

**RACIAL ORIENTATION, PERCEPTIONS OF  
SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SELF-ESTEEM  
IN SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN**

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

## **ABSTRACT**

The recent and past history of South Africa make this an ideal setting for the study of attitudes of children towards themselves, their own race group and other groups. This research examines self-esteem, perceived social stratification, racial identification and preference attributions.

The study followed a cross-sectional design with a sample of 228 grade 1 and grade 4 school pupils. These children were selected from three different types of schools in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands region ensuring representation from three of the traditionally classified race groups - Black, Indian and White. Three assessment instruments were administered: the Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventory of Battle (1992); the Social Status Technique which assessed Perceived social stratification, racial identification and preference attributions; and an adaptation of the Social Distance Scale of Bogardus (1925) which was administered to a proportion of the sample and correlated with the Social Status Technique preference scores as a measure of validity for this scale.

Analysis of the results included provision of reliability and validity data of the Social Status Technique. Results both confirm and contradict some of the various findings of recent local and international research. With respect to self-esteem, it was found that the younger black children showed significantly lower scores than the Indian and white children of the sample. The younger black children also showed less distinct scores on racial identification, as well as evidence of out-group preference attributions. Older black children showed clearer in-group identification and preference. The younger Indian children identified mostly with their own group, but not significantly more than with the white group. They identified significantly less with the black group. Older Indian children showed clearer own-group identification. Preference attributions were made for the Indian and white groups by the Indian subjects. White children of both age groups showed more distinct scores on in-group identification, and a greater degree of in-group preference attributions than the other two groups. All subjects showed recognition of social stratification, rating the white group as more advantaged than the Indian, and particularly the black group, which was rated lowest.

Theoretical implications are discussed, and recommendations for future research in this area are made.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The recent history of South Africa is characterised by many dramatic changes following the official dismantling of the Apartheid regime. In spite of these fundamental shifts at the level of governing policies, the post-euphoria phase is to some extent marked by complaints of unchanged prejudices within a multi-cultural society, fanned by an air of uncertainty and disillusionment. It seems an appropriate point in this time of societal change for closer examination of individuals' and groups' attitudes towards themselves and others, and it would appear particularly salient to study the attitudes of the younger generation. A highly significant aspect of studies on racial orientation is the relationship between self-esteem, racial identification and group preference. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) write: "the extreme racism and discrimination of Apartheid makes South Africa an appropriate setting to investigate the relationship between in-group/out-group preference and personal self-esteem" (p. 418).

Independent of these local changes, the literature in this field generally requires further research. Aboud (1988) aptly summarises: "A great deal of controversy surrounds the idea that ethnic attitudes are related to self-esteem" (p. 95). Thus despite a common-sense appeal that one's view of self will influence one's view of others, to date there is little clarity of this assumption within empirical findings. Research has produced findings of both the relevance of self-esteem in determining racial orientation in individuals, and results of non-significance in this relationship (Verkruyten & Masson, 1995). It has also linked the effects of prejudice towards groups on emerging self-esteem, but similarly with contradictory results (Crocker & Major, 1989). In addition, work in the field has shown a tendency to involve isolated or dichotomous race groups. It is noted that many of the studies focus on forced-choice, negative out-group evaluations, instead of allowing for the expression of positive attitudes to more than one group. Erroneously extrapolated causal links with tenuous theoretical implications (often within individualistic trait-type approaches), with generally insufficient attention to developmental and historical trends are common (Duckitt, 1992b). What appears necessary is more cross-sequential research involving several cultural groups. Writers in this field call for tighter explorations of the relationship between self-esteem and the various facets of racial orientation within a model of theory-testing, with a

conceptualisation of the relationship as a dynamic interaction, and with added emphasis on the impact of socio-historical change factors (Louw & Edwards, 1993).

While at this stage following a cross-sectional design, this study forms part of the first phase in a multi-disciplinary cross-sequential research project. It attempts to describe, and theoretically relate the racial orientation, perceptions of social stratification and self-esteem among primary school South African children from three different schools, including children from three of the traditionally classified race groups.

The analysis of the findings includes theoretical emphasis on socio-historical and individual developmental factors, with reference to cognitive-developmental, individualistic trait theories and social identity theory. This ambitious eclectic approach of what are traditionally conceptualised as incongruous discourses is naturally not without its difficulties. Sampson (1993) optimistically writes that:

Perhaps the best policy to follow in dealing with such an idea ... therefore is to become the kind of acrobatic tightrope walker that Braidotti (1991) had described, accepting the dissonance and sustaining the tension between having an identity as defined by the dominant discourses and practices of one's time and place and simultaneously challenging that very identity by probing its history, its production, and its uses (p. 1219).

He writes of the need to retain a critical overview of the modality in use, hence "even as we engage in an Adorno-like endeavour, holding the concept at arm's length to avoid its seductive qualities" (p. 1219).

## **2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

During examination of the research on racial orientation and self-esteem, it was soon found that this is a field full of inconsistencies with respect to the results of past research. Lack of clarity exists specifically in research relating to the development of this relationship (findings relating to children), and its application to the South African setting. Very little by way of recent theoretical developments of this specific area was found. Most of the relevant literature was located within the field of prejudice. Notice, however, that while much of the literature review pertains to the very relevant field of prejudice, the focus of the assessment is not, in fact, on prejudice (by definition), but on racial identification, perceived social stratification and group preference attributions. A second area of relevant literature pertains to self-esteem. Consequently, it was necessary to access the fields of prejudice and self-esteem separately. This is unfortunate in one sense, as practical constraints therefore only allow for somewhat cursory attention to some of the complex and controversial issues in each of the fields. Nevertheless, the presentation of the review of literature is divided into five sections. The first section takes a brief look at the recent history of South Africa and the present socio-political climate. The second deals with an introduction to social identity theory, the theory selected to provide an integratory framework for subsequent sections. The third section covers the field of prejudice and racial orientation, and an overview is provided of literature on prejudice in general, and relating specifically to the development of racial orientation in children within the South African setting. Fourthly, an overview of the field of self-esteem is provided, once again with particular reference to children and the South African setting. An integration is attempted in the fifth section, titled Racial Orientation, Self-esteem and Social Identity, in which the aims of the study are made more explicit. Hypotheses are drawn out of each section individually, with the review of the literature ending with a statement of hypotheses.

## **2.1. SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY**

“South Africa evokes a morbid fascination. A vast literature of condemnation wallows in moral predicaments” (Adam & Moodley, 1986, p. ix). Without dwelling too long in this morbid fascination, it appears important to set the scene of the present study with a brief overview of the recent past of South Africa.

### **2.1.1. APARTHEID ERA:**

Lipton (1987) explains that although Apartheid only became an official policy in South Africa after the introduction to power of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party (NP) in 1948, its roots extend back over 300 years to the earliest days of European settlement. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss in much detail the meaning of the term Apartheid, but for these purposes the term is used to refer to “the hierarchical ordering of the whole social, economic and political structure of South African society on the basis of statutorily defined race” (Lipton, 1987, p. 35). This includes physical, political, economic and social segregation of races, discrimination against so-called black people, and most importantly, the legalisation and institutionalisation of this system. In South Africa this discrimination took place against all people of colour, but in particular the black (African) population. The relative distinction is made without intending to trivialise the experiences of the Indian or so-called coloured populations in any way.

James (1987) describes the extent of this discrimination in South Africa as having involved exclusion of black people from the vote and the denial of basic civil rights. Restrictions included lack of occupational mobility, separate residential areas, schools, medical facilities, recreational facilities and transport (Lipton, 1987). Bluen and Odesnik (1988) outline some of the resultant problems faced by black people, and in particular township dwellers, as poverty, lack of adequate housing, legal restrictions, problems with security forces and political harassment. Kuhn (1990) also describes lack of adequate health care facilities and poor education.

In response to increased oppression, various movements of resistance started, although initially the government attempted to maintain tight control over these. These included the

African National Congress (ANC) established in 1912, the Pan-Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, InKatha yeNkululenko yeSiswe, United Demographic Front and various trade unions, to name just a few. Most were involved in active resistance against the Apartheid laws, and in the Black Consciousness movement in general (McDonald, 1988).

The 1960's saw a tightening of Apartheid legislation, despite increasing pressure locally and from abroad. In attempted alleviation of some of this pressure, the NP government declared 14% of the undeveloped land areas as independent homelands. From the mid-1970's there was a marked increase in overt political activity from many of the resistance movements, although still being excluded from parliamentary politics (Schrire, 1994). Increased conflict between various organisations within South Africa and with resistance based in neighbouring countries led to the development of war conditions in many areas. A hypothesised third force (government-allied) movement is thought to have encouraged factions between different political groups (Kane-Burman, 1993). Economic boycotts from international sources added pressure to reform, and the early 1980's showed a significant weakening of the ruling NP, with increased internal conflict in the party and dissent from former followers (Schrire, 1994). It was not until as recent as the late 1980's that the government began instituting significant movements towards dismantling the Apartheid regime.

### **2.1.2. TRANSITIONAL PERIOD:**

James (1987) describes the period of reform as involving a series of carefully introduced changes into the social order, in an attempt by the Nationalist government to retain control, while alleviating some of the demands for reform. Despite doubts in the genuineness of the change processes (Friedman, 1990), the shifts served to aid African resistance. Reform occurred at the level of labour-market policies, educational budget allocations, and political legislation. The early 1990's saw the release of Nelson Mandela, the leader of the ANC, the unbanning of this organisation, and ultimately, the triumphant election of this party into power. Early fears of a violent revolution were displaced by the relatively peaceful, and later almost national euphoria, of the election of the ANC into power.



The transitional period, although neatly summarised here, was by no means smooth and without difficulty. It is a period marked by mixed reactions of uncertainty, disillusionment, doubt, hopefulness and elation. Prejudices against various groups, sparked by fear and anger, appeared heightened, and the problem of violence, in particular, was central. Benjamin (1992) wrote of the need for stability and security at this time. Increased threats, and demands for their own independent, whites-only state, were made by Afrikaner movements, resisting the reform. For black South Africans, changes at the level of physical conditions were slow to take place as Mayekiso (1996) describes:

The elections were meaningful in restoring ... (people's) ... sense of citizenship and their hope for a truly free South Africa. But so far, our economic situation and the physical environment which we suffer have not improved much." (p. 266, parenthesis mine)

### 2.1.3. THE "NEW SOUTH AFRICA":

While many speak of the "New South Africa" with a sense of pride and victory, post-Apartheid reform in South Africa remains a time of difficulties, on political, economic and social levels. As described above, the hopefulness of many was replaced by a disillusionment, even in the ANC (Adam and Moodley, 1993). This appears largely due to the continued slow rate of change in physical conditions, even after the foundation of the Reconstruction and Development fund, an organisation intended to address these conditions. [Financial crises and misappropriation of funds have become a characteristic report on national television. Oppression of various groups is still apparent in many settings, and conflict between various political parties appears to be increasing.]

The gradual and continued uncovering of some of the horrors of the Apartheid Era by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the granting of amnesty to those involved in violence in this period, while offering relief for some, appears to have heightened the anger of others. In addition, affirmative action procedures are perceived as a threat for many majority group members. Thus while genuine empowerment of minority group members may have occurred on several levels, and while increased contact between many different groups of people in some instances may have reduced prejudice, these other less positive reactions to change need to be taken into account in the consideration of the overall socio-

political climate of this present study. Stones (1994) writes that "The danger exists that the ghost of Apartheid will continue to inform the spirit of whatever dispensation emerges under shared rule in South Africa. It is thus probable that prejudice and conflict will remain part of the everyday South African reality, militating against peaceful coexistence in a reconciled society." (p. 854). Hence while reform at policy levels has been fairly rapid, however, it would appear that a change in attitude for some South Africans may take somewhat longer. Naidoo (1991) writes: "The euphoric dust stirred by the historic de Klerk speech of 2 February, 1990, has long settled on the new site for the liberation movement: the 'battlefields of perception' " (p. 1).

#### **2.1.4. TRADITIONAL RACIAL CLASSIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:**

Although this typology is considered inappropriate, it was deemed necessary to briefly introduce the reader to some of the features of traditional racial classification in South Africa. These classifications are still meaningful as social constructs within the country, and form the basis of classification of groups in this dissertation. Thus the outline is attempted in a factual, historically-oriented manner, without intent to offend. Further examination of the concept of race occurs in subsequent sections.

**Black South Africans:** Black South Africans, also termed Africans, comprise approximately 72% of the local population (Liebenow, 1986). The residence of black people in South Africa results from successive southward migrations several centuries ago. This term does not actually refer to a homogenous group, however, traditional classification places these 9 different ethnic groups within the same racial class (de Crespigny & Schrire, 1978). Apartheid typology of this group centres primarily around phenotypical features, such as darker skin colour.

**So-called Coloured South Africans:** Simkins (1986) aptly writes that "It would be a foolhardy analyst who tried to formulate a coloured ideal-type" (p. 21). This classification represents a heterogenous community, with diverse origins, including Malay slaves, white-African unions, Hottentots and Bushmen. The population is concentrated in the Western Cape region, and in total comprises approximately 9% of South Africans (Liebenow, 1986).

**Indian South Africans:** Mostly residing in the KwaZulu-Natal region, Indians represent less than 3% of the South African population (Liebenow, 1986). This group is of Asiatic descent, migrating in approximately 1860 for employment in the sugar industry of this area. Traditionally, most Indians associate themselves strongly with their homeland. Religious affiliation is typically Muslim or Hindu, and of late, Christian.

### **White South Africans:**

Largely of Central European descent, this group arrived in South Africa between 1652 and the 1890's (de Crispigny & Schrire, 1978). White people comprise approximately 16% of the South African population (Liebenow, 1986). Afrikaner Nationalism classified this group according to phenotypical features, such as fair skin, and on the basis of predominantly Christian religious affiliation.

## **2.2. SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY**

"Self-definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined" according to Friedman (1994, p. 117). Having provided a cursory glance at the socio-political world of South Africa, this section outlines the theoretical framework adopted in this thesis to link the areas of social environment, self-perceptions and racial orientation.

### **2.2.1. DEFINITIONAL CONSTRUCTS:**

**Social Groups:** This term appears widely applied to a range of relationships and settings. When provided, most texts do, however, make use of definitions similar to the one by Tyson (1987): "A group is usually defined as two or more people who have a common interest or goal and who interact with an influence on each other" (p. 346). Turner and Giles (1984) add to the above criteria that this involves a collective perception of themselves as a social unit, and the existence of some organisation or social structure that regulates the relationships between group members via a system of roles or shared norms.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the use of the term "group" is in most cases being

applied to the traditional classifications of races within the South African setting. The additional terms of "in-group" and "out-group" are used with respect to races. These terms are described by Feldman (1985) as "the group to which one belongs" and "the other to which one does not belong" (p. 161). As will become increasingly clear, this application is practical and commonly found in the literature, but at the same time problematic. For example, not all of the above-mentioned criteria for a collection of individuals to be called a group need necessarily apply with respect to particular situations and relationships. Especially in a setting such as South Africa, with its multiplicity of cultures, races and so-called groups, the use of these terms may be somewhat of a misnomer. The use of the dichotomous in-group / out-group distinction is simplistic in terms of the many overlapping relationships and affiliations within this diverse society. Nevertheless, lack of more appropriate definitions has led to the adoption of these terms, and the reader is asked to bear in mind that in reality these distinctions are vastly more complex than this false dichotomy indicates.

**Majority and Minority Groups:** A variety of definitions exist with respect to distinguishing minority from majority groups. Baron (1994), while acknowledging the variation in the use of the term minority group, describes how "The phrase typically denotes a nondominant group or groups in a population which possesses a desire to preserve cultural, religious, and/or linguistic traditions or characteristics significantly different from those of the population as a whole" (p. 513). His definition has little relevance to the size of the group, instead pertaining more to a system of exclusion or oppression of this group which leads to resistance through attempts to retain own-group characteristics. Feldman (1985) similarly de-emphasises the size of the group, and proposes that the distinction pertains more to "the relative power wielded by the two groups" (p. 159). He cautions that the emphasis on the power differential is with respect to psychological power, once more highlighting cultural dominance as an important consideration. This appears an appropriate definition to adopt in this South African study, where the formerly nondominant groups (primarily black, and to a large extent coloured and Indian) are actually in the majority demographically, but where Apartheid legislation has fostered dominance of the smaller white group over these other groups. For the purposes of the analysis and discussion of this dissertation, the former classification of black, Indian and coloured groups will hence

be referred to as minority groups. This decision has been made on the basis of the recent and extended past of severe oppression of these groups, and the socio-political, religious and cultural dominance of the white group. It is also grounded in the active resistance of the oppressed groups and their attempts to preserve their various traditions, within a culture that is increasingly Western. As with the definitions described above, note that the adoption of this classification of minority and majority groups is simplistic and problematic, particularly in the light of the recent socio-political shifts in the country, where dominance of a particular group is no longer as apparent. The so-called minority group of black people, for example, is in fact currently the political ruling majority as well as by far the largest group numerically. The choice of application of the term minority could thus be the subject of much further debate, but this issue is beyond the scope of the present study.

**Social Identity:** Tajfel, credited as one of the founders of social identity theory, defines social identity as “the individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of membership” (in Campbell, 1995a, p. 31). Therefore, this not only relates to content knowledge, but is integrally involved in one’s sense of self. This is expounded upon by Breakwell (1983), who describes social identity as “that part of the self-concept derived from the individual’s group memberships and interpersonal relationships and social position and status” (p. 9). The process of group membership and related identity is not a passive one, and based on these social status and other differences, it would seem that group memberships are associated with different possibilities for, and constraints on, action (Campbell, 1995a). In addition, it becomes apparent that the individual’s sense of self as related to loose associations with group memberships with different groups, becomes salient in different situations. Hence Hogg, Terry and White’s (1995) emphasis on social identities as highly dynamic.

Simon, Pantaleo and Mummendy (1995) provide clarity on some of these differing situational variables, claiming that accentuation of the facets of social identity will vary according to three factors: the value assigned to temporary salient in-group features; the more stable sense of attractiveness of the group; and the awareness of the group receiving special treatment by the outside world. This collection of variables has been referred to as subjective belief structures (Hogg et al., 1995). Brewer and Gardener (1996) explain that

the concept of social identity is not a singular, finite, content-oriented variable, but that identity exists on various levels. They write of three different levels of identity, including the personal, relational and collective.

### **2.2.2. FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS OF SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY**

Finchilescu and de la Rey (1991) describe how social identity theory “explains intergroup relations in terms of cognitive-motivational factors, and attempts to integrate social factors with individual processes” (p. 225). It is postulated that three basic psychological processes underlie the development of social identity. The first of these is referred to as social categorisation. Louw and Edwards (1993) describe this process as the tendency people have to exaggerate similarities between in-group members, and accentuate differences between in-group and out-group members. This has formed the basis of theories such as the Homogeneity Hypothesis (for more information, see Linville, Fisher & Yoon, 1996). Maass, Ceccarelli and Rudin (1996) even describe evidence of a systematic bias in language of this phenomenon, which they call Linguistic Intergroup Bias. Clearly this categorisation process is salient to the understanding of prejudice, as is the second psychological process underlying social identity development - social comparison. This is the tendency of individuals to compare different social groups, in terms of value-laden judgements, often with affective significance. The third process is the fundamental need for positive social identity - that people strive to improve self-esteem through improved relatedness to significant groups (Turner, 1987).

As implied in the definitions, social identity is not a static concept, and Campbell (1995a) describes social identity as an adaptive resource. This means that people show considerable ability to shift identities in order to maximise their self-esteem. Jackson, Sullivan, Harnish and Hodge (1996) summarise Tajfel and Turner's (1979) descriptions of the abilities of people to make changes to their group identifications if perceived unattractive by the individual. Three strategies are involved here: social mobility, social creativity and social change. Social mobility refers to attempts to leave or dissociate from the in-group, including actual and psychological attempts at decreased individuation with the in-group and increased similarity with the chosen out-group. Social creativity strategies involve attempts to alter elements of social comparisons to result in more favourable

comparisons for the in-group. Social change strategies refer to direct competitions with the out-group to produce real changes in the relative status of the two competing groups.

### **2.2.3. CRITIQUE:**

The past two decades in particular, have produced a considerable amount of empirical support for this theory of human interaction (Hogg et al., 1995). Findings, by Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi and Ethier (1995) and Simon et al. (1995) have aided in validation and advancement of the understanding of the term social identity. Aboud (1988) reports evidence of social categorisation in even very young children. Other recent works, such as those by Jackson et al. (1996), Boninger, Krosnik and Berent (1995), Ethier and Deux (1994), Brewer and Weber (1994), Olson and Wilczenski (1995), Ray and Hall (1995), Hunter, Stringer and Watson (1992), and Karasawa (1995) show continued efforts to explore the concept of social identity within changing societies.

Louw and Edwards (1993), however, complain of a lack of local research on identity and identity development. They highlight the importance of more research on social identity in a country such as South Africa. This appears to be shifting, for example, Sennet and Foster (1996) have compared the social identity of white English-speaking South African students in 1975 and 1994. They found a comparatively greater salience in this group's recent sense of national and ethnic identities, compared to earlier results of weak attachment. Campbell (1995a, 1995b), in exploring the social identity of the township youth outlines factors perceived by this group as influencing identity, including the sense of being black, religious affiliation, referring to self as "comrades" etc. An obvious gap in the available literature pertains to the development of social identity in children, and the ways social identity manifests in different age groups (Burman & Reynolds, 1986).

The research in general has been criticised for its lack of ecological validity, being based largely on laboratory experiments and research designs with artificially constituted groups (Campbell, 1995a; Sidanius, Pratto & Mitchell, 1994; Hunter, Platow, Howard & Stringer, 1996). For example, some of the research involves being placed into teams which are treated synonymously with social groups, which in reality may have far less significance and have far less history than real social groups.



While regarded as a dynamic and flexible theory which presents scope for future development, Campbell (1995a) summarises the main criticism of social identity theory as not taking adequate account of the social context of identity formation. The theory is said to show a tendency to favour intra-individual and inter-individual levels of analysis at the expense of the societal level. For example, it tends to focus on cognitive and motivational processes rather than on societal processes, fostering an individual-society dualism. The importance of more careful consideration of social processes becomes apparent in the next section, accessing the field of prejudice and the development of racial orientation in children.

### **2.3. RACIAL ORIENTATION AND PREJUDICE**

“Many people still view prejudice as an adult and adolescent problem which is not serious in children. Parents think that their children do not even notice different coloured skin” (Aboud, 1993, p. 229). Increasingly, recent literature describes evidence of racial attitudes in even very young children, but this remains a complex and poorly understood field. This section summarises the trends and findings of the vast amounts of data and theoretical explanations available on the study of prejudice in adults and children.

#### **2.3.1. DEFINITIONAL CONSTRUCTS**

Aboud (1988) warns that the field of prejudice and racial orientation is not characterised by single, simple definitions, and that many of the relevant constructs require attention prior to launching into theoretical debate. A few of the core concepts used in this research have been selected and some of their definitions examined. Bear in mind that these definitions are vastly more complicated than their seemingly conclusive and simplistic presentation in this instance.

**Race:** As Louw and Edwards (1993) argue, there is no clear way of dividing people into groups on the basis of external features (such as skin colour) or supposedly inherent biological characteristics. Yet they explain that people still use the term race, in a fairly meaningful manner, with reference to its value as a social construction, where social



significance is assigned to certain phenotypical human features. Burman and Reynolds (1986) explain that the classifications have “acquired a pseudo-reality because of its socio-political consequences” (p. 6). Social constructivists argue that this is problematic, with the use of the term itself propagating prejudice (Lee, 1993). Although this is acknowledged, the term will be used in the dissertation in the manner Burman and Reynolds (1986) and Louw and Edwards (1993) have described, to refer to traditional classifications of groups of South Africans based on phenotypical features.

**Ethnic Group:** Difficulties with traditional use of the use of the term race appears to have led to the adoption of the apparently richer term “ethnic group”. Where race refers primarily to physical attributes, this term should be reserved for “a socially defined and/or psychologically defined set of people who share a common culture or cultural background, often because of similarity of race, nationality or religion” (Aboud & Skerry, 1984, p. 3). Smith (1994) describes a difficulty in the use of this term being that there is no universal agreement of criteria of classification of people according to ethnic groups. Some suggested criteria include country of origin, language, skin colour and religion (Gergen, 1994). Following the controversy surrounding the application of the term and since some of these factors (for example religion) were beyond the scope of this study, the term “ethnic group” is reserved for theoretical discussion only, and not applied to the sample groups.

**Ethnic Awareness:** The term ethnic awareness refers to the recognition of and identification of (not necessarily with) different ethnic groups. Involved in this are the processes of generalisation and categorisation (Aboud, 1988). This may be a neutral process, not necessarily involving negative associations to the different groups.

**Ethnicity:** This pertains to “a sense of identification with or belonging to a particular group” (Slonim, 1991, p. 4). It has been observed during the review of literature in general that researchers seem to use this term fairly loosely, but often appearing to refer to a combination of in-group identification and preference, or the general orientation to their own and other groups. In this case the “ethnic groups” under examination are in fact race groups, and hence this term is used synonymously with racial orientation.

**Ethnocentrism:** Again although not often strictly followed, the term ethnocentrism changes the above equation slightly, mostly referring to out-group rejection and in-group preference. Gergen and Gergen (1994) describe this as the tendency to view one's own group as superior to others, often with a concomitant dislike of other groups. Hence, for example, low ethnocentrism values are often applied to children who favour an out-group. Elevated levels of ethnocentrism appear to some extent synonymous with use of the term prejudice, but "ethnocentrism" tends to be applied to a more global sense of prejudice rather than with respect to negative evaluations of specific groups.

**Prejudice:** Within the range of controversy surrounding the use of this term, the core characteristic appears to be its negative quality (Vivian & Brown, 1994). Aboud (1988) defines prejudice as "an organised predisposition to respond in an unfavourable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliation" (p. 4). The difference to the term **stereotypes**, for example, is found in its negatively evaluative, rather than simply descriptive nature. Distinguishing this from **discrimination** (largely behavioural) is that this attitude stems from a kind of structural, rather than purely situational predisposition. Olson and Zanna (1993) describe the nature of prejudice as falling generally under the domain of attitudes, involving several dimensions including "beliefs about, evaluations of, and feelings towards groups of people" (p. 141). Although often referred to as a shared set of attitudes, prejudice occurs "as the property of the individual", rather than as a collective phenomenon (Louw & Edwards, 1993, p. 777). While making use of the term prejudice with respect to theoretical discussions, it is not particularly suited to the assessment at hand. This will become clearer upon closer examination of the results, which tap more into positive status attributions (termed preference), rather than negative evaluations of groups.

**Racism:** Linking back to the first definition, that of race, it becomes clearer that unlike prejudice, racism is conceived of as the property of the group - it refers to "an ideology, that is, a widespread set of beliefs, ideas and practices among people" (ibid, p. 777). Where the concept appears similar to the notion of the prejudice, it pertains to negative evaluative qualities, largely on the basis of falsely perceived difference (namely inferiority) of a distinct category or group.

### 2.3.2. THE NATURE OF RACIAL ATTITUDES

There is much debate as to whether racial attitudes tends to exist in certain individuals as a fairly universal evaluation of people from different groups, or whether positive or negative appraisals are reserved for certain out-groups only. Duckitt (1991) summarises the research as finding that racial attitudes tend to be generalised:

Thus, persons who report favourable attitudes towards some out groups seem more likely to be favourable towards others. Conversely, persons who are hostile or prejudiced towards one out group tend also to have less favourable attitudes towards other out-groups or minorities. Empirically this has been documented by high correlations between attitudes to different out groups. Such findings have been consistently reported in a number of studies using a wide diversity of samples and target groups. (p. 172)

This has important implications for the study of self-esteem and racial orientation, as it links with the ideas on whether or not a fairly global evaluation of self is correlated with a global evaluation of one's own and other groups. Using comparative evaluation of the results of this study, it will be possible to examine whether this sample's evaluations of various out-groups coincide.

Following the issue of the generality of racial attitudes, is the question of whether or not there are different forms of negative attitudes or prejudice. Aboud (1988) appears one of the first writers to provide a fairly comprehensive theoretical distinction of three different forms of prejudice (see Chapter 1 of her book). However, this is beyond the scope of the present discussion, and it should also be added that, once made, Aboud herself seems to find little further use for her typology in discussing actual evidence of racial attitudes.

Becoming increasingly apparent in the literature over the past decade, is the distinction between subtle (or symbolic) racism and traditional racism. Lea, Bokhorst and Colenso (1995) describe that symbolic racism is a term reserved for supposedly more sophisticated (socially sanctioned) expressions of prejudice. They use the words "subtle" and "modern" and outline the increased use of this construct in attempts to explain current changes in racial prejudice. Duckitt (1993) has done fairly extensive local research in developing a

"Subtle Racism Scale", providing empirical support for the concept. Other researchers, for example Lea et al. (1995) and Ray (1994) dispute these findings. Where the present study is concerned, the distinction seems useful only as far as it highlights the fact that more obvious means of assessment need not necessarily tap into all forms of prejudice.

### **2.3.3. THEORIES OF PREJUDICE**

The most comprehensive theoretical formulations regarding racial orientation appear within the well-documented field of explanations of prejudice. Since the theories attempting to explain the phenomenon of prejudice are vast and complex, it seems crucial to try to form a basic classification structure within which to examine the various approaches. The framework followed in most overviews appears to be in terms of separating out levels of analysis of the theories (for example Louw and Edwards, 1993; Aarons, 1991). Other writers have adopted a chronological, historical overview approach (for example Duckitt, 1992b), or categorisation on the basis of the approaches of different schools of psychology (for example Duckitt, 1991; Bergemann, 1994). More recent works show evidence of attempts at establishing integrative frameworks (for example Duckitt, 1992b). In this case the structure of levels of analysis of theories is followed, however, not without reference to different historical periods, and schools of psychology. Presentation of the theories is categorised into intra-personal, inter-personal, socio-cultural and integrative levels of explanation.

#### **Intra-personal Theories:**

The idea of examination of prejudice as a social scientific construct only emerged after 1920. Duckitt (1992b) writes that, only following the historical political shift of challenges to the legitimacy of white domination, did prejudice started being conceptualised as a social problem. Although acknowledging social dimensions of occurrence of prejudice, the image of prejudice at this time shifted to something that was irrational and unjustified, and initial attempts at explanation of prejudice was in terms of intra-psychic phenomena. Schaller, Boyd, Yohannes and O'Brien (1995) write of the 1950's as the heyday for research relating individual personality characteristics to intergroup perceptions and behaviour. Psychodynamic theorists analysed prejudice as an unconscious defense, the expression of pathological needs. This led to the now well-known authoritarian personality approach.

Duckitt (1991) postulates that "the theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950) has been the most ambitious and influential attempt to understand the psychology of prejudice." (p. 174). The authoritarian personality, described as a syndrome, includes a number of covarying needs, motives, traits, cognitive and behavioural dispositions. It describes this personality type as being predisposed towards ethnocentrism (Louw & Edwards, 1995). Still largely psychodynamic, the theory postulates the existence of intra-psychic conflicts following repressed and displaced resentment and hostility, with a denial of antisocial impulses. Family dynamics play a central role in the individual's development, family structure being characterised by rigidity and conventional views. The primary advantage of a theory such as the authoritarian personality is the ability to account for individual differences in prejudice, for example, the stability and strength of prejudice within certain individuals - that at times it appears only explicable as an internal force rather than an imposed attitude.

However, research and theoretical debate on the authoritarian personality continues, especially within South Africa (for example Duckitt & Farre, 1994; Duckitt, 1993; Ray, 1994). Ray (1994) argues that much of this research requires clarification, and that what is being examined under the title of authoritarianism is in fact what he calls conservative personalities. Interestingly, recent works are linking attributes of the authoritarian and conservative personality with low self-esteem. Aboud (1988) criticises the authoritarian personality approach for its inability to sufficiently explain more global developmental shifts in prejudice, and that specifically selected targets of prejudice are not accounted for. She also indicates that it holds poor empirical support, being a poor indicator of prejudice except in adolescent males.

From this review of literature, it would seem that for years much of South African research has expended much energy on this concept, in attempts at validating, refuting and refining the notion. This appears useful only to a point - in determining some of the intra-personal characteristics associated with individuals who are more prejudiced than others within this society. However, some facets of this research appear to be circling around fairly dead-end debates. The relative lack of advancement of this popular theory is useful in demonstrating the limitations of attempted adoption of a single-faceted, causal explanation of a complex

phenomenon such a prejudice, and it appears a suitable time in the history of prejudice research to move onto more multifaceted conceptualisations and explanations of prejudice.

### **Inter-personal Theories:**

Following increased exposure of the short-comings of intra-psychic theories such as the authoritarian personality theory, the attention of some schools of thought shifted from the individualistic, personality-centred approaches to consideration of interpersonal or group dynamics. Prejudice, seen as an expression of group interests, was thought to be rooted in social structures and intergroup discrimination. For example, Duckitt (1992b) proposes that Realistic Conflict Theory is an important perspective for understanding intergroup conflict in South Africa, but that little research has made use of this paradigm.

Social identity theory, described earlier, is another theory frequently referred to at this level of explanation. The processes of social categorisation and comparison explain, to a large extent, why people often seem invested in perceiving those from another group as different. The tendency for individuals to attempt to enhance their self-esteem by increasing the attractiveness of the group to which they associate, relative to other groups, also accounts for intergroup attitudes. This point will be returned to.

The understanding of common dynamics between people and the groups to which they belong which foster prejudice is useful in demonstrating the fairly universal nature of the occurrence of prejudice. However, where this level of analysis falls short is in explaining why different individuals within the same group and society show very different degrees of prejudice. It has also been argued that these theories do not take sufficient account of broader societal influences on the phenomenon of prejudice.

### **Sociocultural Theories:**

Theories from this school of thought take clearer cognisance of broader social and cultural influences on ethnocentrism. Aboud (1988) describes these theories' understanding that one's attitudes regarding ethnic groups reflects the structure of society. Processes of direct instruction and modelling (for example in social learning theory) are said to be involved.

This type of explanation is also labelled the normative approach, because of its conceptualisation of prejudice as a social norm.

For example, different social explanations have been offered for the shift to fewer findings on minority group children's mis-identification and out-group preference over the past two or three decades. Attention was drawn to the possibility of socio-historical changes, such as the rise in black consciousness movement and the increased media exposure on minority groups, in possibly influencing these processes. Duckitt and Kelly (1995) postulate:

This interpretation could adequately explain a shift in black children from out-group preference and identification to increased own-group preference and identification and would also account for a shift to higher positive self-esteem. The nature of this historical change hypothesis, however, has meant that it has not been easy to test it directly, and there do not appear to have been any attempts to do so. (p. 218)

This is one criticism of the normative approach - that in attempting to take into account diverse and somewhat nebulous social dynamics, it often seems difficult to validate empirically. One contradictory empirical result is of children holding strong prejudiced views not held by their parents or their parents' generation (Aboud, 1988). In addition, Aboud suggests that sociocultural theories tend not to be able to account sufficiently for individual differences in prejudice, or age-related developmental trends. More fervently sociologically-inclined theorists criticise these theories' attempts at consideration of social dimensions, saying that explanations such as modelling simply represent individual's attitudes and interactions on an interpersonal level (for example Sampson, 1993).

### **Integrative Approaches:**

Duckitt (1992b) explains that classifications of theories of prejudice, such as the one above, may cause loss of complexity by the adoption of simplified causal categorisations. Because these approaches describe separate levels of theoretical analysis, they tend to focus attention on single causal factors, ignoring the others in operation, and particularly the interactions between various factors and even theories themselves. He highlights the

salience of different theoretical approaches in response to changing socio-historical conditions, asserting that our changing interest in various theories have little to do with these being refuted or even invalidated. Instead, Duckitt writes that “social circumstances and historical events, interacting with evolution of knowledge and techniques, focuses attention on different issues and questions in each period” (p. 1183). He goes on to provide a rudimentary integrative framework of these theories by offering a historical analysis in which he highlights important shifts in conceptualisation of the phenomenon of prejudice. He writes that “Each stage was characterised by a distinctive theoretical orientation and research emphasis and seemed to emerge in response to specific historical circumstances” (p. 1189). From these, he draws out what he describes as four fundamental and qualitatively dissimilar causal processes:

1. That as humans we have a universal propensity to develop prejudiced attitudes towards others, and that this tendency is inherent due to certain core psychological processes.
2. These tendencies are then potentially elaborated into normative or socially shared dynamics of prejudice through social and intergroup dynamics.
3. Social transmission of patterns of prejudice occurs via mechanisms of conformity to pressure, socialisation processes and interpersonal contact.
4. Modulation of the impact of these social transmission mechanisms draws on the domain of individual difference dimensions, which determine the individual's susceptibility to prejudice.

In combination, “Each causal process provides an essential though partial contribution to the explanation of prejudice. Together they provide a rudimentary integrative framework” (ibid, p. 1190).

Duckitt's (1992b) comprehensive analysis and the basic principles drawn from this appear to be the first attempt to compile various theories into an interactive model. However, Gaines and Reed (1995) provide a useful objection to this overview by Duckitt. They argue that it provides a comprehensive analysis of mainstream trends - of whites views of blacks, but ignores major developments in the field of minority groups' attitudes to majority groups. In critique of Duckitt's integrative attempts, it should be added that his principles seem unsatisfactorily broad in nature. What emerges are loosely defined dimensions at which



prejudice may develop, but he pays insufficient attention to actual mechanisms of change and specific factors determining the strength of the emerging prejudice.

As in the case of Duckitt's (1992b) overview, when considering theories of prejudice in general, it is noted that little is provided by way of explanation of targets of social discrimination. Factors affecting individuals' and societies' lack of prejudice, or protective factors, are poorly explored in the literature. Limited information relates to more positive attitudes to different groups, and the acquisition of a sense of belonging to one's own group (identification). In particular, most theories seem to ignore key developmental phases in acquisition of these attitudes. The following section attempts to address some of the missing links with respect to the development of prejudice.

#### **2.3.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PREJUDICE AND RACIAL ORIENTATION IN CHILDREN**

Williams and Morland (1976) summarise that white preference is fairly universal in children and adults, with the following simple explanation: "bias is attributable to a biologically based tendency to prefer light over darkness" (p. 239). Within a complex field of empirical findings on the development of racial orientation in children, the danger of such reductionistic linear extrapolations of single experiments is obvious. It appears necessary to examine various findings with a broader, meta-analytic view, taking into account historical and socio-cultural developments. The empirical results are firstly presented as a rough historical overview. This is followed by a summary of the general trends observed to date.

Kelly and Duckitt (1995) summarise that in the early part of the century, research on children's prejudice centred around the attitudes of white (majority group) children towards minority groups. Following World War II, interest moved to the effects of oppression on the oppressed. This shifted research to exploration of black American children's identification and self-esteem, as it was believed that exposure to prejudice would affect them adversely.

Louw and Edwards (1993) describe the studies of Clark and Clark (1947), which revealed three findings, which have since received much attention and scrutiny. Using the Clarks' doll technique, they observed that in general the process of ethnic awareness (correct doll choices for ethnic labels) was evident from as young as 3 years of age. Secondly, the

Clarks found that both white and black children showed preference for the white doll. They also noticed that black children tended to misidentify themselves, identifying with the white doll rather than their own group. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) mention South African studies by Gregor and McPherson (1966) and Meij (1966) as confirming misidentification in black children, although Gregor and McPherson (1966) is said to have found stronger own-group identification in rural black children. Foster (1986) also cites the studies of Lambert and Klineberg (1968) and Bhana and Bhana (1975) as support for this finding. The Bhana and Bhana study pertained specifically to Indian minority groups.

At that stage, when white preference results were confirmed, these tended to have led to questionable interpretations, such as the Clark's original conclusion that black children wanted to be white. Kelly and Duckitt (1995) point to the shift in making inferences regarding minority groups' impaired self-esteem, alienation and identity conflicts (Gregor & McPherson, 1966), and in Asher and Allen's (1969) interpretation that children tend to positively evaluate whites and negatively evaluate Negroes. The studies at this time were also fraught with methodological problems (see section on measurement of prejudice). In addition, Aboud (1988) highlights that while out-group preference in young minority group children was regarded as a sign of maladjustment, in older majority group children it was regarded as a sign of maturity.

The 1970s research findings showed less consistency, and it was often reported that there were no white preference, and no significant difference in the self-esteem of black and white children (Kelly & Duckitt, 1995). Foster (1986) claimed that misidentification was often assumed, but seldom shown to be "the basis of deleterious psychological states, such as impaired self-esteem, alienation and identity conflicts" (p. 160). More recent studies still show lack of consistency, and the following section is an attempt to draw out some of the more well-established findings of the developmental trends.

As in the early findings, Aboud (1988) maintains that for the most part, the age of acquisition of ethnic identification and attitudes of children from both minority and majority groups is roughly 3 to 4 years. According to Powlishta, Serbin, Doyle and White (1994) these results have been consistently confirmed. As described earlier, however, many

studies have reported misidentification in minority group children of this age, and local trends on this are unclear. This forms one of the hypotheses to be explored in the present study.

With respect to majority (white children's) attitudes, Smith (1994) explains that there is significant evidence of white children's negative attitudes to black children at about age 3 or 4 years. Aboud (1988), in her comprehensive analysis of many relevant studies, identifies the period from 4 to 7 years as a time characterised by strong trends of preference for their own group and prejudice against out-groups. By approximately 7 or 8 years, a shift occurs, indicating decrease in prejudice, when at this age, cognitive and individual factors become increasingly salient. There is a general tendency to evaluate their own group more neutrally. In general, majority youth show more prejudice than minority youth (Verkruyten & Masson, 1995; Foster, 1986; Aboud, 1988). The above findings are hypotheses to be explored in the study.

Recent studies still report some evidence that minorities show split preferences in terms of out-groups and in-groups, however after 7 years of age, are less negative to their own group (for example Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Banks & Rompf, 1973; Banks, 1976). Interestingly, Verkruyten and Masson (1995) describe a trend with minority youth that more positive in-group evaluation was associated with less prejudice. Minorities showed poorer correlations between different measures of prejudice than majorities, whose comparative scores tended to be much more similar. All the above trends have recently been confirmed by Doyle and Aboud (1995) and Aarons (1991) and form one of the important hypotheses of this study. Based on past results, the hypothesis is directive, suggesting that children from minority groups, in the younger age category, will show significantly higher levels of out-group preference. Relating to both majority and minority children, it will be examined whether or not the sample shows an increase in positive evaluations towards other groups with age, and this forms one of the directive hypotheses.

Research on children's prejudice has focused on several other useful dimensions. An area particularly relevant to this study is with respect to social stratification. It appears clear that societies made up of differing ethnic groups do not necessarily produce prejudice. The key

variable here, it would seem is recognised social stratification (Morland & Hwang, 1981). Children from societies in which there are clear differences in perceived social status show greater prejudice than those from societies in which there are simply several ethnic groups. Poor consideration of this perception of social stratification by children is often given in many studies. To examine this phenomenon more closely, the extent to which measures of racial attitudes are confounded by (or confused with) perceptions of social status differences is explored in this study.

Another important facet to consider is children's socio-economic status. Minority children appear more affected by economic class than majority children, with whom there was little significant difference in prejudice when related to class. Aboud (1988) cites a study by Vaughan (1964) suggesting that middle class black children, around 5 to 8 years, show more out-group preference and in-group rejection. While not a variable specifically assessed in this study, this is an important consideration in the discussion of the results.

Parental ethnocentrism and authoritarianism is a fairly well-researched dimension. Research shows that children do not always adopt the attitudes of their parents, especially under 7 years of age (Aboud, 1988). Older samples tend to show greater correspondence. Interestingly, however, it was found that the children themselves believe their attitudes to correspond to those of their parents. This was traditionally classed under the category of social learning theory type approaches, thought to involve primarily the process of modelling. However, evidence has been found for less obvious processes, such as punitive child-rearing practises instilling low self-esteem in children.

Investigations have begun to focus on the influence of personal friends on intergroup attitudes, but Aboud (1993) reports little evidence of significant correlations between friends' attitudes.

Research involving sex differences in racial attitudes shows unclear results, and there is no strong support for this distinction (Aboud, 1988; Aarons, 1991). This is a null hypothesis to be tested in this study.

### **2.3.5. THEORIES OF DEVELOPMENT OF RACIAL ORIENTATION IN CHILDREN**

Returning to theoretical explanations of the above findings, Aboud's (1988) Socio-Cognitive Developmental Theory represents another integrative attempt. While perhaps less generally inclusive than, for example, Duckitt's (1992b) theory relating more to prejudice in adults, this theory appears to be one of the only serving to make sense of the vast literature on specific, age-related developments in racial attitudes.

Aboud (1988) explains the emergence of this theory in response to certain limitations of the theories described earlier. Although social factors are important in explaining the choice of derogation of certain ethnic groups and not others, research clearly shows that children are not templates of their parents' attitudes or of society. They exhibit significant individual differences in the relative degree of ethnocentrism. She also points to lack of consideration of age-related developmental trends in all the other theories, which have not provided explanations for the clear shifts in the development of racial attitudes described earlier.

Aboud (1988) proposes that changes in cognitive structure lead to qualitatively different manifestations of racial attitudes. This is explained as the result of a combination of environmental input and cognitive limitations, which filter and distort the input. She suggests that attention be paid to two important parallel developmental processes. Louw and Edwards (1993) describe the first sequence as involving psychological functioning, and the second, changes in focus of attention.

In her explanation of the process of psychological functioning, Aboud (1988) outlines various dimensions dominating the child's experience at different developmental stages, including not only conditions, but affective states and perceptions. In very young children (approximately 3 to 6 years), affective processes are dominant, and prejudice at this stage is dominated by emotions (fear and happiness), need satisfactions and preferences. A simple example of prejudice at this stage would be negative reactions to strangers, because of fear of those who look different. As the child develops, perceptual processes become salient, and attention is paid to particular perceptual cues, such as skin colour. What emerges is the awareness of the dissimilarity of others, and the beginnings of an ethnic self-identity. At this age, children tend to over-discriminate. This accounts, in part, for the

apparent heightened prejudice of the 4 to 7 year old range. Gradually, cognitive processes increase in dominance and children develop understanding of categories. By 8 to 10 years, appreciation of individual qualities tends to be associated with a reduction in prejudice. Aboud describes an important cognitive ability at this stage is that of Piaget's Conservation. As this develops, children acquire greater cognitive flexibility, developing the ability to acknowledge the existence of similar attributes in ethnically different individuals, and that differences can exist in individuals that are ethnically similar. This allows for minimising of between group similarities and maximising within group differences, which are important in the reduction of prejudice.

The process of focus of attention adds further understanding to the development of children's prejudice. Aboud (1988) indicates that early on, children are essentially egocentric, with their attention dominated by self-awareness. Linking this to the first stage in the psychological process, feelings are dominant, and with the child's inherent egocentrism, the experience is that experiences deviating from happiness are wrong. The next phase, termed the sociocentric phase, is characterised by an exaggeration of contrasts in order to develop understanding of groups. The focus of attention is thus on groups, not simply the self, as there is an increase in cognitive flexibility. This may be marked by pro/anti dichotomies, as sometimes evidenced in the strong ethnocentrism of this age category. With cognitive processes becoming more salient, focus shifts from groups to other individuals, and is associated with a decrease in prejudice.

The three age-related phases outlined in each of the processes above are also linked to Kohlberg's theory of moral development (1976) according to Aboud (1988). The move from Hedonism in the first phase, to Conventionalism, to Personally Evaluated Principles proposed by this theory adds an additional dimension of explanation for the shifts in prejudice in developing children. In particular, Aboud draws on the shift from more concrete thinking in younger children, to more abstract or psychological thinking in older children, leading to increased flexibility and reduction in prejudice. Aboud also incorporates the work of Block's (1973) Sex-Role Identity Development. This proposes that children move through the stages of Own Wants in early years, to Social Stereotypes to Personal Inclination in adolescence. Block describes the mature sex-role identity in terms of being

secure enough in one's own identity to enable adoption of attitudes traditionally regarded as socially more appropriate for an opposite group or sex.

Louw and Edwards (1993) provide positive evaluation of this theory because of its ability to "reconcile a reasonable amount of both observable and theoretical evidence. In particular, it is able to account for the striking changes observed around the age of seven or so." (p. 769). They do, however, criticise its inability to explain out-group preferences found in both minority and majority groups. Also, that the theory is still fundamentally intra-personal and interpersonal rather than truly social or cultural lends itself to criticism. While successfully explaining global trends, the theory offers little by way of explaining vast individual differences in prejudice, and the persistence of strong, almost irrational prejudice in many adults. Holmes (1995) adds to this the critique that theorist's language is used to impose categories on the child, rather than engaging phenomenological attempts at understanding the children's prejudice.

While possibly to be commended for their attempts, the supposedly integrative approaches of Duckitt (1992b) and Aboud (1988) may still fall prey to Sampson's (1993) critiques. He complains of accommodative, add-on strategies of old theoretical models, rather than reconceptualisations or genuine transformations of constructs. He cautions against attaching a social dimension to, for example, fundamentally non-social cognitive models.

### **2.3.6. MEASUREMENT OF RACIAL ORIENTATION**

This next section centres around the difficult task of accessing people's, and especially children's, attitudes to their own group and other groups. A brief overview is provided of some of the most common assessment instruments, followed by an examination of some of the more general difficulties in this area.

The use of the Clarks' dolls technique (1947) referred to earlier appears to have been one of the most innovative means of assessment of children's attitudes to other races, and one which has been used in many studies since. The instrument consists of four dolls, of which two are brown with black hair, and two are white with yellow hair. Children are asked to select one of these dolls in response to questions pertaining to preference (for example

"Give me the doll that is a nice doll"), racial awareness (for example "Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child" and self-identification (for example "Give me the doll that looks like you"). Louw and Edwards (1993) summarise several criticisms of this measure, including the possible familiarity of white versus brown dolls, based on availability. They also mention that the instrument has not been fully validated in terms of what particular dimension is being used in the choices by the children. Another problem is of this test being a "forced-choice" measure, with the choice from only two races, with preference of one group possibly confounding rejection of another.

Doyle and Aboud (1995) describe The Preschool Racial Attitudes Measure (PRAM) of Williams, Best and Boswell (1975) as consisting of 24 racial and 12 gender items, with positive and negative adjectives. An example of a positive item is "One of these children is kind; once he saved a kitten from drowning. Who is kind?". Children are requested to choose from a series of pictures of black and white stimulus persons, and are scored on a pro-white/anti-black dichotomy for each item. Once again, criticisms include this being a forced choice format, with only two race groups represented. Reliability and validity measures have received criticism (Aboud, 1988).

Aboud (1988) writes of the Katz-Zalk Projective Prejudice test of Katz and Zalk (1978) as a well-known measure of children's ethnocentrism. Instead of dolls or figures, this test makes use of "slides of two or more black and white children in ambiguous situations, in which one is said to be either initiator or recipient of a positive or negative event" (Kelly and Duckitt, 1995, p. 218). There are 38 items, and in each case the child is asked to select one of the children in the slide in response to the item (for example "This picture won first prize in an art contest. Which child drew it?"). The items are summed to produce three scores: in-group preference, out-group rejection and ethnocentrism, with higher scores indicating more prejudiced attitudes to that group. Advantages of this test are that it may be administered in groups. Being a projective test, and using fairly real-life situations and children are added positive attributes. It also makes use of multiple items and generates the three useful separate scores (Kelly and Duckitt, 1995). In addition, Aboud (1988) comments that it is fairly well standardised, with adequate reliability and validity. Disadvantages of the test are that it still involves forced choices, with again the problem



of confounded preference and rejection of different groups. As is the case with most of these assessments, there is no measure of perceived social inequality, which may be a confounding variable, particularly in a society with such marked social stratification such as South Africa. This test also only includes two race groups, black and white, which, for example made it unsuitable for use in this study.

Cover (1995) mentions the Social Distance Scale of Bogardus (1925) as another of the well-known means of assessing attitudes of adults and children to other groups. This measure is one of the instruments used in this study, and a more comprehensive review is provided in the section on methodology.

Having provided a brief overview of some of the common measures in use within this field, the following section takes a closer look at some of the methodological constraints on this type of assessment.

### **Definitions and Theoretical Objectives:**

In introducing the section on racial orientation and prejudice, some of the complexity with the various definitions and subtypes of prejudice was outlined, and it is understandable that this tends to be a problem in assessment when lack of attention is paid to these. In general, it needs to be clarified whether specific studies regard racial attitudes in the light of rejection of out-groups, preference of in-groups, or rejection of in-groups (Sidanus et al., 1994), and with respect to what evaluative dimensions (for example personality or social status variables). The strength of this also needs clarification - that is, cutoff points or different categories of strength of prejudice need to be established.

Generally, research approaches have tended to be exploratory or descriptive, and Fried (1983) writes of the need for more specific testing of theoretical assumptions. Sampson (1993), in calling for re-conceptualisation of traditional trait-theory approaches, also writes that truly integrative and cross-cultural work should not be simply involved in adding nondominant ethnic groups to what he calls the current laws of empirical approaches, evolving into a masked version of traditional studies of white, male Anglo-American culture with more inclusive samples.

### **Research Design:**

Most research in this field appears to have followed a cross-sectional research design, where various age groups are compared at the same time. Although enabling insight into developmental phenomena, this has the disadvantage of ignoring cohort effects. These appear particularly salient in a topic such as racial orientation which is so dependent on changing social conditions. Cross-sequential research allows for examination of developmental and cohort effects (Miller, 1991).

### **Qualities of the Examiner:**

Brand, Ruiz and Padilla (1974) caution that consideration needs to be given to the sex and ethnicity of the examiner. Where possible, it is thought most useful to have tests administered by people as similar to the children as possible, or to have more than one examiner, who collectively represent different qualities, in the case of mixed groups of children. This is in order to facilitate maximum expression of feelings without effects of cognitive priming, particularly since young children are sensitive to environmental cues (Aboud, 1988).

### **Subject Samples:**

Consideration needs to be given to the proportion of each ethnic group in the sample (Brand et al., 1974). Lee (1993) calls for the inclusion of more minority subject groups in studies, in particular, providing closer consideration of attitudes and problems between minority groups. In addition, it has been observed during the review of many studies, that insufficient attention has been granted to detailed descriptions of the ages, sex, geographical residence, socio-economic status and socio-political climate of the subjects, tending to make fairly generalised claims without taking many of these factors into account.

### **Reliability and Validity of Instruments:**

Duckitt (1992-1993) cautions that discriminatory behaviour is often fairly situation-specific and may be hard to access in the form of generalised attitudes alone. Taylor, Fourie and Koorts (1995) complain of the lack of adequately standardised measures applicable to the South African situation. Generally, the tests in use have become outdated fairly quickly, or were designed for fairly specific populations. This was certainly the case in this study,

where the lack of suitable and available measures led to the design of a more appropriate instrument. Thus locally and internationally, the field seems plagued with problems of poor internal and external validity (Foster, 1986). Reliability measures tend to be somewhat better supported.

Historically, several typical forms of rating have been in use. The first of these is the forced-choice format. Here options are presented to the child to make a compulsory choice of one of these options. Clark and Clark's (1947) experiments described earlier represent such a response choice. The second is a continuous rating scale, where each item member is evaluated on a continuum (for example the Social Distance Scale). This has obvious advantages over the forced-choice format, allowing for expression of relative, rather than absolute differences, or an index of intensity (Aboud and Skerry, 1984). Choosing between, for example race groups may also confound acceptance of one group with the rejection of another or *visa versa* (Rosenbaum, 1986, in Aboud, 1988). Lee (1993) complains that a lot of research has included forced choices of two ethnic groups, usually black and white. It is important, where possible, to include several options because the dichotomy of forced choice responses between own group and out group may mask that children often like or dislike more than one group.

The distinction between single-question or multiple-item tests is also important. Again multiple-item tests are preferable, as they prove more reliable samples of information. As noted in this study, however, careful consideration needs to be given to fatigue effects, and the disadvantages of too many items can also affect reliability. The best combination of measures, writes Aboud (1988), is a carefully selected number of items within a continuous choice format. Once scored, however, care needs to be taken not to interpret group frequencies as the average scores of individuals, ignoring scatter among scores.

The materials used also require attention. The dolls often used in assessments provide the advantage of being familiar and fantasy objects, thereby evoking minimal fear of retaliation, while eliciting uninhibited feelings (Aboud, 1988). Problems with the use of dolls include the fact that they do not represent real people, that they are toys to be manipulated, may be selected by children for familiarity, and may have different meanings for older and

younger children. Brand et al. (1974) describe the use of picture preference methods as the most reliable measures of ethnic preferences, but again some of the same criticisms apply as for dolls. Photographs are said to provide more accurate representations of children and variations, but it is difficult to eliminate extraneous features, such as attractiveness. Assessments in the past have made use of evaluation of classmates, but Aboud (1988) writes that classmates are too well known individually to be accurate representations of ethnic groups.

### **Ethical Responsibilities:**

Holmes (1995) writes of the following conversation with one of her preschool interviewees demonstrating a valuable point: "I asked him, 'How does it feel to be black?' Stephan replied, 'I don't know, Robyn. It feels like a person. I'm just a person, and that's all I know'" (p. 54). Lea (1996) cautions that research on prejudice may itself aid in perpetuation of stereotyped or negative views of others. Ethical responsibilities of this type of research appear poorly explored in the literature, and hardly any of the references cited in this study have attempted to examine or have acknowledged the effect of their investigations on their subject sample.

## **2.4. SELF-ESTEEM**

### **2.4.1. DEFINITIONAL CONSTRUCTS**

Consideration of the term "the self" dates back to the era of James in the 1890's (Burns, 1979). It is a term that has been used in referring to aspects such as the "will", "spirit" and "the ego". Davies and Brember (1995) write that there are several conflicting definitions of the self and particularly self-esteem. Some common definitions are drawn on in explaining the use of the term in this study.

**Self Concept:** Burns (1979) cautions that the notion of a self-concept is a hypothetical construct, explanatory and abstract in nature. He states: "The self concept is a composite image of what we think we are, what we think we can achieve, what we think others think of us and what we would like to be" (p. 1). It acts as a central and focal point, influencing our perceptions and constructions of our environment and mediating behaviour. Burns writes

that the self concept evolves as a set of attitudes, including beliefs, knowledge or cognitive components, evaluative components, and a predisposition to respond.

**Self-Esteem:** It is the evaluative component of the self-schema, according to Campbell and Lavalley (1993) that is termed self-esteem. They describe this as "a self-reflexive attitude that is the product of viewing the self as an object of evaluation" (p. 4). Coopersmith (1967) writes that:

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 short, self-esteem is a personal judgement of worthiness that is expressed in attitudes the individual holds. (p. 4)

Compared to these relatively intrapsychic definitions, a growing trend seems to be towards drawing on interpersonal terms in attempting to understand and define self-esteem. According to Burns (1979), in the early part of the century Cooley (1912) and Mead (1934), alluded to self-esteem as composing of internalisation of society's judgement on the self. Harter (1993) maintains that competence (perceived through comparison with others) in socially valued domains fosters high self-esteem, implying not only a passive internalisation of other's judgements, but an active, interpersonally comparative process. Byrne and Shavelson (1996) have taken this concept a step further in proposing ideas regarding the structure of a component of the self-concept, social self-concept. This, they suggest is not simply a facet of self-esteem concerning other people's evaluations of specific abilities, but is multidimensional, hierarchically ordered and becomes increasingly differentiated with age. The recent theory of Leary, Terdal, Tambor and Downs (1995), called the Sociometer Hypothesis, lends further depth to this social dimension of the self-esteem. Their image of self-esteem is of a purposeful interpersonal and even intergroup process serving to maintain connectedness between people as essentially social beings, as the following quotation explains:

the self-esteem system is a sociometer that is involved in the maintenance of interpersonal relations ... an internal, subjective index or marker of the degree to which the individual is being included versus excluded by other people (the person's inclusory status) and the motive to maintain self-esteem functions to protect the person against social rejection and exclusion (p. 519).

This notion will be returned to in the section of theoretical explanations of self-esteem.

#### **2.4.2. THE NATURE OF SELF-ESTEEM**

As with the examination of the nature of racial attitudes, this section gives consideration to the validity of the construct of global self-esteem. Marsh (1996) maintains that the notion of global self-esteem is a widely used term, but it would appear from this survey of the literature that this concept needs once again to be viewed in the light of its being an inferred construct used to make sense of ourselves and others. Little empirical support of the existence of its global nature is provided, other than in the form of validations of existing self-esteem measures, which themselves in fact appear to have been designed to produce such a measure. The issue of the generality of self-esteem seems to be increasingly important, when interpreted in relation to recent conceptualisations of low and high self-esteem.

Traditionally, self-esteem has been classified on a bipolar (positive and negative) axis of self-evaluation. High self-esteem was conceptualised as a relatively stable positive self-evaluation - that people with high self-esteem show respect and acceptance towards themselves, and consider themselves worthy (Chiu, 1993). People with high self-esteem, according to Colvin, Block and Funder (1995), actually tend in fact to have unrealistically positive self-evaluations, rather than accurate self-knowledge. Baumeister (1993) outlines the additional distinction between defensive versus true levels of high self-esteem. He describes defensive self-esteem as the process of "blocking out, distorting or in some manner invalidating negative self-referent input" (p. 35) as a guard against failure. Those with genuine high self-esteem tend to find failure less threatening.

In contrast, people regarded as having low self-esteem, were thought to manifest a pervasive lack of self-respect, and to consider themselves unworthy. Their negative evaluations of themselves were thought to be recognisable as a relatively stable trait in various situations. The following quotation, from Tice (1993), however, demonstrates an important conceptual shift:

Apparently they are neither pathetic self-haters nor reckless, nothing-to-lose

self-enhancers. Instead, they appear to be cautious, uncertain people who desire success but fear failure - and the fear often outweighs the desire, resulting in an attitude of self-protection. Encountering a new or demanding situation, their first concern apparently is to prevent disaster, and so they act in ways designed to protect themselves from the dangers of failure, social rejection, and other humiliations. (p. 50)

Campbell and Lavalley (1993) add to this in saying that low self-esteem is not simply related to the positivity of evaluations, but more to the structure of the self-concept. People with low self-esteem have more poorly defined conceptualisations of the self, are in general more cautious and conservative in their environment, being more sensitive to (reactive, in a way that makes them more dependent on) external self-relevant cues. Low self-esteem does not then refer to well-defined negative views of the self, but to uncertainty, instability and inconsistency in self-evaluations. High self-esteem then, should be a term reserved for people with well-articulated, stable, relatively positive views of themselves. Because of the stability of their sense of self, they apparently are not as dependent on environmental or social cues, but draw more on inner or personal evaluations. Campbell, Trapnell, Heine, Katz, Lavalley and Lehman (1996) comment on the useful construct of Self Concept Clarity, a term referencing the structural aspect of self-concept, pertaining to the extent to which beliefs about the self are clearly defined, internally consistent and stable. This extends the idea of self-esteem beyond that of a collective, content-based store of information, but provides a perspective of a more dynamic, multi-faceted information-processing system. It also once more links back to the importance of current social stimuli, rather than purely past-based performance or competence comparisons.

#### **2.4.3. THEORIES OF SELF-ESTEEM**

Brockner, Wisenfeld and Raskas (1993) outline two well-known theories which have been developed to explain the operation and development of self-esteem. These are the theories referred to as Self-enhancement and Self-consistency theories. Self-enhancement theory proposes a fundamental striving within each individual, to improve self-esteem, especially if it is low. Hence those with low self-esteem tend to respond in a more dejected and hostile way to negative input, and more favourably to positive input. Self-consistency theory, in

contrast, postulates that individuals show a tendency to create and maintain a consistent cognitive state. Based on a homeostatic model, it is thought that people with high self-esteem, for example, tend to actively seek out positive input and defend against negative feedback, thus minimising cognitive dissonance of differing information. Apparently much empirical evidence of supports the processes described in both of these theories, although Brockner et al. (1993) describe that the functioning of the two serves to pull low self-esteem people in opposite directions.

The Sociometer Hypothesis of Leary et al. (1995) will be returned to in attempt to make sense of these phenomenon. This takes into cognisance the basic purpose of self-esteem - that is, why it is important to have high self-esteem. Their reasoning begins with a critique of prior theories' attempts to understand self-esteem as insufficiently explanatory in terms of the actual purpose of self-evaluation. Their reasoning is based on humans' evolutionary need for social groups for survival - for example in hunting, procreation and protection. As a result, people have developed a fundamental social drive which is to seek inclusion and avoid exclusion from certain social groups - a drive that promotes gregariousness and social bonding. Self-esteem, they propose, is thus a measure of the quality of one's social relations - the degree to which one is being included or excluded in salient social groups.

Although Leary et al. (1995) do not make this link explicit, it seems possible to relate their ideas on the nature of self-esteem back to the propositions of self-consistency approaches. It is relatively clear, by their accounts, why people with high self-esteem would try to maintain a sense of positive social relatedness. When it comes to people with low self-esteem, however, it seems important to link these theories back to the more recent findings regarding the relative instability of self-evaluations of this group of people. If considering low self-esteem not simply as a stable tendency to evaluate the self in a negative fashion, but a lack of stability in the way this group evaluates themselves, the drive to attain a degree of consistency seems plausible. In striving for a positive self-esteem, individuals are also then striving for a stable sense of self - a more consistent image of how he or she is socially related to others. Wood, Giordano-Beech, Taylor, Michela and Gaus (1994) again emphasise that people with low self-esteem focus on self-protection, and rather than trying to achieve gains for their self-esteem, they avoid losses. Hence they tend only to



seek self-enhancement in situations they deem safe - that is, carrying little risk of humiliation. What may thus be perceived as seeking negative reinforcement, may simply be the manifestation of protective functions in the low self-esteem person, compared to the more active seeking out of positive reinforcement of the high self-esteem person (Spencer, Josephs & Steele, 1993). The low self-esteem individual is thus not attempting to maintain stability through reinforcement of negative self-evaluations, but is avoiding the threat of reducing even further the tenuous and unstable sense of self. In contrast, the individual regarded as having high self-esteem is confident of his or her social status, has resources for dealing with single negative interactions, and is socially more active in eliciting positive responses. The sociometer theory serves to explain the importance of significant others in the development of self-esteem. The adoption of socially relevant domains of self-evaluation is one such example. It also accounts for the tendency of people with low self-esteem to be more sensitive to socially relevant cues, and the way that those with high self-esteem are people who already feel included, accepted and socially integrated and hence draw more on personal standards. In criticism of this theory, it draws on little empirical support, and does not appear to generate much by way of testable hypotheses. However, the theoretical stance described above will be important to the section relating self-esteem to social identity and prejudice.

#### **2.4.4. SELF-ESTEEM OF CHILDREN:**

Holmes (1995) writes that "Children do not enter the world with a conception of self. Rather, this cognitive notion develops as children mature" (p. 47). A general trend with empirical research on self-esteem has been to ignore developmental factors (Byrne & Shavelson, 1996). There has also been a tendency to examine self-esteem in children from middle childhood and older, whereas little has been documented on the self-esteem of younger children (Pallas, Entwisle, Alexander & Weinstein, 1990). Hence consideration of the developmental patterns around acquisition of a sense of self have, been drawn out of a few of the observations and studies to date.

Initially, children are described as dependent, and without clear sense of self and other (Holmes, 1995). But gradually they separate from significant others, and learn that they can have an influence on their surroundings. Holmes summarises that this process is

usually complete at around 2 to 2 and a half years. However, the process of the development of the self is complex, and includes the integration of several other identities. As described in the section on the development of prejudice, in early childhood, children are said to describe themselves in terms of membership to certain groups defined by physical characteristics (skin colour etc), and emphasise typical or stereotypic qualities. Burns (1979) mentions that at this age, body awareness and body image (via sensory perception) are important. Moving to middle childhood, a shift occurs, as children start describing themselves in terms of reference to others (Holmes, 1995). Similarly, Damon and Hart (1992), in Byrne and Shavelson (1996), describe the focus in early childhood as tending to be on the physical and active self, shifting to increased emphasis on the social and psychological self in adolescence. Burns (1979) highlights the role of language in aiding in the differentiation of self from other and in providing the child with feedback from others. However, Burns maintains that while the content of evaluation changes, adolescence does not appear to cause dramatic structural changes to self-esteem. In considering the sources of evaluations, Burns emphasises the initial importance of parent's feedback regarding the worth of the young child. With older children, greater salience appears related to feedback from peers and social role models.

The research results of Piers and Harris (1969) indicate a general trend of decline in self-esteem with age. Byrne and Shavelson (1996) cite Harter's (1988) finding that the reason for elevated levels of self-esteem in young children is that they tend to overestimate their abilities. This is explained in terms of limited cognitive abilities at this time, rather than conscious intent to misrepresent themselves. Kelly and Duckitt (1995), however, report a reverse in local trends - that self-esteem increases with increasing age. This is one of the hypotheses to be examined in this study - whether self-esteem will decrease or increase with increase in age of the subjects.

#### **2.4.5. MEASUREMENT OF SELF-ESTEEM**

As with the section on racial orientation, a brief overview of some of the more common means of assessment is provided, followed by a more critical discussion of the broader areas requiring consideration in assessing self-esteem in children.

A basic distinction in self-esteem assessment exists between phenomenological or self-report inventories and behavioural observations and rating scales. Methods of assessing children's self-esteem by observation are based on the rationale that independent, objective reports of behaviour provide a more accurate indication of an individual's attitude to themselves than what they are capable of reporting. One of the common measures include the Combs and Soper Perception Score Sheet (1963), outlined in Burns (1979), which is used by trained personnel in the assessment of children's perceptions of significant person's attitude towards themselves. Rating scales filled in by teachers and parents are also common, for example the Coopersmith Teacher's Rating Scale (1967). In these measures, it is the observer who functions as the instrument, writes Burns (1979), and the obvious concern is of a biased report, or one in which behavioural observations do not in fact access dimensions of self-attitudes deemed important to the subject. These instruments are also fairly costly to use, in terms of the time spent on each child. For these reasons, the more common self-report inventory method was applied to this study.

While an abundance of these questionnaires exists, some of the most common self-report inventories in current use with children are the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory (1967), the Piers-Harris Self-concept Scale (Piers and Harris, 1964), the Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventory (Battle, 1992) and Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1965), in Burns (1979). Both the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory, the Piers-Harris and Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventory contain multiple items, consisting of self-descriptive statements to which the subject responds with a forced choice answer (for example, Yes or No). Each have various subscales, such as Social and Academic subscales, as well as a measure of global self-esteem. The Self-esteem Scale of Rosenberg (1965) does not have these typical subscales, and instead consists of a rating scale indexing the unidimensional construct of global self-esteem. Each of these instruments have adequate reliability and validity measures (Burns, 1979), and have the advantages of being administered individually or in groups. Each test will not be critiqued individually, but some of the typical difficulties associated with this type of test are discussed below. A more detailed examination of the Culture-Free Self-esteem Inventory, the instrument selected from amongst those and others described above for use in this study, appears in the Method section to follow.

### **Mode of Assessment:**

The phenomenological approach that is customarily adopted in the use of self-report questionnaires, makes validation of the measures, correlations and inferences difficult. Burns (1979) maintains that "Research in the field of the self-concept must operate without the advantage of external criterion. Interest is located simply in the stimulus as the subject interprets it." (p. 73). Even with the recommended broad range of items and use of specific subscales, he cautions that one should not assume that results of self-report questionnaires are able to provide global and stable impressions of individuals' self-esteem. Results of self reporting are only indicative of what the individual is willing to reveal about his or her sense of self, and may be fairly situation-specific. Burns warns that this does not take account of the clarity of the individual's awareness, the availability of adequate expression of information, the willingness to co-operate and social expectancy variables. Advantages of this method are the availability of such instruments, particularly with adequate reliability and validity measures, the ability to use these in group administrations, and their cost-efficacy (particularly in terms of time, financial costs, scoring procedures etc). Most importantly, there seems implicit value in accessing phenomenological dimensions of self-evaluations, in terms of accessing people's conscious perceptions of themselves, and how these percepts influence their relations with the environment.

### **Means of Measurement:**

Forced choice (typically in the form of yes or no) responses to statements, such as those described earlier, entail the obvious problem of lack of variation or graded responses. Items including several choice options (for example rating scales) allow better for this. Open-ended questions appear to provide less accurate information (Spitzer et al., 1966 in Burns, 1979), and results are more difficult to analyse.

### **Sources of Error:**

Awareness of sources of error, such as response sets is essential. Anastasi (1982) describes response sets as styles of consistent responses. One important consideration in this theme is that of social desirability producing response sets. Particularly in self-report questionnaires, people show a tendency to present themselves in ways they perceive to be socially desirable (Burns, 1979). Response sets may also manifest in the form of

acquiescence - a tendency to agree with items (Anastasi, 1982). Inclusion of, for example, a well-designed defensiveness scale may aid in recognition of these tendencies.

### **Interpretation of Scores:**

Tice (1993) raises an interesting point regarding assessment of low self-esteem. As mentioned previously, it was traditionally thought that people with low self-esteem showed a pervasive sense of poor self-worth. More recent findings indicate instead a pattern of instability as characterising the self-evaluations of people with low self-esteem. Tice therefore cautions that in the assessment of low self-esteem, one should not measure for negative portrayals of the self, but that these tend only to be negative in a relative sense - when compared to the relatively flattering way that people we regard as having positive self-esteem portray themselves. Instead, it is more common for people with low self-esteem to produce essentially neutral descriptions of themselves, which are neither strongly positive or negative trait descriptions. This needs to be taken into account in interpretation of scores, and it appears that scores need to be evaluated relative to those in a well-matched sample.

An additional possible source of variance of reporting true feelings of self worth, are children's abilities to abstract sufficiently to represent these concepts (Pallas et al., 1990). This, and the above cautionary statements from Tice (1993) introduces the notion of validity.

### **Validity:**

Anastasi (1982) outlines validity as "what the test measures, and how well it does so" (p. 131). This relates to the actual definitions of self-esteem being employed, and careful explanations of this concept are required in order to ascertain the extent to which the test measures this construct. Test manuals should, as far as possible outline results of assessment of this construct validity, or the extent to which the scores support hypothesised theoretical relationships (for example relating self-esteem to depression or anxiety). Likewise, attention should focus on content validity (the relevance of the content of the test) and predictive validity (how the measurement relates to predictions of future performance). Concurrent validity (predictions relating more to current expressions of the construct) may

be assessed by comparisons of different measures, behavioural manifestations and current levels of adjustment. In general, it appears that validity research on self-report questionnaires has been fairly thorough, and most of these scores are available for scrutiny with the more common scales available. Naturally, this does in itself present a problem, as various self-report scales are often being used to justify each other using similar constructs and means of assessment.

### **Reliability:**

Similarly, reports on reliability measures appear relatively thorough within this field. Reliability refers to the measure of the accuracy and stability of a test (Miller, 1991). Burns (1979) writes that "No measurement instrument is perfect. The degree of error involved affects the dependability, consistency and accuracy of the instrument" (p. 77). Generally, the three types of reliability: test-retest, alternate forms, and split-half are easily assessed and recorded in self-report questionnaires.

### **Cross-cultural Assessment:**

Chiu (1993), in his cross-cultural assessment of Chinese and American children found that Chinese showed lower self-esteem on the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory (1967). Chiu then preceded with very narrow interpretations of these findings, for example claiming that "Chinese children probably receive less respectful treatment because they live in authoritarian families where parents make decisions and the children are expected to obey" (p. 312). Inferences of this nature ignore some of the obvious difficulties with cross-cultural assessment. Anastasi (1982) challenges the very notion of a culture-fair test, proposing that a test sampling only the behaviour which is common among different cultures cannot actually be developed. Not only the development of the construct of self-esteem, but also the development of an individual's self-esteem is largely a cultural phenomenon. Heiss and Owens (1972) provide the example of the use of different variables in the evaluation of self worth among different cultures. They mention different traits as salient among different cultures, such as performance as parent or spouse, ability to make conversation, attractiveness to opposite sex and athletic ability. Watkins, Akande and Mpofu (1996) write of the particular need for consideration of these variables with African children in school settings. They explain that these children are often provided with conflicting societal values

of the Western schooling system (encouraging individualism and competition) and the traditional African societies (focusing on communal and co-operative values). In particular, emphasised gender differences in achievement may confound results.

Attempts to quantify a social construct, based particularly on phenomenological data, such as the case in self-report inventories, must necessarily be culture-specific, and produce variations between cultures. Instruments should be selected on the basis of their attempts to factor out as much cultural variation as possible, by concentrating on the measurement of empirically validated core characteristics of self-esteem, should these exist. Once produced, care should be taken not to make wild claims regarding cultural variation, but that the instruments serve always as indicators of variance of the measured dimensions rather than actual differences (Holaday et al., 1996).

#### **2.4.6. SELF-ESTEEM OF MINORITY GROUPS**

The pen portraits were of coloured persons overwhelmed by powerlessness, rejection, isolation and discrimination with corollaries of identity diffusions, low self esteem, feelings of incompetence etc, all drawn with considerable poetic licence. (Burns, 1979, p. 253)

In consideration of the effect of acceptance from others on self-esteem, Burns writes that the classical and entrenched view is that the self-esteem of disadvantaged groups is lower than that of majority groups, but that these studies were largely based on inferences without direct investigation, and tended to be descriptive and impressionistic (for example see Rice, Ruiz & Padilla, 1974). Other findings, such as the South African study of Momberg and Page (1977), outlined in Burns (1979), using the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory (1967) with English, Afrikaans and Coloured school and university students, found little significant difference in self-esteem between different groups. This notion is supported by Crocker and Major (1989) and Verkruyten and Masson (1995). Williams-Burns (1980) emphasises the need for more research on advantaged minority group children, as most of the results of self-esteem of minority groups has focused on disadvantaged children.

Heiss and Owens (1972) call for the need to recast the traditional premise and to take account of social class variables, specific rather than global areas of self evaluation, and

the use of minority reference groups to evaluate results. They maintain that it is important to be aware that self-esteem is influenced by the population defined as significant other, and also the degree of assimilation of the majority culture. It is incorrect to assume that the majority group represents significant others or a reference group. Burns cites Soares and Soares (1971) describing that the change from neighbourhood schools to high schools, with greater competitiveness on societal compared to subcultural standards, and lesser security, contributed to the lowering of self-esteem to the advantaged and disadvantaged alike. With regards to assimilation, it has been shown that minority groups can blame the system to insulate themselves against low self-esteem, but that this is possibly less so for more assimilated minorities, for example middle class blacks who tend to be more exposed to whites as reference, and less able to blame the system (Heiss and Owens, 1972). In a setting such as South Africa, where assimilation of cultures has occurred to a large extent, it is unclear which group will be used by minority subjects as a reference.

Two of the hypotheses to be examined in this study relate to the controversy surrounding the self-esteem of minority groups. It will be tested whether or not the self-esteem of the various race groups differs significantly from each other or not. On the basis of the above findings, it is hypothesised that there will be no significant difference in the self-esteem of the various race groups, with minority members showing similar results on self-esteem measures when compared to majority members.

## **2.5. SELF-ESTEEM, SOCIAL IDENTITY AND RACIAL ORIENTATION**

**Inv.** How do you feel about white people?

**Terri** Good.

**Inv.** How do you feel about brown or black people?

**Terri** I'm brown, and I feel good about me and other people like me."

As demonstrated by this excerpt from one of Holme's (1995, p. 61) interviews with a preschool child, it has traditionally been considered that one's attitudes and evaluations towards oneself are related to the attitudes towards others. In particular, it is often thought that a negative evaluation of self is related to negative evaluations of out-groups (Burns, 1979). Kelly and Duckitt (1995) describe this theoretical assumption regarding a direct



relationship between in-group identification, out-group preference and lower self-esteem as emerging from the era of the Clarks' and related studies. In addition, Crocker and Major (1989) indicate the reverse assumption - that "several psychological theories predict that members of stigmatised groups should have low global self-esteem" (p. 608). It would seem useful to begin with examination of some of these theoretical explanations before moving on to an overview of attempted empirical validation of these results.

### **2.5.1. THEORIES RELATING RACIAL ORIENTATION AND SELF-ESTEEM**

Intrapsychic theories postulating the positive correlation between self-esteem and attitudes to others centre around the notion of inferiority as overcompensation and hence a defense (Burns, 1979, cites the work of Adler, 1927). Attributions of failings to others (projection) are a defense mechanism which gain a feeling of superiority for those with tenuous self-esteem. Burns mentions Sullivan (1953) as having shifted the focus to more interpersonal considerations, writing that people with low self-esteem "have received or are anticipating some form of rejection, and try to thwart such rejection by minimising contacts and/or attacking others" (in Burns, 1979, p. 224). The two approaches just described appear to pay too little attention to broader social influences on this relationship. Most writers appear to have shifted to social identity theory, which offers more by way of operational criteria for empirical validation, and a greater focus on the dimension linking the societal to the individual.

Working from foundations in social identity theory, Tajfel (1978) and Turner (1978) postulate the group self-enhancement theory. As described above, this proposes that individuals with low self-esteem attempt to align themselves with a high status group, with the underlying drive being enhanced self-esteem through enhanced social identity. Robins and Foster (1994) distinguish between self-enhancement occurring on the idiosyncratic individual level (personal identity) compared to the group membership level (social identity). In the case of threatened social identity, fear of loss of status and security of in-group membership results in powerful attempts to identify with the in-group, with displacement of hostility onto others. In general, colour and class differences are viewed as a source of threat and hence a target of hostility, according to Burns (1979). Hunter et al. (1996) outline the two corollaries of this: firstly that this process of intergroup discrimination leads

to enhanced self-esteem, and secondly, that low or threatened self-esteem serves to enhance intergroup discrimination.

The above theoretical descriptions link well with the conceptualisation of self-esteem as a sociometer, where self-esteem is thought to function on one level as a measure of social belonging. In comparing those individuals with low and high self-esteem, Spencer et al. (1993) suggest that in a situation when an individual's social identity may be threatened, drawing on self-affirmational strategies (in terms of drawing on one's own resources of positive personal evaluations and sense of social belonging) may be relatively easy for the individual with high self-esteem. Individuals with low self-esteem, however, have few such resources, and apply different strategies to counter threat. It is at this stage that the processes of social mobility, creativity or change (described earlier) are drawn upon to further enhance social identity. Wang (1994) provides the example of students joining gangs to enhance self-esteem (social mobility).

As outlined in the section on the self-esteem of minority groups, with respect to the effects of prejudice on self-esteem, Crocker and Major (1989) propose that membership in stigmatised groups does not necessarily lead to low self-esteem and low social identity, but that this membership may in fact protect self-esteem. They postulate that members of stigmatised groups may attribute negative feedback to prejudice against their own group, rather than personalising this. There may also be a tendency to compare their outcomes or efficacy with those of the in-group, rather than the advantaged group. In addition, they may selectively devalue those dimensions on which their group fares relatively poorly, and attribute greater salience to those on which their members excel (social creativity). Verkruyten and Masson (1995) postulate that "prejudice may serve to strengthen group cohesion and feelings of superiority" (p. 138). Linking this back to the sociometer hypothesis of Leary et al. (1994), it is reasonable to assume that members of minority groups should not show lower self-esteem relative to majority groups. Their feelings of inclusion in their group should be no less, and hence self-esteem, as indicator of social relatedness, need not be lower. Once more, this is dependent on the use of the in-group as reference group, which is possibly not the case with South African children.

### **2.5.2. CRITIQUE AT THE LEVEL OF THEORETICAL FORMULATION**

Again, it should be mentioned that while Social Identity Theory makes reasonable links between the social and individual worlds, this may still be critiqued in terms of its attempt to explain social phenomena with examination of an individual trait, that of self-esteem. Bergemann (1988) describes the continuing discontent with classical trait psychology, proposing less focus on the “stagnating personalism-situationalism-interactionism debate” (p. 104). However, it is argued in this paper that a shift in the view of self-esteem as an intra-psychic trait to a measure of social relatedness offers some relief in this respect.

Karasawa (1995) draws attention to the criticisms of Hinkle and Brown (1990) that social identity theory has still left two important issues unresolved: whether or not high self-esteem should be seen as a cause or effect of in-group favouritism; and why low status groups are often found to display less in-group bias than high status groups. The first of these issues, involving the causality debate touched on previously, will by no means be resolved in this study, but the point is an important one, and will be returned to in the discussion of the results. The second objection, to a lack of explanation of the phenomenon of out-group preference in minority groups, will also be addressed further in the discussion.

### **2.5.3. RESULTS OF EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

Having provided a critique of some of the theoretical aspects of the social identity theory's explanation of the relationship between racial orientation and self-esteem, this section summarises some of the empirical evidence in support of, and in contrast to this theoretical approach.

Burns (1979) summarises the research prior to the 1980's as follows:

From the small number of researches conducted in this relationship between self attitudes and ethnocentrism, no consistent pattern has emerged. But pervading the research studies all the time were deficiencies in design and methodology to confound any reliable and valid conclusion. (p. 226)

Hunter et al. (1996) describe similar trends in the research up to date, with many studies offering support for this theory, and yet many others refuting its fundamental assumptions.

A brief overview is provided of some of the more recent important studies in this field. To begin with, the focus will be on local and international research relating the self-esteem and ethnic preferences in adults.

In support of the earlier theoretical formulations, the recent review by Verkruyten and Masson (1995) indicates that reasonable evidence substantiates the claim that positive attitudes to self correlate with positive attitudes to others, but that pertaining to negative attitudes to self, less consistency exists in the empirical data to date. The theory of social identity is also supported by the study of Noel, Wann and Branscombe (1995), who found that for people with low self-esteem, when evaluations of out-groups who were usually devalued by their in-group were public, as opposed to private, there was a greater tendency to show prejudice. Similarly, Wayment and Taylor's (1995) results show that people with low self-esteem used social comparison information more often, and perceived this as more useful, than people with high self-esteem. People with high self-esteem tended to draw more on information pertaining to personal standards, rather than group-based evaluations.

Speight, Vera and Derrickson (1996) contrast these results, finding no clear link between self-esteem and racial identity in a sample of African-American, male youth. Also in contradiction to the social identity theory approach, the local research by Duckitt (1994) indicates that a propensity to conform socially showed poor correlation with prejudice. Duckitt uses this as evidence for a more intrapsychic explanation of prejudice, once more drawing on the theory of the authoritarian personality. The study did not, however, distinguish between high and low self-esteem subjects. Wang (1994) similarly found no significant relationship between self-esteem and ethnocentrism. He correlated scores of self-esteem and racial attitudes of gang and non-gang members in a sample of American students, and while he found gang members to show significantly lower levels of self-esteem, all students showed negative out-group attitudes. Wang does, however, explain this finding in terms of individuals possibly discriminating more on the basis of gang membership than ethnicity.

Recent research appears to be distinguishing more clearly between social identity or collective self-esteem and personal identity or individual self-esteem. South African

research by Robins and Foster (1994) indicates that only those members with high collective self-esteem showed more compensatory and self-enhancing in-group favouritism in a situation where their group was in a low status position. Levels of personal self-esteem alone did not produce this finding. The study highlights the importance of the level of attachment to, and salience attributed to, the group, and the degree to which self-esteem is drawn from individual, compared to group, resources.

Moving on to findings of the relationship between self-esteem and racial orientation in children, Aboud (1988) summarises that as in the case with adults "A great deal of controversy surrounds the idea that ethnic attitudes are related to self-esteem" (p. 95). A small number of studies have reported significant results in the relationship between self-esteem and prejudice. One such study, by George and Hoppe (1979) reported a positive correlation between racial identification, in-group preference, and self-esteem, but exclusively for the younger children in the sample (the mean ages of the two groups being 7,5 years and 9,8 years).

Simon and Barling (1983) once again highlight the importance of environmental conditions, saying that in an experimental situation with children (average age 9,44 years), self-efficacy did correlate positively with social behaviour. However, they claim that this relationship was not sustained beyond the experimental situation, and that the relationship appears situation-specific to some extent.

In Aboud's (1988) overview of the limited research in this field (including, for example, key studies such as those by Katz et al., 1975; Stephan & Rosenfield, 1979), she observes that there has been little convincing evidence to suggest that self-esteem and racial orientation are related in young children. Instead, in-group comparisons appear more salient. Inter-ethnic comparisons as relating to self-esteem, do not appear to be made spontaneously by children. Regarding minority group children, Aboud (1988) writes that there is little evidence to support the claim that low self-esteem is related to low in-group preference. It is noted, however, that high self-esteem implies that the minority group member is more positive to their own group, and more negative to other groups.

What appears to be the most relevant and recent research relating to the present study, is that of Kelly and Duckitt (1995). Their sample consisted of 78 black South African school children from a single, peri-urban school. Children were mainly of low socio-economic status. The school had experienced no racial integration. They analysed the results within two age categories: middle childhood (6 - 8 years) and late childhood (10 - 12 years). The instrument selected to assess prejudice was the Katz-Zalk Projective Test (1975). Self-esteem was measured with the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (1964). These were administered in a group setting by black and white examiners. The results showed that there was no significant relationship when correlating scores of self-esteem, in-group preference and out-group prejudice, indicating that "the own-group and out-group attitudes of minority children do not necessarily affect their self-attitudes" (Kelly and Duckitt, 1995, p. 217). A significant trend was the increase of self-esteem with age. The results also showed a significant increase in overall ethnocentrism with age. This result is consistent with general developmental trends of majority group children reported in the literature. Kelly and Duckitt do, however, add a further interpretation to this trend of increased self-esteem and prejudice with age, proposing that socio-historical change granting increased social status to this formerly oppressed group has influenced these results. This is particularly relevant since the time of data collection was in 1992 to 1993, the period of dramatic transition in the South African socio-political structure. They maintain that the developmental changes reflect less out-group preference with age, which was not reported by prior research (which indicated out-group preference persisting into the older group in the case of minorities). Criticisms of this study include the fairly limited sample size, and the use of only one ethnic group from a single school and geographical region. This ignores, for example, relative difference in self-esteem and ethnocentrism between groups, making further claims regarding the effects of socio-historical change on this particular group difficult to substantiate. Kelly and Duckitt themselves admit to the results showing normal developmental trends, making it difficult to support their claim of actual validation of socio-historical changes influencing the results.

In a study of a very different nature, Holmes (1995) makes similar interpretations regarding socio-historical change influencing ethnocentrism. Holmes conducted a series of relatively in-depth individual unstructured interviews with a small group of American preschool



children at various integrated schools. The children were all described by Holmes to have high self-esteem. Although finding strong between-group stereotyping by most of the children, she found little evidence of out-group identification in the minority group children. In addition, no behavioural evidence of prejudice was noted. She relates these findings to the relatively integrated environment and social acceptance of the minority group children, and to general trends (for example in the media) to foster greater status for the minority groups formerly discriminated against. It should be noted, however, that Holmes' unstructured approach appeared to yield little more than impressionistic information, rather than rigorous clinical data. Her study appeared to pay scant attention to concerns for reliability or validity. Her interviewing persona, as much as can be gathered from the excerpts from the interviews, appears particularly permissive and accepting of the different races of children. Although commendable, this attitude may have been ascertained by the children, and could have influenced them to show less prejudice.

#### **2.5.4. CONCLUSION**

It is clear from these contradictory findings that there is a need for more research in this field. Local research is very limited, and it would appear that South Africa provides an ideal setting for this investigation, particularly at this time of socio-historical change. It would seem necessary to begin by sorting through some of these controversies in a more systematic analysis. This may be more effective if each of the relevant domains is explored separately before explaining relationships between them. Once local trends in each area are carefully described, tentative theoretical formulations linking these can proceed.

As indicated several times throughout the review of literature, in considering a topic so integrally related to the socio-historical conditions of the time, researchers may need to spend some energy in examining and describing the setting in which they collect their data. The location of findings within a historical and up to date socio-political climate is required.

It has been highlighted that several studies pay little homage to explorations of perceived social stratification, which has been identified as a key variable in these fields (Aboud, 1988). This would seem an important starting point before launching into explanations involving theories such as social identity theory and socio-historical change hypotheses,

which appear to rely so heavily on these perceptions of differences in the relative status of groups.

In addition, it would seem sensible to begin with formulations of self-esteem on more social dimensions. The literature requires more careful examination of the relative self-esteem of minority and majority groups members prior to ascribing findings of misidentification and out-group preference to this phenomenon. As noted in previous sections, focus has primarily been on a single ethnic group from a single setting, and the inclusion of more groups to these studies, particularly more marginalised minorities is required. In doing this, further explorations should try, as far as possible, to take account of the cross-cultural validity of research instruments. As mentioned, instruments used in the assessment of both self-esteem and racial orientation have tended to have had little supporting research with different cultural groups, and most studies have used single measures instead of cross-validating with different measures. In addition, instruments should foster expression of more diverse relative differences, instead of producing masked dichotomies by forced-choice measures. The inclusion of more age-specific data has been mentioned previously, where it has been noted that many of the results on self-esteem and racial orientation in children previously acquired have not described clear age-related developmental trends.

It was commented on, with respect to individual studies, that inferences regarding direction of causality (ie does self-esteem affect racial attitudes or visa versa) have tended to be poorly justified. This leads to another general area of consideration, pertaining to more tentative attempts at integration of findings within substantial theoretical frameworks. Phenomena such as misidentification and out-group preference in minorities should be provided with attempted explanations versus simply being uncovered and described. More critically evaluative writing up of the theoretical stance is required, with less of the defensive attempts to conclusively prove the point set out to make, as evidenced by some of the research reviewed. Possibly the most important aspect of research in this field may involve the generation of new ideas and recommendations for further research.



### **2.5.5. AIMS**

Given the controversy in this area in international research, and the lack of clear local trends, the aim of this study is largely exploratory. Based on the information required to make use of the assumptions of social identity theory, as well as the perceived gaps in the literature, the following questions were selected for more detailed investigation:

1. The relative self-esteem of minority and majority group members.
2. Whether or not South African children hold perceptions of social stratification within their society, and whether or not various groups share consensus in these perceptions.
3. Which groups the children from different race groups are identifying with, and using as reference groups. In particular, whether minority group children are misidentifying, as previous controversial studies have indicated.
4. Which groups are being attributed with social status preferences, and whether this coincides with perceptions of social stratification. Specifically, it is examined whether minority group children show out-group preference.
5. Whether or not minority groups show comparative differences in these phenomenon, and whether or not this links with their group's relative experiences of oppression.
6. Age-related trends in all of the above areas.

In order to evaluate any of the above issues, assessment of the following domains is required: self-esteem; perceptions of social stratification, as assessed by measures of relative perceived social satisfaction; the clarity of in-group identification in each group, and the status or preference attributions made by each group.

The aim is then to critically evaluate assessment results of these areas, and to tentatively relate them in a more integrative manner to the theoretical framework selected for this study.

### **2.5.6. HYPOTHESES**

Although the study is exploratory, several hypotheses have been drawn out of the literature review and the aims just described.

#### **A. SELF-ESTEEM:**

##### **Hypothesis 1:**

It is hypothesised that there will be no significant differences in self-esteem between different race groups, with minority group subjects showing no significant differences in global self-esteem compared to majority group subjects.

##### **Hypothesis 2:**

There will be age-related differences in self-esteem, with older children showing lower self-esteem than younger children.

##### **Hypothesis 3:**

There will be no significant differences between the self-esteem of the male and female subjects.

#### **B. PERCEIVED SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

##### **Hypothesis 4:**

All subject groups are hypothesised to show recognition of social stratification, rating the white group as significantly more advantaged than the Indian group, and the black group as most disadvantaged on the measure of social satisfaction.

#### **C. IDENTIFICATION**

##### **Hypothesis 5:**

Younger minority group subjects will show less distinct scores on own-group racial identification than older minority group subjects or majority group subjects.

**D. PREFERENCE****Hypothesis 6:**

Older subjects in the sample will show significantly more positive out-group status attributions than the younger group.

**Hypothesis 7:**

Younger minority group subjects will show significantly higher levels of out-group preference and significantly lower in-group preference than older majority group subjects.

**Hypothesis 8:**

Younger majority group subjects will show significantly lower levels of out-group preference and higher levels of in-group preference than older majority group subjects.

**Hypothesis 9:**

Male and female subjects will show no significant differences in preference attributed to different race groups.

### **3. METHOD**

The aim of this section is to outline the ways in which this study has attempted to overcome some of the methodological difficulties involved in research in this field. An awareness of the broader programme of research and the rationale for the choice of research design will be presented. Following on from this, is a description of the subject sample, the specific choice of instruments, the process of data collection, and finally the procedures of statistical analysis employed in the study.

#### **3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN**

The study forms part of a larger research project examining race, class and gender dynamics among school children in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands region. The broader project involves a multi-disciplinary team of researchers, including representatives from psychology, sociology, dietetics and education. A cross-sequential research design is being used over a ten-year period, with several grades and within several schools.

The present study was engaged in the initial stages of the research project. It followed a cross-sectional design examining the relationship between self-esteem and prejudice of children from two grades and from three of the schools. Four instruments were selected - two for the assessment of self-esteem, and two for the assessment of prejudice. These instruments were included within a battery of instruments designed for the larger project, and administered by the researchers and a team of field-workers employed for this purpose.

#### **3.2. SUBJECTS**

The total number of subjects involved in the study was 228. These children were selected from three different schools in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands area. The schools were chosen to reflect a range of race groups, socio-economic status backgrounds and degree of urbanisation. The initial choice of schools was by the multidisciplinary research team, who selected schools on the basis of known accessibility, relative functionality, and representativeness from a sufficiently broad sample of students within the region. The time constraints of the researcher were also taken into consideration. A description of the type of schools and the sampling composition within each school is provided below.

**School 1:** This is a government, urban, primary school. It is a recently integrated, English-medium school, with primarily White (51% of this sample), but also Black (16%), Indian (18%) and Coloured (15%) children. It services mainly children from middle-class backgrounds.

**School 2:** This is a private, urban, primary school. It is an integrated, English-medium school, with primarily White (57%), Black (19%), Indian (19%) and Coloured (5%) children. It services mainly children from middle and upper class backgrounds. Until five years ago, this school admitted only girls. Boys are now admitted, but are still in the minority (see figure 3).

**School 3:** School 3 is a rural, primary school. It is funded only partially by the government, being a former "farm school", previously funded by local farmers and international donations. It is attended by Black children only, and teaching is in the Zulu-speaking medium. Children attending this school were from lower socio-economic groups.

It was unfortunate that the coloured subjects were of such a small number, and this group had to be left out of subsequent data analysis. Relating to the percentages provided for each school above, Figure 1 shows the relative number of subjects from each of the schools within the three remaining racial categories.

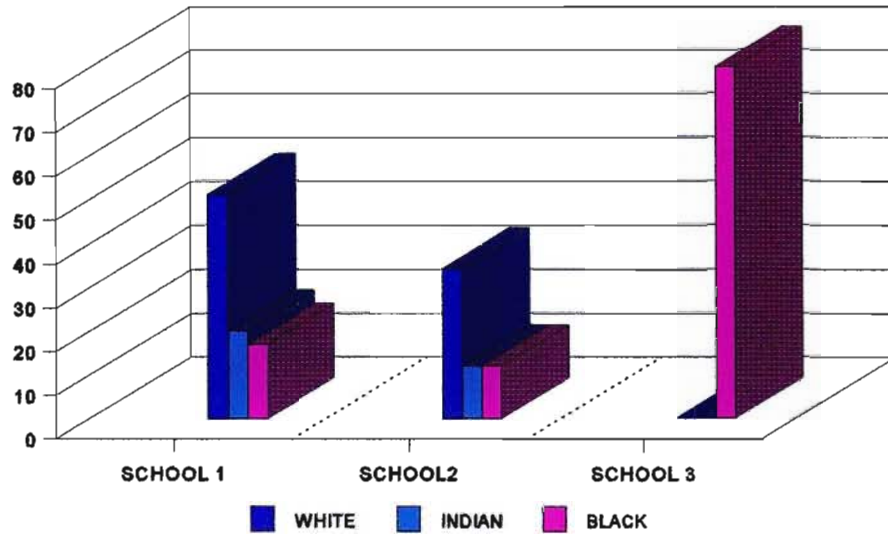


Figure 1. Race Distribution of Subjects from each School

The following pie chart (Figure 2) shows the race composition of the entire sample.

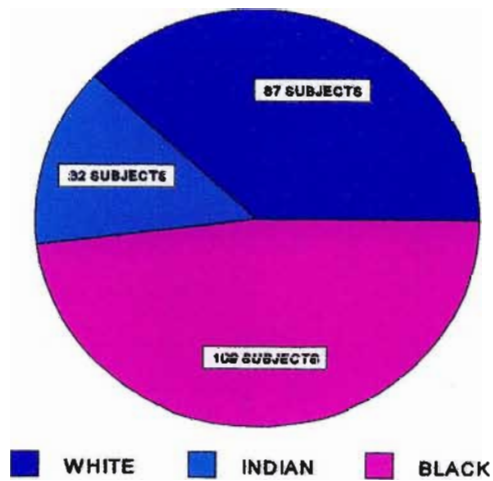


Figure 2. Race Composition of Total Subject Sample

In terms of the ages of the subjects, two broad age categories were selected, and these were represented by two grades - grades 1 and 4. This choice ensured a range of different developmental ages and length of exposure to the different school settings (see Table 1).

|         | SCHOOL 1      | SCHOOL 2      | SCHOOL 3      | TOTAL SAMPLE  |
|---------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| GRADE 1 | 7 yrs 1 mnth  | 6 yrs 3 mnths | 6 yrs 9 mnths | 6 yrs 9 mnths |
| GRADE 4 | 9 yrs 7 mnths | 9 yrs 9 mnths | 9 yrs 9 mnths | 9 yrs 8 mnths |

Table 1: Average Age Composition of Subjects

Concerning gender ratios, in the total sample, 44% of the subjects were male, with the remaining 66% female. The following are graphic representations of the compositions of male and female pupils from each school.

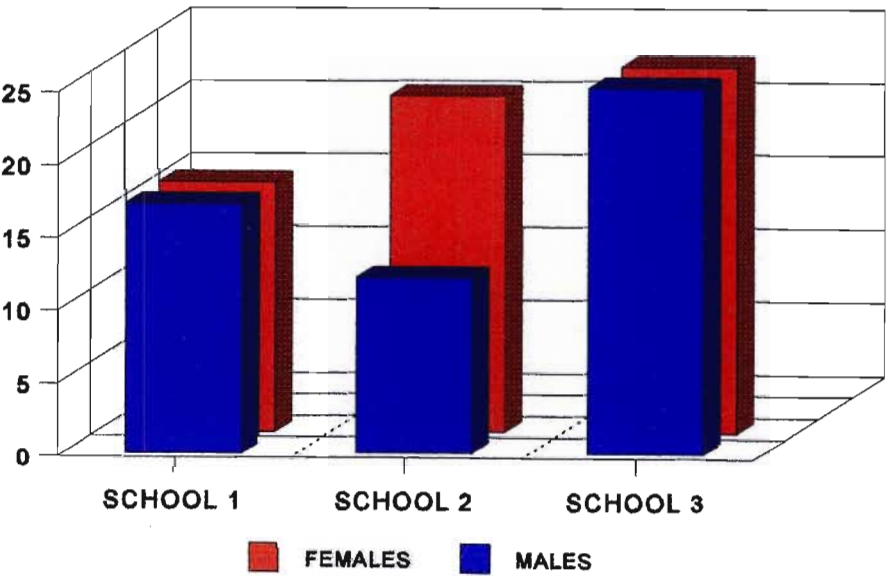


Figure 3. Number of Males and Females from each School

After school participation had been secured, a letter of consent was sent to each child's parents (see Appendix 1). In addition, each child was assured that they did not have to partake in the study. Information was stored omitting the names of the subjects, using only identity numbers to ensure confidentiality.

### **3.3. ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENTS**

#### **3.3.1. DEMOGRAPHICS**

The age and race of each was obtained from class records supplied by teachers, and from individual interviews with each child. The demographic variables used in this study included age, school, school grade, sex, and race.

#### **3.3.2. CULTURE-FREE SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY**

The Culture-Free Self-Esteem Inventory (CFSEI), second edition, of Battle (1992), which can be found in Appendix 2, was selected from a range of available children's self-esteem inventories. It is a standardised self-report inventory assessing children's subjective feelings about themselves. The shorter version, Form B, was selected, for reasons of economy of time and range of data considered relevant for this study. It consists of 30 simple descriptive items, which require a forced choice (yes/no) response. The English original version was translated into Zulu by a Zulu-speaking clinical psychologist. Back-translation was done by a second independent Zulu-speaking educational psychologist. Administration of the test was done in groups, in the child's first language. Manual scoring produces numerical values for the following subscales:

- a.) General Self-Esteem: a measure of the subject's overall perceptions of worth
- b.) Social Self-Esteem: assessing perception of quality of relationships with peers
- c.) Academic Self-Esteem: perception of ability to succeed academically
- d.) Parent-Related Self-Esteem: perception of status at home
- e.) Lie Subtest: indicative of defensiveness

This inventory was selected for a number of reasons. Firstly, the perceived usefulness of the above subscales (particularly Social Self-Esteem) was an important factor. The inventory claims to tap "feelings, hopes, fears, thoughts, views of who he is, what she is, what he has been, and what she might become" (Battle, 1992). Secondly, the test has been specifically designed in an attempt to be useful with children from a variety of cultures. Battle writes that stimuli were chosen so as to be least sensitive to cultural differences, and therefore focus more specifically on self-esteem as the construct being assessed.



Constructs underlying the items and subscales have been researched in an attempt to reflect a sufficiently broad, cross-culturally universal concept of self-esteem. Related to this, a third advantage is that a large research base supports this claim, with studies including children from the United States of America, Canada, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Egypt, Australia, Japan and Vietnam (for summaries of these studies, see Battle, 1992). No significant sex-differences were found in these studies. Fourthly, the inventory is in its second edition, based on the success of use of the first, in over 20 different countries. It has thus been recently modified and reflects modern findings in the self-esteem literature. Reliability and validity results appear satisfactory. Test-Retest Reliability shows correlations of between 0.79 and 0.92. Content validity was assessed by means of factor analysis in the original choice of items. This yielded the four subscales (b to e) described above. Concurrent validity was ascertained using the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (1967), with correlations ranging between 0.71 and 0.80. Additional validity measures included moderate to high correlations between a variety of other scales, for both elementary school and junior high school subjects. The fifth advantage is its convenience and economy. Being a self-report inventory that can be administered individually or in groups was an important consideration. The shortened version meant less time spent on this test with each child, reducing inconsistencies due to concentration difficulties, fatigue and boredom. Inter-test reliability with the lengthier 60-item version is reported to correlate at 0.86 (Battle, 1992). The test may be administered by teachers, which made it useful for this research team which used non-psychologists for data collection.

Disadvantages of the test include an objection to its claim of being "culture-free". Although, as mentioned, attempts were made to reduce culture-bias, it is uncertain whether a test such as this can ever be truly free of cultural bias. In a recent study by Holaday et al (1996) the CFSEI was administered to 7 different groups of American children. Significant differences between the groups were noted on all the subscales, particularly the Social Subscale. However, results were least varied among elementary school children. Although the researchers admit to numerous possible reasons for the variances, such as different socio-historical factors, they caution against regarding this measure as truly culture-free. They recommend construction of local norms in making decisions regarding individual children's self-esteem. Related to this, studies on the use of the test with South African

children are not evident, and there are no norms available for this population. Since these results were used comparatively, that is within this sample, and not compared directly to international norms, this is not seen to be a major disadvantage of the study. A further potential area of difficulty with this test is the forced-choice options for each item, which is repeatedly cited in the literature as problematic, and may not be reflecting the actual range of self-perceptions.

### **3.3.3. SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE**

The basic technique of this instrument 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 are requested to assign themselves, hypothetically, to a certain level of the ladder, representative of life satisfaction. This was in response to specifically-designed questions, such as "Where on the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?".

In the case of this study, Cantril's basic technique was adapted for use with children, and a unique set of questions was designed for the purposes of this study. This was termed the Social Status Technique (SST), which is shown in Appendix 3. To make the technique more accessible to children, physical steps were constructed to represent hierarchical positions on which to place hand-painted figures. There were seven steps, and the child was asked to imagine that the steps represented positions in life from the best at the top, to the worst at the bottom. Each step had 3 holes drilled into it, into which cardboard figures on a stick could be placed. Six figures represented different race groups and sexes. The figures were constructed with as little variance as possible, for example uniforms were identical, and the only differences were in skin colour, hair texture and minor facial features. There were 2 such sets, one representing children from the middle to higher socio-economic group, and the other representing a relatively lower socio-economic status group's children. Each child was given only one of the sets, so had a choice of 6 figures. The child was asked to place the figures on the steps they felt appropriate, in response to the 10 questions. Administration was done individually in the child's first language. Translation of the questions involved translation by a Zulu-speaking clinical psychologist, and back-translation by an independent educational psychologist.

Results were statistically analysed by assigning numerical values to each figure according to the step they were placed on (the value of 7 to a figure placed on the top step and so on) for each question. Each child was thus assigned a numerical score for each figure, according to which step they placed it on. This was scored separately per question. The questions were categorised into three groups in the following way:

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 in 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 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?

At the time of its use in this study, no information was available on the reliability and validity of this instrument, as these separate research projects are still being conducted. For this reason, this study included some additional analyses of the reliability and validity of the instrument. The results of this are reported in subsequent sections.

Advantages of the SST include its concrete and visual nature. It also functions as a type of projective technique, which the children appeared to enjoy. This would aid in reduction of social desirability effects and in defensiveness. The figures themselves are non-threatening, and allow the children to categorise these themselves, instead of using

imposed social labels for the various groups. The advantage of ratings (7 steps) rather than forced choice formats applied here. This is particularly important in the light of criticisms of prior instruments that confound preference of one group with rejection of another. With 7 different steps, and the possibility of placing 3 figures on each step, there was greater allowance for expression of more genuine ranges of feelings towards different groups. An additional advantage was that the instrument consisted of multiple items. Being individually administered allowed for observation of individual children's reactions, and recording of spontaneous verbalisations made during the assessment. The fact that this instrument was specifically designed for use with this sample is an important consideration, bearing in mind the lack of suitable instruments available for this group of children and in assessing prejudice generally. The 3 categories of questions allow for differentiation between preference as compared to perceived social inequalities and identification.

Disadvantages were that there were no figures for the race category traditionally referred to as coloured. This category was excluded after realising the time-consuming nature of the task, and hence concern for a fatigue effect. This also led to the division of class groups, with the wealthy and poor figures being separated into 2 groups. Using figures inevitably introduces the difficulty of not knowing on what basis the children are classifying the figures. In one or two instances, it was noticed that the grade one children verbalised placing the figures according to who looked, for example, happiest, or oldest to them. Although examined further in subsequent sections, there is clearly a need for more specific studies on this issue. The lack of reliability and validity data at the time of use and in subsequent reporting of this dissertation is an important criticism to bear in mind when interpreting these results.

### **3.3.4. SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE**

Cover (1995) describes the basic format of the Social Distance Scale as consisting of people's responses to a hypothetical "sequence of progressively more intimate relationships" (p. 403) with different groups of people. This is presumed to provide an indication of the degree of closeness of association with which a person is willing to enter into or admit members of another group (Denmark, 1994). Many adaptations of this scale are available, stemming from the original Bogardus Social Distance Scale (1925). Heaven

and Groenewald (1977) write of Bogardus's attempts to capture people's spontaneous, emotional reactions to different types of people, which Bogardus considered more revealing than behaviour towards these groups itself.

The adaptation of Durrheim (1995) administered in this study involved the scoring of responses to the following five groups: English-speakers, Afrikaners, Black people, Indians and Coloureds. Durrheim's version has a 5-point rating scale, which was simplified for children into a 3-point rating scale (see Appendix 4). Their responses of Many, Some or No members to that group were indicated in the seven hypothetical situations listed below:

- 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.

These choices were scored as 0 (for Many), 1 (for Some) and 2 (for No), and summed for each group. Hence high scores relate to high social distance, or higher prejudice towards that group. Translation was done by a Zulu-speaking clinical psychologist, and back-translated by an independent Zulu-speaking educational psychologist. Administration was done in small groups with the Grade 1's, and by class for the Grade 4's.

Advantages of this scale include that it is relatively quick and easy to administer, being able to be administered individually or in groups. As evidenced by the variety of adaptations available, it is relatively flexible, and may be easily adjusted to suit a particular population (Taylor et al., 1995). It is also reported to have been used successfully by a number of researchers, and Bergmann (1994) describes how it has dominated much of the research on prejudice from the 1930's onwards. Taylor et al. (1995) comment on its adequate reliability and construct validity. It has the advantage of a three-point rating scale, and since it is not a forced choice measure, it allows for expression of positive attitudes to more than one group at the same time.

Criticisms of this measure are that it fails to access true social differentiation, treating single groups in a unidimensional manner, for example, not recognising class differences within these groups (Heaven & Bezuidenhout, 1978). The need for more multidimensional descriptions is a relevant criticism of this adaptation of the scale. Lee, Sapp and Ray (1994) add to this the criticism that the scale is primarily used to tap the perceptions of majority groups of minority groups. They write of the need for the inclusion of what they call "Reverse" questions, for example, "Would they mind your living next to them?", tapping into the perceptions of minority members that majority members hold of them. Unfortunately, practical constraints on time, and concern for fatigue effects did not allow for the inclusion of even more questions to this scale.

### **3.4. ADMINISTRATION**

All administration of the research instruments was by a research team ensuring representation from all four of the race groups, with both male and female administrators. The field workers were post-graduate students in psychology, sociology and education, or were selected for their prior experience in field work with children. All were trained in the use of the instruments by the researcher and clinical psychologists involved in the study.

The team was introduced to the pupils as a team of researchers interested in finding out how different children see themselves and other people. The instruments required both group and individual administration. Group administrations were done by class in the case of the older children. In each group administration there were researchers from at least two race groups present. With the younger children, the instruments were administered individually. Random assignment of administrators occurred for the individual assessments.

### **3.5. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS**

The statistical analysis was conducted for the data on racial orientation and self-esteem separately. A brief overview is provided here, with explanation of more specific tests presented with the results in the following section.

For the measure of racial orientation in the sample, the first stage of analysis was to examine the reliability of the primary instrument, the SST. Internal reliability was assessed

with inter-item correlations, and a factor analysis was conducted for the total sample, for all SST items together. The second stage was to ascertain the validity of the three categories of SST: Identification, Social Satisfaction, and Preference. Smaller factor analyses were conducted for each SST figure, as rated by each race group and the entire sample, to ascertain whether in fact the questions relating to these three categories clustered together. Thirdly, the reliability of these scales was examined, providing inter-item correlations of these scores. The fourth stage of the analysis of results pertaining to racial orientation was to correlate scores from the Social Distance Scale with those of the SST. The fifth set of analyses centred around internal consistency of the Social Distance Scale results.

The analysis of the results of the SST involved examination of the interactions between five variables for each of the categories of Identification, Social Satisfaction and Preference. The between-group variables included in these analyses were school grade of the subjects, sex of the subjects, and race of the subjects. Within-group variables included the sex of the SST figures and the race of the figures. For higher order significant interactions, graphs were plotted to indicate the direction of the interactions. Following closer examination of these graphs, simple effects analyses were conducted to determine significant differences, or lack thereof, for selected points on these graphs.

For the results of the measures of self-esteem, the first stage was similarly to examine the internal reliability of the primary instrument, the CFSEI. For this purpose, the scores of the subscales were correlated.

Further analysis of the self-esteem data included examination of interactions between the CFSEI Total scores and the between-group variables of school grade of subjects, sex of subjects and race of subjects.

## **4. RESULTS**

### **4.1. SELF-ESTEEM**

The following results pertain to the scores of the CFSEI only. The two sections are on the CFSEI Subscale correlations (inter-item consistency) and on the results of Between-group variables' interactions with the Total CFSEI scores.

#### **4.1.1. SUBSCALE CORRELATIONS:**

As indicated in Table 2 below, all the subscales of the CFSEI, except (as expected) the Lie scale, correlated significantly with  $p < 0.05$ . Correlation Coefficients ranged from 0.1694 to 0.8726. Significant correlations are indicated in bold type.

|                 | <b>TOTAL</b>             | <b>ACADEMIC</b>          | <b>PARENT</b>            | <b>SOCIAL</b>            | <b>GENERAL</b>           | <b>LIE</b>         |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| <b>TOTAL</b>    | 1.0000<br>p= .           | <b>0.7271</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.6145</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.5982</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.8726</b><br>p=0.000 | 0.0469<br>p=0.473  |
| <b>ACADEMIC</b> | <b>0.7271</b><br>p=0.000 | 1.0000<br>p= .           | <b>0.4053</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.2065</b><br>p=0.001 | <b>0.5265</b><br>p=0.000 | 0.0095<br>p=0.885  |
| <b>PARENT</b>   | <b>0.6145</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.4053</b><br>p=0.000 | 1.0000<br>p= .           | <b>0.1694</b><br>p=0.009 | <b>0.3703</b><br>p=0.000 | -0.0445<br>p=0.497 |
| <b>SOCIAL</b>   | <b>0.5982</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.2065</b><br>p=0.001 | <b>0.1694</b><br>p=0.009 | 1.0000<br>p= .           | <b>0.3630</b><br>p=0.000 | 0.0648<br>p=0.321  |
| <b>GENERAL</b>  | <b>0.8726</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.5265</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.3703</b><br>p=0.000 | <b>0.3630</b><br>p=0.000 | 1.0000<br>p= .           | 0.0690<br>p=0.291  |
| <b>LIE</b>      | 0.0469<br>p=0.473        | 0.0095<br>p=0.885        | -0.0445<br>p=0.497       | 0.0648<br>p=0.291        | 0.0690<br>p=0.291        | 1.0000<br>p= .     |

Table 2: Subscale Correlations of CFSEI

Because of the significance of the correlations between the subscales with the Total subscale (0.5982 to 0.8726), and for reasons of practical constraints, only the scores for the Total subscale were used in subsequent analyses.



4.1.2. EFFECTS:

For the analysis of scores relating to self-esteem, a 3-way ANOVA using the dependent variable of the CFSEI Total Scores and independent variables of Sex of subjects, Race of subjects, and Grade of subjects was conducted. Table 3 shows the following interactions as significant: Race effect, Grade effect, and Race X Grade effect (indicated in bold type):

| EFFECTS:           |                             |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| RACE               | F(2,229) = 21.642, p < .000 |
| SEX                | F(1,229) = 1.102, p < .295  |
| GRADE              | F(1,229) = 7.085, p < .008  |
| RACE X SEX         | F(2,229) = 2.074, p < .128  |
| RACE X GRADE       | F(2,229) = 7.981, p < .001  |
| SEX X GRADE        | F(1,229) = 2.637, p < .106  |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE | F(2,229) = 1.035, p < .357  |

Table 3: Results of 3-way ANOVA Relating to Self-esteem

Significance levels and averages of post-hoc analyses with Newmans-Keuls tests calculated for the interactions indicated as significant in Table 3 above were calculated. These are shown in Tables 4 to 6 below. In each case significant levels (p<0.05) are indicated in bold type. Tables 4 and 5 include the average scores on the Total CFSEI for each group. Recall that these scores fall within a range of possible scores from 0 to 25. Corresponding graphic presentations are provided by Figures 4 to 6.

Table 4 summarises the first of these results, pertaining to the Race main effect:

| SUBJECTS | BLACK    | WHITE    | INDIAN   |
|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| BLACK    | ***      | 0.000023 | 0.000632 |
| WHITE    | 0.000023 | ***      | 0.102758 |
| INDIAN   | 0.000632 | 0.102758 | ***      |
| AVERAGES | 14.94143 | 19.78243 | 18.21875 |

Table 4. Self-esteem: Significance Levels and Averages for Race Main Effect

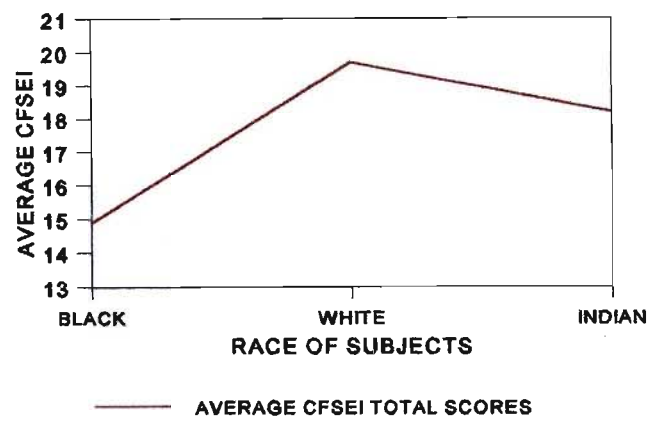


Figure 4: Self-esteem: Race Main Effect for CFSEI Total Scores

The results for the Race effect are fairly clearly indicated on the figure above. Contrary to hypothesis 1, this shows that the black subjects on average showed significantly lower self-esteem than both the Indian and white subjects. The Indian subjects showed lower self-esteem than the white subjects, but not significantly so. For the main effect of grade, Table 5, and Figure 5 present these results in the same way.

| SUBJECTS | GRADE 1  | GRADE 4  |
|----------|----------|----------|
| GRADE 1  | ***      | 0.001396 |
| GRADE 4  | 0.001396 | ***      |
| AVERAGES | 16.56949 | 18.72558 |

Table 5. Self-esteem: Significance Levels and Averages for Grade Main Effect

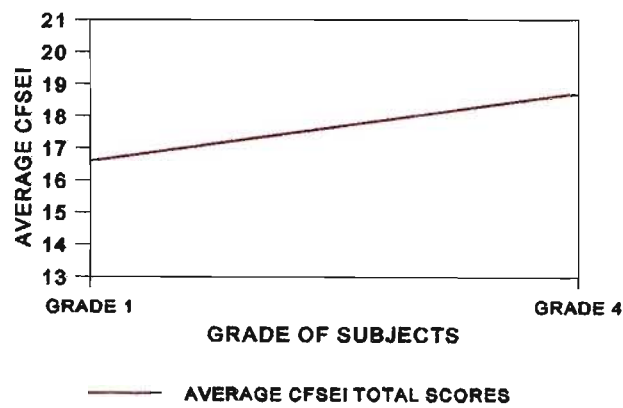


Figure 5: Self-esteem: Grade Main Effect for CFSEI Total Scores

The Grade main effect shows that grade 1's are scoring significantly lower than grade 4's on the CFSEI Total scores.

The higher order Grade X Race effect is shown in Table 6:

|                | BLACK<br>GRADE 1 | BLACK<br>GRADE 2 | WHITE<br>GRADE 1 | WHITE<br>GRADE 2 | INDIAN<br>GRADE 1 | INDIAN<br>GRADE 2 |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| BLACK GRADE 1  | 1.000            | 0.000            | 0.000            | 0.000            | 0.000             | 0.000             |
| BLACK GRADE 2  | 0.000            | 1.000            | 0.692            | 0.293            | 0.616             | 0.864             |
| WHITE GRADE 1  | 0.000            | 0.693            | 1.000            | 0.346            | 0.753             | 0.756             |
| WHITE GRADE 2  | 0.000            | 0.293            | 0.346            | 1.000            | 0.419             | 0.301             |
| INDIAN GRADE 1 | 0.000            | 0.616            | 0.753            | 0.419            | 1.000             | 0.779             |
| INDIAN GRADE 2 | 0.000            | 0.864            | 0.756            | 0.301            | 0.779             | 1.000             |

Table 6. Self-esteem: Significance Levels of Results of Newman-Keuls Test for Race X Grade Interaction

The average of each of the above groups are interesting to compare with the norms of Battle (1992). These are shown in Table 7, which indicates each group's averages on the Total CFSEI scores, with the corresponding classification and percentile ranks according to Battle (1992).

|                | BLACK<br>GRADE 1 | BLACK<br>GRADE 2 | WHITE<br>GRADE 1 | WHITE<br>GRADE 2 | INDIAN<br>GRADE 1 | INDIAN<br>GRADE 2 |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| AVERAGE CFSEI  | 11.894           | 17.989           | 19.127           | 20.438           | 18.688            | 17.750            |
| CLASSIFICATION | 0.000            | 1.000            | 0.692            | 0.293            | 0.616             | 0.864             |
| PERCENTILE     | 0.000            | 0.693            | 1.000            | 0.346            | 0.753             | 0.756             |

Table 7. Self-esteem: Averages, Classifications and Percentile Ranks of Race X Grade Groups

These results are presented graphically in Figures 6 and 7:

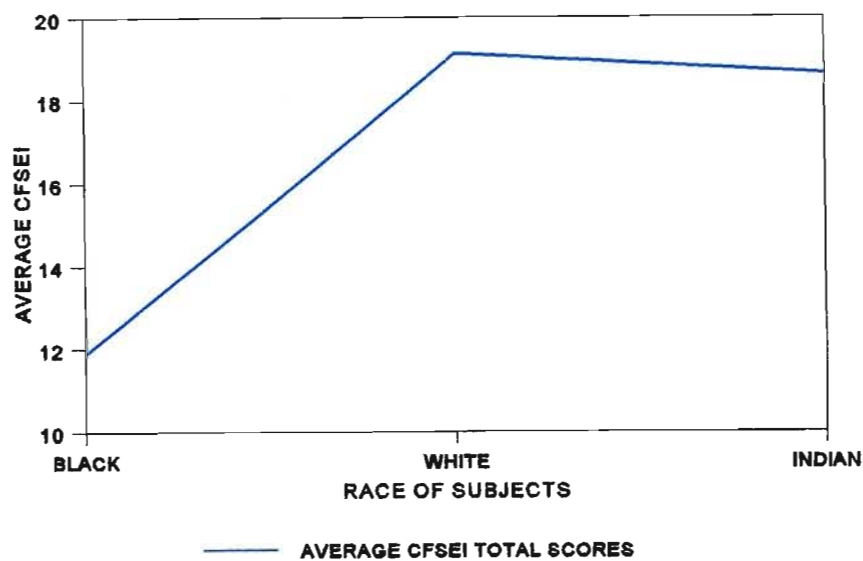


Figure 6. Self-esteem: Race X Grade Effect for Grade 1's

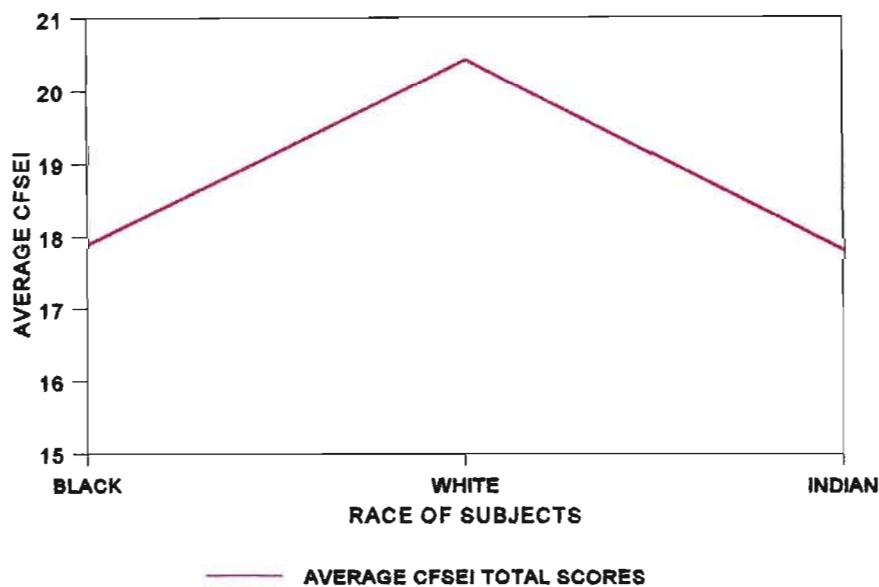


Figure 7. Self-esteem: Race X Grade Effect for Grade 4's

Figure 6 shows that Grade 1 black subjects scored significantly lower on the CFSEI than the white and Indian subjects. For Grade 4's (Figure 7), there was no significant difference in self-esteem scores between the three race groups, although the scores of the white subjects are slightly higher.

## **4.2. RACIAL ORIENTATION**

### **4.2.1. SST RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY:**

With respect to reliability of the SST instrument, Cronbach Alpha co-efficients on the entire set of SST questions showed fairly high correlations (from 0.659 to 0.745). These were calculated using the ratings given by all the subjects on all the questions, for each figure of the SST test (for example, all the scores for the figure representing the Indian male). Table 8 below shows that the highest coefficients were attained for the three male figures (0.735 to 0.773), and lower coefficients for the female figures (0.659 to 0.739).

| <b>SST FIGURE</b> | <b>ALPHA<br/>COEFFICIENT</b> | <b>AVERAGE<br/>INTER-ITEM<br/>CORRELATION</b> |
|-------------------|------------------------------|---|
| BLACK FEMALE      | 0.739                        | 0.223   |
| WHITE FEMALE      | 0.666                        | 0.168   |
| INDIAN FEMALE     | 0.659                        | 0.165   |
| BLACK MALE        | 0.773                        | 0.256   |
| WHITE MALE        | 0.745                        | 0.227   |
| INDIAN MALE       | 0.736                        | 0.219   |

Table 8: Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for each SST Figure  
Across the Entire Subject Sample

Appendix 5 shows the interesting results of the factor analysis of the total sample, for all SST items. A principle components factor analysis by varimax rotation was conducted, with 8 factors selected using the scree test. A total of 20 factors were extracted, of which the first 8 have been provided in Appendix 5. These 8 factors explained 5,9%, 4,5%, 3,4%, 2,9%, 2,2%, 1,9%, 1,8% and 1,6% of the shared variance, respectively. The factors attained in this analysis appear to relate approximately to individual SST figures, with Factor 1 largely indicating the scores on the black male figure, Factor 2 the white male, Factor 3 the Indian female, Factor 4 the white female, and Factor 5 the Indian male. Factor 6 appears to relate to the white male again, Factor 7 to the black female and Factor 8 the

white male once more. This factor analysis seems to provide support for the classification of the figures according to race and sex across the entire subject sample.

To ascertain the validity of the subdivisions of the SST questions into the three categories of Social Satisfaction, Preference, and Identification, a second set of smaller factor analyses were conducted, once again using principal components factor analyses by varimax rotation. In each case, the number of factors (as shown in Appendix 6) was selected using the scree test. The variance explained by each factor has been included in Appendix 6. This was done for each of the SST figures (for example the figure representing the black female), as rated separately by the black subjects and the white subjects, and then again as rated by the entire subject sample. There were too few Indian subjects in the sample to conduct all of these factor analyses for this subject group. The results of these 18 factor analyses appear in Appendix 6. These results did in fact appear to support separating the 10 questions into the three categories selected *a priori*. The strongest cluster common to most of the factor analyses was for questions 6 to 10 (the categories of Preference and Identification), followed by weaker correlations for the first five questions.

Assessment of the reliability of each of the SST categories was undertaken. This involved the calculation of alpha coefficients for each SST figure with the questions grouped into the three categories. For example, alpha-coefficients were calculated for the black female figure for the entire subject sample's score on Social Satisfaction (questions 1 - 5), then Preference (questions 6 - 9), then Identification (question 10). These results are shown in Appendix 7. The results show much lower alpha coefficient scores than for those done previously on the entire sample, now ranging from 0.244 to 0.641. This may be attributable to the smaller number of items included in each analysis, but nevertheless places doubt on the adequacy of the reliability of the subdivision of SST questions into the three categories.

On the basis of the SST reliability and validity data attained thus far, it was necessary to consider whether or not to conduct further analyses on the basis of dividing the ten SST questions into the three categories of Social Satisfaction, Preference and Identification. It was decided to continue analyses using this categorisation system on the basis of the

following:

1. The *a priori* design of these categories. The content questions were specifically selected to relate to the respective variables (for example Questions 10, "Who do you think is most like you?" accesses identification).
2. The outcomes of the 18 smaller factor analyses. The results do show support for the separation of the latter half of the questions from the first half.
3. The way in which subsequent analyses (the 5-way ANOVAs) yielded different significant interactions for each of these categories.

Hence, while not yielding very convincing reliability and validity indices, further analyses of the SST questions proceeded by distinguishing between the three categories of Social Satisfaction, Preference and Identification.

The next step in the process was to use the Social Distance Scale as a measure of concurrent validity for the SST Preference category results. This was done with only a small sample of the subjects, involving all the subjects from School 1. For each of the Social Distance Scale stimulus race groups (for example the questions pertaining to social distance allowed with Indians), responses to the seven questions were summed. Inter-item correlations were conducted for the rating of each individual SST Preference question and figure (for example the score given to the white male on question 6), as relating to each race group rating on the Social Distance Scale (for example the summed rating given to the Indian race group). These correlations were conducted separately for each of the three subject race groups (see Appendix 8 for results). Results revealed several significant, but fairly low correlations. Most of the significant correlations were, as expected, inverse, indicating that high results of social distance correlated with less positive ratings of the different figures. In general, however, the low correlations indicate that the use Social Distance Scale in validation of SST as a measure of racial attitudes does not seem particularly well supported by these results.

In attempting to understand the reason for the relatively poor correlations, analyses on the reliability of the Social Distance Scale results were conducted. Intercorrelations were attained for the Social Distance Scale results of each of the three subject race groups. Results of this reliability measure (as shown in Appendix 9) showed few significant and high

correlations, indicating little internal consistency in this measure. This may indicate that the Social Distance Scale did not function particularly well as a measure of intergroup attitudes with this sample. The results may also be attributed to the small sample size to whom this instrument was administered.

The following sections provide more detail on the results of the SST ratings. The analysis involved 5-way Repeated Measures ANOVAs, with univariate and multivariate analyses. The following between-group variables were included:

1. School grade of subject, involving the two categories of Grade 1 and Grade 4. This variable was denoted as GRADE.
2. Sex of subject, as male or female (denoted SEX).
3. Race of subject, including black, white and Indian (denoted RACE).

The two within-group variables below bring the number of variables to five in total:

4. Sex of SST figure, representing male and female (denoted GENDER).
5. Race of SST figure, representing black, white and Indian (denoted RCE).

Note that in each case, univariate analyses were conducted, and only if assumptions of sphericity were not satisfied, were multivariate analyses conducted. The results are summarised in Tables 9 to 11. Each table is summarised with effect sizes indicated on the right hand side of the table for significant interactions ( $p < 0.05$ ) only.

#### **4.2.2. SOCIAL SATISFACTION:**

This category relates to questions 1 to 5 on the SST. The questions are typically regarding perceptions of social status (for example, "Who do you think is the happiest with their life?") and physical hardships ("Who do you think gets sick the most?"). Each subject's ratings for each question have been summed, to provide a single Social Satisfaction score per figure, with the maximum score of 35 attainable for a figure (for example the Indian female). The maximum score attainable for any race group is thus double this, 70. The results of the 5-way ANOVA are summarised in Table 9 below, with significant effects ( $p < 0.05$ ) indicated by effect sizes being reported adjacent to these results. Significant effects covered by higher order interactions have not been discussed below. Significant higher order interactions have been presented graphically to indicate direction of the interaction, and where deemed suitable, results of post-hoc comparisons by Tukeys have been reported.



|  |   |
|--|---|
| <b><u>BETWEEN SUBJECT EFFECTS</u></b>        |   |
| RACE   | $F(2,192) = 3.39, p < .036, \eta^2 = .034$        |
| SEX  | $F(1,192) = .46, p < .496$                        |
| GRADE  | $F(1,192) = .59, p < .445$                        |
| RACE X SEX                                   | $F(2,192) = .62, p < .540$                        |
| RACE X GRADE                                 | $F(2,192) = 9.79, p < .000, \eta^2 = .093$        |
| SEX X GRADE                                  | $F(1,192) = .11, p < .738$                        |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE                           | $F(2,192) = .24, p < .785$                        |
| <b><u>GENDER EFFECT</u></b>                  |   |
| GENDER                                       | $F(1,193) = 94.09, p < .000, \eta^2 = .328$       |
| RACE X GENDER                                | $F(2,193) = 6.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = .067$        |
| SEX X GENDER                                 | $F(1,193) = 7.05, p < .009, \eta^2 = .035$        |
| GRADE X GENDER                               | $F(1,193) = .31, p < .577$                        |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER                          | $F(2,193) = 1.79, p < .169$                       |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER                        | $F(2,193) = .68, p < .508$                        |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER                         | $F(1,193) = 1.15, p < .286$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER                  | $F(2,193) = .27, p < .765$                        |
| <b><u>MULTIVARIATE TESTS: RCE</u></b>        |   |
| RCE  | $WILKS (2,192) = .48496, p < .000, \eta^2 = .515$ |
| RACE X RCE                                   | $WILKS (4,384) = .96940, p < .200$                |
| SEX X RCE                                    | $WILKS (2,192) = .99021, p < .389$                |
| GRADE X RCE                                  | $WILKS (2,192) = .99672, p < .730$                |
| RACE X SEX X RCE                             | $WILKS (4,384) = .98501, p < .573$                |
| RACE X GRADE X RCE                           | $WILKS (4,384) = .96276, p < .121$                |
| SEX X GRADE X RCE                            | $WILKS (2,192) = .99956, p < .958$                |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE                     | $WILKS (4,384) = .98947, p < .729$                |
| <b><u>RCE EFFECT</u></b>                     |   |
| RCE  | $F(2,386) = 143.57, p < .000, \eta^2 = .427$      |
| RACE X RCE                                   | $F(4,386) = 1.46, p < .215$                       |
| SEX X RCE                                    | $F(2,386) = .64, p < .527$                        |
| GRADE X RCE                                  | $F(2,386) = .19, p < .825$                        |
| RACE X SEX X RCE                             | $F(4,386) = .54, p < .705$                        |
| RACE X GRADE X RCE                           | $F(4,386) = 1.40, p < .232$                       |
| SEX X GRADE X RCE                            | $F(2,386) = .06, p < .942$                        |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE                     | $F(4,386) = .70, p < .589$                        |
| <b><u>UNIVARIATE TESTS: GENDER X RCE</u></b> |   |
| GENDER X RCE                                 | $WILKS (2,192) = .96918, p < .050, \eta^2 = .031$ |
| RACE X GENDER X RCE                          | $WILKS (4,384) = .95295, p < .055$                |
| SEX X GENDER X RCE                           | $WILKS (2,192) = .99777, p < .807$                |
| GRADE X GENDER X RCE                         | $WILKS (2,192) = .96856, p < .047, \eta^2 = .031$ |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE                    | $WILKS (4,384) = .98635, p < .619$                |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                  | $WILKS (4,384) = .97226, p < .247$                |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                   | $WILKS (2,192) = .99931, p < .935$                |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE            | $WILKS (4,384) = .96822, p < .184$                |
| <b><u>GENDER X RCE EFFECT</u></b>            |   |
| GENDER X RCE                                 | $F(2,386) = 2.99, p < .051$                       |
| RACE X GENDER X RCE                          | $F(4,386) = 2.24, p < .064$                       |
| SEX X GENDER X RCE                           | $F(2,386) = .24, p < .790$                        |
| GRADE X GENDER X RCE                         | $F(2,386) = 3.29, p < .038, \eta^2 = .017$        |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE                    | $F(4,386) = .62, p < .647$                        |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                  | $F(4,386) = 1.36, p < .248$                       |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                   | $F(2,386) = .06, p < .939$                        |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE            | $F(4,386) = 1.63, p < .166$                       |

Table 9. Results of 5-way ANOVA for Social Satisfaction

**Sex X Gender Effect:**

Both male and female subjects rated females higher on this category of perceived social inequality than males, as Figure 8 indicates. Note that the female subjects rated female figures higher than the males did, but that there is relatively little difference in the relative ratings of male figures.

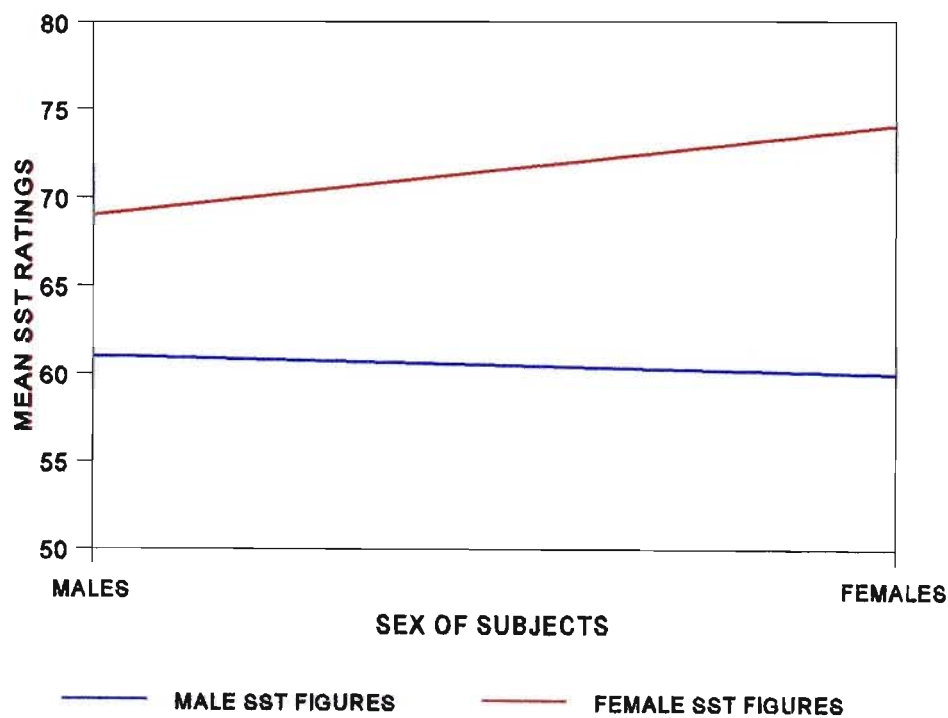


Figure 8. Social Satisfaction: Sex X Gender Effect

**Race X Gender Effect:**

Similarly, Figure 9 below shows a strong Race X Gender effect, with subjects from each race group rating females higher on perceived social status than males. The strongest effect of this was noted for Indian subjects, followed by white, then black subjects.

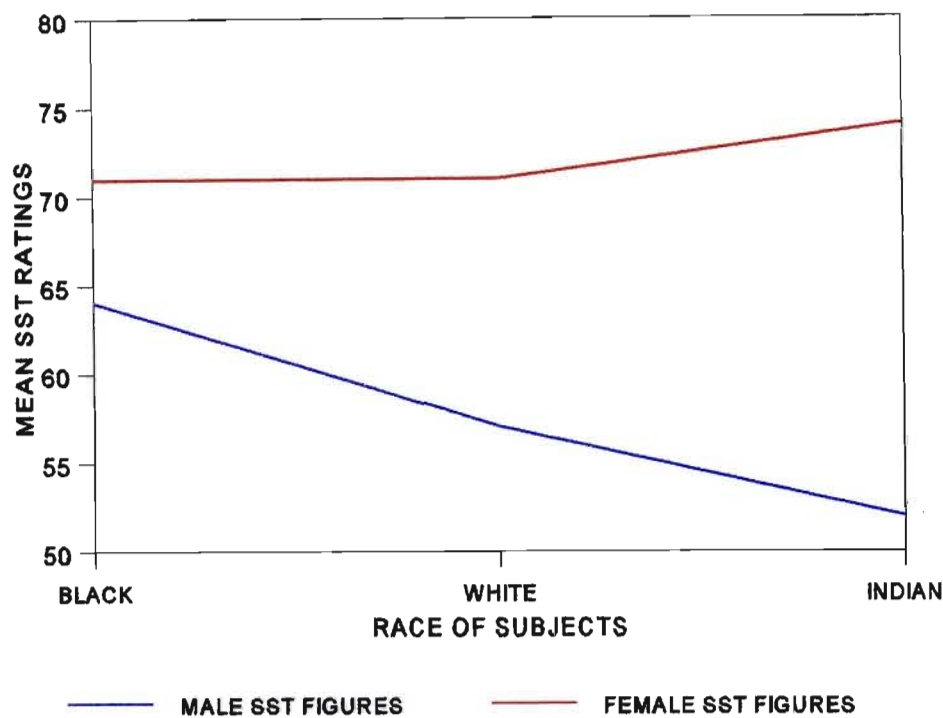


Figure 9. Social Satisfaction: Race X Gender Effect

**Grade X Gender X Race Effect:**

Both Grade 1 and Grade 4 subjects rated the figures in the following order for perceived social inequality: White female, then Indian female, followed by the white male. The next two figures are the Indian male, followed by the black female, and lastly the black male. Grade 1's showed slightly less clear differentiation on these scores compared to the Grade 4's. This is demonstrated in Figure 10 below.

It is interesting to note that there were no significant Race X Rce interactions for this category, hence different race groups are not perceiving other races differently in terms of how advantaged they are socially, but that there is fairly clear consensus on the above ratings.

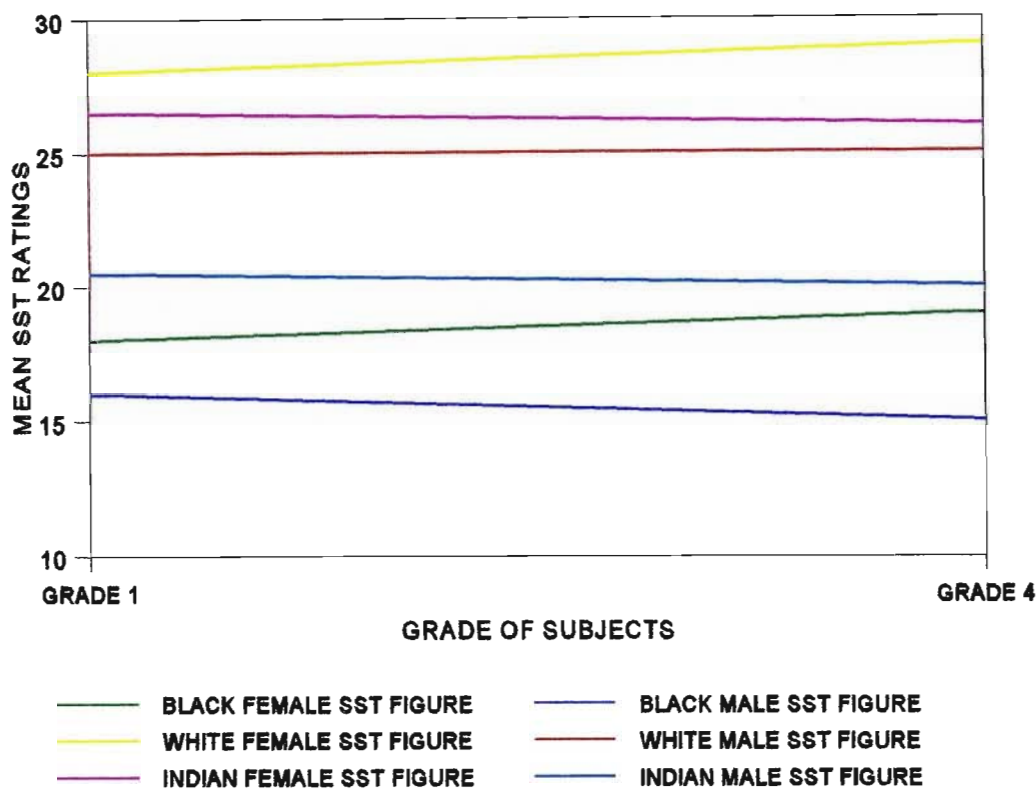


Figure 10. Social Satisfaction: Grade X Gender X Race Effect

**4.2.3. IDENTIFICATION:**

This section pertains to the category of “Identification” on SST - that is, figure ratings in response to the question “Who do you think is most like you?”. Since there is only one question for this category, the maximum rating possible for each figure is 7, and for a race group (two figures of each race group), 14 points. The results of the 5-way ANOVA are shown in Table 10. As seen in this table, the following univariate analyses were significant: Race effect; Grade effect; Race X Grade effect; Sex X Gender effect; Rce; Race X Rce; Race X Grade X Rce; and Race X Sex X Rce. Multivariate tests similarly showed significant effects for Rce; Race X Rce; Race X Sex X Rce, with the inclusion of Grade X Rce. Selected higher order interactions are discussed below, with reference to graphic representations. Included in these discussions are results of post-hoc comparisons by Tukeys tests.

**BETWEEN SUBJECT EFFECTS**

RACE

SEX

GRADE

RACE X SEX

RACE X GRADE

SEX X GRADE

RACE X SEX X GRADE

F(2,185) = 14.60,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .136$ F(1,185) = .10,  $p < .757$ F(1,185) = 7.29,  $p < .008$ ,  $\eta^2 = .038$ F(2,185) = 2.09,  $p < .126$ F(2,185) = 7.49,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .075$ F(1,185) = 1.64,  $p < .202$ F(1,185) = .45,  $p < .638$ **GENDER EFFECT**

GENDER

RACE X GENDER

SEX X GENDER

GRADE X GENDER

RACE X SEX X GENDER

RACE X GRADE X GENDER

SEX X GRADE X GENDER

RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER

F(1,186) = .70,  $p < .404$ F(2,186) = 1.08,  $p < .342$ F(1,186) = 62.04,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .250$ F(1,186) = .43,  $p < .511$ F(2,186) = 2.09,  $p < .126$ F(2,186) = .21,  $p < .808$ F(1,186) = .33,  $p < .568$ F(2,186) = .14,  $p < .866$ **MULTIVARIATE TESTS: RCE**

RCE

RACE X RCE

SEX X RCE

GRADE X RCE

RACE X SEX X RCE

RACE X GRADE X RCE

SEX X GRADE X RCE

RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE

WILKS (2,185) = .91911,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .081$ WILKS (4,370) = .64788,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .195$ WILKS (2,185) = .96909,  $p < .055$ WILKS (2,185) = .96802,  $p < .049$ ,  $\eta^2 = .032$ WILKS (2,185) = .99023,  $p < .768$ WILKS (4,370) = .94200,  $p < .026$ ,  $\eta^2 = .029$ WILKS (2,185) = .99795,  $p < .827$ WILKS (4,370) = .96071,  $p < .115$ **RCE EFFECT**

RCE

RACE X RCE

SEX X RCE

GRADE X RCE

RACE X SEX X RCE

RACE X GRADE X RCE

SEX X GRADE X RCE

RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE

F(2,372) = 19.55,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .049$ F(4,372) = 25.39,  $p < .000$ ,  $\eta^2 = .214$ F(2,372) = 2.27,  $p < .104$ F(2,372) = 3.72,  $p < .025$ F(4,372) = .39,  $p < .816$ F(4,372) = 3.01,  $p < .018$ ,  $\eta^2 = .031$ F(2,372) = .24,  $p < .790$ F(4,372) = 1.72,  $p < .144$ **UNIVARIATE TESTS: GENDER X RCE**

GENDER X RCE

RACE X GENDER X RCE

SEX X GENDER X RCE

GRADE X GENDER X RCE

RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE

RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

WILKS (2,185) = .99350,  $p < .547$ WILKS (4,370) = .98135,  $p < .479$ WILKS (2,185) = .99132,  $p < .446$ WILKS (2,185) = .96954,  $p < .057$ WILKS (4,370) = .93172,  $p < .011$ ,  $\eta^2 = .035$ WILKS (4,370) = .97183,  $p < .260$ WILKS (2,185) = .98997,  $p < .393$ WILKS (4,370) = .96008,  $p < .109$ **GENDER X COLOUR EFFECT**

GENDER X RCE

RACE X GENDER X RCE

SEX X GENDER X RCE

GRADE X GENDER X RCE

RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE

RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE

F(2,372) = .49,  $p < .611$ F(4,372) = .83,  $p < .507$ F(2,372) = .71,  $p < .490$ F(2,372) = 2.45,  $p < .088$ F(4,372) = 2.88,  $p < .023$ ,  $\eta^2 = .030$ F(4,372) = 1.20,  $p < .308$ F(2,372) = .91,  $p < .403$ F(4,372) = 1.62,  $p < .170$

### Sex X Gender Effect:

Although not a specific focus of this study, it is interesting to note that gender identification results were as expected, with female subjects identifying significantly more with female figures. Males showed clear, but non-significant trend in choice of male figures in this category, as can be seen in Figure 11 below:

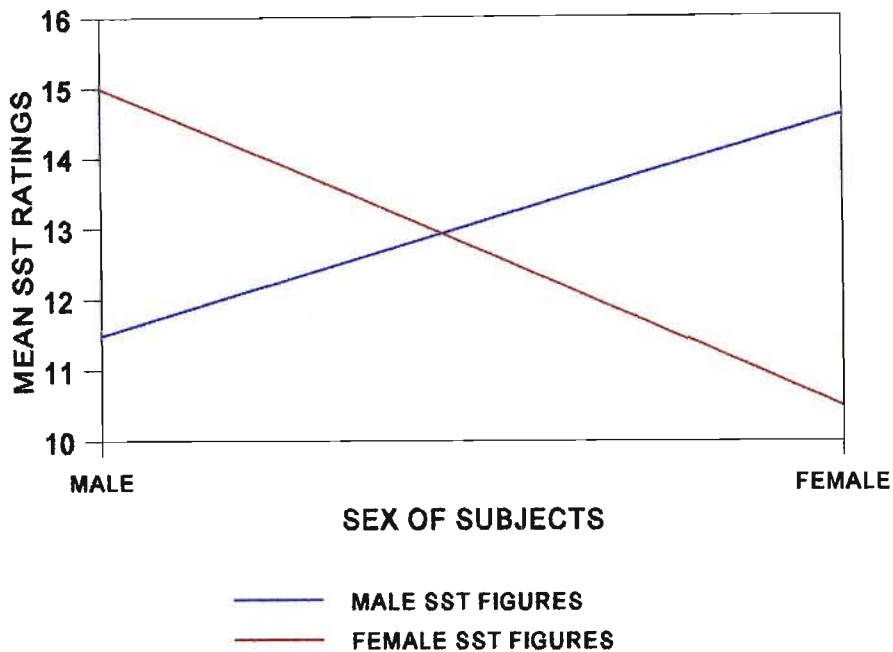


Figure 11. Identification: Sex X Gender Effect

Hence, the results of gender identification show a trend towards in-group gender identification for all subjects.

### Race X Grade X Rce Effect:

With respect to the race of the figures, however, in-group identification was not always clearly indicated, as predicted in Hypothesis 2 (see Figure 12 below). Black subjects in the younger age group (Grade 1) showed no significant difference in identification with the race of the figure. Thus they did not show out-group identification, but on average, rated all of the races higher than the other subjects did. White subjects in Grade 1 rated the white figures significantly more like themselves than both Indian and black figures. The black figures were rated lowest, but not significantly lower than the Indian. Indian Grade 1

subjects rated Indian figures highest on perceived similarity, but not significantly higher than the white figures. The black figures were identified with significantly less than both Indian and white.

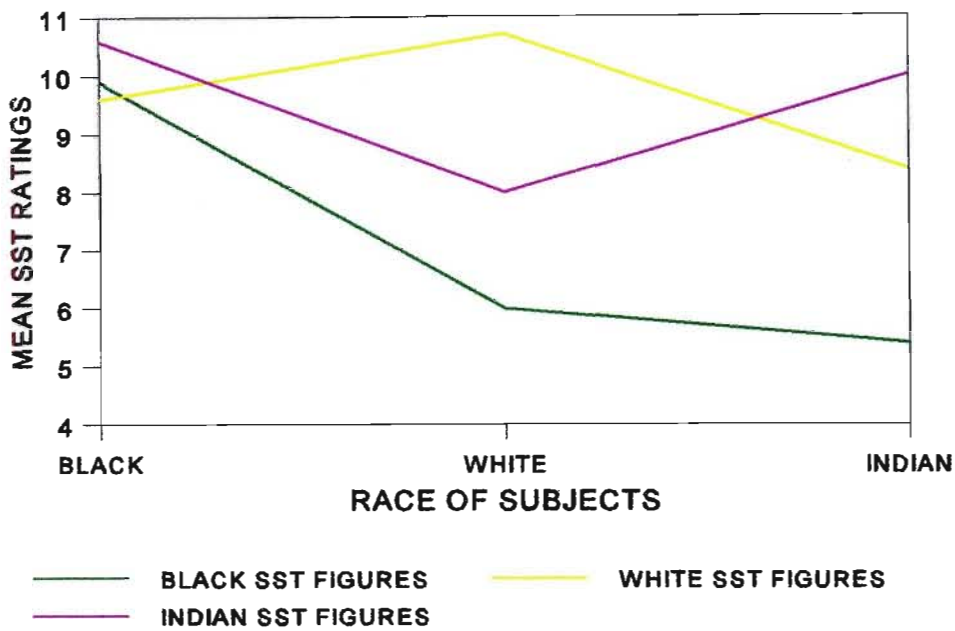


Figure 12. Identification: Race X Rce X Grade Effect (Grade 1)

For Grade 4's, Figure 13 shows different trends for identification:

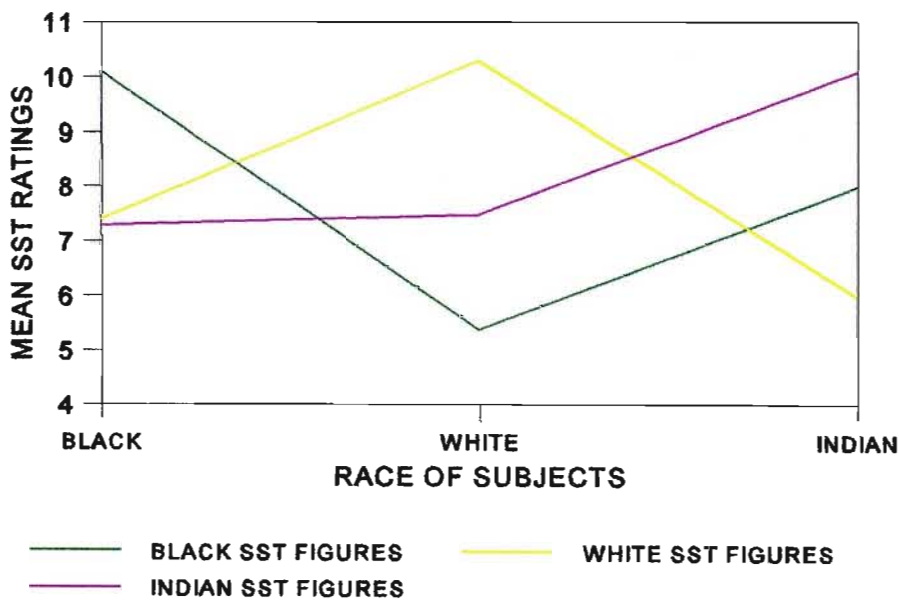


Figure 13. Identification: Race X Rce X Grade Effect (Grade 4)



Black subjects in Grade 4 identified significantly more with the black figures and the Indian and white figures. White subjects in Grade 4 identified significantly more with whites than Indian, and significantly more with Indian than black figures. They show the clearest differentiation between figures on identification. Indian Grade 4's rated Indians the highest, but interestingly, these figures were not identified with significantly more than the black figures. However, white figures were identified with significantly less than Indian figures.

#### Race X Sex X Gender X Rce Effect:

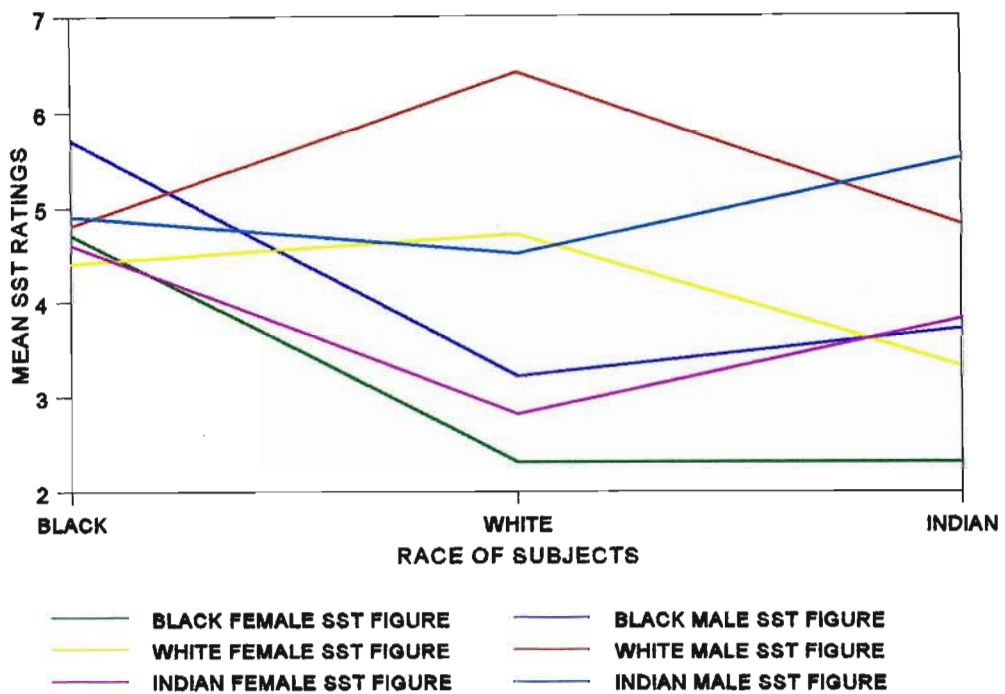


Figure 14. Identification: Race X Sex X Gender Effect (Males)

Figure 14 above shows the identification of males from each race group with each of the SST figures. Although simple effect analyses for each point of difference were not administered, the trends are fairly clearly indicated in the graph. Black male subjects identified most strongly with the black male figure, followed by the Indian and white males, black female, Indian then white female. The overall spread of ratings shows that again this group rated all of the figures higher, on average, than the other race groups did, with little variance between scores. White males in the sample once more showed much clearer differentiation between figures, with clearest identification with the white male figure, followed by little difference between ratings of the white female and Indian male. Lower on



the rankings was the black male, then Indian female and lastly the black female. Indian male subjects identified mostly with the figure representing the Indian male, then the white male. This was followed by a cluster of the Indian female, black male and white female. The black female was rated lowest on the identification score.

For females, Figure 15 shows similar trends in some respects.

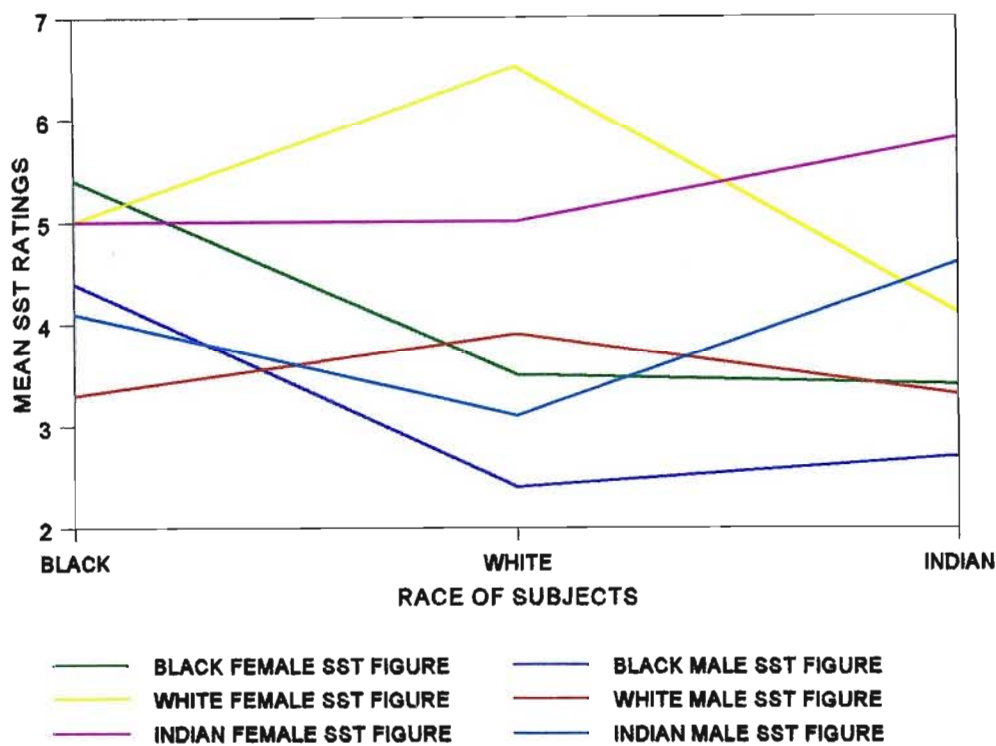


Figure 15. Identification: Race X Sex X Gender Effect (Females)

Black female subjects identify most with the black female figure, but there is not much difference between this and the ratings for the white and Indian female figures. The next cluster is of the black male and Indian male, with the white male being identified with least. The white females perceived the white female figure as most similar to themselves. The next figure identified with is the Indian female. Interestingly, the white male figure is rated higher than the black female, closely followed by the Indian male. The black male is perceived as least similar by this group. The Indian female subjects identified most clearly

with the Indian female figure, followed by the Indian male and then the white female. Closely rated were the black female and white female, with the black male being identified with least of all.

It is interesting to consider that the black male and female subjects may have been identifying more strongly on the basis of gender, whereas the white and Indian subjects appeared to classify figures more according to race. This point will be returned to in the Discussion section of this dissertation.

#### **4.2.4. PREFERENCE:**

The category of Preference is a summation of the results of questions 6 to 9 on the SST. These questions relate to choices of preference for figures in different situation, for example, "If there is a problem in the classroom, who do you think would be the best person to sort it out?" and "Who do you think has the most friends?". Once more, each child's ratings have been summed for each figure, to provide a single Preference score per figure, with the maximum of 28 per figure, or 54 per race category. Table 11 summarises the results of the 5-way ANOVA, with the significant interactions ( $p < 0.05$ ) indicated by effect sizes being included on the right hand side. As for the previous two categories, significant higher order interactions have been presented graphically, and discussed with reference to significant Tukeys results where appropriate.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b><u>BETWEEN SUBJECT EFFECTS</u></b>        |  |
| RACE   | $F(2,190) = 4.77, p < .010, \eta^2 = .048$       |
| SEX  | $F(1,190) = .00, p < .966$                       |
| GRADE  | $F(1,190) = .02, p < .879$                       |
| RACE X SEX                                   | $F(2,190) = .04, p < .355$                       |
| RACE X GRADE                                 | $F(2,190) = 10.51, p < .000, \eta^2 = .100$      |
| SEX X GRADE                                  | $F(1,190) = .35, p < .553$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE                           | $F(2,190) = .37, p < .422$                       |
| <b><u>GENDER EFFECT</u></b>                  |  |
| GENDER                                       | $F(1,191) = 38.94, p < .000, \eta^2 = .169$      |
| RACE X GENDER                                | $F(2,191) = 3.54, p < .031, \eta^2 = .036$       |
| SEX X GENDER                                 | $F(1,191) = 8.27, p < .004, \eta^2 = .042$       |
| GRADE X GENDER                               | $F(1,191) = .28, p < .590$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER                          | $F(2,191) = 1.57, p < .210$                      |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER                        | $F(2,191) = 1.98, p < .140$                      |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER                         | $F(1,191) = .15, p < .700$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER                  | $F(2,191) = .13, p < .878$                       |
| <b><u>MULTIVARIATE TESTS: RCE</u></b>        |  |
| RCE  | $WILKS(2,190) = .59650, p < .000, \eta^2 = .403$ |
| RACE X RCE                                   | $WILKS(4,380) = .98602, p < .612$                |
| SEX X RCE                                    | $WILKS(2,190) = .99420, p < .575$                |
| GRADE X RCE                                  | $WILKS(2,190) = .99492, p < .616$                |
| RACE X SEX X RCE                             | $WILKS(4,380) = .98298, p < .514$                |
| RACE X GRADE X RCE                           | $WILKS(4,380) = .99752, p < .015, \eta^2 = .032$ |
| SEX X GRADE X RCE                            | $WILKS(2,190) = .99364, p < .546$                |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE                     | $WILKS(4,380) = .98031, p < .436$                |
| <b><u>RCE EFFECT</u></b>                     |  |
| RCE  | $F(2,382) = 79.39, p < .000, \eta^2 = .294$      |
| RACE X RCE                                   | $F(4,382) = .81, p < .517$                       |
| SEX X RCE                                    | $F(2,382) = .68, p < .507$                       |
| GRADE X RCE                                  | $F(2,382) = .59, p < .552$                       |
| RACE X SEX X RCE                             | $F(4,382) = .66, p < .618$                       |
| RACE X GRADE X RCE                           | $F(4,382) = 2.98, p < .019, \eta^2 = .030$       |
| SEX X GRADE X RCE                            | $F(2,382) = .48, p < .618$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X RCE                     | $F(4,382) = 1.17, p < .324$                      |
| <b><u>UNIVARIATE TESTS: GENDER X RCE</u></b> |  |
| GENDER X RCE                                 | $WILKS(2,185) = .97723, p < .112$                |
| RACE X GENDER X RCE                          | $WILKS(4,380) = .98904, p < .718$                |
| SEX X GENDER X RCE                           | $WILKS(2,190) = .97932, p < .137$                |
| GRADE X GENDER X RCE                         | $WILKS(2,190) = .97940, p < .138$                |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE                    | $WILKS(4,380) = .98601, p < .612$                |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                  | $WILKS(4,380) = .98959, p < .737$                |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                   | $WILKS(2,190) = .99300, p < .513$                |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE            | $WILKS(4,380) = .97484, p < .303$                |
| <b><u>GENDER X RCE EFFECT</u></b>            |  |
| GENDER X RCE                                 | $F(2,382) = 2.31, p < .101$                      |
| RACE X GENDER X RCE                          | $F(4,382) = .54, p < .705$                       |
| SEX X GENDER X RCE                           | $F(2,382) = 1.96, p < .142$                      |
| GRADE X GENDER X RCE                         | $F(2,382) = .65, p < .422$                       |
| RACE X SEX X GENDER X RCE                    | $F(4,382) = .50, p < .626$                       |
| RACE X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                  | $F(4,382) = .70, p < .736$                       |
| SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE                   | $F(2,382) = 14.60, p < .498$                     |
| RACE X SEX X GRADE X GENDER X RCE            | $F(4,382) = 1.28, p < .278$                      |

Table 11. Results of 5-way ANOVA for Preference

### Sex X Gender Effect:

Although gender prejudice was not a focus of this study, it is interesting to note that as for the ratings on Social Satisfaction, male subjects showed a slight, non-significant preference for female figures versus male figures. Female subjects scored female figures significantly higher for the preference category. Figure 16 below shows these results:

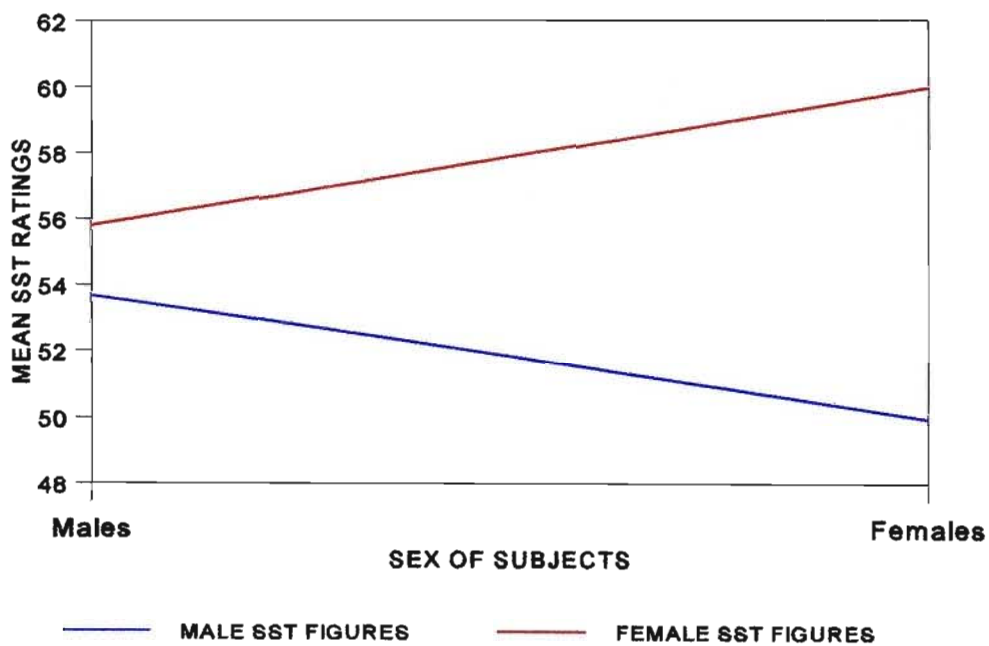


Figure 16. Preference: Sex X Gender Effect

### Race X Gender Effect:

Similar to the results for the Social Satisfaction category, and related to the above results, all three race groups showed a significantly higher preference for female figures compared to male figures, as shown in Figure 17.

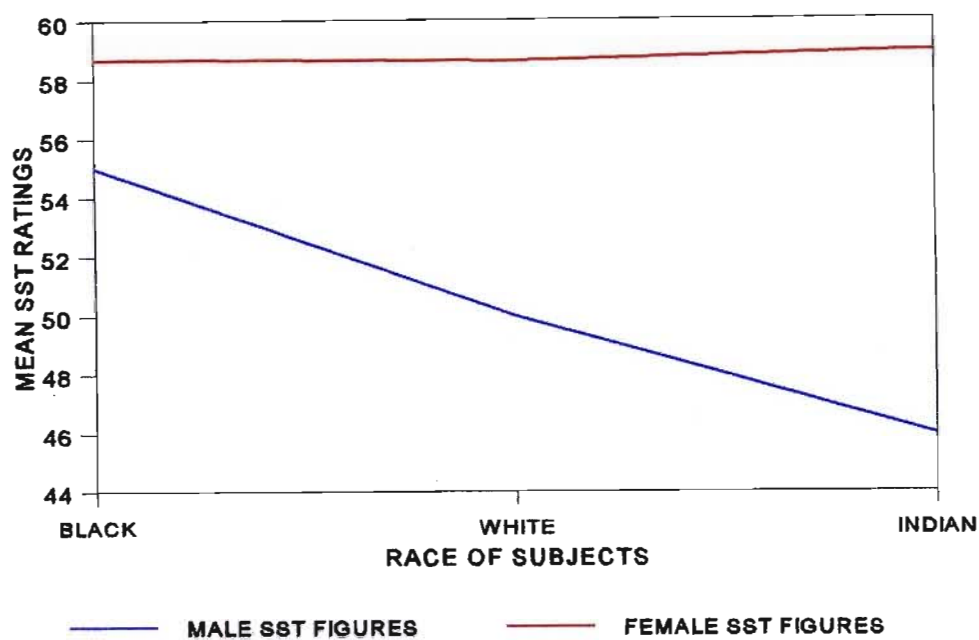


Figure 17. Preference: Race X Gender Effect

**Race X Rce X Grade:**

Figure 18, indicates interesting results involving subject race and choice of race of figure that were not produced for the category of Social Satisfaction.

Black Grade 1 subjects show significantly higher preference for the white and Indian figures, with white figures rated higher, but not significantly so than Indian. In general, all the race of figures were rated higher by the black younger children. White Grade 1's show the same race preference as black subjects, but with greater rejection of the black figures. Indian Grade 1's show the same order of preference, but with significant differences between each race.

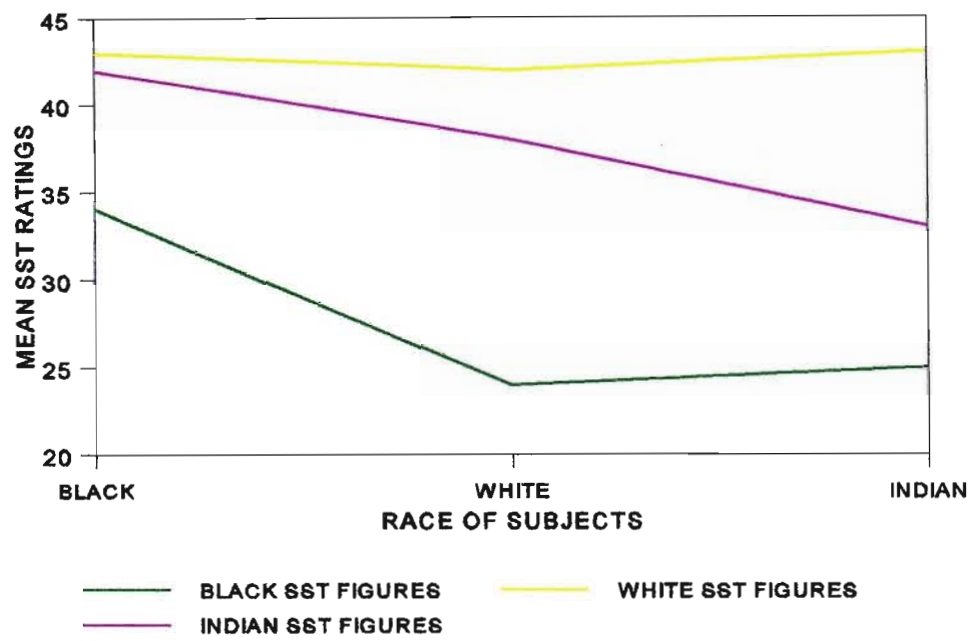


Figure 18. Preference: Race X Rce X Grade (Grade 1's)

Figure 19 shows these results for the older sample:

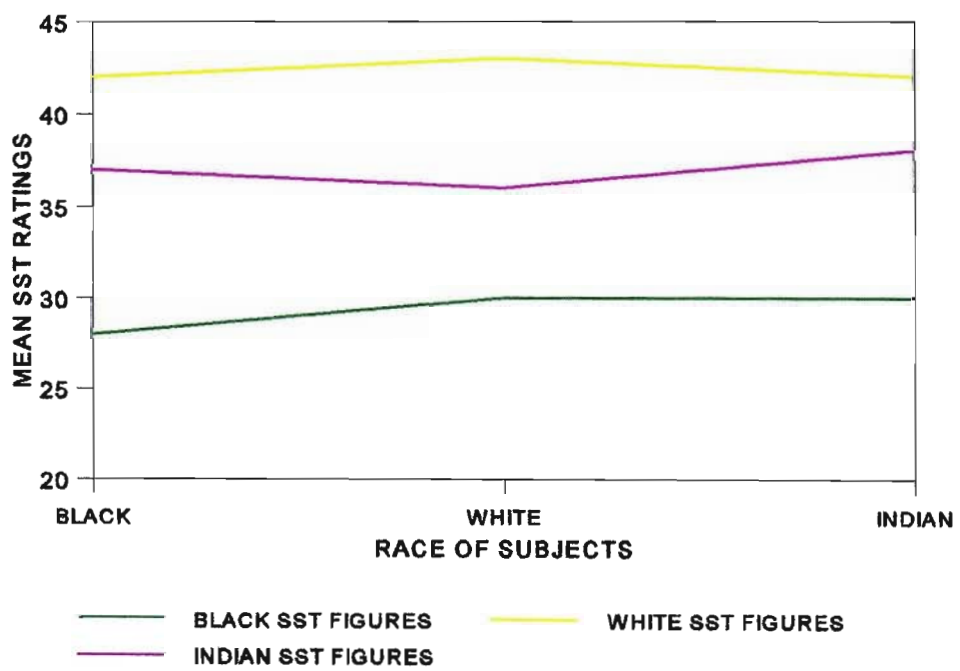


Figure 19. Preference: Race X Rce X Grade (Grade 4's)

All Grade 4's similarly showed preference for figures in the order of white, then Indian, then black. Black and white Grade 4's showed significant differences in their ratings of all three races. Indians showed no significant difference in the preference category between white and Indian, but both were rated higher than the black figures.

## **5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS**

### **5.1. OVERVIEW OF RESULTS**

Hypothesis 1 of the study was not confirmed, with the black children in the sample scoring significantly lower on the measure of self-esteem relative to the other groups. While various possible reasons for this result will be discussed, it would seem that prolonged exposure to prejudice may indeed impact negatively on self-esteem.

Hypothesis 2, pertaining to sex differences in self-esteem was confirmed, with no significant difference in the CFSEI scores between the males and females of the sample. Hypothesis 3 was not confirmed, with older children showing higher self-esteem than the younger children on average.

Hypothesis 4 of the study, regarding perceived social stratification, was confirmed, with all race groups and all ages of subjects showing consensus with respect to their rating of the race groups in terms of social satisfaction. White SST figures were rated highest, followed by Indian, and lastly black figures. These perceptions appear uncontroversial in terms of the past history and current socio-political climate of South Africa.

Hypothesis 5, pertaining to lower own-group racial identification in the younger minority group subjects compared to the older minority group subjects or majority group subjects was confirmed by the results for the black subjects, but not as distinctly for the Indian subjects. Theoretical formulations will be made for the results of each subject race group's identification scores as compared with self-esteem scores. These formulations will centre around the application of social identity theory, and in particular the process of social mobility, as well as drawing from Aboud's (1988) theory of socio-cognitive development of prejudice.

Relating to the well-documented finding of a reduction in prejudice with age, these results seemed to support Hypothesis 6 only in part. Although significance levels were not tested, graphic presentations appeared to indicate that older subjects on average showed only slightly higher preference attributions across the races.



Hypothesis 7, regarding out-group preference results in younger minority subjects was supported by evidence of this in both Indian and black subjects. These results did, however, appear to persist into the older sample. The earlier theoretical formulations were extended to include this result.

Hypothesis 8, pertaining to elevated levels of out-group rejection and in-group preference by majority group members, was confirmed for the white sample in general, and was strongest for the younger subjects. Hypothesis 9, involving sex differences in preference attributes, was confirmed, with no significant Sex X Race effects found.

The following section discusses each of these results in more detail.

## **5.2. SELF-ESTEEM**

The finding that the black subjects showed significantly lower scores on the General subscale of the CFSEI, as compared to the Indian, and particularly white subjects, contradicts hypothesis 1. That a group exposed to severe racial discrimination shows lower self-esteem is not a completely surprising result, although recent trends have not supported this (for example Crocker and Major, 1989; Verkuyten and Masson, 1995). These findings, however, are international, and hence from very different settings. The results of this study are particularly believable when considering self-esteem in the light of its being a measure of social belonging. This may be heightened by the current socio-political climate of increased disillusionment and heightened prejudice in the period after the early 1990's more positive transitional stage. However, by prior theoretical discussion, this would imply that these children might not be using only their own group as a reference group, but comparing their status relative to other groups in society. In such a multiplicity of cultures, and with recent increases in contact between different groups after the official dismantling of the Apartheid era, it may be that black South African children are becoming increasingly exposed to the majority group culture. This might indicate that they are comparing themselves with other more advantaged children. The findings on perceived social stratification as well as identification, to be discussed shortly, supports this notion. The above formulation is also supported by the way in which the effect was particularly pronounced for the younger black children in the sample, which may be explained by the emphasis on intergroup comparisons observed at this age (Aboud, 1988). Older children

are thought to show more individually-oriented, interpersonal (particularly in-group) comparisons, and may rely less on drawing self-concept evaluations from group status variables.

The relative differences in the self-esteem of the Indian group sheds further light on this topic. While not significantly lower, Figure 4 (page 71) showed that the self-esteem of this group falls between the white and black group. This finding lends support to the attempts at drawing parallels between experiences of oppression and emerging self-esteem in children. It was described earlier that this group has also been subject to a racially oppressive environment, but, especially recently, of a less severe nature than that in which the black people found themselves.

However, in critique of the finding of lower self-esteem of minorities, it should be noted that the important variable of socio-economic status has not been factored into these results. With respect to self-esteem, Willaims-Burns (1980), as discussed earlier, cautioned against confounding socio-economic status variables with race. This is a notable criticism of this study, where race is markedly connected with class in this society. In the demographic breakdown of the subjects, it was clear that most of the black subjects came from the school associated with lower socio-economic status (School 3).

A second important objection to these results is that they may be pointing to artefacts of the test situation, for example that the instrument assessing self-esteem is not truly culture-free. It was mentioned earlier that this test has not been used with the black or Indian populations of this continent, let alone this local region, and this is a valid criticism to bear in mind when making further interpretations.

A third factor in the interpretation of these results, is that these scores are reliant on measures of global self-esteem. Heiss and Owens (1972) recommend taking into account more specific areas of self-esteem in comparing results. In this regard, further analyses of the subscales of the CFSEI may be useful, although it was noted that these scales showed high correlations with the Total subscales used here.

Strong objections have been made in the past towards studies reporting lower self-esteem in minority group children, presumably based on concerns about pathologising members from these groups. On the other hand, it seems unnecessary to be too apologetic about these results, as Heiss and Owens (1972) write that results reporting no significant differences in self-esteem between race groups may be masking underlying problems. Thus while maintaining a healthy sense of possible methodological flaws, these results do need to be taken seriously, and will be returned to in subsequent sections.

The reason for the results of increased self-esteem with age are unsure, although literature on this trend appears controversial (for example, this same finding was reported by Kelly and Duckitt, 1995).

### **5.3. SOCIAL SATISFACTION**

With regard to assessing children's perceptions of social stratification, the first set of interesting results pertains to gender differences. The results showed that males and females from all race groups perceived females as relatively more advantaged than males (see Figures 8 and 9 on pages 79 and 80). Although gender perceptions are not a focus of this study, it is interesting to hypothesise some reasons for this. The first of these is the uncomfortable possibility that this is an accurate reflection of South African society at present, although it is not entirely certain why this would be the case. One idea is that females are being attributed with less physical hardships in this study, for example not being perceived as having to walk as far as males. Secondly, it is well documented that boys generally show greater vulnerability to psychopathology and physical ailments (Rutter and Garmezzy, 1983), and that this may be perceived at an unconscious level by both sexes. Thirdly, the relative immaturity of males at this age may be causing the subjects to rate the male figures as less advantaged. For example, one of the questions included in this category is "Who do you think does best at school?", and it is common for girls to do better at the primary school level. The fourth explanation may centre around methodological flaws. These ideas are tentative at best, and are merely mentioned for interest.

The graphic presentation of the Grade X Gender X Race effect (Figure 10 on page 81) is highly salient to the focus of this dissertation, and confirms hypothesis 4. The interaction indicated that subjects from all race groups showed consensus on social satisfaction

attributions. Results showed that all subjects rated the white SST figures above the Indian figures. On average, the black figures were rated lowest on this measure. Ratings therefore suggest that the children are perceiving whites as relatively more advantaged than Indians, and blacks as the least advantaged group. Relating this finding back to the section on South African society, this result is not particularly controversial, and appears to be a fairly accurate reflection of social stratification. It does, however, have marked implications on the interpretation of the other results of the study.

#### **5.4. IDENTIFICATION**

Interestingly, it is the same population that scored lower on self-esteem that showed less distinctive scores of racial identification. This finding was shown in Figures 12 and 13 (page 84), presenting the Race X Grade X Race effect. The results partially confirm hypothesis 3, which proposed that younger minority group subjects would show less distinct scores on racial identification than older minority group subjects. This effect is most apparent for the black subjects, but does not apply as clearly to the Indian subjects. The results of each race group are discussed separately.

Black subjects in grade 1 (Figure 12) are shown to rate all groups as much more similar to themselves. Note that they are not strongly misidentifying, but are not showing distinctive own-group identification. By grade 4 the effect is very different, with the black children clearly identifying with the black SST figures. This identification is a familiar result in the earlier research of the century, yet little has been written by way of explanation. Some theories simply attribute the result to low self-esteem, but offer no direct theoretical links in this regard. Social identity theory is drawn on here in an attempt to bridge this gap. A possible starting point is also with respect to the relatively lower self-esteem of this group. Based on prior formulations of self-esteem, the low self-esteem in this group may be interpreted as an indicator of a poorer sense of social belonging. Related to this are the fundamental assumptions of social identity theory, that people with low self-esteem are motivated to enhance their self-esteem by improving their social identity or positive group affiliation. However, belonging to a low status group, increased identification by association with that group is unlikely to be effective in enhancing social identity and hence self-esteem. Therefore, the processes of social mobility, creativity or change are likely to be utilised and evidenced. For minority group members having experienced particularly

severe oppression, as the black South African people have, social creativity and change strategies may be inappropriate and ineffectual in a situation which is still so realistically and concretely oppressive. In this instance, the strategy of social mobility may be more gainfully employed. An example of this would involve psychological attempts to associate more with a higher status group, or at best, identify with their group in a less distinctive (mutually exclusive) manner. Hogg et al. (1995) describe low status groups' attempts to "disidentify" (p. 260) in order to gain psychological entry into a dominant group. This is evidenced by the relative lack of clear identification of the black grade 1's. It is interesting that they are in fact assigning the highest scores to the Indian SST figures (although the averages are not significantly higher than those for the black and white figures). This may be the more realistic group to identify with to enhance social identity, as the white group are perceived as even more advantaged than the Indian group. Support for these results rests on the previously discussed recognition of social stratification, in particular, that their group fares relatively poorly on social satisfaction measures.

An objection needs to be raised at this point as to why the black subjects are not showing improved self-esteem as a result of the social mobility strategies. Are these realistically ineffectual, or are there other unconsidered explanations? Recall the earlier criticisms of Hewstone and Brown (1990) of social identity theory's lack of specification of causal dimensions. Hence, consideration of the reverse causality is also required in this instance. In the above formulation, self-esteem was taken as a theoretical starting point. But one could just as validly take the results of identification as a starting point. In other words, it may be that lack of clear identification in the black subjects leads to lower self-esteem. Identification with a race group seems to link directly with social identity, and if identification scores are diffuse, lack of clear social identity may impact negatively on self-esteem. It is proposed here that this type of linear reduction of causality processes may be unnecessary, and that this is in reality more of a so-called "chicken and egg" situation. With self-esteem, social identity and identification theoretically and by these results so linked, it is highly likely that these three facets of the self are integrally and dynamically causally related in both directions. Practically, this might involve low self-esteem effecting less distinctive identification and visa versa. On the other hand, this has rather a fatalistic sound, and does not account adequately for the dramatic shift in identification and self-esteem just three years later.

The hypothesised process of more diffuse identification in order to facilitate enhanced social identity being evidenced in younger children in this group is again probably attributable to the heightened intergroup comparisons characteristic of this age (Aboud's cognitive-developmental theory, 1988). According to Aboud's theory, by grade 4 the processes of individual comparison and more interpersonal (versus concrete) attributions in self-concept evaluations are evidenced. With the relatively higher self-esteem shown by the black grade 4's, there may be less need for such marked social mobility strategies. As a result, the older black subjects show clear own-group identification.

It is interesting to note, however, that at this older stage they are identifying particularly strongly with their own group, and less with the other groups, and the reason for this is unclear. Some of the early writers proposed that the pattern of identification shown by black children seems to coincide with that of majority children, but at a later age. They propose that a developmental lag may be delaying black children's identification. No other data is cited in support of this, and no clear theoretical explanations for the supposed developmental delay are offered, and it would seem that this is a particularly unhelpful and narrow interpretation of the scores. Explanations may need to look more carefully into subtle developmental processes around this age, such as an emerging awareness, for example, of socio-political processes. For example, black consciousness movements or of the past struggle and victory of this group, may increase a sense of racial pride and identification. This may enhance social identity with this group, since the older children's interpersonal evaluations may be based on more abstract socio-political dimensions, than the simpler, more concrete attributions made by the younger group.

A further interesting phenomenon to emerge was that for the black subjects, it would appear that gender identification was given preference over racial identification (see Figures 14 and 15 on pages 85 and 86). This is particularly noticeable for the females (Figure 15), who showed a distinct cluster of females, then males in their rating averages. Hence for gender, they are showing fairly clear in-group identification, but not so for race. This may be related to the perceived advantaged position of the female group, as shown by all subjects, whereby females align themselves more strongly with the females from other races to once again enhance social identity through social mobility-type strategies. Again,

male black subjects may show increased association with females by identifying in a less distinct manner with the males. On the other hand, this result may point to a tendency for black subjects to place more emphasis on gender differences rather than racial differences. Alternatively, the less distinct identification scores as evidenced by the black subjects in general may be indicative of less distinct boundary differences between groups than the Western majority group subjects show. White subjects, who certainly showed the greatest variation between identification scores may rely more heavily on processes of categorisation to produce the image of clearer racial segregation. Again, these ideas are tentative, but this may link with cultural phenomena of the salience of independence and distinctiveness within Western traditions, compared to the more communal approaches of African traditions that were discussed by Watkins et al. (1996).

For the Indian sample, the results were very different, but appear to link in with the above formulation. Recall that this group was described as having experienced discrimination in South Africa, but possibly of a less extreme nature than the black group. In addition, this group seems to have a slightly longer past of integrating into the majority culture. Again starting from examination of relative self-esteem, the self-esteem of the Indian group was shown to be somewhat lower than that of the white group, although significantly higher than that of the black group. Social identity theory predicts that all groups are motivated to enhance self-esteem, and for this group, the processes of social mobility may still be evidenced. In this case, psychological attempts at dissociating with the lower status black group may be in operation. Instead, it would appear advantageous to align themselves more strongly with the white group. Evidence of this is seen in the grade 1 Indian subjects, who show no significant difference in identification with Indian and white SST figures, but significantly less association with the black figures. As expected, the older Indian subjects are showing stronger own-group identification, but interestingly, now aligning themselves more with the black subjects than the white. This may be for similar reasons as previously discussed for the black group.

The above results may offer support for the notion of the Indian and black populations of this sample being fairly integrated with the majority culture, as discussed in the section on self-esteem. If they are identifying with other cultures, this possibly implies some type of social or cultural integration.

White subjects of both age groups show marked in-group identification, rating the white SST figures significantly higher than the Indian and black figures. For grade 1's the distinction between the Indian and black figures is not significant, but by grade 4, all three groups' scores differ significantly from each other. Using the same theoretical framework, for these so-called majority group members, who showed relatively higher self-esteem, may still show evidence of processes of social categorisation and comparison. As identified in the section on social satisfaction, perceiving themselves as the relatively advantaged group, they may be expected to show strong tendencies of social categorisation and comparison, as this is likely to enhance self-esteem through enhanced social identification with their own higher status group. Dissociating from the other less advantaged groups is expected. These are in fact the trends recorded.

It is uncertain, however, why the white groups show no real difference in this pattern between grades 1 and 4. The age-related differences in the previous two groups were attributed to enhanced intergroup comparison processes characteristic of this age, and one would thus expect in-group identification to be less evident in the older sample. This point is explored in more depth with respect to the Preference scores.

### **5.5. PREFERENCE**

The attributions of preference relating to gender were similar to those relating to social satisfaction. Females showed significantly higher preference scores for female SST figures compared to males, whereas males showed a slight, but non-significant tendency to rate females higher on preference scores (Figure 16, page 89). In particular, Figure 17 (page 90) demonstrates how this effect was most marked for black subjects, but that again this group rated both gender groups higher on average than the other subjects did, for preference scores. This may link in with the prior formulation on this tendency.

The results differing from the perceived social satisfaction scores related to the Race X Race X Grade effect (Figures 18 and 19, page 91). This difference is with respect to relative differences in scores assigned by the various race groups (Race effect included). Figures 18 and 19 show that grade 1's and 4's of all races rated the SST figures in the following order: white (highest preference scores), then Indian, then black (lowest preference scores). Each subject race group is discussed separately below.



Black grade 1 subjects are showing significant out-group attributions on this measure, rating white and Indian figures above black figures. Note, however, that there is no real evidence of in-group rejection as such. The scores for the black figures are above 30 points on average, with a possible range of 8 to 56 points for racial categorisation on this measure. Again, Figure 18 demonstrates that their average ratings of all groups are higher than the other groups'. For example, the in-group scores of the black subjects parallel the in-group scores of the Indian subjects. The Indian subjects do, however, show greater out-group rejection (towards the black group), making their in-group scores seem preferable in comparison. The relative out-group preference scores shown by the younger black subjects are fairly consistent with many international and local findings, and make sense when linked with their scores of low self-esteem and less distinct identification. Following the assumptions of social identity theory, if these subjects are identifying with the out-groups as well as their own group, to attribute preference scores to the out-groups would not contribute negatively to their social identity. The reverse causality possibly applies, with out-group preference indications impacting negatively on social identity related to their own group, perhaps even causing a lowering in self-esteem.

Figure 19 shows that by grade 4 there is a relative drop in in-group preference scores by the black subjects, with significant differences between their ratings of all three race categories. This is contrary to international findings, studies of which report an increase in in-group preference by the age of 7 to 10 years. These results are particularly confusing in terms of the relative increases in self-esteem and own-group identification at this age. This trend would need further empirical validation

As mentioned above, the Indian grade 1 group showed significant differences in positive attributions to all three races of SST figures. The white group are given high scores, compared to the Indian and especially black figures. While again not showing clear in-group rejection scores, this group is showing fairly low preference scores for the black group. This coincides with the identification scores, where it was hypothesised that this group may exhibit attempts at distancing themselves from the black group, so that the disadvantaged position of this group does not impact negatively on their own social identity. Since associating with the white group fairly strongly (similar identification scores to those attributed to their own group), preference attributions may be readily granted to this

advantaged group.

The older Indian sample is still showing lowest attributions to the black SST figures, but these are somewhat higher than the grade 1's. The second difference is that their ratings of their own group have risen to almost parallel the white groups'. Hence while still showing positive ratings for the white group, they are attributing their own group with more positive scores. That the older children show more positive in-group preference scores is expected, as predicted in Hypothesis 6, and by the theoretical formulations of Aboud's (1988) cognitive-developmental theory of prejudice. But that their ratings of the white figures continues to be elevated is somewhat unexpected in terms of the identification scores of this group. These showed that by grade 4 the Indian subjects were identifying least with the white figures. This may relate to the way in which the SST measure of preference is possibly confounded by perceived social stratification. This point will be returned to shortly.

As predicted in prior theoretical formulations, what is not being evidenced by either the black or Indian subjects are processes of social creativity, which may be exhibited by high in-group preference scores for their own group despite being in a relatively disadvantaged position.

White grade 1 subjects show no significant difference in preference scores for their own group and the Indian group, but, similar to the results of the Indian group, show fairly marked low scores for the black SST figures. The evidence of out-group rejection tendencies towards the black minority group are not surprising considering the international and local findings on stronger out-group rejection occurring at this age in majority group subjects. These results support the notion of white subjects granting more positive attributes to their own group to enhance social identity and hence self-esteem. However, it is less clear why the Indian group is being attributed with fairly positive attributions, when they were clearly not identifying with this group. One tentative hypothesis may involve the perception of black South Africans as an increased threat of late, having recently come into power in South Africa, and with regards to the affirmative action insecurity mentioned earlier. Where this may be applicable to children is with respect to social learning effects, for example, in hearing parents' discussion on this topic.

Notice that by grade 4 the white subjects show an expected shift in terms of rating the black group somewhat more positively on this preference category. This is expected, since it is well documented that by this age children tend to show less out-group rejection, being less focused on intergroup comparisons. However, this effect did not apply to their ratings of the Indian group. In addition, it is interesting to observe that they are rating each group significantly differently on the preference scores, and thus still showing strong between-group differences in positive attributions. This is not completely surprising within an environment such as South Africa, where prejudice is so marked.

## **5.6. GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The SST category of social satisfaction was designed to assess children's perceptions of current social stratification. The second category, named preference, was intended to explore the dimension of children's attributions (not perceptions) of social status, on a less concrete and more future-oriented level. When comparing the results of preference scores to those attained on the measure of social satisfaction, it is interesting to note that while the ratings of the race groups follows the same order, the preference scores are on average much higher than the social satisfaction scores. This effect is true for each of the subject race groups. Thus even while showing relative "rejection" scores, these are still higher than the scores of perceived social satisfaction. Also mentioned previously, was the Race effect in the preference interaction. This indicates that there is less consensus on the preference attributions, compared to the social satisfaction ratings. The difference in findings on these two measures supports the notion that they may be accessing different dimensions of children's perceptions and attributions. On the other hand, several of the trends attained in the social satisfaction category were very similar to those in the preference category (for example the Gender effects). This overlap in the results should not be ignored, and it is highly likely that the preference scores are being confounded by perceptions of social status and visa versa. Thus, when interpreting these results, it should be born in mind that the results of the preference category do not necessarily relate directly to prejudice (negative out-group attributions). The notion of low preference in this instance is referring to less positive attributions on the four questions of this category, not necessarily the dislike of a particular group. Likewise, the scores of perceived social stratification are unlikely to provide direct social satisfaction perceptions. This is because these types of perception are probably integrally linked to prejudiced attitudes towards of the social environment.

This is useful information for understanding the results of previous research of this type, where in most cases no measures of social satisfaction variables had been used to compare with so-called preference and rejection scores, and may aid in explaining why the results of this research at times confirm, and at other times contradict, recent local and international findings. It appears useful at this point to provide a brief comparative overview of the results of research from the earlier part of the century, more recent research, and these current findings. This is examined with respect to the so-called minority and majority groups respectively, and in each case possible reasons for the relative shifts are explored with reference to assessment instruments and broader situational variables.

As outlined in the review of literature (for example Clark & Clark, 1947), early research on the racial orientation of younger minority (particularly black) children showed misidentification (in fact out-group identification), as well as out-group preference and even in-group rejection. Inferences (versus assessments) were made at this stage, regarding the relatively lower self-esteem of this group. Somewhat later, results of relatively lower self-esteem were reported for minority groups. More recent research reported a shift in these results, with contradictory findings of differences in self-esteem, and less clear evidence of misidentification and out-group preference (Aboud, 1988). The current findings report significantly lower self-esteem in the younger black children, lack of clear identification (although not out-group identification), some degree of out-group preference (although not in-group rejection as such), and a clear recognition of their group's relatively disadvantaged social position. Interestingly, the results of the Indian children showed mixed results, appearing to fall between those of the black and white children. It would appear that these relative differences in the findings of the different periods are a result of assessment techniques and changes in the socio-political climate at the time of these studies.

Firstly, with respect to instrumentation, previous studies have primarily made use of forced-choice measures (such as in the Clark's Doll Technique and the Katz-Zalk), with a choice of black and white stimulus figures. From the results of relative differences in the group attributions in this research, it is interesting to consider that had forced-choice measures been used, these results may have mirrored the dichotomous or inconsistent earlier findings. For example, where this subject group rated white SST figures higher than black SST figures, this attribution would have contributed negatively to the score of the black

figures, instead of enabling the expression of positive attributions to both groups. Alternatively, if both groups were attributed with some positive preference scores, results would have seemed contradictory. Hence in-group preference scores of this sample were not exceptionally low, but only low relative to the other scores. In addition, assessment in this case provided evidence of lower self-esteem in this group, compared to the inferred theoretical formulation of the early research. This was also attempted with instruments selected as cross-culturally appropriate.

Secondly, the changes in scores over these three periods may be attributable to shifts on socio-political dimensions. The early findings appeared situated within a context of severe discrimination and lack of recognition of the value of cultural differences. With regard to self-esteem, the relative differences in scores between recent international research and local research may be explained in this manner. While little is available locally on the relative self-esteem of various groups, international research increasingly reports no differences between self-esteem scores of minority and majority groups. However, it is hypothesised that the present South African situation mirrors more closely the socio-political environment of the earlier international studies. Discrimination of an extremely severe nature has a relatively recent history in South Africa, and in many settings appears ongoing. This explanation provides both positive and negative connotations. On the one hand, it suggests that there are real negative effects of oppression on a group's self-esteem, which should not be undermined in an attempt to avoid pathologising this group. Yet at the same time, it suggests that with increased attempts at less societal discrimination, children associated with these groups should show shifts to more positive self-esteem fairly rapidly. This is supported by the difference in self-esteem between the Indian and black children. Although also subject to discrimination, the Indian group having a lengthier past of greater acceptance into socio-political structures may have influenced the higher scores in self-esteem. Also, the effects of even severe discrimination do not necessarily persist into the older children, as evidenced in this study. This may be a result of a change in evaluative criteria with older children. Alternately, it may be that increased integration of late, with more mixing between races, has shifted the younger black children's reference groups to include the more advantaged children. This again introduces the need for serious consideration of the effects of racial prejudice on the self-esteem of children. This discussion highlights the need for closer examination of associated variables, such as

relative integration, socio-economic status etc., and offers exciting opportunities for further research in the field.

Moving on to relative differences in research findings pertaining to majority group children, recall that both earlier and recent research on racial orientation of younger white children reported strong tendencies to discriminate on the basis of racial categories. The results showed marked in-group identification, in-group preference and out-group rejection around the ages of 4-7 years. The younger group of this sample falls within the upper limits of this range, and certainly appeared to exhibit these results. However, with respect to the older children in the sample, slight differences emerge with respect to international results. Early and recent international and local (for example Aarons, 1991) research reports a significant decline in out-group rejection and in-group preference at this age. This was not strongly evidenced in this sample, with the in-group preference persisting to some extent into the older age group of white children. Note that although there was an overall slight increase in the positive evaluations of, for example the black stimulus figures, the differences between the ratings of each group are still significant. This sample of subjects is thus still exhibiting marked evidence of social categorisation and comparison in favour of their own group. It is necessary at this point to emphasise that these results may again be confounded by socio-economic status variables, as well as perceived social status differences. However, in consideration of the lack of forced-choice measures that were discussed earlier, it is that forced-choice scores may have led to even more noticeable results of in-group preference. Again, in explanation of these results, the socio-political climate of this study requires attention. In a society consisting of such clear social stratification, and with so much evidence of persisting prejudice, these results are expected, even for the older children. This may be an extremely interesting area to re-evaluate in a few years time.

## **5.7. CRITIQUE**

This section provides a critique of the study in general, including discussion on the broad aims of the study and the basic research approach. This is followed by examination of the theoretical stance adopted, as well as the methodology, involving critical evaluation of the sampling, instruments and administration procedures.

The study has as its most important positive evaluation the fact that it explored the fields of self-esteem and racial orientation within the relatively unresearched field of South African children. Rich data was provided on measures of self-esteem, perceived social stratification, racial identification and preference. This is particularly important in the light of recent dramatic socio-historical shifts in the country. Not only is this setting apparently ideal for the examination of intergroup relations and the self-attitudes of children, but it is an area identified as being in need of local norms. This research thus supplements international literature on racial orientation and self-esteem, as well as providing indications of local trends in these three fields. The fields of racial orientation and self-esteem were examined both separately and as they are theoretically related to each other in a manner which offers opportunity for further analysis.

Although certainly to be viewed as an advantage, one of the most serious criticisms of the study is also its exploratory nature. Lack of clear trends and limited research in the field examining self-esteem, perceived social stratification and racial orientation, particularly within the South African context, and specifically referring to children, made predictions and specific hypothesis generation difficult. The study may also be critiqued for being largely descriptive, rather than attempting to validate specific theoretical positions. In the review of literature, it was evident that there is no singular unifying theory of explanation for prior results. Instead, what ensued was an attempt to make sense of previous inconsistent findings. From two research fields, self-esteem and racial orientation, relatively rudimentary parallels of more recent theories and empirical findings appearing to relate to each other were compiled to make sense of the new data with post-hoc theoretical formulations.

The theoretical approach that was adopted may be critiqued in terms of its adherence to a traditional, trait-theory approach. While attempts were made to consider social dimensions, the model of testing for individual, intrapersonal factors (in this case self-esteem) to explain largely social phenomena such as racial identification may be described as linear and simplistic. It does not allow for full exploration of the complex and multifaceted phenomenon of racial orientation. Although including children from three different cultural groups, the assessment model falls into the trap of what Sampson (1993) described as accommodative, add-on strategies. These serve to simply test more ethnic groups in a similar style to the original analyses of majority group attitudes.

Pertaining to the analysis of the data and subsequent theoretical formulations, a criticism of the study involves the hypothesised link between self-esteem and racial orientation, in that the results are based on group phenomena. Further analyses of the relationship between individuals' self-esteem and identification may yield different data, and although beyond the scope of the present dissertation, analyses of this type would be interesting to follow up on. In addition, several variables were described as possibly exhibiting confounding effects (for example socio-economic status), and inclusion of these in the data analysis is required.

With regards to more specific consideration of the methodology of the study, it may be said that the use of a cross-sectional research design allowed for exploration of developmental trends in the fields of self-esteem, perceived social stratification and racial orientation. Although forming part of longitudinal follow-up, the research is at this stage still being cross-sectional and not cross-sequential is a criticism.

In terms of the subject sample of the study, the adequate sample size is important in terms of making generalisations. This sample also attempted to include representation from four of the previously classified race groups. In the light of criticisms of prior research in focusing primarily on black and white children, comparison of children from three different groups ensued. While clearly a result of practical constraints, the sample was still biased in terms of minimal representation from the minority groups of Indian, and in particular, elimination of the Coloured children from the analysis. Although the choice of schools did not represent these groups adequately in terms of each group's unique cultural milieu, the selection did allow for fairly broad representation of children from different socio-economic groups and different geographical areas. In addition, the schools were characterised by different histories of racial integration. The two age groups of the sample were selected to access periods of known significant developmental shifts (as in the case of prior prejudice research) and for the paucity of information in the areas (as in the case of development of self-esteem).

Regarding the assessment of these attitudes, the instruments used were carefully selected in the attempts to be cross-culturally fair, with the test battery being uniquely compiled for this specific study. In particular, the Social Status Technique was adapted and designed



for this sample and the information required in this case, following the lack of appropriate instruments available for assessing perceived social stratification and racial orientation in South African children. This also serves as a disadvantage of the study, as adequate reliability and validity data was not always available.

In positive evaluation of the SST, it has been mentioned that it did not employ forced-choice measures, but allowed for a range of expression of attitudes to different groups. As discussed previously, this is highly advantageous in the light of criticisms of prior research in confounding preference with one group with rejection of another. In addition, the separation of the variables of social satisfaction and preference allows for comparison of these perceptions and attributions. In the light of recent emphasis on the importance of perceived social stratification in the literature, examination of whether social satisfaction produces a confounding effect on preference scores is highly salient. For example, it may be that prior reports of out-group preference in minority groups was contaminated by this group's realistic perception of the relatively advantaged position of the out-groups. In addition, the use of theories such as social identity theory in the analysis of results rely heavily on perceived social stratification. The assessment of this phenomenon validates the applications of the fundamental assumptions of these theories.

As an added advantage over many other instruments, the SST included figures of all three of the races involved in the study, allowing for comparison of attitudes to these groups. Many previous studies provided only black and white stimulus figures, leading to interpretations of the generalised attitudes of minority groups to all majority groups and visa versa. In this case, for example, it was clear that the Indian subjects attributed very different preference scores to the out-groups of white, compared to black, subjects.

With respect to the administration of the instruments, the research team was selected to represent people from all of the race groups, and consisted of both males and females. Administration was done individually and in groups, allowing for closer scrutiny of results as well as freedom by participants to respond uninhibited. All instructions were standardised, and researchers were well-trained in the administration procedures.

The critique has served to highlight some of the ways in which prior theoretical and

methodological difficulties were countered to some extent in this study, and areas still deemed problematic.

### **5.8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Following clearer understanding of local and international trends of the fields of self-esteem, perceived social stratification and racial orientation, research is needed which focuses on theory testing and the validation of precisely defined and selected hypotheses. For example, it has been outlined that additional analyses of the hypothesised relationships between self-esteem and identification in individual subjects would be useful in validating the theoretical formulations provided. More attention to the precise definitions of study are required, for example, teasing out precisely what dimensions are being referred to by terms such as preference and rejection of out-groups and in-groups.

An apparent difficulty throughout this research has been the paucity of adequate and appropriate instruments, particularly of perceived social stratification and social identity variables. Refinement of these in terms of the criticisms raised earlier is essential. The inclusion of additional variables, such as socio-economic status appears salient.

Past literature suggests greater emphasis on subtle developmental shifts, and particularly relating findings to socio-historical developments. For this reason, cross-sequential research designs appear most suitable. Phenomenological type enquiries could support experimental designs in acquiring deeper understanding of children's attitudes to themselves and others. This requires not only the inclusion of more race groups and better representation of different groups, but a shift in the traditional orientation of correlating intrapersonal characteristics with social phenomena.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

It would appear that the very real social stratification and socio-political discrimination still present in South Africa may be leading to interesting results with respect to the assessment of self-esteem, perceived social stratification, racial identification and preference of children. The first conclusion of this study is that children as young as 7 years show an awareness of social status differences between various race groups. Within the South

African situation, one would theoretically postulate that white people would be rated above Indian people, and that black people would be rated lowest by all groups. This was empirically supported by the results of this study, with all children rating whites as more advantaged than Indians and particularly blacks.

Secondly, this perception of social stratification is likely to influence the self-esteem and racial orientation of children from different groups. Theoretically, it is hypothesised that negative attitudes towards groups may impact negatively on social identity and hence personal self-esteem, which operates as an evaluative measure of social belonging. A corollary would be that the degree of discrimination towards a group would be indirectly proportional to the level of self-esteem of individuals from the group. This was validated by the results of significantly lower self-esteem of the black children, and relatively, but not significantly, lower self-esteem of Indian children, compared to the white children.

Thirdly, with respect to racial identification, it may be concluded that in-group racial identification is directly linked to self-esteem. This follows propositions of social identity theory, which predicts that individuals with low self-esteem are motivated to enhance self-esteem through enhanced social identity. It is hypothesised that individuals from a low status group will apply strategies of social mobility, creativity or change to enhance social identity. In the case of a group that realistically experiences oppression, the strategy of social mobility appears most apt, and members of these groups are likely to show attempts to psychologically associate with advantaged groups. This was empirically validated by this research, which showed lack of distinct racial identification particularly in younger black children. Also, as the relative self-esteem of the older black children increased, so did the clarity of their in-group identification. Additional support is provided by the result that Indian

children showed identification with the advantaged white group, but dissociated from the black group.

The above formulations also apply to the fourth conclusion, regarding preference attributions. Assumptions of social identity theory suggest that preference attributions are likely to correspond with identification. This follows positive attributions being made to groups with which subjects associate, in order to further enhance social identity and hence

self-esteem. This was evidenced in the present study, with black subjects largely identifying and showing preference for the advantaged groups. The Indian subjects on the whole showed both identification and preference attributions for both the Indian and white groups.

Conclusions regarding developmental trends in the above, are that in general, the self-esteem of South African (particularly black) children increases with age. Identification becomes more accurate with age, and preference attributions towards out-groups become slightly more positive. These shifts are explained by Aboud's (1988) cognitive-developmental theory of prejudice, which proposes that younger children focus more on intergroup, rather than individual differences, and show a greater tendency to use distinctive and mutually exclusive categorisation processes in interpreting their world. Thus for the older children in this study, the focus on less concrete differences between groups is likely to have led to evaluations based more on individual differences and hence attributions of personal worth. In the case of black children, this was most noticeable, since their relatively disadvantaged group status would have led to lower self-esteem on the basis of intergroup comparisons at the younger age. Yet, by the time they are older, and focusing more on individual differences, and possibly even more abstract societal processes, intergroup evaluations are less salient, and the result is an increase of self-esteem at this age.

The findings of this study (for example of lower self-esteem, less distinct racial identification and out-group preference in the younger black children) to some extent corresponds with earlier research results, compared to recent international and local research.

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## 7. APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF CONSENT

#### 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.

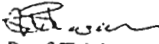
The research is being carried out by a multi-disciplinary team of established academics of national repute who are based at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

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.

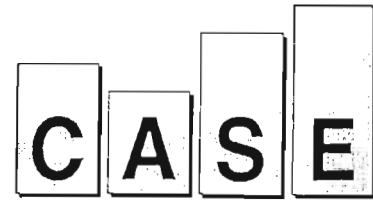
I .....(parent/guardian's name), hereby refuse my child .....(name)  
who is in Grade ..... at ..... (name of school) permission to participate in the CRG  
Research Programme.

Signed: ..... Date: .....



# 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



Mzali

Senza isifundo (study) sezingane ezikolweni zakwaZulu-Natal, esinye sezozikole yilesi ingane yakho efunda kuso. Injongo yesisifundo kukwazi ukuba izingane zicabangani ngempilo yazo, nokwazi ngolwazi lwazo lwezinga (class), ubuzwe (race), nobulili (gender) eSouth Africa namuhla. Lesisifundo sibanzi, sizoqhutshwa iminyaka elishumi, ukuze sikwazi ukubona ukuqhubeka kwaso noshintsho eminyakeni ezayo.

Izingane zizocelwa ukuba ziveze imibono yazo yokuphendula imibuzo nokuxoxa kabanzi ngempilo yazo. Enye incazelo iyoboniswa ezithombeni eziyosakazelwa uwonkewonke.

Lonke ulwazi olotholakala kulesisifundo lokwaziswa ebantwini kodwa amagama ezingane ezingenele lesisifundo awanakwaziswa wona.

Lesisifundo senziwa onjingalwazi abaziwayo, abavela kwindidi ngendidi zolwazi enyuvesi yaseNatal (Pietermaritzburg).

Sikholwa ukuba esisifundo sizongeza ulwazi oluzosinceda ukuphakamisa izinga lemfundo yezingane ezikoleni nakwizindawo ezihlala kuzo. Kungakho-ke sicela nivumele izingane ukuba zifake isandla kulento.

Uma nifuna ulwazi olubanzi ngalesisifundo ngaphambi kokunika invume, ningathintana noThishomkhulu (Principal) wesikole noma omunye wabaququzeli besisifundo kwezinombolo zefoni ezibhalwe ngezantsi.

Sikukhathalele kakhulu ukusebenzisana nani, sibe sinethemba futhi sinicela ukuba nivumele izingane zingene kulesisifundo. Uma ungenankinga ngalokhu, ungazihluphi ngokuphendula lencwadi. Ngabazali abangavumi ukuba izingane zabo zingenele lesisifundo kuphela abalindeleke ukuba baphendule. Siyabonga.

Ngozithobileyo,

Prof T. Marcus (Sociology)

Umququzeli (Programme Manager)

no

Prof E Maunder (Dietetics) 260 5453,

Prof B Parker (Education) 260 6250,

Mrs B Killian (Psychology) 260 5371

.....

Nceda ubuyise lefomu esikolweni uma ungavumi ukuba ingane yakho ingenele lesifundo.

Mina .....(umzali) angivumi ukuba ingane yami u.....(igama) ofunda kwibanga.....e  
.....(igama lesikilo) angenele lesisifundo.

Sayina .....ngomhla .....

Directors: Revd Prof JJW Aitchison Prof J Cock Dr D Everatt

Prof GJ Gerwel Ms JA Glennie Mr S Macozoma Prof A Sitas Fr B Thagale Ms LB Zondo

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**APPENDIX 2: CULTURE-FREE SELF-ESTEEM INVENTORY (BATTLE, 1992)**

**CFSEI-2: FORM B**

NUMBER: .....

**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 (either YES or NO) for each of the 60 statements. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers.

|  | YES                      | NO                       |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. I wish I were younger.....                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Boys and girls like to play with me.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I usually quit when my school work is too hard.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. My parents never get angry with me.....                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I only have a few friends.....                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I have lots of fun with my parents.....                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. I like being a boy / I like being a girl.....               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. I am a failure at school.....                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. My parents make me feel that I am not good enough.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. I usually fail when I try to do important things.....      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. I am happy most of the time.....                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. I have never taken anything that did not belong to me..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|   | YES                      | NO                       |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. I often feel ashamed of myself.....                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Most boys and girls play games better than I do.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. I often feel that I am no good at all.....                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Most boys and girls are smarter than I am.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. My parents dislike me because I am not good enough.....           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. I like everyone I know.....                                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. I am as happy as most boys and girls.....                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. Most boys and girls are better than I am.....                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. I like to play with children younger than I am.....               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. I often feel like quitting school.....                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. I can do things as well as other boys and girls.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. I would change things about myself if I could.....                | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. There are many times when I would like to run away from home..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. I never worry about anything.....                                 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. I always tell the truth.....                                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 28. My teacher feels that I am not good enough.....                   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. My parents think I am a failure.....                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. I worry a lot.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

**ZULU VERSION:**

**CFSEI-2: FORM B**

IGAMA LAKHO .....

**INDLELA OZOYILANDELA UMA UPHENDULA IMIBUZO**

Uyacelwa ukuba kulezitatimende ezilandelayo uphendule ngalendlela: Uma isitatimende sivumelana nendlela nendlela ohlale uzizwa ngayo emoyeni wakho, yenza isiphambano ngaphansi kuka **YEBO**. Kanti uma isitatimende singahambisani nendlela ohlale uzizwa ngayo emoyeni wakho, yenza isiphambano ngaphansi kuka **CHA**. Uyacelwa ukuthi kuleyo naleyo nombolo wenze isiphambano esisodwa kuphela uze ufike ekugcineni kwezitatimende. Uma wenze iphutha uyacelwa ukuba uyicime kahle bese wenza isiphambano lapho uzwa kufanele khona. Uyakhunjuzwa ukuthi akusona isivivinyo lesi. Ngakho-ke ayikho impendulo efanele noma engafanele.

|  | YEBO                     | CHA                      |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Ngiyafisa ukuthi ngabe ngisemncane.....                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Abafana namantombazane bayathanda ukudlala nami.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Ngiyaye ngisheshe ngiyeke uma umsebenzi wami wesikole unzima..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Abazali bami akwenzeki bangicasukele.....                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Nginabangani abambalwa kuphela.....                               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Ngiba nentokozo enkulu nabazali bami.....                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Ngiyakuthanda ukuba umfana/ Ngiyakuthanda ukuba intombazane.....  | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Ngiyisahluleki esikoleni.....                                     | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Abazali bami bangenza ngizizwe ukuthi angizenzi kahle izinto..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. Ngivamisile ukwehluleka uma ngenza izinto ezisemqoka.....        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Ngihlala ngithokozile izikhathi eziningi.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Angikaze ngiyithathe into engeyona eyami.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

|  | YEBO                     | CHA                      |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. Ngijwayele ukuzizwa ngizenyeza.....                                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Iningi labafana namantombazane liyidlala kangcono imidlalo kunami..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Ngivamise ukuziziwa ukuthi angingcono neze.....                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Iningi labafana namantombazane lihlakaniphile kunami.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Abazali bami abangithandi ngoba angenzi kahle ngokwanele.....          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Ngimthanda wonke umuntu engimaziyo.....                                | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Ngithokoze njengeningi labafana namantombazane.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. Iningi labafana namantombazane lingcono kunami.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 21. Ngiyathanda ukudlala nezingane ezineminyaka engaphansi kweyami.....    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 22. Ngivamise ukuzwa sengathi ngingasiyeka isikole.....                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 23. Ngingazenza izinto kahle ngengabanye abafana namantombazane.....       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 24. Ngingashintsha izinto eziningi ngami uma ngingakwazi.....              | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 25. Kunezikhathi eziningi lapho ngingathanda ukubaleka ekhaya.....         | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26. Angikhathazeki ngalutho.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 27. Njalo nje ngikhuluma iqiniso.....                                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 28. Uthisha wami uzwa sengathi engenzi kahle ngokwanele.....               | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 29. Abazali bami bacabanga ukuthi ngiyisahluleki.....                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30. Ngikhathazeka kakhulu.....   | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

### **APPENDIX 3: ENGLISH AND ZULU VERSIONS OF SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE**

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>SOCIAL STATUS<br/>TECHNIQUE</b></p> |
|---|

#### **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 the steps (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), right up to the best place at the top.

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.

You can use all of the people or only some of them, it's up to you to choose them. You can also 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 ...

|                                    |
|------------------------------------|
| <b>SOCIAL STATUS<br/>TECHNIQUE</b> |
|------------------------------------|

CHILD'S NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

**QUESTION 1:** Who do you think will have the best food?

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

**QUESTION 2:** Who do you think will be 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 will do the best at school?

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

**QUESTION 4:** Who do you think will get 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 will have 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, whom do you think should go and 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 will have 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?

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



## **ZULU VERSION: SOCIAL STATUS SCALE - INSTRUCTIONS**

### **SOCIAL STATUS TECHNIQUE**

#### **INDLELA OZOYILANDELA UMA UPHENDULA IMIBUZO:**

Lapha kunezitebhisi. Njengoba ubona lezizitebhisi ziwu 7: esokuqala, esesibili, esesithathu.....(zibale kusukela phansi kuya phezulu. Sizothatha ngokuthi esitebhisini esiphezulu kunazo zonke (khomba isitebhisi sesi 7) kuyindawo ekumnandi kakhulu ukuhlala khona, okwedlula zonke. Bese kuthi esitebhisini esiphansi (khomba isitebhisi sokuqala) kuyindawo embi kunazo zonke ukuhlala khona. Ngakho ke izitebhisi ziqala endaweni embi kunazozonke (yikhombe), kuye endaweni engconywa (khomba isitebhisi sesibili bese ukhomba nezinye, ngasinye ngasinye) kuze kuyofika endaweni emnandi noma enhle kunazozonke esesicongweni.

Lokhu ke yimidwebo yezinhlobonhlobo zabantu. Yibuke kahle yonke lemidwebo. Uyabona ukuthi lowo nalowo mdwebo ulingana nesikhala esikuleso naleso sitebhisi (khombisa). Kuzothi ke njalo uma ngibuza umbuzo, wena ubeke lababantu ezitebhisini ocabanga ukuthi kufanele babe kuzona.

Ngicela ungesabi ukungibuza uma ungaqondisisi kahle.

#### **UMBUZO 1: Lesi yisibonelo esichaza konke**

Ucabanga ukuthi wubani okufanele athole ukudla okumnandi kunakho konke? (Mkhuthaze umntwana ukuthi akhethe umdwebo) Nazo-ke, manje ngoba ucabanga ukuthi lomuntu kumele athole ukudla okumnandi kunakho konke, sizombeka phezulu esicongweni, esitebhisini esihle nesimnandi kunazo zonke. (beka umdwebo esicongweni).

Manje-ke wubani ocabanga ukuthi uzothola ukudla okubi kunakho konke? (Mkhuthaze umntwana ukuthi akhethe umdwebo) Nazo-ke, sizombekaphi ke lomuntu? (Uma embeke kahle esitebhisini sokugcina phansi, mkhuthathe; uma ehlulekile, mlungisise iphutha umntwana bese umtshela abeke umdwebo esitebhisini sokugcina)

Manjena ke ngicela ubeke nabanye abantu ezitebhisini, kuthi labo abazothola ukudla okubi babe phansi, nalabo abazothola ukudla okungcono babe phezulu njalo njalo. Kukuwena ukuzikhethela. Uma uthanda ungabasebenzisa bonke lababantu, noma ubakhethe, abanye ungabasebenzisi. Futhi ungakwazi ukubeka abantu ababili noma ngaphezulu esitebhisini esisodwa.

(Uma konke sekuhlelekile, bhala izinombolo nezindawo lapho imidwebo ibekwe khona). Nazo-ke, manjena-ke asiqoqe yonke into. Sesizoqala futhi sibuze omunye umbuzo ohlukile...

|  |
|--|
| <p align="center"><b>SOCIAL STATUS<br/>TECHNIQUE</b></p> |
|--|

INOMBOLO YOMNTWANA: \_\_\_\_\_

**UMBUZO 1:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ozothola ukudla okumnandi kunakho konke?

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 2:** Ucabanga ukuthi ubani ojabule kakhulu okwedlula bonke ngempilo yakhe?

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 3:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ozophumelela kakhulu esikoleni?

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 4:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ozogula njalo? (ogula njalo ukwedlula bonke abanye makabe sesitebhisini sokugcina)

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 5:** Ucabanga ukuthi ubani okumele ahambe ibanga elide ngezinyawo? (umuntu ohamba ibanga elide akabe sesitebhisini sokugcina)

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 6:** Uma kunenkinga eklasini, ucabanga ukuthi wubani okumele ayixazulule?

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 7:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ozothola umsebenzi omuhle ukwedlula abanye uma eseqede ukufunda?

| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 8:** Ubani osethubeni lokuba wumuntu obalulekile emhlabeni?

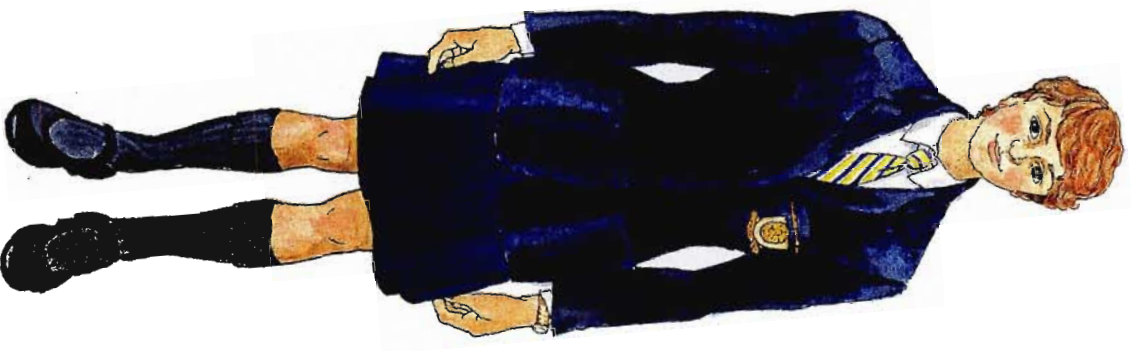
| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

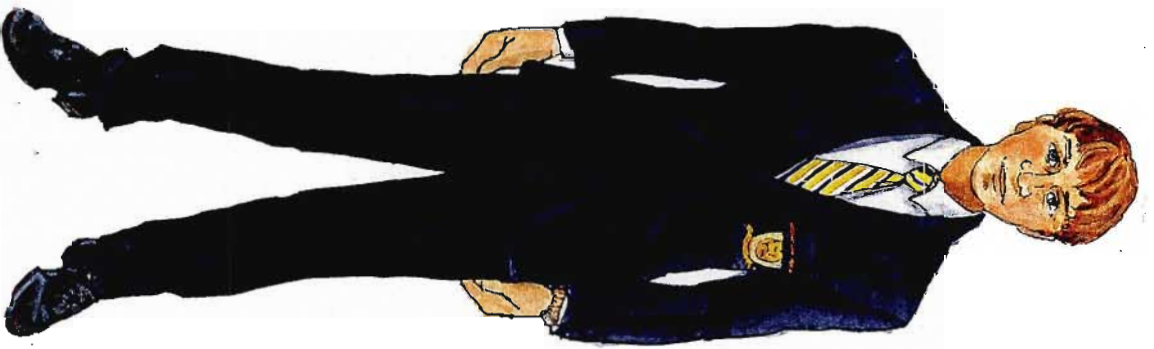
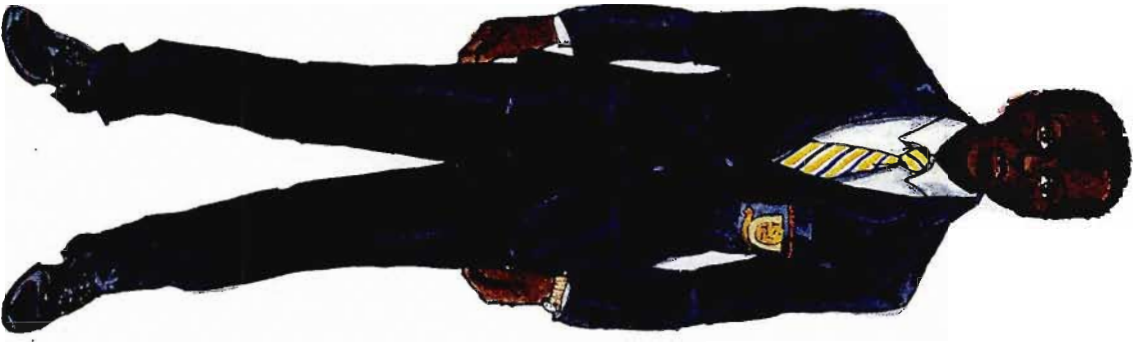
**UMBUZO 9:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ozokuba nabangane abaningi ukwedlula abanye?

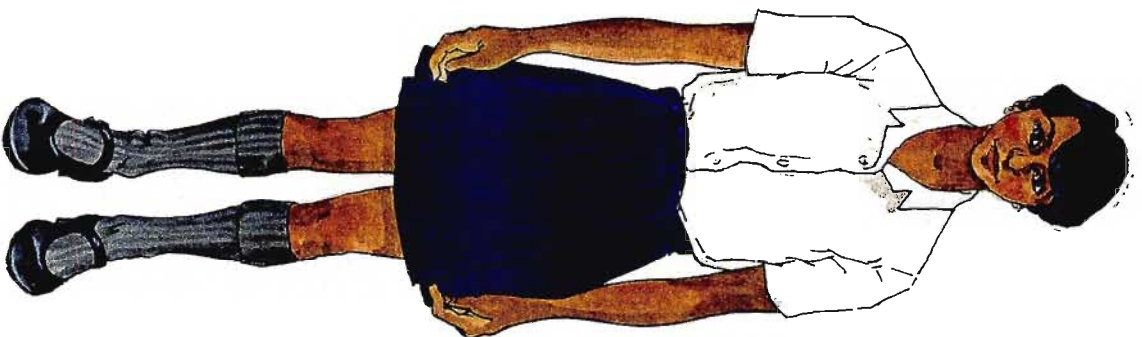
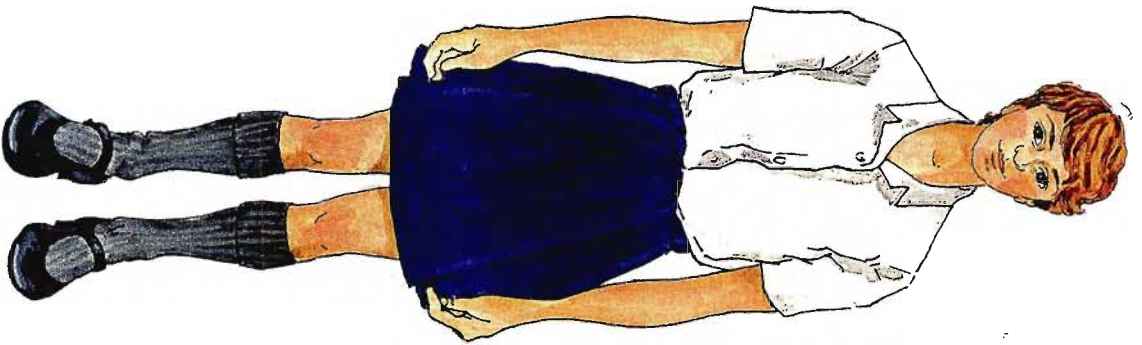
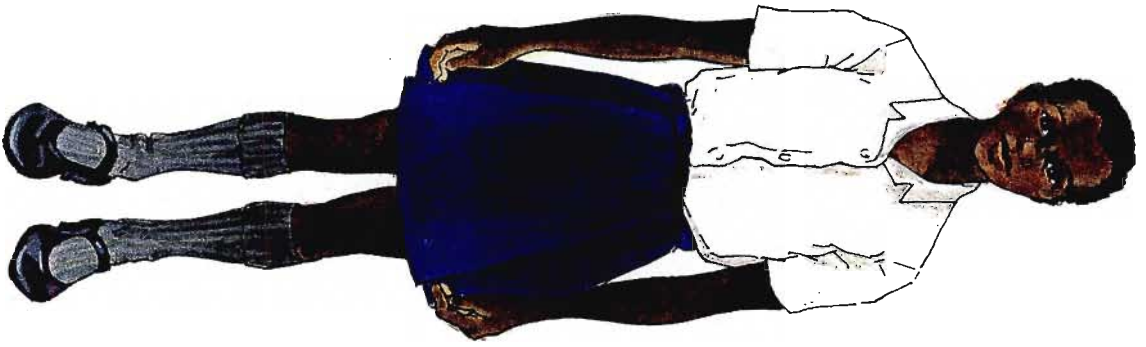
| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |

**UMBUZO 10:** Ucabanga ukuthi wubani ofana nawe ukwedlula bonke?

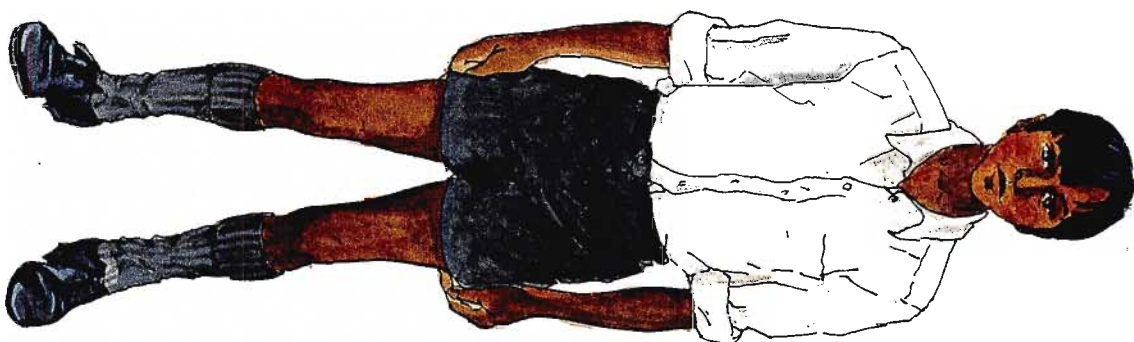
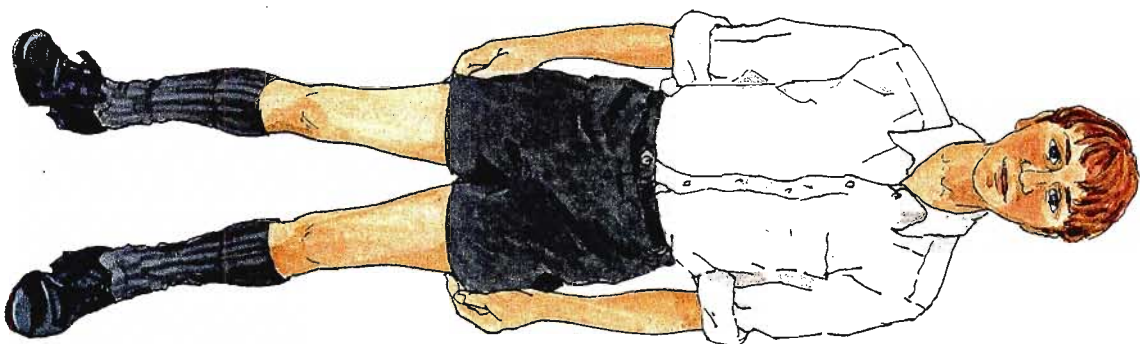
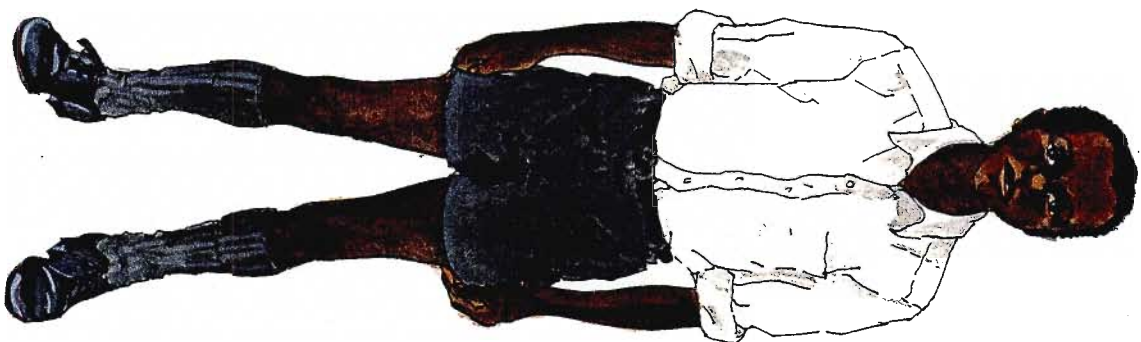
| ISITE-BHISI 7 | ISITE-BHISI 6 | ISITE-BHISI 5 | ISITE-BHISI 4 | ISITE-BHISI 3 | ISITE-BHISI 2 | ISITE-BHISI 1 |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
|               |               |               |               |               |               |               |











#### APPENDIX 4: SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

CHILD'S NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

Please underline the word which most clearly 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        |

## ZULU VERSION: SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Uyacelwa ukuthi udwebele igama elichaza noma elicishe lichaze kangcono indlela ozizwa ngayo mayelana nokuxhumana nabantu balezizizwe ezilandelayo. Kumele lababantu ubabuke njengesizwe, hhayi ukuthi ucabange umuntu oyedwa kuphela walesisizwe omthandayo, noma ongamthandi.

Isibonelo: Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

Iningi Abanye babo Nanoma munye wabantu baseMelika ukuba bangene ezweni lami.

### 1. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

- |    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu baseRashiya ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

### 2. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

- |    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNgisi ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

### 3. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaBhunu ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

### 4. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abaMnyama ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

### 5. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaNdiya ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

6. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wamaKhaladi ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

7. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |   |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|---|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abahluphekayo ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

8. Ngokwami, ngiqala nje ngicabanga, ngingathanda ukwamukela

|    |        |             |              |  |
|----|--------|-------------|--------------|--|
| a) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bangene ezweni lami                 |
| b) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bahlale noma basebenze ezweni lami  |
| c) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bafunde esikoleni sami              |
| d) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bahlale noma bakhe eduze kwasekhaya |
| e) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba babe ngabangane bami                |
| f) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bafike noma bavakashe ekhaya        |
| g) | Iningi | Abanye babo | Nanoma munye | wabantu abayizigwili ukuba bashade nabomndeni wami             |

## APPENDIX 5: RESULTS OF FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ALL SST ITEMS

|       |               | Factor<br>1    | Factor<br>2     | Factor<br>3    | Factor<br>4    | Factor<br>5     | Factor<br>6     | Factor<br>7    | Factor<br>8     |
|-------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Q 1.  | BLACK FEMALE  | .163701        | -.057883        | -.018736       | .273681        | .301873         | -.279688        | .287330        | -.109953        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | .183672        | -.063024        | .228898        | <b>.302805</b> | -.220563        | .007947         | -.290365       | -.226412        |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | .181114        | -.222768        | .151287        | .159251        | -.033584        | -.190626        | -.057067       | -.038563        |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.422030</b> | .220199         | -.142700       | -.039024       | .181365         | -.149997        | .104157        | .044996         |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.038818       | <b>.315700</b>  | .061586        | -.094828       | -.100188        | <b>.442606</b>  | .072116        | .114160         |
| Q 2.  | INDIAN MALE   | .110662        | -.154066        | .120976        | -.089123       | .235992         | <b>.301808</b>  | .294057        | .246124         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | <b>.302068</b> | <b>.328519</b>  | .164619        | .162961        | .140022         | -.246244        | .291951        | -.253866        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | .107047        | -.082060        | .008010        | <b>.345346</b> | <b>-.529150</b> | .036751         | -.183231       | .106088         |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | .002263        | -.060764        | .284023        | .107727        | -.075727        | .001206         | .059839        | -.188642        |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.371090</b> | .161387         | -.001821       | .068606        | <b>.460997</b>  | -.191186        | .299334        | .125008         |
| Q 3.  | WHITE MALE    | -.035035       | -.017393        | -.071457       | .052649        | .013065         | <b>.610480</b>  | .156126        | .109890         |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .124997        | -.060708        | .232801        | -.051568       | <b>.537168</b>  | .229034         | -.039433       | -.028993        |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | .138249        | -.050684        | .089102        | .145415        | .091615         | -.111021        | <b>.609898</b> | -.155360        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | .014855        | -.030301        | .087198        | <b>.433732</b> | -.363993        | .122785         | -.055248       | .088148         |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | -.109048       | -.136788        | <b>.598764</b> | .022287        | -.120693        | .074181         | .145748        | -.063168        |
| Q 4.  | BLACK MALE    | <b>.505782</b> | .230847         | .018693        | -.029525       | <b>.345035</b>  | -.044455        | .072370        | -.133348        |
|       | WHITE MALE    | .085724        | <b>.393254</b>  | -.065452       | .042633        | .004738         | <b>.551309</b>  | -.091863       | -.025166        |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .271876        | .053002         | .064803        | .261459        | <b>.482795</b>  | .015996         | -.120801       | .040522         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | .075233        | .051453         | -.091430       | -.085976       | -.081478        | <b>-.522283</b> | <b>.426971</b> | .052600         |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | -.164604       | .094992         | .117099        | .213320        | -.548182        | .105659         | -.011673       | -.084740        |
| Q 5.  | INDIAN FEMALE | -.147236       | .005411         | <b>.429485</b> | -.063899       | -.271562        | -.203313        | -.025541       | .093244         |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.302932</b> | .030584         | -.256736       | -.091734       | <b>.372094</b>  | -.313028        | -.070492       | .010459         |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.003593       | .006840         | -.019460       | .002290        | -.012781        | <b>.672055</b>  | -.168359       | .037258         |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .044037        | -.037225        | .121821        | .021941        | <b>.471800</b>  | .247538         | -.301749       | .058205         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | -.082921       | -.048105        | -.056283       | -.149788       | -.089338        | -.033737        | .166345        | <b>-.706071</b> |
| Q 6.  | WHITE FEMALE  | -.267545       | .062658         | .050850        | .080528        | -.164461        | -.033255        | -.028027       | .093043         |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | -.347846       | -.029874        | <b>.323578</b> | -.158678       | -.124396        | -.014535        | .117237        | .136087         |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.363158</b> | -.072554        | -.250770       | -.097768       | .118926         | .039145         | -.190200       | -.285832        |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.030882       | .069338         | .040687        | .044239        | -.186575        | .231474         | -.099295       | <b>.447648</b>  |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .023728        | -.072953        | .097281        | -.060182       | <b>.444337</b>  | .061512         | -.045207       | .163080         |
| Q 7.  | BLACK FEMALE  | .295157        | -.154167        | .149339        | .009322        | -.087466        | -.034516        | <b>.508951</b> | -.156386        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | -.171682       | .043325         | .063677        | <b>.486177</b> | -.063953        | -.059256        | -.116826       | -.145969        |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | -.012307       | -.046503        | <b>.327367</b> | <b>.355599</b> | .195511         | -.146041        | .013950        | -.301492        |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.567616</b> | .040571         | -.072964       | -.224387       | .005009         | -.078944        | .220239        | .073586         |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.034484       | <b>.328502</b>  | -.045245       | .144280        | .051166         | .294171         | -.023886       | <b>.391589</b>  |
| Q 8.  | INDIAN MALE   | .197489        | .201794         | <b>.374214</b> | -.330617       | .137312         | .136711         | -.085790       | .055169         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | <b>.486800</b> | -.187853        | -.034658       | .002859        | -.192923        | -.006341        | .263614        | -.263728        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | -.083709       | .229419         | -.114125       | <b>.553560</b> | -.095820        | .041776         | .212105        | .171409         |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | -.101605       | -.220515        | <b>.519326</b> | .216290        | .134906         | -.067293        | .099762        | -.192834        |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.685068</b> | -.047711        | -.033224       | .062750        | .050328         | .033042         | .033147        | .124314         |
| Q 9.  | WHITE MALE    | -.029883       | <b>.516419</b>  | -.105960       | .149446        | .037780         | .212505         | -.011408       | <b>.320191</b>  |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .152147        | .106174         | <b>.522153</b> | -.232315       | <b>.350626</b>  | .116048         | -.114328       | -.049787        |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | <b>.436129</b> | -.032046        | .143668        | .133175        | -.272763        | .097104         | .169080        | -.311320        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | -.074800       | .061119         | .038729        | <b>.618451</b> | -.057575        | .116962         | -.020150       | .202612         |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | .044471        | .106943         | <b>.529206</b> | .247287        | .027218         | -.120710        | .027805        | .107811         |
| Q 10. | BLACK MALE    | <b>.452052</b> | .109655         | -.034881       | -.305782       | .073940         | .173477         | .250703        | -.244451        |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.014944       | <b>.364595</b>  | -.042318       | .121677        | .163195         | <b>.364211</b>  | -.064902       | .137499         |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .195579        | -.097531        | <b>.429724</b> | -.118792       | <b>.350855</b>  | .130324         | .113875        | .236154         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | <b>.316760</b> | -.071910        | -.010669       | -.046298       | -.026235        | -.171532        | <b>.551037</b> | -.179157        |
|       | WHITE FEMALE  | -.131459       | -.070577        | .045813        | <b>.592697</b> | -.062380        | .058458         | .121712        | .042313         |
| Q 10. | INDIAN FEMALE | .106805        | -.194528        | <b>.505597</b> | .177967        | -.157861        | -.142443        | .173536        | .106602         |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.553048</b> | .118675         | .066231        | -.171939       | .152740         | -.001405        | .176228        | -.043553        |
|       | WHITE MALE    | .219057        | <b>.345535</b>  | -.051289       | .150304        | .077577         | <b>.379133</b>  | -.180889       | .254279         |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .019207        | .282010         | <b>.460541</b> | -.142783       | <b>.356448</b>  | .060561         | -.066532       | .073056         |
|       | BLACK FEMALE  | <b>.522944</b> | <b>-.478893</b> | .053047        | .024244        | .122157         | .107995         | .247708        | .007875         |
| Q 10. | WHITE FEMALE  | -.197103       | .258160         | -.174827       | <b>.301186</b> | -.044209        | .132326         | .263860        | -.170832        |
|       | INDIAN FEMALE | -.089408       | -.257788        | .206309        | .071845        | -.035108        | .064683         | <b>.480673</b> | .003008         |
|       | BLACK MALE    | <b>.661889</b> | -.091152        | .153212        | -.145942       | .113834         | -.034886        | -.156250       | .153143         |
|       | WHITE MALE    | -.027659       | <b>.647769</b>  | .024108        | -.025271       | -.015336        | .076348         | -.072093       | -.005892        |
|       | INDIAN MALE   | .298951        | <b>.303286</b>  | <b>.394133</b> | -.043211       | .070560         | -.153486        | -.137423       | .028399         |

**APPENDIX 6: RESULTS OF FACTOR ANALYSES FOR EACH SST FIGURE**

**Factor Analyses of each figure, by each race group:**

**1. Analysis of Black Female Figures by the Black Sample**

|                    | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                 | -.022399            | <b>.793220</b>      | .100215             |
| Q2                 | .181541             | <b>.816624</b>      | .083980             |
| Q3                 | <b>.573252</b>      | .380127             | -.182240            |
| Q4                 | .409337             | .019768             | <b>.476768</b>      |
| Q5                 | -.005168            | .100041             | <b>.871318</b>      |
| Q6                 | <b>.515862</b>      | .415762             | -.150996            |
| Q7                 | <b>.594535</b>      | .227045             | .168456             |
| Q8                 | <b>.704660</b>      | -.036683            | -.100182            |
| Q9                 | <b>.689182</b>      | .174314             | .163320             |
| Q10                | <b>.741134</b>      | .050199             | .120108             |
| <b>Variance:</b>   | 2.670044            | 1.709627            | 1.139123            |
| <b>Prp. Total:</b> | 0.267004            | 0.170963            | 0.113912            |

**2. Analysis of Black Female Figures by the White Sample**

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .074402             | <b>.555805</b>      | .107432             |
| Q2                | .105940             | <b>.819205</b>      | -.075695            |
| Q3                | .096290             | .064854             | <b>.654551</b>      |
| Q4                | -.047612            | <b>.677671</b>      | <b>.488363</b>      |
| Q5                | <b>.495105</b>      | -.091908            | .297752             |
| Q6                | .133889             | .026243             | <b>.778291</b>      |
| Q7                | <b>.795851</b>      | -.034463            | .225230             |
| Q8                | <b>.732703</b>      | .095686             | .063921             |
| Q9                | <b>.330118</b>      | .125746             | <b>.671420</b>      |
| Q10               | <b>.613765</b>      | .358851             | .044601             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 1.947271            | 1.607525            | 1.886208            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.194727            | 0.160753            | 0.188621            |

### 3. Analysis of White Female Figures by the Black Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> | <b>Factor<br/>4</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | <b>.497666</b>      | -.012304            | <b>.578217</b>      | .080535             |
| Q2                | <b>.636261</b>      | .029500             | .088272             | .072271             |
| Q3                | <b>.681386</b>      | .188479             | -.036468            | -.136057            |
| Q4                | <b>.662884</b>      | -.049642            | .057041             | .339955             |
| Q5                | -.047436            | -.026452            | <b>.824172</b>      | -.066091            |
| Q6                | .091334             | <b>.399942</b>      | <b>.599628</b>      | -.018837            |
| Q7                | -.050124            | <b>.789299</b>      | .113952             | .328641             |
| Q8                | <b>.553285</b>      | <b>.468199</b>      | .059621             | .021878             |
| Q9                | .157931             | <b>.798836</b>      | -.043338            | -.170757            |
| Q10               | .059679             | .058190             | -.041047            | <b>.921799</b>      |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 1.903934            | 1.683392            | 1.405626            | 1.137867            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.190393            | 0.168339            | 0.140563            | 0.113787            |

### 4. Analysis of White Female Figures by the White Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .319733             | .078346             | -.603003            |
| Q2                | <b>.806139</b>      | .056194             | .027389             |
| Q3                | <b>.652558</b>      | .098963             | .118047             |
| Q4                | <b>.729417</b>      | .133071             | .064432             |
| Q5                | .273428             | -.038334            | <b>.694323</b>      |
| Q6                | .119088             | <b>.373558</b>      | <b>.623039</b>      |
| Q7                | .318620             | <b>.586352</b>      | -.049736            |
| Q8                | .145356             | <b>.680260</b>      | .087541             |
| Q9                | .263247             | <b>.588131</b>      | -.038688            |
| Q10               | -.130237            | <b>.692830</b>      | .100167             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.007822            | 1.810285            | 1.274379            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.200782            | 0.181928            | 0.127438            |



5. Analysis of Indian Female Figures by the Black Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | -.100476            | .090723             | <b>.814893</b>      |
| Q2                | <b>.579158</b>      | .046916             | .298388             |
| Q3                | <b>.668373</b>      | .206135             | .114024             |
| Q4                | .097564             | <b>.795476</b>      | .010325             |
| Q5                | -.004401            | <b>.756352</b>      | .033778             |
| Q6                | <b>.755530</b>      | -.077091            | -.287169            |
| Q7                | <b>.621641</b>      | .137201             | .301997             |
| Q8                | .446574             | .397719             | .219337             |
| Q9                | .342277             | .126536             | <b>.485283</b>      |
| Q10               | .267627             | -.217501            | <b>.580029</b>      |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.177248            | 1.504039            | 1.561046            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.214725            | 0.150404            | 0.156105            |

6. Analysis of Indian Female Figures by the White Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> | <b>Factor<br/>4</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | -.057979            | -.040862            | <b>.839868</b>      | .064028             |
| Q2                | <b>.646377</b>      | .071788             | .038364             | -.130845            |
| Q3                | <b>.841724</b>      | .058078             | .020209             | .109977             |
| Q4                | -.073739            | <b>.730357</b>      | .103897             | -.007012            |
| Q5                | .074853             | .036887             | -.014944            | <b>.889969</b>      |
| Q6                | .134710             | <b>.641744</b>      | -.130013            | <b>-.427955</b>     |
| Q7                | .296541             | <b>.662559</b>      | -.108198            | .187547             |
| Q8                | .080129             | <b>.614062</b>      | .325849             | .226415             |
| Q9                | .323422             | .174421             | <b>.635927</b>      | -.171167            |
| Q10               | <b>.481792</b>      | .238358             | .187286             | .269535             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 1.589934            | 1.860108            | 1.292544            | 1.196940            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.158993            | 0.186011            | 0.129254            | 0.119694            |

### 7. Analysis of Black Male Figures by the Black Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> | <b>Factor<br/>4</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .001363             | <b>.799336</b>      | .049461             | .141780             |
| Q2                | .393767             | <b>.653278</b>      | .208793             | -.088095            |
| Q3                | <b>.513954</b>      | .355464             | .347898             | -.078024            |
| Q4                | .058411             | .108701             | <b>.905061</b>      | .158585             |
| Q5                | .065858             | .031693             | .151302             | <b>.920841</b>      |
| Q6                | .050754             | <b>.710287</b>      | .115833             | .016419             |
| Q7                | <b>.633461</b>      | .341076             | -.184002            | .060783             |
| Q8                | <b>.527815</b>      | <b>.422006</b>      | -.291127            | .394647             |
| Q9                | <b>.750854</b>      | .106494             | .087505             | .269462             |
| Q10               | <b>.714430</b>      | -.147091            | .219677             | -.096343            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.183582            | 2.036791            | 1.197045            | 1.148650            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.218358            | 0.203679            | 0.119705            | 0.114865            |

### 8. Analysis of Black Male Figures by the White Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .063621             | <b>.699658</b>      | .064857             |
| Q2                | .018858             | -.034312            | <b>.913139</b>      |
| Q3                | .460300             | .484322             | .236522             |
| Q4                | .305647             | .319887             | <b>.554421</b>      |
| Q5                | -.036997            | <b>.760998</b>      | .003780             |
| Q6                | .492378             | .479077             | .222514             |
| Q7                | <b>.624718</b>      | .179077             | .336692             |
| Q8                | <b>.751277</b>      | -.021068            | .056743             |
| Q9                | <b>.758281</b>      | .095038             | -.053843            |
| Q10               | .188764             | <b>.749041</b>      | -.020804            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.118814            | 2.238835            | 1.370796            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.211881            | 0.223884            | 0.137080            |

9. Analysis of White Male Figures of the Black Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | <b>.757043</b>      | -.092990            | .148104             |
| Q2                | <b>.818731</b>      | .073580             | -.169718            |
| Q3                | <b>.727371</b>      | .324063             | .206018             |
| Q4                | .342196             | .080609             | <b>.452304</b>      |
| Q5                | -.000962            | -.047743            | <b>.777562</b>      |
| Q6                | .389323             | <b>.424072</b>      | <b>-.430444</b>     |
| Q7                | .460055             | <b>.351634</b>      | .257112             |
| Q8                | .281567             | <b>.412013</b>      | <b>.479161</b>      |
| Q9                | .123133             | <b>.792100</b>      | .087259             |
| Q10               | -.001031            | <b>.758105</b>      | -.123074            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.347267            | 1.803240            | 1.406108            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.234727            | 0.180324            | 0.140611            |

10. Analysis of White Male Figures by the White Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .419061             | -.587622            | .247005             |
| Q2                | .275559             | <b>.659719</b>      | .108690             |
| Q3                | -.000865            | .008630             | <b>.895592</b>      |
| Q4                | <b>.544172</b>      | .318631             | .212077             |
| Q5                | .178958             | <b>.567865</b>      | .180154             |
| Q6                | <b>.713173</b>      | .274289             | -.065878            |
| Q7                | <b>.670485</b>      | .021335             | .162098             |
| Q8                | <b>.701314</b>      | -.010445            | .376652             |
| Q9                | .340206             | .053471             | <b>.704648</b>      |
| Q10               | <b>.574691</b>      | -.214059            | .037887             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.475711            | 1.329079            | 1.622789            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.247571            | 0.132908            | 0.162279            |

### 11. Analysis of Indian Male Figures by the Black Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> | <b>Factor<br/>4</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | -.066367            | .146297             | <b>.892594</b>      | .042314             |
| Q2                | .161600             | <b>.542298</b>      | .118141             | .077203             |
| Q3                | -.138143            | <b>.797787</b>      | -.040383            | .164911             |
| Q4                | .130521             | .106655             | -.000692            | <b>.829630</b>      |
| Q5                | -.069061            | <b>.467838</b>      | -.696121            | .126681             |
| Q6                | <b>.731910</b>      | -.197552            | .225653             | .053095             |
| Q7                | <b>.618724</b>      | .344325             | -.141576            | .027645             |
| Q8                | .324135             | .298105             | .027391             | .462973             |
| Q9                | <b>.780896</b>      | -.049223            | -.193487            | .201516             |
| Q10               | <b>.473754</b>      | <b>.502622</b>      | .144500             | -.421202            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 1.929225            | 1.683707            | 1.426927            | 1.175227            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.192923            | 0.168371            | 0.142693            | 0.117523            |

### 12. Analysis of Indian Male Figures as Rated by the White Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> | <b>Factor<br/>4</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .055139             | -.028486            | .060189             | <b>.920198</b>      |
| Q2                | <b>.588000</b>      | <b>.424613</b>      | -.207772            | .099343             |
| Q3                | .116758             | <b>.807579</b>      | .015825             | -.067236            |
| Q4                | <b>.704108</b>      | -.082199            | .214956             | -.109020            |
| Q5                | -.000948            | <b>.726250</b>      | .257494             | .085374             |
| Q6                | .120481             | -.038593            | <b>.770296</b>      | .252047             |
| Q7                | <b>.768954</b>      | .031724             | .142443             | .203733             |
| Q8                | <b>.477993</b>      | .372951             | .182013             | <b>.485035</b>      |
| Q9                | <b>.660262</b>      | .218042             | <b>.378135</b>      | .081962             |
| Q10               | .225514             | .286809             | <b>.727250</b>      | -.090432            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.179271            | 1.638877            | 1.478205            | 1.235518            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.217927            | 0.163888            | 0.147820            | 0.123552            |

**Factor Analyses for Each Item across the whole sample**

13. Analysis of Ratings of Black Female Figure by Whole Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .054083             | <b>.723191</b>      |
| Q2                | .115927             | <b>.700011</b>      |
| Q3                | .489661             | .391362             |
| Q4                | .131309             | <b>.648930</b>      |
| Q5                | .264234             | .194911             |
| Q6                | <b>.583874</b>      | .201325             |
| Q7                | <b>.762390</b>      | -.005029            |
| Q8                | <b>.667377</b>      | .038671             |
| Q9                | <b>.653009</b>      | .291721             |
| Q10               | <b>.595437</b>      | .138412             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.491698            | 1.771598            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.249170            | 0.177160            |

14. Analysis of Ratings of Black male Figure by Whole Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .549153             |
| Q2                | .586213             |
| Q3                | .673284             |
| Q4                | .502610             |
| Q5                | .365771             |
| Q6                | .586275             |
| Q7                | .646314             |
| Q8                | .547902             |
| Q9                | .672522             |
| Q10               | .588044             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 3.344651            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.334465            |

15. Analysis of Ratings of White male Figure by Whole Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .191294             | <b>.526665</b>      |
| Q2                | .133930             | <b>.606860</b>      |
| Q3                | .405524             | <b>.522173</b>      |
| Q4                | .099950             | <b>.699162</b>      |
| Q5                | .027986             | <b>.536915</b>      |
| Q6                | .478250             | .346769             |
| Q7                | <b>.615933</b>      | .236625             |
| Q8                | <b>.592285</b>      | .247956             |
| Q9                | <b>.701532</b>      | .201586             |
| Q10               | <b>.705928</b>      | -.113225            |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.179133            | 1.986603            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.217913            | 0.198660            |

16. Analysis of Ratings of Indian male Figure by Whole Sample

|                   | <b>Factor<br/>1</b> | <b>Factor<br/>2</b> | <b>Factor<br/>3</b> |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Q1                | .068880             | .045717             | <b>.903131</b>      |
| Q2                | .188871             | <b>.558268</b>      | .367941             |
| Q3                | .054664             | <b>.731928</b>      | .200583             |
| Q4                | .463784             | .331402             | -.089119            |
| Q5                | .131516             | <b>.731911</b>      | -.181655            |
| Q6                | <b>.654738</b>      | -.104023            | .247564             |
| Q7                | <b>.669586</b>      | .197839             | .094753             |
| Q8                | <b>.516608</b>      | .401377             | .238323             |
| Q9                | <b>.722115</b>      | .214856             | -.064191            |
| Q10               | <b>.527416</b>      | .010258             | .218645             |
| <b>Variance:</b>  | 2.219326            | 1.752325            | 1.211191            |
| <b>Prp Total:</b> | 0.221933            | 0.175232            | 0.121119            |

17. Analysis of Ratings of Indian Female Figure by Whole Sample

|            | Factor<br>1    | Factor<br>2    | Factor<br>3    |
|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Q1         | -.304884       | <b>.613477</b> | -.019789       |
| Q2         | -.071545       | .401067        | .393931        |
| Q3         | .360023        | .468882        | .289798        |
| Q4         | <b>.582054</b> | .075568        | .266293        |
| Q5         | <b>.777859</b> | .029981        | -.102900       |
| Q6         | -.067807       | -.058473       | <b>.832693</b> |
| Q7         | .248367        | .227795        | <b>.614828</b> |
| Q8         | .413981        | .306720        | .398308        |
| Q9         | .181820        | <b>.652172</b> | .131782        |
| Q10        | .198263        | <b>.639628</b> | -.073726       |
| Variance:  | 1.481572       | 1.747509       | 1.573900       |
| Prp Total: | 0.148157       | 0.174751       | 0.157390       |

18. Analysis of Ratings of White Female Figure by Whole Sample

|            | Factor<br>1    | Factor<br>2    | Factor<br>3    |
|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Q1         | -.085359       | <b>.557623</b> | .268139        |
| Q2         | .110112        | <b>.712198</b> | -.094817       |
| Q3         | .251712        | <b>.572767</b> | .130025        |
| Q4         | .198537        | <b>.638457</b> | .056267        |
| Q5         | -.040256       | .029460        | <b>.860244</b> |
| Q6         | <b>.437497</b> | .056248        | <b>.548828</b> |
| Q7         | <b>.749831</b> | .126011        | -.047378       |
| Q8         | <b>.489256</b> | .342753        | .078961        |
| Q9         | <b>.649957</b> | .181816        | .035560        |
| Q10        | <b>.538993</b> | -.041178       | .130486        |
| Variance:  | 1.829785       | 1.726002       | 1.168964       |
| Prp Total: | 0.182979       | 0.172600       | 0.116896       |

## **APPENDIX 7: ALPHA COEFFICIENTS FOR SST CATEGORIES**

### **A. SOCIAL SATISFACTION:**

#### **1. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF BLACK FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.5540**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 14.5259                          | 30.1638                              | 0.3447                                 | 0.4808                      |
| 2.       | 14.3578                          | 29.6160                              | 0.3958                                 | 0.4518                      |
| 3.       | 14.9267                          | 29.2630                              | 0.3444                                 | 0.4803                      |
| 4.       | 14.4655                          | 30.5962                              | 0.3183                                 | 0.4964                      |
| 5.       | 15.3276                          | 33.9009                              | 0.1819                                 | 0.5721                      |

#### **2. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF WHITE FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.4869**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 22.8836                          | 21.6271                              | 0.2353                                 | 0.4492                      |
| 2.       | 22.4698                          | 22.0251                              | 0.3324                                 | 0.3986                      |
| 3.       | 23.9050                          | 18.7234                              | 0.3658                                 | 0.3550                      |
| 4.       | 22.8750                          | 20.6899                              | 0.2959                                 | 0.4094                      |
| 5.       | 23.1810                          | 23.1810                              | 0.1269                                 | 0.5336                      |

#### **3. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF INDIAN FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.3673**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 20.1111                          | 23.3696                              | 0.0400                                 | 0.4278                      |
| 2.       | 19.8462                          | 20.7917                              | 0.2267                                 | 0.2826                      |
| 3.       | 20.2863                          | 19.5014                              | 0.2345                                 | 0.2706                      |
| 4.       | 19.8333                          | 19.9506                              | 0.2730                                 | 0.2442                      |
| 5.       | 20.7949                          | 20.7303                              | 0.1547                                 | 0.3409                      |



**4. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF BLACK MALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.6056**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 11.7817                          | 30.5574                              | 0.3888                                 | 0.5355                      |
| 2.       | 11.9607                          | 31.3888                              | 0.3908                                 | 0.5353                      |
| 3.       | 12.4323                          | 31.2377                              | 0.3916                                 | 0.5347                      |
| 4.       | 11.5895                          | 30.6115                              | 0.4148                                 | 0.5220                      |
| 5.       | 12.3406                          | 34.5238                              | 0.2243                                 | 0.6206                      |

**5. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF WHITE MALE SST FIGURE: 0.5770**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 19.5022                          | 30.0757                              | 0.3156                                 | 0.5323                      |
| 2.       | 19.5895                          | 30.9974                              | 0.3119                                 | 0.5340                      |
| 3.       | 20.0742                          | 28.0164                              | 0.3890                                 | 0.4895                      |
| 4.       | 19.5546                          | 28.6955                              | 0.4216                                 | 0.4743                      |
| 5.       | 20.1266                          | 30.9356                              | 0.2463                                 | 0.5727                      |

**6. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF INDIAN MALE SST FIGURE: 0.5285**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1.       | 15.9224                          | 31.8121                              | 0.1621                                 | 0.5477                      |
| 2.       | 16.5259                          | 26.5448                              | 0.3843                                 | 0.4148                      |
| 3.       | 16.5819                          | 28.2703                              | 0.2631                                 | 0.4936                      |
| 4.       | 16.1034                          | 26.7512                              | 0.4056                                 | 0.4039                      |
| 5.       | 16.5560                          | 28.9752                              | 0.2712                                 | 0.4869                      |

**B. PREFERENCE:**

**1. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF BLACK FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.6671**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 11.3793                          | 21.3533                              | 0.4952                                 | 0.5670                      |
| 7.       | 12.1422                          | 24.3390                              | 0.4002                                 | 0.6309                      |
| 8.       | 12.0905                          | 21.8056                              | 0.4937                                 | 0.5684                      |
| 9.       | 11.8190                          | 24.3913                              | 0.4045                                 | 0.6281                      |

**2. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF WHITE FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.5808**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 16.5584                          | 16.9955                              | 0.3932                                 | 0.4864                      |
| 7.       | 16.6753                          | 17.0637                              | 0.3578                                 | 0.5131                      |
| 8.       | 16.5628                          | 16.2741                              | 0.4147                                 | 0.4672                      |
| 9.       | 16.9437                          | 17.3142                              | 0.2908                                 | 0.5688                      |

**3. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF INDIAN FEMALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.5476**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 14.9567                          | 19.3286                              | 0.2698                                 | 0.5242                      |
| 7.       | 15.2944                          | 16.7478                              | 0.3678                                 | 0.4453                      |
| 8.       | 15.1688                          | 16.2975                              | 0.3984                                 | 0.4178                      |
| 9.       | 15.2165                          | 17.3182                              | 0.2989                                 | 0.5062                      |

**4. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF BLACK MALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.6413**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 10.2826                          | 22.8412                              | 0.4781                                 | 0.5302                      |
| 7.       | 10.5043                          | 24.2598                              | 0.4344                                 | 0.5632                      |
| 8.       | 10.7174                          | 24.5879                              | 0.4321                                 | 0.5651                      |
| 9.       | 10.7696                          | 26.0908                              | 0.3419                                 | 0.6265                      |

**5. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF WHITE MALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.6442**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 15.3836                          | 20.7656                              | 0.4532                                 | 0.5544                      |
| 7.       | 15.1552                          | 22.5299                              | 0.4243                                 | 0.5763                      |
| 8.       | 15.0345                          | 21.6785                              | 0.4640                                 | 0.5489                      |
| 9.       | 15.5776                          | 21.9160                              | 0.3614                                 | 0.6225                      |

**6. RELIABILITY IN RATINGS OF INDIAN MALE SST FIGURE: Alpha = 0.6679**

| QUESTION | SCALE MEAN<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED | SCALE<br>VARIANCE IF<br>ITEM DELETED | CORRECTED<br>ITEM-TOTAL<br>CORRELATION | ALPHA<br>IF ITEM<br>DELETED |
|----------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 6.       | 13.2870                          | 22.1444                              | 0.4827                                 | 0.5779                      |
| 7.       | 13.1826                          | 22.8049                              | 0.4681                                 | 0.5884                      |
| 8.       | 13.3783                          | 22.8563                              | 0.4574                                 | 0.5954                      |
| 9.       | 13.1348                          | 23.7503                              | 0.3885                                 | 0.6412                      |

## APPENDIX 8: CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SST FIGURES AND SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE CATEGORIES FOR EACH RACE GROUP

Abbreviations have been used to refer to scores assigned by subjects to the following:

ENG: English-speaking category on Social Distance Scale Items  
 AFR: Afrikaans-speaking category on Social Distance Scale Items  
 BLK: Black category on Social Distance Scale Items  
 IND: Indian category on Social Distance Scale Items  
 CLD: Coloured category on Social Distance Scale Items

BF: Black female figure of SST  
 WF: White female figure of SST  
 IF: Indian female of SST  
 BM: Black male figure of SST  
 WM: White male figure of SST  
 IM: Indian male figure of SST

Significant correlations ( $p < 0.05$ ) between the above scores have been indicated in bold type.

### Black Sample

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK             | IND             | CLD            |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 6:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                |
| BF                 | .289<br>p=.363  | .286<br>p=.368  | .404<br>p=.192  | .015<br>p=.964  | .603<br>p=.038 |
| WF                 | -.545<br>p=.067 | -.166<br>p=.606 | -.129<br>p=.690 | -.126<br>p=.696 | .134<br>p=.679 |
| IF                 | -.154<br>p=.634 | .149<br>p=.643  | .057<br>p=.861  | .348<br>p=.268  | .346<br>p=.270 |
| BM                 | .396<br>p=.203  | .047<br>p=.884  | .649<br>p=.022  | -.284<br>p=.371 | .354<br>p=.259 |
| WM                 | -.406<br>p=.191 | -.313<br>p=.322 | .059<br>p=.856  | -.320<br>p=.311 | .020<br>p=.950 |
| IM                 | .405<br>p=.192  | .375<br>p=.229  | .130<br>p=.688  | .201<br>p=.531  | .320<br>p=.311 |

|                    |                 |                        |                 |                        |                 |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 7:</b> |                 |                        |                 |                        |                 |
| BF                 | -.214<br>p=.505 | -.252<br>p=.430        | .250<br>p=.433  | -.219<br>p=.494        | .451<br>p=.141  |
| WF                 | -.040<br>p=.902 | -.533<br>p=.074        | .255<br>p=.423  | <b>-.755</b><br>p=.004 | -.495<br>p=.102 |
| IF                 | -.199<br>p=.536 | -.142<br>p=.660        | -.245<br>p=.442 | .076<br>p=.814         | -.221<br>p=.490 |
| BM                 | -.059<br>p=.855 | -.457<br>p=.135        | .551<br>p=.064  | -.569<br>p=.054        | .036<br>p=.913  |
| WM                 | -.204<br>p=.525 | <b>-.675</b><br>p=.016 | .219<br>p=.495  | <b>-.712</b><br>p=.009 | -.333<br>p=.291 |
| IM                 | .062<br>p=.848  | -.033<br>p=.919        | .263<br>p=.409  | .154<br>p=.632         | .170<br>p=.596  |

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK                   | IND             | CLD             |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 8:</b> |                 |                 |                       |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.200<br>p=.532 | -.163<br>p=.612 | .111<br>p=.732        | -.178<br>p=.580 | .111<br>p=.732  |
| WF                 | -.443<br>p=.150 | -.405<br>p=.192 | .053<br>p=.870        | -.465<br>p=.128 | -.174<br>p=.590 |
| IF                 | -.299<br>p=.345 | -.272<br>p=.393 | -.311<br>p=.325       | .194<br>p=.545  | -.313<br>p=.322 |
| BM                 | .334<br>p=.289  | -.338<br>p=.283 | <b>.585</b><br>p=.046 | -.508<br>p=.092 | -.098<br>p=.763 |
| WM                 | -.035<br>p=.913 | -.450<br>p=.142 | -.172<br>p=.593       | -.220<br>p=.492 | -.421<br>p=.173 |
| IM                 | .619<br>p=.032  | -.155<br>p=.630 | .502<br>p=.096        | -.349<br>p=.267 | -.172<br>p=.593 |

|                    |                 |                 |                 |                 |                  |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| <b>QUESTION 9:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                  |
| BF                 | -.094<br>p=.771 | -.576<br>p=.050 | .473<br>p=.121  | -.538<br>p=.071 | 0.000<br>p=1.000 |
| WF                 | .509<br>p=.091  | -.194<br>p=.545 | .470<br>p=.123  | -.540<br>p=.070 | -.379<br>p=.224  |
| IF                 | .349<br>p=.267  | .249<br>p=.435  | .377<br>p=.227  | .125<br>p=.700  | .255<br>p=.425   |
| BM                 | -.240<br>p=.452 | -.420<br>p=.174 | -.179<br>p=.577 | -.091<br>p=.779 | -.150<br>p=.642  |
| WM                 | .335<br>p=.287  | -.176<br>p=.585 | .128<br>p=.692  | -.189<br>p=.557 | -.423<br>p=.171  |
| IM                 | -.351<br>p=.264 | -.251<br>p=.432 | -.326<br>p=.302 | .214<br>p=.505  | -.148<br>p=.647  |

### White Sample

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK             | IND             | CLD             |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 6:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.170<br>p=.266 | -.214<br>p=.158 | -.012<br>p=.940 | -.337<br>p=.024 | -.238<br>p=.115 |
| WF                 | -.032<br>p=.834 | -.041<br>p=.789 | .272<br>p=.070  | -.101<br>p=.508 | -.125<br>p=.413 |
| IF                 | -.084<br>p=.583 | -.024<br>p=.875 | .104<br>p=.496  | .246<br>p=.103  | .136<br>p=.372  |
| BM                 | .051<br>p=.738  | -.055<br>p=.718 | -.187<br>p=.220 | -.026<br>p=.866 | -.038<br>p=.803 |
| WM                 | -.146<br>p=.339 | .057<br>p=.712  | .103<br>p=.499  | .168<br>p=.271  | .171<br>p=.261  |
| IM                 | .262<br>p=.082  | .398<br>p=.007  | .004<br>p=.981  | .062<br>p=.688  | .019<br>p=.900  |
| <b>QUESTION 7:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.037<br>p=.810 | -.166<br>p=.277 | -.487<br>p=.001 | -.278<br>p=.065 | -.362<br>p=.014 |
| WF                 | -.327<br>p=.028 | -.160<br>p=.293 | .257<br>p=.089  | .037<br>p=.812  | -.134<br>p=.381 |
| IF                 | .356<br>p=.016  | .097<br>p=.527  | .274<br>p=.068  | .172<br>p=.258  | .032<br>p=.835  |
| BM                 | -.062<br>p=.688 | -.309<br>p=.039 | -.195<br>p=.198 | -.165<br>p=.279 | -.303<br>p=.043 |
| WM                 | -.153<br>p=.317 | .008<br>p=.958  | -.030<br>p=.843 | -.015<br>p=.922 | -.087<br>p=.569 |
| IM                 | .119<br>p=.437  | .093<br>p=.543  | -.092<br>p=.547 | -.168<br>p=.271 | .051<br>p=.741  |

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK             | IND             | CLD             |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 8:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.275<br>p=.068 | -.030<br>p=.845 | -.131<br>p=.391 | .183<br>p=.228  | -.030<br>p=.848 |
| WF                 | -.016<br>p=.915 | -.208<br>p=.170 | -.004<br>p=.982 | .025<br>p=.873  | -.092<br>p=.548 |
| IF                 | -.003<br>p=.982 | .010<br>p=.948  | .230<br>p=.129  | -.047<br>p=.758 | -.041<br>p=.788 |
| BM                 | -.085<br>p=.578 | .091<br>p=.553  | -.122<br>p=.424 | -.266<br>p=.077 | -.265<br>p=.079 |
| WM                 | -.238<br>p=.115 | .154<br>p=.312  | .123<br>p=.421  | .140<br>p=.361  | .040<br>p=.793  |
| IM                 | .180<br>p=.237  | .202<br>p=.182  | .267<br>p=.077  | .144<br>p=.347  | .160<br>p=.293  |
| <b>QUESTION 9:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.012<br>p=.937 | -.202<br>p=.184 | -.365<br>p=.014 | .071<br>p=.643  | -.114<br>p=.458 |
| WF                 | .005<br>p=.976  | -.214<br>p=.158 | -.121<br>p=.430 | -.087<br>p=.571 | .010<br>p=.951  |
| IF                 | .151<br>p=.321  | -.206<br>p=.175 | .039<br>p=.799  | -.167<br>p=.273 | -.065<br>p=.673 |
| BM                 | .111<br>p=.468  | -.025<br>p=.871 | .001<br>p=.994  | -.115<br>p=.453 | -.449<br>p=.002 |
| WM                 | -.167<br>p=.274 | -.060<br>p=.694 | .109<br>p=.478  | .088<br>p=.567  | -.034<br>p=.827 |
| IM                 | .055<br>p=.719  | .048<br>p=.756  | .013<br>p=.931  | -.134<br>p=.381 | .033<br>p=.830  |

**Indian Sample**

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK             | IND             | CLD             |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 6:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | 0.000<br>p=1.00 | -.081<br>p=.767 | -.062<br>p=.820 | .003<br>p=.990  | .116<br>p=.669  |
| WF                 | .072<br>p=.790  | .037<br>p=.893  | .006<br>p=.984  | .282<br>p=.289  | -.151<br>p=.577 |
| IF                 | -.010<br>p=.970 | .009<br>p=.973  | .211<br>p=.432  | .118<br>p=.663  | -.198<br>p=.462 |
| BM                 | .528<br>p=.035  | .127<br>p=.639  | -.059<br>p=.830 | .145<br>p=.593  | .335<br>p=.205  |
| WM                 | .150<br>p=.579  | -.204<br>p=.449 | -.212<br>p=.430 | .065<br>p=.810  | -.294<br>p=.269 |
| IM                 | -.099<br>p=.715 | .188<br>p=.485  | -.063<br>p=.816 | -.328<br>p=.215 | .274<br>p=.304  |
| <b>QUESTION 7:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.080<br>p=.768 | .050<br>p=.854  | .016<br>p=.953  | -.206<br>p=.443 | .133<br>p=.622  |
| WF                 | .473<br>p=.064  | -.293<br>p=.270 | .223<br>p=.407  | .048<br>p=.860  | -.283<br>p=.288 |
| IF                 | .242<br>p=.367  | .211<br>p=.432  | .248<br>p=.355  | .097<br>p=.722  | .118<br>p=.665  |
| BM                 | -.562<br>p=.023 | -.020<br>p=.940 | -.563<br>p=.023 | -.048<br>p=.859 | .394<br>p=.131  |
| WM                 | -.345<br>p=.190 | -.245<br>p=.361 | -.152<br>p=.575 | -.256<br>p=.339 | -.172<br>p=.524 |
| IM                 | -.303<br>p=.254 | .110<br>p=.685  | .165<br>p=.542  | -.406<br>p=.118 | .032<br>p=.908  |

|                    | ENG             | AFR             | BLK             | IND             | CLD             |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>QUESTION 8:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | -.081<br>p=.766 | -.076<br>p=.779 | -.126<br>p=.642 | -.221<br>p=.411 | .157<br>p=.563  |
| WF                 | .294<br>p=.269  | .096<br>p=.724  | .112<br>p=.679  | .152<br>p=.573  | .164<br>p=.545  |
| IF                 | -.158<br>p=.558 | -.045<br>p=.867 | -.016<br>p=.952 | -.217<br>p=.419 | .097<br>p=.720  |
| BM                 | -.388<br>p=.137 | -.121<br>p=.656 | -.207<br>p=.442 | -.284<br>p=.287 | -.124<br>p=.648 |
| WM                 | -.266<br>p=.320 | -.358<br>p=.173 | -.273<br>p=.307 | -.026<br>p=.925 | -.031<br>p=.909 |
| IM                 | -.011<br>p=.968 | .233<br>p=.386  | -.004<br>p=.988 | .301<br>p=.257  | .120<br>p=.659  |
| <b>QUESTION 9:</b> |                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| BF                 | .014<br>p=.960  | -.057<br>p=.834 | -.187<br>p=.488 | -.151<br>p=.577 | .101<br>p=.710  |
| WF                 | .414<br>p=.111  | .039<br>p=.887  | .138<br>p=.610  | -.022<br>p=.935 | -.058<br>p=.832 |
| IF                 | -.073<br>p=.788 | -.063<br>p=.818 | .022<br>p=.937  | .049<br>p=.858  | -.112<br>p=.681 |
| BM                 | .081<br>p=.766  | -.143<br>p=.597 | -.192<br>p=.476 | .007<br>p=.979  | .145<br>p=.592  |
| WM                 | -.483<br>p=.058 | -.193<br>p=.474 | -.361<br>p=.170 | -.073<br>p=.787 | -.198<br>p=.463 |
| IM                 | -.126<br>p=.643 | .243<br>p=.365  | .300<br>p=.259  | .468<br>p=.068  | .164<br>p=.545  |

## **APPENDIX 9: INTERCORRELATIONS OF SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE**

### **Social Distance Intercorrelations for Black sample**

|     | ENG                   | AFR                   | BLK                   | IND                   | CLD                   |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ENG | 1.000<br>p= —         | .436<br>p=.081        | <b>.557</b><br>p=.020 | .168<br>p=.519        | .030<br>p=.909        |
| AFR | .436<br>p=.081        | 1.000<br>p= —         | -.044<br>p=.866       | <b>.647</b><br>p=.005 | .323<br>p=.207        |
| BLK | <b>.557</b><br>p=.020 | -.044<br>p=.866       | 1.000<br>p= —         | -.246<br>p=.341       | .095<br>p=.717        |
| IND | .168<br>p=.519        | <b>.647</b><br>p=.005 | -.246<br>p=.341       | 1.000<br>p= —         | <b>.554</b><br>p=.021 |
| CLD | .030<br>p=.909        | .323<br>p=.207        | .095<br>p=.717        | <b>.554</b><br>p=.021 | 1.000<br>p= —         |

### **Social Distance Intercorrelations for Black sample**

|     | ENG             | AFR             | BLK                   | IND                   | CLD                   |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| ENG | 1.000<br>p= --- | .056<br>p=.691  | .060<br>p=.669        | .187<br>p=.180        | .080<br>p=.571        |
| AFR | .056<br>p=.691  | 1.000<br>p= --- | .236<br>p=.088        | .204<br>p=.142        | .178<br>p=.202        |
| BLK | .060<br>p=.669  | .236<br>p=.088  | 1.000<br>p= ---       | <b>.514</b><br>p=.000 | .253<br>p=.067        |
| IND | .187<br>p=.180  | .204<br>p=.142  | <b>.514</b><br>p=.000 | 1.000<br>p= ---       | <b>.479</b><br>p=.000 |
| CLD | .080<br>p=.571  | .178<br>p=.202  | .253<br>p=.067        | <b>.479</b><br>p=.000 | 1.000<br>p= ---       |

### **Social Distance Intercorrelations for Indian sample**

|     | ENG             | AFR                   | BLK                   | IND             | CLD                   |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| ENG | 1.000<br>p= --- | .015<br>p=.951        | .246<br>p=.311        | .301<br>p=.210  | -.034<br>p=.890       |
| AFR | .015<br>p=.951  | 1.000<br>p= ---       | <b>.674</b><br>p=.002 | .061<br>p=.804  | <b>.703</b><br>p=.001 |
| BLK | .246<br>p=.311  | <b>.674</b><br>p=.002 | 1.000<br>p= ---       | -.168<br>p=.492 | .144<br>p=.557        |
| IND | .301<br>p=.210  | .061<br>p=.804        | -.168<br>p=.492       | 1.000<br>p= --- | .164<br>p=.502        |
| CLD | -.034<br>p=.890 | <b>.703</b><br>p=.001 | .144<br>p=.557        | .164<br>p=.502  | 1.000<br>p= ---       |