analysis in the type of response elicited. Children are not questioned as to why they selected certain figures, i.e. what criteria did they use in their selection of

figures. It was considered that it would be too time-consuming to ask children to respond qualitatively, resulting in fatigue and a loss of concentration. However, the nature of the questions in that they were asked first, positively and then, negatively, (e.g. Who has the best food? Who has the worst food?) is an advantage as it can be stated which figures children perceived in a negative light. This is where the technique differs from previous tests such as, forced-choice or positive or negative adjectives (Clark & Clark, 1947, Katz Zohn & Zalk 1975).

The Social Status Technique included only Black, Indian and White figures and therefore excluded an important race group, namely the Coloured group and cannot be said to be representative of the population of South Africa.

Similar limitations pertain to the Social Distance Scale, namely the lack of local norms and lack of reliability and validity data. The Social Distance Scale has been criticised (Lee et al.,1994) for not including relative questions such as “Would you mind living next door to a particular race group?”

In favour of the instruments, is that the administration was standardised and conducted in the language of the subject thereby limiting those influences. The administration was conducted by trained field workers. The fact that some of the instruments were administered in a group and some in an interview suggests that children could respond freely and that results could be closely examined.

The above critique has highlighted the various factors which must be considered when evaluating the findings and provide some guidelines for future researchers.

5.6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Some recommendations for future research may be extracted from the critique. The sample of subjects should definitely include the other race groups, namely Coloured and Indian in order to more representative of the society.

Clearly defined constructs and hypotheses need to be formulated outlining specifically the theoretical analyses under research. The theoretical perspectives would benefit from clarity of definitions and constructs.

The instruments are currently in the process of validation and once this is complete, it is possible that they may be more reliably and validly utilized. Holaday et al. (1996) recommended that researchers should develop their own local norms for the "Culture-Free" Self-Esteem questionnaire. This would be a useful area for future researchers as we have a multi-cultural society which requires norms so that self-esteem can be locally compared.

Future research could attempt to include the role of parents; for e.g. values, expectations, attitudes and prejudices; the role of media; teachers' role and attitudes; and peer influence. Social variables such as socio-economic and class factors also require research.

Finally, there is also a need for phenomenological and qualitative research to gain more insight into what children feel and experience and why and to help explain some of the findings in this study, such as the gender differences.

CHAPTER 6.**CONCLUSION**

This study attempted to explore children's perceptions of social satisfaction and status, to determine prejudicial attitudes to different race groups and to assess their levels of self-esteem. No significant difference was found in the levels of General self-esteem between Black and White children, although there was a difference between boys and girls with boys showing more positive self-esteem than girls. Black children showed more positive self-esteem in the areas of Academic and Parent-related self-esteem and White children showed a more positive self-esteem on the Social scale. The self-esteem findings which showed that older White children have a lower self-esteem than the younger White children indicates that with age, there appears to be a decrease in self-esteem. The reasons for this require more quantitative research as they contradict international trends (Aboud, 1995).

In terms of social satisfaction, all children identified females as being more socially satisfied than males. The exception being Black boys who selected males as slightly more satisfied. The race of the picture was a significant variable and as expected Whites were perceived to be the most satisfied followed by Indians and Blacks are seen to be least satisfied. This is a reflection of the structure of South African society, both in the past and at present.

With regard to preference or social status, all children perceived White people to have the most status, followed by Black and lastly by Indian people, in the predictive questions children perceive Whites will continue to have more status in the future. This suggests, that although there are changes occurring in the status of Black people these changes are not yet sufficiently entrenched to have changed perceptions and attitudes of Black children, or that these changes are not visible to children in their close community. As with satisfaction, females in the picture were attributed as having more status than the males in the picture. This is a surprising finding in light of the patriarchal nature of South African society which attributes higher status to men than to women.

While the results from the Social Distance Scale must be considered with the greatest of caution, due to the methodological flaws, the finding that Black children show a greater social distance than White children seems to imply that attitudes are beginning to shift. Girls also display less social distance than boys, implying that boys are possibly more threatened by other race groups than girls.

It cannot be conclusively stated that prejudice is decreasing in White children and increasing in Black children, more rigorous and reliable instruments need to be utilized to confirm these findings. Furthermore, the social desirability aspect must not be underestimated.

The different perspectives discussed in this study do not take into account the impact of social and political changes which are currently taking place, in addition, the stress involved in adjusting to such changes may be temporary and it is necessary to continue within this area of research as the situation in South Africa is unique. Any conclusions with regard to self-esteem, prejudice and racial perceptions must consider the impact of social, political and culture aspects especially in a society a history such as ours. A study of this nature can only hope to increase our knowledge and raise our awareness of pertinent issues and contribute in its implications for further research.

In summary, no one theoretical perspective may be said to explain relationships of self-esteem and preference and prejudice, as Sigelman et al. (1986; cited in Politshwa et al., 1994) stated "a multitheoretical perspective on prejudice is needed" (p 534). Thus cognitive development theories may explain a reduction in prejudice in some children with age, however, social and personality factors may explain why a particular child is prejudiced against certain groups more than others and why cognitive maturity is not necessarily accompanied by a reduction in prejudice (Politshwa et al., 1994).

Conclusive answers cannot be given in this study, as more qualitative information is required. The possibilities are merely raised as a means of identifying the complexity within this area of research.

The finding that there was a difference in levels of self-esteem between boys and girls on the general scale and social scale, contradicts recent research and suggests that the relationship between the genders in South Africa may be influenced by gender stereotypes and societal structures. There appears to be a relationship between self-esteem and status, although it is unclear what the nature of this relationship may be. It appears that although Black children perceive White people to be more satisfied and have more status, this does not impact on their self-esteem. For White children, on the other hand, there appears to be some influence from social and other factors on their attitudes and perceptions. They appear to be showing less social distance and prejudice and are acknowledging an identification with Black people. They are aware of similarities between the different race groups by their responses on the social distance scale and status questions. It is possibly that they are engaging with different perspectives and ideas, in relation to race and gender.

It may be tentatively suggested that children's perceptions are being challenged on a greater scale than ever in the history of South Africa, and while it may take a generation before prejudicial attitudes and beliefs are changed, the process has begun.

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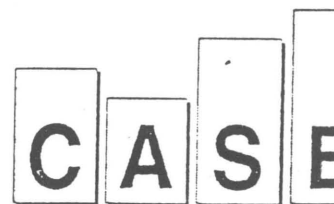
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APPENDIX 1 - LETTER OF CONSENT

CRG Research Programme Consent Form

COMMUNITY AGENCY FOR SOCIAL ENQUIRY

Suite 210, PostNet X9118, Pietermaritzburg, 3200
Telephone +27 (331) 426 414 Fax +27 (331) 426 419
10 Levy Street Pietermaritzburg 3201
e-mail: casepmb@sn.apc.org



11 February 1997

Dear Parent/Guardian,

We are doing a study of children in several schools in KwaZulu-Natal, one of which is attended by your child. The purpose of the research is to understand how the children see their world and to explore their awareness of class, race and gender in South Africa today. The study is a longitudinal one and will be carried out over the next ten years in order to assess development and changes over time.

The children will be invited to share their ideas through questionnaires, essays or in discussion. Aspects of the research will be recorded in a documentary film which is designed for public broadcast.

All information arising from the study will be treated as confidential. The findings of the research will be published, referring mostly to the children in general and no publication will include the real names of any of the participating children.

The research is being carried out by a multi-disciplinary team of established academics of national repute who are based at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

We believe that this important study can make a unique contribution to improving the learning environment of children in their schools and in this province. We, therefore, request that you grant your child permission to partake in the research programme.

Should you like more information before giving this permission, please contact your school principal or any of the principal investigators at the numbers below.

We value your cooperation and look forward to your consent. Please note that you do not have to reply to this letter unless you object to your child's participation in the study.

Yours Sincerely,

Prof T Marcus (Sociology)

Programme Manager

with Prof E Maunder (Dietetics), Prof B Parker (Education), Mrs B Killian (Psychology)
260 5453 260 6250 260 5371



Please return this consent form to the school if you do not wish your child to participate in the study.

I(parent/guardian's name), hereby refuse my child(name) who is in Grade at (name of school) permission to participate in the CRG Research Programme.

APPENDIX 2 - CULTURE-FREE SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY

CRG Research Programme CASE/University of Natal 1997



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....	_ _ _ _ _ _ _
	Respondent Number

Interviewer

CFSEI-2B

DIRECTIONS

Please mark each statement in the following way:

If the statement describes how you usually feel, make a cross (X) in the YES column.

If the statement does not describe how you usually feel, make a cross (X) in the NO column.

Mark either YES or NO for each of the 30 statements.

This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers.

Yes No

I wish I were younger.....

Boys and girls like to play with me.....

I usually quit when my school work is too hard.....

My parents never get angry with me.....

only have a few friends.....

have lots of fun with my parents.....

like being a boy / I like being a girl.....

am a failure at school.....

My parents make me feel that I am not good enough.....

usually fail when I try to do important things.....

am happy most of the time.....

have never taken anything that did not belong to me.....

Yes No

3. I often feel ashamed of myself.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Most boys and girls play games better than I do.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. I often feel that I am no good at all.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Most boys and girls are smarter than I am.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. My parents dislike me because I am not good enough.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. I like everyone I know.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. I am as happy as most boys and girls.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Most boys and girls are better than I am.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. I like to play with children younger than I am.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I often feel like quitting school.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. I can do things as well as other boys and girls.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Yes

No

4. I would change things about myself if I could.....

5. There are many times when I would like to run away from home.....

6. I never worry about anything.....

7. I always tell the truth.....

8. My teacher feels that I am not good enough.....

9. My parents think I am a failure.....

10. I worry a lot.....

APPENDIX 3 - SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE

CRG Research Programme CASE/University of Natal 1997



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

CANTRIL'S LADDER

INSTRUCTIONS:

Here are some steps. As you can see, there are seven: one two, three **(count them from the bottom up)**. Imagine that the top of the steps **(point to step 7)** is the best place to be, and the bottom of step **(point to step 1)** is the worst place to be. So the steps go up from the worst place at the bottom **(point)**, to a better place **(point to second step and then point up each step)**, and then a slightly better place. This is the middle place to be. The next one is still better and this one is the best of all.

These are drawings of different types of people. Have a good look at all of them. See that each one fits into any of these holes on any of the steps **(demonstrate)**.

Each time I ask a question, I would like you to put these different people on the step where you think they should go. Please don't be scared to ask me if you don't understand.

QUESTION 1: (detailed example)

Who do you think will have the best food?

(Encourage the child to choose a figure)

Right, because you think this person will have the best food, he/she goes on the top, the best step.

(Place the figure on the top).

Now, who do you think will have the worst food?

(Encourage child to choose a figure)

Right, where do we put this person?

(If correctly placed on the bottom step, give encouragement; if not, gently correct the child and let him/her place the figure on the bottom)

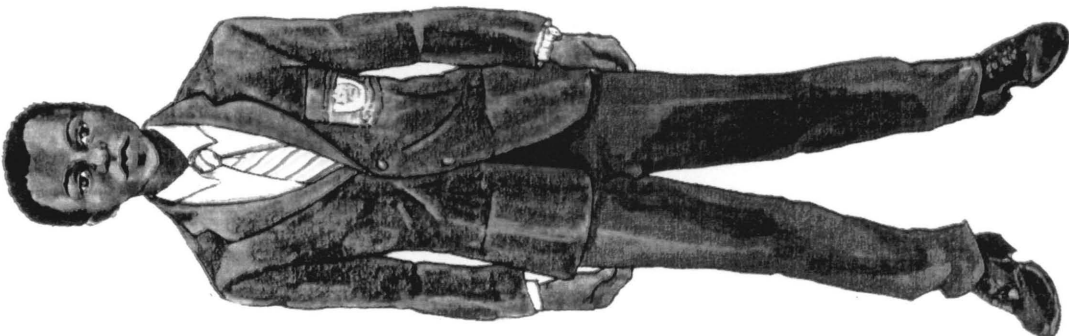
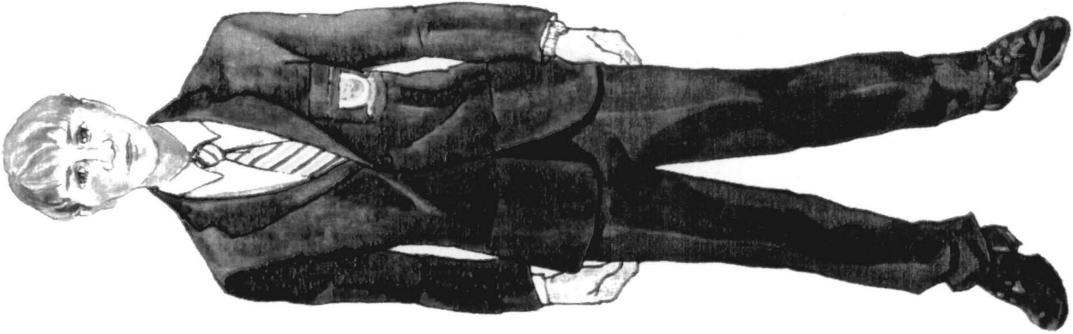
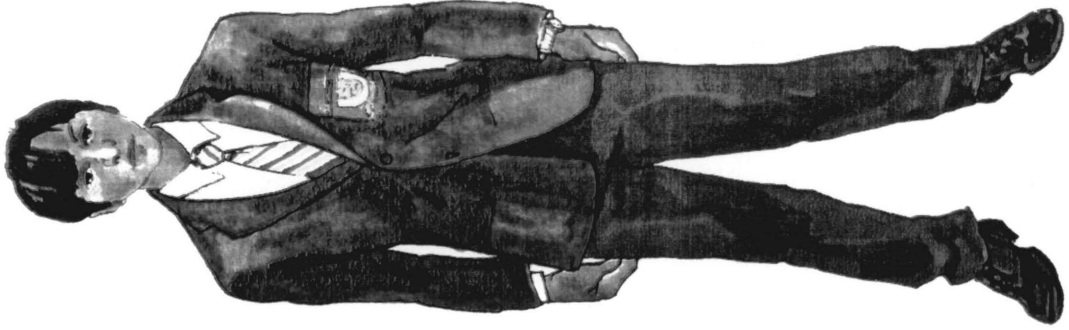
Now I would like you to place other people on the steps, putting those that have the worst food at the bottom, and those with better food higher up and so on.

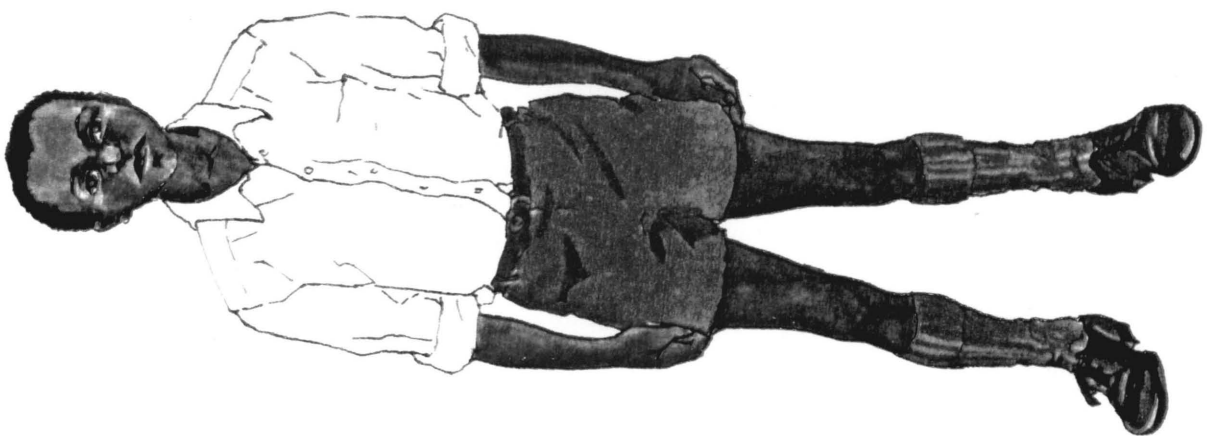
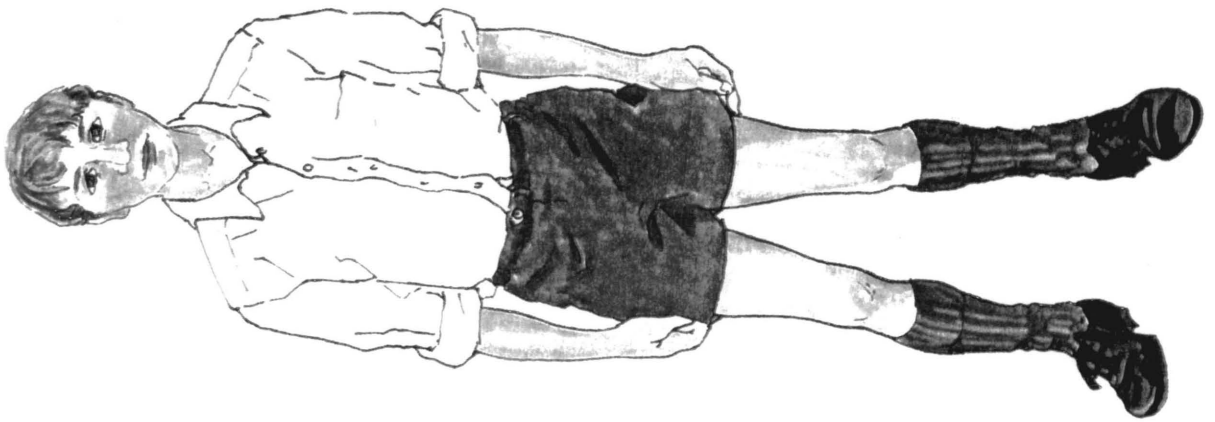
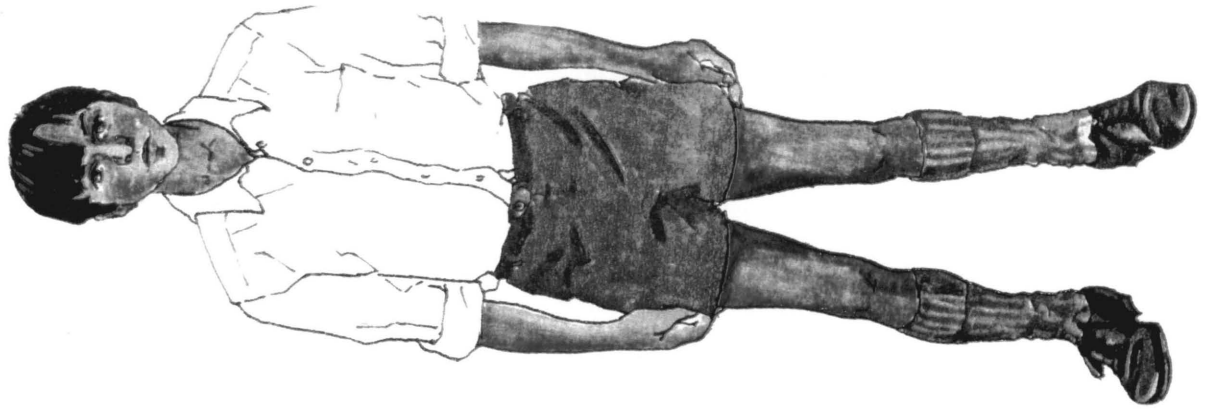
We would like you to use all of the people. It's up to you to choose them and to choose where you place them. You can have more than one person on each step.

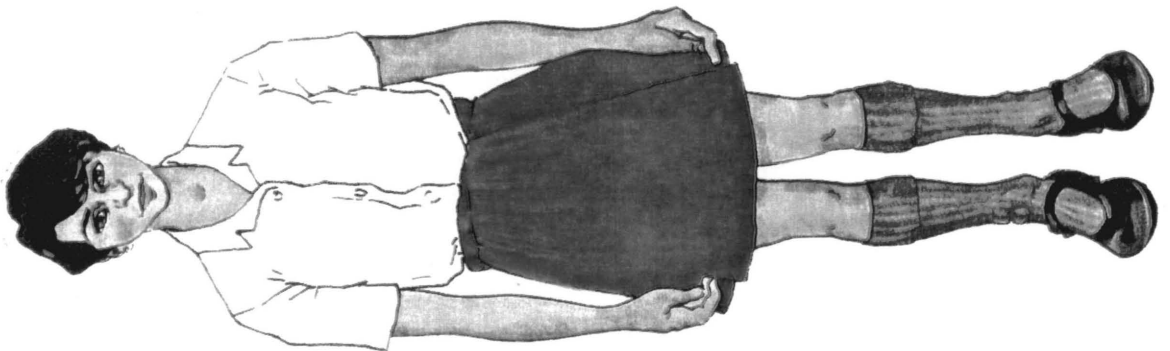
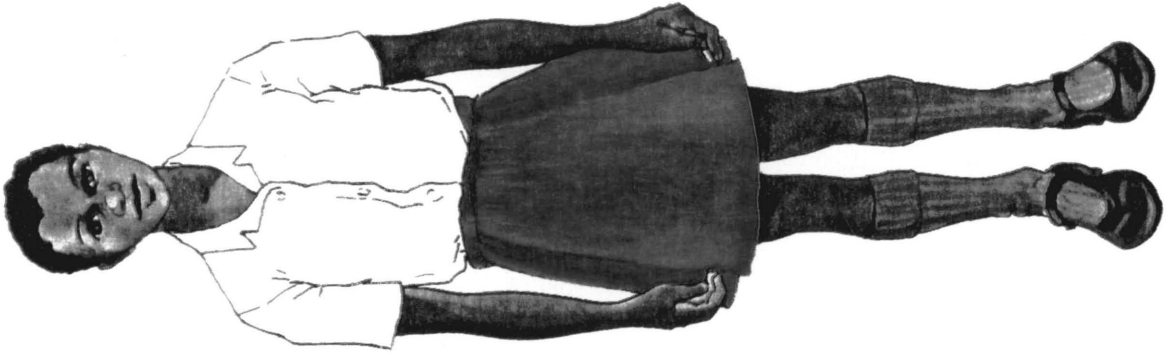
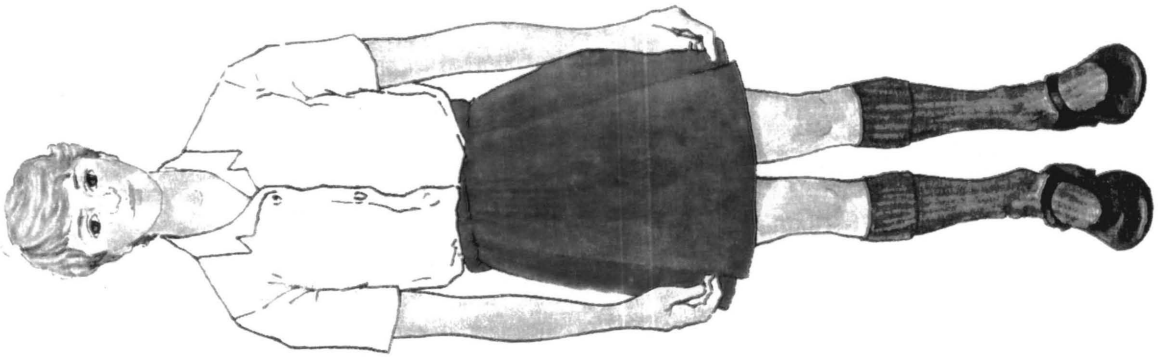
(Once all arranged, record number and position of figures).

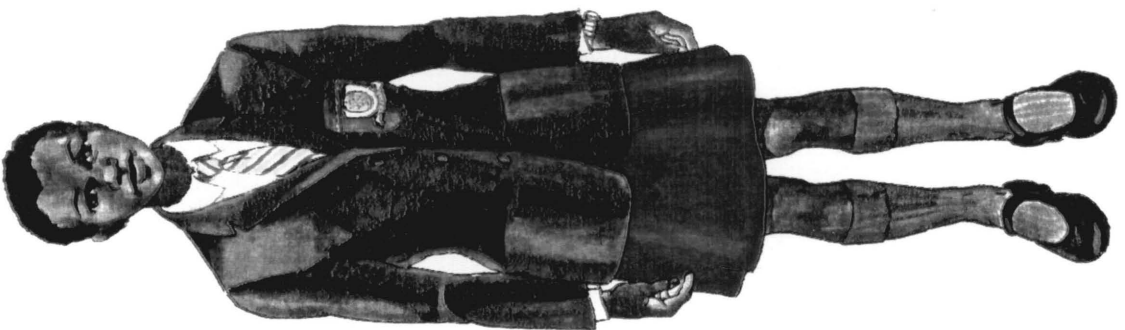
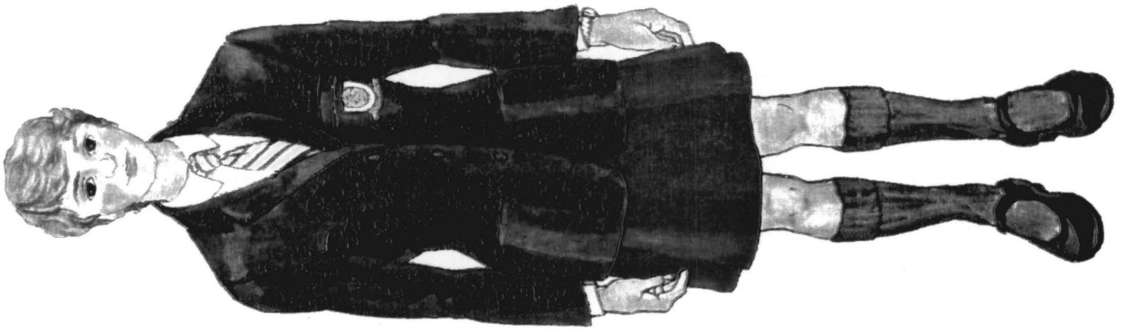
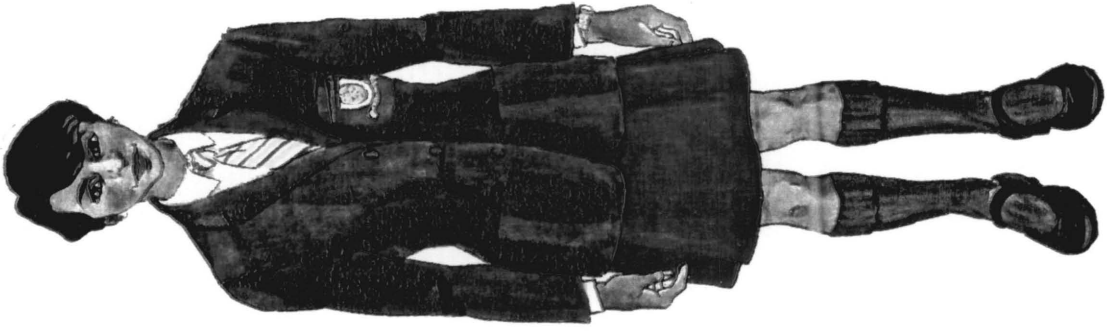
Right, now lets take all of these off, and start again with a different question.

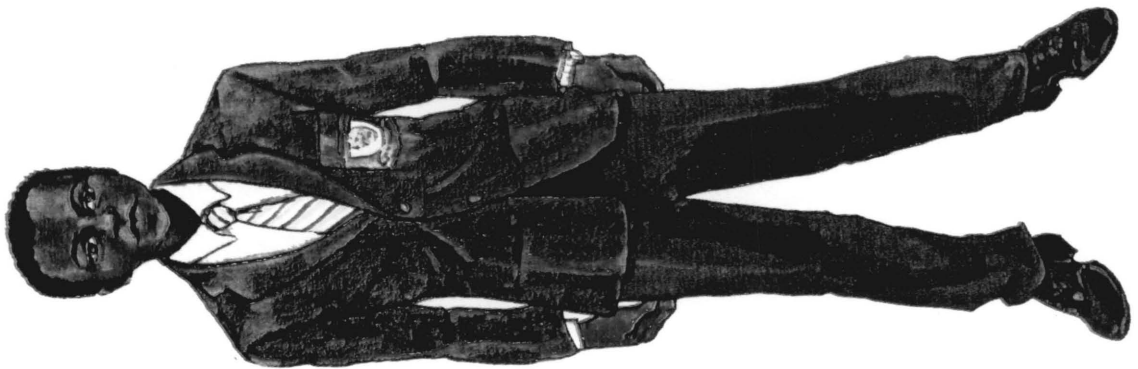
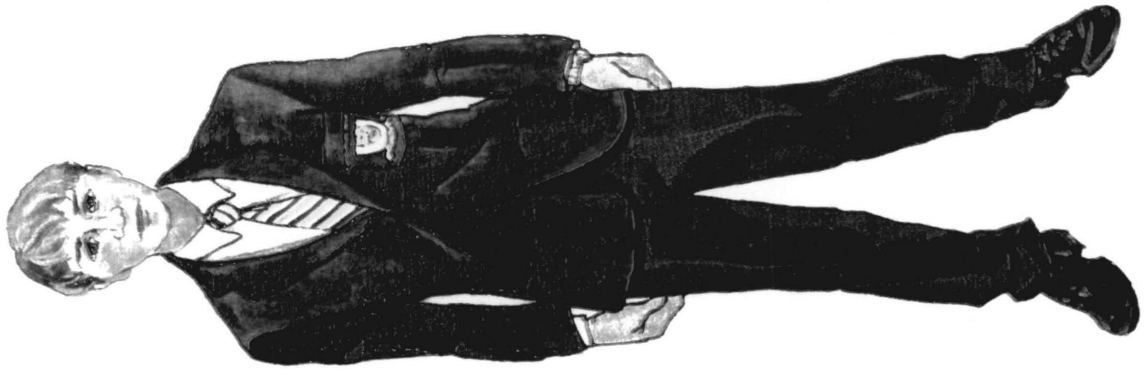
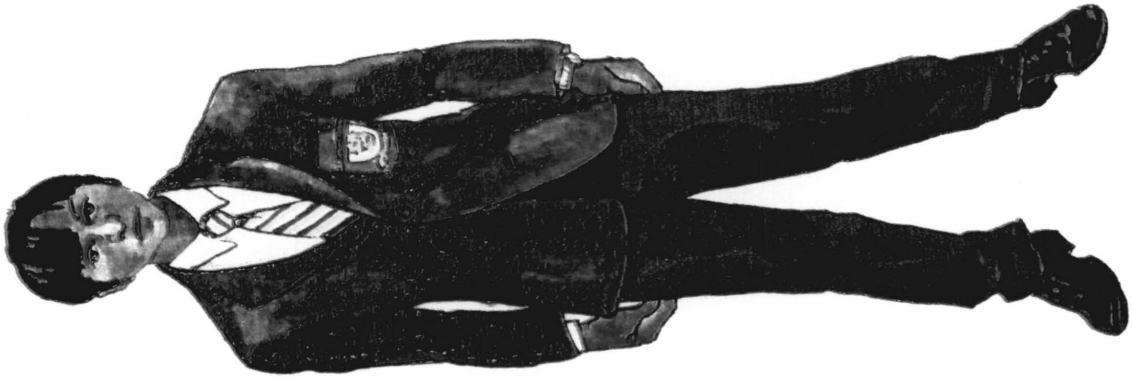
APPENDIX 4 - SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE
SAMPLES OF FIGURES

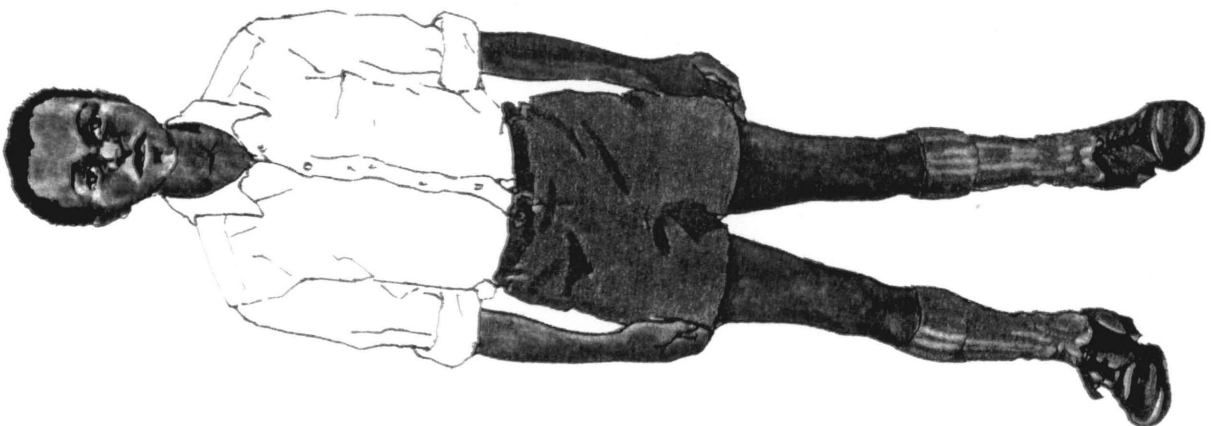
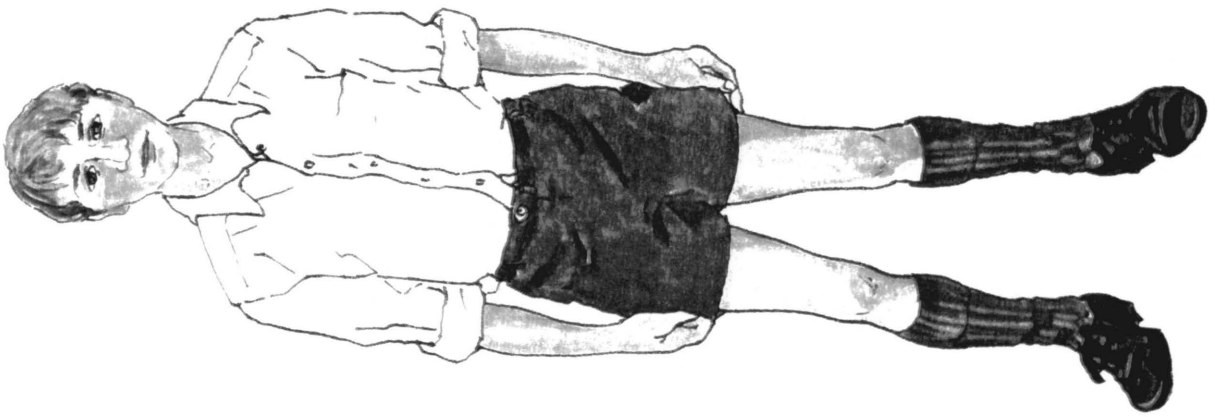
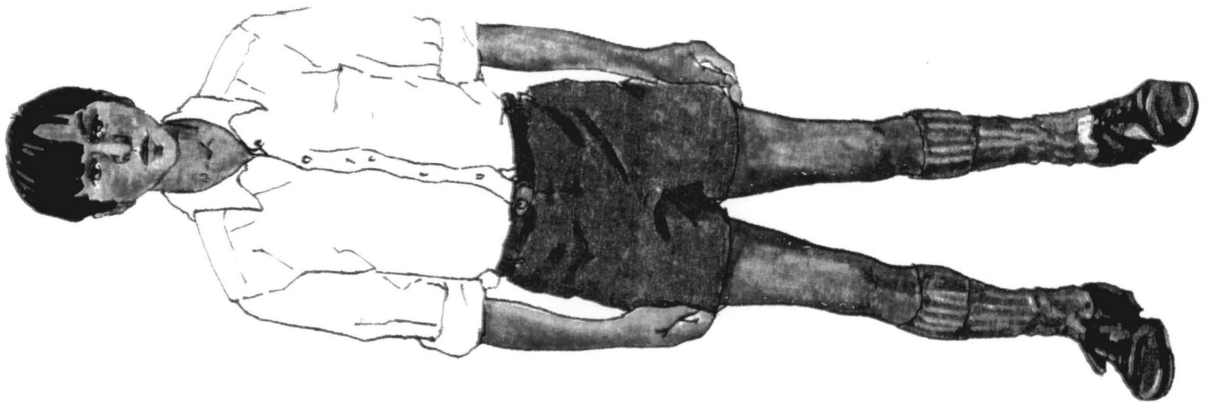


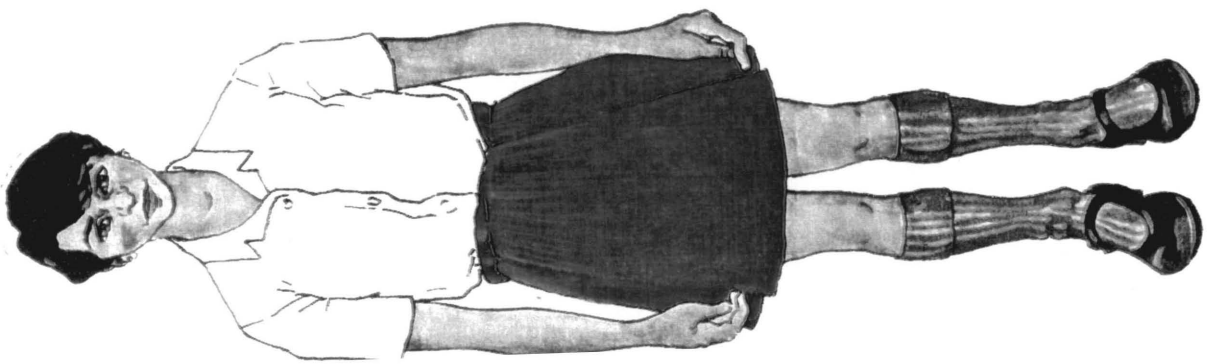
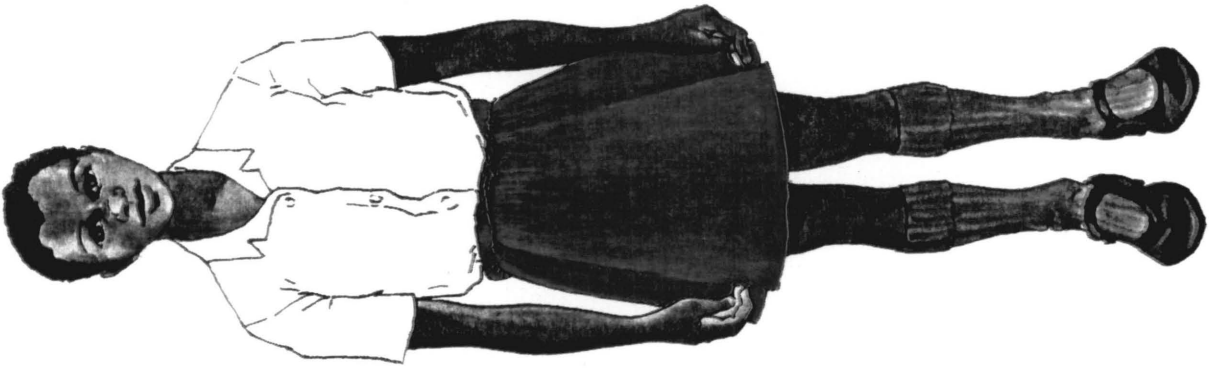
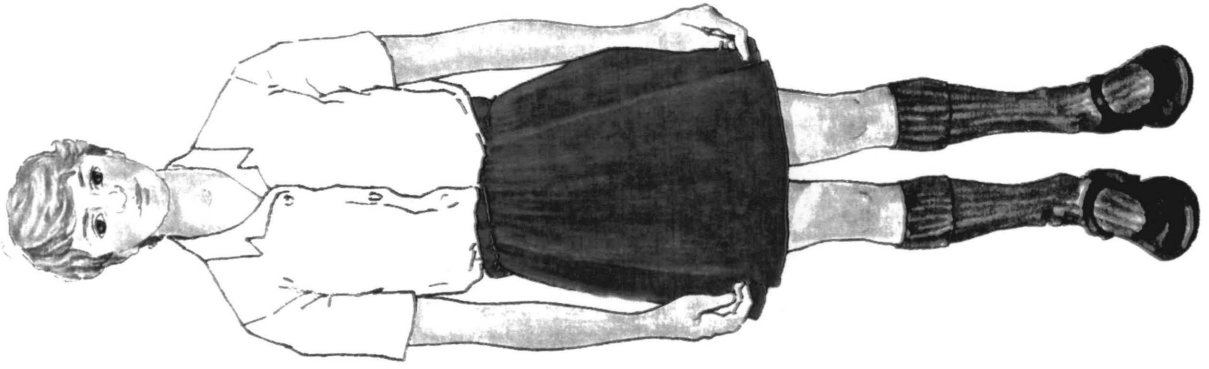


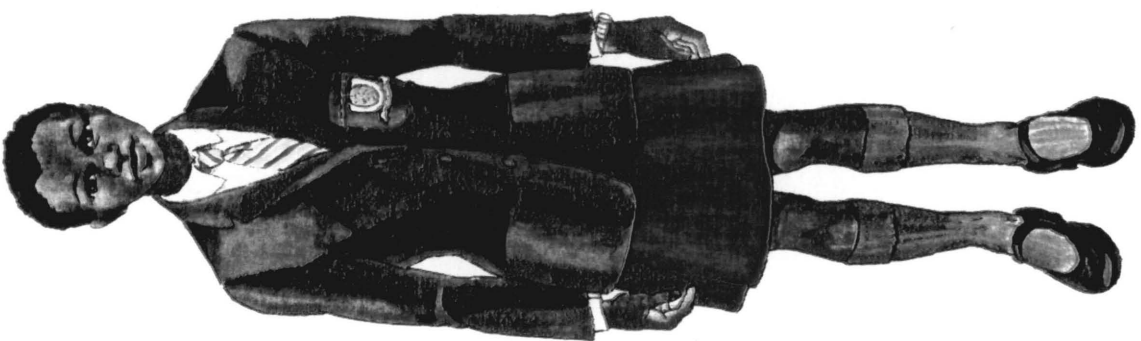
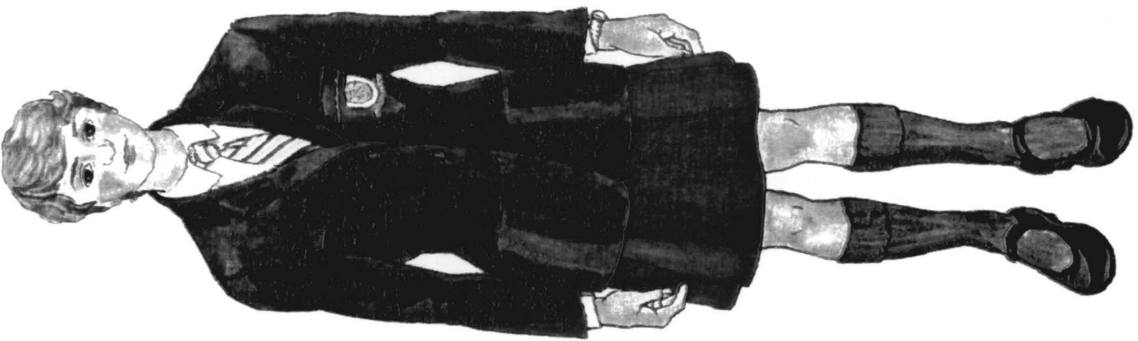
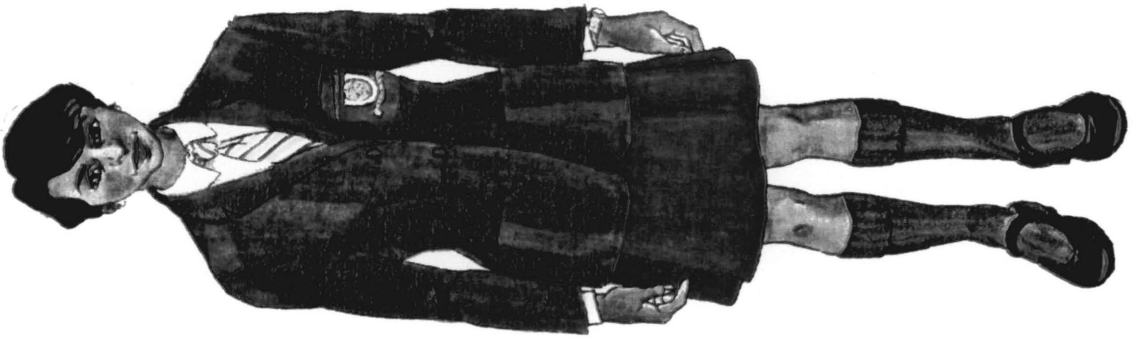


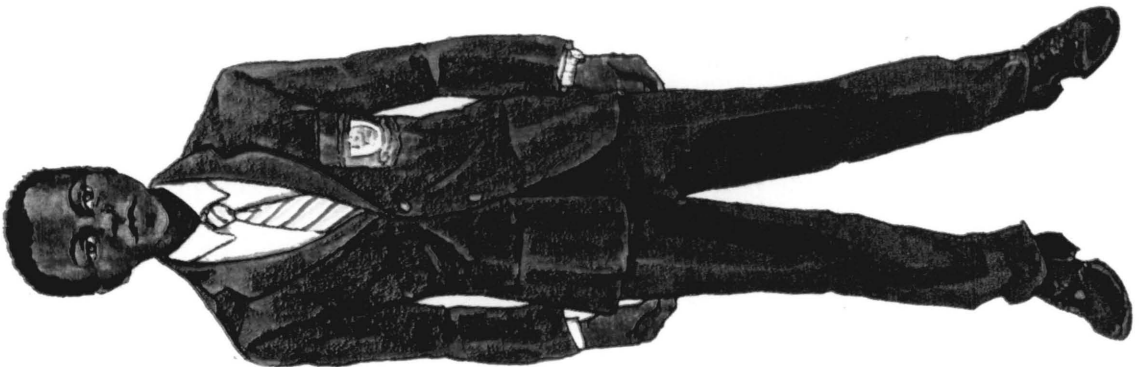
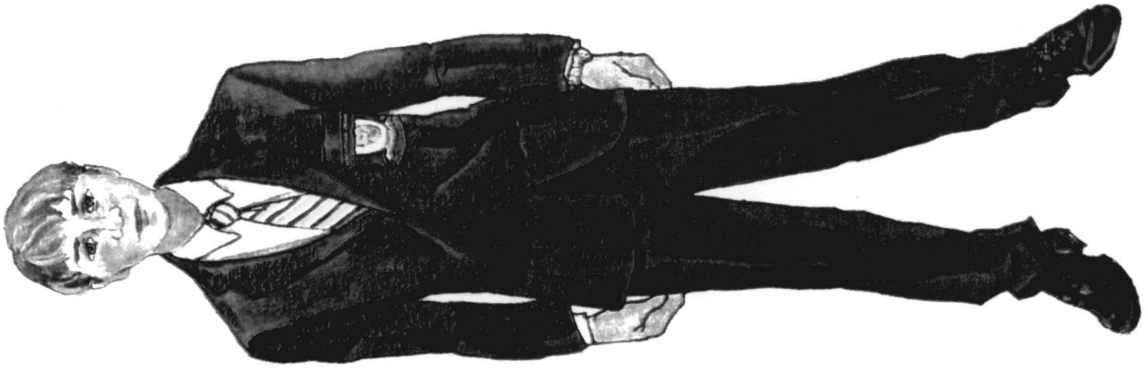
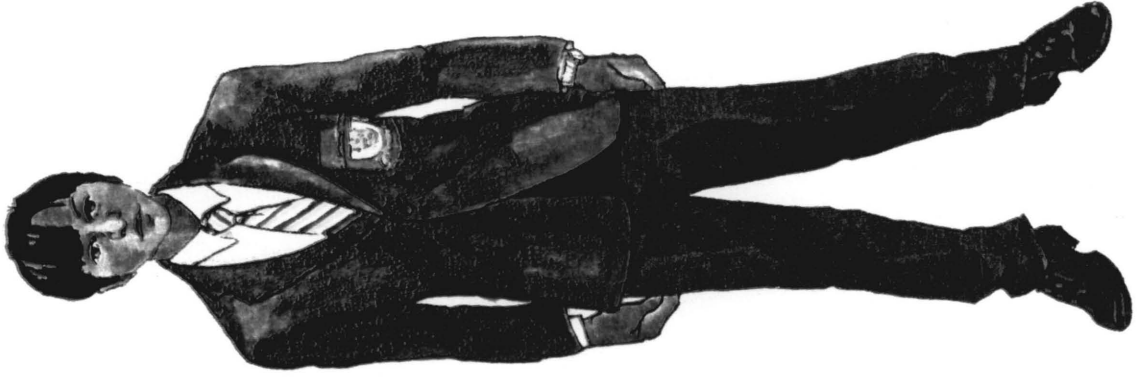


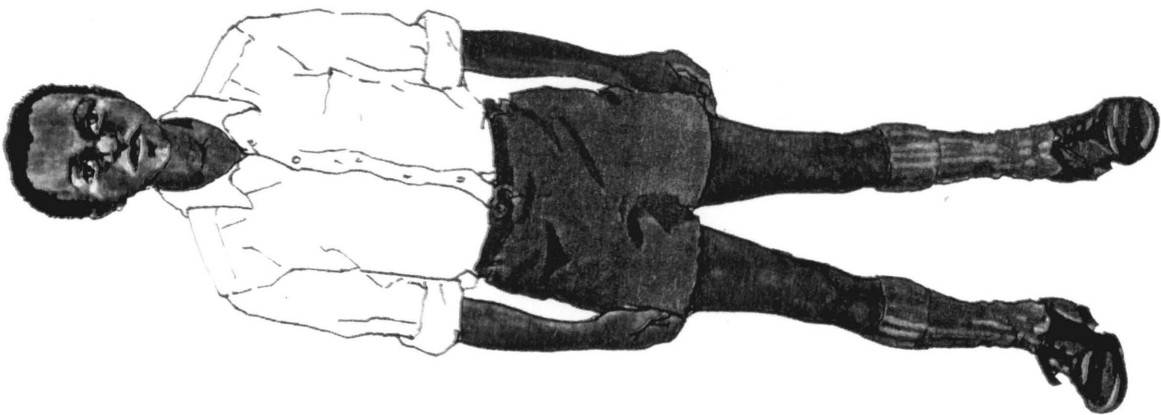
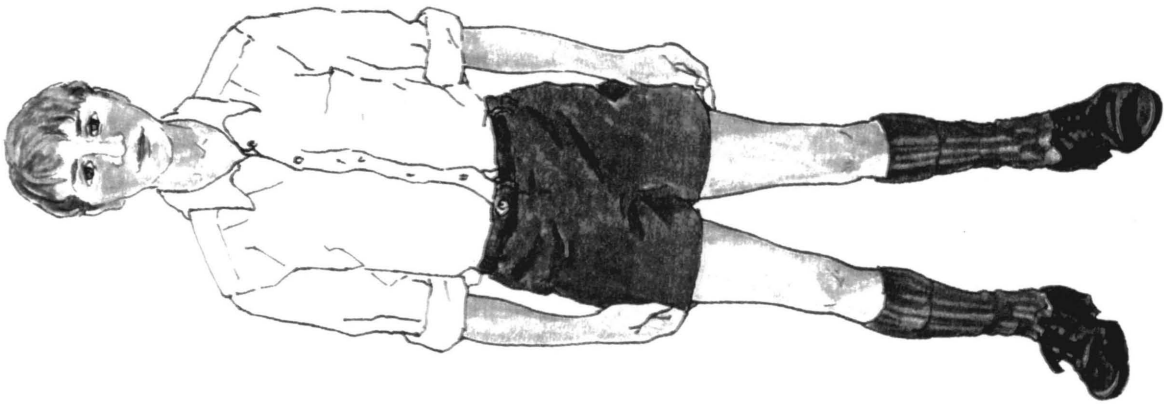
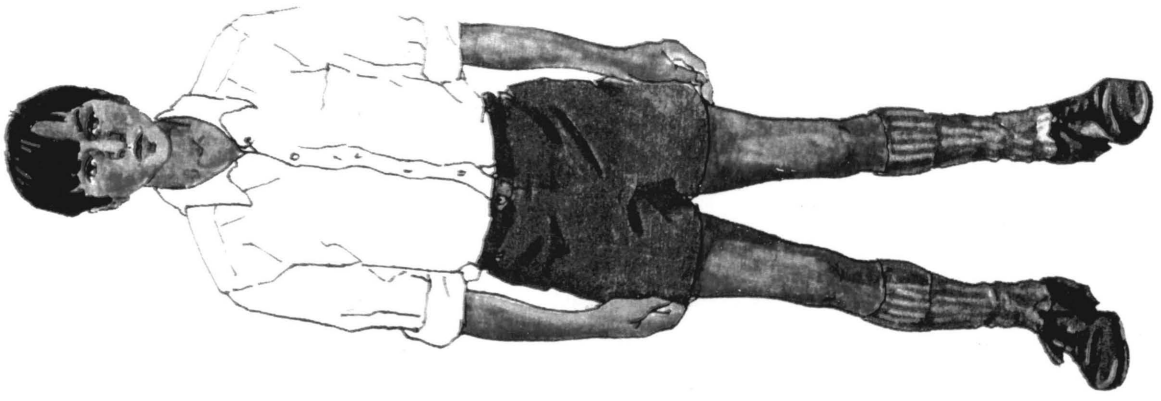


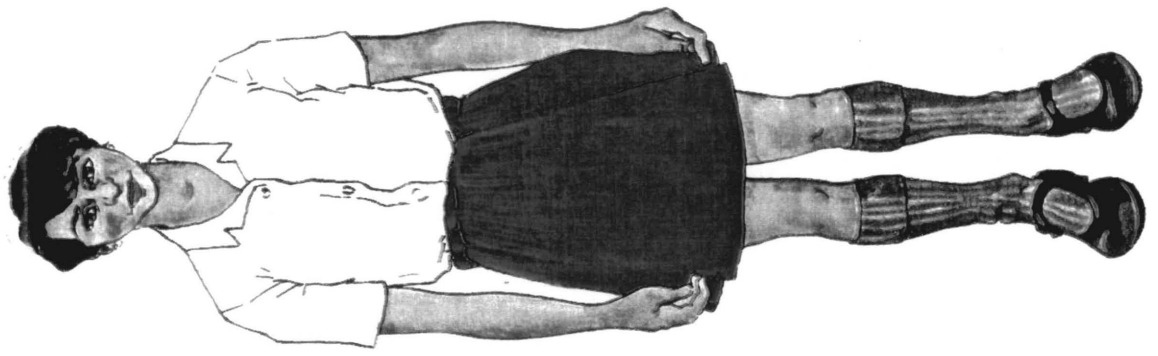
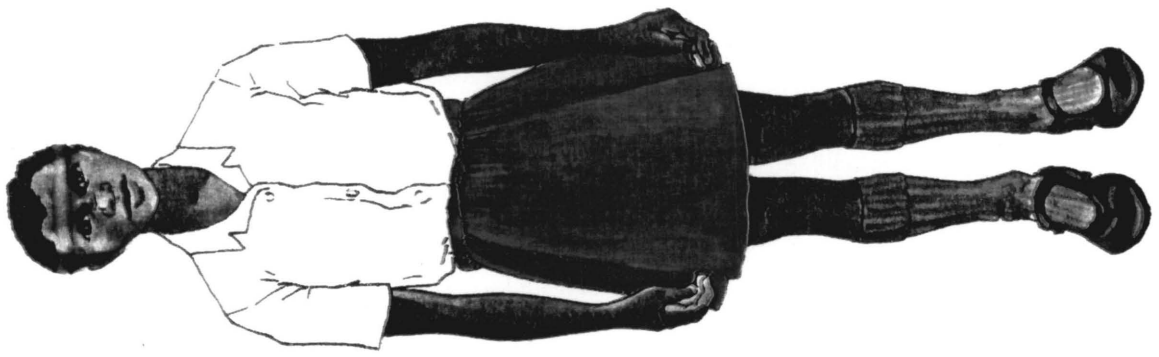
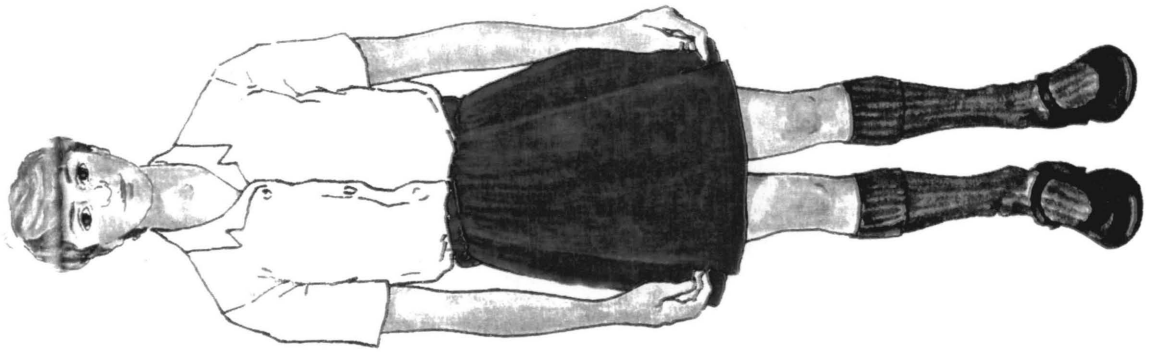


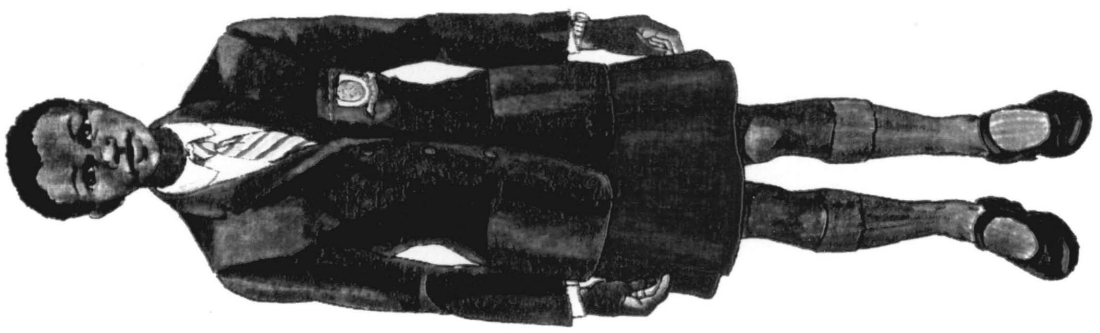
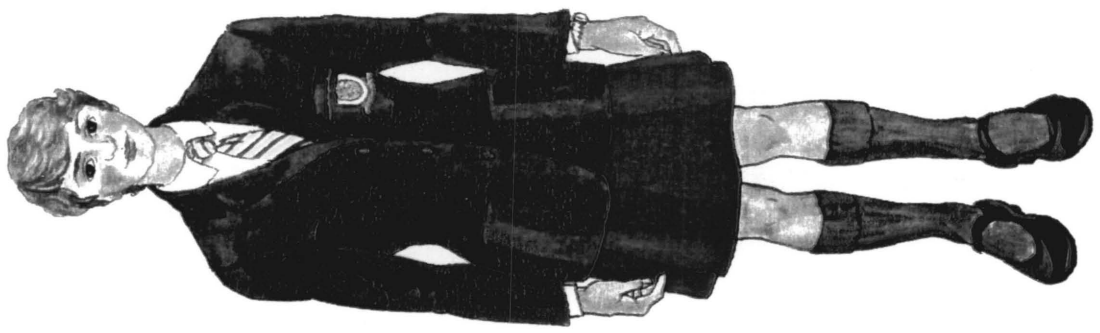
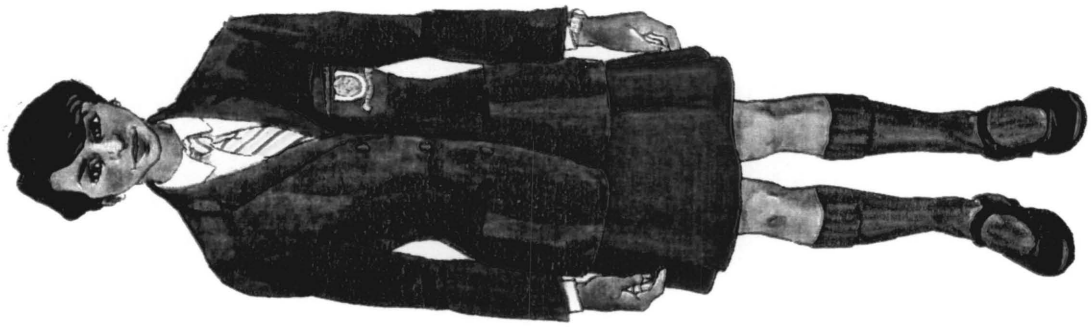












APPENDIX 5 - SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE
ANSWER SHEET

CRG Research Programme CASE/University of Natal 1997



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....
 | | | | | | | |
 Respondent Number

Interviewer

CANTRIL'S LADDER

QUESTION 1: Who do you think has the best food?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 2: Who do you think is the happiest with their life?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 3: Who do you think does the best at school?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 4: Who do you think gets sick the most? (sickest at bottom step)

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 5: Who do you think has to walk the most? (person who walks most at bottom)

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 6: If there were a problem in the classroom, who do you think should sort it out?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 7: Who do you think will have the best job once they've left school?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 8: Who is most likely to become an important person in the world?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 9: Who do you think has the most friends?

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

QUESTION 10: Who do you think is most like you? ("Most like" on the top step)

STEP 7	STEP 6	STEP 5	STEP 4	STEP 3	STEP 2	STEP 1

APPENDIX 6 - SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

CRG Research Programme CASE/University of Natal 1997



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Respondent Name.....

|_|_|_|_|_|_|_|
Respondent Number

Interviewer

Social Distance Scale

Please underline the word which most closely expresses the way you feel towards the members of other groups, nationalities or races as a group - not as the best, or worst members you have known . Please make a choice for each sentence.

Example: I would be happy to have (underline the word that expresses your feelings)
Many Some No Americans enter my country

1. I would be happy to have
 - a Many Some No Russians enter my country
 - b Many Some No Russians live and work in my country
 - c Many Some No Russians come to my school
 - d Many Some No Russians live in my neighbourhood
 - e Many Some No Russians be my friends
 - f Many Some No Russians come to my home
 - g Many Some No Russians marry into my family

2. I would be happy to have
 - a Many Some No English-speakers enter my country
 - b Many Some No English-speakers live and work in my country
 - c Many Some No English-speakers come to my school
 - d Many Some No English-speakers live in my neighbourhood
 - e Many Some No English-speakers be my friends
 - f Many Some No English-speakers come to my home
 - g Many Some No English-speakers marry into my family

3. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No Afrikaners enter my country
- b Many Some No Afrikaners live and work in my country
- c Many Some No Afrikaners come to my school
- d Many Some No Afrikaners live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No Afrikaners be my friends
- f Many Some No Afrikaners come to my home
- g Many Some No Afrikaners marry into my family

4. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No Black people enter my country
- b Many Some No Black people live and work in my country
- c Many Some No Black people come to my school
- d Many Some No Black people live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No Black people be my friends
- f Many Some No Black people come to my home
- g Many Some No Black people marry into my family

5. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No Indians enter my country
- b Many Some No Indians live and work in my country
- c Many Some No Indians come to my school
- d Many Some No Indians live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No Indians be my friends
- f Many Some No Indians come to my home
- g Many Some No Indians marry into my family

6. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No Coloureds enter my country
- b Many Some No Coloureds live and work in my country
- c Many Some No Coloureds come to my school
- d Many Some No Coloureds live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No Coloureds be my friends
- f Many Some No Coloureds come to my home
- g Many Some No Coloureds marry into my family

7. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No poor people enter my country
- b Many Some No poor people live and work in my country
- c Many Some No poor people come to my school
- d Many Some No poor people live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No poor people be my friends
- f Many Some No poor people come to my home
- g Many Some No poor people marry into my family

8. I would be happy to have

- a Many Some No rich people enter my country
- b Many Some No rich people live and work in my country
- c Many Some No rich people come to my school
- d Many Some No rich people live in my neighbourhood
- e Many Some No rich people be my friends
- f Many Some No rich people come to my home
- g Many Some No rich people marry into my family

APPENDIX 7 - AGREEMENT WITH CASE

CRG Research Programme CASE/University of Natal 1997



Talking About Tomorrow Together Today

Agreement

Permission to use data collected by the CRG Research Programme is granted to you under the following conditions:

1. All data is the property of the CRG Research Programme. You are granted access to it, but all copies (soft and hard) must be returned to the CRG Programme on completion of the work you have agreed to undertake.
2. The data is to be used for the fulfillment of a graduate or post-graduate degree requirements as agreed to by the CRG Research Programme Management.
3. The CRG Research Programme must be acknowledged as the data source.
4. The research will not be submitted for publication or press or electronic media dissemination, including interviews, without prior consultation and the written consent of the CRG Research Programme management (Prof Tessa Marcus, Prof. Elani Maunder and Ms B Killian).
5. All copyright with respect to data and findings exclusively rests with the CRG Research Programme. Intellectual contributions, understood as conceptual and written inputs, must be acknowledged by you. Those made by you will be acknowledged by the CRG Research Programme where appropriate.
6. It is necessary to acknowledge financial assistance from the following organisations or institutions: the Centre for Science Development, the University of Natal, the French Embassy, UNICEF and the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (C A S E).
7. A copy of your final dissertation will be lodged with the CRG Research Programme at C A S E (224 Berg Street) on or before submission for examination.

I, MARCELA SLEPIKA (full name) hereby accept the terms and conditions stipulated above.

Signature (student) [Signature] Witness S. Boyer

Signature (CRG Research Programme Management) [Signature]

Date 17/9/97

APPENDIX 8 - TABLES OF TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE

TABLE 1 SATISFACTION: BETWEEN-SUBJECTS -TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE	24.51	0.000
SEX	.17	0.679
GRADE	6.85	0.009
RACE X SEX	4.99	0.026
RACE X GRADE	1.01	0.315
SEX X GRADE	2.15	0.143
RACE X SEX X GRADE	.18	0.675

TABLE 2. SATISFACTION: WITHIN-SUBJECTS - SEX OF PICTURE - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC	79.04	0.000
RACE X SEX/PIC	.34	0.561
SEX X SEX/PIC	34.20	0.000
GRADE X SEX/PIC	5.17	0.024
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC	4.71	0.031
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.03	0.863
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.00	0.981
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.22	0.638

TABLE 3. SATISFACTION: WITHIN-SUBJECTS - RACE OF PICTURE - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE/PIC	214.86	0.000
RACE X RACE/PIC	3.82	0.022
SEX X RACE/PIC	7.19	0.001
GRADE X RACE/PIC	1.42	0.242
RACE X SEX X RACE/PIC	11.47	0.000
RACE X GRADE X RACE/PIC	3.91	0.020
SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	.78	0.460
RACE X SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	1.51	0.221

TABLE 4. SATISFACTION: WITHIN SUBJECTS-SEX OF PICTURE BY RACE OF PICTURE - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	5.50	0.004
RACE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.23	0.792
SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	2.66	0.071
GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.19	0.824
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.19	0.825
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.11	0.899
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	2.28	0.103
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.88	0.417

TABLE 5. PREFERENCE: BETWEEN-SUBJECTS - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE	53.67	0.000
SEX	.05	0.826
GRADE	5.85	0.016
RACE X SEX	.11	0.736
RACE X GRADE	.57	0.449
SEX X GRADE	.00	0.997
RACE X SEX X GRADE	2.26	0.134

TABLE 6. PREFERENCE: WITHIN-SUBJECTS - SEX OF PICTURE - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC	9.10	0.003
RACE X SEX/PIC	5.94	0.015
SEX X SEX/PIC	26.69	0.000
GRADE X SEX/PIC	3.85	0.050
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC	1.88	0.171
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC	1.27	0.260
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.00	0.959
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.21	0.646

TABLE 7. PREFERENCE: WITHIN-SUBJECTS-RACE OF PICTURE-TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE/PIC	24.44	0.000
RACE X RACE/PIC	2.29	0.102
SEX X RACE/PIC	.30	0.740
GRADE X RACE/PIC	1.01	0.365
RACE X SEX X RACE/PIC	3.52	0.030
RACE X GRADE X RACE/PIC	3.78	0.023
SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	.15	0.864
RACE X SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	.35	0.705

TABLE 8. PREFERENCE-WITHIN-SUBJECTS-SEX OF PICTURE BY RACE OF PICTURE - TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	6.22	0.002
RACE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	2.62	0.074
SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	1.43	0.239
GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.16	0.853
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.80	0.451
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.07	0.937
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	1.09	0.338
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.84	0.433

TABLE 9. IDENTIFICATION: BETWEEN-SUBJECTS-TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE	7.28	0.007
SEX	2.07	0.151
GRADE	9.98	0.002
RACE X SEX	1.12	0.290
RACE X GRADE	1.96	0.162
SEX X GRADE	.00	0.952
RACE X SEX X GRADE	2.38	0.124

TABLE 10. IDENTIFICATION-WITHIN SUBJECTS-SEX OF PICTURE-TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC	7.31	0.007
RACE X SEX/PIC	4.60	0.033
SEX X SEX/PIC	254.39	0.000
GRADE X SEX/PIC	1.84	0.176
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC	23.07	0.000
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC	2.79	0.096
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	2.41	0.121
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC	.60	0.441

TABLE 11. IDENTIFICATION-WITHIN-SUBJECTS-RACE OF PICTURE-TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
RACE/PIC	24.59	0.000
RACE X RACE/PIC	214.22	0.000
SEX X RACE/PIC	7.41	0.001
GRADE X RACE/PIC	.92	0.401
RACE X SEX X RACE/PIC	2.86	0.058
RACE X GRADE X RACE/PIC	2.42	0.089
SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	.92	0.398
RACE X SEX X GRADE X RACE/PIC	.12	0.885

TABLE 12. IDENTIFICATION-WITHIN-SUBJECTS-SEX OF PICTURE BY RACE OF PICTURE

Source of variation	F	Significance of F
SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	4.23	0.015
RACE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.86	0.425
SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.61	0.546
GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	2.83	0.060
RACE X SEX X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	15.84	0.000
RACE X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.44	0.645
SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.49	0.612
RACE X SEX X GRADE X SEX/PIC X RACE/PIC	.05	0.947